LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences
Graduate School

SIMT 32, Master's Thesis (Two Years) in Development Studies
Spring Term 2011
Supervisor: Göran Djurfeldt

Education Policy Borrowing

Georgia: A case in point

Author: Nino Amonashvili

Abstract

The study aims to describe the process of 'education policy borrowing' in developing countries. As a Theoretical Framework Phillips and Ochs (2004) 'Composite model' is used. This model shows what are the processes that a country goes through while borrowing a policy.

As an Empirical analysis this Model is applied to the case of Georgia, where recent Educational Reform took place. And more specifically, it concentrates on implementation of the World Bank project 'Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program' (later called project 'Illia Chavchavadze'), as a part of this reform. Therefore, this thesis is based on a case study method. Expert interviews and document analysis are used as data-gathering techniques. As a result an improved 'Composite model' is presented.

Keywords: Policy, Policy borrowing, 'Composite model', Education Reform, Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', Development

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to everyone who supported me during my thesis writing process.

This thesis would have been impossible without the help of my supervisor, Göran Djurfeldt. Thank you for all your support and understanding.

It is my pleasure to thank Mina O'Dowd, who guided me when I needed it the most.

I am grateful to all experts, who found time and participated in this study. This research would not have been possible without their knowledge and their willingness to share it.

I would like to especially thank my friends, my husband – Gegi, my daughter – Tamusi and my parents: Paata and Tamar, who supported me in every possible way.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms ..... **v**

1. Introduction **1**

1.1 Research Problem 2

1.2 Relevance of the Study 4

1.3 Overview of the Study 5

2. Sociology of Education **6**

2.1 Functionalist Theory 6

2.2 Conflict Theory 7

2.3 Interactionist Theory 7

2.4 Contemporary Approaches in Sociology of Education 8

2.4.1 Institutional Theory *8*

2.4.1 Postmodern Critical Theory *9*

3. Background **10**

3.1 Country Background 11

3.2 Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program 12

4. Theoretical Framework **16**

4.1 A Composite Model 17

4.2 Limitations of the Model 20

5. Methodology **21**

5.1 Case Study 21

5.1.1 Choosing a Case *22*

5.1.2 Pros and Cons of the Case Study Method *23*

5.1.3 Triangulation *23*

5.2 Expert Interviews 24

5.2.1 Sampling *24*

5.2.2 Interview Guide *25*

5.3 Document Analysis 25

5.3.1 Sampling *26*
5.4 Validity/Reliability 26
5.4.1 Expert Interviews *27*
5.4.2 Documents *27*
5.5 Limitations of the Study 28
6. Analysis 30
6.1 Cross-National Attraction 31
6.2 Making a Decision to Change 35
6.3 Implementation 36
6.4 Internalization/Indigenization 39
7. Improving a Composite Model 46
7.1 Impulses to Change 47
7.2 Decision to Change 49
7.3 Implementation 50
7.4 Internalization/Evaluation 52
8. Areas for Further Research 53
9. Conclusion 54
References 56
Appendixes 60
Appendix 1 – List of Interview Persons 60
Appendix 2 – Interview Guide 61
Appendix 3 – List of Analyzed Documents 63

List of Acronyms

APC – Adaptable Program Credit

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

EMIS – Education Management Information System

ESRSP – Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GHDR – Georgian Human Development Report

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

MoES – Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia

NAEC – National Assessment and Examination Center

NCAC – National Curriculum and Assessment Center

PADECO – International Development Consulting Company

TPDC – Teacher Professional Development Center

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO – United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WB – World Bank

"Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined" (Durkheim, 1968:71).

1. Introduction

Decisions in development are carried out by different agencies, individuals and organizations. Historically, implementing a policy was government's responsibility, but with the process of globalization, state capacities changed (Potter, Binns, Elliott & Smith, 2008:275). State was capable of planning and implementing policies, but now it is almost impossible to do so, impossible without assent to the globalized world.

During the late 18th and early 19th century, nation states developed "mass schooling system". Control of mass-education and state authorization first developed in Western Europe, which later transferred into "national development model" throughout the world (Ramirez & Boli, 2007:199). Ramirez and Boli (2007) argue that in 18th-19th centuries, despite having different backgrounds, European countries had similar responses to challenges to state power (Ramirez & Boli, 2007:208). According to this model there was a strong insistence on "state control over education" during this period and schooling was understood as the "general means of occupational success and social mobility" (Ramirez & Boli, 2007:209-212). Later this model developed into a world standard and it became "increasingly unthinkable for nation-state subunits of the world-system to organize themselves in any way inconsistent with the world model" (Ramirez & Boli, 2007:213). In developing and less powerful countries, national commitment to this "mass-schooling" is enforced by the world model and is highly supported by international organizations, like the World Bank and UN (Ramirez & Boli, 2007:214).

Nowadays, implementing a policy is not only government's responsibility. It was possible in the past to develop a new policy for a specific context, but now most of the policies, within developing countries are borrowed from "others", from developed countries, from the rest of the

world. Education is one of the fields, where 'policy borrowing' is widely used and Georgia is not an exception.

According to Georgian Human Development Report (2008), "Education is a criterion of social development, because critical citizens are more able to make reasoned choices about their own lives and to shape the political and social landscape they inhabit" (GHDR, 2008:41).

Being a part of the Soviet Union, Georgia had the highest level of educated and skilled human capital among all other republics (MoES, UNESCO, 2007). But after the collapse of USSR, the country required new human capital with different types of skills and knowledge, skills that were completely unknown until then. Understanding the meaning and importance of education in the country, the government implemented radical education reforms. As the country was lacking time, experience and expenses, the easiest way to solve the problem was to "borrow policy" – use policies that were already approbated by other countries.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the process of education 'policy borrowing' in the case of Georgia. The 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project is used as an example. It aims to explore the processes that took place during this 'policy borrowing' process, namely - why and how this borrowing was implemented and what are the outcomes.

1.1. Research Problem:

According to Modernization theorists, developing country is a country or region, "whose economy has not yet reached the level of North America, Western Europe, etc." (Rist, 1997:8). Modernization theory is "teleological" and sees the advanced capitalist societies as the models for other developing countries (Kambhampati, 2004:70). This theory is problem-solving theory and tries to answer the question: how can economies progress from being poor and traditional to rich and modern? (Kambhampati, 2004:70). The main concept of modernization theory is that "the gaps in development which exist between the developed and developing countries can gradually be overcome on an imitative basis" (Potter, Binns, Elliott & Smith, 2008:84). Here comes the term 'borrowing policies'.

What is a policy?

Policy is "a matter of the authoritative allocation of values; policies are the operational statements of values, statements of prescriptive intent" (Kogan in Ball, 1990:3).

What does it mean to borrow a policy?

Policy borrowing is "conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another" (Phillips, 2005:24). 'Policy borrowing' may imply influences. A 'borrowed policy' may demonstrate that the borrower country has been 'influenced' by ideas from elsewhere" (Phillips, 2005:24). This process, at a first glance, is very simple and follows three-stage process: 1. Identification of successful practice; 2. Introduction into a home context and 3. Assimilation. But in reality this process is extremely complex and presents the researchers with many problems (Phillips, 2005:24).

There are two ways of addressing and studying phenomenon. One is by concentrating entirely on collection of data, without paying any attention to the theory, while another is "abstract theorizing of scholars, who are engaged in the attempt to construct a total theoretical system covering all aspects of social life" (Merton, 1957:39). To resolve this dilemma, Merton (1957) offers "middle-range theory". He states that sociological theory must proceed by "developing social theories from which to derive hypothesis that can be empirically investigated" (Merton, 1957:51). It is like a mediator between pure empiricism and grand doctrines (Curran and Takata, 2003). This thesis will follow the principles of Merton's "middle-range theory". It takes a theoretical framework and tries to apply empirical analysis to it.

Cohen et al (cited in Phillips and Ochs, 2004:781) suggest that model can be used with or instead of the 'theory'. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study consists of a 'Composite model' (Phillips, 2005:29) developed by Phillips and Ochs (2004). This model describes a four-stage policy-borrowing process, where first stage is Cross-national attraction, second - Decision to Change, third – Implementation and finally, fourth – Internalization-Indigenization. This is a circular model and after the completion of stage four, the model goes to the circle and starts all

over again. According to the authors, it is just a preliminary model, which will "inevitably change as a result of future attempts to apply it" to various contexts (Phillips & Ochs, 2004:781).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is following:

1. Analyze a "policy-borrowing" process in education on the case of Georgia, by applying a 'Composite model';

2. Improve a 'Composite model' by adjusting it to the case of study.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the study uses Phillips and Ochs (2004) 'Composite model' and tries to apply it to the case of Georgian education system by taking into consideration principles of Merton's (1957) 'middle-range theory'.

There were two types of data-gathering methods used in this study: in-depth interviews with experts and analysis of documents (reports prepared by government or international organizations, different articles around this issue and other available material).

1.2. Relevance of the Study

There is a lack of scientific research on education in Georgia. It is hard to find a valid analysis of the whole process of development and implementation of a reform and there is almost no further evaluation done. Although there are some studies conducted, and those studies will be analyzed further in this thesis, but this is not enough to get the complete picture. Therefore this study will be an important contribution to the field.

This research will furthermore be a good base for the advance study of the subject. It analyzes the 'policy borrowing' process, actions taken during the implementation and therefore, it will help to forecast future actions in the field and see, what problems might occur while borrowing a policy, how can this process be improved in future and how can we study and analyze it.

And finally, this study proposes an improved version of the 'Composite model', which will help its further development and adjustment to other cases.

1.3. Overview of the Study

Introduction of the study contains information about research problem and relevance of the study to the field. The section on Sociology of Education follows the introduction. In this chapter main classical theories on sociology of education are discussed: functionalist theory, conflict theory and interactionist theory. Classical theories are followed by two contemporary approaches: institutional and postmodern theory. Next chapter gives an overview of the country (Georgia) and background of the Educational System Realignment and Strengthening Program (Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'). Subsequent chapter discusses Phillips and Ochs (2004) a 'Composite Model' and offers limitations of the model. Chapter five describes the methods applied to the study. Chapter six is the analysis of gathered data, followed by the improved 'Composite model' and areas of the further research. The study ends with a conclusion, which sums up the 'policy borrowing' process in Georgian Education System reform.

2. Sociology of Education

According to Payne (Cites in Brookover, 1949), sociology of education includes "anything in field of sociology, which could be related to learning or socializing process and anything in education that is subject to sociological analysis" (Brookover, 1949:409). The field has been a subject of multiple debates in the discipline of Sociology. In this chapter main theoretical perspectives in Sociology of Education will be discussed. Although this chapter is not directly connected to a 'Composite model', it is the base of the field of sociology of education and is a really important part of the whole study.

2.1. Functionalist Theory

Functionalism is a "framework for building theory that envisages society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability" (Macionis & Plummer, 2005:24). Social order is one of the key concepts in functionalist theory. Theorists examine "social processes" that are essential for developing and preserving this social order. Origins of functionalist theory come from famous French sociologist, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and he is considered to be the first sociologists to apply sociological theory to education. He believed that education has vital importance for creating "moral unity" of the society, which is necessary for "social cohesion and harmony" (Sadovnik, 2007:3-4). Durkheim believed that educational reform should create structure, program and curricula "that are technically advanced and rational and that encourage social unity" (Sadovnik, 2007:4).

Modern functionalism has its origins in the work of American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902-1979). According to Parsons, education has a significant importance for modern society (Sadovnik, 2007:5). He believed that the school is a link between the family and the institutions and organizations of the adult world. Parsons stated that schools differentiate students based on their achievements, which results in "a section and allocation of […] human resources relative to adult role system" (Nespor, 1988:279).

All in all, education has an important part in the work of modern democratic and meritocratic society. Schools prepare children to live effective civic life; provide them with skills to work and adapt in such society (Sadovnik, 2007:5).

2.2. Conflict Theory

The conflict perspective is a "framework for building theory that envisages society as an arena of inequality that generates conflict and change" (Macionis & Plummer, 2005:26). Conflict theory originates from the works of German sociologist Karl Marx (1818-1883). Although Marx did not write much about education, he is the "intellectual founder of the conflict school in sociology of education" (Sadovnik, 2007:6).

Another famous conflict sociologist was Max Weber (1864-1920). Weber believed that only class differences cannot "capture the complex ways human beings form hierarchies and belied systems that make these hierarchies seem just and inevitable" (Sadovnik, 2007:7). Weber had very critical view on how bureaucratic ways of thinking were shaping educational reform and brought up the question: "what should be the goal of education – training individuals for employment or for thinking?" Theorists who work under Weberian approach analyze schools, organization and processes from the viewpoint of competition and organizational constraints (Sadovnik, 2007:7).

2.3. Interactionist Theory

Generally, interactionist theory is the critique and extension of the functionalism and conflict perspective (Sadovnik, 2007:8). It provides micro orientation and focuses on "social interactions in specific situations" (Macionis & Plummer, 2005:28). Interactionist theory originates from social-psychology and sociologists: George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) and Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929). This school is known as 'symbolic interactionism'.

Another interactionist, Ray Rist provided very important insights on how school processes affect educational achievement. He brought up the concept of 'labeling' and discussed how interactions inside the school can create 'labels' that affect achievement of students (Sadovnik, 2007:9).

2.4. Contemporary Approaches in Sociology of Education

There are different contemporary approaches in Sociology of Education, such as "New Sociology of Education", Code Theory, Cultural Capital and Symbolic Violence, Status Competition and Interaction Ritual and so on, but further only two of these contemporary approaches will be discussed: Institutional Theory and Postmodern Critical Theory, as those are the ones that are the most relevant to this study:

2.4.1. Institutional Theory

Institutional theory originates from the work of American sociologist John Meyer. This theory concentrates on development of "mass systems of public education worldwide", arguing that schools are global institutions and are developing similarly throughout the world, as "international patterns of democratization and globalization" (Sadovnik, 2007:13).

Institutional theorists like David Baker and Gerald LeTendre (2005) argue that there are several similar themes in the process of development of worldwide educational systems, for instance "the worldwide success of mass schooling", "schooling is an institution", "education change is institutional change", and similar beliefs like: "all children should be education", "education functions for the collective good of society", "the types of cognitive skills learned in schools are good for individuals and society" and so on (Sadovnik, 2007:13-14).

Overall it can be said, that according to institutional theorists, schooling is a product of world culture and a powerful institution in modern society; and it takes similar forms throughout the whole world.

2.4.2. Postmodern Critical Theory

In the late 20th, early 21st century, new generation of sociology was developed, which is called postmodern sociology (Macionis & Plummer, 2005:34). Post-modernism first emerged in art, literature and architecture in the middle of 1970s, as a rejection of dominant modernist school, while in social-sciences it was seen as a rejection of meta-theories, grand narratives (Desai & Potter, 2002:122).

Education has become a topic of discussion in postmodern theory. It is often called critical educational theory and is more a mixture of social theory, sociology and philosophy. Postmodern theorists see the classroom as a site for "political actions and teachers as agents of change" (Sadovnik, 2007:15).

In order to conduct a research in any field, it is important to know and understand its main theoretical approaches. It is important to know the foundation; the theoretical underpins, in order to build something new on the top of it. Therefore, it was crucial for this study to introduce the main theories in the Sociology of Education.

3. Background

"Just as improved health is expected to increase the productivity of individuals, so too education is seen as an input into human capital formation, which will influence both: growth and development" (Kambhampati, 2004:228).

Human capital means education "in all its dimensions" (Isbister, 2006:171). In early models of development programs, economists assumed that "labor is a homogeneous commodity", meaning that the level of education and skills of the labor force, does not make any difference in the process of development. As Isbister (2006) argues, "this is nonsense" (Isbister, 2006:171). In the 1960s and 1970s the idea of investment in human capital became more and more popular. Health and education became a key to economic development (Isbister, 2006:171). Since then, education has become an integral part of the whole development process. And Georgia, in this case, is not an exception; moreover, one of Georgia's most comprehensive and effective policy changes were in the education system (National MGD, 2009).

Besides importance of education in development, it is crucial to keep in mind that education is not "a magic key" (Isbister, 2006:174), but rather it is a part of the whole system, and as a part has "a dramatic impact on development" (Desai & Potter, 2002:405).

3.1. Country Background

Georgia is a small country located in Southwestern Asia, bordering Black Sea, between Turkey and Russia. By Caucasian Mountains country is extending into Europe. According to est. July 2010 population of the country is 4 615 807 (CIA Factbook). Georgia was a part of USSR until its collapse in 1991. After the collapse of Soviet Union the country faced substantial economic and social downfall.

In 2004, after the Rose Revolution, Western-oriented government, led by Mikheil Saakashvili, came into government. In August 2008, the country went through war with South Ossetia supported by Russia. This tragic event, slowed down fast social and economic development of the country. If in 2006-2007 GDP growth was more than 10%, since 2008 the number went down to 2.1% (CIA Factbook). Today, Georgia is listed as "Medium Human Development" country (UNDP, 2009).

During Soviet time, Georgia had a highly educated population, with almost “universal basic literacy and about 20% of its adult population having received some tertiary education”. With the collapse of the Georgian economy in the first years of independence, one of the most severe in

the region, funding for the education sector had declined sharply, therefore the whole education system almost collapsed (WB Press Release, 2001).

In mid 1994, the Georgian government embarked on a comprehensive reform program supported by the IMF and World Bank (WB Report, 2008:1), but it did not have an extensive and organized face. Reform became more systematic after launching Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program in 2001, supported by the World Bank. Even though the program officially started in 2001, its implementation actually began after Western-oriented government came into force in 2004 (Goglichidze, 2010:3). Since 2004, reforms in the field of education have been intensified and many important steps have been taken towards improving the accessibility, effectiveness and quality of education. New management systems and institutions were developed. Some new institutions were established, for example National Examination Center, National Curriculum and Assessment Center, National Center for Accreditation, the Teacher Professional Development Center, and so on. Examples of projects conducted as part of education sector reform include: Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', Project for Georgia's Decentralization, Project 'Irmis Nakhtomi', Project 'Jakob Gogebashvili' and Project of 'Inclusive Education'. These projects have formed the basis of the Georgian education system reform (Janashia, 2009:2).

Education reform became systematic and drastic only after 2004, therefore this paper will concentrate on the last 7 years and its main focus will be Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program, also called Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'.

3.2. Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program

Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program, later named after famous Georgian writer and public figure Ilia Chavchavadze, was launched in July 2001. The main objective of the program was to "improve the quality and relevance of primary and general secondary students learning outcomes, to better prepare them to meet the demands of a market economy and a democratic society" (WB Report, 2001:2).

Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was a US$ 60 million program, which was divided into three phases. In March 20th, 2001, World Bank approved US$ 25,9 million for the first phase of the project (WB Press Release, 2001). It was an Adaptable Program Credit (APC) that supported the government's primary and general secondary education system realignment and strengthening program (WB Report, 2001:1). As stated above, the program was divided into three phases, 4 years each; therefore program should have lasted for 12 years and was supposed to finish in 2013 (Goglichidze, 2010:11).

The first phase aimed to develop national curriculum for primary and general secondary education, create national system for assessment, provide trainings to teachers and principles and strengthen the policy and management capacity in order to "improve effectiveness and efficiency in the use of physical, financial and human resources" (WB Report, 2001:2). The first phase started in 2001 and was planned to finish in 2005, but due to the passiveness of the government, deadline was not met. Although the project was developed in 2001, government was not ready for its implementation and the project actually started working only after the Rose Revolution, in 2003 (WB Report, 2008:7-8). As stated above, the closing date of the first phase was June 2005, but the government requesting extension and the date was extended three times: first time it was postponed to June 2006, then to June 2007 and finally to June 2008 (WB Report, 2008:6-8).

In April 2006, Phase 2 of the project was approved and became effective in February 2007 (WB Report, 2008:9). In November 2006 World Bank's board approved a US$ 15 million credit for the second phase of Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program (WB Press Release, 2006). However, due to success of Georgian economical conditions at that time, government decided to stop the project and finance its activities on its own. Unfortunately, since then the country went through war in 2008 and economic crisis, so due to the lack of funds, most parts of the project are still not finished.

Overall the project is evaluated as successful and according to the World Bank Report (2008), it has been shown "to be an appropriate instrument for ensuring achievement of the operational development objectives and long-term sustainability" (WB Report, 2008:23).

Within 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project, different successful policies were developed:

1. Development of Unified National Admission Examinations Center (NAEC), also called National Examination Center. The center was official established in 2002, but the reform actually started its implementation in 2005 and introduced new, unified national admissions examinations (WB Report, 2008:40). Implementation of this new system of exams is considered the most successful reform conducted in Georgia (NAEC, Unified National Examinations), as it played a key role in reduction of corruption and reformation of higher education admission system (WB Report, 2008:40).

2. Development of National Curriculum and Assessment Centre (NCAC). Center was founded in April 2005 and it aimed to improve the quality of education in public schools. Within this center new national curriculum was developed, national assessment system was established and it identified equivalence of the textbooks with national curricula and approved the textbooks (NCAC, About us).

3. Development of Teacher Professional Development Center (TPDC). The aim of the center was to create effective teaching environment, monitoring and evaluation, creating teaching culture, and classroom management. Within this program teachers from 1800 schools went through different trainings (WB Report, 2008:39)
As a part of TPD, School Network Program was developed, which promoted collaboration and information sharing within schools (WB Report, 2008:41).

4. Development of Education Management Information System (EMIS). EMIS aimed to promote systematic reforms in education system. This system will be used to provide data on number of students and personnel in schools "segregated by grade, gender, age, language, location and material-technical conditions". This data will be used to plan strategies and activities in education (WB Report, 2008:41).

5. Development of Per Capita Funding System and New Teacher Pay Scheme. In October 2005, new per capita funding model was introduced. Based on this model, schools now receive funding

based on the number of enrolled students. Together with this model, new teacher salary scale and calculation formula was developed. This formula is based on the years of professional experience, educational qualifications and size of a classroom (WB Report, 2008:42).

Although the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' is currently closed, these centers still work and can be evaluated as more or less successful.

4. Theoretical Framework

In his speech in 1949, US President Truman announced his plan for a 'fair trade' for the rest of the world. Truman saw development as process, emulating American-style democracy, prosperity and peace (Dodds in Desai & Potter, 2002:3). Since then countless 'development programs' have been launched.

Modernization theory is one of the classical theories in the field of development and according to this theory, a country can reach 'development' only if it follows the footsteps of developed countries. Modernization theorists argue that about five centuries ago, compared to modern standards, most people in the world lived in poverty. Later, Western countries and especially Europe faced fast economic growth, while the rest of the world did not. Modernization theory gives distinction between traditional and modern society. All Third World societies are seen as traditional, and static in development. On the one hand, people in this society feel comfortable and safe, but on the other hand, there is no innovation, and everything remains the same. This theory argues that transition from traditional to modern society depends on the change of values, attitudes and norms of people, therefore "development depends on 'primitive' values replaces by modern ones" (Kambhampati, 2004:70). Modernist theorists state, that the "engine of economic growth is capitalism" (Isbister, 2006:33). This resulted in emerging developed and developing countries. According to Modernization theory, rich countries should help poor countries to develop and foreign investments, foreign aid and technology transfers are very important in this process.

"Modernization encompasses urbanization, the application of science and technology, rapidly increasing occupational specialization, rising bureaucratization and rising educational levels, but the core of the process is industrialization, which makes it possible to escape the poverty and helplessness of subsistence agriculture" (Smelser & Baltes, 2004:9965-9971).

According to the above stated discussion, Modernization theorists argue that developing countries can "borrow policies" from developed countries, imitate, and follow their stages of

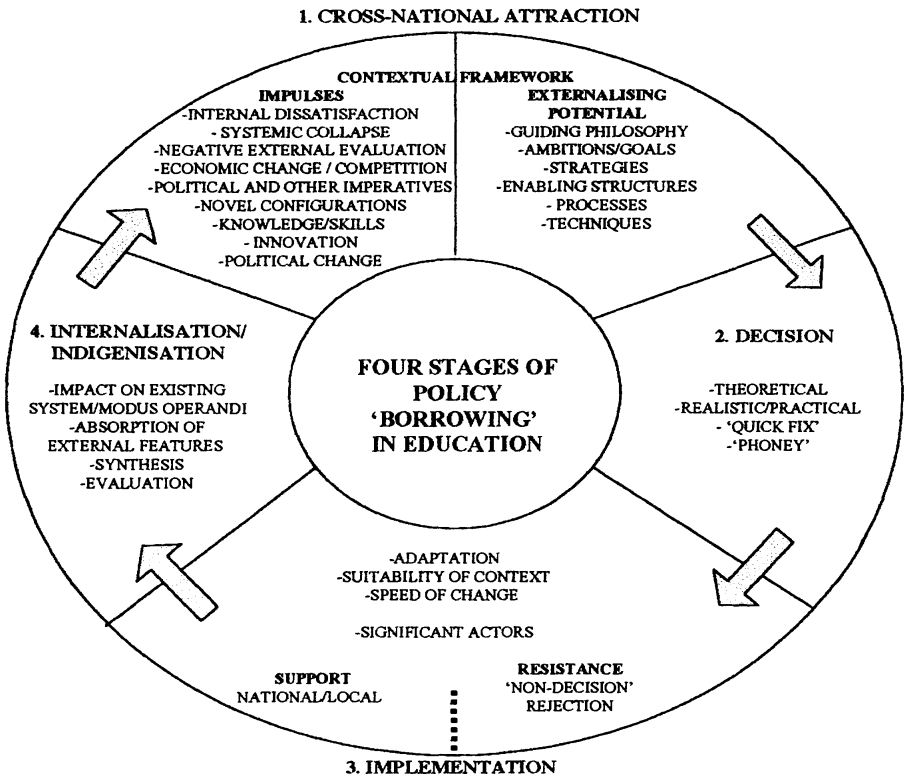
development and this will lead them to the economical level of the West. According to Ball (1990), policies "project images of an ideal society" (Ball, 1990:3) so why not borrow the ready policy from ideal West and apply it to "unideal" cases? It might look simple, but policy-borrowing process is not as easy as it sounds.

Besides above discussion, it has to be noted that 'West' is no longer the only source of borrowing. Soviet system of education, or Chinese or other approaches on education policy has been an inspiration for different education reform around the globe, but this study concentrates more on the Western 'type' of education system, as this is the one that was used in the case of Georgia.

4.1. A Composite Model

David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs (2004) developed a framework for analyzing 'policy borrowing' in the field of Education. They offer us a 'Composite model', which is a four stage circular model that describes 'policy borrowing' process in education (Phillips & Ochs 2004:777). This model was developed on the example of German influence on English education system and its development.

The figure below illustrates this model.



The first stage of this model is *"cross national attraction: impulses and externalizing potential"* (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:778). The first stage portrays the impulse that might cause this attraction: "why is there a need to change the policy?" These impulses can be originated from the various phenomena. Below the possible causes of impulses are described.

- *Internal dissatisfaction*.
- *Systematic collapse* – Failure of different "aspects of education provision" and need of education reconstruction as a result of war or natural disaster (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:778).
- *Negative external evaluation* – by international researchers or other international organizations.
- *Economic change/competition* – a result of rapid change in economy or creating new forms of competition.
- *Political and other imperatives* – responsibilities through aid donation or "occupation following conflict"

- *Novel configuration* – as a result of globalization tendencies, effects of global education system or different international alliances.
- *Knowledge/skills innovation* – "failure to exploit new technologies".
- *Political change* – a result of the governmental change, especially after a long period of governance of previous administration (Phillips, 2005:30–31).

The second stage of the Composite Model is ***making a decision to change***. There are different types of decision-making process:

- ***Theoretical***: "Governments might decide on the policies as broad as 'choice and diversity' and they might retain general ambitions not easily susceptible to demonstrably effective implementation" (Phillips, 2005:31).
- ***Realistic/practical***: Here we can describe measures that are proven to be successful in a certain location, without having various contextual factors.
- ***'Quick fix'***: This type of change occurs when governments make immediate necessary political changes. Examples of this type can be seen in the former Soviet Union countries and are often the result of foreign advice. This is a very dangerous type of decision-making process (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:780).
- ***'Phoney'***: This type includes the kind of "enthusiasm shown by politicians for aspects of education in other counties for immediate political effect, without the possibility of serious follow-through" (Phillips, 2005:31).

The third stage of this model is ***Implementation***. Implementation depends on the "contextual conditions" of the 'borrower' country (Phillips, 2005:32) – how does it suit the context. The speed of change depends on the attitudes of "significant actors", whether they support or reject the policy. Rejection might lead to delaying the process of implementation, or even "non-decision" (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:780).

And finally, **the fourth stage of the model** is ***internalization/indigenization*** of the policy. As soon as the policy becomes the part of the whole system, it becomes possible to assess its effects. There are four steps of internalization/indigenization:

1. What *impact* does the *policy* have on the *existing system*? Here we have to examine "the motives and objectives of the policy makers in conjunction with the existing system" (Phillips, 2005:32).
2. *The absorption of external features*. How and to what extent have the features from another system been adopted? Here it is important to do the close examination of context.
3. *Synthesis*. How did the policy and practice become part of the overall strategy? This process has to be examined.
4. *Evaluation*. Have the expectations of the 'borrowing country' been realistic? The process of internalization has to be reflected and evaluated. The results of evaluation might start the whole process again. This brings the whole model "full circle" (Phillips, 2005:32).

The arrows in the model represent temporal linkages and the whole process is seen as circular. It is a circular process, as the policy implementation will bring us to a "new status quo, which in turn will be susceptible to impulse for further change" (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:781).

4.2. Limitations of the Model

The main limitation of this model is that it is developed on the example of the influence of German education policy on Britain. Therefore, this model is an example of a specific case and might not fit into other. So, it is important to keep in mind that this model is just a helpful analytical tool that has to undergo further development and has to be adapted to every other case. Further in the study, the problems of the model will be discussed and an improved version will be presented.

5. Methodology

The purpose of this study was to illustrate the process of 'policy borrowing' in the case of current Georgian educational reform and more specifically, implementation of World Bank project: Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program (Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'). Case study as a research method was chosen. As data-gathering techniques, expert interviews and document analysis were used.

5.1. Case Study

Case study research, as it currently exists, emerged between first and second world wars within University of Chicago, department of Sociology (David, 2007:XXXI). After World War II, popularity of case study research in Sociology declined, but after 1970s it again started to "gain ground" in this field (Davit, 2007:XXXV-XXXVI). Nowadays, "the use of case studies is becoming extremely widespread in social research, particularly with small-scale research" (Denscombe, 2007: 37).

According to Stake (1995) in education and social services, the case of interest is mostly people and programs (Stake, 1995:1). In the case of this thesis, the 'the case of interest' is the process of 'policy borrowing' in Georgian education reform and more specifically, Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program (Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze').

According to Denscombe (2007), case studies have been used for different purposes and can be either discovery led or theory led, but it is possible to apply both elements in a single case study (Denscombe, 2007:38). This particular case of study has elements from both, it is discovery led, as it describes what is happening in the "case study setting" (Denscombe, 2007:38) and is theory led, as it uses to illustrate how a specific theory (Phillips and Ochs's 'Composite Model' of 'policy borrowing' process) is applied to a real life setting and how it can be adjusted to that setting.

5.1.1. Choosing a Case

According to Yin (2003) one of the most difficult steps of a case study is selecting the right case (Yin, 2003:9). There are different reasons why Georgia was selected as a case of interest and why within Georgian education system reform, project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was chosen.

Denscombe (2007) distinguishes different indicators of selecting a case. Georgia is a "typical instance" or in other words, it is a case, which is similar to other cases that might have been chosen and findings from this case is possible to apply elsewhere (Denscombe, 2007:40). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, most post soviet countries were left with destroyed economies and demolished governing systems. Since then, most of these countries have been trying to follow the footsteps of West and imply existing successful policies in their specific cases. Georgia is a typical case of a post-soviet country that went through the process of reformations since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although, it is almost impossible to generalize from a single case study, as each case is unique in its context, it is also a single example of broader class of things as it is an example of case that is similar to others "of its type" (Denscombe, 2007:43). Therefore one reason of choosing Georgia, was a reason that it is a typical case, similar to others "of its type".

Also there can be practical indicators that might determine case selection, like "matter of convenience and studying intrinsically interesting case" (Denscombe, 2007:41). Although practical reasons should not be the main criterion for selecting a case, but it can be used "when deciding between equally suitable alternatives" (Descombe, 2007:41). Besides being selected as a typical case, Georgia was also selected based on some practical indicators. Being Georgian made this case the most convenient, as it involved least traveling, least expenses and was less difficult to gain access. But it has to be underlined, that practical indicators where taken into consideration, only after choosing between several typical cases of educational 'policy borrowing'.

Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program or in other words Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was selected as it was the first project implemented within Georgian education

system reform since 1991, and the most successful accomplishments of recent reform, such as introduction of Unified National Examinations, were established as a part of this project.

5.1.2. Pros and Cons of the Case Study Method

As any research method in Social Sciences, case study has its advantages and disadvantages. In order to conduct an accurate research, it is important to keep in mind all the advantages and disadvantages that the used method has.

As Descombe (2007) discusses in theory-testing research, case study approach has a very good effect. It fits well with a small-scale research and is very suitable where researcher has little control over events. It allows using variety of research methods and fosters use of "multiple sources of data" (Descombe, 2007:45).

The biggest disadvantage of case study research is that it is almost impossible to generalize, although in this particular study, the aim of the research is not to generalize, but rather to study a specific case.

5.1.3. Triangulation

Triangulation is the word used to name the "combination of different methods, study groups, local and temporal settings, and different theoretical perspectives in dealing with phenomenon" (Flick, 2006:389). Denzin (1989) distinguishes four different types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation (Flick, 2006:389-390).

In this research, methodological triangulation is used and two data-gathering methods are employed: interviews with experts and document analysis.

5.2. Expert Interviews

Stake states that interview is "the main road to multiple realities" (Stake, 1995:64). In order to get complete information about Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program (Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'), as part of the educational reform of Georgia, in-depth interviews with experts were conducted.

Expert interview is a specific form of semi-structured interviews, where the main interest is interviewee's "capacity of being an expert for a certain field of activity" (Flick, 2006:165).

It is crucial to choose "best" persons, where "best" means those that "best help us understand the case" (Stake, 1995:56). All the interview persons were experts in the current educational reform of Georgia. Most of them either worked on project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', or are independent experts who are capable of its evaluation.

5.2.1. Sampling

Experts were chosen based on 'snow-ball' sampling. Snow-ball sampling can be applied in two cases: first, when researcher is studying rare population and second, when researcher is studying the relationship between the members of population. If researcher is studying rare population, snowball sampling is non-probability sampling technique. The main objective is to identify at least one member of the rare population and ask them to name other members of the same population (Chromy, 2008).

As experts represent 'rare population', meaning that there are not a lot of experts in Georgia in this field and most of them know each other, snow-ball sampling is the best sampling technique to apply to this study.

The research was mainly based on expert interviews and these experts were selected based on their occupation and relevance to the field of study, therefore it was important to state who

interview persons were, and what was their profession. All interviewees were asked for the permission to use their real names and positions that they hold.

As an Appendix 1, you can find the list of interview persons and their occupation.

5.2.2. Interview Guide

Before starting interviews, researcher must have a very strong advance plan (Stake, 1995:64). Interview guide in expert interview has a very strong "directive function with regard to excluding unproductive topics". It should ensure that interview does not loose the topic (Flick, 2006:165).

As an Appendix 2, you can find the interview guide that was used in expert interviews. As the study had qualitative face, this guide was adapted to every other interview and had as a slightly different face for each interview person.

5.3. Document Analysis

Choosing 'document analysis' as research method can have several attractions: it helps the researcher to reach "inaccessible persons or subjects" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008:201). Many documents in "public domain" are prepared by professionals and contain very valuable information and insights (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008:201). And documentary sources have the highest level of accessibility (Denscombe, 2007:230) and are very cost effective (Denscombe, 2007:244).

For this particular study, document analysis was chosen as it gives an opportunity to analyze information gathered by group of professionals, which is almost impossible to get by any other research method and moreover, these documents are very easy to access. For example, reports prepared by different international organizations, are based on a long-term studies, which is impossible to conduct by one researcher. Therefore, these types of documents were very useful for this research and most of them were available through official web-pages of specific organizations.

Moreover, this type of documents can be a very reliable source of information, as it is prepared for state or international purposes.

5.3.1. Sampling

Two different sampling methods can be used when choosing documents. One way of selection is to have representative sample of documents of a certain kind and choose randomly from these documents; and the other way is to "purposively select documents to reconstruct a case (Flick, 2006:249). In this study all documents were chosen based on purposive selection, as it was impossible to have a representative sample of the similar documents.

According to Flick (2006), it can be very helpful to choose and compare documents from different contexts (Flick, 2006:250). In this study, the intent was to use documents produced by organizations or experts having different ideas around the issue, but it turned out to be more difficult than expected.

As an Appendix 3 you can find the list of the documents that were analyzed for this study.

5.4. Validity/Reliability

Validity refers to the question whether the researchers actually see what they think they see and (Flick, 2006:371) whether the methods that were used really studied the researched area or something else (Gummesson, 2000:91). Reliability, on the other hand, means that if the same research with the same methods is done twice, both researches have to give same results. It means that the research method becomes reliable when the same research, if repeated, gives the same results (McNeill & Chapman, 2005:9).

In qualitative research, validity receives more attention than reliability (Flick, 2006:371).

5.4.1. Expert Interviews

The main threat to validity of expert interviews is that experts might be very demanding and sometimes even insulted, when interviewed by lower status or less powerful people (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008:152). In this case being a student, with less power and knowledge in the field, might cause the irritation of the interview persons. Walford (1994) states that the interviewee will assume the knowledge and competence of the interviewers, so an interviewer should be ready for the interview and should "do their homework", before conducting the interview (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008:154-155). In order to increase validity of expert interviews, I, as an interviewer, was as informed and as prepared about the studied issues as possible.

5.4.2. Documents

Scott (1990) gives four criteria of reliability, which have to be stated by the researcher:

1. Authenticity - is the origin of the document unquestionable? (Flick, 2006:248)

2. Credibility - are the documents accurate and free from errors? (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2008:203)

3. Representativeness - is the document typical of its kind? (Denscombe, 2007:232).

4. Meaning - is information actual and interpreted? (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008:203) – different documents might have different meanings for the author, for the reader and for the object of the study (Flick, 2006:249).

For this study all four criteria were taken into consideration:

1. Authenticity - as all the documents for the study were official, it is reasonable to state that these documents have genuine origin.

2. Credibility - although no one can be 100% sure that all the information stated in the documents are accurate and free from errors, but based on the fact that these documents were prepared for official purposes, it can be argued that they are more or less accurate.

3. Representativeness - all the used documents in this research were typical of its kind, meaning that they were official reports, articles and studies. No other types of documents were analyzed.

4. Meaning - different documents might have different meanings for the author, for the reader and for the object of the study (Flick, 2006:249), but as the documents for this study mostly were official documents, it should have the same meaning for the author, as well as for the reader.

5.5. Limitations of the Study

First of all, some experts were unable to reach. A couple of them did not have time and refused to be interviewed, while others were impossible to contact (never replied to an e-mail and did not pick up the phone). As the aim was to interview experts who could give different insights about the issue, it was important to interview people who were capable of to give these different viewpoints. And the fact that some experts were unreachable entails that the results risk missing some part of the whole picture.

Secondly, as Mr. Shukakidze stated, he definitely would be biased in answering questions, as he was the one working on the reform. This brings up another limitation. Experts might be biased, especially those who actually worked on the project and the fact that sample of the experts was pretty small (five interview persons), may increase the biasness of the data. Moreover, three out of those five interviewees were involved in the development of the program and two out of those three, held ruling positions. So the information gathered from those people, might be biased.

Thirdly, as Prof. Gigi Tevzadze stated: “Education researchers never publish negative results”, therefore some evaluations and reports were unavailable to access. For example, on the web-site of the National Curriculum and Assessment Center, in the publications part, one can find the link

of Annual Report of 2009-2010, but the actual report is not uploaded (or is either removed). Mr. Simon Janashia commented on this and said that MoES of Georgia banned it, so it is not available any more. Couples of incidents were of similar sort, which limits the comprehensiveness of the study.

6. Analysis

According to Mr. Janashia, education can be seen as an instrument of development. He agrees with Functionalists' ideas that education creates social unity. He argues that it helps to maintain social order, which on its own, helps to climb up the ladder of development:

"Education is important for development of the identity that stipulates self-perception, which on its own, has positive influence on social cohesion, economy, stability, personal development… Which reflects on the success of the country" (Mr. Janashia).

Mr. Shukakidze also underlines importance of education in development and states:

"A country like Georgia that does not have natural resources needs high skilled human capital. This means having knowledge and capacities, which are mainly developed through the formal education system" (Mr. Shukakidze).

It is a widely known fact that many reforms in Georgia have been borrowed from international cases. Introduction of evaluation report of the 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project (2008) states that general directions and approaches to most of these reforms laid within a framework supported by the current consensus and research about "appropriate goals for school reform and best practices internationally to develop supportive learning environment" (PADECO, 2008:v).

According to Mr. Simon Janashia, the identical projects of Educational System Realignment and Strengthening Program were implemented in different countries.

"They were working in exactly the same scheme, even with the small details […]. This was not only in Post Soviet countries, but elsewhere, like in Jordan. But as a result, all countries make their own decisions how to implement different components" (Mr. Janashia).

6.1. Cross-National Attraction

According to the Phillips and Ochs (2004) 'Composite model', the first stage of the 'policy borrowing' is *cross-national attraction*: Why to transfer a policy? What are the impulses that promote 'policy borrowing'?

After collapse of the Soviet Union, the whole system was destroyed. Internal armed conflicts, "secessionist movements" and civil war marked the first years of independence. Economy was collapsed. Real wages fell by 90%, health, education and poverty indicators worsened (WB Report, 2008:1). Prof. Tevzadze states that at that time, Georgia had a system that was not functioning at all. Mr. Shukakidze describes that period:

"There was a revolution. There was post-Soviet period, which I don't know how to name. We lived in a total chaos" (Mr. Shukakidze).

Mr. Shukakidze discusses change of values and names it as a main impulse of education reform. He states that there was a change of values in Georgian education system and the country needed people with new values. Old Soviet mentality had to break down and a new, modern person had to develop.

"Then there was a need to build new, democratic society, need of new generation with new values" (Mr. Shukakidze).

Prof. Kachkachishvili also talks about change of values, but from a slightly different angle. He argues that country needed a new system in order to detach itself from Soviet system:

"We have this complex of post-Soviet country. We approve everything that separates us from that Soviet system. Education is a field where those Soviet standards stand out more than anywhere else, and when a new model, Western model appeared, that had nothing to do with Soviet system, we accepted it as it was, without any critical evaluation" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

Ms. Imedadze agrees with Prof. Kachkachishvili that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, society wanted to get rid of everything that was connected with the old, Soviet system. The

country gained independence and had to make its own, new policies. But due to the lack of experience, time and money, it was impossible to develop original, new policies, so they were simply imported from other countries. And as Soviet system was not desired any more, more Westernized policies were introduced.

Mr. Shukakidze also argues that one of the main impulses to borrow a policy was lack of time and resources. According to him, in the 20th century, a lot of researchers started working in the field of education. A lot of financial and human resources were invested in it. At that time Georgia was part of the Soviet system and except for couple researchers, no one was working on this issue, and those few researchers were unable to make any significant influence on the whole system.

"Meanwhile, the Soviet Union collapsed. We were unsatisfied with existing system and we needed new system, but start making a new system, conducing researches, studying context and possible outcomes, would take too much time and it would sacrifice a lot of generations. This would be impossible to do! So the way out of the problem was to take a successful case and duplicate it. [...] If your neighbor did something successfully, why not just take it and apply to your case instead of inventing new. Developing new system would have taken too much money, time and human resources. That is why we borrowed policies" (Mr. Shukakidze).

According to Prof. Gigi Tevzadze, the main impulse of change was internal dissatisfaction, negative internal evaluation. He states that when new government came, with new ideas, they were obliged to change everything, including education system.

"They had to change something. This was the main aim of the new government. They had to! They were responsible towards themselves and their electors" (Prof. Gigi Tevzadze).

Ms. Imedadze argues that the government had to make rapid changes, as it was a request from the society:

"It is true that implementation of the reform was too rapid, without any in-depth preparation, but this was a demand from the society. People blamed old government for being too passive, so after the Rose Revolution, new-government had to make fast and rough changes, as it was a request of the society" (Ms. Imedadze).

Prof. Tevzadze does not agree with the idea that negative external evaluation was the impulse to change. Moreover he states, that no one was interested in Georgia at that time. Georgia did not participate in any evaluations or studies, therefore external evaluation did not play any significant role in educational reform.

On the other hand, Mr. Janashia states that different evaluations underlined existing problems of that time. This is one of the main impulses of the reform:

"There were some studies that show us how can students overcome their requirements at schools, considering the level of their education and available infrastructure. Results were very unenthusiastic. Therefore resources, methods and requests became very important" (Mr. Janashia).

Globalization was also discussed as one of the motivations to change. One of the main desired outcomes of this reform was and still is, to make the country and Georgian graduates increasingly competitive in a global market (PADECO, 2008:v).

There was a transition from centrally-planned economy to a market economy. According to the World Bank Report (2008) "in a rapidly changing global market, an education system should be able to prepare students that are flexible, innovative and critical thinking members of the society" (WB Report, 2008:38).

Market economy changed, new technologies were introduced and it became important to introduce new type of components and studying based on this economy (Mr. Janashia). Moreover, it became important to integrate into wider, global system:

In order for you to be acknowledged as an educated person, your systems has to be clear for others" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Kachkachishvili also agrees that integration into global system, world system was one of the main impulses to change. He talks about introduction of Bologna System in Georgian Higher Education system and names it as one of the most successful reform in current Georgian education sphere:

"This system gives your student an opportunity to institutionalize his/her education in Europe. If Georgia has not become a part of this system, this institutionalization would have been impossible. The aim was to become a part of European education system […] and this was a very important reform, I would say the most important" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

Therefore the main impulse and the aim of the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was to address the pressing need "to realign Georgian education system" and to better prepare students to meet demands of a market economy and a democratic society (WB Report, 2001:38).

Experts also talked about the role of aid organizations in the reform. According to Phillips and Ochs (2004), influences of international organizations in policy development can be deliberate and purposive, meaning that they are more or less irresistible. After different types of systematic change there is a "considerable scope for such influences from outside". Sometimes it will be welcomed and sometimes resisted, but the point is the same, their conditions are irresistible. This happened much in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Phillips & Ochs, 2004:776). As a part of Eastern Europe, Georgia was not an exception, and experts discussed the role of different organizations in recent education reform and specifically the role of World Bank in Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program.

Although the main impulse of change in recent education reform was not an "influence of international organization", but the main impulse for the development of the Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program was the World Bank.

In the case of project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', the World Bank came with different components, like (1) development and implementation of national curriculum for primary and secondary education; (2) development of a national assessment and examination system; (3) professional development of education professionals (4) development of policy capacity; (5) development of an education management information system (EMIS) and so on. Those were pre-requisites for getting a loan, but the ways of implementation of those components, depended on the government itself.

"They (World Bank) say something like: if you want us to invest money, you have to optimize the system. Meaning, we cannot just waist money, so if you make system optimization, then we will give you a loan. They require this kind of things. It does not matter for the Bank, you have to return the same percentage of the loan back, but it is a matter of reputation for them. They are not interested to invest money in something that will be unsuccessful. They want to get maximum development for you. This is their goal" (Mr. Janashia).

According to Mr. Gigi Tevzadze, there has to be a will inside the country, otherwise aid organizations won't be able to do anything. He stated that World Bank was working in Georgia since 1999, but almost nothing was done until the revolution in 2003, because the government was not willing to change the system.

Therefore, it can be concluded that primary impulses that pushed new education reform in Georgia were collapse of the system and political change, change of values and globalization tendencies, change of economy and negative internal evaluation. Less important is the role of aid organization in the reform in general, but the World Bank played a significant role in development and implementation of the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'.

6.2. Making a Decision to Change

The second stage of 'Composite model' is about the government's "decision to change", and Phillips and Ochs (2004) discuss different types of decision making processes: Theoretical, Realistic/practical, 'Quick fix', and 'Phoney'.

Phillips and Ochs (2004) state that in most post-Soviet countries, the governments used 'Quick fix' decision-making method (Phillips & Ochs, 2004:780). This is true for Georgian case as well.

Mr. Shukakidze agrees that 'Quick fix' is the type of decision-making process that was used in Georgia. The government changed very rapidly and they had to make radical reforms, therefore they "quickly fixed" the problems.

Prof. Kachkachishvili also states that reforms were introduced too roughly, without any thorough evaluation or study:

"Before starting such a revolutionary reform, a country needs to study the readiness of the object, that has to become a part of this system. In Georgia reforms follow the top-down approach. Directions are dictated from the top, not from the bottom. Meaning that Government has an ambition that it knows how different fields should develop in the country and initiate reforms from 'above', without conducting any evaluation. In some cases is succeeds, but very often, it fails" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

Mr. Janashia argues that reform, although not yet completed, is very unstable. He said that "some things were done too fast and often there was not enough time for comprehensive planning" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Tevzadze states that development of Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was not too rapid; on the contrary, it was too much extended into time. The closing date of the first phase was deferred two times, so the process was not "too fast".

Therefore it can be said that in case of Georgian education reform in general, the type of decision-making process was 'Quick fix', but implementation of the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was not as rapid as the general reform.

6.3. Implementation

The third stage of the 'Composite model' is *Implementation*.

Implementation of Georgian education reform in general and particularly 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project, can be divided into two periods, before and after 2003 (WB Report, 2008:45). General education reform in Georgia started in 1995, but did not have any achievements until 2004. After the Rose Revolution in 2003, new government started radical reforms. The main target became corruption reduction, decentralization, development of national curricula and assessment, reformation of evaluation and examination system.

Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program itself started in 1999, but not much was done until 2004. According to the World Bank Report (2008), the government was passive and was not ready for implementation (WB Report, 2008:7).

Prof. Gigi Tevzadze describes the process:

"The project itself started in 1999. The name of the program was Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program. The project existed, there was money, was infrastructure, people were working, but in 2004, when I became a director of the program, this process was hastened and we started assimilating money. […] As nothing much was done, there was a huge amount of money left, meaning that it was not spent. There was around 30 million that was not used. So having huge amount of money, gave us a chance to start rapid changes" (Prof. Tevzadze).

After 2003 comprehensive reforms in education sector started and that is when government gave the program local name 'Ilia Chavchavadze' in honor of the famous Georgian intellectual (WB Report, 2008:8).

"We named a project after Ilia Chavchavadze as he was the innovator for our country. People blamed old government for being non-national, so the new government started bringing up national names, to bring forward national soul" (Prof. Tevzadze).

By mid 2005 the project had some excellent results, especially on the quality side (WB Report, 2008:8). During the implementation process of the project, various groups of experts worked on: development of national curriculum, development of a national assessment and examination system, professional development of education professionals, strengthening capacity for policy and management. Later these groups transformed into separate agencies: National Curriculum and Assessment Center, National Examination Center and Teacher Professional Development Center (WB Report, 2008:39).

Prof. Tevzadze differentiates different types of implementation. He states that some parts of the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', for example National Examinations, were introduced very rapidly, radically, while, on the other hand, National Curriculum and Assessment Center was implemented slowly, as it needed some time to develop.

Georgian government, together with international experts was working on implementation of different policies. Mr. Shukakidze states that the policy was never borrowed as it is. He argues that it has to be modified to the local context. He described how he, as a Head of Analytical Department at MoES, worked on the policy development.

"I balanced this 'policy borrowing'. I met the deputy Minister of Education of United States. We borrowed a policy, but it was not a 'blind' borrowing. We invited experts from Canada, New Zealand, and Europe and together with Georgian experts, we developed a working group, so this 'policy borrowing' was not a static process. We did not just took and applied it, but rather we worked on it and adjusted to the local context" (Mr. Shukakidze).

Experts working on the 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project, described the same process of 'policy borrowing'. Mr. Simon Janashia even states:

"Borrowing happens anyways, but as a result it is modified in a way that often it looses similarities with its primary face" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Kachkachishvili argues that although there were some kind of evaluations and adjustments, it was not enough and those modifications were too little to make a successful reform.

"There were some studies and modification to the local context, but unfortunately this was not enough. It needed more detailed research and gradual adaptation" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

According to Mr. Janashia, different components of 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project were borrowed from different practices. He said that the system of National Curriculum and Assessment is very similar to Finland, while Management and Financing system is close to American system.

"We tried to analyze as many practices as possible. Tried to take everything into consideration: aim of the policy, local context and so on. Different things were borrowed from different places, from Finland, US, New Zealand, Romania, Serbia, Britain" (Mr. Janashia).

It is also interesting to look at the collaboration process between World Bank and the Georgian government. According to the World Bank Report (2001) "borrower ownership and stakeholders participation are essential to ensure the sustainability of the project" (WB Report, 2001:26). Further in the report it is stated that the key determinants of the project to success is the

institutional capacity and appropriate policy framework (WB Report, 2001:26). This agrees with the ideas discussed by the experts.

According to Mr. Simon Janashia, international organizations come with the knowledge, they invest money in changes and then lobby these changes. Mr. Janashia states that the principle of World Bank is the following: if they see that the country does not have enough human resources, they try to be in the center of the whole project and implement it by themselves, but in case when they see that the country has a capacity to do the work and there are people who can successfully accomplish project, then they just do the consultations.

"Before 2004 they (World Bank) did not trust the government and they were doing all the work by themselves, but later, after 2004, the project activities became integrated into government structures and then the government became in charge of the whole work" (Mr. Janashia).

As a conclusion it can be said that most of the policies within Georgian education reform and especially within project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', at some level, were modified to the local context. A group of international and local experts worked on its adjustment. But this modification, in many cases, turned out to be insufficient to make a successful policy.

6.4. Internalization/Indigenization

The final, last stage of the 'Composite model' is Internalization/Indigenization: how did policy adapt to the local context? How successful it was and what impact did it have on the whole system?

In general, experts evaluate new reforms as positive. They describe current education system as less corrupted, transparent with clear goals and objectives.

"There is a significant improvement compared to 1990s. Infrastructure developed. Now we have clear goals, at least at the school level. There is no corruption at higher education level. There is a high demand on quality. System is more optimized. Governance principles became more democratic and there is more self-governance. The system itself is more transparent and clear.

In 90s there was no data on how much money from the budget was spent on education. The whole system was unclear" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Gigi Tevzadze discusses the best practices within recent education reform and for him, most of those practices were the ones developed within Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program.

"I think that the biggest success of this reform is development of national curriculum and assessment system, unified national examinations and so on" (Prof. Tevzadze).

Mr. Janashia also evaluated project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' and stated that this reform was "very courageous, radical, strategic, important and partially successful" (Mr. Janashia).

In the introduction of 2010-2015 General Education Reform Strategy of Georgia, Unified National Examinations is acknowledged as one of the most important accomplishments within Georgian educational space. According to the MoES, with the success of this reform students enter higher education only on the basis of knowledge "without any corruption" (General Education Reform Strategy, 2010:3).

Prof. Kachkachishvili states that some parts of the reform were successful, some parts failed, but he also acknowledges the success of Unified National Examinations:

"I think introduction of Unified National Examinations was one of the most successful reforms. It eliminated corruption in higher education system, which was quite strong. It diminished elitism and equalized the opportunities of education between center and periphery, meaning that even if you don't have money or contacts, you can still study at the tertiary level" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

According to Prof. Tevzadze general education reform had a very positive influence on the whole system. He states that it changed citizens' attitudes towards education and that now people connect education and success, moreover, these two phenomena became inseparable. He also evaluated the influence of Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' on the whole system and said:

"This project made the whole system more modern. If you look at the system now, it is clear and possible to understand" (Prof. Tevzadze).

Ms. Imedadze also argues that reform had positive impact on the whole governance system. She states that it decreased corruption not only in higher education sector, but in other fields as well:

"There were many Georgian professionals and experts working abroad. New government invited them to work here, so this made a very positive influence on the whole system. New people came with new insights and ideas. They were motivated to bring their knowledge to the country and this definitely had positive outcome" (Ms. Imedadze)

Besides positive outcomes, this reform has its drawbacks as well. The biggest disadvantage of the reform is considered to be its instability and dependence on the political elite.

"The main weakness was that it (reform) turned out to be very instable, as many things changed very rapidly and changed towards worse. There was lack of support from the society, lack of finances…" (Mr. Janashia).

Mr. Shukakidze also agrees that generally education reform did not have enough support from society. He explains it by the unpreparedness of society to understand and sustain it.

"It is possible to borrow many successful policies, but people who have to implement it, should be ready for it. Our society was not ready for new policies. They were not ready to understand new policy and support it. If you don't understand something, you won't be able to support it. So this was one problem" (Mr. Shukakidze).

According to Goglichidze (2010), during the last six years, Ministry of Education "witnessed appointment and resignation of four ministers and numerous holders of management positions. Sixteen amendments were made to the Law on General Education since its adoption on April 8, 2005" (Goglichidze, 2010:15). It is relevant to argue that when the structure transforms so often, it is hard to maintain the same discourse of the reform.

Mr. Shukakidze argues that due to these rapid changes in the governance system, there is a lack of evaluations. He states that the processes in Georgia develop very fast, too fast to make any evaluations.

"In Georgia policy is regarded unsuccessful based on the political discourse. The governance system, in Georgian education sector, changed many times. The system follows these changes as well, […] so does the policy. Due to these rapid changes, there is almost no time for evaluation. Here is a policy, now we have a new governance system, we just throw away this policy and bring new one. […] Values change and when value change, the change of policy is nothing compared to it. So this part of evaluation is missing in our case" (Mr. Shukakidze).

Mr. Janashia also agrees that it is very difficult to make evaluations. In 2006 new policies were introduced, and already in 2008 some of them were rejected. In this kind of conditions, making evaluation is almost impossible. He also argues that every reform becomes unsuccessful at some point, but this process happens in Georgia too frequently.

"Every other generation of political elite is trying to announce a reform insufficient and unsuccessful and start building it all over again. This process is the most evident in education" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Kachkachishvili agrees that there are rapid changes in government elite, but this is not the main reason why policies change so often. According to him, the main reason is instability of structures, meaning that institutes are not stable, but rather they depend on certain persons who are actually implementing it. Once those persons leave their positions, policies go with them, and this happens due to the instable structure of different institutes.

Prof. Tevzadze explains this phenomenon from the other angle and argues that there is lack of coordination within political forces. He sees this as a problem and states that further change, that took place, were due to this lack of agreement within government structures.

"There was a problem of unconformity inside government, not the problem with reform itself" (Prof. Tevzadze).

Therefore, after new political elite came into governance, old policies were announced insufficient and they started building new ones. The Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program was not even completed, when the government closed the project. Prof. Tevzadze describes the process:

"When the first stage finished, the budget of the country started to grow and government decided that they don't need to continue the project. They thought that they would find resources on their own, but sad things happened: like war in 2008. It was followed by economic crisis. Money was gone and now brining World Bank back is almost impossible" (Prof. Tevzadze).

Besides closing down the project, the government also plans to discard some of the implemented components of Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program. Mr. Janashia said that most probably National Curriculum and Assessment Center will be closed.

"These centers (NCAC and TPDC) were successful at that time, but that success is not justifiable for the current political conditions. Now they don't need independent centers any more. […] Most probably National Curriculum and Assessment Center will be closed down" (Mr. Janashia).

Prof. Kachkachishvili negatively evaluates the new curriculum that was developed within project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' and describes the whole process of its development and states why it did not turn out to be successful:

"The curriculum that was developed within project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' was simply rejected, because it did not work. The aim of this curriculum was to move to the liberal system, so high school students were given a chance to pick the subjects that they wanted to study. For example, if before everyone had to study all the subjects, now students could choose, not to study maths or physics. But this caused difficulties in Georgia. It turned out that students were not motivated or mature enough to determine their own interests adequately. It required some kind of readiness of students… Students were choosing only those subjects that they needed for Unified National Examinations, so the school started loosing its function. […] The results of Unified National Examinations made it apparent that this reform was not working. More and more students were failing each year. […] This would not have happened if changes were not that fast" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

Ms. Imedadze argues that due to inadequate curriculum, the quality of education in the country decreased. She agrees with Prof. Kachkachishvili stating that each year increasing number of students fail university entrance examinations, which can only be explained by insufficient curriculum.

"Students have inferior results in exams, compared to the situation couple years ago. I can see that from our exams at Tbilisi State University. The main responsibility lays on the new curriculum. I am not saying that this new system is bad; it's just not for us. Georgian society was

not ready for this kind of reform. I think this was possible to avoid, by conducting appropriate research, prior to its introduction to schools" (Ms. Imedadze)

There definitely was lack of follow-up studies. The only comprehensive evaluation of project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' is so called PADECO study done in 2008. The last part of the report states that MoES made significant improvements towards laying the foundations for further development. And since all the evaluated initiatives have been implemented quite recently, this study is considered as a baseline for further research (PADECO, 2008:160). It becomes impossible to build any new study based on this one, as the initiatives evaluated then, are not even practiced any more.

Prof. Kachkachishvili explains why different parts of the reform were unsuccessful and states that the country did not have any transitional period, so it lead to the failure of some policies:

"I think that we jumped from the Soviet education system, into the pool of liberal education, without any transitional period. And the pool turned out to be very cold and we were incapable of swimming there. Probably, it needed more time. The process should have been gradual. […] There was no adjustment. Policies were introduced too rapidly and only after that, society started adjusting to it. It should have been vise versa. The policies should have been introduced little by little, so it would adjust to the society, not the other way round. Higher education system endured this rough changes, while schools did not, so reform at school level failed" (Prof. Kachkachishvili).

According to Goglichidze (2010) the main problem is that the country does not have a strategic plan for development of the general education system, which would be "elaborated as a result of broad public debate and compromises and approved by the Parliament of Georgia" (Goglichidze, 2010:9). I cannot agree more: this kind of plan would be the best defense from frequent changes of reform strategies.

It can be concluded that the country lacks sufficient evaluations and studies. Due to rapid changes of political elites, policies change without any evaluation and Philips and Ochs (2004) 'Composite model' starts all over again.

Mr. Janashia states that reform is not finished yet. Some changes took place and there is plenty more to do.

"Now our education system has clear goals, and very good judiciary and instrumental conditions to develop and achieve high quality" (Mr. Janashia).

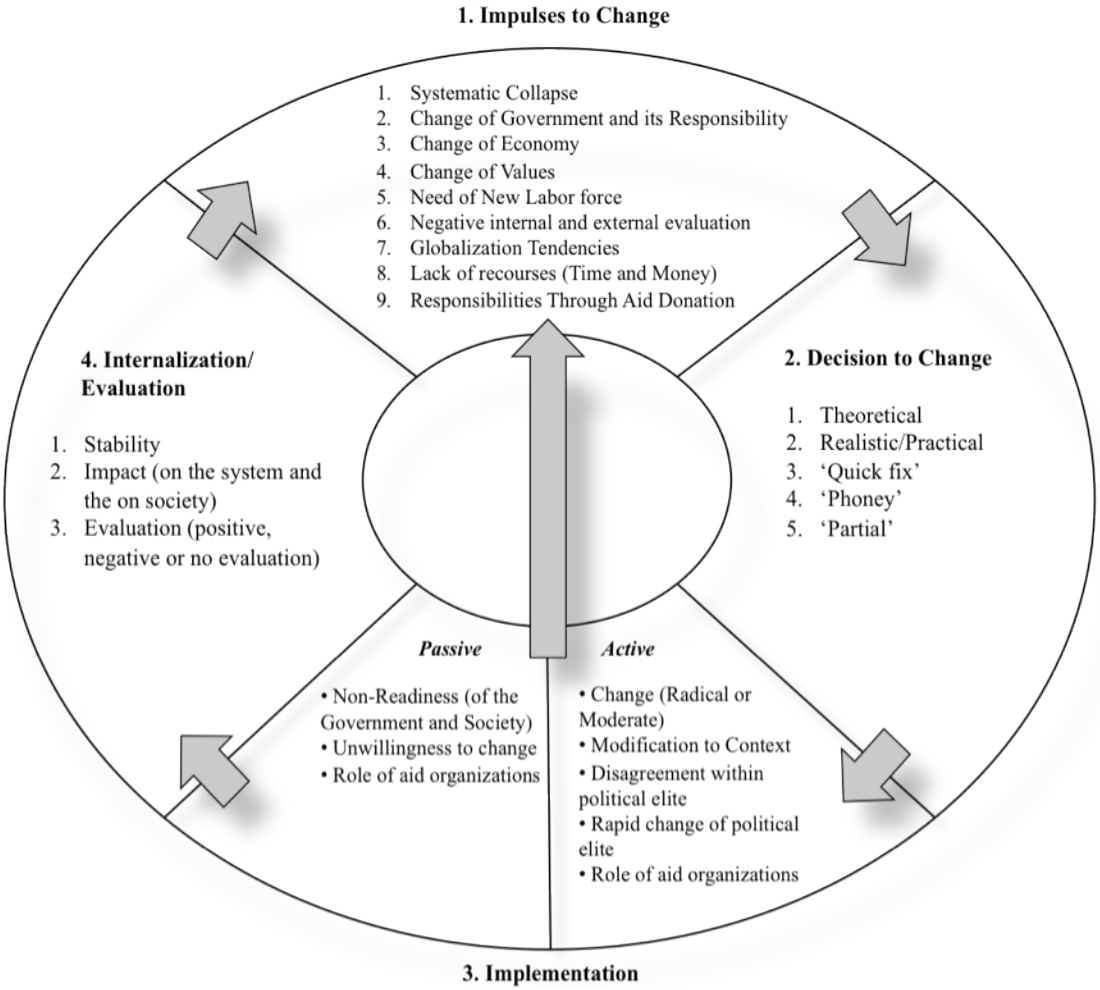
Based on the above stated discussion it can be said that general education reform of Georgia in many respects is quite successful. Its main achievements are corruption reduction, development of new examination system, transparency and infrastructural development. The main drawbacks are instability of the reform, its dependence on the governing political elites, very rapid changes and lack of evaluation, or moreover, impossibility to make any evaluations.

Some parts of the 'Ilia Chavchavadze' project were evaluated (if possible to evaluate) as successful, while others failed. The main problem is that every other political elite changes the discourse of the reform. Those political elites change very often, which means that discourse changes as well. And the question here is: how can a policy develop in such an unstable environment?

7. Improving a 'Composite model'

Phillips and Ochs (2004) state that the 'Composite model' is a preliminary model and it will inevitably change "as a result of future attempts to apply it to instances of 'policy borrowing' in various context" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004:781). The Georgian case was not an exception and therefore the model changed while applying it. In this chapter these changes are discussed and an improved 'Composite Model' is offered.

Below you can see the adapted model.



7.1. Impulses to Change

As a result of a research, two parts of the Stage 1: 'Impulses' and 'Externalizing Potential' merged and the name changed of the First phase from 'Cross-national Attraction' to 'Impulses to Change'.

The list of the impulses itself changed as well.

The first and the main impulse is '*systemic collapse'*. Second impulse is *'change of government and its responsibility'* towards its electors. This impulse seems to arise as a result of the first one. After the collapse of the system new government is elected and this new government is responsible for making changes. As Prof. Tevzadze stated, they are obliged to, they 'have to' make changes.

Third impulse is *'change of economy'*, followed by *'change of values'*. In the case of Georgia, the economy changed from centrally planned to market economy. As a result, new values emerge in the society. All these changes lead to the fourth impulse *'need of new labor force'*. It is obvious that when economy changes, people have to follow those changes as well. New needs and new types of working places are created, which has to be supported by appropriate labor force. People who worked successfully in Soviet time, found it very hard to adapt to new market economy, to new values. Education plays a major role here, as education is meant to provide people with necessary skills to live and work in a society. Those people who lived and worked during the Soviet Union did not have sufficient education that would help them in this process of adaptation.

Therefore, as a result of the *'systematic collapse'* and *'change of economy and values'*, the need of new education system emerged, the system that would provide appropriate knowledge for new economic sphere.

Sixth is *'negative internal and external evaluation'*. According to interviewed experts, in the case of Georgia, there was negative internal evaluation, or in other words, internal dissatisfaction, which was a more important impulse than external evaluation.

Seventh impulse is *'globalization and globalization tendencies'*. This is one of the major impulses that might push a country and a society to change. It would be appropriate to bring here Institutional theory discussed above. As Meyer argues, schools are global institutions, which are a product of the world culture and are integral part of the modern society (Sadovnik, 2007:13). Being a part of the Soviet Union, Georgia did not 'belong to this modern society'; it was part of the 'soviet society'. After its collapse, the country needed integration into the world, a globalized world and this was one of the major impulses to create new education system. As Mr. Janashia stated, in order to live and be a part of this global world, and in order to be understood and acknowledged as an educated person outside your borders, your education system had to be clear for others, otherwise they won't be able to understand you and accept your educational background. If country wants to be a part of a global world, to be competitive in this world, it should have 'clear education system' (Mr. Janashia).

Eighth impulse in the renewed 'Composite model' is the *'lack of resources'*. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the country needed, moreover, required new education policies. Especially after the Rose Revolution and tendencies towards the West, old policies had to change and change as soon as possible. The country was in lack of time, as creating new policies would take 'multiple generations', so this was another reason for borrowing a policy from other cases. The financial side has to be taken into consideration as well. Georgia is not a rich country and especially in the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000, the country did not have enough financial resources to work on this issue. Therefore, it can be concluded, that due to the lack of money and time, the country had no other choice, but to use 'policy borrowing method'.

The eighth and the last impulse is the *'responsibility towards aid organizations'*. In the case of Georgia and project "Ilia Chavchavadze', there were different requirements from international organizations, and specifically World Bank. As the World Bank financed Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', it is obvious that they had their own demands. But it would be inappropriate to

say that this was an impulse to borrow a policy. I would say it was vice versa. The country needed a new education system and needed it as quickly as possible. Aid organization came in with money and some components to be accomplished and then, due to the lack of time and resources, the country had to borrow a policy. The point is that 'policy borrowing' process happened not because of the aid organizations requirement, but because there was a need of a new system, and the World Bank came just in time and invested resources to promote this new system, but the actual impulse of 'policy borrowing' seems to have been *'the lack of time and money'*.

Overall, in the first stage of the model, the name 'Cross-national Attraction' changed to 'Impulses to change'. In the new, improved 'Composite model' two impulses from the primary model – 'Internal dissatisfaction' and 'Negative External Evaluation' merged, and resulted in a new impulse named 'Negative internal and external evaluation'. Impulse - 'Governmental Responsibility' (which was not a part of the original model) was added to the impulse called 'Political change' and was named as 'Change of Government and its Responsibility'. An impulse from the original model 'Economic change/competition' was divided into two parts. 'Change of economy' remained as it is, while 'competition' merged with 'Novel configuration' and was named as 'Globalization tendencies'. Impulse - 'Knowledge/skills innovation' from the primary model changed name into 'Need of new Labor Force'. 'Responsibilities through aid donation' (before a part of 'Political and other imperatives') was separated as an independent impulse. Two new impulses were added: 'Change of values' and 'Lack of Recourses'.

It has to be underlined that several impulses might exist at the same time.

7.2. Decision to Change

Second phase is *'decision to change'*. In the original 'Composite model', only four types of decisions were discussed: Theoretical, Realistic/practical, 'Quick fix' and 'Phoney'. According to Phillips and Ochs (2004) in many cases of post-Soviet countries 'Quick fix' type was used. Despite the above discussion of the Georgian case using 'Quick fix' decision-making type, still

this type does not fully fit Georgian reality. Due to this reason, new decision-making type was added: 'Partial'.

'Partial' is the mix of 'Quick fix' and 'Phoney' with some new components. The country really needed a new reform and as quickly as possible. As in a 'Quick fix' type, they had to make immediate changes, but the policy was not exactly duplicated. Some of the policies were borrowed, but there were some adaptations made as well. In the Georgian case some elements of 'Phoney' are also evident. Politicians did borrow policies for immediate political effects, without having any serious "follow-thought" (Phillips and Ochs, 2004:780). Therefore as a mix of above stated types, new decision-making type was developed, which is called 'Partial'. And the main difference from all of those existing types is that even though the policies were rapidly borrowed and aimed to make immediate political effect, there were at least some studies and adjustments made to the local context.

As a conclusion, 'Partial' decision-making type can be defined as following: the government has to make immediate necessary political changes and has enthusiasm towards education policies in other countries. Even though some policies are borrowed from different practices, they are still, more or less adjusted to the local context, but lack any serious "follow-thought".

7.3. Implementation

Third phase is *'implementation'*. In the primary 'Composite model', this stage was not explored in-depth; therefore this is the phase, which faced most of the changes.

First of all, this phase was divided into two parts, or two types of *'implementation'*: *'Passive'* and *'Active'*.

'Passive' – this is the type of *'implementation'*, where the whole society, including government and citizens, are not ready to make and adjust any changes. It is a case where government is not willing to modify anything, but rather is comfortable with the existing situation. Although there are some revisions, but those are not the major ones.

It is important to state the role of aid organizations in *'Passive implementation'*. When government is passive and not willing to implement radical changes, aid organizations are more active and more actively involved in the work of government. Although, it has to be underlined that without government's will, only aid organizations are incapable of applying any initial modifications.

'Active' – in this type of *'implementation'*, fundamental changes are applied. Changes itself might be either *'radical'* or *'moderate'*. *'Radical'* changes are implemented drastically, without much preparation of the society. The policy is developed and is implied straight away. *'Moderate'* is another type of change, where the process is rather slow compared with *'radical'* and before implying a policy some assessment and evaluations are made.

In *'active implementation'*, as in the case of Georgia, there might be rapid changes of political elite, or disagreement within this elite. It is also interesting to see that in *'active implementation'*, the role of international organizations decrease. They become less active and give the local government chance to make decision and changes on their own.

The most important difference between the *'Implementation'* phase in primary 'Composite model' and the improved one, is that in some cases, the 'policy borrowing' process might skip the last, fourth stage and start the circle without its full implementation. For example, when political elite is changing very rapidly, or there are disagreements within the government, the evaluation and internalization part is left out. The policies change so fast that it never gets to the final stage and development of new policy starts.

The *'passive type of Implementation'* was practiced in Georgia before 2003, when the government made some changes, but it was nothing major. The government was not eager to reform anything and society itself, was not ready either. Although some projects funded by aid organizations, like Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze', started during this period, no major transformations were implemented, as there was no will of the government.

The *'active type of Implementation'* was practiced in Georgia after the Rose Revolution in 2003. New government with new ideas came in office. They implemented radical changes, although in some cases some evaluations were done. Role of aid organizations decreased. The government had more opportunities to modify the policies on its own.

Due to the rapid changes of political elite and disagreements within government systems, some policies never reached the internalization and evaluation part (like Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'). They were just taken out and implementation of new policies started. Therefore without any evaluation, and missing out the last phase, the circle started all over again.

7.4. Internalization/Evaluation

Name of the last phase changed as well. Instead of *'Internalization/Indigenization'* it is now called *'Internalization/evaluation'*, as in case of Georgia, *'evaluation'* turned out to be more important than *'indigenization'*.

The first part of the last phase is *'stability'*, meaning that the policy and system has to be stable, otherwise internalization will never be possible. Second part is the *'impact'* of the new policy. Policy might have an impact on the whole system or on the society, and the citizens. And final part is '*evaluation'*. *'Evaluation'* might be *'positive', 'negative'* or there might *'be no evaluation'* at all. As Mr. Janashia stated, there is no successful policy, as at the end of the day, every policy will change, therefore all the policies at some point will have negative evaluation and that is when the circle will start all over again.

In the case of Georgia recent reform had an impact on the whole system and on the society as well. It changed the values and attitudes towards education. It reduced corruption and made the processes more transparent. But the system turned out to be very unstable, so the policy-borrowing circle keeps spinning round and round. My hope is that someday the system becomes more stable and it will be possible to make evaluations and, instead of 'throwing away' the policy, it will be improved.

8. Areas for Further Research

As there is almost no study around this issue in Georgia, this thesis can be a good base for further research. It might have different dimensions.

1. It might be interesting to see, how the process of 'policy borrowing' is implemented in other countries and compare it to Georgian case. It can be conducted in other post-Soviet countries, or countries outside Eastern Europe, like Africa or Asia. This comparison might be very helpful for further development of the above used 'Composite model'.

2. As most of the policies in case of Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' were borrowed from Finland, it will be interesting to study how these policies work in their home country and how and why they fit, or does not fit Georgian context. It will give us a chance to evaluate the success of the project, or in case of drawbacks, see what went wrong and why.

3. The role of international organizations in educational reform is a very interesting issue and it can also be a topic for further research. One can look at the role of aid organizations in other parts of the reform and compare it to the project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'.

4. It could be also interesting to see, why new political elite decided to change successful practices. What motivates new government systems in Georgia to take and change everything, instead of adapting and making it more sophisticated.

There are many different areas of further research and this study will be a very good base for it.

9. Conclusion

The importance of education in development is widely recognized and especially for a country like Georgia with poor natural resources. After collapse of the Soviet Union, the country was left with destroyed economy. After the Rose Revolution newly elected government started radical reforms. Understanding the importance of education in development, the field became one of the main targets of those reforms.

Most of the modified policies were borrowed from other, successful cases. This research analyzed the 'policy-borrowing' process in case of Georgian education reform.

The study revealed that there were different impulses that pushed radical reforms. The system was destroyed and there was a need of urgent changes. After 2003, the political elite changed as well, so the new government was responsible for making drastic transformations of the system. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economy of the country changed from centrally-planned to market, so the system had to follow that as well. The values changed from Soviet to more Westernized. The country needed new labor-force that would adapt and work in this new type of economy and education had to play significant role in this process.

It is obvious that the country needed changes, but making fast transformations is not easy. Therefore, many different policies (if not all) were taken from other successful cases, meaning that they were borrowed.

According to the experts that I interviewed, there are a couple of reasons why government decided to borrow policies. One of the main reasons is that the country needed a system that would be clear to the rest of the world, so it was easy to take widespread, globally approved cases and apply it to the local context. Another reason was the lack of resources. The country was in lack of time and money to develop its own system, so the only way out of the problem was to borrow existing policies.

Changes happened very fast, too fast to make any prior researches. Although, some adjustments to the local context were made, but it turned out that those adjustments were not always enough to develop a successful reform.

Based on the analysis of different documents, it can be said that implementation process was divided into two parts, before and after the Rose Revolution. Before 2003, the government was not ready, or not willing to conduct any reformations. After 2003, the situation changed significantly. New government came with new initiatives, so radical reforms started.

The role of aid organizations was diverse. Before 2003, they were actively involved in governmental responsibilities, while afterwards, their main responsibility moved to consultancy.

Based on the research, generally, recent reform can be evaluated as successful. It had a positive impact on the whole system and society. It reduced corruption; the system became more competitive on the global market, and more transparent. Now it has clear goals and objective and a very good potential for further development.

According to the gathered data, the main problem is the instability of the system itself. Political elite in the education sector kept changing very often since 2003, so the discourse of the reform kept changing as well, which led to constant transformations, without any follow-up or evaluations. It can be said that until the system becomes more stable, no changes will be fully successful.

Two main purposes of the study were achieved. The 'policy-borrowing' process in education in the case of Georgia was analyzed. A 'Composite model' was used as a tool for this analysis and as a result an improved model was presented.

The study turned out to be very exciting and revealed different interesting topics and issues. As Prof. Kachkachishvili said, we jumped into the pool, which turned out to be too cold for us to swim. There is an old Georgian saying: "more spade, less speed", so let's hope that in future we measure the temperature in the pool, before jumping in, and then we will definitely succeed!

References:

Ball, Stephen J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*, London: Routledge

Brookover, W.B. (1949) *Sociology of Education: A Definition*
American Sociological Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, (June 1949) pp. 407-415 by American Sociological Association
Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2086890
[Accessed March, 2011]

Chromy, James R. (2008) "*Snowball Sampling*" in *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods* SAGE Publications
http://www.sage-ereference.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/survey/Article_n535.html

Cohen, Louis, Manion, Lawrence and Morrison, Keith (2008) Research Methods in Education, 6th ed. New York: Routledge

Curran, Jeanne and Takata, Susan R (2003) Robert K. Merton.
Available at: http://www.csudh.edu/dearhabermas/merton01.htm
[Accessed May 2011]

David, Matthew (2007) *Case Study Research, Volume I*, London: SAGE Publications

Denscombe, Martyn (2007) *The Good Research Guide: for small-scale social research projects*, 3rd ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Desai, Vandana and Potter, Robert B. (2002) *The Companion to Development Studies,* London: Arnold

Durkheim (1956) *Education and Sociology*, New York: Free Press

Flick, Uwe (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research,* London: SAGE.

General Education Reform Strategy, 2010-2015
The Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia (2010)

GHDP – Georgian Human Development Report 2008
Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/europethecis/georgia/name,11534,en.html
[Accessed March 2011]

Goglichidze, Aluda (2010) *Analysis of State Georgian General Education System and its Management*, PMC Group (Policy and Management Consulting Group), supported by USAID. June, 2010

Gummesson, Evert (2000) *Qualitative Methods in Management Research* London: Sage Publications

Hale, Sylvia M. (1990) *Controversies in Sociology, A Canadian Introduction*, Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.

Isbister, John (2006) *Promises not Kept – Poverty and Betrayal of Third World,* USA: Kumarian Press

Janashia, Simon (2009) *The Quality Assurance System in Schools*, Caucasian Institute for Peace Democracy and Development (CIPDD), Policy Review, November 2009

Kambhampati, Uma S. (2004) *Development and the Developing World*, Oxford: Polity Press

Macionis, John J. and Plummer, Ken (2005) *Sociology, A Global Introduction*, 3rd ed. Harlow: Pearsons Education Limited

McNeill, P. and Chapman, S. (2005) *Reasearch Methods,* US: Routledge.

Merton, Robert K. (1957) *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Revised ed. Glencoe, IL: Free Press

MoES, UNESCO (2007) *Report for UNESCO National Education Support Strategy*. Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia.

National Curriculum Study (2004) *National Curriculum, For Primary and Secondary Schools*. Prepared by Ministry of Education and Science and Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'

NCAC Studies (2007) *National Curriculum and Assessment Center Studies, Part two* (Part one was not found). Tbilisi

Nespor, Jan (1988) *Theoretical Observations on Applied Behavioral Science: Schooling and Learning: The Place of Learning in Social Theories of Education*
Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 1988 24: 277 DOI: 10.1177/0021886388243005
Available at: http://jab.sagepub.com/content/24/3/277
[Accessed March, 2011]

Nicolae Sacalis (2003) article: *"Back to Itacka: Curriculum Studies in Romania"* in Pinar, William F. (2003) *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

PADECO Study (2008) *Evaluation of the 'Ilia Chavchavadze' Project in Reforming and Strengthening Georgia's Schools*. August 2007

Phillips, David and Ochs, Kimberly (2004) Researching Policy Borrowing: some Methodological Challenges in Comparative Education, *British Educational Research Journal*. Vol. 30, No. 6, December 2004

Phillips, David (2005) *Policy Borrowing in Education: Framework for Analysis*, in Zajda, Joseph (2005) *International Handbook on Globalization, Education and Policy Research*, Dordrecht: Springer

Potter, Robert B., Binns, Tony, Elliot, Jennifer A. and Smith, David (2008) *Geographies of Development. 3rd ed*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited

Ramirez, Francisco O. and Boli, John (2007) *The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization*. In Sadovik, Alan R. (2007) *Sociology of Education: A Critical Reader*. New York: Routledge

Rist, Gilbert (1997) *The History of Development: from Western origins to Global faith.* London: Zed Books

Sadovnik, Alan (2007) *Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education* in Sadovnik, Alan (2007) *Sociology of Education: A Critical Reader*. New York: Routledge

Smelser, Neil J. and Baltes, Paul B. (2004) *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences*
Available at:
http://www.sciencedirect.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/science/referenceworks/9780080430768
[Accessed on: November-December, 2009]

Stake, Robert E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications

World Bank Press Release #2001/259/ECA (2001) *Georgia: Revamping the Education System*.
Available at:
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/0,,contentMDK:20011523~menuPK:64282138~pagePK:41367~piPK:279616~theSitePK:40941,00.html
[Accessed: April 2011]

World Bank Press Release (2006) *World Bank Helps Strengthen Georgia's Education System*, Washington, November 9, 2006
Available at: http://go.worldbank.org/2B2DK2YNA0
[Accessed: April 2011]

World Bank Report #20952-GE (2001) *Project Appraisal Document on the First Phase of the Proposed Adaptable Program Credit in the amount of SDR 19,9 million* (US$ 25,9 million equivalent) *to Georgia for an Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*, February 22, 2001. Prepared by Human Development Sector Unit, Georgia Country Unit III, Europe and Central Asia Region

World Bank Report #ICR 0000987 (2008) *Implementation and Completion and Results Report* (IDA – 34 740) *on a credit in the amount of SDR 19,9 million* (US$ 25,9 million equivalent) *to Georgian for an Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*, December 31, 2008. Prepared by Human Development Sector Unit, South Caucasus Country Department, Europe and Central Asia Region

Yin, Robert K. (2003) *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, London: SAGE Publication

Web-Pages:

CIA 2010
CIA 2010 World Factbook: Georgia
Available at: www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gg.html
[Accessed January 2011]

NAEC, National Assessment and Examinations Center
National Assessment and Examinations Center, Unified National Examinations
Available at: http://www.naec.ge/index.php?id=54&lang=eng
[Accessed March 2011]

National MDG
National MDG targets and indicators (Georgia) (2009)
Available at: http://www.undp.org.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=65
[Accessed April 2011]

NCAC.ge
National Curriculum and Assessment Center
Available at: http://www.ncac.ge/
[Accessed March 2011]

NCAC, About us
National Curriculum and Assessment Center, About Us
Available at: http://ganatleba.org/index.php?m=111
[Accessed March 2011]

NCAC, Donors
National Curriculum and Assessment Center, Donors and Partners
Available at: http://www.ncac.ge/index.php?m=815
[Accessed March 2011]

UNDP 2009
Statistics of the Human Development Report (2009), UNDP
Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/
[Accessed January 2011]

Appendixes

Appendix 1 – List of Interview Persons

It has to be noted that all interview persons agreed to use their real names and position for this paper.

Experts:

Mr. Berika Shukakidze - Professor at Ilia State University, Head of National and Regional Programs at the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia. Worked as a Head of Analytical Department at the Ministry of Education and Science in 2007-2010.

Prof. Gigi Tevzadze – Rector of Ilia State University. Worked as a consultant at the preparatory stage of Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program in 1999-2000 and later in 2004-2006 held a position of the director of Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' at the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia.

Prof. Iago Kachkachishvili – Professor at Tbilisi State University. The head of Sociology Department at Faculty of Social Sciences at Tbilisi State University.

Mr. Simon Janashia – Professor at Ilia State University. Worked as a director of National Curriculum and Assessment Center at Ministry of Education and Science in 2006-2009. Personally participated in its development.

Ms. Tea Imedadze – Head of Exam Center at Tbilisi State University. Group member of background review for OECD Georgian Education Policy review and for UNESCO National Education Support Strategy (UNESS) Document.

Appendix 2 – Interview Guide

Part 1 – Personal details:

- Could you tell me a few words about yourself? What is your professional background, your current occupation?
- How long have you been working in education sphere?

Part 2 – General overview of education system of Georgia:

- What role do you think education plays in development of the country? What role does it play in case of Georgia?
- Could you tell me few words about current situation in Georgia education system? Can you compare it to the situation in 1990s? What changed? How did it change? Why did it change?
- Can you describe current educational reform in the country? Can you describe the process of implementing this reform? Are there any stages that a policy should go through before adopting it? Was there any study done before developing a policy? Do you think there was enough time to develop valid reform, or maybe it was a very rapid process?
- Why did Georgia need new educational reform? What were the main impulses for this reform?
- What roles do international donor organizations play in this reform? Do they require any specific reform? Do they have any pre-requisites?
- How can you evaluate this reform? What impact did it have on the existing system? Are there any studies done to evaluate it?
- In the case of failure of the reform, do you think the process of implementation will start from the beginning?

Part 3 – Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program (Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze')

- What was the aim of this project? Why did Georgian education system need it?

- Can you describe the process of its development? How did it start? How did it change since then?
- Could you tell me a few words about different centers that were developed as a part of this project?
- Was there any study done prior to its development?
- Is there an analogue of this type of project in any other foreign experience? Analogue of the centers that were developed within this project?
- What role did donor organizations play in development of this program? Did they have any pre-requisites? Did they require any specific procedures?
- Can you evaluate success of this project? Is it possible to make this kind of evaluation?

Part 4 – Policy borrowing:

- Have you heard of a term "policy borrowing"?
- Do you think this term can be applied to the Georgian case? To the case of project 'Ilia Chavchavadze' or any other policy within this project?

Appendix 3 – List of Analyzed Documents

1. General Education Reform Strategy, 2010-2015
The Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia (2010)

2. GHDP – Georgian Human Development Report 2008
Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/europethecis/georgia/name,11534,en.html
[Accessed March 2011]

3. Goglichidze, Aluda (2010) *Analysis of State Georgian General Education System and its Management*, PMC Group (Policy and Management Consulting Group), supported by USAID. June, 2010

4. Janashia, Simon (2009) *The Quality Assurance System in Schools*, Caucasian Institute for Peace Democracy and Development (CIPDD), Policy Review, November 2009

5. MoES, UNESCO (2007) *Report for UNESCO National Education Support Strategy*. Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia.

6. National Curriculum Study (2004) *National Curriculum, For Primary and Secondary Schools*. Prepared by Ministry of Education and Science and Project 'Ilia Chavchavadze'

7. NCAC Report (2008-09) *National Curriculum and Assessment Center Report 2008-2009*. Tbilisi

8. NCAC Studies (2007) *National Curriculum and Assessment Center Studies, Part two* (Part one was not found). Tbilisi

9. National MDG targets and indicators (Georgia) (2009)
Available at: http://www.undp.org.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=65
[Accessed April 2011]

10. PADECO Study (2008) Evaluation of the 'Ilia Chavchavadze' Project in Reforming and Strengthening Georgia's Schools. August 2007

11. UNDP 2009
Statistics of the Human Development Report (2009), UNDP
Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/
[Accessed January 2011]

12. World Bank Press Release #2001/259/ECA (2001) *Georgia: Revamping the Education System*.
Available at:
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/0,,contentMDK:20011523~menuPK:64282138~pagePK:41367~piPK:279616~theSitePK:40941,00.html
[Accessed: April 2011]

13. World Bank Press Release (2006) *World Bank Helps Strengthen Georgia's Education System*, Washington, November 9, 2006
Available at: http://go.worldbank.org/2B2DK2YNA0
[Accessed: April 2011]

14. World Bank Report #20952-GE (2001) *Project Appraisal Document on the First Phase of the Proposed Adaptable Program Credit in the amount of SDR 19,9 million* (US$ 25,9 million equivalent) *to Georgia for an Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*, February 22, 2001. Prepared by Human Development Sector Unit, Georgia Country Unit III, Europe and Central Asia Region

15. World Bank Report #ICR 0000987 (2008) *Implementation and Completion and Results Report* (IDA – 34 740) *on a credit in the amount of SDR 19,9 million* (US$ 25,9 million equivalent) *to Georgian for an Education System Realignment and Strengthening Program*, December 31, 2008. Prepared by Human Development Sector Unit, South Caucasus Country Department, Europe and Central Asia Region