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EDUCATION POLICY REFORMS IN BHUTAN

**BY
YEZER YEZER**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2016



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

EDUCATION POLICY REFORMS IN BHUTAN

by

Yezer



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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CV

Yezer is a lecturer in the Department of Geography and Planning, School of Social Sciences, Sherubtse College, Royal University of Bhutan since 2006. He obtained MSc and Post Graduate Diploma in Surveying and Mapping from the Curtin University of Technology, Perth, Australia in 2006. He also holds a Postgraduate Certificate in Education from the Samtse College of Education, Bhutan and BA Honours in Geography from Sherubtse College affiliated to the University of Delhi, India. He started his career as a teacher at a lower secondary school in 2000.

At Sherubtse College he has served in various positions such as the Examination Convenor, Head of School for the Social Sciences and Head of the Department of Geography and Planning. He has also acted as the Director, Dean of Academic Affairs and Dean of Student Affairs. Currently he is serving as a Dean of Student Affairs.

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As he is interested in academic and teaching work, he has conducted workshops as a resource person at the college. He has also designed courses for the undergraduate programme especially in geography subjects.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This study analyses education policy and its implementation in Bhutan as well as seeks to understand the theoretical, conceptual, analytical and empirical implications. It examines the policy implementation process in the education system by following an abstract funnel approach trying to elaborate various notions of state and nation and end-up choosing the developmental state and link it with concepts explaining top-down and bottom-up policy implementation models. In particular, the thesis uses concepts from conservative developmental state theory that are relevant to education policy formulation and implementation in Bhutan. Education policy formulation and decision-making is influenced by several agents at the central level. Policy dissemination of the Ministry of Education and implementation at various levels of schools in different locations are critically examined to search for explanations of failures, successes and effectiveness. Further, the study critically analyses variations of policy implementation in urban and rural schools. A major part of the analysis focus on vertical and horizontal policy flows from the central government to dzongkhags and to the local vis-à-vis its variation at the different levels.

Analytically, the study uses the framework of the conservative developmental state (CDS) theory combined with policy implementation theory in order to analyse how various policies are implemented in schools. The CDS approach might have been applied in the formulation and implementation of education policy in Bhutan because the key actors in policy implementation are bureaucrats who are selected through competitive civil service examinations in order to implement policy successfully. Moreover, the state is embedded in society in order to effectively implement any new policies without any resistance from the external environment. The CDS utilizes intervention in policy formulation and implementation thereby exhibiting a top-down policy approach. This is empirically evident within the education sector where the study shows that policy comes from the top, and the state together with other stakeholders at the central level uses its autonomy during the policy formulation and implementation process. It is believed that DEOs (district education officers), principals and teachers, who are essential parts of the bureaucracy, implement policy as intended by the central government. However, there are variations in the implementation within the different levels of schools as well as at different locations. This happens due to factors like variations in the flow of policy, different interpretations and understandings of policy, lack of effective communication, proximity of schools from dzongkhag headquarters, the location of a school, nature of decentralization and types of teachers. A critical analysis shows that there are minimal gaps in the vertical policy flows from central government to dzongkhags but there exist substantial gaps in the horizontal policy flow, that is, between different levels of schools as well as schools located in urban, rural and

remote areas. It is also observed that some of the policies are not consistently implemented as intended. Therefore, this may affect the success of policy implementation and achievement of set goals. The main purposes of education in CDS not only focus on enhancing economic growth but also emphasise promotion of values and moral education in order to establish and sustain the state's political legitimacy and independence. The education policy in CDS also aims to promote nation-building and overall social engineering emphasizing traditional and cultural values which intend to promote national identity and social cohesion. Similar to CDS, Bhutan's education policy is governed by Gross National Happiness (GNH) principles and values and also inclusion of traditional and cultural values in curricula and extra-curricula activities. The introduction of national language 'Dzongkha', Bhutanization of school curricula with values, the Bhutanese etiquette 'Driglam Namzha' in schools and the concept of 'wholesome education' promote overall development of children and are outcomes of a conscious social engineering process to promote nation-building, identity, integration and social cohesion.

In short, the study contributes to social science research and aims to help future policymakers and planners to initiate effective policy implementation in social development activities, particularly in educational policy. Social policy at a reasonable standard and equal access to social services for less than a million populations can be achieved considering the commitment of the government and other agents towards appropriate policy formulation and implementation.

DANSK RESUME

Afhandlingens overordnede tema er implementeringen af uddannelsespolitik i Bhutan som undersøges ud fra en forståelsesramme, der opstilles teoretisk, begrebsligt, analytisk, og empirisk. Den undersøger implementeringsprocessen i uddannelsessystemet ud fra en abstrakt tilgang baseret på en generel diskussion af forskellige opfattelser af stat og nation, der kobles med forskellige implementeringsbegreber og metoder, der forbindes med top-down og bottom-up modeller. Begrebet den konservative udviklingsstat benyttes til at analysere politikformulering og implementering af uddannelsespolitik i Bhutan. Både politikformulering og beslutninger er påvirket af flere agenter på centralt niveau. Undervisningsministeriets centrale rolle bliver i den forbindelse kritisk undersøgt for at søge efter forklaringer på hvor der har været problemer i forbindelse med implementeringen af uddannelsespolitikken herunder sættes der fokus både på effektivitet, succes og fejl. Afhandlingen benytter endvidere en kritisk analyse til at undersøge variationer mellem skolerne i by- og landområder. En stor del af analysen fokuserer på samspillet mellem den vertikale og horisontal politik fra den centrale regering til dzongkhags (regioner) og til det lokale niveau.

Teorier om den konservative udviklingsstat (CDS) sammen med implementeringsteori benyttes til at analysere, hvordan forskellige politikker afvikles i skolerne. Fokus ligger på hvilke elementer fra CDS tilgangen, der har været anvendt i formuleringen og implementeringen af uddannelsespolitikken i Bhutan, fordi de centrale aktører i bureaukratiet er udvalgt gennem en mediokratisk udvælgelsesproces og er derfor i stand til at gennemtvinge politik med nogen grad af succes. Desuden er staten indlejret i samfundet og er dermed i stand til effektivt at gennemføre nye politikker uden modstand fra ydre sektorer, institutioner eller aktører. CDS benytter en udpræget interventionistisk strategi i både politikformulering og – implementering og udviser dermed en top-down politisk tilgang. Undersøgelsen viser empirisk, at politikken kommer fra toppen, og staten sammen med andre interessenter på centralt niveau, bruger sin autonomi i forbindelse med både politikformulering og implementering. Afhandlingen viser endvidere at uddannelsesmedarbejdere på det regionale niveau, skoleledere og lærere, som er væsentlige dele af bureaukratiet, i nogen grad implementerer politikken som tilsigtet af staten. Der er variationer i implementeringen inden for de forskellige skoler samt på forskellige geografiske lokaliteter. Forklaringen er at der er faktorer, som variationer i den måde reformerne udformes og implementeres på, forskellige fortolkninger og forståelser af politik, mangel på effektiv kommunikation, afstand mellem skoler fra dzongkhag (regions) hovedkvarteret, placeringen af en skole, decentralisering og forskellige typer af lærere. Analysen viser, at der er nogle problemer (gaps) i den måde den vertikale politik flyder fra centralregeringen til

dzongkhags, og der eksisterer betydelige problemer i det horisontale flow, hvor der er forskelle i implementeringen mellem skoler beliggende i byområder, landdistrikter og fjerntliggende områder. Nogle af de centrale politikker gennemføres ikke konsekvent efter hensigten. Det bevirker at de opstillede mål fra centralt hold ikke opfyldes.

Et af de vigtigste formål med uddannelsespolitikken i CDS fokuserer ikke kun på at forbedre den økonomiske vækst, men i lige så høj grad at fremme værdier og moral med henblik på at etablere og opretholde statens politiske legitimitet og uafhængighed. Uddannelsespolitikken i CDS sigter også mod at fremme nation-building og generel social engineering, der understreger de traditionelle og kulturelle værdier, som igen har til hensigt at fremme national identitet og social samhørighed. Bhutans uddannelsespolitik, som er reguleret af Gross National Happiness (GNH) principper og værdier samt inddragelse af traditionelle og kulturelle værdier i læseplaner og ekstra-læseplaner aktiviteter svarer ganske godt til erfaringerne fra CDS i forskellige østasiatiske lande. Indførelsen af det nationale sprog 'dzongkha«, Bhutanization af skole og læseplaner ned fokus på særlige værdier, Bhutans etikette" Driglam Namzha", og begrebet "sund uddannelse" til fremme af den generelle udvikling af børn er resultatet af en bevidst social engineering proces der har til hensigt at promovere og fremelske nation-building, identitet, integration og social samhørighed.

Afhandlingen bidrager til den samfundsvidenskabelige forskning og sigter mod at hjælpe fremtidige politikere og planlæggere til at iværksætte en effektiv gennemførelse af aktiviteter, der sigter mod social udvikling, især i uddannelsespolitikken. Socialpolitik af en vis rimelig standard og lige adgang til sociale ydelser for mindre end en million mennesker i Bhutan er mulig, især hvis man tager højde for regeringens vilje og evne at formulere og implementere den rigtige politik.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Anti-corruption Commission
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADEO	Assistant District Education Officer
AEC	Annual Education Conference
AFC	Advocacy Coalition Framework
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
A-SIP	Annual School Improvement Plan
BBE	Bhutan Board of Examinations
BBS	Bhutan Broadcasting Service
BCSE	Bhutan Certificate of Secondary Education
BHSEC	Bhutan Higher Secondary Education Certificate
BSA	Bhutan Scout Association
CC	Community Centre
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDD	Curriculum Development Division
CDG	Constitution Development Grant
CDS	Conservative Developmental State
CECD	Career Education and Counselling Division
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DA	Disagree
DCRD	Department of Curriculum Research and Development
DEO	District Education Officer
DMO	Dzongkhag Medical Officer
DoC	Department of Culture
DS	Developmental State
DYT	Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchung
EC	European Commission
ECR	Extended Classroom
ED	Education Department
EMSSD	Education Monitoring Support Services Division
EPGI	Education Policy Guidelines and Instructions
ESRC	Education Sector Review Commission
EVS	Environmental Studies
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FMA	Financial Management Arrangement
FYP	Five Year Plan

G2C	Government to Citizen Services
GG	Good Governance
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GNHC	Gross National Happiness Commission
GNH	Gross National Happiness
GPER	Gross Primary Enrolment Ratio
GPMS	Government Performance Management System
GSD	Games and Sports Division
GYT	Gewog Yargye Tshochung
HR	Human Resource
HSS	Higher Secondary School
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFAD	International Development Financing Institution
IFI	International Financial Institutions
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KFAED	Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development
LG	Local Government
LSS	Lower Secondary School
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoH	Ministry of Health
MSS	Middle Secondary School
NA	National Assembly
NAPE	New Approach to Primary Education
NCWC	National Commission for Women & Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
ODA	Overseas Development Assistant
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PC	Planning Commission
PDP	People Democratic Party's
PMS	Performance Management System
PoB	Parliament of Bhutan
PP	Pre-primary
PPD	Planning and Policy Division

PS	Primary School
RAA	Royal Audit Authority
RC	Resources Centre
REC	Royal Education Council
RED	Research and Evaluation Division
RGBOB	Royal Government of Bhutan
RNR	Renewable Natural Resources
RUB	Royal University of Bhutan
SA	Strongly Agree
SDA	Strongly Disagree
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAIEVAC	South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children
SDG	SAARC Development Goal
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSA	School Self-Assessment
STR	Student-teacher Ratio
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USD	United States Dollar
US	United States
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Program
YGCS	Youth Guidance and Counselling Services

Chapter 1. INTRODUCING EDUCATION REFORMS

This chapter presents the background of the study and describes the statement of the problem, including objectives, significance and purpose of the study. It then introduces the theoretical and conceptual framework. The chapter further presents details on the research methodology which include study area, research methods, sources of data and their reliability and validity. This part also discusses the critical discourse analysis of texts and interviews including the triangulation method. The major component of this section is the discussion about the sample selection, data collection techniques and tools for data collection. Furthermore, it gives details about the selection of key informants and respondents of the research. Lastly, it presents the ethical issues confronting the research and also the limitations and challenges faced during the time of data collection and field work.

1.1. INVESTING IN EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE

The objective of this contribution is to examine the implementation of education reforms in the schools of Bhutan. Education is considered one of the most important integral parts of the country's socio-economic development strategy and a powerful tool for human and social growth. Therefore, education is viewed as a key agent to enhance holistic development.

The United Nations perceives government investment in education as the single most adequate avenue for upward social mobility and it

is perhaps the most important tool for human development and the eradication of poverty. It is the means by which successive generations develop the values, knowledge and skills for their personal health and safety and for future political, economic, social and cultural development (UNICEF, 2011, p.17).

In line with this many scholars also perceive "education in every sense as one of the fundamental factors of development" (Al' Abri, 2011, p.491). Ideally speaking "true education is the harmonious development of the physical, mental, moral (spiritual), and social faculties, the four dimensions of life, for a life of dedicated service" and this way "Education is the cheapest, most rapid, and most reliable path to economic advancement under present conditions" (Rosado, 2000, p.5).

The Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) seems to agree that investment in education will bring both immediate and long term benefits for the country and considers it to be the most important determining factor in the development strategy

of the country. It also views investment in education is vital for economic growth and poverty alleviation and as a way to achieve economic self-reliance. Education is furthermore perceived as the best way to promote technological innovation, enhance professional skills, generate employment and promote income growth. According to the Ministry of Education (MoE) the role of the education system is to promote knowledge and skills development, improve the quality of life, develop loyalty and patriotism and foster democracy (Zam, 2008). This is why the education sector has been given high priority in budget provisions in all development plans during the last five decades. Primary and secondary education is provided free by the state to every citizen and it appears to be implemented in fairly successful manner although historically speaking this is a fairly recent decision.

From 1651 through 1907 the country was under theocratic rulers and organised socio-economic development plans did not exist. With the enthronement of the first king in 1907 Bhutan began to experience a period of peace and stability and laid the grounds for reforms. The reign of the third king, the Late Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchhuck (1952-1972), marked a new period of socio-economic development, modernization and other significant reforms. A series of political transformations introduced by the third king made significant impact on the country's overall socio-economic development.

Despite the introduction of democracy in 2008 there still are social, political and economic problems and challenges. The education sector became more and more viewed as a major vehicle to bring socio-economic changes. Among other challenges the adult literacy rate is still very low with about 37% (2012) of adults lacking reading and writing skills. There seems to be problems with building infrastructure, provision of teachers and planning and implementation of a coherent strategy focusing on uplifting the quality of education in the country.

The MoE has highlighted the role and significance of education in its vision statement declaring that "...an educated and enlightened society of 'gyalyong gakid pelzom' [Gross National Happiness] at peace with itself, at peace with the world, built and sustained by the idealism and the creative enterprise of our citizens" (2012, p.1). Following this line of thought the Fifth King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchhuck said that

...times have changed in Bhutan and all around us in the world. We cannot face new challenges with the same tools. Therefore, it is the duty of parents, policymakers and the government to put the right tools in their hands – the right books, the right curriculum, and the right direction (Royal Education Council [REC], 2012, pp.3-4).

The question is whether the new focus on qualitative reforms has been a success? Over the last more than five decades education policies have been changing and the MOE has been trying to improve the education system focusing on curriculum, pedagogies, infrastructure, teaching-learning resources, co-curricular activities and human resources. It is important to evaluate education policy implementation in schools that mostly comes from the central levels in the capital.

This dissertation focuses on policy implementation in four dzongkhags (district) of Thimphu, Bumthang, Sarpang and Trashigang. The research is carried out in order to get a focused view of vertical policy flows from central government levels to dzongkhags and to local levels. The MoE has so far only come up with education policy guidelines. In the absence of a clear national education policy, it is imperative to examine how policy is being implemented by the District Education Officers (DEOs) and principals and teachers in the schools in coordination with central government. In a broader perspective, it is also important to explain why MoE relies on ad hoc policy guidelines in its implementation of reforms in schools. Education policy guidelines are normally formulated by the MoE upon recommendation from the Annual Education Conference (AEC).¹ Related to this there is a need to analyse policy implementation variations at different types of schools (primary to higher secondary) and to distinguish the difference between urban, rural and remote schools.

The study also intends to examine the infusion of Gross National Happiness (GNH) values and principles in the education systems which have been identified as vital components of the government's push to increase well-being of the people. In addition to many initial GNH initiatives introduced at the GNH workshop at Paro College of Education in 2010, the former Prime Minister Jigme Y Thinley instructed school principals, DEOs, and College lecturers that all institutes and schools must practice GNH in order to inculcate values such as altruism, camaraderie, team spirit, faith, honour, dignity and allegiance (Thai, 2010). Therefore, all schools in the country today are supposed to align their teaching activities with the GNH values and principles. It is however unclear how well this has been adopted.

1.2. PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATIONS

Despite the rapid economic growth of 7-8 percent in the last decade (Rahut, Castellanos, & Sahoo, 2010) there are several challenges in the socio-economic sectors. About 12 percent of the population lives under the poverty line and many remote villages are in need of basic social services. There are wide spread

¹AEC is conducted annually by the MoE with the DEOs of 20 dzongkhags and selected principals of schools to discuss matters pertinent to schools. It can also be called a policy forum. The conference is dedicated to different themes every year.

disparities in levels of socio-economic development among different districts as well as a large development gap between rural and urban areas. The mid-term review report of the Ninth FYP stated the key challenges for the government which later on became priority objectives for the Tenth FYP. The Planning Commission [PC] (as cited in Brassard, 2008, p.6) mentioned the following challenges:

- (i) Lack of streamlining between the various development programs, the national goals within the GNH framework, and the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), where sectoral goals and long term vision may not be in tandem.
- (ii) Lack of coordination between the various levels of government and among sectors.
- (iii) Lack of a systematic, transparent and participatory policy formulation process and lack of systematic macroeconomic analysis and evaluation of effectiveness of the adopted policies.
- (iv) Lack of a rational resource allocation criteria, where allocations are based on proposals from ministries and agencies leading to unbalanced regional development.
- (v) Inadequate capacity especially for the community leaders at the district and sub-district levels in terms of results-based planning skills and tools and lack of trained people in macroeconomic analysis (e.g. MDG costing and gender budgeting) and policy analysis and evaluation.

It was observed that the same problems persisted even after the completion of Tenth Five Year Plan (FYP) despite the constant efforts put by government. There is need for continued emphasis to reduce poverty and improve the quality of health, education, and other social services. It may be possible to provide adequate social services if the bureaucracy is committed to formulate appropriate policy and implement it effectively. However, by and large many developing countries including Bhutan, often face generic challenges of ineffective policy implementation mainly due to slow or imbalanced economic growth and lack of capacity and knowledge and absence of appropriate coordination mechanisms. Broadly speaking, funding and coordination among public organizations and sectors, monitoring system, professionalism, leadership quality and capable human resources are some of the determining factors critical for effective policy implementation. Therefore, lack of these factors appears to affect the achievement of many good intended policy goals of the central government thereby rendering the intended policy to remain as mere goals instead of turning into realistic outcomes.

There are areas where education policies are ineffectively and unevenly implemented. The policy implementation processes are often by nature unevenly distributed across districts and schools. It is also important to note that given the

location at the different topographical areas, as a challenge, the development level of each district may not be the same across the country. Therefore, it is imperative to study policy implementation variations and their impact on various schools in relation to geographical, spatial and social location.

It is plausible to indicate that education policies are often implemented inconsistently and ineffectively across the dzongkhags and schools; there appears to be a lack of coordination within ministries, dzongkhags and schools; there are emerging issues regarding the quality of education; and there are visible occurrences that educational services and facilities are not uniformly distributed across the country and there are discrepancies in physical resources distribution within the same and different levels of schools.

It is against this background that this study attempts to seek answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the general understanding of education policy guidelines by principals and teachers?
2. How far does education policy implementation vary at different levels of schools and also in relationship to their location?
3. What are the policy gaps within the chain of policy flows from central ministry to the schools?
4. What are the existing horizontal links in development planning in relation to schools?
5. How do existing policies best address the critical challenges in the area of quality of education?
6. What are the factors affecting the formulation and implementation of policies?
7. How effectively is GNH practiced by staff at the schools?

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of the study is to critically evaluate and analyse the gaps between the stated goals and the actual outcomes of the policies implemented in the schools. Policy implementation will be analysed based on the general school system under the education policy guidelines of 2010-2012. In a broader perspective, the research also attempts to examine the coordination of policy implementation within and between three spatial levels – central government, dzongkhag administration and the schools.

The specific objectives are:

- (i) To analyse the results of education policy implementation in primary and secondary schools within four dzongkhags in order to imply more general answers at the national level.
- (ii) To study the major factors affecting the implementation of education policy in schools in four selected dzongkhags.
- (iii) To analyse the policy implementation gaps and coordination lapses within the linkages of three administrative levels, that is, MoE, dzongkhags and schools.

1.4. IMPROVING EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION

This detailed study of education policy implementation is useful for the country as it is hoped that it will implicitly contribute to improvement of social welfare services in general and more specifically the education sector as well as give input to a suitable framework for the MoE. There is need to focus on socio-economic development because 12 percent of the population still live under the poverty line and most of the remote villages are lacking socio-economic development. Therefore, this research is significant as it will provide additional knowledge to policymakers and planners to manoeuvre effective policy implementation in social development activities particularly in the field of education.

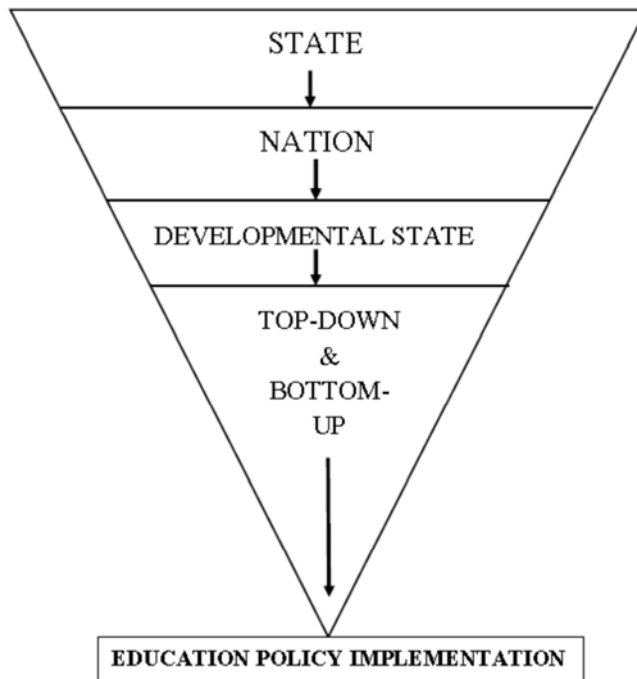
Another objective is to give ideas for the enhancement of policy development in the education system. Education is said to be provided freely, it is therefore important to evaluate and examine how best the education policies are implemented effectively by schools in relation to different levels and geographical location. It is expected to inform policymakers to rethink and redesign policies which will bring long term benefits to the education system. The findings are also expected to provide policymakers an opportunity to debate and refine existing policies.

1.5. THEORIES OF STATE, NATION AND EDUCATION

The general theoretical framework seeks to understand and contextualize the developmental role of the state, nation-building, the role of education in social policy, planning and implementation that helps to get insight into the education system and provide tools to analyse the success and feasibility of development strategies intended to achieve the state's development goals. By the same token the concepts and theories help in delving into the intentions and results of the education reforms and policies in Bhutan.

The study uses a funnel as metaphor to illustrate the attempt to move from the contextual and grounded analytical levels into the more specific issues. This is done in order to bring into perspective the broader relationship between state and nation and subsequent changes in educational reforms, strategies and actual policies. The intention is to introduce theories of state and nation which provide a broad understanding of the relationship between the evolutions of the Bhutanese development trajectory and use this as a stepping stone to define the role of the state in nation-building processes and its legitimacy in terms of taking care of the people's welfare. Thus, a sovereign state must be above individuals and institutions and enjoy absolute power. One view of the nation is that it is primarily made up of a 'cultural community' consisting of ethnic ties and loyalties. Another perceives a nation as a 'political community' having civil bonds and allegiances. These contrasting views not only offer different opinions about the origin of nations but also provide different distinctions and forms of nationalism (Heywood, 2007), and indicate the importance of understanding the role of institutions in overall reforms and strategies for the study of education policies situated within an appropriate theoretical framework.

Figure 1 Funnel Shape Approach of Theories



The theory used is the ‘Developmental State’ (DS) theory which is relevant to the present context of studying Bhutan’s approach to development since it appears that the elite more or less consciously have followed aspects of the developmentalist path. Many social activities have been supported by the international community in an effort to reshape the country’s economic and social affairs. The developmental role of the state therefore appears to become crucial in re-instituting the socio-economic conditions. There are success stories of the DS in East Asia among the so-called ‘Asian Tigers’: Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, which undertook over 30 years of radical economic transformation from poor agrarian societies to fully sophisticated technology driven societies in the 1990s (Menocal & Fritz, 2006). The state-led developmentalist approach is applied to the present situation of Bhutan’s development activities with specific reference to the education sector.

1.6. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

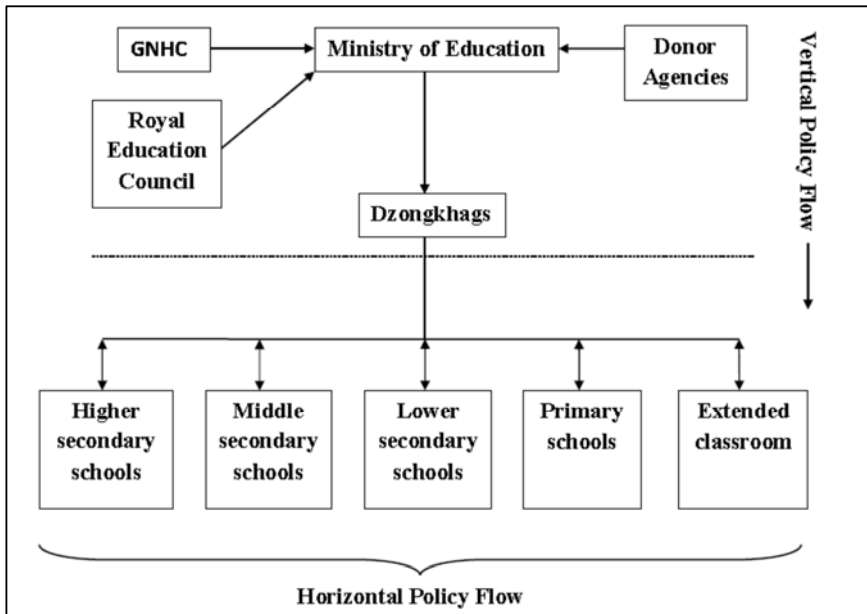
Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) explain that policy implementation is the process of interactions between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieving them. It only succeeds when the ends are achieved through the proper setting of goals and the resultant benefits by the end users. Decision-making in the policy implementation process is an important component; however, it goes through a number of stages before reaching the target groups. In this view, the authoritative decision at the central level is supposed to create a desirable impact at local levels for intended goals to be achieved. The implementation of policy may occur through a single administrative agency’s efforts. However, good cohesion and coordination between various organizations would yield better results. It is important to understand that policy decisions are taken in consideration of the contextual realities of operationalization.

Policy implementation is a challenging task especially in the government bureaucratic system and the social environment as there are different levels of policy flows. Therefore, the good intended policy from central government may dilute at both regional and lowest level of the implementation process. This is particularly so if appropriate emphasis is not observed towards various obstacles and hindrances.

In this context, the study analyses ‘Education Policy’ implementation based on vertical and horizontal perspectives in the decision-making process of the school system. The vertical perspective covers three layers of the government structure: central government, dzongkhag and local levels. The horizontal perspective covers different levels of schools and the actors and institutions involved with and from primary to higher secondary schools. The study was carried out within these spatial layers to investigate policy implementation realities and challenges in relation to their location as well as different levels of schools. There are diverse challenges like

remoteness, unfavourable topography and inaccessibility to socio-economic development which itself affect directly or indirectly the implementation of policies in schools. Moreover, the research attempts to analyse implementation gaps and problems in the policy flows from central government to local levels. It also sought to find out the factors affecting implementation of policy at different levels of the government system and identified the key players and actors.

Figure 2 Vertical and Horizontal Policy Flow Chart



The vertical level refers to Central Government which consists of the national government, MoE and the Gross National Happiness Commission (GNHC), as key players in policy formulation and planning. Dzongkhag refers to twenty dzongkhags where policies from the centre are targeted and the lowest level refers to local schools within the dzongkhag where ultimately policies are materialised. In the horizontal perspective, schools at different locations like rural and urban areas were analysed to unearth the variations in policy implementation and to investigate whether any links between actors and institutions have been created. The vertical perspective looks at linkages in policy flows and whether the intended policies of the central government are administered within the levels without distortion. It includes a scrutiny of the decentralization process of policy implementation as this policy is already embedded in the governance system that Paudel refers to as the "...relationship to policy as laid down in official documents" (2009, p.1) or what Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) defines meaning-making which may be open to

different interpretations (Fairchough, 2003, p.11). The entire analysis is focused on identifying the gaps and flows and interpretations of the policies in order to determine how well policies are implemented according to the overall policies of the MOE.

This type of policy analysis necessitates the identification of factors affecting implementation at other levels as well as their effectiveness with a view to reinforce the new policy. On this account, it is important to look at not only the geographical location of the dzongkhags and schools their facilities and infrastructure are varying from one another, but due consideration should also be taken to analyse the factors in the context of political, socio-economic and cultural constraints that may impact policy implementation. It is argued by Paudel that “implementation inevitably takes different shapes and forms in different cultures and institutional settings” (2009, p.1). It is likely to be the case because of the recent changes from absolute monarchy to democratic government and the continued attempts towards decentralization where policy implementation might have changed across the horizontal and vertical perspectives within the governing system and polity itself. The policy implementation analysis also considers the proximity and accessibility of districts and various schools to communication, media, exposure through workshops and trainings and also the frequency of information updates by the concerned authorities.

The following is a list of policies considered for analysis:

At central level:

- Understanding the formulation of national education policy guidelines
- Understanding of policy decisions at the national level
- Preferences of policy decisions
- Rating of general education policy
- Curriculum policy

Regional and Local levels:

- Medium of policy dissemination/flows
- School management policy
- General practice of GNH in schools
- Access to education policy
- School health and emergencies
- Quality of education
- Teaching-learning resources and ICT in education
- School infrastructure
- Human resources policy
- Students enrichment and support services programme

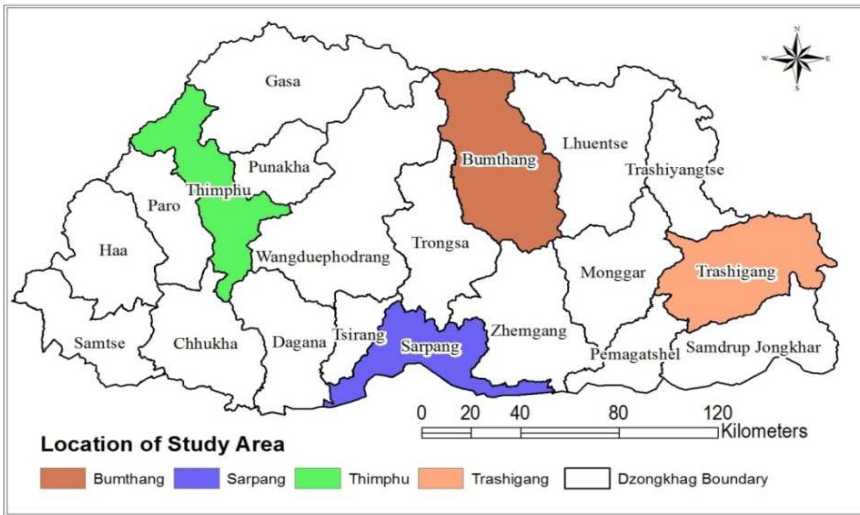
1.7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: IMPLEMENTATION IN FOUR DZONGKHAGS

This section provides details of research methods, study area, sample selection, data collection methods, techniques, and tools and data analysis procedures. It also presents the research design, ethical considerations and limitations.

1.7.1. THIMPHU, BUMTHANG, SARPANG AND TRASHIGANG

The dissertation covers 119 government schools ranging from primary to higher secondary levels (class pre-primary to Class XII) of Thimphu, Bumthang, Sarpang and Trashigang dzongkhags. These dzongkhags are consciously selected because they are located strategically and cover every region of the country – east, west, north and south. Primary data was collected from a targeted population consisting of planning officers, dzongkhag education officers, head of schools and teachers under the MoE.²

Figure 3 Study Areas



²Other educational institutions like monastic education, tertiary institutions and vocational training institutes are excluded from the research because they do not fall under the control of MoE. Monastic education is looked after by DratshangLhentshog (Commission for the Monastic Affairs), tertiary institutions and colleges are under the jurisdiction of Royal University of Bhutan and Vocational Training Institutions are under the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources.

The time delimitation is from 1980 to 2014 but mainly concentrates on the past decade. The survey and qualitative interviews deal primarily with the present and the focus is on implementation of education policies in recent years.

1.7.2. QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY

This study is based on the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods. Though every method has its own advantages and disadvantages the current study employs a mixed methods approach. The strength of the mixed approach is that one method cannot suffice to get all the information in social sciences research. The approach is expected to maximise the reliability of the results. Teddlie and Tashakkori state that the mixed method “...simultaneously address a range of confirmatory and exploratory questions with both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches, ...provides (stronger) inferences, ...provides the opportunity for a greater assortment of divergent views” (2009, p.33).

Leech and Onwuegbuzie further categorise mixed method design into three dimensions “(i) level of mixing (partially mixed versus fully); (ii) time orientation (concurrent versus sequential, and (iii) emphasis of approaches (equal status versus dominant status)” (2009, p.268). Level of mixing refers to whether research methods are mixed fully or partially. Time orientation refers to whether the qualitative and quantitative research happened at the same point of time (concurrent) or one after another (sequential). Choice of emphasis of approaches refers to which methods (qualitative or quantitative) are given importance (dominant status) or whether they are accorded the same emphasis (equal status) with reference to research questions (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009). The design ‘partially mixed concurrent dominant status’ benefits this study since collecting of both quantitative and qualitative data are the most important ways to get empirical information.

1.7.3. PARTIALLY MIXED METHOD

The mixed method has great advantages as it has complementary strengths and no overlapping weaknesses. Onwuegbuzie and Johnson note that ‘complementary strengths’ means “...putting together of different approaches, methods, and strategies in multiple and creative ways” (2006, p.52). However, mixed methods has the problem of representation – difficulty in capturing live experience by using words and numbers; legitimisation – difficulty in getting credible, trustworthy, dependable, transferable and/or confirmable information³ therefore bringing together the issues of representation and legitimisation is an integration problem

³Generally people in Bhutan and especially public employees are not that much open in expression of their views and civil servants are governed by the civil service rules and regulations (see appendix C).

(Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). This is why the partially mixed method is complemented with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and triangulation in order to overcome the problems of representation and legitimisation.

1.7.4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA was applied as a heuristic tool to further support the findings of qualitative and quantitative data. Fairclough states that discourse and “textual analysis is a valuable supplement to social research, not a replacement for other forms of social research and analysis” (2003, p.16). In this research, CDA of texts helped to provide in-depth answers to research findings basically to support the interpretation of primary data.

According to Fairclough CDA “is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of life; so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language” (2003, p.2). It is suggested that interpretation can be done through the study of language in form of discourse analysis which has been categorized under different terminologies such as text, discourse and language. This research focuses on CDA of text which Fairclough refers to as a “textually oriented discourse analysis” (p.2). Therefore, text analysis is considered one of the important parts of discourse analysis but it is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts. The CDA of text for Fairclough “is concerned with continuity and change at this more abstract, more structural, level, as well as with what happens in particular text” (p.3). Further he explains that “text analysis is seen as not only linguistic analysis; it also includes what I have called ‘interdiscursive analysis’ that is, seeing texts in terms of the different discourse, genres and styles they draw upon and articulate together” (p.3). In a similar manner, the CDA uses linguistic analysis of text in which Fairclough (2003) refers to the broader context of text such as written and printed text like newspaper articles, transcripts conversions and interviews, articles, publications, documents, television programmes and web pages.

According to Fairclough texts have the power to bring changes in society and have ‘causal effects’. This way, “...texts can bring about changes in our knowledge (we can learn things from them), our belief, our attitude, values and so forth” (2003, p.8). Through texts people make their expressions basically to change society. In its most extreme: “Texts can also start wars, or contribute to change in education, or to changes in industrial relations, and so forth” (Fairclough, 2003, p.8). Therefore, texts have casual effects in bringing changes in people’s beliefs, attitude, actions, social relations and the material world. Through texts we can derive rich information which ultimately brings impact to the society.

Generally, contemporary social science concepts are influenced by ‘social constructivism’ which believes that the social world is ‘socially constructed’.

Therefore, it is believed that many social theories are based on social constructivism and the texts (language, discourse) play a vital role in building the social world. There are arguments that social theories are idealist rather than realist. A realist believes that the social world like institutions are realistically constructed but once constructed they are limited to textual (discursive) construction of the social world. Therefore, one must distinguish between the reality of the social world and textual construction (representation or imagination) in which the social world is functioning in particular ways. However, Fairclough states that "...whether our representations or constructs have the effect of changing its construction depends upon various contextual factors – including the way social reality already is, who is constructing it, and so forth". He concludes that "...a moderate version of the claim that the social world is textually constructed, but not an extreme version" (2003, p.8), which generally accepts that construction of the social world is normally interpreted textually and then derive information from it. The CDA of texts (including policy and planning documents, interviews, newspaper, articles etc) play a critical part in this research in investigating how the education policy is implemented in the schools as well as to analyse how the general policy formulation and planning is carried out.

One of the important elements of the CDA of texts is meaning-making through the published texts and interviews. This contributes to the analysis of the research findings. Fairclough rightly points out that "...a published text can figure in many different processes of meaning-making and contribute to diverse meanings, because it is open to diverse interpretations" (2003, p.11). However, interpretation of the texts can be a complex process as it might contain various aspects and a deeper understanding for words or sentences or understanding what speakers or writers mean is the critical part in the CDA of texts. Following this, the CDA of texts also matter in our judgement and evaluation of texts. Fairclough notes that to derive an understanding through texts means:

Judging whether someone is saying something sincerely or not, or seriously or not; judging whether the claims that are explicitly or implicitly made are true; judging whether people are speaking or writing in ways which accord with the social, institutional etc. relations within which the event takes place, or perhaps in ways which mystify those relations (2003, p.11).

There are also other issues for CDA of texts as some texts demand more interpretation than others. Some texts are easy to interpret and some are difficult but sometimes some texts are reflective and can easily derive meaning and provide reasons for the purpose of writing such texts.

According to Fairclough (2003), text possesses 'multi-functionality' characteristics in which they are analysed. Systematic Functional Linguistics claims that normally

text comprises of ideational, interpersonal and textual functions which represent some aspect of the world such as the physical world, the social world and the mental world. However, people try to understand these three aspects of the world by making meaning from texts or texturing. Fairclough (2003) emphasizes on three major types of text meaning such as ‘action’, ‘representation’ and ‘identification’ which are similar to the functional aspect of text except ‘identification’ is considered as ‘interpersonal’ function. Based on these aspects we can draw the relationship of social events and how they operate in the real world and how they are interpreted in the form of texts. This means that through texts we can derive meaning and perform critical analysis of texts to support findings.

1.7.5. TRIANGULATING EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Multiple research methods can be used to cross-examine results within the social sciences. This study emphasizes qualitative and quantitative mixed methods. The study also adds critical discourse analysis of texts to cross examine the findings. Grix simplifies this by posing that “using more than one method in research is sometimes referred to as triangulation” (2004, p.135). This implies using different approaches to study a phenomenon by applying various methods in order to get better results, increase reliability and minimise the chances of biased findings. The process is also “about observing an object of study from different angles” (Grix, 2004, p.136).

According to Yeasmin “triangulation is a process of verification that increases validity by incorporating several view points and methods” (2012, p.156). Jick defines triangulation as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (1979, p.602). Yeasmin further refers to triangulation as “the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods or investigators in one study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct, and can be employed in both quantitative (validation) and qualitative (inquiry) studies” (2012, p.156). It is also considered a holistic approach to study phenomena by applying different methods. In the same vein this study also used triangulation to analyse policy implementation in order to confirm the findings given the complexity of the study. Similarly, Jick also suggests that “organizational researchers can improve the accuracy of their judgments by collecting different kinds of data bearing on the same phenomenon” (1979, p.602). The triangulation method was also found to be effective to cross validate the data collected in this thesis and also to examine the research problem from different dimensions. Furthermore, the triangulation method not only uncovered multiple perspectives but also enriched our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge. Therefore, triangulation methods served as a complementary and supplementary tool to the mixed method and CDA.

This study used data sources from planning and policy documents as well as published books, articles, newspapers and so on to validate and supplement

findings. Documents were analysed based on the CDA of texts as explained in 1.7.4 of this chapter.

According to Yeasmin (2012, p.157) there are four forms of triangulation:

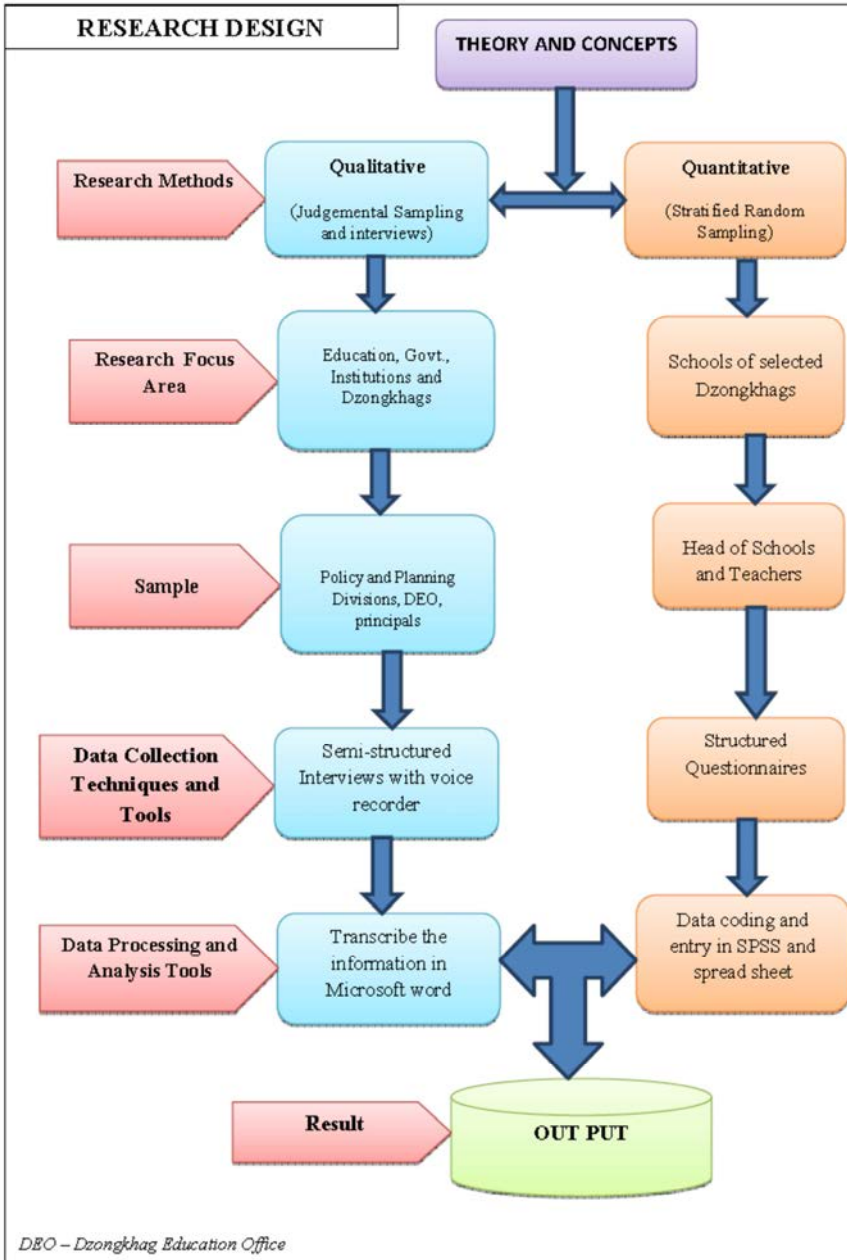
- (i) **Data triangulation** – retrieve data from a number of different sources to form one body of data.
- (ii) **Investigator triangulation** – using multiple observers instead of a single observer in the form of gathering and interpreting data.
- (iii) **Theoretical triangulation** – using more than theoretical positions in interpreting data.
- (iv) **Methodological triangulation** – using more than one research method or data collection technique.

This research used the fourth type of triangulation method, that is, ‘methodological triangulation’ since it employed more than one research method or data collection technique as described elsewhere in this chapter.

1.8. SAMPLE SURVEY OF VIEWS FROM SCHOOLS

Figure 4 shows the overall research design.

Figure 4 Research Design Flow Chart



Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected from field surveys by using structured questionnaires that were sent to school principals (head of school) and staff (teachers) to analyze their interpretation of policy implementation. Qualitative data was collected through key informant interviews among officials from MoE, DEOs and other relevant organizations and informants like international donors, principals and teachers.

The secondary data was collected from published and unpublished books, research reports, journals, articles, government policy reports, education policy reports, and government laws and acts. The main data and empirical information sources included the MoE, GNHC, National Statistical Bureau of Bhutan, UNICEF, Centre for Bhutan Studies & GNH Research, dzongkhags, schools and other relevant agencies.

The first phase of data collection was between October and November, 2012. During this phase data was collected from Trashigang and Bumthang dzongkhags. Principals, teachers and DEOs were interviewed in this phase. Interviews were collected from schools and offices of dzongkhags. It was worth visiting schools in different locations for the researcher to make observations and understand the experiences of policy implementation in the field.

The second phase of data collection took place from October to November, 2013. Two dzongkhags, Thimphu and Sarpang, were visited. Interviews were conducted with principals and DEOs during this period. Further interviews with relevant agencies, ministries and agencies located in Thimphu were also conducted. The third and the final phase entailed a visit to Thimphu in January, 2014 to collect questionnaires from schools. This exercise took several days given the distances and remoteness of some schools. Questionnaires were sent to some of the schools through DEOs. Given the distance from the dzongkhag headquarters, questionnaires from Sarpang were mailed to the researcher.

1.8.1. SAMPLE SELECTION

A systematic survey methodology is very important in order to obtain valid and reliable information. It also pre-determines the overall extent of the research and its components such as type of sampling, data collection and other related research activities.

The stratified random sampling method was used to collect quantitative data through structured questionnaires mostly from dzongkhags and the local levels. In the stratified sampling method, the population is divided into a sub-population (strata) on the basis of the overall information and after that a random sample is been selected from each sub-population (Neuman, 1991). The study areas were identified from four selected regions of the country within which sample

populations were identified such as principals and teachers. This was because the principals and teachers ultimately implement policies in the schools. Similar stratified random sampling techniques were used as mentioned by Neuman (1991) and Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009).

The quality and validity of research depends on the choice of sampling techniques and sample size. It also depends on the research plan. Neuman notes that it “...depends on the kind of data analysis the researcher plans, on how accurate the sample has to be for the researcher’s purpose, and on population characteristics...larger sample size alone does not guarantee a representative sample” (Neuman, 1991, p.221).

The study included 119 schools out of which 49 were secondary schools (from class 7 to 12) and 69 were primary schools (PSs) and 1 extended classroom (class pre-primary to 6). A total of 1277 respondents (principals and teachers) filled in the questionnaires. Out of these 735 were male and rest were female. The age range of the respondents was between 18 to 65 years old. There were a total of 626 schools and 7873 teachers in 2014 in the range of PSs to HSSs, including extended classrooms in the country (MoE, 2014). Out of this, more than 16 per cent of principals and teachers were included in the quantitative sample population. This sample size is statistically significant and expected to obtain valid results. However, six questionnaires had to be discarded because they were not filled in properly. A few questionnaires were partially filled and this created minor discrepancies as is evident in some of the analysis tables. Table 1 shows the number of questionnaires (quantitative data) collected from four dzongkhags.

Table 1 No. of Questionnaires Collected

Sl. No.	Dzongkhags	No. of Respondents (principals and teachers)
1	Bumthang	113
2	Sarpang	260
3	Thimphu	436
4	Trashigang	468
Total		1,277

1.8.2. DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND PROCEDURES

Structured questionnaires were printed and distributed to the principals and teachers in the sampled districts. The questionnaires were designed to save time and avoid respondent fatigue. Most of the questions were open ended questions that required the respondents to choose on a scale between strongly agree or disagree (see appendix A for a sample questionnaire).

1.8.3. PILOT TEST AND VALIDATION OF RESEARCH TOOLS

The questionnaires were reviewed three times before the final printing. A pilot test of the questionnaires was given to the teachers and principals of four schools in Trashigang dzongkhag prior to the actual field survey. It took a week to pilot test the questionnaires from schools ranging from PSs to HSSs. After analysing the responses it was found that some questions required rephrasing while others needed re-writing and reorganization. It was also noticed at the time of data entry some questions required changing or re-coding of the answers provided by the respondents. Re-coding was made to fit SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and fit the analysis process.

The experiences gained and lessons learned from pilot tests were extremely useful in fine-tuning the research methods and also for the improvement of questionnaires thereby making them logical and systematic. The pilot test also provided insights on the total time required for a respondent to fill in the questionnaires and to determine the length for each interview. It also gave confidence, knowledge and skills in terms of conducting the final field survey and interviews.

1.8.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The data required systematic and logical procedures for the analysis. The primary data was processed in line with the research questions. Prior to the actual data analysis, the data and information collected was checked and sorted out accordingly. The data was then logically categorized under different groups according to the characteristics of the data and information. Data under different headings was sequentially compiled, tabulated, analysed and interpreted in descriptive statistics.

The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS and Spread sheet (Microsoft Excel). For quantitative data interpretation, statistical tools such as range, percentage and chi-square were used and the results were represented in form of tables, graphs and charts.

The Chi square (χ^2) test is used to check the independence of attributes, in this case, opinions from respondents – very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad and very bad are independent of the levels of schools they work in to observe whether each attribute in the crosstab are independent or not (see Table 18 for example). By using SPSS software χ^2 is calculated as the sum of squares of the observed frequency (f_o) minus expected frequency (f_e) divided by f_e . The formula for χ^2 is (Vernoy & Kyle, 2002, p.388):

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

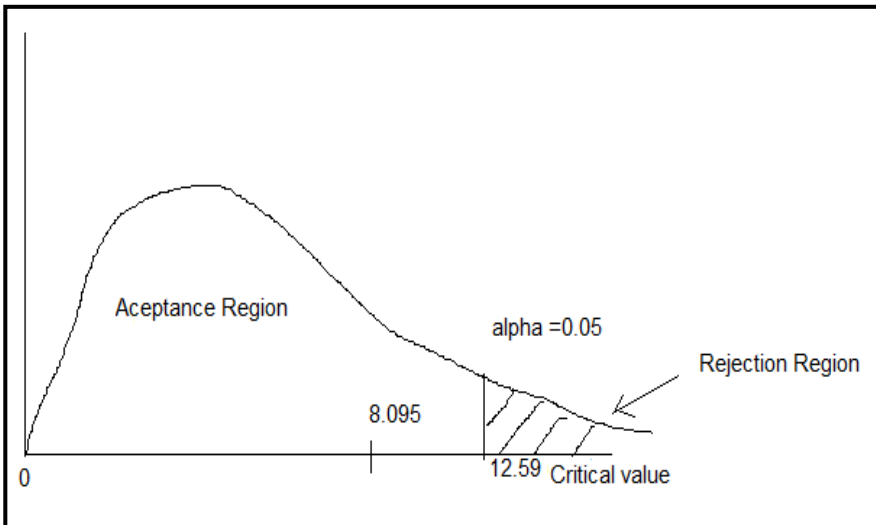
Aryrous explains:

The Chi-square statistic is calculated from the difference between the observed and expected frequencies in each cell of a bivariate table. The chi-square distribution is the probability distribution of the chi-square statistic for an infinite number of random samples of the same size drawn from populations where the two variables are independence of each other (2011, p.439)

If there is great difference between f_o and f_e it is then observed that the χ^2 value is large. As mentioned in χ^2 formula f_o minus f_e is squared and this shows that the range of the χ^2 values must start at zero and increase in a positive direction and the answer must be positive (see Figure 5).

For example, if we used Table 18 for χ^2 calculation at the 0.05 level of the significance with the critical value of 12.59 considering Table 18 is in crosstab format. The SPSS calculate $\chi^2=8.095$ and probability value of 0.231 showing that $\chi^2=8.095$ falls in the acceptance region (see figure 5) which means there was no significant variation in rating the quality of policy guidelines within the different school levels. If calculated χ^2 value goes beyond the critical values of 12.59 then it means that there is significant variation in the opinions about the policy guidelines between the different school levels.

Figure 5 The Chi-square Distribution



1.8.5. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS AT CENTRAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

The qualitative data was collected through key informant interviews. To choose relevant key informants, a snowball or chain sampling strategy was used which was quite effective as many people knew each other. This method is also appropriate to identify the right person who can give the right information to the researcher. Obtaining valid information would otherwise be extremely difficult and challenging because of the social setting and culture. Due to historical reasons sometimes people are reluctant to share information. From a CDA perspective Bhutanese believe in “Tha-damtse”⁴ and “Ley-jumdrey”,⁵ (Royal Government of Bhutan [RGoB], 1998, p.17) which is reciprocal respect for leaders/elders and subordinates. For the sake of maintaining order in society they may choose to give answers depending upon the situation (for further details refer to section 1.9 challenges and limitation of study).

The participants targeted for the qualitative primary data were officials from MoE, Planning and Policy Division (PPD), GNHC, DEOs, UNICEF, WFP and UNFPA. More than 40 interviews were conducted with principals, vice principals, teachers, DEOs and Assistant District Education Officers (ADEOs). To make interviews lively and informal, interviewees were allowed to speak in languages or dialects they were comfortable with, including a mixture of English and the national language (Dzongkha).⁶ The qualitative data was collected from group and individual interviews using a digital voice recorder. Semi-structured or open ended questions were asked. This allowed the key informants to share their opinions on the implementation of education policies. The researcher also took notes during the interviews.

The interviews provided crucial information regarding policies and policy implementation in the schools. This is because the key informants offered information based on first hand experience in relation to policy implementation. Further, the interviews with the principals were helpful in verifying and cross checking the data collected through questionnaires.

1.8.6. MAIN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework uses different theories which are broadly categorized into two: (i) State, Nation and Conservstative Developmental State (CDS) theories. (ii) Policy implementation theories. The State, Nation and CDS theories provide policy

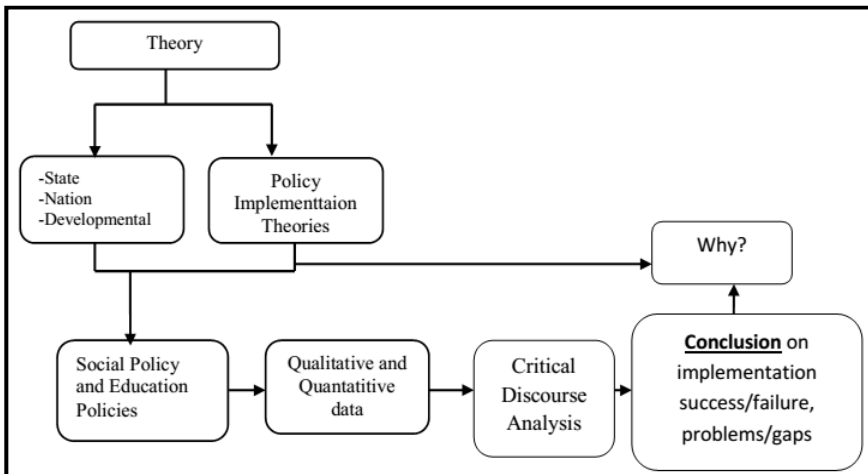
⁴*Reciprocal loyalty and commitment*

⁵*Cause and effect of one’s act*

⁶*The third King made Dzongkha as official language; approx. 30% of population speak and write.*

formulation and central agencies roles (the vertical policy flows) whereas the policy implementation theories attempted to relate the ground reality of policy implementation in various schools (horizontal policy flows and implementation). These theoretical approaches attempted to analyse the overall social policy implementation in general and education policy in particular which is later linked with primary data interpretation and analysis. The final data analysis also used CDA to further support the findings of education policy implementation in schools. The CDA attempts to extract certain essential texts or words from the articles, newspapers and documents which is used in validating the findings. Finally, the conclusions are drawn accordingly based on the data analysis and qualitative interviews which is linked back to the theories. Figure 6 shows the main analytical framework used in the research.

Figure 6 Analytical Framework



1.8.7. ETHICAL ISSUES AND THEIR CONSIDERATION

Due consideration to ethical issues is important especially when dealing with sensitive matters. This research involved interactions with many people and asked some complex and sensitive questions related to education policy of Bhutan. Therefore, maintaining confidentiality was considered an important precondition. Esterberg (2002) cautions that researchers must ensure and understand two issues: (i) maintaining confidentiality and (ii) obtaining informed consent while trying to collect any information.

This study considered ethical issues in every step. First, prior permission and consent was sought from the interviewees and survey participants before the actual field work and data collection. Utmost care was taken to maintain confidentiality

and privacy of the respondents by concealing their real names (persons, schools, etc). To reassure confidentiality, a ‘consent form’ (see appendix D) was developed and used during the interviews. The researcher ensured to follow the guidelines set by the University and made sure to maintain the presentation of data and results to represent truthful views expressed by the respondents. The researcher also sought prior permission from the MoE to conduct fieldwork in schools (see permission letter in appendix B).

1.9. CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

The objective of this research was to explore the effectiveness of education policy implementation in schools. There were challenges related to administrative rules and regulations which require teachers, as civil servants, not to express opinions without prior permission from the ministry (see the civil service code of conduct in appendix C). Therefore, the researcher was compelled to seek permission from MoE to visit schools, to collect data and follow the rules as stipulated in government policy. In general many Bhutanese are not exposed to the research environment; therefore to collect data was quite a difficult business. Furthermore, some Bhutanese are not open and do not express their feelings and views because of the lack of exposure and confidence. Getting authentic information was therefore challenging as it demanded special research skills and time.

Another challenge related to the availability of reliable data and information on education and social policies. It proved difficult to get all information from one source. At the same time information providers such as ministries, departments and agencies were reluctant to share information. There also seemed to be a lack of proper guidelines for sharing information to the public or researchers. There is also a dearth of research conducted on the implementation of education policy and this presented a challenge related to relevant academic articles as well as reports. There were however some reports available regarding the quality of education, education system, and curriculum and school development.

The study has some limitations in respect to its scope and methodology which can be highlighted as follows:

- The field survey covered schools of four dzongkhags of Trashigang, Bumthang, Thimphu and Sarpang.
- The information collected with the help of questionnaires was limited to only principals and teachers in the sampled districts. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to use “observation” and follow classes in schools. It was also beyond the scope to interview parents and children although that would have added another dimension to the study.

- Some of the teachers were reluctant to fill in the questionnaires and as a result the researcher did not therefore reach the targeted sample size.
- The interviews with principals could not gather adequate responses since they were busy most of the time. Schools are spread across the settlements and visiting individual schools to collect information was very difficult due to geographical constraints and limited time for data collection.

1.10. THE STRUCTURE OF THESIS SUMMARY

1.10.1. INTRODUCING EDUCATION REFORMS

Chapter one introduces the importance of education and its reforms. It explains the research problems, objectives, significance and purposes. It also provides the structure of theories used for the study such as state, nation, developmental state along with top-down and bottom-up policy implementation theories. The mixed method is the main component applied in the analysis and also the CDA to validate the findings. The chapter also presents challenges and limitations of the study.

1.10.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: STATE, NATION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Chapter two provides explanation on main the theoretical framework. The CDS theory comprises the main part as most of the discussions in this research draws on the relevance for Bhutan's policy-making and its implementation. These theories explain how the CDS tactically implement policy successfully for strong nation-building, promote national identity and social cohesion. The success story of CDS is considered due to the state embeddedness, competent bureaucrats, strong political system and intention to sustain sovereignty only then policy can be implemented as desired by the central agency. It also explains concepts of good governance and its implication for the success of policy implementation.

1.10.3. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION REFORMS AND THE CDS

This chapter presents education reforms in CDS countries with special reference to East Asia where education plays a vital role for the improvement of social policy and welfare provisions. It covers education policy implementation and reforms in the East Asian context where education has been used as a medium for social integration basically to promote national identity and citizenship. In CDS education plays a crucial role for inculcating values, promotes culture and tradition. Education in CDS intends to develop a strong sense of national solidarity and love for the country.

1.10.4. THEORIES OF POLICY FLOWS: IMPLEMENTATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

The main discussion in this chapter is policy implementation theories which attempt to draw relevancy for education policy implementation. The top-down and bottom-up theories have been used mainly to see policy flows in education systems. It also explains policy flow mechanisms and implementation challenges in developing countries. Further, it outlines the main factors affecting policy implementation in an organization. The last part of the chapter explains decentralization in policy implementation process related to certain factors such as the environment, inter-government relationship, resources and types of implementing agencies. Most developing countries are characterized by centralized regulatory government which affects implementation of policy as well as decentralization processes.

1.10.5. SOCIAL POLICY OF BHUTAN

This chapter explains the development of major social policies in Bhutan since 1950. It provides the trends of socio-economic conditions that have changed over the years. The development philosophy of the country – GNH and the main development goals such as Bhutan 2020 and MDGs are also discussed in this chapter. Further the chapter explains the decentralization process such as local government like Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchungs (District Development Committee), Gewog Yargye Tshogchungs (Block Development Committee) and Dzongkhag Thromdey Tshogdu (District Municipal Committee). More specifically it emphasizes decentralization processes in the education system which relates to policy flows and implementation. The chapter concludes by explaining good governance and finance in the education system and schools that expenses for education in Bhutan largely depend on external grants.

1.10.6. NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY PLANNING AT THE CENTRAL LEVEL

This chapter explains national education policy and its goals. It also covers modern education development in Bhutan including the curriculum development, assessments, controversial issues of corporal punishment, educating for GNH, performance management system, school health program, promotion of Bhutanese social etiquette, scouting, mindfulness program, games and sports, clubs, and cultural activities in schools. It attempts to review the entire education policy both curricula and non-curricula programs which has been constantly changed over the years. Most of these policies come from the central ministry either in form of orders and also sometimes ad hoc which has resulted in a variation of policy implementation in schools.

1.10.7. IMPLEMENTATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS PERCEPTIONS

The focus of this chapter is to generate critical analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data. The first part covers profile and details of respondents. The second part presents comprehensive data analysis of related education policy studies from policy understanding to implementation at different levels of schools and location. It seems that there are variations of policy implementation in different levels of schools and also according to their location. There are also factors affecting the vertical and horizontal policy flows which affect the policy implementation in schools.

1.10.8. ANALYSIS OF THE CDS IN BHUTANESE EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION

The main emphasis of this chapter is to provide a discussion of Butanese education policy implementation in connection with the CDS theory and also top-down and bottom-up policy implementation approaches. It is found out that there are similarities in social policy implementation especially in areas of decision making and flow of policy. CDS emphasizes nation-building through promoting national identity by providing values and moral education which can also be seen in Bhutan's education policy. There are also similarities examined in Bhutan's policy implementation process like 'state embeddedness' and insulated bureaucrats in order to sustain and implement central policy efficiently. Most of the decisions and policy flows emanate from the central ministry to dzongkhags then to different levels of school and it follows a top-down approach of policy implementation. Therefore policy implementation approach in Bhutan's education system is almost similar to the CDS model.

1.10.9. MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The last chapter presents the major findings of the study in which education policy has been implemented inconsistently across the schools with various reasons such as location, types of teachers, isolated policy formulation, medium of policy dissemination, net working of sub-level organizations for policy flow, level of decentralization, monitoring system, and accessibility. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: STATE, NATION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

This chapter is structured into six sections. The first section attempts to provide different theoretical perspectives of the state covering various views from the classical to the modern period. It also elucidates a wide range of the state's roles and functions. The second section explains different concepts of nation and nation-state in the context of nation-building. The third section introduces the liberal state and Max Webers' understanding of state and bureaucracy. The fourth is the major part which links the conservative state with a deconstruction of the Developmental State (DS). It examines the DS's characteristics under different economic and political scenarios and introduces the concept of the Conservative Developmental State (CDS). This section also discusses the different evolutions and trajectories leading to the CDS and finally introduces the development state and Good Governance (GG) debate. It also provides a comparative perspective of the CDS, GG and good enough governance by reviewing different concepts and paradigms. The fifth section introduces critical theory and the social democratic state and finally the last part reconstructs and conceptualizes the state, nation and CDS theories to draw relevant concepts in order to understand the evolution, role and function of the CDS in Bhutan and its input into the social policy framework. The final section distils an overall conceptual framework for the thesis. This will be followed in chapter three where the analytical categories concerned with education policy in the CDS are presented and chapter four which develops theoretical concepts regarding policy implementation which are being applied in the empirical analysis.

2.1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE STATE

There is no general agreement in academic literature on how to conceptualize the state and nation as the concepts are often used interchangeably. However, the following explanations seek to clarify and categorise the concepts used in state and/or nation-building theories.

Although the 'state' has got different conceptions and many political scientists apply different theories to explain the concept, a majority of these perspectives perceive the state as one of the most universal and powerful social institutions. For instance, Greek thinkers elaborated quite advanced views and one of the philosophers noted that "only in the State can man attain his perfection and find true satisfaction" (Bluntschli, 2000, p.39). According to Plato, the state is "the highest revelation of human virtue and the harmonious manifestation of the powers of the human soul, humanity perfected" (Ibid). Humans always desired to hold power and

Plato's thinking illustrate this: "the wise ought to rule, the brave warriors should protect the community, and the classes which are occupied with material acquisition and bodily work should obey the two higher orders" (Op. cit., pp.39-40).

For Aristotle the state is characterised as "the association of clans and village-communities in a complete and self-sufficing life" (Op. cit., p.40). He considers that man by nature is a political animal and therefore the state can be seen as the end result of human virtue. He also asserts that the state emerges for the purpose of preserving life, thus it will exist forever for the sake of maintaining good life.

Seen in this light the state appears to be the most important political collective with "a government structure, usually sovereign and powerful enough to enforce its writ" (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros, & Jones, 2010, p.59). The etymological understanding of the state is derived from the Latin word *stare* (to stand) and *status* (a standing or condition). In English the term 'state' is the contraction of the word 'estate' and the similar term in French is the word 'estat' and the modern 'etat'. Both imply a 'profession or social status'. The word "statute" was used after the revival of Roman Law studies in 12th century Italy, which implies the legal standing of all sorts and conditions of men, in which rulers were considered to be enjoying a distinctive designation 'estate royal', "estat du roui" or 'status Regis' (Musonda, 2006, p.15).

This high estate of the ruler normally comes from the family, rank and significantly from property. The ruler or ruling persons also possess the greatest authority and power. Such authority was often seen during the 13th century when the state was supposed to "guarantee justice, the common good and hence the peace and happiness of the subjects" (Op. cit., p.16).

However, it was Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) who first systematically used the term 'state' in his writings. His important work titled "The Prince" explains the state's role and functions. He asserted that the state is the highest form of human association which is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. The state continues to remain for the sake of good life. The aims, desires and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the state. He emphasizes that "religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state" and "...politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws" (Machiavelli, n.d., p.5). Therefore, a sovereign state must be above all the individuals and institutions enjoying absolute power. Machiavelli's main point was that a ruler does not need any moral basis to judge the difference between legitimate and illegitimate uses of power. Indeed, authority and power are essentially coequal: whoever has power has the right to command.

In line with this argument Kukathas sees the supreme state as a distinct political construction:

A state is a form of political association or polity that is distinguished by the fact that it is not itself incorporated into any political associations, though it may incorporate other such associations. The state is thus a supreme corporate entity because it is not incorporated into any other entity, even though it might be subordinate to other powers (such as another state or an empire) (2008, p.2).

This way it has its own independent structure of political authority which comprises of separate physical territories. It is a political community but it cannot be considered that all political communities are states. The rationale behind this argument is that there is also a difference between state and nation. Kukathas states: "A state is not a nation, or a people, though it may contain a single nation, parts of different nations, or a number of entire nations" (Ibid). Therefore it is important to distinguish that "...the nation is not a mere sum of citizens, and the state is not a mere collection of external regulations" (Bluntschli, 2000, p.25). A state leads to the formation of society but does not necessarily comprise or include society. This makes it imperative to stress that the state may have a 'government' but the state cannot be a government as there exist many more governments than there are states. The government is merely part of the state. "The state is a continuing, even permanent, entity" (Heywood, 2004, p.77) but in contrast government is a temporary entity and comes and goes. However, government is an actor of the state or "the brains of the state" that has authority to enact laws, formulate and implement state policy. Thus, government is representation of state authority. In this way, the government seems to dictate and control state institutions like police, military, educational, health, welfare systems and other services. The state's mission is to secure the long term benefits of society like the maintenance of public order, social stability, long-term prosperity and national security whereas government might look for short-term gains.

The state has wider perspectives as explained by Heywood (2007) who defines it as a collection of institutions, a territorial unit, a philosophical idea, and instrument of coercion. It is further categorized into three main perspectives: idealist, functional and organizational. In the idealist perspective Hegel identifies three social institutions as the family, civil society and the state. In the functional approach, the state maintains social cohesion. Bluntschli in a similar context and in line with the functional understanding defines the characteristic of the state as "...the unity of the whole, the cohesion of the nation" (2000, p.23). In the organizational perspective, the state is understood as a system of systems not only civil society per se but a coordinated system that has linkages with several institutions of government such as the bureaucracy, military, police, judiciary, social-security system and so on. In this context and in line with Max Weber, the state is defined as a "...set of institutions that uphold order and deliver social stability" (Heywood, 2007, p.90). In

this view the state is therefore the legitimate institution that maintains law and provides services to its citizens as well as a stable and secure societal order.

To give a coherent and contextual understanding and establish a theoretical and conceptual foundation for analysis of the overall role of the state, government and bureaucracy in formulating and planning social policy in general and education in particular, it is necessary to deal with the connections between the concepts of nation and nation-building. Such an understanding is assumed to be important since it enables a wider perspective of the historical foundation and political and cultural determinants involved in the construction of planning, policy-making and decision-making in Bhutan.

2.2. APPROACHES TO NATION AND NATION-BUILDING

There are diverging understandings of the concept of nation. Heywood explains that the “nation tends to be used with little precision, and is often used interchangeably with terms such as state, country, ethnic group and race” (2007, p.110). In this case the state is the subset of the nation which comprises several ethnic groups. Roskin et al. note that from a sociological perspective “a nation is a population with a certain sense of itself, a cohesiveness, a shared history and culture, and often (but not always) a common language” (2010, p.59). However, Mancall argues

...a nation constituted that region and or people within which a common language, shared tastes, shared conceptions of law and order, a shared system of weights and measures, allow commerce to take place more easily than across linguistic and other boundaries (2004, p.19).

The nation may be understood from two perspectives: ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’. The objective understanding of a nation is considered to be comprised of cultural entities such as groups of people with same language, religion and who share past events and history. These entities essentially promote politics of nationalism while a diverse cultural setting may pose challenges in building a nation. Since almost all nations “encompass a measure of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity” (Heywood, 2007, p.110) they challenge nation-building in general and the establishment of national unity.

The nation can also be defined ideally in subjective term as “[it] is a psycho-political construct” (Ibid) or be interpreted by its level of “national consciousness” in which it “encompasses a sense of belonging or loyalty to a particular community, usually referred to as ‘patriotism’, literally a love for one’s country” (Heywood, 2004, p.98).

Therefore, “a nation defines itself by its quest for independent statehood” (Op. cit., p.99) and in this way it may be perceived as a ‘distinctive political community’ differentiating it from the term ‘ethnic group’. An ethnic group may also play a collective role for nation-building as they possess a “communal identity and a sense of cultural pride, although, unlike a nation, it lacks collective political aspirations” (Op. cit., p.110).

It is a great concern for countries with diverse ethnicities as it may pose a great hurdle and challenges to security and sovereignty and also democracy itself since ethnic groups may establish political parties and rally for autonomy.

For the nation-state, the concepts of sovereignty and legitimacy are thus important components because the population shows their loyalty to the nation according to their interpretation of these characteristics. Pick states that, “since there is only one state for each nation, one nation cannot be politically subject to another” (2011, p.5). The legal concept of sovereignty implies that no nation-state is under the legal authority of anybody because the population must accept the government as the nations’ authority. The political concept of legitimacy is the constituted government processes which are realised through the legal processes and constitution. Government is primarily comprised of the executive, legislature and judiciary which are supposed to function in accordance with the constitution. The nation-state has a more significant role to play maintaining national and international peace, promoting democracy and enhancing social and economic development, for which every nation aspires. Most developing countries adopt development and nation-building strategies that are state-led and some Asian countries applied the CDS strategy soon after gaining independence and had to enhance nation building strategies securing sovereignty and legitimacy and having to deal with different ethnic constellations.

The role of the nation-state has progressively expanded after the twentieth century due to the advancement of democratic concepts, economic growth, and need for social security. At the same time, approaches to understanding the nature of the state also diversified to social democracy, liberalism and paternalistic conservative views. These approaches have differing views and ideas about provision of welfare, reduction of poverty and social inequality. These ideas also vary among the different states and this might be determined by questions related to power and ideology which then inform the provision of public services, state benefits and tax systems.

Esping-Andersen (1990) suggests a useful classification of states according to social welfare and social policy. He distinguishes between three state categories of regime codification in terms of social stratification: “the liberal state, in which modest social-insurance plans dominate; the conservative state, in which status

differentials are preserved; and social democratic states, in which universal social rights are expanded” (Op. cit., p.26).

2.3. THE LIBERAL STATE AND THE WEBERIAN PERSPECTIVE

In the liberal and neo-liberal view most problems are related to state intervention. Market failures are the outcome of government intervention or lack of intervention while inherent market failures are considered to be abnormal. What is at stake is self-interested individuals acting in the market place who strive to get social goods while there is a claimed welfare-reducing effect of competitive self-interested behaviour in the political context over redistribution.

The liberal view of the state focuses on the individual and the market and may be defined as:

The modern state is an association rather than a community...highly organized of all forms of association...its purposes are in practice limited to the traditional negative function of the preservation of order and security against deliberate infringement of rights in respect of person or property (for instance, against assault or theft) and freedom, as well as the newer, positive function of the promotion of welfare and justice (Musonda, 2006, p.90).

However, there is fundamental disagreement “about the exact role that the state should play in society” (Heywood, 2004, p.85). This disagreement brings to fore the question of how to find the right balance in power relations and exchanges between state, market and civil society. Liberal theory sees the state as sovereign and with coercive authority with individuals having the freedom to exercise their choice and make own decisions. Society exists in form of voluntary and autonomous associations of people. The classical liberal view explains that individuals must enjoy fullest possible liberties and that the state should play a minimal role. This means that the objective of the state is to provide guidance to maintain peace and social order without limiting citizen’s liberty and influencing their choices. Therefore, the state should be like a “night-watchman”, acting only when her tranquillity is threatened.

The liberal position maintains that there are three functions of the state (Heywood 2004, p.85):

- (i) the central function of the state is ‘minimal’ or ‘nightwatchman’, to maintain internal order and provide security to the citizens;

- (ii) to ensure that the voluntary agreements or contracts which private individuals enter into are respected, and if required these agreements can be enforced through a judicial system;
- (iii) provide protection from external attack by putting in place an armed forces.

The defining characteristic of the liberal view of social welfare, social policy and also education and health provision is that the market shall allocate resources to serve the needs of the people. However, targeted assistance is allowed since a complete withdrawal of the state may cause social problems and in this sense the state may offer those with special needs social services in order to avoid chaos and instability. This may also apply when there are threats to private property rights.

Max Weber's liberal theory of society as well as his critique of bureaucratic domination illustrates his scepticism towards totalitarianism and the strong state. His theories about state and bureaucracy were seen as an alternative to socialism which was perceived as a political order that produced governmental bureaucracy and human alienation (Mommson & Osterhammel, 1987, p.3).

Weber originally tried to list the essential characteristics of the state as "an administrative and legal order, a bureaucratic apparatus, binding authority over a population and territory, and monopoly of the legitimate use of force" (Lee, 1988, p.12). Here, in order to define the state, Weber tried to highlight territoriality and violence or physical force as two distinctive characteristics of history. He stressed that "the use of physical force is neither the sole, nor even the most usual, method of administration of political organization" (Pierson, 2004, p.7) but rather that "force is a means specific to the state" (Musonda, 2006, p.17). The monopoly of using physical force is a demonstration of the state's sovereignty.

Weber also perceived the state as "the bureaucratic organization of authority and domination...as the central political organization, the state is first and foremost the dominant organization of society" (Lee, 1988, p.12). The state should be the legitimate form of governance with power in a centralized political system. The public bureaucracy plays a decisive role of maintaining the state and therefore, Pierson (2004, p.16) claims, that public bureaucracies operate and deliver services while exhibiting the following characteristics:

- (i) that bureaucratic administration is conducted according to fixed rules and procedures, within a clearly established hierarchy and in line with clearly demarcated official responsibilities;
- (ii) that access to employment within the civil service is based upon special examinations and that its effective operation is dependent upon

knowledge of its special administrative procedures – a good deal of the power of the civil service rests upon its specialized knowledge and ‘expertise’;

- (iii) that bureaucratic management is based upon knowledge of written documents (‘the files’) and depends upon the impartial application of general rules to particular cases;
- (iv) that the civil servant acts not in a personal capacity, but as the occupier of a particular public office.

According to Weber holding a civil service position is considered prestigious and demands a responsibility to deliver public duty. However there is a clear hierarchical career path which normally comes with “a job for life”. He also mentioned vaguely that modernization increases the power of the bureaucracy. However, he asserted that “the power position of a fully-fledged bureaucracy is always great, under normal conditions overtopping” (Mann, 1993, p.58). Bureaucracy is therefore inevitable and bureaucratization takes place since “it is obvious that technically the great modern state is absolutely dependent upon a bureaucratic basis” (Pierson, 2004, p.16). The strong bureaucracy may empower the state but in turn it may also legitimate bureaucracy to exercise power. Bureaucracy in this sense is the instrument for sovereignty of the state since power and authority is gradually devolving from the single ruler. Dispersing sovereign power through the chain of bureaucratic systems can lead to ripple effects of power. The power sharing takes place in a hierarchical order in a bureaucratic milieu. This mechanism maintains the sovereignty of the central government (Burns, 1980) and accomplishes the goals of the state.

The state is considered as “a relation of human beings dominating other human beings, a relation supported by means of legitimate (that is, considered to be legitimate) violence” (Musonda, 2006, p.17). Authority and legitimacy are important features of the state. Such coercion may indicate the mission of survival of the state in the long term because certain groups of subordinates may always exercise some level of non-compliance. Pierson states that, “a stable state requires that, for whatever reason, most of the people most of the time will accept its rule” (2004, p.17). Over time the state may attempt to maintain social cohesion through negotiation and based on trust and consent.

The concepts of power, domination, legitimacy and authority are thus key features of the state as conceptualized by Weber. Power refers to “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests” (Musonda, 2006, p.17) while domination means “the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a group of persons” (Pierson, 2004,

p.17). The concept of power is broader while domination may be a more precise concept. The authority has power to dominate, and power is used to command subordinates because they have the responsibility to obey (Musonda, 2006). Power can be also gained through control of state resources and wealth.

Domination manifests itself in two ways; legitimate and illegitimate. Weber focuses more on legitimate domination which may be defined as:

the situation in which the manifested will (command) of the ruler or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more other (the ruled), and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruled has made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake (Op. cit., p.18).

The rules might be accepted by the people with various reasons such as “a sense of duty, fear, ‘dull’ costume, personal advantage, and attachment to the ruler’s values, emotional or ideal motives of solidarity” (Ibid). However, such domination system may not survive until rule is accepted and the ruler has legitimacy to command. It may also depend on the dynamics of society, for instance, a change in the people’s values/beliefs. Thus, Musonda stresses “the command must be accepted as ‘a “valid” norm’ shared between the rulers and the ruled” (Ibid). It is only then that the state can gain stability and sustain cohesion within the society.

According to Weber, legitimacy means “the prestige of being considered binding” while legitimate authority refers to “an authority which is obeyed, at least in part, ‘because it is in some appreciable way regarded by the [subordinate] actor as in some way obligatory or exemplary for him” (Pierson, 2004, p.18). The state’s authority and legitimacy has to function without much resistance from the general population. To sustain the state, some level of legitimacy is required to prevent disorder.

There are three types of legitimacy as stated by Pierson (Ibid):

- (i) ***Rational grounds*** – resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rulers to issue command (legal domination);
- (ii) ***Traditional grounds*** – resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them (traditional domination);
- (iii) ***Charismatic grounds*** – resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person and of the

normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic domination).

For the state, sole power does not just rest on legal authority but there are other legal law enforcement bodies like bureaucracies and judicial. The significant feature of the state lies “above all, to the idea that the state embodies and expresses the (sovereign) will of the people” (Ibid). Therefore, the state is neither illegal for freedom nor autonomy of individuals but it is a total representation of individual people’s wills. Pierson asserts “in obeying the state, we are simply obeying the dictates of our own wills vicariously expressed” (Ibid).

Weber’s theory is useful in its analytical description of the role of the bureaucracy and the legitimacy concepts he introduces. The theory is also linked with the liberal theory here because of his aversion for conservatism and socialism. It is in his spirit that the liberal welfare state’s main definition is based.

The attitude towards social welfare entitlements of the liberal state relies on the idea that benefits should not change an individual’s incentive to work, i.e. preferring work over benefits, thus leading to a modest compensation level. By only guaranteeing a minimum level of benefits, liberal welfare states only secure a minimum level of de-commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp.26-27) here understood as the strength of social entitlements and citizens' degree of immunity from market dependency.

2.4. THE CONSERVATIVE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

In contrast to the liberal perspective the ‘CDS’ can be both corporatist and statist (state and nation-building) and may be regarded first and foremost as relying on organic statism. Its theoretical foundation rests on traditional, cultural values and ideology which are anti-utopian and revolve around the preservation of hierarchy, corporatism and the family as the smallest institution in an organic society. The importances of traditional relations of authority and status, starting in the family, and all the way up to the ‘corpora’ and with the highest stage as the nation-state are key features of the conservative state (Oorschot et al., 2008, p.79). The central problem addressed by the CDS is the maintenance of order and integration of society as an antidote to modernisation.

In the CDS, welfare benefits are distributed according to occupation, with civil servants receiving favourable treatment so as to ensure their loyalty to the state. This type of policy tends to maintain the traditional social structure and class relations, and it also engenders a sense of loyalty amongst the citizenry to the traditional forms of government as seen in a number of East Asian CDSs.

State-led economic development of capitalist, authoritarian and conservative economies in East Asia emerged as a consequence of these countries' geopolitical position as neighbours to China and the Soviet Union. It made it imperative for the United States and Europe to establish successful pro-Western capitalist models.

The CDS is inspired by a Listian ideology and organic society which refers to mercantilist ideas: "Mercantilism was precisely a theory of the coherent intervention of the political state into the workings of the economy, in the joint interests of the prosperity of the one and the power of the other" (Woo-Cumings, 1999, p.5). The attempt to establish coherent state intervention and social engineering has played a decisive role for the CDS to gain economic growth, improve living standards and preserve culture and tradition.

The so-called economic miracles of East Asia occurred exactly by "selecting and disciplining industries, connecting bureaucrats to business, and getting relative prices wrong" (Kim, 2009, p.383). This development approach led East Asia to transform from being poverty trapped countries to high economic growth. Subsequently, it has "left a strong impression that there is some sort of a short cut to sustainable high growth" (Op. cit., p.384).

Chalmers Johnson's pioneering work of 1982 "MITI and the Japanese Miracle" outlines four components of the CDS model (Stein, 2000, p.9):

- 1) The first element of the model is the existence of a small, inexpensive but elite state bureaucracy staffed by the best managerial talent available in the system.
- 2) The second element...is a political system in which the bureaucracy is given sufficient scope to take initiative and operate effectively.
- 3) The third element is the perfection of market-conforming methods of state intervention in the economy.
- 4) A fourth and final element of the model is a pilot organization like MITI.

However, it does not necessarily mean that the state has total control over development. As Castells explains,

A state is developmental when it establishes as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote and sustain development, understanding by development the combination of steady high rates of economic growth and structural change in the productive system, both domestically and in its relationship to the international economy (1992, p.56).

The CDS is not only about domestic economic growth but also has to build international relations to make access to markets which in turn contributed to sustainable economic growth.

Williams (2014) points out that there are four pivotal conditions which compelled the CDS to revisit its goals and strategies for development: Economic restructuring, domestic politics, epistemic shifts and ecological limits. These changes of economic and political outlook combined with the geopolitical argument might have propelled the 'East Asian' nations to take on development but it does not provide an adequate explanation for its success.

The study of Vartiainen (1999, p.218) reveals six common stylized features for the success of the CDS which illustrate its continued corporatist and conservative nature:

- (i) the state has been very powerful and interventionist in implementation of any policies;
- (ii) extremely organized corporatist economies in which strategic decisions such as economic and industrial policy has been coordinated with the state and organized interest groups of workers and businesses;
- (iii) political and collective decisions have been regulated to channel savings into capital accumulation and intervened in distributional conflicts around the distribution of income;
- (iv) despite extensive etatist planning, the state and the political establishment are committed to the liberal market order and also respect private property rights;
- (v) the state has been politically strong and endowed with a large and competent bureaucracy;
- (vi) they were confronted with the threat of loss of sovereignty because each country is situated in a contested border zone between two ideological blocks of capitalism and communism.

Sato (2013) also mentions that the success of the Japanese and South Korean CDS lies in explicit industrial policy, the autonomy of the government, the non-existence of a strong economic class, the capability of bureaucrats and institutions in formulating and implementing policies.

Due to these mechanisms the CDS has been based:

on the assumed role of the state in facilitating the structural transition from a primitive/agrarian to a modern/manufacturing society. [It] is meant to play the social engineering role (i.e. the role of restructuring the national economic system) for promoting long-term (industrial) development (Kasahara, 2013, p.3).

It is not only economic achievement and industrial development; the CDS also needs to be regarded as having made significant improvement in living standards across all sections of society. Therefore, in a nutshell “the developmental state is a lot more than a state that implements defensive protectionist measures” (Op. cit., p.4). It must possess “the vision, leadership and capacity to bring about a positive transformation of society within a condensed period of time” (Fritz & Menocal, 2007, p.533).

Close relationship and linkages between the state and private sectors have been pointed out by Evans (1995) as a significant part of “state embeddedness”. For Evans “the successful developmental state needs to be sufficiently embedded in society so that it can achieve its development objectives by acting through “social infrastructure”, but not so close to business that it risks ‘capture’ by particular interests” (Kasahara, 2013, p.5). Similarly Kim asserts that the state needs to build “strong capacity to implement and sustain “big push” programmes” (2009, p.384) and it has to be insulated from particular interests of the society. State capacity and insulation are key elements for state autonomy, which are normally interlinked in the bureaucratic agencies that coordinate industrial and sectorial policies. In this manner, state autonomy (capacity and insulation) is embedded in society. Therefore, it is considered that state autonomy, bureaucratic coordinated institutions and embeddedness are key factors that produced economic miracles through the CDS model.

It is also worth repeating that the CDS is composed and defined by a competent bureaucracy in pilot agencies which formulate and implement policies for economic development. These administrators were selected among the best human resources in the country. When they obtained prestigious position and legitimacy they were able to recruit other outstanding personnels. They were further empowered with additional authority to devise policy tools required for the agency. Additionally, Sindzingre points out that “education and training, particularly within the civil service, were key strategies, in addition to the minimal use of foreign expatriates, and an emphasis on infrastructures” (2006, p.5). Therefore, such conditions might have led to a strong economy with great state capacity in terms of development policy formulation and the ability to implement these policies effectively (Kasahara, 2013).

Furthermore, there is an interesting debate about the importance of infrastructure, duties and political commitment in which human and material resources are identified as infrastructure power and the ability to motivate political forces for commitment. Ghani et al. have asserted two key attributes of the CDS:

...the state must have the capacity to control a vast majority of its territory and possess a set of core capacities that will enable it to design and deliver policies; ...the project must involve some degree of reach and inclusion, and have an institutional, long-term perspective that transcends any specific political figure or leader (2006, p.4).

It is the duty and commitment which defines the CDS: “The duty refers to the expectations of citizens and other stakeholders who perceive the state as responsible for development...Credibility means that rhetorical commitments are reliable and trustworthy...” (Levi-Faur, 2012, p.10). This implies that the CDS has greater responsibility or duty to deliver ‘development’ and growth while state elites must play a critical role to achieve economic development by not keeping policy and plans at the rhetorical level.

The question is whether this phenomenon is transferable and whether other countries can emulate it. This point has created an interesting debate where Chang argues that it is:

a state that derives political legitimacy from its record in economic development, which it tries to achieve mainly by means of selective industrial policy – there is no point in discussing it except as a phenomenon that once existed in a particular place (East Asia) at a particular time (1950s-1980s) (2010, p.1).

This infers that the rapid economic development successes of East Asia can be correlated with time and location and may be seen as a contextual development path which is not applicable.

In continuation with this argument scholars have pointed out that the evolution of the Japanese growth miracle was time specific as economic growth slowed down after the 1980s (Pempel, 1999 & Sato, 2013). Sindzingre (2006) argues that the developmental state might have evolved in combination with economic, political and institutional structures in the given time and space. Pempel presumes that:

yet the “developmental regime” may be quite bound by time and geography. It is highly unlikely that potential emulators of the Northeast Asian political economies will enjoy anything like the

same favourable international conditions as did Japan, Korea, and Taiwan (1999, p.180).

Though geopolitics played a decisive role for the mode of economic production in which institutions have developed, most scholars also consider the quality of institutions to be of paramount importance because they “provide dependable property rights, manage conflicts, maintain law and order, and align economic incentives with social costs and benefits [which] are foundation of long-term growth” (Rodrik, 2003, p.10). Elements related to these conditions have been replicated by other countries like Malaysia and China where the latter stands out as the most significant example (Rodrik, 2003) in proving that Pempel may be wrong.

In fact Johnson notes, “I believed that the “developmental state” actually exist in time and space in East Asia and also exists as an abstract generalization about the essence of the East Asian examples. It is both particular and generalizable” (1999, p.43). This needs to be taken into consideration because there are countries attempting to emulate the same developmental model. To this point Johnson recommends that “I had no doubt that other Asian, African, and Latin American nations would try to emulate Japan, but I did not recommend that the United States try it” (1999, p.41). There are particular causes, conditions and characteristics which have to be in place in order to be able to become a CDS as previously mentioned by Evans (1995), Johnson (1999), Vartiainen (1999), and others.

It is understood that the CDS focuses on the national development agenda, which is build up on a solid foundation of capacity enhancement with focus on economic growth as well as provision of public services.

While the CDS was considered effective, a new ideology and theoretical counter-offensive emerged under the banner of good governance ‘GG’ which critiqued the theories of statist development strategies with a special focus on developing countries.

2.4.1. THE IFI’S INTRODUCTION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

The key concept of Good Governance (GG) emerged in the 1990s as an attempt to counter the powerful literature about the DS and propose a liberal alternative presumably to promote effective, efficient and enabling development policies. The main intention of introducing this concept was to enhance the role of the liberal state in addressing issues related to what, in classical liberal language was referred to as poor state intervention, viewed to be a problem in the developing countries and in particular Asia.

Before delving into the GG, it is important to understand ‘governance’ which has been commonly used in policy discourses since the 1980s. It is often used

synonymously with ‘government’ by most popular writers while academics and international practitioners use ‘governance’ when discussing the complex structure and process of public and private management (Weiss, 2000). The Commission for Global Governance defines ‘governance’ as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is the continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken” (Op. cit., p.796). Many international organizations have attempted to define ‘governance’ in various ways but the neo-liberal ‘manage (ment)’ term has often been used.

According to the World Bank (WB) “governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development” and GG for the WB means “sound development management” (WB, 1992, p.1).⁷ The UNDP version of GG is “...the exercise of economic, political and administration authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels” (Santiso, 2001, p.3) which includes mechanisms, processes and institutions to enable citizens and group interest to raise issues, exercise their legal rights, meet their needs and mediate their differences. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), governance “denotes the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development” (Ibid). These propositions seem to focus on the linkages between authority and its subjects in respect of fair resource allocation for socio-economic development. Smith notes that governance means “government plus something else: public policies, institutions, a system of economic relationships, or a role for the non-governmental sector in the business of the state” (2007, p.3). Governance therefore refers to the process of ensuring that duties of government such as administration, legal framework, safeguarding accountability through better auditing, decentralization, the policies on corruption, civil service reform, and improved information on policy issues for both decision-makers and public are undertaken.

The WB (1992, p.9) argues that poor governance can be observed by the following symptoms:

- (i) Failure to distinguish between public and private expenditure, tendency to divert public resources for private gain;
- (ii) Failure to establish a predictable framework for law and government functions suitable for development, or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws;

⁷Although the WB never specified what the word “sound” means.

- (iii) Too many rules, regulations, licensing requirements, and complicated bureaucratic procedures which hinder market functioning and encourage rent-seeking;
- (iv) Inconsistent priorities for development which often lead to misallocation of resources;
- (v) Non-transparency in decision-making.

This state of affairs may affect development and can further escalate poor performance on the part of government and ultimately lead to citizen's losing confidence in their government. Thus, according to the liberal view, GG proved to be an effective measure for the 'corrective intervention' where government plays a responsible role.

Ensuring fairness and justice to the citizens to uplift public and private services is an essential characteristic of 'GG'. Grindel defines the concept by emphasizing that: "good governance is a positive feature of political systems and that bad governance is a problem that countries need to overcome" (2010, p.2). 'GG' is considered to be the desirable way of governing the state that upholds democratic legitimacy and respects human rights. GG also means "government that is democratically organized within a democratic political culture and with efficient administrative organizations, plus the right policies, particularly in the economic sphere" (Smith, 2007, p.4). Apart from expenditures such as those spent on the military, GG emphasizes targeted public expenditure on education, health care, poverty alleviation and environment protection.

The WB found that "poverty and illiteracy make poor governance more likely" (1992, p.10). In the developing countries, these factors reinforce weak institutions and are the main factors that hinder good management. The other problem is pervasive corruption which is particularly damaging to development. Corruption prevails in all countries in different forms. Corruption occurs when resources are scarce, poor government intervention, underpaid civil servants, unclear rules, excessive regulations, less transparency and punishments are uncertain. The vice therefore hampers the ability and capacity of government to carry out its tasks efficiently.

It is expected that the goal of GG is ultimately to bring peace and prosperity for the human society. The World Bank (2006) stated that donor programmes in the developing countries must be implemented under the umbrella of 'GG'. Their intentions were broadly guided by three underlying categories of activities:

- (i) **Overall governance performance:** this includes government quality control measures, control of corruption and monitoring of quality of economic and sectorial policies.
- (ii) **Quality of bureaucracy:** checks and balances of accountability measures in financial management and procurement system; improve transparency in administration systems; enhancing service delivery system and introduce regulatory agencies.
- (iii) **Performance of checks-and-balances institutions:** this includes having executive constraints and democratic representation, transparency, putting in place of justice and the rule of law, enhance voice of people, promoting the role of the media and civil society and others check measures.

There are complementary and supplementary effects for the CDS and GG which have been mentioned above. However, certain differences can also be noted where the 'CDS' focuses more on the effectiveness of the state while 'GG' emphasizes the need to control. However, both have the same intention of creating an effective and efficient functioning system of government.

2.4.2. GOOD ENOUGH GOVERNANCE

In order for donor agencies to fulfil their objectives they emphasize 'GG' and the enhancement of effective development activities. The aid recipient countries are required to accommodate a long list of prerequisites. In this vein Grindle (2004) has proposed a 'good enough' governance agenda which advocates the execution of governance reforms in more realistic ways and promote development trajectories in the most desirable ways that achieve economic growth.

A comparative table of the CDS, GG and good enough governance agendas shows the insights of the concepts shared by Evans and Johnson, WB, Grindle and others:

Table 2 The CDS, GG and Good Enough Governance Agendas

	CDS (Evans & Johnson)	GG (World Bank &Others)	Good enough governance (Grindle)
Core aspect	Emphasis on state capacity and 'embedded autonomy'.	Emphasis on transparency and accountability	Emphasis on minimal conditions of governance necessary to allow political and economic development.

Political Regime	No normative commitment to any particular type of political regime, though many examples of ‘successful’ developmental states are authoritarian.	Normative commitment to democracy. Strengthening democratic rule is a key concern.	No normative commitment to any particular political regime. Elements of different regimes may work for different reasons; those aspects that work should be encouraged.
State legitimacy	Derived from state achievements and performance.	Derived from democratic representation of interests of the majority and the protection of the rights of the minority based on rules and procedures.	Different states enjoy different levels of legitimacy, depending on how institutionalised and capable they are. Legitimacy should not be seen in absolute terms and varies considerably even within a given state.
Political will	Concern for national goals; commitment of core leadership is essential.	Concern for effective constraints, normative orientation (legitimacy, human rights, democracy, macroeconomic balance).	Concern for incremental, progressive change and for how reformers can institute change – what alliances need to be built, and what trade-offs need to be made.
Role of the State	State should (actively) foster economic development but avoid capture by particular groups.	No clear agreement among various proponents; state should set a framework (rule of law) for markets/private actors.	State should intervene to produce core public goods, and where it can perform well, but should not tackle a wide range of issues, reforms, etc. at once. Priorities for state intervention/involve ment are important. Some level of state

			capture may need to be tolerated to achieve other goals.
Model of social representation	Exclusionary, based primarily on close relations between the state and selected business groups. Labour is controlled.	Inclusionary, emphasising broad social participation in the decision-making process (e.g. PRSPs).	Likely to be patchy and uneven. Some areas may be more inclusionary whereas others significantly less so. Again, there are no moral absolutes.
What to do on Monday morning?	Create meritocratic civil service in key areas, imbued by a strong esprit de corps and concern for national goals.	Broad and ambitious agenda emphasising multiple goals that need to be achieved in order to enable development: fight corruption, deepen democracy, improve judicial systems and PFM.	Be explicit about trade-offs and priorities in a world in which all good things cannot be pursued at once; understand what is working rather than focusing mainly on governance gaps; ground action in the contextual realities of each country.

Source: Menocal and Fritz, 2006, p. 6.

The underlying assumptions of the three concepts above on the role of the state in enhancing development are all similar as they basically focus on economic development albeit their differences in approach. The 'DS' focuses on the embedded autonomy of the state whereas the 'GG' approach emphasizes transparency and accountability. The 'Good Enough Governance' sets minimal conditions for the state to allow political and economic development. Their orientation to core aspects such as political regime, state legitimacy, political will, role of the state and future development trajectory are not similar. Each of the three claims that they are better than the other in achieving the goal of economic development. Thus they illuminate the previous discussions about the state as the first represents the CDS and the second the liberal state while the third represents a middle-path.

Although the present global neo-liberal hegemony has been pervading in many developing countries through imposing various development aid agendas the historical legacy of powerful states still prevail where power is concentrated at the center. The CDS illustrates an attempt to achieve state autonomy and legitimacy in decision-making by delivering high sustained economic growth and at the sametime

decentralization has been weak and not prioritized. The economic activities are guided by the national goals or visions and their planning is executed from the center without influence from any interest groups. The state coordinates and to a certain degree controls labour and markets and maintains linkages with selected businesses. High priority is given to human capital formation with competitive examinations to select a competent bureaucracy for better economic performance. The latter one is very much in line with Max Weber's interpretations. Bureaucracies are somehow insulated and have relative autonomy to implement plans and also avoid risk factors in collusion with particular interest groups. The primary goal for the 21th century CDS is capital accumulation through strong societal embeddedness.

While many developing countries would prefer to become a CDS but taking different forms, issues around sustaining this model arise and have been the concern for many scholars. The CDS will continue to play a vital role in economic growth and social transformation while "successful 21st century developmental states will have to depart fundamentally from existing models of the developmental state in order to achieve success" (Evans, 2008, p.1). Evans has reviewed the "new growth theory" of scholars like Lucas (1988), Romer (1986 to 1994), Aghion and Howitt (1998), Helpman (2004) etc. Their suggestions for 21st century CDS are as follows:

First, the single focus on growth strategy in traditional capital accumulation will not be enough and state-society relations of selected capitalist elites will be no longer sustained. Second, the roles and understandings of the CDS have changed and so has development theory. Third, the focus of the state's economy has shifted from producing tangible goods like machinery and physical assets to intangible assets like ideas, skills and networks. This means that the state has to redefine its priority towards the development of human capabilities (human capital), thought to be crucial for economic advancement (Evans, 2008).

Williams also suggests that the 21st century CDS must expand its role towards "investing in education and health, creating accountable, representational and participatory government institutions, incubating high-tech industries, finding renewable energy mixes that lessen dependence on fossil fuels" (2014, p.24). It is also suggested that economic growth may depend on the dynamics of political institutions and the capacity to set collective goals. Against this background, Evans suggests that in order to remain a successful CDS, change is implausible, but "neither new theories of development nor recent transformations in the character of economics diminish the centrality of the state as a developmental institution" (2008, p.18). Even the state-society ties have remained intact. The result is that countries trying to emulate institutional transformations of the CDS may need to seek appropriate direction. It is only then that they can gain and become productive and have dynamic economics. This can be possible only if they are able to promote a statist and culturalist nation-building strategy.

2.5. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVE

The state has various roles and functions in maintaining sovereignty. The state must maintain order and fulfill its role. Accordingly functions of the state are “repressive, ideological, economic and international” (Taylor-Gooby & Dale, 1981, p.183). In the view of liberal theory it seems that the political function of safeguarding overshadows other functions of the state but Taylor-Gooby and Dale explain that “...these require the state to adopt different modes of intervention in order to maintain overall interests of capital in general” (Op. cit., p.184). This is where the social democratic welfare state enters the debate with its focus on employment, universalism, the comprehensiveness of risk coverage, and egalitarianism.

In capitalist society welfare is provided to please the working class in order to increase productivity and increase capital accumulation. There are two basic functions of the state: ‘accumulation and legitimization’ which means “the state must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However, the state must also try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony and with these functions, the state has derived two types of expenditures such as ‘social capital’ and ‘social expenses’. Social capital is further subdivided into two: ‘social investment’ and ‘social consumption’. Combining these two gives three different forms of state expenditures (Gough, 1979, p.51):

- (i) **Social investment:** projects and services that increase the productivity of labour.
- (ii) **Social consumption:** projects and services that lower the reproduction costs of labour power.
- (iii) **Social expenses:** projects and services which are required to maintain social harmony – to fulfil the state’s legitimization function.

It is necessary for every state to provide these expenditures in order to maintain social cohesiveness. The social democratic welfare state promotes this specific type of state involved in the universal provision of universal health, education and social security. In contrast to the liberal view and in addition it delivers “a whole range of state interventions above and beyond the direct provision of social benefits and services” (Op. cit., p.4). The welfare state acts as an agency of intervention both at the central and local level. Basically it assumes to provide mainly two types of welfare (Op. cit., p.3):

- (i) State provision of social services to individuals or families in particular circumstances or emergencies: comprising of social security, health, social welfare, education and training, and housing. These services are either

provided in cash or in kind. Cash benefits include pensions or educational grants while kind services involve subsidizing price like provisions education or social work.

- (ii) State regulations of private activities (of individuals and corporate bodies) which may directly alter the immediate conditions of lives of individuals and groups within the population. The effect can be both quantitative and qualitative. It covers human needs which may include regulating taxation policies, a wide range of social legislations from Factory Acts to modern consumer protection Acts as well as making by-laws to the statutory compulsion on children to receive education.

The social democratic welfare state emphasises the role of government as the main provider of welfare. In order to give a coherent analytical perspective Esping-Andersen introduces the concept de-commodification which is associated with the workers position in society. Capitalism initiated changes in the labor market, where workers gradually became commodities and "...their survival was contingent upon the sale of their labor power" (1990, p.21). In opposition to the market, the state is considered as the "de-commodifier" because it introduces social rights and lets individuals led their lives without relying entirely on the market (Op. cit., pp.21-22). The definition of de-commodification suggests that "...citizens can freely, and without potential loss of job, incomes, or general welfare, opt out of work when they themselves consider it necessary" (Op. cit., p.23).

These considerations move the discussion away from the liberal approach's focus on the market as the main allocator of welfare and the conservative focus on family and corporatism. Priority is given to labour and solidarity and there is an attempt to minimize dependency on the market by utilizing de-commodification. This model obviously relies on a relatively high tax base and its pros and cons have been debated in literature.

2.6. THE CONCEPTS OF NATION, STATE AND DEVELOPMENTALISM: RELEVANCE FOR BHUTAN

The conceptual understanding of the theories applied here are three categories: CDS, nation-building and social policy drawing relevant avenues for research which can be applied to the evolution of the state nation and social reforms in Bhutan and the formulation and implementation of social policy with specific focus on education policy.⁸

⁸*As mentioned education reforms and policies will be explained in the next chapter while implementation is explained in chapter four.*

The state is considered one of the most powerful social institutions. It is sovereign and is therefore not influenced by externalities such as economic interests and religion. The role of the state is not only to protect sovereignty, safeguard security, impose stability and order, but also to promote social cohesion and provide welfare in the form of education, health and social services. This also implies that the state pursues long term benefits for the society by uplifting living standards, well-being and long term prosperity which ultimately are the denominators of its sustained legitimacy.

The state can be viewed as an organization composed of bureaucracies with authority and domination concentrated at the center. The bureaucracy is vital and is meant to play a decisive role in the implementation of public policy. In order to perform their duties, bureaucracies are guided by fixed rules and regulations. There also exists a hierarchy with clear distinction in the responsibilities of each level. Bureaucrats are selected from highly competitive processes. In their respective positions they are entrusted with power depending on expertise, knowledge and levels of responsibility. Holding a civil service position is considered prestigious because it has distinctive hierarchical career path regarded to be life time jobs. With these conditions bureaucracies are able to exercise power. However, at the same time there are various sectors pushing for the devolution of power and challenging the sovereignty of the central government while at the same time there are a considerable number of people who support the accomplishment of state goals and visions.

In the presence of legitimate domination by the bureaucracy, rules have been accepted due to a sense of duty, fear, customs, personal advantage, attachment to the ruling elite values, and ideal motives of solidarity as mentioned by Weber. This is however changing as countries are advancing in the promotion of democratic values together with the enhancement of education systems, social mobility and modernization in general. Subsequently the state's sole power does not rest on authority alone rather there are other legal law enforcement bodies which are charged with the implementation of policies and laws. Besides that the state is not only maintaining sovereignty, it also tries to provide welfare through general functions of economic, ideological and sometimes repressive measures.

The liberal theory plays a hegemonic role in global development discourse but in real politics functions of the state have been continuously advancing with the emergence of democratic concepts, economic growth and need for social security which may lead to the provision of poverty alleviation and fostering social equality. The more enunciate programs of the state are welfare schemes such as health, education and social security in which the state has to take responsibility, intervene and regulate to provide equal services. These services are either provided in the form of cash or grants, subsidizing prices or also through the provision of universal free education or health services.

An examination of the CDS experience in East Asia reveals that among its roles are the formulation, planning and implementation of a whole range of policies including social policies such as health and education. One of the main objectives is to reduce and rectify social inequalities. However, it may also unintentionally promote policies that give rise to social stratification. In CDS, social welfare benefit distribution is carried out according to one's occupation wherein the employees of the state bureaucracy receive favourable treatment in order to increase their loyalty to the state. The overall purpose of this type of policy is to ensure integration of the traditional social structure and hierarchy, and it endorses a sense of loyalty to the traditional forms of government and national unity. Education is the most important denominator as it articulates and forms the major societal discourses with regard to values, language, loyalty and belonging, which implicitly promote nationalism and nation-building. These essentialist cultural values are indispensable in the establishment of citizenship. Education therefore becomes the main tool for the promotion of national identity in an otherwise multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural society like Bhutan and in this way claims for autonomy can be dismissed. Some authors refer to this type of strategy as social engineering aiming at enhancing the legitimacy of the state.

There are basically two versions of social engineering according to Popper (1961). Holistic or utopian social engineering and piecemeal social engineering (complete restructuring of society or step-by-step reforms). Popper supported the latter since the first could lead society in the wrong direction. These social engineering strategies apparently may appear belonging to two extreme opposites but can actually co-exist in the real world. This is especially in the implementation of education policies where there are many interests and demands from a whole range of actors and institutions, including foreign donors, and teachers who have to implement the strategies and who may due to a variety of reasons, not be able to implement the policies as stated in the plans.

The success of the CDS in East Asia was due to the existence of strong state intervention, effective elite bureaucracies, and embeddedness in society, a strong political system and an intention to sustain sovereignty. It relied upon the support of policymakers and bureaucrats who followed rules of law and, either a weak or de facto non-existing civil society. Besides economic achievements and industrial development, this state model also focuses on bringing improvements in the living standard. Thus, the CDS emphasizes a long term vision for development; enhances capable leadership and capacity development leading to the transformation of society. The state acquires legitimacy through rapid economic growth executed through selective development policies. In doing this the state must build capable institutions to provide services such as property rights, manage conflicts, maintenance of law and order, and enhance economic growth and social benefits which are the foundation for sustainable growth. The state must also have capacity to control its territory and possess a set of core capacities to design and

deliver policies envisaging a long-term perspective. Apart from dealing with internal affairs the state should also be able to deal with regional and international affairs.

This way and besides focusing on economic growth, the CDS has to give significant importance to enhanced delivery of essential social services. The development of social infrastructure is important in the achievement of intended development objectives. However it must not be captured by particular interest groups. Thus, state capacity and insulation are key elements in enhancing state autonomy.

It is also important to note that a capable bureaucracy and sound bureaucratic system contributes to successful policy implementation in the CDS. To achieve successful economic development, competent bureaucracies are appointed in key pilot agencies to formulate and implement policies. Similar to Weberian bureaucratic notions, the CDS selects competent administrators from the best human resource in the country. These administrators have confidence, power and authority to plan and implement policies efficiently. Continuously their capacity and skills are upgraded through education and training. Thus, the CDS is characterized by state autonomy, mediocracy bureaucratic coordinated institutions, state embeddedness, legitimacy and a merited bureaucracy.

The state holds legitimacy in decision-making, planning and policy implementation. Development activities are inclusively guided by national goals while decentralization is not a priority.

2.7. SUMMARY

Scholars have in various discourses attempted to provide a common understanding of the concepts of 'state' and 'nation'. However, available literature reveals that there are different understandings of these concepts. The 'state' is considered as the politico-legal concept; therefore it is understood as a supreme entity with legitimacy to maintain peace and promote prosperity and security. On the other hand, the concept 'nation' denotes a distinctive political community termed a psycho-cultural or psycho-political construct. The term nation-state is also used purportedly to promote nationalism and economic development.

State capacity, bureaucracy and embeddedness became significant instruments for the CDS in formulating and implementing policy successfully. A theorization of the CDS has therefore helped to draw an overall theoretical understanding which will be helpful in the analysis of education policy implementation in Bhutan.

Chapter 3. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION REFORMS AND THE CONSERVATIVE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

The purpose of this chapter is to give a theoretical understanding of how to situate education as one of the most important pillars of social welfare strategies, reforms and social policies. Health and education play a major role in the conduct of government policy either as a way to achieve legitimacy or as a social engineering strategy or both. The first section focuses on social policy and welfare provisions tackled in the previous chapter and attempts to theoretically distinguish between different theoretical conceptions. The second part introduces the discussion about social policy versus democratization. The third section explicitly delves into the more general problems of policy implementation in South Asia. The fourth section explains education in East Asia and its role and functions for nation-building. This section also briefly highlights the role of foreign development aid and nation-building in the CDS. The fifth section delineates some building-blocks for the conceptual framework and research design of the thesis. The last part presents a summary of the chapter.

3.1. SOCIAL POLICY AND WELFARE PROVISIONS

Improvement of social welfare is a long-term process. The first precondition in a nation-building perspective for any social policy to succeed is to gain political stability and establish an efficient bureaucracy as outlined by Max Weber. The second is a reasonable economic growth rate and policies which enable poverty reduction. Finally, there is the need to promote education and health facilities, in terms of opportunities and ensure quality life. These are not necessarily universal preconditions but general characteristics based on the historical experiences of other countries whether they rely on liberal, conservative or social democratic ideologies and strategies. In some cases the welfare regime consists of a mixture of these strategies. This is because in many instances there may be overlaps at both vertical and horizontal levels in the formulation, planning and implementation of social policies. There may also be differences within the government and ruling elites and impediments and challenges from other actors and institutions which may impact these processes.

Prior to the discussion about the core issues of the social welfare state, it is important to begin by clarifying the terms social welfare, social policy and welfare state which are often used interchangeably. Bryson suggests that the concept of social welfare state may be defined as "...well-being, most frequently today, together with social welfare, it is co-opted to refer to specific measures of public policy" (1992, p.33). This may cover issues of income security, health, public

housing, education and other social services. She also states that sometimes the term social policy is used interchangeably with social welfare but more often it is used broadly by policy makers to distinguish between social and non-social activities. Bryson defines the welfare state to be “...when a nation has at least a minimum level of institutional provisions for meeting the basic economic and social requirements to its citizens” (Op. cit., p.36). She distinguishes the term welfare and welfare state, the first being a policy matter and the latter as an agent.

The welfare state for Leibfried and Mau translates into “the responsibility of the state for the well-being of its citizens and the promotion of the ‘common good’” (2008, p.16). This implies that it consists of “...a range of state programs that provide for life contingencies and redress market-produced inequalities” (Ibid). Kazancigil also argues that the welfare state has a main responsibility for establishing equality and “...should contribute to the establishment and consolidation of equal citizenship rights” (1986, p.211). All these qualities seem to be deficient in many developing and developed countries due to the lack of strong and coherent government and slow economic growth or other more ideological factors related to power and political economy.

The term social policy also implies public policy that has been used for the welfare and social security of various groups of people in a particular society. Hence, social policy may explicitly include social security arrangements such as pensions, unemployment benefits, health insurance, and cash transfers to specific social and income groups. However, this depends on the type of welfare regime involved whether liberal, conservative or social democratic.

UNICEF (2006, p.3), in congruence with Esping-Anderson (1990), suggests that government social policy in its most radical or social democratic perspective may cover both social protection and equitable socio-economic development specified as the following:

- It must protect people from the perverse, unstable and inequitable effects of markets, and the changes in circumstances that occur with ageing, unemployment, maternity and disability.
- It must enhance the productive potential of the members of society, through health and education services that enhance human capital. It can also contribute to growth by increasing consumption or demand related to low-income groups.
- It must assist families, households and women with reconciling the burden of social reproduction and care, with that of other roles and tasks, and it must be concerned with how the burden of reproduction is shared both institutionally and from a gender perspective.

- It also has a crucial role to play in securing and realizing social rights and in reinforcing national and social cohesion, particularly in post-conflict societies or multi-ethnic societies.

Different variations of these types of social policies have given emphasis to social protection, redistribution, production and reproduction, including social rights, social cohesion, political stability and regime legitimacy. Industrialization and economic development have ultimately led to expansion of public expenditure and social policy. The East Asian CDS initiated parts of these social policy measures though limited to public servants and in some cases labour in productive sectors. Despite their poor economic performance during the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, some social welfare programs were further accelerated in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. The countries initiated new social policies to cover those groups that had been excluded previously. They however followed the liberal recommendations of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) by implementing targeted social benefits albeit with some exceptions. The social policy programs initiated included universal health insurance, unemployment insurance, Basic Livelihood Allowance Program, the Mother-Child Welfare scheme, Commission on Gender Equality in Education, Gender Equality Labour Law and Long Term Care Insurance. Most recently their social policy has been reformed and, at least on paper, adopted universal and inclusive social policies (Peng & Wong, 2004).

However, the schemes of social policy priorities may differ in developing countries where social policy is mainly intended to address social problems such as poverty alleviation, education, health, social security and housing. In developing countries there are more important and immediate issues regarding the social welfare policy and implementation. Although international agencies provide aid, their support is only targeted towards some social welfare policies along with the democratization processes.

3.2. SOCIAL POLICY AND DEMOCRATIZATION

The introduction of planning of social policy began in the 1960s, but it is difficult to find reliable data to study the implementation and the levels of benefit. Implementation of social policy in developing countries often encounters many vertical challenges related to political regimes and the economic situation. Mares and Carnes note that "...the role of partisanship in affecting the direction of social policy reforms" (2009, p.105) becomes a political game in democratic milieus. "In the new context of heightened electoral competition...politicians have appealed to voters by offering social policy promises, but they failed to internalize the long-term fiscal implications of programmatic expansion" (Ibid). There are also implications of social policy in newly democratic countries complicating "the mobilization of new social groups, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which heightened political awareness about the strong inequalities in policy

coverage and swayed political opinion...” (Ibid). This makes it difficult to implement fair social policy coverage due to populist unstable democratic systems. In these cases social policy is misconstrued to be favours given to voters as a result of their support for politicians as opposed to a responsibility of the government.

Social policy aims to bring socio-economic progress. This is because “social policy can work in tandem with economic policy” (Mkandawire, 2001, p.iii). Social institutions are “humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction or rules of the game in a society” (Op. cit., p.1). Social policy should focus on bringing “overall and prior concerns with social development and as a key instrument that works in tandem with economic policy to ensure equitable and socially sustainable development” (Ibid). Ultimately social policy should not only cater for social causalities but needs to be integrated in the mainstream policies of the government.

In this way, social policy should be contextual and embedded in society and culture. Mkandawire notes that “[i]n any society, it is obvious that the state will not institutionalize social policies that conflict fundamentally and consistently with principles of the dominant economic system and power relations” (Op. cit., p.18). Therefore, “...the study of social policies in development contexts must be sensitive to the political contexts within which they are formulated and implemented” (Ibid). There are different political institutions that favour particular social policy regimes. This is because the focus of one policy may have implications for other existing policies.

The type of regime is critical to the success of formulation and implementation of social policy. In Bhutan’s case, democracy in social policy formulation is considered to be important and therefore, maintaining a stable political situation of the country which may transcend effective and efficient policy implementation is preferred. Mkandawire clarifies that “...pursuit of social policies that enhance accumulation while securing the state the necessary legitimacy for political stability has constituted the cornerstone of developmental management” (2001, p.19). The relationship between social policy and democratization is considered a crucial issue for the long term well-being of the people. A country must achieve certain levels of democracy in order to be able to provide better social services to the population. However,

...there have been cases in which unelected regimes in ‘developmental states’, lacking political legitimacy or facing ‘democratic deficit’, have sought legitimacy through social and economic ‘performance’, with the result that some of the most dramatic improvements in welfare have taken place in undemocratic contexts (Mkandawire, 2001, p.18).

In the current debate, “the growing consensus is that the developmental model chosen must respect both human rights and rights to development” (Mkandawire, 2001, p.18). It is important that development activities under political regimes must be the outcome of a democratic approach rather than mere political motives no matter what kind of regime or whether it is under the CDS umbrella.

The following are the general characteristics prevailing in the countries where there is a strong association between democracy and social policy (UNICEF, 2006, p.7):

- highly competitive political systems,
- an informed electorate,
- relatively high levels of interest group organization, in particular, unionization,
- pro-welfare political parties that win elections, and
- social pacts where organized or corporatist interests, including business, support or at least do not resist social reform.

However, these ideal propositions do not fit with the CDS and cannot be regarded as universal. There are different ways to achieve these goals and as we will see with the combination of a conservative regime and a developmentalist state that co-exist with the provision of universal health and education, it is possible to achieve some of the most important objectives of the ideal characteristics.

Education is considered one of the most important pillars of a country’s development. Exclusively, education plays a vital role in enhancing the socio-economic status of the people. Education also provides lifelong skills and avenues for social upward mobility which is important for development and the alleviation of poverty.

3.3. EDUCATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: THE EXPERIENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

The developing nations of South Asia share similar conditions in terms of formulation and implementation of education policy. Scholars and practitioners in the region agree that access to both education and health is important for development.

Investment in education is a long term development goal that contributes to the overall socio-economic growth. This can in turn ensure political stability. Al’Abri, notes that “...education is playing a great role in the development of nations and it

can be seen as central to their economic growth and social development” (2011, p.494). Educational reforms result in vertical improvements related to access, quality, relevance, efficiency and finance (Kitamura, 2009). However, these challenges present policy makers with a huge task of translating policy into action. South Asia is still faced with challenges related to low economic growth and high levels of poverty which subsequently deprives many children of basic education.

According to Sadiman “the right to education imposes an obligation upon countries to ensure that all children and citizens have opportunities to meet their basic learning needs” (2004, para.2). More than half of the population in developing countries including South Asia do not have access to basic social services. In order to uplift the living standards investment in the education sector, which ought to be the primary role of government, is of paramount importance but has yet to materialise. In South Asia the delivery of universal primary education is also enshrined in constitutions of all the countries in the region. However, with the exception of Sri Lanka and Bhutan, very few governments are able to deliver on this promise.

Educational reforms in the 21st century are crucial essentially to increase school enrolment, alleviate poverty, and also to reduce gender inequality. Al’Abri mentions that “with global changes, education is found to be more vital and fundamental to development than ever before” (2001, p.494). Moreover, reforms in education could bring great impact by promoting national identity and citizenship within a nation along the lines of the CDS. The educational reforms can also transcend social integration since developing countries are characterised by multi-cultural, multi-ethnic or multi-lingual societies (Kitamura, 2009) which ultimately create complications for building social cohesion.

There are immense challenges faced by South Asian countries with regard to implementation of education policies especially those countries facing low economic growth. These challenges can be understood through two perspectives (i) equity in education and (ii) quality of education (Sadiman, 2004, para.15):

(i) Problem of equity in Education

Inequalities lie not only within the region but also between rural–urban, public and private schools and also among the provinces within the countries. The main factors contributing to inequality of education are:

- i) Lack of school buildings and classrooms with all required facilities.
- ii) Shortage of teachers, especially in remote areas.
- iii) Uneven spread of population.

- iv) Lack of good textbooks and other learning materials. This is mainly in the remote schools due to lack of finance and geographical reasons.
- v) Geographical location.
- vi) Students' and parents' low appreciation toward education.
- vii) Level of socioeconomic conditions of the family.
- viii) Lack of budget for building more schools, classrooms, and learning facilities.

(ii) Problems of quality

To determine the quality of education it is important to assess ingredients and components that constitute education. This is basically related to inputs, process, outputs and feedback. With regard to inputs it is important to stress: curriculum, learning materials, teachers, principals and other educational resource, learning facilities and a learning environment that is conducive. Process means how teaching-learning is being employed towards achieving educational goals and objectives. Output refers to the students learning outcome or performance in terms of cognitive development, effective and efficient way of doing things. Feedback is considered an important tool to improve the system to achieve goals and objectives and even better is the inclusion of teachers in the decision-making structure (Op. cit., para.24).

The Dakar Framework for Action mentions that in order to ensure quality of education in South Asia certain policies are required (UNESCO, 2000, p.17):

- i) healthy, well-nourished and motivated students;
- ii) well-trained teachers and active learning techniques;
- iii) adequate facilities and learning materials;
- iv) a relevant curriculum that can be taught and learned in a local language and builds upon the knowledge and experience of the teachers and learners;
- v) an environment that not only encourages learning but is welcoming, gender-sensitive, healthy and safe;

- vi) a clear definition and accurate assessment of learning outcomes, including knowledge, skills, attitudes and values;
- vii) participatory governance and management; and
- viii) respect for and engagement with local communities and cultures.

The policies may be impressive especially those emanating from regional and international government conferences and declarations. Their implementation can however be impeded by many factors. This means that states may therefore have to improve economic and political stability along with capacity building or may incorporate elements from the CDS in East Asia.

3.4. EDUCATION IN EAST ASIA

East Asia's development strategy has not only brought rapid economic growth but also transcended to human capital accumulation through expansion of national education systems. Already by the 1960s Japan was advanced in the manufacturing of electronic goods and heavy industry while South Korea and Taiwan were catching up in light industries. In order to provide capable human resources and skilled labour for the growing industries, the CDS gave unprecedented importance to universal education (Peng & Wong, 2004).

Martinussen (1997) reports that the East Asian CDS's invested extensive resources and public investment in health and education. There were also other policies enforcing equal distribution of opportunities and wealth. Mkandawire notes that "many developmental states have engaged in an extensive range of social policies without always being conscious of themselves as welfare states" (2006, p.1). These ways social policies played a vital role for political stability which in turn brought economic development.

East Asian CDS expanded the national education systems gradually because "subsequent to the initial growth of the economies, educational expansion was largely sequential, with first priority being given to primary education, then later to general secondary education and, most recently, to tertiary education" (Morris, 1996, p.107). Due to the concerted effort of the Japanese government to expand public education, within ten years (1965 to 1975) the enrolment rates in high school had increased from 70.75 to 91.9% and by 2000 it had reached to 95.9%. Similarly in South Korea, the high school enrolment rate increased from 74.7% in 1975 to 90.7% in 1985 and by 2000 reached to 99.5%. In Taiwan too high school enrolment rate had increased from 65.8% in 1975 to 95.35 in 2000 (Peng & Wong, 2004).

The purpose of education in the CDS was three-fold: to enhance technological change in manufacturing; to improve public services; and explicitly, to promote a

strong sense of social cohesion and political identity. One of the key characteristics of the education policies of the East Asian Capitalist State, as it originally was called, was the imposition of nationalism, the promotion of nation-building and the overall social engineering emphasizing traditional and cultural values. Abe (2006) argues that, “the emphasis on values and moral education is one of the most characteristic features of the East Asian national education systems. Moral and values education relates to the priority given to promoting national identity and social cohesion” (Op. cit., p.10). The East Asian CDSs also emphasized citizen formation and skill formation which was possible only through the national education system. Abe outlines the distinctive and common features to be “....an emphasis on skill formation, a stress on values and moral education, and central control” (Op. cit., p.11). This has contributed to rapid economic development through state intervention. Morris mentions that “access to education has provided the principle means for personal socio-economic advancement” (1996, p.108) and became a vehicle for the expansion of national unity, national identity, citizenship and morality and respect for elders, the public officials and the elite. Therefore, education provides a cornerstone for socio-economic enhancement and the promotion of social cohesion and political stability.

3.4.1. ROLE AND FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN CDS

Based on these considerations it is vital to understand that education was the backbone of socio-political and economic development in East Asia and it played a determining role in improving the living standards of people. Peng and Wong (2004), Abe (2006) and Law (2009), note that education played a decisive role in the rapid economic development of the CDS in East Asia. Education emphasizing values, which differed from many other countries, may have contributed to the initial success of this model. Law mentions that in CDSs “the state is a principal shaper of education for nation-building” basically with two reasons: “Market failure in education can be rectified by state’s intervention and the state can use education to serve state formation and development” (2009, p.260). It is also argued that the main purpose of education in the CDS can be viewed from a wider perspective. Education fulfilled the social development goals of the state related to economic, political, social and cultural developments. Law notes that “values education has contributed to economic growth and to establish and sustain the state’s political legitimacy and independence” (Op. cit., p.261). Further he stresses that the major role of the education system in the CDS was “to spread the dominant culture, foster a sense of nation-hood or statehood (e.g., by generalizing the use of the dominant language or dialect), and develop and maintain social cohesion and political and cultural unity” (Ibid). In Singapore, the civics and moral education programme aimed to build a strong nation by offering lessons covering cultural, political and economic topics. Since early 1960s most senior political leaders have emphasized making moral education compulsory in schools in order to inculcate civic consciousness and build the moral character of students. It was expected that

through moral education students develop to become better citizens by learning about “the concept of citizenship; responsibilities of citizens; responsibilities of citizens towards laws and responsibilities of living in a democracy” (Ai, 2006, p.510). Ten years later the themes were redefined to focus on “issues of national concern; total defence and national campaigns and responding to global issues” (Ibid). The launching of the National Education initiative in 1997 further brought significant reforms in the Singaporean education system. The purpose was underlined as follows:

To develop national cohesion, the instinct for survival and confidence in the future, (a) by fostering a sense of identity, pride and self-respect as Singaporeans; (b) by knowing the Singapore story – how Singapore succeeded against the odds to become a nation; (c) by understanding Singapore’s unique challenges, constraints and vulnerabilities, which make us different from other countries; and (d) by instilling the core values of our way of life, and the will to prevail, that ensure our continued success and well-being (MoE, 1997, para. 3).

It was underscored that national education was part of ‘Total Education’. This meant that every teacher had to impart skills and knowledge to students on values and attitudes so that they became good and responsible citizens in their family, community and country. National education was to be implemented in schools through the formal and informal curricula. The nationalist attitude was to be spread through knowledge and feelings. Different themes were designed for the different school levels. Such themes included ‘Love Singapore’ in the primary level, ‘Know Singapore’ in the secondary level and ‘Lead Singapore’ in pre-university level (Ai, 2006). In this way education can be attributed to the creation of a strong sense of national solidarity and identity.

Although Singapore adopted the CDS model after most countries in the region her success remains noticeable. This is because the political leadership has continued to perceive health, education and even housing “as essential social engineering instruments that lay the foundation for continued economic progress and political stability” (Khan, 2001, p.20). Some observers describe this type of model “A nanny state” in reference to the manner in which the Singaporean government persuades its people through various public campaigns to change and improve their personal and public habits. To this end the education system has played a major if not determining role in the establishment of the CDS in Singapore. The government has been the largest employer and recruited the best graduates.

Together with this the government has a strong practice of meritocracy. As Khan (2001) mentions, government policy has prioritized that only the best in terms of educational qualifications and training can move up the ranks and into positions of

power and responsibility. The emphasis on meritocracy has led to paternalism which is characteristic of the type of political leadership in Singapore.

The paternalistic approach has led to government intervention in virtually all areas of life (marriage, procreation, education, and so on) as reflected in the following statement of Lee Kuan Yew: I am accused often enough of interfering in the private lives of citizens. If I did not, had I not done that, we would not be here today (Khan, 2001, pp.4-5).

3.4.2. AID AND NATION-BUILDING IN THE CDS

East Asia's successful economic transformation has also been related to foreign development aid which played a very significant if not determining role in building the foundation for development especially in South Korea and to a lesser degree in Taiwan. For instance, South Korea and Taiwan received a substantial amount of aid between 1950s and 1970s from the US to fight against communist influence. Temple (1999) argues that US aid went to capacity building of the state bureaucrats and national economy but aid in education stands out as the most important vehicle for social change.

The South Korean example gives insight into how American aid fuelled a boom in education. US aid provided the physical infrastructure and constructed more than 8,700 classrooms from 1953-1957. The US provided technical expertise and educational advisers who assisted in educational planning, vocational training, and most important training teachers. US trained educational experts advised the South Korean MoE and "during the first two decadeseducation was profoundly affected by American assistance" and technical and teacher training "were not only extensive, but also acted as stimuli to the whole enterprise of educational development" (Seith, 2002, p.94).

The South Korean example shows clearly that it is possible to utilize development aid in an efficient way and channel foreign advice into developmentalist purposes. This happened to a lesser degree in Taiwan but not in Japan, Singapore or Hong Kong. It must therefore be seen as a contextual issue which depends on donor aspirations, geopolitics and the efficiency of the receiving bureaucracy in handling development aid in an effective way.

3.4.3. TO ENRICH THE NATIONALLY OWNED POLICY AGENDAS

One of the objectives of the Paris Declaration commits to promote nationally owned policy agendas. However, with the new paradigm of providing aid for development activities, the international aid agencies pressure pre-dominates national policy agendas. Menocal and Fritz note that "donors have declared health and education to

be priority sectors and have steered states toward the delivery of basic social services. Donors have also demanded that governments direct funding towards 'poverty reduction' (2006, p.23). This could also be observed in the successful East Asian CDSs where there was focus on expanding health and education services. The CDS experience also envisions that higher education may play a crucial role in producing competent and effective civil servants. There has also been focus on poverty reduction. Therefore, donors understood that the CDSs emphasis was more on welfare than mere economic growth without welfare gains.

3.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL POLICY AND EDUCATION IN THE CDS

The introduction of social policy legislation in developing countries began in the middle of the twentieth century. To date these countries are still working towards making policies beneficial to the society. This is because the countries often face challenges like corrupt political regimes or poor economies. Strong political systems and favourable economic conditions in a country are crucial to implementing social policy successfully. This also affects the clarity of policy directions in a country. Good social policies in developing countries may therefore depend on a democratic setup. The relationship between social policy and democratization is considered crucial to achieve long-term well-being of the people. Such a relation also ensures better provision of social services and delivery to the citizens. However, even if most of the developing countries institutionalise democracy the reality is that some of the regimes exhibit authoritarian tendencies. It is also important to note that the successful CDSs of East Asia were largely authoritarian. In this context, it is important to examine how democratic governments in developing countries make social policy provisions.

Education reforms mainly focus on the improvement of administration in relation to access, quality, relevance, efficiency and finance. The objectives of reforms seek to address human rights, economic growth and social integration. Further, the key specific challenges for education in South Asia and South East Asia are on two fronts: equity in education and quality of education. Equity in education refers to location of schools in urban and rural and distribution of school facilities. It also means economic and social background of parents which have an impact on students learning. Quality of education relates to the kind of curriculum, pedagogies, availability of teaching-learning materials, quality of teachers, principals, facilities and conducive environment for learning.

CDS was not only focusing on promoting rapid economic growth but also gave emphasis to human capital development through the expansion of national education systems. The CDSs have given importance to universal education and access to education by providing investment in education. The intention was that investment in education would bring technological changes in manufacturing and

also improve social service delivery. More importantly expansion of education in CDS was anticipated to promote a strong sense of social cohesion and political identity. As delineated elsewhere the moral and value education was the prime characteristic features in CDS countries'. Promotion of national identity and maintaining social cohesion was embedded in the education system. Education systems also gave emphasis to citizens and skill formation basically to improve personal socio-economic advancement.

The education system played a vital role in improving living standards of people. The main purpose of education had wider perspectives basically to fulfil national development goals in relation to the regional and international arena. In this context, it is viewed that the education system in CDSs would bring economic and political stability including the attainment of sustainable political legitimacy and independence of the state. Therefore, the major role for the education system has been to spread a dominant culture and promote a sense of nation-hood or state-hood. Education has been considered as one of the major agencies for socialization to bring about change in the society for better living.

3.6. SUMMARY

This and the previous chapter has used the funnel approach and given an overview of the debate of social policy and welfare provision including health and education. It has furthermore discussed the role of regime and type of government, that is, whether democratization or authoritarianism may promote social welfare. It has discussed the role of education reforms and the problems related to implementation of education policy in relation to equity, content quality, the challenges of access and quality of human resources.

The chapter has discussed the role of education in South Asia and East Asian CDSs and noted that education played a role in the promotion of values, tradition, strong social cohesion and political identity in East Asia. The last part of the chapter has looked at the role of foreign aid in the development of the CDS. Values education has played a major role in creating legitimacy and has together with high economic growth and increasing living standard created the success of the East Asian CDS.

Chapter 4. THEORIES OF POLICY FLOWS: IMPLEMENTATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

With reference to the previous chapters and the funnel approach of this thesis, the attempt is made here to discuss policy implementation theories, models and education systems. The first part situates the policy implementation challenges in a developing context. It also explains the policy implementation models and related theories like top-down and bottom-up approaches and the factors affecting policy implementation. The second part touches on problems with decentralization with reference to policy implementation. Lastly, the chapter summarizes by examining different policy and decentralization approaches in the context of policy implementation.

4.1. DEFINITIONS

The CDS' in East Asia has utilized social engineering approaches in education as a way to alter behaviour and create a sense of national identity in order to overcome the stumbling blocks many other countries have been unable to deal with. The success of this strategy is related to how well the bureaucracy has been able to convert planning into reality and create a sense of identity within society, consent and willingness of the citizens to sacrifice for nation-building.

The intention in this chapter is to map theories, concepts and definitions that explain the translation of ideas into policy-making and further on to explain whether this has been successful or not. Policy is the basic principle or guideline in any organization for achieving intended goals while implementation is the action taken or process through which policy is enforced in order to achieve the intended goals or objectives. Therefore, policy implementation is the process of putting visions/principles of organization and/or policies into reality. However, it is important to point out that often policy implementation tends to twist its course and end up with different results than what it was intended for.

Policy implementation can be defined as a “specified set of activities designed to put into practice an activity or program of known dimension” (Fixsen, Naoom, Blase, Friedman & Wallace, 2005, p.5). Implementation means an act of putting a set of activities in place. According to Rondinelli and Cheema “implementation is the execution or carrying out a program or project aimed at achieving specific policy objectives. Implementation has been [also] defined as a process of interaction between the setting goals and actions geared to achieving them” (1983, p.26). It is the realization of planned activities or policies to benefit the society.

Policy implementation theories emerged as important studies in the field of social sciences in the 1970s. Many scholars attempted to shed light on policy implementation in public administration. This was because it became increasingly critical for organizations to achieve goals without wasting resources. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) explain that policy implementation is the process of interactions between the set goals and the actions geared to achieving them for benefit the end users. Mazmanian and Sabatier explain the meaning of policy implementation as “the carrying out of the basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions” (1983, pp.20-21). The decision is an important component. In this view, the authoritative decision is likely to create desirable impacts in policy implementation for intended goals to be achieved. O’Toole refers “to the connection between the expression of government intention and its results” (1995, p.43). He further expresses that successful policy implementation is possible even with a single administrative agency’s effort although, good cohesion from various organizations in the flow would be far better.

There is also a legal aspect which needs to be considered. Hjern asserts that “a legalistic perspective is necessary but an inter-organizational structuring is indispensable in implementation analysis” (1982, p.308). Makinde (2005) notes that it is the process of making policy in the sense that it passes various stages such as legislative acts, issuing of executive order, and framing regulative rules which ultimately would impact peoples lives. It also involves a variety of actions and processes such as issuing and enforcing directives and orders, distributing funds, making loans, assigning and hiring personnel, creating awareness, etc.

However, Makinde further adds that policy implementation are “the activities that are carried out in the light of established policies” (2005, p.63) which implies that policy activities involve the transformation of financial, materials, technical and human inputs into outputs, referred to as goods and services. More explicitly Van Meter and Van Horn (1975, p.447) add a horizontal axis to the mainstream approaches mentioning a focus more on the vertical process. They are more interested in the issues encompassing “those actions by public and private (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions”. A similar view focusing on the horizontal aspect is shared by O’Toole (1995) as having relation with other organizations for the success of implementation. It is significant to understand that policy decisions are taken in consideration of the operational reality in the field. This must not only focus on ‘recipients’, but on all actors and institutions involved and ideally speaking not only principals and teachers but also including parents and children when it comes to education.

4.1.1. MEASURING EFFECTIVENESS: THE VERTICAL PERSPECTIVE

In general, the effectiveness of policy implementation means the success of policy operations in achieving the intended goals. However, in order to measure this, many dimensions need to be taken into account. Etzioni asserts that the effectiveness of an “organization is determined by the degree to which it realizes its goals” (1964, p.8).

Makinde (2005, p.63) outlines the following factors as necessary for effective policy implementation:

- i) **Communication** – Policies are expected to be transmitted to the appropriate personnel in a clear manner; therefore, such orders must be accurate and consistent. Inadequate information and inconsistent directives may lead to misunderstanding on the part of implementers. Directives that are too precise may also hinder implementation by stifling creativity and adaptability. Such precise directives may not give room for the implementers to exercise discrete power when certain peculiar cases arise.
- ii) **Resources** – The absence of resources may also affect policy implementation or rather it will prevent implementers from acting on time. Resources include both human and material. There needs to be an adequate numbers of staff who are well trained and equipped to carry out implementation tasks. Authority must ensure that policies are carried out as they are intended by providing facilities such as land, building, equipment and other enabling environments necessary for successful implementation. “Without sufficient resources it means that laws will not be enforced, services will not be provided and reasonable regulations will not be developed” (Ibid).
- iii) **Disposition or Attitude** – The success of policy implementation also largely depends on the way implementers exercise their authority and disposition toward policy. Therefore, the level of success will depend on how implementers perceive the policies. Their perceptions may affect their organization and conflict with their personal interests leading to failure in implementation. For example, if policy results in the reduction of pay, low self-esteem, or loss of position to implementers, then attitude/disposition will be affected adversely. Whereas, if a policy favours enhancement of status, the pay or the self-esteem of implementers then they will dispose them effectively.

- iv) *Efficient bureaucratic structure* – The existence of good communication, adequate resources and positive disposition or attitude may not guarantee policy implementation success, if there is no efficient bureaucratic structure. This is because implementation problems may arise when implementing complex policies. Makinde states that “where there is organizational fragmentation it may hinder the coordination that is necessary to successfully implement a complex policy especially one that requires the cooperation of many people” (Op. cit., p.64). Thus, it is considered that an efficient and effective bureaucracy is crucial to manoeuvre the intended policy.

However, according to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979, pp.484-485), policy implementation may achieve its objectives under the following conditions:

- (i) The program is based on a sound theory relating changes in target group behaviour to the achievement of the desired end-state (objectives).
- (ii) The statute (or the basic policy decision) contains unambiguous policy directives and structures the implementation process so as to maximize the likelihood that target groups will perform as desired.
- (iii) The leaders of the implementing agencies possess substantial managerial and political skill and are committed to statutory goals.
- (iv) The program is actively supported by organized constituency groups and by a few key legislators (or the chief executive) throughout the implementation process, with the courts being neutral or supportive.
- (v) The relative priority of statutory objectives is not significantly undermined over time by the emergence of conflicting public policies or by changes in relevant socio-economic conditions that undermine the statute’s “technical” theory or political support.

These are ideal conditions under which policy can be implemented as desired but the complex nature of the statute procedures in many cases lead to failure of the implementation. Despite sound objectives, good managerial skills and strong support, it is also significantly important to consider policy actors in the field and their understanding of the policy intentions.

4.2. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Scholars have observed that the developing countries often fail to implement policy successfully. Smith explains that "...governments tend to formulate broad, sweeping policies, and governmental bureaucracies often lack the capacity to implement. Interest groups, opposition parties, and affected individuals and groups often attempt to influence the implementation of policy rather than the formulation of policy" (1973, p.197). The policy implementers' capacity and surroundings are therefore likely factors that will influence the achievement of policy goals. This view emphasises that policy implementation may fail due to the lack of implementers' capacity, a situation which is seldom found in developed countries. Bureaucracies in developed countries are often but not always efficient and effective in policy implementation. According to Smith the following factors therefore hamper effective policy implementation in developing countries (Op. cit., p.199): (i) lack of qualified personnel, (ii) inadequate directions and control from political leaders (iii) opposition to the policy itself and (iv) corruption.

Hermans also notes in many cases the opposite may also be the case as "policies are not implemented as designed – even if only benevolent actors are involved" (2010, p.3). At times policy goals sound too vague and ambiguous and change continuously during the implementation process. Makinde also asserts that "...implementation of every policy is a dynamic process, which involves the interaction of many variables..." (2005, p.36). Policy implementation involves multiple actors with different staff from same or different departments which further creates complexity.

One way to get out of these contradictory theories and concepts is to categorise more rigidly. Generally, there are two models for policy implementation 'top-down and bottom-up' and each model claims their advantages. However, many developing countries seem to be following the top-down model because the state is at the centre and embraces maximum power in decision-making and execution of policies. This further complicates the implementation process and partly explains the lack of success and effectiveness at various levels of the policy flow.

4.3. TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP THEORY

The top-down and bottom-up theories have become the most important models. These models provide a framework for policy formulation and implementation behaviour of an organization or government and explain the policy operation system.

4.3.1. TOP-DOWN THEORY

Scholars such as Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Mazmanian and Sabatiers (1918, 1983, 1989), Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) and Bardach (1977) and Hill (2005) note that the success of policy implementation depends on whether actors follow the decisions of the central authority. Matland defines policy implementation as “the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decision...” (1995, p.146). Policy decisions normally flow from the central government in form of orders to be implemented as desired. However, these decisions cannot be realised and achieved if certain determining factors are not taken into consideration. These factors include tractability of the problem, ability of the statute to structure implementation and non-statutory variables affecting implementation.

Top-down theory is inclined to identify the role of the central government in decisions of policy implementation. Pursuant to this model the following questions are of relevance in assessing the success of a policy (Sabatire, 1986, pp.22-23):

- (i) To what extent are the actions of implementation officials and target groups consistent with policy decisions?
- (ii) To what extent are the objectives attained over time, i.e. to what extent are the impacts consistent with the objectives?
- (iii) What are the principal factors affecting policy outputs and impacts, both those relevant to the official policy as well as other politically significant ones?
- (iv) How is the policy reformulated over time on the basis of experience?

These guidelines are adhered to in deciding whether there is success according to the top-down model. Further, Sabatier (Op. cit., pp.23-25) mentions six necessary conditions that will enable successful policy implementation in the top-down policy process:

- (i) ***Clear and consistent objectives*** – these provide a clear understanding and help implementers interpret the intentions.
- (ii) ***Adequate causal theory*** – refers to how much the policy implementers have freedom to implement policy within official legitimacy and adopt with social change.
- (iii) ***Implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups*** – it is a mechanism to

enforce the policy by legal backup and also put sanctions and incentives for those who are resistant to policy. This also gives responsibilities to the implementing agencies to prioritize their programs.

- (iv) *Committed and skilful implementing officials* – giving utmost responsibility and discrete power to the implementing officers with the available resources so that they can implement policy skilfully.
- (v) *Support of interest groups and sovereigns* – since policy implementation is a long process, it is necessary to have support from political personnel, interest groups, legislature and executives.
- (vi) *Changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory* – the changes in socio-economic conditions may also impact policy implementation which may in turn also affect political stability. Policy should be implemented on non-partisan basis.

This model suggests distinct roles in policy formulation and policy implementation along with a clear feedback system (Hill & Hupe, 2002). However, the model has been criticized for being too idealistic because the theory has not taken into consideration the role of policy implementers or actors and ignores the view of the target population. The model assumes that clear objectives from senior officials will lead to successful implementation. It ignores political influences over policy implementation and views it as a purely administrative process (Matland, 1995). Further criticism claims that this framework is structured unrealistically without considering the limitations of policy-makers at the formulation stage.

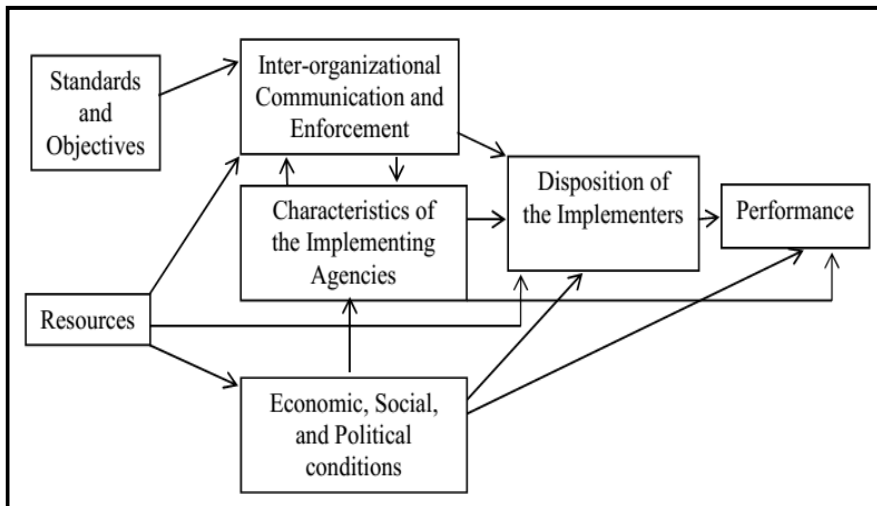
Top-down policy may be difficult to apply in the absence of a dominant policy or agency since several departments or agencies are superior to others horizontal (inter-sectoral or inter-ministerial competition). The top-down model is also criticised since it ignores or underestimates the way policies are implemented by the street level bureaucrats as well as the fact that policy may be diverted to different target groups to suit certain exigencies. The top-down model seems to ignore the target groups and implementing officers and the arguments about lack of synergy between policy formulation and policy implementation in order to realize the goals (Sabatier, 1986). The policy outcomes can only be realised under the conditions of effective interaction/involvement of different components such as policymakers, implementers and stakeholders.

Further Van Meter and Van Horn's model provides details about how the analysis of public policy is done. It also explains the inconsistency between the adoption of policies and actual delivery of services to the target groups. It comprises six components (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975):

- (i) an environment that stimulates government officials and appreciates the products of their work;
- (ii) demands and resources that carry stimuli from the environment to policy makers;
- (iii) a conversion process, including the formal structures and procedures of government, that transforms (converts) demands and resources into public policies;
- (iv) the policies that represent the formal goals, intentions, or statements of government officials;
- (v) the performance of the policy as it is actually delivered to clients; and
- (vi) the feedback of policies and performances to the environment.

This theory is composed of three perspectives (i) organization theory – and more specifically, the work in the general area of organizational change (innovation) and control, (ii) the impact of public policy, particularly judicial decisions and (iii) selected studies of inter-governmental relations (Op. cit., p.453).

Figure 6 A Model of the Policy Implementation Process



Source: Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975, p.453.

This model is a top-down approach of policy implementation whose end result depends on the performance of the organization. It is explained based on the

following six determining variables in the implementation process (Op. cit., pp.466-472):

(i) ***Policy standards and objectives***

The policy standards and objectives are the determining indicators for the overall policy goals. They are self-evident and can be easily measured in some cases. However, in most cases they are difficult to measure and identify. This happens when programs are too complicated and have far-reaching goals. This may also cause ambiguity and contradiction to its statement of standards and objectives. Whether implementation is a success or failure or its objectives can be measured or not, the setting of goals and objectives are essential procedures for the policy implementation.

(ii) ***Policy resources***

Resources are vital for facilitating the smooth administration of policy implementation. Resources can be funds or other incentives which enable the programmes to be carried out effectively. However, usually funds are often inadequate which deters successful policy implementation.

(iii) ***Inter-organizational Communication and Enforcement***

Effective policy implementation also requires that the standards and objectives are understood clearly by those who are responsible for implementation. Moreover, it is imperative to ensure that those standards and objectives are accurately communicated so that policies are implemented uniformly and consistently. Clear flows of information are vital within and between organisations particularly when it involves complex set-ups and processes. When information flows downward from one organization to another, the messages get diluted either intentionally or unintentionally. It is important to note that, “successful implementation often requires institutional mechanisms and procedures whereby higher authorities (superiors) may increase the likelihood that implementers (subordinates) will act in a manner consistent with a policy’s standards and objectives” (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, p.466). Within the single organization, policy may also be successfully implemented if certain standards are maintained and implementers are empowered with authority to recruit and select, assign and re-locate, advance and promote, and ultimately dismiss.

(iv) ***Characteristics of the implementing agencies***

The characteristics and set up of implementing agencies are one of the determining factors which consist of both the formal structure of organizations and also informal attributes of their personnel. However, the

following are the characteristics that may hamper policy implementation in an organization (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, p.471):

- a) the competence and size of an agency's staff;
- b) the degree of hierarchical control of sub-unit decisions and processes within the implementing agencies;
- c) an agency's political resources – support from legislators and executives;
- d) the vitality of an organization;
- e) the degree of “open” communication (i.e., networks of communication with free horizontal and vertical communication, and a relatively high degree of freedom in communications with persons outside the organization) within an organization;
- f) the agency's formal and informal linkages with the “policy-making” and “policy-enforcing” body.

(v) ***Economic, social and political change***

The economic, social and political cleavages have been least considered in the past. However, they might have significant impact on the performance of policy implementing agencies. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the following conditions are present for the smooth implementation of policy (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, p.472):

- a) Are the economic resources available within the implementing organization sufficient to support successful implementation?
- b) To what extent (and how) will the prevailing economic and social conditions be affected by the implementation of the policy in question?
- c) What is the nature of public opinion; how salient is the related policy issue?
- d) Do elites favour or oppose implementation of the policy?
- e) What is the partisan character of the implementing organization; is there partisan opposition or support for the policy?

- f) To what extent are private interest groups mobilized in support or opposition to the policy?

(vi) *Disposition of the implementation*

Above all, the extent to which the policy implemented successfully in an organization is dependent on the perceptions and attitudes of the implementers. Therefore, the ability and willingness to carry out the task may also depend on three features: “their cognition (comprehension, understanding) of the policy, the direction of their response toward it (acceptance, neutrality, rejection), and the intensity of that response”. The implementers’ general intention towards standards and objectives is very critical for successful implementation. The negative intent may lead program objectives towards different outcomes.

Without considering these factors it is impossible to implement policy successfully because each factor plays a crucial role in policy implementation process. However, most developing countries lack or do not adhere to these factors leading to failure in or ineffective implementation of policy. The most common problems they face are meagre funds and incentives, lack of poor inter-communication within the organization or with others, weak implementing agencies within subsystems, unstable economies, social and hostile political conditions and more so the complacent attitude of implementers and their poor understanding about the policy goals and objectives which hinders success in implementation. Observing these factors in the analysis of policy implementation processes in organizations is therefore paramount.

4.3.2. BOTTOM-UP THEORY

As the term implies the bottom-up theory proposes an alternative approach to policy implementation. Berman (1978 & 1980), Hjern and Porter (1981), Hjern and Hull (1982), Hull and Hjern (1987), Lipsky (1978) and Howlett and Ramesh, (1998) all argue that ideal policy implementation can be effective only if the policy involves the target population. This target population can make a difference in service delivery. According to this theory the actors or actual implementers are the most important agents and they must be able to influence policy processes and understand the goals, strategies and activities (Matland, 1995). Hjern (1982) argues that central decisions seldom take local conditions into consideration. Successful policy implementation must recognize the individual and collective skills of the local policy implementers to suit for local environments. This type of policy implementation requires a lesser degree of dependency from the central level.

The bottom-up theory faces criticism broadly on two main grounds – normative and methodological. The normative argument explains that in a democratic society, policy control should be from the central government since that is where the

greatest responsibility and accountability is located in the elected representatives (Matlan, 1995). The government also has certain objectives to be fulfilled as part of its obligations to the citizens. The model is also criticised in relation to decentralization processes because it functions within the framework of central control and street-level bureaucrats like teachers cannot exercise discrete power in their interaction with clients (pupils). On the methodology issue, bottom-up policy has been criticised for overemphasizing local autonomy.

Table 3 shows a comparative summary of the Top-down and Bottom-up policy implementation approaches:

Table 3 Comparative Table of Top-down and Bottom-up models

Key points	Top-Down (Sabatier and Mazmanian)	Bottom-up (Hjern et al)
Initial focus	(Central) Government decision, e.g., control on pollution. The vertical perspective.	Local implementation structure (network) involved in policy areas, e.g., pollution control. The horizontal perspective.
Identification of major actors in the process	From top down and from govt. out to private sector (although importance attached to causal theory also calls for accurate understanding of target group's incentive structure)	From bottom (govt. and private) up
Evaluation criteria	Focus on extend of attainment of formal objectives (carefully analysed). May look at other politically significant criteria and unintended consequences, both these are optional.	Much less clear. Basically anything the analyst chooses which is somehow relevant to the policy issue or problem. Certainly does not require any careful analysis of official govt. decision(s).
Overall Focus	How does one steer system to achieve (top) policy-maker's intended policy results?	Strategic interaction among multiple actors in a policy network.

Source: Sabatier, 1986, p.33

Many scholars support the bottom-up policy implementation although in developing countries top-down policy implementation seems to be common practice despite many of these countries having democratic forms of government. Many national policies and plans come from the center and the sub-agencies have to implement these policies under executive orders of the central government. Therefore, appropriate policy enforcement by the implementers often fails. Policies

are therefore not properly implemented as desired by the government and the bureaucracy.

4.4. POLICY CHANGE AND LEARNING: NEW THEORY FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) suggest a new model for policy learning and change. Their model criticizes previous ones for not providing a clear basis for empirical hypothesis testing. They argue that the stages of policy implementation heuristically suffer from descriptive inaccuracy. Therefore, they propose a new model which they term 'advocacy coalition framework' (AFC). AFC can be explained based on the following principles:

- (i) Understanding of policy implementation results takes time, at least a decade, from policy formulation to policy implementation, policy evaluation, and lastly to policy reformulation.
- (ii) Policy subsystems which involve all stakeholders are important for studying policy change and learning.
- (iii) Policy subsystems involve all levels of stakeholders. Policy change involves not only the policy process but also real implementers who play great roles in applying local conditions to meeting policy goals or objectives.
- (iv) A belief system which explains how theories are used to explain a policy's goal attainment is vital to understanding policy change (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, pp.13-18).

It is indeed very important to consider the above principles while assessing policy implementation. Therefore, no policy implementation impact can be registered within a short period; the study of policy implementation is a complex process as it involves many players and actors; it is also important to understand the capabilities of policy implementers and how they apply policy at different levels. Effective policy implementation will also depend on the culture and belief systems of the society and not least aspects which mainstream theories seem not to emphasize. Implementation of a policy may depend on the proper implementation of other policies and when it comes to educational reforms it is of outmost relevance to compare with decentralization policies.

4.5. DECENTRALIZATION IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES

Decentralization has recently become one of the most important agendas in the developing countries where plans and policies are implemented through various actors and institutions at different levels of government. It is expected that the decentralization approach would bring better results as power is shared by the different levels so that various actors can implement policy effectively and efficiently. It is not only a question about sharing power but policy implementation together with decentralization also gives implementers responsibility to execute policy. In addition it provides an opportunity for local level planners and decision-makers to adopt suitable policies that can be implemented practically on the ground. Decentralization therefore helps to develop the capacity and skills of local level actors to formulate and implement policies.

Decentralization involves power sharing in order to facilitate effectiveness and efficiency in government. There are various definitions of the concept. Rondinelli and Nellis (1986, p.5) define decentralization from the administrative and political science point of view. To them it refers to:

the transfer of responsibility for planning, management, and the raising and allocation of resources from the central government and its agencies to field units of government agencies, subordinate units or levels of government, semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations, area-wide, regional or functional authorities, or non-governmental private or voluntary organization.

Very much in line with this according to Okidi and Guloba decentralization refers to "...the transfer of planning, decision making and administrative authority from the central to local government" (2006, p.1). Decentralization implies that the central government transfers responsibility and functions to local level. Some suggest that decentralization may lead to a fragmented central authority, create space for more inter-governmental competition, and put in place checks and balances. This may make government more responsive and efficient (Bardhan, 2002) but may also create problems. Rondinelli, McCullough and Johnson also see decentralization "as a situation in which public goods and services are provided primarily through revealed preferences of individuals by market mechanisms" (1989, p.59). The benefit is that the public has greater choice and preferences of public goods. This can be related to public choice theory and the public policy approaches. The success of decentralization lies in the characteristics of users, financial transfer and accountability and also choice of organization.

Rondinelli and Cheema (1983) developed a model for studying the impact of decentralization on the policy implementation process in Asia with a perspective on

rural development capacity. They tabled assumptions on how different variables play a critical role at the local level for the effective implementation of policy in a decentralized system. Four variables are taken into consideration in the model (Op. cit., pp.27-29):

- (i) ***Environmental conditions*** – the implementation of decentralization policy may depend on the policies that come from specific or complex socioeconomic and political environment. The pattern of inter-governmental relationships, characteristics of implementing agencies, and amounts and types of resources available may be the determining factors. “A nation’s political structure, its dominant ideology, and the process through which its policies are formulated all influence pace and direction of implementation” (p.27). More specifically, success in policy implementation could occur through understanding the characteristics of local power structures, social and cultural settings and the people involved in policy-making and administration.
- (ii) ***Inter-governmental relationships*** – Coordination or close linkages are required for successful policy implementation at various levels of government organizations – national, regional and local level and also non-governmental organizations who may “...successfully link implementing agencies with others into mutually supporting networks seems essential to achieving policy goals” (p.29).
- (iii) ***Resources for policy and program implementation*** – resources such as adequate finance, administrative and technical support are essential components for an effective decentralization processes. It also depends on the degree to which the implementing agencies have control over funding, their budgetary allocation, and availability.
- (iv) ***Characteristics of implementing agencies***—apart from the other factors mentioned above, this is one of the determining factors for the success of a decentralized implementation. The skills and capacity of technical, managerial and political staff and their coordination and linkages with other sub-levels will yield strong decentralization. Not only is linking the private and voluntary organizations with government organizations at all levels to carry out the policy implementation is crucial but also the quality of leadership, acceptance and commitment of staff in the agencies to policy objectives is vital in decentralization process.

Generally, developing countries are characterised by unified, centralized and regulatory government. The national government authorities’ view centralized economic planning, intervention and control as the best developmental path. There are also other reasons for the central control mechanism. The political leaders gain

positions and power in which they may reward loyal political followers. They may also have better control over wages, prices, tariffs, food subsidies, and regulation over import and export which is considered one of the important parameters for strong political systems. However, there is a rationale for 'why' decentralization benefits development. Rondinelli (Op. cit., pp.154-185) suggests five reasons that explain why developing countries need decentralization in planning and administration:

- (i) Many developing countries noticed that central planning and management has certain deficiencies as they recorded disappointing results in development. The outcomes indicate that central planning seemed not to fulfil the needs of local people. Decentralization was therefore preferred as the way to overcome these problems.
- (ii) The focus of development policies changed some decades ago in many countries from maximizing economic growth to equitable distribution of development in order to reduce disparities in income and wealth between rural and urban areas and also among the regions. One way to enhance equitable growth policies was to redefine the development programs involving local administrators and local people. This was done so that planning addressed the local needs and conditions.
- (iii) Decentralized development planning was found to be more efficient. As a result of this the capacity-building of local administrators and organizations was considered as important. This helped in enhancing efficient service delivery especially in rural and remote areas.
- (iv) The crises and problems persistent in many developing countries under centralized governments and bureaucracies have triggered the search for alternative ways for development. This is done with the aim of solving local level problems adequately.
- (v) However, decentralization had already been considered in some countries through their political objectives or planning processes with the aim that local people could attain self-reliance, participate in local development and become accountable.

4.5.1. FORMS OF DECENTRALIZATION

Four forms of decentralization can be identified. Rondinelli (1983, p.189) reviews nine cases of decentralization in Asia and found out that all four forms were present but rarely in their pure form. The common forms observed are either a mixture of deconcentration and delegation or devolution and deconcentration. The following are the four forms of decentralization (Ibid):

- (i) **Deconcentration** – is the transfer of functions or authority or shifting of workloads in hierarchical order from central government to ministries to field officers at the local level. It is rather a shifting of central government responsibility to the local administrative units which are part of the whole administration.
- (ii) **Delegation** – is the transfer of functions to regional or functional development authorities, parastatal organizations, special project implementation units (government autonomous agencies) which are under central government units.
- (iii) **Devolution** – involves transfer of functions or decision-making authority to legally incorporated local governments, such as states, provinces, dzongkhags or municipalities.
- (iv) **Transfer to non-government institutions** – this is the shifting of responsibilities from the public to private sector or quasi-public organizations which are not part of government.

Rondinelli (Op. cit., p.198) conducted a study on how the implementation of decentralization in various developing countries like Thailand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Philippines, and Nepal was done. He looked at the effectiveness of decentralization in development planning and administration and found out that there are certain factors which influence the implementation of decentralization. These are:

- (i) **The strength of central political and administrative support** – the commitment of the political leaders to share functions, ability and willingness of bureaucracies to support and carry out the activities; capacity of field officers and their coordination with other organizations to perform activities were found to be the key factors for the success of decentralization.
- (ii) **Behaviour, attitudinal and cultural influences** – this factor is considered crucial for the effective implementation of decentralization. The quality of local leadership, the attitude of rural people toward government, suitability of development and policies must take certain decisive factors such as the traditional, cultural and customs at the local level into consideration.
- (iii) **Organizational factors** – it also depends on organizational clarity, conciseness, and simplicity of structures and procedures. There should be opportunity or a forum where the implementers or local officers can

interact with high-ranking bureaucrats. The integration of various components of decentralized programs may influence its outcome.

- (iv) *The adequacy and appropriateness of local financial, human and physical resources* – successful decentralization relies on the availability of adequate financial resources, skilled personnel and physical infrastructure at the local level. Invariably the adequacy of financial resources and the ability to allocate these finances effectively is considered one of the crucial factors.

Decentralization has become part of government planning and administrative processes in most of the developing countries today with various characteristics and problems. Despite socio-economic and political challenges, developing countries have experienced that decentralization is an adequate approach that brings about development at the local level by fulfilling the needs of the particular society or area. It has also helped to enhance and empower local people to exercise their rights to basic development and also become part of national policy-making and implementation. Decentralization may not provide all the solutions to development needs but it serves the purpose of ‘dividing and ruling’ and also helps to achieve equitable socio-economic development within large and small economies.

In this way decentralization can be considered as a vertical policy which may either supplement or be complimentary or in some cases even become a hindrance for policy implementation in comparison with other vital policy flows such as education policies.

4.6. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR DECENTRALIZATION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES

The main objective of policy implementation is to fulfil the intended goals of providing better services. This is despite the fact that it involves complicated processes and sometimes policy implementation could achieve different results. Normally, the achievement of policy implementation depends on specific policy objectives and execution of policy on the ground. Policy implementation can only be considered as successful when intended goals are achieved and if it benefits end-users. In the policy implementation scenario authorities’ decisions and cohesion among the various related agencies, are determining factors for success because policy implementation cannot take place in isolation. This is because policy implementation is a complex matrix that involves various processes and levels.

Policy implementation is considered to be the transformation of financial, material, technical and human procedures into goods and services. Success of policy implementation also requires constant efforts with flexibility in policy decisions that takes into consideration the operational realities. Success therefore depends on

communication, resources, attitude and efficient bureaucratic structure. However, success is often hampered by lack of qualified personnel, inadequate directions, lack of understanding of the policy, opposition to the policy and corruption. Sometimes policy goals are vague and ambiguous thereby leading to implementation challenges.

In general, developing countries seem to be following the top-down approach because of their statist nature. Policy decisions emanate from the central government in the form of orders to the implementers. Successful implementation in this top-down process may depend on clear objectives, state official's legitimacy amidst the social dynamics; the compliance of implementers; skilful and discrete power of the implementers; support from political personnel and other social groups and unbiased policy and implementers.

Such policy implementation has been criticized for ignoring the target population and being inconsiderate to the needs of the people. While policy may come with good intentions, the top-down policy process is considered to be undemocratic since there is no prior consultation with the stakeholders. Therefore, such top-down policy may hamper the synergy between the formulation level and implementers in the quest of realizing the intended goals.

In contrast the bottom-up policy model seems favourable because it takes into account the interests of the target population. This model focuses on actual policy implementers and enables them to understand the goals, strategies and activities and also involves them in the policy process. The success of such a policy may depend on building the capacity of local policy implementers and enhancing their skills to suit their local environment. This may create less dependency on the central government and ensure that realistic policies which suit the needs of the public are implemented. However, central control is practiced because the government may have certain objectives they intend to fulfil and therefore may not grant implementers full discretionary power in the policy implementation process.

Van Meter and Van Horn's policy implementation model explains a top-down policy implementation approach which comprises of six determining variables that are important for the successful implementation: adequate resources; clear flow of information between organizations with enforcement; effective implementers with hierarchical control; policy should be dynamic and in accordance with economic, social and political change and the right perceptions and attitude of the implementers.

Through decentralization central government responsibilities and functions are transferred to local levels to carry out policy implementation. Such a system is believed to enhance power sharing and provides space for horizontal inter-organizational competition as well as providing checks and balances in the system.

Decentralization makes government more sensitive towards efficiency in functioning and service delivery. It also provides greater choice and preference to public goods and services. It empowers local people to exercise their rights to basic development as well as becoming part of national policy-making and implementation. However, successful decentralization in policy implementation may depend on the socio-cultural context, local power structure, political conditions, inter-governmental relationships, adequate finance, strong administrative support, skills and capacity of technical personnel, efficient managerial skills, coordination and linkages with sub-level agencies.

However, in many cases the facts on the ground show that developing countries are characterised by strong central control in their planning and management. Local administrators and people are less involved in planning leading to a mismatch of the needs and conditions of local people and the policies in place. Additionally, the lack of capacity and skills do not enhance programmes at the local level. Inadequate finances, persistent crises and problems hinder also the achievement of intended policy goals. It is hence believed that decentralization of policy and finances is problematic and there are several tumbling blocks in achieving equitable socioeconomic development.

4.7. SUMMARY

Generally, policy implementation is a process through which intended objectives are fulfilled for the benefit of the society. It is also a process of establishing goals and working to achieve them. However, the study of policy implementation in an organization like the state is a complex process as it involves various actors. Therefore, it is important that government formulate plans and policies that are realistic in order to achieve its intended goals. However, there are various factors that have to be considered in the policy implementation process such as communication, resources, attitude and efficient bureaucratic structures, so that the process can be registered as success.

Often developing countries, although their policies might be very attractive, face challenges in relation to successful implementation. The main problems encountered are lack of qualified personnel, inadequate direction, control from political leaders, and resistance to policy and corruption.

There are two approaches for policy implementation: top-down and bottom-up. Each model claims to be better than the other. In the top-down approach policy formulation and implementation comes from the central government which orders the sub-systems to implement. This approach ignores the policy implementers and the target population. Its assumption is that clear objectives established from the top leads to successful policy implementation. In contrast and as a contradiction some

developing countries have tried to adopt the bottom-up model but their policy practice however often exhibit top-down tendencies in reality.

The bottom-up approach assumes that policy can be successfully implemented if implementers and local level people are involved in the policy formulation and implementation process. This approach facilitates understanding on the part of implementers which brings about ease in implementation. In this way, implementers are able to choose policy that is favourable to the local conditions and that are ultimately beneficial to the people.

Decentralization is the transfer of power and responsibility to the local level administrators and employees. Once empowered, the local actors can implement the intended policies of government successfully. It is also considered to be an efficient approach in the delivery of services. There are four variables which play a crucial role in effective policy implementation in a decentralized system namely: environmental conditions, inter-government relationships, adequate finance, and human resource capabilities. This research explores policy implementation through decentralization with reference to Bhutan's education policy at the primary and secondary schools. It is imperative to simultaneously focus on vertical flows of education reforms and concomitant policy proposals and at the sametime compare with the more than two decades attempts to implement decentralization in Bhutan. At the same time it is important to understand the horizontal lines between the two policy decisions and flows. How they are connected and perceived by the actors involved and of course how they can be situated in relation to specific social policies like the omission of corporal punishment and other social engineering strategies which impact teacher-pupil-parents relationships.

Chapter 5. SOCIAL POLICY OF BHUTAN

The first part of this chapter provides an overview of social policy that has brought significant changes in life of the Bhutanese and situates these changes in relation to the concepts of the CDS. The second part touches briefly on social policy from the beginning of the twentieth century which introduced embryonic reforms. The third part reveals the dynamics of social policy since the 1960s that have been nurtured under the hereditary monarchies to the present democracy. The fourth part discusses Bhutan 2020, a vision for peace, prosperity and happiness which is the main guiding document for the country's development plans. The MDGs which the country strives to achieve are addressed in the fifth part. The sixth part also briefly talks about the SAARC Development Goals which are the regional planned objectives. The seventh part looks at broad ideas of governance in Bhutan such as the decentralization process and decentralization in education system. Part eight discusses the role of GNHC in social policy formulation and planning. The ninth part explains GG and GG in the education system. The tenth part provides mandates and function of REC. The eleventh part discusses the dependency on development aid and its contribution to socio-economic development. Part twelfth highlights the Indo-Bhutan relations and India's development aid to Bhutan with special focus on education. And, finally, the chapter summarizes the entire discussion.

5.1. SOCIAL POLICY OF BHUTAN

Social policy can be traced back to the 1960s. Earlier than that the country's political system was unstable and its traditional economy was non-market based and therefore providing social welfare was challenging for the government. Moreover, during the intermediate period of isolation Bhutan remained under unstable theocratic rulers. However, major reforms restructuring the socio-economic and political system in the country began after the enthronement of the first King in 1907. Subsequently, the reign of the third king marked a socio-economic development milestone since he initiated a process of modernization and introduced significant changes in social policy. Over the years, socio-economic conditions gradually improved not least because of massive external assistance from India.

5.2. SOCIAL POLICY SINCE 1950

The form of government which existed in the medieval period (up to the 1950s) was based on a Buddhist belief system and most of the rulers were religiously inspired. The traditional economy was non-market based but claimed to be successful within its limits despite the challenges such as poor infrastructure, internal communication

and geographical isolation. Health and education conditions were considered to be very low during that period (Ura, 1994 & 2004).

In order to improve and expand social services, the third King undertook major socio-economic reforms and also re-structured the government. Gradually, in 1968 he introduced the first Council of Ministers in order to enhance the development process. He also established the Planning Commission in 1971 with the objective of framing the country's overall development strategies and to coordinate sectorial activities, formulating Five Year Plans, policies and programmes. In the same year, the National Assembly (NA) was established comprising members from Council of Ministers and representatives from various regions and sectors to discuss and streamline the development plans (GNHC, 2012a). During this period people remained humble and loyal to the King and did not raise any issues on the need of social development in their areas or regions. The embeddedness of the developmental State during this phase in the case of Bhutan reflects that it is a late-comer and that the people seemingly have been little aware of 'modernization'. The King played a key role in introducing development activities in the country and prepared the ground for the embryonic and gradual emergence of the conservative development state.

5.3. MODERN ERA SOCIAL POLICIES

After more than five decades of implementing modern socio-economic development, the delivery systems within the social sector have steadily improved. Further, the country has set the target of achieving Vision 2020 (see section 5.3.1) in addition to the MDGs. The state provides almost free social services and welfare for the entire citizens despite its small economy (Ura, 1994) but still by utilizing foreign development aid in a very significant and efficient manner.

The introduction of FYP and social reforms initiated by the third King paid by India's funding was the decisive factor that brought considerable improvement in socio-economic development. Consistently, throughout the plans, high priority has been given to social welfare policy with the objective of promoting economic growth. Particular emphasis was given to education and health but also infrastructure, transport and communication, agriculture and animal husbandry were promoted. The need for the development of basic services became inevitable at the time. However, providing access and uniform distribution of these basic services was confronted with several challenges such as mountainous terrain, harsh climate, remoteness as well as the dispersed population.

The Population and Housing Census 2005 revealed that, out of the country's total population about 69.1 per cent resided in the rural areas and 39.1 per cent in urban areas (RGoB, 2006). Therefore, large numbers of people living in rural areas faced

difficulty in accessing social service facilities and this also made it difficult and expensive to establish such services.

The attainment of economic self-reliance⁹ was the primary goal of the country's development strategies ever since the fourth King was enthroned in 1974. It is also stipulated in the Constitution, Article 9, Section 9 under the Principles of State Policy (RGoB, 2008b) as the most significant principle for long term socio-economic development and again conceptualizes a core aspect of the developmentalist vision of the elite.

Subsequently, all socio-economic plans for the country were designed with a special focus on economic self-reliance. After more than five decades, during the seventh FYP the following factors were still identified as severely affecting socio-economic achievement of the country: landlocked country, mountainous terrain, small area not suitable for agricultural land, scattered settlements, the provision of roads and communication networks are difficult, and the delivery of health and education services costly; constraint of manpower, a majority of the population engaged in subsistence farming, and dependence on external assistance (PC, 1992). Therefore, these factors challenged the economic self-reliance goals as unrealistic. Even today the Bhutanese economy still remains small and the country depends on external aid (Yezer & Schmidt, 2014).

5.3.1. BHUTAN 2020: A VISION FOR PEACE, PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS

To achieve long term sustainable socio-economic growth, Bhutan 2020: A Vision for Peace, Prosperity and Happiness, was published in 1999 outlining the government's priorities in the accomplishment of these objectives and within a framework that had four main aspects: Redefining the role of the State, Management of Development, Decentralization and Development Financing. Within the defined objectives of the vision paper, there are six guiding principles: Identity, unity and harmony, stability, self-reliance, sustainability and flexibility (RGoB, 1999). All activities and policies of the country were supposed to be aligned with the aims and objectives of the vision in pursuit of GNH. These objectives clearly reflected the aim to establish a conservative and organic nation-building strategy. Unification, Buddhist identity, harmony and stability characterize the main political cultural matrix of the East Asian experience and a wish by the King and the bureaucracy to utilize a gradualist developmentalist approach to enhance sovereignty, national identity and societal cohesion.

⁹*Not to depend on ODA and to meet all expenditures from the internal resources of the country.*

Vision 2020 implicitly states that, the central development concept for the country should be maximization of GNH practices within the main development objectives of human development, culture and heritage, balanced and equitable development, governance, and environmental conservation (RGoB, 1999). It also covers the international implication that Bhutan will be a respectful and active member of the international community and always promote peace and stability. Moreover, it envisages that the country will derive benefits from modernization without diluting its rich culture, tradition and identity. The vision explicitly declares that Bhutanese society should emerge as a compassionate, tolerant, self-confident and egalitarian society where people live in harmony and unity. Vision 2020 covers many dimensions but in the social sphere it particularly anticipates that all Bhutanese have equal access to improved quality social services (GNHC, 2009). The double strategy of imposing GNH as ideology and nationness as unity embedded in a specific Bhutanese culture was at the same time progressive and conservative.

These features are illuminated in the view of education. Vision 2020 envisages that the country will promote a wide range of institutions which provide appropriate knowledge and skills to acquire innate potential, inculcate rich cultural values and heritage and let the pupils know the ethical and moral choices of their lives. Vision 2020 also targets to achieve full attainment of enrolment levels in Class X by 2012 and to attain full adult literacy levels by 2017 (GNHC, 2009). However, by the end of 2012 the full attainment of enrolment for Class X had just reached 80 per cent which was far behind the target. One reason was the high dropout rate (29%) of students in 2012 compared to other classes (MoE, 2012). At present under the new democratic government, the country is striving to realize this goal despite several challenges such as poverty, youth unemployment and demographic planning (GNHC, 2012). The government expects to improve the standard health care system comparable to developed countries combined with highly developed indigenous medicine expertise and capabilities. It is also expected that child and maternal mortality indicators and life expectancy figures will be lowered to reasonable levels (GNHC, 2009).

Bhutan's increasing exposure to the regional and international community had the result that the government decided to strive for accomplishing international goals for eradicating poverty and improving a number of important regional and global development activities.

5.3.2. MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Bhutan adopted the MDGs after the endorsement of UN Millennium Declaration in 2000 at the UN Millennium Summit (RGoB, 2003). Since the MDGs are paramount important for improvement of the quality of human life, the nation found this to complement the enhancement of GNH. Bhutan's MDGs focused mostly on health,

education and poverty alleviation. The following were the targets to be achieved by 2015 from the commencement year of 1990 under the MDGs (RGoB, 2003, p.1):

- (i) halving poverty & hunger;
- (ii) achieving universal primary education;
- (iii) removing gender disparity;
- (iv) reducing under-5 mortality by two third
- (v) maternal mortality by three quarters;
- (vi) reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS & other diseases;
- (vii) ensuring environmental sustainability; and halving the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water.

Table 4 shows the comparative improvement over the years on socio-economic growth towards the achievement of MDGs.

Table 4 Socio-Economic Indicators

Indicators	1990	2000	2005	2010
GDP per capita (USD)	620 (1991)	1534 (1998)	1290	1700
Population	-	678000	634982	695822 (projected)
Population growth rate %	3.1 (1994)	2.5	1.3	1.3 (2005)
Population below poverty line %	-	25.3	31.7 (2003)	20 (target 2015)
Adult literacy %	48 (1994)	54	53	59.5
Primary Gross Enrolment Rate %	55	72	102	117
Primary Net Enrolment Rate %	73	91	79.4	93.6
Ratio of girls to boys in primary education (%)	69	82	95 (2004)	100 (2015)
Ratio of girls to boys in Secondary education (%)	43	78	95 (2004)	100 (2015)
Ratio of females to males in tertiary institutions (%)	12	41	53 (2004)	100 (2015)
Life Expectancy at Birth	48.9	66.1	66.1	69

Infant Mortality Ratio (per 1000 live births)	142 (1991)	60.5	40.1	40.1 (2005)
Under Five Mortality Ratio(per 1000 live births)	195 (1991)	84.0	61.5	61.5 (2005)
Maternal Mortality Ratio (per 100, 000 live births)	560	255	255	140 (target 2015)
Trained Birth Attendance %	25	23.7	51	70
Number of tuberculosis cases and incidences (cases per 100,000)	4232	1140	1002 (2004)	-
Population with Access to Safe Drinking Water %	45	77	84	88
Population with Access to Sanitation %	60(1991)	88.0	89	92.5
National Human Development Index	0.427 (1991)	0.550 (1998)	0.599	0.619 (2009)

Source: RGoB, 2000; Department of Health Services, 2000; NSB, 2011; MoH, 2011; MoE, 2011b & Planning Commission, 2007.

The country is still working towards achieving the MDGs in 2016. All the socio-economic indicators show a positive trend one decade from the commencement of activities.

The life expectancy at birth has increased over the years. In 1990 it was 48.9% and reached 69% in 2010. The national human development index has also increased from 0.427 in 1991 to 0.584 in 2007. Population below poverty line in 2000 was 36.3% and it was reduced to 23.2% in 2007 and expected to be reduced further to 20% by 2015.

Primary education gross enrolment ratio in 1990 was 55% and had reached 117% in 2010 which means the MDG target had been achieved ahead of its target of 100 by the year 2015. Even primary education net enrolment ratio in 1990 which was 73% increased to 93.6% in 2010 indicating that the country is on track in achieving its target of MDG by 2016. The ratio of girls to boys in primary education showed dramatic increase from 69% in 1991 to 99.5% in 2007 and is considered to be on right track to achieve the MDG target (refer to table 5). Even the ratio of girls to boys in secondary education was observed to have increased from 43% in 1991 to 97.2% in 2007, which is likely to achieve MDG targets as well.

The infant mortality ratio (per 1000 live births) in 1990 was 90 and was reduced to 40.1 in 2007. To achieve MDG targets by 2016 it has to reach 30. Under-five mortality ratio (per 1000 live births) was 123 in 1990 and was reduced to 61.5 in 2007 although it has yet to reach 41 to achieve MDG target. The maternal mortality

ratio per 100,000 live births was 560 in 1990 and was reduced to 255 in 2000 and has to reach 140 in order to achieve the MDG target.

The proportion of the population without access to improved drinking water sources was 55% in 1990 and reduced to 19% in 2007. This target has already achieved the MDG as it was set at 27.5% to be achieved by 2015. Population without access to improved sanitation was also reduced from 33% in 1990 to 10% in 2007 far ahead of achievement of the target set for MDG.

Table 5 shows comparative statistics of socio-economic development and MDGs target to be achieved by 2015. As explained above almost all the indicators show positive development indicators which means social and welfare policies were formulated and implemented effectively to benefit the society at large by the government.

Table 5 MDGs: Goals, Targets and Indicators

Indicators	1990	2000	2007	2015 Projected	Status of Progress
Population below poverty line %	-	36.3	23.2	20	
Adult literacy %	48 (1994)	54	59.5 (2010)		
Primary Gross Enrolment Ratio%	55	72	105.7	100	Achieved
Net Primary Enrolment Ratio %	-	73 (2005)	83.7	100	On Track
Ratio of girls to boys in primary education (%)	69 (1991)	82	99.5	100	On Track
Ratio of girls to boys in secondary education (%)	43 (1991)	78	97.2	100	On Track
Life Expectancy at Birth	52.5	60.3	68.3 (2013)		
Infant Mortality Ratio (per 1000 live births)	90	60.5	40.1	30	On Track
Under Five Mortality Ratio(per 1000 live births)	123	84	61.5	41	On Track
Maternal Mortality Ratio (per 100, 000 live births)	560	255	-	140	On Track
Trained Birth Attendance %	15	24	55.9	100	On Track
Proportion of population	55	22	19	27.5	Achieved

without access to an improve drinking water source (%)					
Population without access to improve sanitation %	33	12	10	17.5	Achieved
National Human Development Index	0.427 (1991)	0.550 (1998)	0.584 (2013)		

Source: GNHC, 2008.

5.3.3. SAARC DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS)

Bhutan became a member of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) at the Dhaka summit in 8th December 1985. Since then the country has been promoting regional economic cooperation and development activities under the SAARC Charter. However, in 2005 at the Thirteenth SAARC Summit in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the member countries endorsed SAARC Development Goals (SDGs) covering several important goals pertinent to addressing South Asia's social problems under four broad categories and goals: livelihood, health, education and environment. The SGDs were conceptualized and formulated to respond to the urgent need to alleviate the striking poverty in South Asia and to accelerate the achievement of international MDGs by 2015. Furthermore, SDGs were implemented to fulfil the road map of the SAARC Social Charter. Under the activities of the SDGs including MDGs, there were 22 priority goals which were supposed to be implemented during the period of 2007-2012. Of these priorities, eight of them target livelihood, four health and six target education while the remaining six are related to the environment. It was explicitly underscored that to achieve these specific goals of SDGs the countries must effectively work on combating poverty in the region.

Therefore, the Thirteenth SAARC Summit declared 2006–2015 as the SAARC Decade of Poverty Alleviation (GNHC, 2009). These decisions are critical for the improvement of South Asian socio-economic conditions especially in reducing extreme poverty in the region. The objectives and targets of global multilateral and regional fora are not always easy to translate into the local context. In case of Bhutan they need to be contextualized and understood in relation to other policy which may or may not impact their proper implementation. However, as illuminated in the previous section Bhutan has been ahead of most SAARC members in terms of achieving success. Apart from the case of Sri Lanka Bhutan has reached most goals and is leading on almost all SDGS indicators.

5.3.4. DECENTRALIZATION PROCESS

The country is administratively divided into 20 dzongkhags (districts) which fall under Local Government (LG)¹⁰ as shown in Figure 7 and 205 gewogs¹¹ with a total population of about 634,982 as of the 2005 Census (RGoB, 2006). However, some bigger dzongkhags are further divided into dungkhag (sub-district) for the purpose of effective administration.

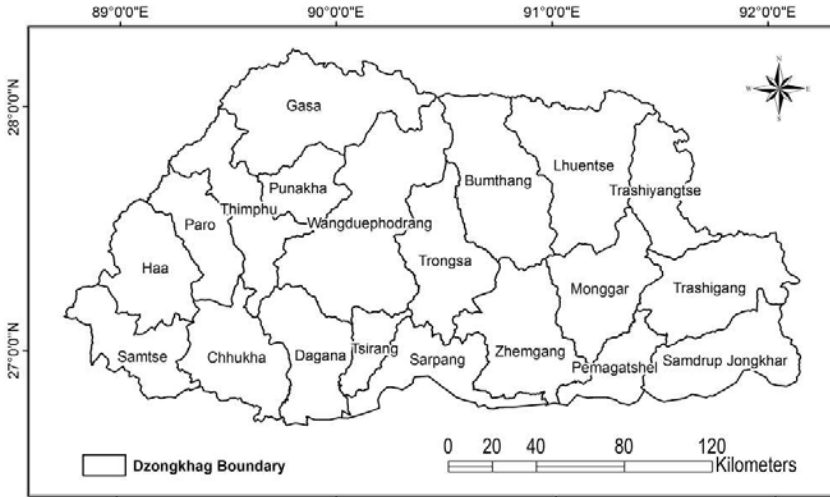
A dzongkhag is headed by a Dzongda (District Governor) appointed by the King and not democratically elected, after receiving recommendation from the Prime Minister and dungkhag by Dungpa (Deputy Governor). Both of them are appointed by the central government as administrators of the dzongkhag working in coordination with the central government. Under the dzongkhags there are 205 gewogs headed by the Gups.¹²

Prior to the 1990s, Gups were appointed by the dzongkhag administration after receiving nomination from the gewog. After the enactment of the Local Government Act, from 2011 Gups are elected democratically through secret ballot for a term of five years. The main function of the Gup is to administer the gewog, including submission of plans through Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchungs (DYT) (District Development Committee). Implementations of these plans are supposed to promote social welfare and collect taxes levied on land, cattle, houses and individuals per household. Hence, the gewog functions in coordination with the dzongkhag under the decentralization policy.

¹⁰The Local Government policy of Bhutan states that “There shall be Local Governments in each of the twenty Dzongkhags. Each Dzongkhag shall be divided into several Gewogs. Larger Dzongkhags may be divided into Dungkhags which shall comprise of a number of Gewogs. A Gewog shall be made up of several Chiwogs [Sub-village]. A Chiwog may comprise of several villages” (RGoB, 2007, p.2).

¹¹Gewog refers to the group of villages which has its administrative boundary within the district but there can be several gewogs in a district.

¹²Head of Gewog Administration elected by the people.

Figure 7 Administrative Map of Bhutan

To advance socio-economic development, the policy of decentralization at the political and administrative levels was introduced in 1980. Decentralization was hypothesized to indicate sharing of political and administrative power from central to the LG level (Brassard, 2008) with its main objective of empowering people to ensure balanced and equitable socio-economic development (RGoB, 2001). Ura asserts that “The Royal Government has promoted decentralization to pursue dual objectives of democratisation and development and, ultimately, to achieve gewog self-reliance by realizing the potentials of individuals within a gewog” (2004, p.154). Decentralization covers political, financial and administrative aspects (Brassard, 2008). It includes three levels: the NA, the DYT in 1981, and Gewog Yargye Tshochungs (GYT) (Block Development Committee) in 1991 (RGoB, 2003). The main purpose of the introduction of DYT and GYT was to fulfil the decentralization process and ensure equity in socio-economic growth, development based on people’s welfare, enhanced administrative efficiency and promote people’s participation in policy and decision-making.

It is interesting to note that the decentralization process has no other intention than the gradual transition to democracy, involving people in planning and decision-making processes. It implies there are no real deconcentration of finance and decision-making and also no devolution of power to the local level. Further Ura has highlighted the vision for decentralization as the fulfilment of the GNH vision where “more powers and authority have been vested in the GYT’s and DYT’s to enable them to become the main institutions for local decision-making” (2004, p.155). Moreover, decentralization was supposed to be a two way communication process between rural people on the one side and dzongkhag and central

government on the other which should ensure that policies of government are fully addressed according to the needs and will of the people (Ura, 2004).

Since its inception, decentralization has on paper been gradually incorporated throughout the overall policy of the government and thus initiated development activities aimed at fulfilling the needs and will of the people. The strategies formulated during the Fifth FYP (1981-1986) included dzongkhag self-reliance, decentralization of development administration, mobilization of internal resources, and people's participation in the developmental activities. The intention was very much in line with both the top-down approach and devolution. Further, to accelerate the development process at the commencement of the Seventh FYP in 1991, the first dzongkhag level plan document was prepared to sensitize the decentralization process and also to prioritize socio-economic development at the local level (PC, 1992). Between 1980 and 1990, the country achieved rapid economic growth rates of 6 per cent on average (Ura, 1994) and a consistent increase of 7.9 per cent annually for the last six years up to 2009 (RGoB, 2010b).

Ten years later a gewogs-based approach planning approach was formulated and budget allocation was made at the central, dzongkhags and gewogs level starting from the Ninth FYP in 2002 (Brassard, 2008, & PC, 2001). This model was intended to enhance deconcentration to the local level and to encourage local community participation in developmental activities. After the enactment of the Local Governments' Act of Bhutan 2007, the DYT and GYT terminology was revised as Dzongkhag Tshogdu and Gewog Tshogde respectively and a new branch called Dzongkhag Thromde Tshogde (District Municipal Committee) was created since the rate of urbanization¹³ in Bhutan was growing faster than ever.

Within the year of 2000-2005, the annual average growth rate of the urban population was estimated at 7.3 per cent and about 12.6 per cent high in Thimphu (RGoB, 2008). In addition to the capital city Thimphu, there are few towns in Bhutan with a population of more than 50,000 by this time. With the gradual expansion of urban areas, the demarcation of gewogs boundaries ultimately led to a new delimitation of urban areas under the dzongkhag thromde (RGoB, 2007). The delimitation of gewogs and urban areas was basically initiated to enhance the development and planning process under the new democratic government and also in accordance with the provision of the Local Government Act (LG) 2009. The main functions envisioned of LG after the revision was as follows: provide democratic government; ensure social and economic services in a sustainable and equitable manner; ensure development occurs in a planned and harmonious manner; encourage the involvement of communities; to levy appropriate taxes, duties, tolls

¹³Since rural-urban migration is high in Bhutan at a moment, it will have implication for urban schools with high enrolment and depopulation of rural schools.

and fees in accordance to the law; promote holistic and integrated area base development planning (Ibid).

However, there are criticisms about this top-down approach to decentralization not being fully implemented or implemented at all by the bureaucracy and government. There are convictions that only small part of administrative and political decentralization acts prevail but no financial decentralization has taken place especially in local governance. The Joint Annual Report (2010) points out several challenges to decentralization. There are confusions of centrally controlled funds (on formula-based capital grants) and Constitution Development Grants (CDG) to be consolidated in the planning and monitoring system; due to several administrative reasons at the local level, the CDG earmarks grants and centrally control funds showing problems of not being fully utilized; there seems to be some discrepancies between: i) the actual management grant system of the central government and LG levels, ii) the draft Annual Grant Guidelines and iii) the Financial Management Arrangement (FMA); no clear information on central government funds and development partners grant to the local governance level; no clear ideas for local governance and development partners about the account adjustments by the central government; general weakness in downward policy flows regarding the accountability of fund usages like no sign boards, no publication of plans and accounts and no information on use of funds; there is also lack of initiative to update on FMA at the local governance programs; and there is concern for the autonomy of LG because it has been not involved in the funds and activities initiated outside the formula-based grants.

The GNHC also reported that there is still a need for consolidation of institutional bodies and development of human capacity at the local levels. A report states that “The pace and quality of decentralization has also been challenged by the poor resource base of local economies and the bureaucratic administrative systems and procedures that act as bottlenecks hampering the efficiency and effectiveness of local administration” (GNHC, 2010, p.13). The lack of resources, incompetent bureaucracies and complex administrative procedures are considered to be detrimental factors to institutionalizing decentralization across the government organizations.

The ruling government in 2013 believed that decentralization had not been properly disseminated and embedded at the different levels of government institutions. Therefore, the Peoples Democratic Party’s (PDP) government wanted to promote decentralization through the ideology of “Wangtse Chhirpel” which means “Empowering people for liberty, equality and prosperity by devolving power and authority from the centre to the people” (PDP, 2013, p.9). PDP Vice-President Damchoe Dorji’s shared the following views on decentralization:

We empower the Local Government by decentralising the power, both administrative and financial, ...in the present system the Local Governments have little power on finance despite having brilliant policies that are best for gewog and dzongkhag. The centre cannot make decisions at the short notice. It is important to give certain administrative and financial powers to the LG (Bhutan Broadcasting Service [BBS], 2013, para.3).

Moreover, to handle the full decentralization of power, LG has to first of all develop the capacity of human resources. Currently a majority of the heads of gewogs are not well qualified; they are literate persons (know how to read and write) voted based on their experiences. Secondly, gewog centres are not equipped to deliver services required by the people. Some of the gewogs also lack infrastructure such as buildings, proper roads, internet connection, computers and power supply. As reported by Zangpo,

The issues such as designating an accountant in each gewog were also discussed, including some gewogs that were unable to provide efficient services. The problem in developmental activities was pointed out, especially the lack of coordination between accountants located in gewogs and engineers located in dzongkhags (2014, para 4).

These could be the reasons impeding delivery of services and delaying the delegation of financial power to the gewogs. The PDP government has been critical about the lack of proper implementation of decentralization since it was introduced almost three decades ago. The Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay, after winning the election in 2013 emphasized this by saying that

...decentralization is the most effective and the best way to get things done. Our Constitution requires a lot of decentralization of power to the people. This principle is embedded in the Constitution and further, decentralization is the very concept of democracy (Administrator, 2013, para.4).

He emphasized promoting decentralization through democratic processes by focusing on institution-building and empowering the local levels.

However, there are still challenges to the implementation of decentralization. The decentralization process is not only the government's role and responsibility but is also equally important for the public to participate in the process and know its importance and benefit. Therefore, the people's involvement, interest, capacity and understanding their role in a decentralized setting are important features to be considered while discussing decentralization in Bhutan.

5.3.4.1 DECENTRALIZATION IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Decentralization in the education system started at the same time as the overall decentralization process in Bhutan around the 1980s. Its full implementation has however not taken place. GNHC asserts that “Although local level administrative autonomy has been enhanced and the principles of democratic and decentralized governance formally enshrined under Article 22 of the Constitution, the process of decentralization is not entirely completed” (2009, p.73). In general, the critical challenges identified in the decentralization process are (GNHC, 2009): weak institutional and human capacity at the local levels; the inadequate resource base of local economies and institutions, and often bureaucratic administrative systems and procedures that hamper the efficiency and effectiveness of the local administration. Therefore, decentralization will only be successful by enhancing the existing capacity of local governments, building up their capability and ability both in human resource and infrastructure, making adequate financial support and also deployment of competent staff to the dzongkhags and gewogs. The enactment of the Local Governance Act of 2009 was supposed to further strengthen the decentralization process. However, the problems are related to Bhutan’s late development experience.

In the 1960s there were only a few PSs (Ueda, 2004) which were managed by the central government and the patronage of the King. The Ministry of Social Services was established in 1961 and later changed its name to Ministry of Health and Education in 1971. Later in June 2003 it was bifurcated as the MoE and Ministry of Health (MoH). Today these ministries are two distinct entities.

Today the MoE plays a central role in educational administration under the Minister of Education and a Secretary. The secretariat is divided into the Policy and Planning Division, the Administrative and Finance Division and Human Resources Division and other associated units such as Internal Audit, National Commission for UNESCO, Information and Communication which are directly accountable to the Secretary. There is an autonomous agency, the Bhutan Council for School Examinations and Assessment which is linked to the ministry. The ministry is a core administrative body which issues executive orders for plans and policies to be implemented in departments, dzongkhags and ultimately to the schools.

Under the functions of the central ministry administration, there are also four Departments which comprise of various divisions (MoE, 2014e):

- (i) *Department of Curriculum Research and Development (DCRD)* which is comprised of four subdivisions comprising of Primary Curriculum, Secondary Curriculum, Programme and Support Services, and Publication and Instruction Media. In 2014, RGoB issued an order to merge DCRD with REC which is an autonomous agency (RGoB, 2014).

- (ii) *Department of school Education* which functions with the support of six subdivisions comprising of School & Coordination, School Agriculture Feeding & Environment, School Planning & Building, Education Monitoring & Support Services (EMSS), Private School and Early Childhood Care and Development & Special Education.
- (iii) *Department of Adult & Higher Education* with four subdivisions comprising of Higher Education Planning, Quality Assurance & Accreditation, Scholarship & Student Support and Non-Formal and Continue Education.
- (iv) *Department of Youth & Sports* which is divided into five divisions comprising of Career Education & Counseling, Scouts, Games & Sports, Comprehensive School Health and Youth Centre.

At the district level, there are District Education Offices, headed by DEOs. These offices are functioning with the support of the ADEOs in twenty dzongkhags. At the lowest level of the administrative system are 578 schools, which are headed by principals. In a nutshell, the education system is spatially comprised of three levels: The ministry at the central level, dzongkhags – DEOs and gewogs – schools at the local level.

All these levels of administration are linked to each other in hierarchical order in a classical top-down planning style and they are supposed to function through sound coordination. However, until 2009 the functions of the central level included a responsibility for the content and standards at all educational levels within the general education system. The centre also provided comprehensive supervision and guidance and carried out co-ordination of resource mobilization and allocation, reviewed and approved the plans of the dzongkhags and assisted the dzongkhags and institutions in implementing national policies and plans. Further, they also took charge of setting standards for physical facilities, changing curriculum, supporting dzongkhags in developing the infrastructure of schools, distributing essential supplies such as stationery, textbooks, sports equipment and other teaching and learning materials to the schools. The divisions at the centre were also responsible for the recruitment of teachers, training selection for both pre-service and in-service teachers, initial deployment, inter-dzongkhag transfers, promotions and terminations (UNESCO, 2007).

With the establishment of democracy in the country after 2009, the decentralization process in the education system was further streamlined and strengthened by delegating more power and responsibilities to the dzongkhag and gewog level. It is stated in the Tenth FYP document:

Following the decentralization policy of the Royal Government, the implementation of planned programs that are within their capacity to implement will be fully decentralized to the dzongkhags and Gewogs. The central sectoral agencies will provide policy direction and technical support through their network of regional and sub-regional offices and directly to local governments (GNHC, 2009, p.55).

Though the central ministry plays a critical role in taking up major policy planning and administrative activities, a wide extent of responsibilities are on paper entrusted to the dzongkhag administration under the education sector such as looking after formal and non-formal education, school construction and maintenance, supply of teaching and learning materials, deployment and transfer of teachers within dzongkhags and implementation of national policies. The DEOs and ADEOs are responsible of carrying out these activities and accordingly report to the dzongda and to the MoE (UNESCO, 2010).

Despite these good intentions at the school level, decentralization has not fully materialized and still functions under the control of DEOs and the central ministry. The Education Sector Review Commission [ESRC] recommended that in order to improve school performance “MoE can aggressively radically change the bureaucracy and pursue improvements starting at headquarters level and cascading down to dzongkhags and individual schools, ultimately empowering schools with greater autonomy and clear accountability...” (2008, p.60). They suggested empowering the school leadership to be the success criteria for school reforms. School principals are important in bringing change in the school system. Reforming schools therefore led to the “empowerment of principals at each school with authority, responsibility and accountability for school operations” (Op. cit., p.60).

ESRC (2008) reported that it is very important for schools to improve the quality of education by making use of available materials and human resources rather than bring successive changes in the governance, organization and management of schools. “Schools therefore tend to function more like Government bureaucracies rather than learning institutes” (Op. cit., p.60). The Commission also reported one of the views of the director of a tertiary institution about the bureaucracy aspect, “We cannot even hire a sweeper without the headquarters authorizing it” (Op. cit., p.60). From this opinion, it is clear that the level of authority of principals and teachers was far too low to enable them to effectively perform their job. Therefore, the Commission recommended that “unless the reality of school bureaucracy is radically changed” the schools will not achieve high-performance and improve the quality of education (Op. cit., p.60).

It is likely that with such a review, the ministry would be convinced to reform the administration of the education system. Currently, the ministry is working on

granting autonomy to some of the government schools and in May 2014 the ministry declared the autonomy of 19 government schools (Pokhrel, 2014). The main purpose for granting autonomy is to:

...empower schools to set their own strategic directions, determine priorities and exercise control over resources. It is also to enhance efficiency and delivery of services by reducing bureaucracy, and to improve the quality of educational practices and student learning outcomes through empowerment, autonomy and flexibility (Palden, 2014a, p.1).

With the gradual change in administration and the management system, the ministry is expected to strengthen the decentralization process. However, deeper understandings of the local leaders and people, capacity building, coordination, empowerment, adequate funding at local level, facilities and infrastructure development need to be created for the success of decentralization in the education system and as the conclusion of this thesis suggest there is still a long way before these objectives are achieved.

5.3.5. ROLE OF GNHC

In the year 2008, the PC was renamed to GNHC under the mandate of RGoB. The purpose of GNHC was to ensure the mainstreaming of GNH in planning and policy formulation. It is stated that the activities of GNHC must be carried out under the following objectives (GNHC, 2012b, p.1):

- (i) Developing a dynamic economy as the foundation for a vibrant democracy;
- (ii) Harmonious Living – in harmony with tradition and nature;
- (iii) Effective and good governance; and
- (iv) Our people: investing in the nation’s greatest asset.

The following are the main functions of GNHC (GNHC, 2016, para.3):

- i) Be the central government body for coordinating and spearheading policy formulation, and shall ensure that all policies, irrespective of their origin, are processed in line with the attached Protocol for Policy Formulation.

- ii) Prepare a Strategy for GNH (SGNH), a twenty year perspective that will provide long term development framework for the five year plans and programmes till the year 2028. The SGNH will be updated periodically to improve its relevance overtime.
- iii) Direct and coordinate the formulation of all policies, plans and programmes in the country and ensure that GNH is mainstreamed into the planning, policy making and implementation process by evaluating their relevance to the GNH framework.
- iv) Approve and adopt the GNH Index as a guide for the formulation of sectoral policies and plans, and the Index shall be used as a yardstick to monitor development performance.
- v) Review sectoral policies and plans and finalize the national plan for government approval.
- vi) Review & recommend non-plan investment programs including the mega projects;
- vii) Develop mechanisms for effective enforcement of policies and resolve all issues arising from the implementation of policies and plans.
- viii) Ensure efficient and judicious allocation of and utilization of scarce resources to bring about regionally balanced development and growth with stability, equity and social justice.
- ix) Establish coherence of policies to promote performance and growth, through a regular process of policy review and commissioning of policy research/studies/surveys by expert groups.
- x) Appraise the Government on the progress and outcomes of development plans and programmes from time to time.
- xi) Approve framework for annual grants for Dzongkhags and Gewogs through the resource allocation formula.
- xii) Review and endorse the resource allocations for the Five Year Plans of the Central Agencies, Dzongkhags and Gewogs.
- xiii) Endorse the annual and the multi-year rolling plans and budgets.

- xiv) Monitor the implementation of development activities by instituting an effective monitoring and reporting system.
- xv) Commission impact assessments and evaluations of policies, programmes and activities to assess the progress towards the achievement of national goals and targets that are articulated in the SGNH.
- xvi) Discuss all matters related to inter-ministerial and inter-agency coordination and cooperation in the implementation of policies and programmes of the Royal Government to minimize duplication and wastage of resources; and
- xvii) Review roles and responsibilities of government organizations from time to time to ensure that government organizations respond proactively to the changing expectations of the Royal Government and the people;
- xviii) Review rules and regulations from time to time and amend those that are irrelevant and conflicting being totally mindful of their objectives, costs and benefits.
- xix) Ensure that regular administrative responsibilities and development programmes for the Royal Government are implemented in the most efficient, effective and beneficial manner.
- xx) Ensure that there is parity and uniformity in the capacity and condition among the various ministries of the Royal Government. Ensure judicious management of limited resources, financial and human, leading to sustained efficiency, transparency and accountability;
- xxi) Promote and maintain harmonious functioning with other branches of the Government and constitutional bodies through effective coordination and cooperation; and Undertake tasks assigned by the Lhengye Zhungtshog (Council Ministers).

The policy formulation of the country must be according to the guiding principles of the ‘Protocol for Policy Formulation’. To quote a few lines from the guidelines, it states that “all public policies in Bhutan, irrespective of their origin but with the exception of a Royal Command or national exigencies, shall be approved and adopted ...” (GNHC, 2012b, p.1). Therefore, policy formulation in the country by any government agencies must follow these guidelines and can only then be accordingly adopted. The top governing body of GNHC comprises membership from various government executives: The Prime Minister as Chairperson, GNHC

Secretary as member Secretary, The Cabinet Secretary, All Secretaries to Ministries, and Head of the National Environment Commission Secretariat (GNHC, 2012b). Under the organizational structure, the Secretary acts as the head of the organization. Under the Secretary there are six main Divisions which are further divided into several Sections that deal with policies and planning of various government activities.

In the Protocol for Policy Formulation guidelines, GNHC plays a determining role in policy formulation although the Cabinet Ministers possess the final power of approval. The overall monitoring of the policies is guided by GNHC through procedural follow up actions such as post-adoption, evaluation and refining of policies. Any new policy proposed by the sectors or agencies has to undergo sequential procedures such as submission of draft, revision of draft, making draft available for public comments through different means such as web based, stakeholders meeting, sharing with research Institutes and other relevant bodies and then finally evaluation by the Research and Evaluation Division (RED) of GNHC in consultation with the concerned sectors/agencies with in-depth review before seeking approval from the Cabinet. The guidelines also state that during the screening process by the RED, if any inappropriate clause is included in the policy (policy not following GNH principles and values) further revision of the draft will be conducted by a task force formed from within the concerned sector and the revision process must consult major stakeholders (GNHC, 2012b). Although the public stakeholders' (any concern citizen of the country) views were considered in the guidelines, no clear procedures are stated in relation to what percentage of their views should be incorporated. However, when policies require revision, they are reviewed by the National Council.

After approval, policy formulation does not end the procedure because the sectors/agencies have to operationalize the policies with concrete action plans including budget allocation and time frame (GNHC, 2012c). In general, the GNHC policy formulation guidelines depict how policy formulation processes is carried out between government and the people. Transparent procedures on policy and decision making in the policy guidelines are also stated; yet there is a need to critically observe the micro level policy impact and its flow from the central to the local level. Implementation of GNH in schools is challenging task for teachers which even the Minister of Education has shared in interview that “we cannot educate and train for GNH, we can only make environment conducive to make person happy”. Minister also shares that “we cannot education anyone GNH, we can only put in place factor in education system which helps to become well balanced and happy person – ultimately happiness cannot be given by teachers you have to realize yourself within”. Thus, GNH implementation in schools remains one of the important issues to be addressed by the MoE.

The GNHC in the context of CDS acts like a pilot agency monitoring all plans, polices and implementation activities. It is also functioning similar to Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) which is one of the most powerful agencies of the Government of Japan. As the GNHC is spearheading all the policies and plans, it also directing and coordinating the formulation of all policies, plans and programmes and ensure that it is implemented within the framework which is almost similar to CDS. Like CDS, the agency also intervenes and enforces policies, plans and implementation directions come from the central.

5.3.6. GOOD GOVERNANCE

In 1999, the principle of GG was introduced into the mainstream of government functionary systems to promote efficiency, accountability, transparency, justice, equality and empowerment (Brassard, 2008). GG is one of the pillars of GNH and is basically intended to promote a vibrant democratic culture among the citizens and to attain an efficient service delivery system (Royal Civil Service Commission [RCSC], 2005). GG in the delivery of public services is also enshrined in several sections of the Constitution. Therefore, GG blended with GNH, is expected to influence major sectors of the government in order to improve people's welfare, well-being, happiness, equal opportunities and rights. It is also clearly stated in the 11th FYP that more emphasis will be given to good governance in order to strengthen democracy, improve public service delivery, promote gender equality, to curb corruption, to enhance safety and to address the needs of vulnerable groups. Brassard explicitly states that "in the social sector, at the minimum, good governance implies free access to education and health for all" (2008, p.23). However, many other issues need to be addressed given that the country is undergoing socio-economic and political change.

There are key challenges faced by the sectors and agencies of government such as lack of institutional and human capacity, especially at the LG level; growth in quantity and complexity of the policy and regulatory environment; gender related issues; sustaining the progress made in combating corruption. Therefore, so as to address the key issues the government has identified several areas of focus (GNHC, 2013, pp.67-68) which all relate implicitly or explicitly to education reforms, strategies and policies:

Public Service Management

Civil Service - To create a dynamic and professional civil service, a number of civil service reforms have been implemented over the years. For instance, the Position Classification System was introduced in 2006 to promote meritocracy and enhance efficiency, transparency, professionalism and accountability in the civil service. Organization Development exercises was introduced in 2007 to define the optimal size, structures and capacity building of the civil service. Additionally, to help

regulate and further improve the civil service, the Civil Service Act 2010 and revised Civil Service Rules and Regulations 2012 were introduced following the reconstitution of RCSC in 2009.

Public Service delivery – one of the most important functions of the government is to provide efficient and effective public service delivery to its people. Towards this, a number of new initiatives were undertaken in the last five years, which include:

Government to Citizen Services (G2C) was initiated in 2010 to increase efficiency and transparency in public service delivery through the use of ICT. About 136 most commonly availed services ranging from civil registration, timber permits and security clearance were streamlined and automated to reduce the service delivery turn-around-time by 70 percent. Online services were made available through 131 Community Centres (CCs) connected with internet and the remaining 74 CCs will provide the service after internet connectivity is established in the Eleventh Plan.

Agencification Guidelines 2012 – Agencification Guidelines were issued to improve performance and public service delivery by an agency/organization by separating planning and policy-making, regulatory and implementation functions and by facilitating higher flexibility in terms of key organizational processes such as human resource management, procurement, budgeting and performance management. Since the adoption of Agencification Guidelines, 12 new departments under various ministries were created, six government departments were granted autonomous status and four agencies were delinked from the civil service.

Government Performance Management System (GPMS) – was initiated to a) draw clear objectives for the ministry/dzongkhags; b) enhance accountability and performance; and c) allow efficient resource allocation/utilization. It maps out tangible targets in terms of outputs, key performance indicators and activities and other essential metrics that will facilitate measuring the performance of all central and LG agencies. It is expected that this policy will be fully implemented by end of the Eleventh FYP.

Transparency, accountability and combating corruption are also considered key issues in the GG agenda. Therefore after the introduction of parliamentary democracy, various regulatory committees were established such as the Legislative Committee which was established in 2003 and the Public Accounts Committee in 2004. Similarly since 2008 there were 12 committees formed in parliament and 2 more added in 2013. All these committees are working on reviewing the policies, acts and laws to ensure that they incorporate GG mandates. There are also other branches of GG like Royal Audit Authority (RAA) and Anti-corruption Commission (ACC) to ensure that public resources and policies are effectively and efficiently utilized and implemented. All these elements of the GG agenda were

further intensified with the commencement of parliamentary democracy in the country.

5.3.6.1 GOOD GOVERNANCE IN EDUCATION

The MoE is the most important social service providers in Bhutan. It is therefore expected that services for improving education teaching and the improvement of the knowledge base of the country are delivered according to the mandates of GG. It is explicitly stated in the Constitution, Article 26, Section 1 that “There shall be a Royal Civil Service Commission, which shall promote and ensure an independent and apolitical civil service that will discharge its public duties in an efficient, transparent and accountable manner” (RGoB, 2008b, p.51). The entire ministry, bureaucrats like DEOs, principals, teachers and other support staffs are under the RCSC and they are supposed to perform their duties in the spirit of the guidelines of the RCSC and GG.

At the ministry level there is an internal audit section which mainly monitors the administrative work that is basically non-academic (not teaching related work). The Ministry of Finance [MoF] (2014, p.3) states that the main purpose of establishing this unit is:

- (i) The Internal Audit Unit conducts audits and reviews, using a systematic and disciplined approach, to provide the respective Chief Executives of Ministries, dzongkhags and other budgetary bodies with:
- (ii) Independent and objective assurance on the efficiency and effectiveness of their respective Entity’s governance, risk management, control and accountability processes.
- (iii) Proposals and recommendations for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the Entity’s operations, achieving organizational objectives and proper stewardship of resources.

There are also major functions of internal audit seeking to provide diligent service. These include (RAA, 2011, pp.5-6):

- (i) Effectiveness of operations of internal controls;
- (ii) Effectiveness of the risk management system;
- (iii) Compliance with laws, rules and regulations;
- (iv) Adequacy of accounting and record keeping;
- (v) Economy, efficiency and effectiveness of activities and operations;

- (vi) Accountability and transparency in the decision making process; and
- (vii) Special reviews and investigations.

There also exists an academic monitoring body for teaching-learning under the ministry called Department of Education Monitoring & Support Services. It has its own mandate and functions (elements selected for GG only) such as (UNESCO, 2010, p.4):

...monitoring and support mechanism for effective curriculum implementation (institutionalize regional, cluster and school level monitoring and support mechanisms, build professional capacities of teachers, carry out focused school visits); providing professional support to pre-service and in-service teachers for effective curriculum implementation....

These auditing and monitoring mechanisms reflect not only the wish for a docile, political and uncorrupt bureaucracy according to GG objectives but also the importance of autonomy of the State and thus the inability of other societal institutions to influence or impact the procedures of the state. The GG mandates are also encrypted in the position description of DEOs to include carrying out periodical monitoring of all the educational programs; monitor and evaluate performance of school/staff; monitor good management and administration in the schools; ensure provision for equitable distribution of educational facilities within the dzongkhag/gewogs/communities; and ensure proper utilization of the budget and timely disbursement of finance (RCSC, n.d.a). There are also elements of GG in the position description of principals which include ensuring an efficient and conducive environment for human development; support, monitor and evaluate the staff regularly; enforce accountability and transparency norms; and ensure all the resources are used most efficiently (RCSC, n.d.b). The MoE considers GG as an integral part of the system which helps in promoting transparency, efficiency and accountability. Further this also creates building blocks that promote educating for GNH in the schools which the ministry is currently striving to do. The question however remains as to how far the bureaucracy executes these objectives in the process of service delivery.

The theoretical perspectives of GG objectives can be related to central government and Ministry of Education GG system. The central government as well as the ministry emphasises efficient, effective and transparent governing system which is matching with GG perspective of the World Bank referring to its focuses on fair implementation of plans and policies without corruption. Under the GG concept it attempts to bring peace and prosperity for the human society in which Government of Bhutan is trying to promote under the GNH concepts. There are also different mechanisms to monitor the activities of government under GG like government performance management, quality of bureaucracy and checks and balance

institutions which is there in governance system like public service management and public service delivery. There are institutions like Royal Audit Authority, Anti-corruption Commission, Internal Audit Unit and various service delivery system introduced.

5.3.7. ROYAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

The REC is an autonomous government agency. It was established in 2007 through a Royal Command to initiate and implement educational reforms covering schools, technical and tertiary education. Basically the education reforms are focused on the following principles (REC, 2015a, para.2):

- (i) His Majesty the King’s vision for the country;
- (ii) Policies of the elected government to realize the Royal vision;
- (iii) The acknowledgement among the general population that the present system leaves much to be desired in terms of providing high quality education and the need to resuscitate the education system;
- (iv) The confidence that successful reform is achievable in Bhutan considering the small size and the political will at the all levels to support education reforms.

With the above principles REC desires to work towards the fulfilment of the Royal Vision and also to achieve the government goals through addressing the issues related to quality of education. The Council is also supposed to recommend appropriate school education reforms and to formulate pertinent policies that facilitate reforms in the education system.

The vision of REC is “Innovation in Education”. It functions with the following mandate (REC, 2015b, para.2):

- (i) Conduct research in the field of education and related areas,
- (ii) Review, assess, and recommend education policies, practices, and programmes,
- (iii) Develop and pilot innovation approaches to instruction, learning, assessment, and institutional management, to enhance student achievement and teacher competencies.
- (iv) Develop and pilot innovative educational materials,

- (v) Design, develop and conduct systemic assessments through national standardized tests and indicators,
- (vi) Provide technical expertise and assistance to educational institutions and organizations,
- (vii) Publish educational literature and resources,
- (viii) Provide a forum for exchange of information among national and international educational institutions and organizations,
- (ix) Pioneer the innovative of ICT in education,
- (x) Work in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, the Royal University of Bhutan and other national and international educational institutions and organizations,
- (xi) Seek to mobilize funds, in addition to grants provided by the Royal Government, to carry out any of the above functions.

In order to carry out the above mandate, REC is structured into divisions and units such as Teacher Education Division, School Education Division, Assessment and Evaluation Unit, Early Childhood Education and Development Unit and Programme Development and Communication Unit. Each of the divisions and units has its own goal and functions in order to fulfil the larger mission of the Council.

In 2014, REC was merged with Department of Curriculum and Research Division (DCRD) (the name REC was retained) in order to strengthen and further work to fulfil the Royal Vision and also to achieve government targets. The following reasons occasioned the merger (RGoB, 2014):

- (i) To reduce numerous cross-cutting and duplication of roles and functions that exist between DCRD and REC;
- (ii) To maximize multiple benefits in terms of synergizing their professional output;
- (iii) To enhance teacher development which has been a weak area so far in the school system; and
- (iv) To strengthen research capacity of the Council as an epicentre for educational activities.

The REC has contributed to education policy formulation by working in collaboration with MoE. It can therefore be concluded that some of the education

policies might have come from the King himself of the Royal Visions - the government of the day, GNHC and other input may have come from the donor agencies.

5.3.8. FINANCE AND EXTERNAL GRANTS

During the modernization period activities such as introducing education, establishing health facilities, infrastructure development and other basic social services, have been undertaken and these have led to major improvements in living standards of the people. As mentioned previously there was significant reduction in poverty. In 2000 the poverty rate was 36.3%, in 2003 it was 31.7% and in 2007 it was reduced to 23.2%. Subsequently by 2012 it was 12% and almost reduced to half. Access to safe drinking water has also greatly improved from 78% in 2002 to 97% in 2011. The national literacy rate also shows a positive trend 59.5% in 2007 in comparison to 63% in 2012. There was an increase in life expectancy from 66.1 in 1997 compared to 68 in 2012. The Net Primary Enrolment Ratio was increased from 62% in 2002 to 89% in 2013 (GNHC, 2009 & National Statistics Bureau, 2014). This was made possible mainly through the generous support of development partners. Since the commencement of development plans, Bhutan has been receiving external assistance either in the form of grants, loans or technical support in various fields of development such as health, education, agriculture, forestry, telecommunication, roads, and hydropower.

Dependence on external funding contradicts the governments' wish for economic self-reliance yet it became inevitable as the only way to achieve long term national development objectives. It is difficult to improve the living standards given the limits of a small economy with the attendant challenges in mobilising internal resources. Bhutan has been categorized as a least Developed Country and hence has been receiving international aid since the 1960s (PC, 1987). The external assistance has contributed to the achievement of the government's long term national goals and particularly to the social service sector.

As mentioned previously, India has been Bhutan's consistent and main development partner since the 1960s. Bhutan's first two FYPs were executed with financial and technical assistance from the Government of India. In fact the government budget was 100 percent fully financed by India and from the 1970s onwards the country received development assistance from various countries and international organizations. These included 15 multilateral organizations and 19 individual donor countries (bilateral assistance), 4 Financial Institutions (ADB, WB, IFAD & KFAED) and some non-governmental organizations (NGOs). For instance, during the first three years of the seventh FYP, Bhutan received a total of US \$262.3 million out of which multilateral and bilateral donors' contributed about US \$70 million and US \$173.7 million respectively and NGOs about US \$18.6 million (PC, 1996).

During the Ninth FYP the country received around 75% of development assistance from bilateral sources with India remaining as the country's major development partner and donor (refer to Table 7). The other important development partners during this period included the ADB, WB, Denmark, Japan and the UN agencies. In 2006/07, Bhutan received the highest development aid from India of USD 77 million, followed by the WB - 16.5 million. Denmark was the third largest bilateral donor with USD 11.4 million, followed by Japan and the Netherlands (USD 3.4 million). UNDP followed with USD 2.7 million while the EU contributed USD 2.8 million annually over the period 2007-2013. Austria contributed USD 1.7 Million, Switzerland gave USD 1.5 million and the rest less than USD one million came from Canada, Norway, Australia, The KFAED, ADB and UN organizations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2008). It was reflected in the priorities of the Ninth plan that most of the development assistance received would be allocated to the social sector, RNR, energy, infrastructure and communication development (PC, 2001).

Table 6 shows that Bhutan is so far receiving financial and technical assistance from various international organizations and countries for different types of social and economic development activities.

Table 6 Development Partner Countries

Sectors	Donors
Infrastructure	India, ADB, WB, the Netherlands, Japan
Agriculture	Japan, WB, EU, India
Social sectors (Health and Education)	India, Denmark, WB, UNICEF, Switzerland, Japan, Canada, Australia
Water and Sanitation	UNICEF, ADB
Natural Resources	Denmark, WB, UNICEF, Switzerland, the Netherlands, India, Austria, EU
Good Governance (incl. Judiciary/Public Admin.)	Denmark, UNDP, India, WB, ADB, the Netherlands, Switzerland, UNICEF, JICA, SNV, EU
Communication	Japan, India
Energy	India, WB, Austria, ADB, Japan, Norway, UNDP/GEF
Private Sector	ADB, Austria, India, Denmark
Trade Facilitation	EU

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2008.

Table 7 shows Bhutan's dependence on external assistance which indicates why it is impossible to achieve economic self-reliance in the near future. This is because revenue generated internally over the last years is below government expenditure. From a critical point of view it can also be noted that social services such as free

education, which has been supported by external assistance for the last forty years, might take a downward turn so long as the internal revenue cannot support the sector. It also seems problematic that, the country had huge external borrowings of up to 111% of GDP as of December 2014 (Royal Monetary Authority of Bhutan, 2015) against about 70% in 2008. This denotes an escalating trend over the years though the country might be considering its capacity to repay. The hydro power loans seem to be the highest with 83.4% and rest is non-hydro power loan (Dorji, 2015). However, the government justified that hydro power loans can be converted into repayment from the revenue generated by hydro power itself and non-hydro power is within the limit to repayment. The goal of achieving sustainable social welfare services, which the country is committed to and which is guided by the GNH principles and values need to be assessed against Bhutan’s social and political transformation as a young democracy and its capacity to repay its huge loans.

Table 7 shows Bhutan’s budget allocation to social development since 1960s to tenth FYP. Generally, the budget allocations under social services were directed at education, health, agriculture, roads, water and housing. However, up to the Fifth FYP, budget allocations to social services were put under one budget head. This changed later due to the diversification of plans and currently almost all social services expenditures are placed separately in the plan.

Table 7 Overview of External Assistance

FYPs	All figures are in Nu. Million						
	Total Budget Outlay	Budget allocated for Social Service	Total External Assistant	Revenue	India Assistance	Multilateral & Bilateral	External Borrowing
1961 -1966	174.400	173.600	174.700	0.000	174.700	NA	NA
1966 - 1971	221.400	104.700	104.700	9.800	104.700	NA	NA
1971 - 1976	355.000	108.600	355.000	227.100	NA	NA	NA
1976 - 1981	900.900	479.700	806.700	466.600	703.900	103.700	695.740
1981 - 1986	4711.200	1131.200	3134.900	1326.700	1887.600	1247.300	200.000
1987 - 1992	9559.240	3216.500	5903.468	3577.200	2784.600	1737.900	1048.900
1992 - 1997	15590.700	3526.210	NA	5489.000	NA	11160.000	1341.200
1997 - 2002	39523.800	13289.720	19637.000	13000.000	3500.000	12137.000	13131.000
2002 - 2007	70000.000	17857.636	30486.000	43166.000	NA	NA	1222.968
2008 -2013	146252.200	48245.351	29564.809	75390.563	16372.381	26256.497	282123.700

Source: PC, 1996 – 2007 and MoF, 2013. Note: Since true figures are not available some figures are projected figures extracted from the FYP documents.

Table 8 also shows that Bhutan development activities are dependent on external financing and borrowing. Remarkably and as already mentioned the first two FYPs

were executed with full financial and technical support from the Government of India. These figures illustrate why the country has to depend on external assistance because the internal revenue generation is currently small. Table 8 indicates the percentages of aid that come from India for the support of the country's development.

Table 8 India's Development Aid Since 1960s

All figures in Nu. Million			% of India Aid
FYPs	Total Budget Outlay	India Assistance	
1961 – 1966	174.40	174.70	100.17
1966 – 1971	221.40	104.70	47.29
1971 – 1976	355.00	NA	NA
1976 – 1981	900.90	703.90	78.13
1981 – 1986	4,711.20	1,887.60	40.07
1987 – 1992	9,559.24	2,784.60	29.13
1992 – 1997	15,590.70	NA	NA
1997 – 2002	39523.80	3,500.00	8.86
2002 – 2007	70,000.00	14302.520	20.43
2008 – 2013	146252.20	33280.859	22.6

Source: PC, 1996 – 2007 and MoF, 2013.

5.3.8.1 INDO-BHUTAN RELATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT AID

As discussed above, India is the main development partner for Bhutan. It is therefore imperative to explain why Bhutan is prioritized in India's ODA. The discussion of Indo-Bhutan relation is connected to history, polity, economy as well as the security of both countries. Bisht states that in India-Bhutan relations "...political, economic and security aspects are intricately related to each other..." (2014, p.7).

The Indo-Bhutan relations date back to 747 A.D. at the time of the great Indian saint Padmasambhava who introduced Buddhism in Bhutan. His visit greatly influenced the life of Bhutanese people. There were also some interactions during the time of British rule in India. On several occasions the relations also involved some skirmishes and battles which led to signing of treaties and agreements. It is also recorded that during this period some trade took place between Bhutan and India. However, the significant historical events took place at the time of the Chinese invasion in Tibet (1910-1912) where Bhutan came under political pressure

from the north and subsequently this led to signing the Treaty of Punakha in 1910 with British India. This treaty was basically signed to expel any Chinese claims although it didn't define Bhutanese's status clearly either technically or legally. However, the Bhutanese became more recognized at the time of attending the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 at the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru (Choden, 2004). This was followed by the signing of a new Indo-Bhutan Treaty in 1949 which stated the common understanding of: "perpetual peace and friendship, free trade and commerce and equal justice to each other's citizens" (Op. cit., p.114). The state visits of Jawaharlal Nehru and King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck between 1954 and 1961 further strengthened Indo-Bhutan relations. Nehru's visit in 1958 to Bhutan was a significant event as he made a public statement declaring Bhutan as an independent and sovereign state. However, formal bilateral relations was only established in 1968 with the appointment a special officer and later upgraded to ambassadorial level in 1978. In 1971 Bhutan became a member of the UN with support from India (Ibid).

On the economic front, India's contribution to Bhutan has been vital since Bhutan's economy depends largely on India. The closure of trade between Bhutan and Tibet since the Chinese occupation in 1960 and opening of trade routes after construction of roads from Bengal-Assam to Phuntsholing and later on to Thimphu and Paro in 1962 intensified trade between the two countries. Though Bhutan imports a substantial amount of goods from India it also exports electricity, minerals and wood based products. Besides trade, India also extends support to the private and public sector development activities. For instance the State Bank of India had about 20% shares in Bank of Bhutan in 2004 (Ibid). The Bhutanese currency is pegged to the Indian currency. This is because it was deemed convenient that this would facilitate trade and reduce transaction costs since India was Bhutan's major trading partner. The equal currency exchange rate seems to serve Bhutan's interest well and any alteration may bring economic implications (Galey, 2003). However, in 2010 Bhutan liberalized its investment policies and introduced a Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) policy in order to diversify economic development and also to achieve the goal of self-reliance. Although this may look contradictory Bhutan's economy grew at the rate of 8.5% and in this sense it was a success but there were concerns about the over-reliance on the hydro sector alone.

The challenges of not diversifying the economy may prove difficult and there also problems absorbing the large number of unemployed into the labour market (Bisht, 2014). However a greater challenge was the 'rupee crunch' defined by Bisht as "the supply of rupees has not been able to keep pace with the demand for rupees" (2014, p.3). This situation has haunted Bhutan for the past few years. Bisht (2012, p.1) states that:

the rupee-crunch in Bhutan may be a purely domestic issue occasioned by poor fiscal policies and mismanagement of

economic affairs. However, there is a strong view gaining ground among the Bhutanese that it is primarily caused by their economic dependence on India, sustained by growing economic ties between the two countries.

The reasons for the rupee-crunch has to do with over-dependence of the Bhutanese economy on imports; informal trade cross the border towns, increase of government expenditure within a short period of time and rapid growth of hydropower. However, even in the case of hydropower generation, almost all labour and materials are imported from India. Bisht writes that the dependency rate on India as, indicated by one of the businessman, was such that “90 to 95 per cent of what we borrow from India goes back to India” (2012, p.9). Therefore as the major trading and development partner, the Indo-Bhutan relations is problematic and relates to mutually respecting each other and related to geo-political sensitivity with the Sino-India relationship.

At the political level, relations between the two countries are growing stronger although there were claims that India interfered in the second parliamentary elections in 2013. However, both countries remain firm, respecting each others foreign policy. The successful visit of Bhutan’s new Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay in 2013 to India shows the close relations. During this visit India-Bhutan agreed to develop their hydropower cooperation. India committed about Nu. Fifty billion to the 11th FYP (Bisht, 2014). The first foreign trip of the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Bhutan after winning elections in 2014 also signifies close relations at the political level. Out of the many reasons for his visit, TNN highlighted that “Modi described Bhutan as a natural choice for his visit abroad as the two countries shared a ‘special relationship’. India and Bhutan reaffirmed their commitment to extensive development cooperation and discussed ways to further enhance their economic ties” (2014, para.10 & 11). It is also further clarified by Chand (2014, para.8) that “This uniqueness of India-Bhutan ties, underpinned by trust and people-to-people contacts, is what propelled India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi to choose Bhutan for his first foreign trip...”. Bisht also mentions the importance of Indo-Bhutan relations in regard to Bhutan’s political parties by asserting that “given the nature of Bhutan’s domestic political parties, India-Bhutan economic relations are particularly important...the India factor is certainly important and as domestic debates in Bhutan have revealed, India has been featured as a primary actor in Bhutan’s economic development” (2014, pp.2-3). Maintaining the relationship between the two countries is therefore inevitable the economic or political considerations notwithstanding.

The strategic location of Bhutan between China and India plays a decisive role for her geo-political and geo-economic benefits. This factor could be considered strength for Bhutan although conversely it is also a point of vulnerability because Bhutan is a landlocked country. Rai reported that “Asia is rowing in the most

exciting times of geopolitics in the history of the world today and it's this time where small countries must 'be very careful' (2014, para.1). Bhutan is precariously placed in the midst of mighty countries and this renders her foreign relations to be in a tricky balance. Choden asserts that "...the contentious state of Indo-China relations, it is no secret that Bhutan with its strategic location figures into India's security interests" (2004, p.122). Future Indo-China relations may therefore also have implications on Indo-Bhutan relations. However, their relations may remain the same, but might change over the course of time since discussions and negotiations are ongoing. However, Choden (2004) speculates that:

in the long term, normalization in Indo-China relations and consequently, the degree to which strategic considerations influence India's policy towards Bhutan is a possibility that should be considered. And, even as current geo-political and geo-economic realities ensure that Bhutan's foreign relations, Bhutan has to consider the reality of China to its north (p.122).

The greatest challenge for Bhutan will be maintaining friendly relations with China without undermining her relationship with India. Bisht also mentions that the "...challenge to India is the increasing Sino-Bhutan interaction" (2010, p.351). There is also the long-standing boundary dispute between Bhutan and China which needs to be considered. The trust factor between Bhutan and India would probably play a decisive role to strengthen these relations and "India perhaps needs to think of a middle way to solve the dilemma which resolves around the India-Bhutan-China triad" (Bisht, 2014, p.7). The issue cannot be ignored since this would resolve the political dilemmas of Indo-China and Sino-Bhutan.

Bisht (2014) discusses three ways for strengthening the two countries relations: (i) people to people interaction through business along the borders; (ii) promoting mutual trust – more effort from India side like resolving the dilemma of India-Bhutan-China triad; (iii) enhancing public diplomacy again on India's initiative like organizing common events and encouraging scholarship schemes for Bhutanese. Bisht asserts that "This is suggestive of New Bhutan and should be taken note of by New Delhi. A lackadaisical attitude on part of New Delhi could be detrimental to the relations of both countries in the long run" (2014, p.7). The visit of King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck in 2009 further ascertains Bhutan's highest priority to strengthen relations with India. Bisht points out that "the broad-based and high-level parleys indicate the seriousness of the two countries to engage in wide-ranging issues from internal security matters to economic and foreign policy" (2010, p.350). Looking at the historical, economic and security integration, these issues are important for the Indo-Bhutan relation. Bhutan may depend on India as its major trading partner but also need to consider its strategic location between the two growing powers of Asia.

Table 9 shows India financial assistance to Bhutan since from 1961 to 2013. It shows that India has provided supported almost 100% in two FYPs and increasingly extended her aid for the rest of the FYPs. Although Bhutan's revenue has increased over the years, India's assistance to the FYPs has not decreased as indicated.

Table 9 International Assistance for Social Services

FYPs	All figures are in Nu. Million						
	Total Budget Outlay	Budget allocated for Social Service	Total External Assistant	Revenue	India Assistance	Multilateral & Bilateral	External Borrowing
1961 - 1966	174.400	173.600	174.700	0.000	174.700	NA	NA
1966 - 1971	221.400	104.700	104.700	9.800	104.700	NA	NA
1971 - 1976	355.000	108.600	355.000	227.100	NA	NA	NA
1976 - 1981	900.900	479.700	806.700	466.600	703.900	103.700	695.740
1981 - 1986	4711.200	1131.200	3134.900	1326.700	1887.600	1247.300	200.000
1987 - 1992	9559.240	3216.500	5903.468	3577.200	2784.600	1737.900	1048.900
1992 - 1997	15590.700	3526.210	NA	5489.000	NA	11160.000	1341.200
1997 - 2002	39523.800	13289.720	19637.000	13000.000	3500.000	12137.000	13131.000
2002 - 2007	70000.000	17857.636	30486.000	43166.000	NA	NA	1222.968
2008 - 2013	146252.200	48245.351	29564.809	75390.563	16372.381	26256.497	282123.700

Source: PC, 1996 – 2007 and MoF, 2010.

Note: Since true figures are not available some figures are projected figure extracted from the FYP documents.

Out of the total aid provided by the Indian government, there is a certain percentage of the aid that goes to education sector. For example, in the ninth FYP India's support to the education sector alone was US\$ 19.60 (Deki, 2008).

The international aid is one of the important factors for economic growth. During the Cold War period South Korea received substantial amount of economic aid from the USA. Though South Korea's industrialization success was not due to foreign aid however it nevertheless became the foundation for economic growth. The South Korean state made careful choices and utilized foreign aid in a developmentalist manner. In similar context, Bhutan has been receiving substantial amounts of foreign aid with India as one of the largest contributors. The state regulated the flows of foreign aid. Such careful choices of the state depict characteristics of CDS in receiving international aid.

5.4. SUMMARY

This chapter examined social policy since the 1960s and the subsequent developments under the monarchy where social welfare programs were initiated. It

also explained the introduction of FYP and the significant contributions made in social welfare programmes especially in the areas of health and education. An overview of the development philosophy and visions was presented, critical for the analysis of social policy provisions.

Moreover, MDGs and SDGs were also examined to compare living standards and also to see the policy implications. A series of governance practices such as the infusion of GNH in policy and planning, introduction of decentralization and GG were considered in order to understand policy flows and implementation with particular reference to education. A section was introduced on finance and external grants to Bhutan in order to explore the policy reforms and sustainability of education. This was particularly because it appears that major education financing comes from India and other countries.

Chapter 6. NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY PLANNING AT THE CENTRAL LEVEL

This chapter focuses on the national education policy of Bhutan. It presents a review of related literature and documents on major policy reforms in the Bhutanese education sector. The chapter also discusses how national priorities determine the choice of educational policy and programmes including the planning and implementation of the school curriculum. A substantial attention is also paid to the importance of GNH in education and how its principles and values are supposed to influence formal and informal teaching programmes in schools.

6.1. NATIONAL POLICY OF EDUCATION

It is enshrined in The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, Article 9, Section 16 that,

The State shall provide free education to all children of school going age up to tenth standard and ensure that technical and professional education is made generally available and that higher education is equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (RGoB, 2008a, p.20).

Therefore, the education policy was reinforced by the adoption of The Constitution of Bhutan in 2008. Furthermore, the MDG for education which had to be achieved by 2015 also influenced policy formulation in the country. The policies for education are anchored on the universal MDG on primary education (RGoB, 2003).

6.1.1. EDUCATION POLICY

The general policy on education is governed by the philosophy of GNH, Bhutan 2020, and the MDGs. This is supported by the position that education is imperative for the development of the country. The education policy determines the destiny of the country since citizens are to a certain degree the product of the education system. Therefore, it is aptly stated in Bhutan 2020 (RGoB, 1999) that future education policies should be prioritized generally towards improving access and the quality of education under the broad objectives of: a holistic concept that innate potentials of each and every child are fully realized; inculcate traditional and cultural values; preparing for the world of work with a sense of dignity of work; making awareness about the importance of agriculture so that they become educated farmers if they choose to be; Bhutanization of the school curriculum and expansion of technical and vocational training programmes for school dropouts.

Bhutanization in this context means reforms in the schooling system from Anglo-Indian to Bhutanese so that “the teaching and learning in schools are in accordance with national needs and aspirations” (Gyamtsso & Dukpa, 1998, p.71). It also involves the standardization of the school curriculum and making education suitable for Bhutanese citizens. Another goal of education as stated is the provision of ‘Wholesome Education’, prepares students to become responsible, mature, and productive citizens to uphold the pride of their parents and the nation. Wholesome education also means “to make students physically, emotionally and ethically sound”. It may also help children to become “knowledgeable, productive, loyal, duty bound, confident, contented and happy” (Dorj, 2005, p.130). This type of education may ensure students to differentiate between good and bad in life. Therefore, the role of education must focus on youth acquiring appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which eventually lead to achieving the GNH goals (UNESCO, 2011& REC, 2012).

Bhutan 2020 also influences the MoE where the goals are as follows (MoE, 2008, p.12):

- Provide basic cost-effective and sustainable education to all Bhutanese, equipping citizens with basic literacy skills and functional knowledge and values within the Bhutanese cultural context.
- Provide general secondary education on a selective basis, helping to build the necessary human capacity for further specialized education and training in science, technology, business and education, among others.
- Provide higher education in selected fields, preparing key people to deliver and continuously upgrade services and industries in the country, as well as to enable Bhutan to engage in the continuous search for knowledge.
- Establish an enabling environment imparting wholesome education to children and youth.
- Provide opportunities, especially for those who have missed out on formal education, to attain basic and functional literacy through non-formal and adult literacy programmes.
- Promote a system of continuous and lifelong learning.

In this context, the government decided that investment in education have both immediate and long term benefits for the country. Education is considered the main driver of economic growth, poverty reduction and the promotion of national identity, which are vital for the achievement of self-reliance. Therefore, it is logical

to continuously according a high priority to the education sector in terms of budget allocation and the implementation of activities.

The country is also under pressure from globalization. The country has to find a balanced path in order to maintain its traditional and cultural values against the forces of modernization. These forces have driven the Bhutanese education sector to adopt unique policy programmes. Therefore, a sequential or gradual change in policy and planning has taken place in the education sector since the 1960s and this is highlighted in this chapter.

The government is encountering many challenges in implementing policies at various structural levels. One challenge is the quality and access of education and health services in the remote areas of the country. A difficult terrain and an extremely dispersed population have been some of the major obstacles to the provision of balanced education and health services across the country. Therefore, a suitable policy and planning intervention is required to deliver efficient and effective social services to the wider population.

6.2. MODERN EDUCATION

From its introduction the government has put a concerted effort to provide free education to all citizens up to the basic level of class 10. At the tertiary level the government provides scholarships based on merit. The education sector received about 10 per cent from the total budget allocation throughout the FYPs (RGoB, 2008a).

The education sector has recorded growth in terms of school infrastructure, facilities and made improvements in quality education to all citizens. In 1959 there were 11 PSs with 440 students (RGoB, 2008a) whereas in 1980s the number of schools increased substantially to 178 (primary to HSSs) with the total enrolment rising to 56, 221 students (PC, 1987). In 2011 there were 597 government schools with a total number of 163,731 students. In the same year the Gross Primary Enrolment Ratio reached 120 per cent compared to 72 per cent in 2000. As of 2005 the literacy rate was at 59.5 per cent (MoE, 2011b). While these numbers show growth in the sector they don't say much about the overall effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery as well as coordination.

It was then realized by the end of the fourth FYP that nation-wide education infrastructure was almost well in place. The ad hoc education policy that emerged with activities such as consolidation process and assessment of quality of education being carried out at all levels of schools showed a number of problems. These activities were further extended to include the restructuring of the education system and revision of curriculum with a focus on the promotion of Bhutanese cultural and traditional values. During the lifetime of the fourth plan schools across the nation

were structured under different categories including high school, junior high school, and PS and community primary schools. The schools were monitored by DEOs within the districts. The DEOs enforced the policies and planned activities in coordination with the central ministry's recommendation in accordance with the mandate of the decentralization policy.

There were new initiatives introduced during 1987-1992 including Universal Primary Education and eradication of illiteracy, modifying education from the Indian to the Bhutanese system, introduction of new teaching and learning processes, provision of adequate facilities for learning, special education services for disabled students and Non-formal Education and Adult Literacy promotion (PC, 1980). To fulfil the universal primary education objective, many primary and community PSs were established across the country.

The result was that in 1987 while there were 148 PSs (PC, 1980), as of 2011 there were 247 PSs out of which 265 were community PSs. In addition about 48 Extended Classrooms (ECRs) were opened during the tenth plan (MoE, 2011b) to cater for remote villages where children did not have access to community schools. Further, as part of this extended activity, equal access to primary education was proposed in the dzongkhags and the regions. In addition, the education structure was changed and curriculum revision was initiated by integrating Bhutanese values, environment and history.

The New Approach to Primary Education (NAPE) was introduced in 1986 (Bray, as cited in Laird & Maxwell, 2000) after more than two decades of following the Indian (British) education system. This was done with the aim of changing the pedagogical approach for better learning. The NAPE system has however been criticised from various voices claiming that it has affected the quality of education (Sherub, 2008). Research to prove this has not yet however been conducted.

6.2.1. CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

Until mid 1980s the school curriculum in Bhutan was Anglo-Indian. According to the Second Quarterly Policy Guidelines (Gyamtso & Dukpa, 1998) 'Bhutanizing' of the national education system was started after mid 1980s basically to streamline teaching and learning in accordance with national needs and aspirations. Therefore, the reform in curriculum led to the development of a relevant national curriculum with new teaching-learning materials for schools throughout the country. According to Dorji (2000) by 1995 all primary curriculum was transformed into Bhutanese context although English remained the principal language of instruction. The only exception was in the teaching of Dzongkha as a subject. It is stated in PC that "The Bhutanization of the primary school curriculum is now very largely completed, but we still have some way to go before we have completed the Bhutanization of the curricula at junior high schools and high schools" (1999, p.19). The MoE has been

striving to Bhutanize most of the subjects in secondary and HSSs. It is aptly stated in PC that “The Bhutanization of school curricula should not be seen as a ‘one-shot’ operation. Curricula must be made the subject of continuous monitoring and review, with adaptation taking place swiftly in response to changing needs and development priorities” (1999, p.20). With this vision the school curriculum has been supposed to change periodically according to the country’s needs and realities.

The draft education policy of 1976 suggests that curricula must be developed in accordance to its relevance to Bhutanese culture. Moreover, the draft policy also suggests giving more emphasis on science subjects particularly to agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry with periodical reviews. Therefore, the then Education Department (ED) developed and distributed a handbook on agriculture and health to be used in classes IV to VI. To learn this subject practically, schools were given land in addition to seeds that were also distributed. The intention was to mark the Bhutanization and starting point of change in the primary curriculum (Dorji, 2000).

According to Dorji (2000) the ED revisited the 1976 policy paper in 1984 and redeveloped a more comprehensive policy paper. This policy paper was developed under the leadership of the government. This was done in consultation with senior education officers and senior teachers. Apart from proposing the restructuring of the organization, the policy paper also stressed a review of the entire curriculum.

The following were the drawbacks noted in the 1984 policy paper (Op. cit., p.36):

- i) emphasis was on learning by memorisation;
- ii) teaching was dominated by the method in which children were passive listeners and the recipients of the knowledge from ‘out there’;
- iii) interaction between the teacher and the pupils was limited to teachers asking closed questions and pupils answering in chorus;
- iv) there was lack of rapport between the teacher and pupils; teachers were not aware of the learning difficulties faced by the students;
- v) written examinations at the end of terms determined the child’s promotion to the next higher class; and
- vi) the learning materials used were grossly irrelevant and abstract to the learners).

In order to rectify the New Approach to Primary Education (NAPE) was proposed as a curriculum reform to overcome the six main problems stated above. In the new document the following proposals were made (Op. cit., p.37):

- i) Design a curriculum relevant to Bhutanese children based on their learning needs.
- ii) Develop teaching methodology which would emphasise learning by doing and creativity.
- iii) Introduce the subjects of agriculture, culture and traditions, arts and crafts, health and hygiene, in addition to the conventional subjects.

Environmental Studies (EVS)

Bhutanization of the education system 1985 marked another reform in the curriculum – the introduction of ‘environmental studies (EVS)’ in place of Social Studies and Science which was to be taught in PP to VI. This curriculum was designed while keeping the 1984 policy paper as main guideline. The new EVS curriculum was proposed basically for the primary level to make better learning for young children with increased interaction with their surroundings. The contents in Dzongkha, English and Mathematics were also reformulated to suit this new way of learning. The main focus of learning for all the subjects shifted to ‘learning by doing’ as opposed to only listening. This learning method also partly explained the founding of NAPE (Ibid).

New Approach to Primary Education

The main purpose of NAPE was to emphasize activity-based learning, “shifting the focus from ‘teacher-centredness to child-centredness’ as well as from remoteness of content to familiarity of content” (Gyamtsso & Dukpa, 1998, p.71). NAPE recommended a ‘new set of contents and new methods of teaching’. In order to run the new program successfully the ED set up the Curriculum Development Division (CDD) in order to give support, advice and coordinate the programme (Dorji, 2000). NAPE “...was, thus, a fundamental shift in the pedagogical practices in order to implement the new curricula and this shift was clearly toward current western thinking” (Op. cit., p.44).

The new approach to teaching was based on the following principles (Ibid):

- i) children’s creative talents are better explored than allowing them to memorise facts;
- ii) children learn better by doing or actively participating in the lesson development;
- iii) the immediate environment provides the most reliable sources of learning for young children; and

- iv) children's physical, emotional, intellectual and social growth are enhanced through play-way method, interaction with teachers and among themselves.

The following were the key changes in teaching methods (Ibid):

- i) an emphasis on rote learning to activity based learning and learning by doing, leading to understanding;
- ii) a teacher dominated classroom to the one in which children actively participated in the lesson development; and
- iii) an end of term examination for continuous assessment based on children's performances in the lessons.

It was observed that by 1993, the NAPE project was introduced in almost all PSs across the nation from class PP to III.

However, the decline in quality of Bhutanese education was claimed by some critical observer to originate from the NAPE system. This has aroused debate amongst various stakeholders such as policy-makers, education officials, teachers, parents and the public. The media¹⁴ has from time to time highlighted this issue. However, as discussed by Sherub (2008) one of the factors for determining the quality of education is the pedagogical practice in the schools.

The Secondary School Curriculum

Reforming the secondary school curriculum covered up to class X and started in 1989. The need for change in the secondary school curriculum followed the introduction of the NAPE system in the primary level. Biology curriculum for classes VI to VII and that of Geography for Classes VI to X changed to activity based learning with the inclusion of activities such as group discussion, field visits or observation, record keeping, analysis and presentations (Dorji, 2000).

Another major reform in the curriculum was associated with the introduction of Bhutanese history and geography for grades 6-8 in 1990 and subsequently for grades 9-10 in 1993. There was also the introduction of Bhutan-oriented Economics curriculum for Classes IX and X between 1990 and 1997. Dorji asserts that the "Bhutanization of the curriculum meant re-writing the contents in some of the subjects in the Bhutanese context" (Op. cit., p.49). However, Bhutanization of the

¹⁴Media such as *Kuensel* the national news paper and Radio and television programme by Bhutan Broad Casting Service.

secondary curriculum was only partial unlike in the primary level. About fifty percent of the curriculum content was based on general global perspectives.

Through this curriculum change it was expected that students acquired new knowledge, skills, values and attitudes based on Bhutanization. According to Education Policy Guidelines, curricula must be designed to “develop pride in being Bhutanese; ...a sense of self-discipline and duty; ...spiritual, cultural and traditional values and so contribute to national and social cohesion” (Gyamtso & Dukpa, 1998, p.71). According to the PC (1999) one of the priorities for Bhutanization of school curricula was to

...inculcate an awareness of the nation’s unique cultural heritage, drawing upon sources of inspiration...universal values that develop the capacity of our young people to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil, and to lead lives that are guided by moral and ethical choices (p.19).

It is observed that there was no big shift in teaching methods for secondary schools. Some components of teaching were however changed as a result of the internal/continuous assessment system. The prevalence of rote learning and memorization has persisted despite the changes. Teachers seldom used teaching aids. Although the goals were written in the policy papers it seems that distribution to the schools to make teachers aware of the main objective of teaching-learning might not have happened. “It is suspected that teachers were not very clear about the goals of education” (Dorji, 2000, p.51). It is observed that teaching-learning process remained rudimentary and teachers taught with the purpose of completing the curriculum while assessments were completely based on examinations that emphasized the fact-recalling ability of learners. Some able students often memorised the whole book in preparation of examinations. The teaching methods followed were therefore teacher centred and in contrast with the NAPE system.

However, in order to solve resource constraints, the MoE established ‘Resource Centres (RC)’ between 1998 and 2000. The purpose of these centres was to provide space for teachers to learn and enhance their professional development. RCs were centrally located in one of the centrally located regional schools and catered for ‘Cluster schools’ that brought together six to ten schools. The RCs were equipped with necessary teaching-learning materials. The centres had a separate room for teachers to meet and discuss matters related to teaching, learning and Bhutanization. RCs also conducted activities such as ‘school based in-service programme’ and invited experts from training institutes to conduct workshops or training to promote teachers’ professional development. However, to further improve these RCs, the ministry needed to provide support in terms of guidance, learning materials, and contribute to professional development. Bhutanization of the curriculum both facilitated solving the problems related to NAPE and rote learning.

Several challenges emerged in Bhutanizing the curriculum. According to Gyamtso and Dukpa (1998, p.75) the following are some of the problems in adapting the curriculum:

- i) lack of expertise in curriculum development;
- ii) inviting of outside expertises failed to develop relevant curriculum for Bhutan's needs;
- iii) lack of resources and also financial constraints did not encourage quality innovations;
- iv) Insufficient time for carrying out proper situational analysis and research;
- v) Final decisions were largely top down (from the administrators who looked for immediate action and quick outcomes), leaving staff with no choice but to design the curriculum within the set time frame, which in most cases was inadequate;
- vi) Inadequate staffing and also the curriculum developer had other commitments and could not devote adequate time to curriculum design.

There were also other problems related to the implementation of the new curriculum in schools (Gyamtso & Dukpa, 2000, p.75):

- i) inadequate time for pilot-testing and plan for implementation;
- ii) lack of proper time for teachers to prepare for new curriculum and also shortage of teachers in schools;
- iii) lack of adequate materials for effective implementation and teachers do not have access to reference materials, except with basic text books;
- iv) not able to visit specialists regularly to schools during the implementation of new curriculum due to their busy schedules. Teachers only received initial training at the time of reform and there was nobody to monitor later on as a result teachers reverted to old ways of teaching as they felt more comfortable to teach, therefore new reforms hardly implemented;
- v) lack of proper co-ordination among the various sections in the centre, and with the districts and schools which lead to problem of implementation;
- vi) The education system being examination-oriented, the teaching was more focused on curriculum coverage rather than following the curriculum strictly, which hampers effective implementation of new curriculum.

- vii) There were also problems in deployment of teachers, often teachers who just graduated from teacher training colleges were given teaching subjects or levels for which they are not trained.

However, it is observed that over the sixty years of the establishment of modern education system in the country, the curriculum reforms have received criticism questioning the quality of education despite many attempts to improve it. It also faces problem of implementation and designing curriculum to the Bhutanese context. It is imperative that quality of education may determine the quality of curriculum and also how well it is implemented in schools.

6.2.2. ASSESSMENT SYSTEM IN SCHOOLS – SUMMATIVE AND FORMATIVE

Although the establishment of the modern education system in the country began in the 1960s, there was no uniform assessment system across the schools. The general mode of assessment was in the form of written tests at the end of the year to check the ability of students in relation to the subject content taught in class (Maxwell, Rinchen, & Cooksey, 2010).

There were some cases in some schools where teachers wrote both questions and answers on the blackboard and students simply reproduced this during end-year examinations. Students were promoted based on the result of the annual examinations. Therefore, the main purpose of early assessment was to sort students and indicate that they passed a particular level of class.

However, since the 1970s the assessment system was reformed into a two-term system called 'half-yearly examinations'. In this system, schools had to conduct examinations in mid and the next at the end of the academic year. This system was further changed in early 1980s into a three-term system which is referred to as 'terminal examinations'. The schools conduct examinations at the end of three months and students are promoted based on term results.

Apart from annual or term examinations, there were also other modes of assessment in the schools such as monthly and weekly class tests. Some schools even used to have monthly class tests and some conducted weekly class tests in different subjects in order to maintain high academic standards among the students.

There were also national level examinations called 'All Bhutan Common Examinations' for classes V and VIII which was started in 1970s, later streamlined as 'Bhutan Board of Examinations' in 1985 for classes VI and VIII and eventually for classes X and XII examinations. Prior to 1974 all students sat at Indian examinations and followed Indian syllabi (Bray, 1996). Currently 'Bhutan Council

for School Examination and Assessment’ is responsible for conducting two levels of examinations one for class XII which is called ‘Bhutan Higher Secondary Education Certificate (BHSEC)’ and another for class X which is referred to as ‘Bhutan Certificate of Secondary Education (BCSE)’. Besides these examinations, schools also conduct trial examinations for classes X and XII as pre-test examinations to make students ready for the national level examinations (Maxwell et al., 2010).

However, it was observed that assessment modes practice in the period of 1970s and 1980s were entirely summative and reformed later after implementation of the NAPE system in 1996.

Internal Examinations/ Continuous Assessment System

Continuous assessment (CA) was first introduced in 1996 to evaluate the whole range of student works beyond class test, class work, homework and project work. The main aim of CA is to promote student self-confidence, self-motivation and instil lifelong learning in which students can become socially useful and productive citizens. Following are the objectives of CA (Powdyel, 2005, p.49):

- provides opportunities to both the teacher and the learner to review, revise and rethink the learning process;
- helps the teachers to find out what teaching methods and materials work best, so as to improve, improvise and adapt processes and materials to suit the needs of the learners;
- enables teachers to pay attention to the individual differences and learning styles of the learners;
- enables learners to understand how well they can do certain types of work and where they need to improve;
- allows learners to set their own goals and make efforts to achieve them, as well as to evaluate their performance;
- helps learners to work independently, using the resources available to them;
- promotes higher-level thinking and problem-solving skills in the learners and enables them to appreciate the value of all kinds of work – great and small, formally assigned and informally initiated.

In the same year the NAPE system was established from class PP to class V. Under this system schools conducted assessments. The assessment system under NAPE can be considered as one of the major reforms in the education system (Maxwell et al., 2010, pp.275-276):

- *Ongoing evaluation*: this was the evaluation system observing social behaviour and academic skills of the students as part of formative assessment. This ongoing evaluation has weighting of 30% which contributes to the final result considered in promotion.
- *Mid-year evaluation*: This included both oral and written tests with an overall weighting of 30%.
- *End-of-year evaluation*: It also included both oral and written test with questions covering all the topics with a weighting of 40%.

These forms of assessment policy remain for classes PP to V in all schools. However, some changes in weighting were made in all three forms of assessment. In 1994 ongoing evaluation was also started for VI and VIII and internal assessment at the end of term for classes VI and VIII was introduced. Later, similar assessments were also implemented for class VII.

There was another reform in 1996 involving the introduction of a uniform assessment weighting for different classes from PP to VIII. The ongoing assessment was renamed continuous assessment.

Prior to 1999, class VI had to sit for a national examination by the end of the academic year called board examination. These exams were controlled by the then Bhutan Board of examinations (BBE). However from 1999 BBE sent the question papers to each school and papers were evaluated in the school as opposed to the system of central evaluation. A similar system was introduced for class VIII in 2006 and in 2009 BBE handed over the conduct of complete assessments for class VIII to the schools. The main reasons for this reform are (Maxwell et al., 2010, p.276):

- i) the schools were now more confident in carrying out assessment on their own, and
- ii) national level examination at Class VIII no longer served any purposes to select candidates for jobs as more and more students are encouraged to progress to class X.

Summative assessments generally dominated compared to the formative assessments as an important part of schools calendar at all levels. However, formative assessment is still not well developed in Bhutan.

Learning objectives and pedagogies have been planned to change from rote learning to NAPE and back again. Assessments and the difficulties in finding the right form illustrate the difficulties in planning and implementation. Since there has not only been resistance among teachers and parents against the move to the liberal NAPE but also major complaints and problems related to pupils and student's behaviour.

6.2.3. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal punishment can be understood in many different ways. However in this research it refers to actions meant to discipline students and make them learn. According to UNICEF, CEAPA and CONCAPA, "corporal punishment is the use of physical force causing pain, but not wounds, as a means of discipline" (1999, p.2). Similarly Wangchuk also defines "corporal punishment as a form of punishment that involves inflicting physical pain on people, women and children included. Thus flogging, lashing, hitting, canning, beating, smacking, spanking, slapping, thrashing, walloping, whipping and birching constitute corporal punishment" (2010, p.1). However, whatever the type or style, corporal punishment is considered wrong by some and as the only way to create the necessary discipline by others.

International Laws

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Article 27, Section A, clearly states that "no child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" (United Nations Human Rights, 2015, p.10). Bhutan became a signatory to CRC in 1990 and enforced a ban on corporal punishment in schools thereafter. The ban on corporal punishment coincided with the NAPE which demands for a new approach to pedagogy labelled "all caring and child-centred and instantly placed the 'teacher' and 'taught' on the equal footings" (Wangchuk, 2010, p.1). Bhutan also became a signatory to the SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Child Welfare. A National Commission for Women and Children (NCWC) was established in 2004 to monitor and coordinate all policies and activities related to the rights of women and children (RGoB, 2011). It also provides a forum for receiving complaints and provides reports on the violation of children and women's rights.

Further, in a meeting of the South Asian Initiative to End Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC), in 2010, government representatives developed an action plan to prohibit violence against children. In 2011 a report prohibiting of corporal punishment in South Asian states recommended that requirement of reform in Bhutan for corporal punishment was endorsed (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2014).

National Laws

The Penal Code of Bhutan, 2004, Article 109 states that corporal punishment is lawful when “use of force for care, discipline, or safety of another” is exercised (RGoB, 2004, p.17). However, the Child Care and Protection Act 2011 enumerates provisions of offences against children such as “Assault of a child” – Article 212, “cruelty of a child”– Article 213, “Harsh or degrading correction or punishment” – Article 214, “child battery”– Article 215 (Parliament of Bhutan [PoB], 2011, pp.57-58). Article 214 comprehensively covers corporal punishment against children: “A person shall be liable for offence of harsh and degrading correction or punishment, if the person subjects a child to harsh or degrading correction or punishment measures at home, in schools or in any other institutions...” (PoB, 2011, p.58). Particularly Article 29 of the Act pronounces that the ‘Role of education institution’ is to take care of and protect the child’.

While there are number of legislations already existent to protect the rights of children in Bhutan, this was further strengthened by the adoption of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan. Article 7 guarantees all children of their fundamental rights. Article 9 under the Principles of State Policy provides enhancement of GNH, provisions of free education, protection of children from all forms of oppression, discrimination, violence, abuse, harassment, trafficking, prostitution, degrading treatment including economic exploitation (RGoB, 2008).

Ministry Rules and Regulations

The MoE notified schools about the ban on corporal punishment and further drafted a code of conduct for teachers and students. The ministry also circulated administrative directives to discourage corporal punishment in schools since the practice is against the promotion of GNH (Dorji, 2014). In tandem with the efforts to ban corporal punishment, the 11th Annual Education Conference in 2008 adopted a resolution to ban corporal punishment in schools. However, Wangchuk shares that there is a need to train teachers on the doable alternatives since many teachers fear that the implications of this would result in a “rod spared would be child spoilt” (2010, para.10). The policy came at a time when parents were blaming the teachers for their children’s indiscipline and, worse off it was “at a time when some students in western schools slap their teachers and teachers helplessly look on” (Op. cit., para.10). Despite this the ministry insisted on implementing the policy.

In 2011, guidelines on school discipline were circulated to promote positive non-violent discipline on students. Further, highlighting this during the monthly Meet-the-Press session in 2014, the Prime Minister said, “Corporal punishment according to our education policies is not allowed. Our laws do not permit corporal punishment; it is a mild way of camouflaging physical assault, it is not allowed and the government takes it seriously” (Dorji, 2014, para.1). In the same press meeting

the Minister of Home and Cultural Affairs also supported the ban on corporal punishment in Bhutan stressing that:

corporal punishment is something that we are trying to part away from our traditional practices...it is very important for teachers to change and keep abreast with best practices...corporal punishment is definitely not a good way to inculcate good values in our children (Op. cit., para.3).

In order to promote positive discipline policy in schools, the ministry provided 'A Guide to School Discipline Management' in 2011 so as "to ensure uniform and systematic approach to various disciplinary issues in schools through positive interventions" (MoE, 2011a, p.16). This guideline also issued an order to ban corporal punishment and offers alternative sanctions such as advice, counselling, verbal warning, written warning and even sending to rehabilitation centre. It is currently believed that all schools have a discipline policy drawn according to this guideline. In 2005, the ministry also initiated a 'Child-Friendly Schools' policy to enhance the quality of education and promote child development in all aspects of life (DCRD, 2015).

A research conducted by Tenzin (2006) on corporal punishment in Bhutanese schools proposed a number of recommendations and suggestions. It reveals that a certain degree of corporal punishment can be accepted by students because it helps them to learn. Such an acceptance is not because they are happy with corporal punishment but because it helps the students to learn and students view education as important for their future. The research also indicated that there is limited awareness among teachers about the negative effects of using corporal punishment. It recommended that students be made aware of the physical and intellectual effects of corporal punishment as well as provide other alternatives to teachers that can make students to learn without corporal punishment. Making teachers exposed to various learning theories instead of punishment and also redesigning the curriculum of teacher training institutes to include the pros and cons of punishment was cited as a plausible route.

The frequent monitoring by the head of school on the modes of punishment needed to be incorporated in a decentralized monitoring system. Initiating Student Support Service Committees in schools including counsellors, staff in charge of health and other stakeholders to support students rather than punishing them is also important. Moreover, promoting awareness among parents on corporal punishment, especially during Parent-Teacher meetings, to support their children was also recommended. One of the Thromdey Education Officers stressed that "I am strong believer of positive discipline; I am completely against corporal punishment". He said that corporal punishment did not bring any positive changes in students' behaviour and attitudes, rather it psychologically affects them. However, many principals share the

view that enforcing positive discipline as a paedagogical tool among teachers may require special training in counselling and skills development to handle better problematic students.

Using the CDA perspective it appears that the policy documents are interpreted differently on the ground. Various forms of corporal punishment still prevail in schools despite the ministry's notification on the ban of corporal punishment. Effort are still being put on providing alternatives such as counselling, guidebook for discipline management, framing school discipline policies, child friendly policy and having firm laws. The ministry has also started establishing counselling units in higher and MSSs but whether there are adequate trained/professional counsellors and their effectiveness remains to be seen. Punishment alternatives such as "detentions, warnings, suspensions, community service and even expulsion" are also proposed ("Spare the rod", 2014, para.1).

In some schools, although corporal punishment is banned, the schools are reported to be using other forms of punishment, such as making children cut grass or asking them to do frog jump across the football field. Some schools resort to asking students to clean human stool with bare hands while other schools make students wear captioned boards bearing the words "I have disobeyed the school rules" (Wangchuk, 2010, para.12).

During an interview, the researcher noticed a stick placed on the chair in the vice-principal's office at one of the HSSs and asked what the stick was meant for. The vice-principal explained that it was meant to frighten students and discipline them. Therefore, although teachers may no longer physically punish students it was observed that they instill fear, which is a form of psychological violence, on the students and this is against the policy of creating child friendly schools. One of the principals reported that "in some cases, there might be minor punishment but not to the extent it used to be in the past". Some teachers reported that they don't use corporal punishment instantly, rather they first talk to students and give advice but if the same student is found with a disciplinary problem repeatedly then they use corporal punishment. "We don't use corporal punishment seriously or hardly like not able to walk or sit in the class" (as reported by one of the School Health Coordinators) which means different sort of punishment might still prevail in schools even after the ban.

Again in a CDA perspective a critical reading of the policies show quite clearly that there are discrepancies between the wording and instructions of the government and the fact that there were cases in 2014, where principals were convicted in court of law for exercising corporal punishment on students. There were also few cases where teachers inflicted corporal punishment on their students. "Spare the rod" reports that in some schools corporal punishment is still accepted and "[i]t is quite common for parents, particularly in the rural areas, to ask teachers to beat their

children if they do not study or behave” (2014, para.1). This highlights the controversial issue of corporal punishment within the law which is allowed in households and the ministry’s circular and discipline policies banning corporal punishment since 1997. It is also contradictory to the expectation that principals who are responsible for framing their own school discipline policies and who are expected to know that such cases should be approached professionally and within the framework of school discipline management guide; do not abide by this principle. Palden reports thus “that some teachers are still resorting to corporal punishment to correct students in schools today questions the effectiveness of the education ministry’s discipline policy” (2014b, para. 9). However, officials from the ministry do not agree with the view that the policy is not effective.

A few rare and stray cases of corporal punishment don’t mean that the school discipline policy initiative hasn’t worked well. In fact, the policy has been successfully implemented and practised in almost all schools, except a few individuals have failed to stick by (Op. cit., para.10).

The CDA perspective help illuminating that corporal punishment is resorted to due to the overburdening workload given to teachers. The teachers are too exhausted to deal with indisciplined students. This is caused by the day-to-day stresses emanating from numerous activities, large class size, teacher shortages, large number of students with varying demands, characters, outlook and abilities (“Spare the rod”, 2014). Schools however have to comply with the law and ministry’s guidelines banning corporal punishment in schools. In strengthening the ban the annual education conference in 2014 passed a resolution that all schools draft their own discipline guidelines. The conference also passed that all teachers and principals must receive orientation on the Penal Code of Bhutan (MoE, 2014b).

Zero Tolerance Policy

In 2012, the MoE also came up with the ‘zero tolerance policy’ to indisciplined students. This policy came after the banning of corporal punishment in schools. This was after it was realized that students might have taken advantage and indulged in indisciplined acts. Palden reported that “everyone has begun to agree that the quality of our students on the scale of discipline has gone down...we attribute this to banning of corporal punishment. The cases of disciplinary infractions in schools have increased manifold after the ban” (2012, para.1). To further deal with indisciplined students, the ministry introduced a policy stating that a student once expelled cannot be admitted to any other school within the country. The Ministry also realized that students were resorting to committing serious acts within the school such as “serious grounds of misbehaviour, vandalisation of school property, disturbance to peace that would affect the larger community of students and teachers and the community beyond the schools gates...” (Wangchuk, 2012,

para.1). In those cases such students were therefore liable for expulsion. However, there are many stages involved before a child is expelled and expulsion is the last resort. The then Education Minister also said that “a school is not meant for producing criminals” (Op. cit., para.1) while defending the ministry’s policy on zero tolerance to indiscipline. The Minister also further explained that teachers in schools are finding it difficult to work since students misbehave because there is no fear in them. He indicated that “We have to revisit our practice of being too lenient to serious mistakes and serious breach of school norms” (Op. cit., para.1).

However, this policy was hugely criticized by sections of educationists and parents saying that the policy was criminalising students and did not give an adequate chance for improvement. One of the principals in a private school said that “students are young and they are likely to make mistakes more often than not. It is the duty of schools to give erring students another chance so that they may learn from mistakes” (Tenzin, 2012, para.1). One of the well-known counsellors also shared the psychological dimension:

expelled children will feel there is no point in trying to improve and, without access to education, they will feel sidelined by society. With a sense of hopelessness these youths will very likely form gangs and drug use and crime will increase (Ibid).

One of the parents also shared that “the policy will only jeopardize a child’s future” (Ibid). There were also views that such policy will jeopardize the promotion of GNH schools. There is also the question on whether there are any alternative ways to discipline students in line with GNH values? However, one of the vice-principals asserted that if a student is in conflict with the law of the nation, then expulsion might be necessary (Op. cit., 2012). According to the ministry, the drafting of the policy was the result of extensive consultation with all the 20 Dzongdas (District Governor), Dzongkhag Tshogdu Chairmen (District Council Chairman), DEOs, principals and senior teachers (Wangchuk, 2012).

Counselling Programme

The Youth Guidance and Counselling Services (YGCS) was established in 1996 to address youth problems such as unemployment of the educated, substance abuse, delinquencies, thefts, sexual offences and other youth related problems. YGCS have been working with youth in creating awareness and providing guidance and counselling services in schools. Apart from these programmes, YGCS also provides training to heads of schools, DEOs and teachers in order to prepare them to deal with youth problems by providing basic services such as counselling (Education Division, 1999).

It is stated in the 25th Education Policy Guidelines and Instructions (EPCI) manual that all teachers should provide pastoral care and play counselling roles in schools. The policy also states that all teachers should attend to problems of youth and seek to understand them. It also states that if need be schools can refer youth to professionally trained Counsellors to deal with complicated problems. Schools were also instructed to put in place a personal counselling system to monitor the growth and development of students including maintaining a personal file for each student (MoE, 2006).

The 29th EPCI in 2011 instructed the Career Education and Counselling Division (CECD) to draw policies and standards in order to enhance professional service delivery related to counselling in schools, communities and other relevant stakeholders. Therefore, CECD has made an effort to initiate and institutionalize career education and counselling programmes in schools under four areas (MoE, 2011a, p.7):

- Counselling programmes
- Career education
- Vocational education
- School-based parenting education and awareness programme.

The policy also states as follows (MoE, 2011a, p.50):

- i) All secondary schools will have one male and female trained counsellor to deal with the emotional and behavioural needs of the pupils as an integral part of pastoral care.
- ii) The School Guidance Programme will institute an approach that involves the entire student population with the School Guidance Counsellors (Fulltime Counsellors) spearheading the Guidance programme packages for schools under the common goal 'Educating for GNH'.
- iii) One period a week for each class to be allotted to Guidance Classes along with one session for Group counselling on Saturdays for selected groups of students with special needs.

According to the policy of having fulltime counsellor in schools, in 2014 there were 49 teachers identified as fulltime counsellors and currently pursuing post graduate diploma in school guidance and counselling through distance learning. By contrast there are 519 schools in the country of which 100 are middle and HSSs (MoE, 2014d). Although there are some teachers who are trained in basic counselling skills to provide counselling, however absence of professional counsellors hampers to provide effective services in schools. It is important to consider the effectiveness

of counselling services in the absence of fulltime professional counsellors in schools. This is because there is a great need of these qualifications to curb the discipline problems and to provide alternatives to corporal punishment. Otherwise, schools might be slow in eradicating corporal punishment and teachers on the other hand may go for various forms of corporal punishment in absence of a trained counsellor.

The pros and cons for and against corporal punishment illustrate very well the huge challenges involved in changing policies and regulations in the education sector. Implementations of radical change like rote learning to NAPE, formative assessment to summative and then to continuing and not least change in disciplinary tools show that resistance on the ground among the teachers can likely affect policy implementation.

6.2.4. EDUCATING FOR GNH

The concept of GNH evolved in the early 1970s when His Majesty the Fourth King of Bhutan proclaims that GNH is more important than Gross Domestic Product (GDP). He emphasized that general well-being of people is more important than economic growth. GDP does not measure holistic well-being of people it only measures production of material goods. Thus GNH claims to be a holistic approach to development “whereby the needs of the body and the mind are balanced, where one complements the other as opposed to the GDP led growth which has come at the cost of spiritual and mental impoverishment” (Thinley, 2012, p.3).

Thus this holistic approach of policy change to GNH was decided to be incorporated into the education system after the First International Conference titled: Educating for GNH, held in Thimphu in 2009. The overall schooling framework should adopt the core values and principles of GNH in daily school activities. The outcome of the conference was the agreement that the education system of Bhutan

...will effectively cultivate GNH principles and values, including deep critical and creative thinking, ecological literacy, practice of the country’s profound, ancient wisdom and culture, contemplative learning, a holistic understanding of the world, genuine care for nature and for others, competency to deal effectively with the modern world, preparation for right livelihood, and informed civic engagement (Hayward & Colman, 2010, p.6).

The values and principals of GNH are expected to be embedded into the consciousness of Bhuanese youth and citizens where they do not become materailistics rather deeply care for others and the natural world. It is expected that through GNH values and principals, the learners can develop capacity where they

can become more productive, creative and mindful. Incorporating GNH values in the classroom also helps students to discover their inner potential and make them to gain experiences. Therefore, the teachers have to play a crucial role to inculcate these values (Wangchuk, August 31, 2012.). “Bringing GNH into classroom has nothing to do with adding newer avenues. Rather, it is about how we can enrich our learning through humanly approach, keeping in mind the GNH values and philosophy” (Op. cit., para.1). This approach is also expected to bring pedagogical change and create pleasurable learning environment. “Educators and teachers creating an atmosphere of true respect, warmth and delight in the classroom for our students are a simple way of introducing GNH values into the classroom” (Op. cit., para.1).

The development of a school management guide book in 2007: ‘Nurturing Green School for Green Bhutan – A Guide to School Management’, was another attempt in enhancing the education policy in the realm of GNH (MoE, 2011c). Schools in the country are currently supposed to practice GNH and instil its values and principles in the mainstream of learning. The then Minister of Education, Thakur Singh Powdrel states

Educating for Gross National Happiness is essentially an invitation to education, to all of us educators to look for and to discover the soul behind our role. We are returning to the original and the authentic purpose of education – a process that gently draws the human mind to look for and to love what is true and good and beautiful and useful-values inherent in the goal of education. We are, in effect, returning to the root of education-educare-meaning to draw out (Drukpa & Dorji, 2013, p.314).

Further he stresses that earlier value education remained at the forefront but GNH provides the core values within the Bhutanese education system. GNH values were already inherent in the Bhutanese but only lacking practice therefore the way to enhance, sustain and put into action the concept of GNH is through educating the youth (Op. cit., 2013). To achieve the practicality of GNH in schools, the Ministry of Education has initiated to develop a non-academic curriculum based on GNH concepts which focuses on “life skills” development for secondary school students from grades 7 to 12. Later the Ministry also attempted to incorporate these skills into the existing academic subjects. The following are ten target topics to be covered for GNH curriculum (Adler, 2015, para.5):

- i) ***Mindfulness***: calm awareness of thoughts, emotions, and surroundings
- ii) ***Empathy***: identifying what other individuals are feeling or thinking

- iii) **Self-awareness**: understanding of personal talents, strengths, limitations, and goals
- iv) **Coping with emotions**: identifying, understanding, and managing emotions
- v) **Communication**: being active and constructive in inter-personal communication
- vi) **Interpersonal relationships**: fostering healthy interactions with friends and family
- vii) **Creative thinking**: developing ideas that are novel and useful
- viii) **Critical thinking**: conceptualizing, applying, analysing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information as a guide to beliefs and actions
- ix) **Decision making**: choosing the best beliefs or action plans from available options
- x) **Problem solving**: accessing effective heuristics to solve theoretical and practical problems

This curriculum is anticipated to increase the well-being of the students and improve their self-discipline, academic achievement and also develop creativity.

It is a model of learning to build up ecological sustainable society. It is a learning approach to connect between schools, nature and community. It also teaches the basic human values to children to live harmonious and sustainable manner with “...good thought, good speech and good action and being polite, courteous and respectful – not just before high officials or religious heads but to all level of people and therefore happiness for oneself” (Drukpa & Dorji, 2013, p.315). This concept also aims to build up character and individuality of the people, his mind, will and soul power. To enhance learning for green schools, there are eight GNH indicators as follows (Op. cit., 2013):

- i) **Naturally or environmentally Green** – to keep schools campus green surrounded with plants, flowers, fruits and litter free.
- ii) **Intellectual greenery** – learning through open mind, logistics thinking, creativity and innovative. Make students open to new ideas and knowledge including mindfulness learning.
- iii) **Academic Greenery** - keep learning continuously and try to gain more knowledge beyond ones learning in school and subjects.

- iv) **Social Greenery** – building up of relationship, friendship, develop understanding, sharing and celebrating between school and community, teacher and student and, parents and teacher. This is to develop goodwill and generate positive energy for the success of the society.
- v) **Cultural Greenery** – cultivating cultural values, beliefs and norms to students of the nation. This may promote sense of self and identity where they belong to. It may also make students to know various cultures like dress, speak, sing, dance, play, pray, and conduct of rites and rituals.
- vi) **Spiritual Greenery** – make spiritually rich and helps student to seek out their inner spirituality. Teach them the values and important of being spiritual human being.
- vii) **Aesthetic Greenery** – teaching to appreciate a beautiful object for what it is and appreciating piece of work for what it truly is. This may make students to realise different between appearance and reality. It may also teach the student to know/appreciate beautiful, graceful and tasteful.
- viii) **Moral Greenery** – It teaches student what is right and wrong, truth and falsehood, good and bad. It provides an opportunity to think and make better judgements about values.

The implementation of this concept is challenging and it has limitations. Thus Drukpa and Dorji (2013) made recommendations for the study of ‘Green School for Green Bhutan in Chukha Dzongkhag’. Some of the findings are as follows:

- i) Only few schools encourage activities to improve the creativity and innovative ideas of students. Just few schools have concern of the students’ intellectual capacity.
- ii) There were also observations that only few schools go by exemplary class teachings and demonstration in the classroom. A maximum of teaching happened within the four walls.
- iii) To sustain and enhance exemplary and demonstration, teachers must train and develop their capacity of such teaching strategies.
- iv) The policies like speaking either in Dzongkha and English within school campus are noticeable but school management faced difficulty in implementing this policy.

- v) Teachers need to play a vital role in aspect like speaking, dress code, and other things related to Bhutanese etiquette.

There are problems in implementation of these concepts and building capacity for teachers and school leaders by making them understand and giving proper training are the important means to achieve goal for educating GNH. However, according to the CDA perspective “I am not against GNH or GNH-education in school. In fact, the idea of GNH education sounds good to most of us. But we must also know that there are those teachers who feel perplexed and burdened by the code of conduct” (Gyeltshen, October 11, 2011). There are teachers who felt that introduction of GNH in schools is overburdened them with many existing programmes in schools. In 2010, a survey of principals’ was conducted to evaluate and collect base line data on GNH practices in the schools. It was reported that the overall results were quite positive. Recommendations for future improvement in various GNH parameters were also included in the survey (Hayward et al., 2010).

However the effective and uniform implementation depends on different schools’ approach as well as individual perceptions (see chapter seven). This is because schools have their own challenges related to location, infrastructure, teaching-learning resources and other facilities.

6.2.5. PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The Performance Management System (PMS) was initiated in 2010. Through this agreement the MoE committed itself to improve the performance of schools based on students’ learning outcome by trying to reducing numbers of repeating students, promoting GNH in all schools and enhancing teachers’ satisfaction. The broad objective of PMS is to achieve Bhutan’s goal of universal access to education and providing quality education (MoE, 2011c). The then Education Minister Thakur S Powdyel stressed that “by assessing school performance, the ministry is taking into account the integrity of school life, and requiring the schools to operate at a very high level, both academically and intellectually” (Palden, 2013, para.14). PMS as a tool is suitable for measuring the performance of individual schools on an annual basis and providing suitable support and interventions.

This activity, whose reports are submitted annually, is supervised by the Education Monitoring Support Services Division (EMSSD) which operates under the ministry. However, the evaluation of schools is decentralized and is conducted by the DEOs and ADEOs who visit schools at the start and mid of every academic year (Palden, 2013).

The main tasks of PMS are (MoE, 2011c, p.25):

- i) to ensure development focus and support individuals, schools and dzongkhags in improving performance;
- ii) to create a healthy competition and merit-based amongst the schools;
- iii) to propel action through the use of indicators and help identify key areas of school improvement;
- iv) to build on and strengthen existing systems; and
- v) to make it ‘simple’ to use.

The PMS is measured based on the three scorecards namely “(a) Academic learning; (b) Enabling practices in teaching and learning and (c) achievements on GNH practices in the schools” (MoE, 2011c, p.4). An academic scorecard assesses the students’ performance against the existing enabling practices and investigates whether schools and teachers have introduced any innovations and improvements for better performance. A GNH scorecard measures school’s performance in relation to factors such as social greenery and environment greenery (BBS, 2013). There are three types of assessments. These include school performance scorecards, school self-assessment (SSA) and annual school improvement plan (A-SIP) (Palden, 2013). The school performance scorecard and school improvement plan are assessed by the DEO and ADEO while SSA scorecard marks is done individually by the schools. The development of PMS involves various stakeholders such as DEOs/ADEOs, principals, teachers and the officials of the ministry. The system was also pre-tested prior to implementation in schools across the country (MoE, 2011c).

Using the scorecards, schools are ranked annually and a list of the top ten schools of the different levels is announced. The ranking is done based on a category which divides the schools into four levels; from PP to III (pre-PS), IV to VI (PS), VII to X (MSS) and XI to XII (HSS). The top 40 schools in the different levels are awarded certificates. Special focus is given to those schools that need improvement. Education monitoring officers visit the schools with low performance to find out the causes and identify appropriate solutions and interventions. EMSSD provides support to these schools and help in the preparation of school improvement plans. They also accompany the schools and help to implement the plans until their PMS rating ranks high. However, it must be observed that when schools don’t appear in the top ten ranking it does not mean that those schools are not performing well (Pokhrel, 2015). The PMS tool helps in the continuous assessment of the performance of schools.

PMS has been used since 2010 and found to be a useful method to assess school performance. It has however also been found to have the following limitations (MoE, 2012a, p.7):

(i) *At the system level:*

- All the schools irrespective of levels are assessed with the same parameters;
- The rating range is quite limited (1-4).

(ii) *At the implementation level:*

- The management in some schools do not conduct School Self-Assessment genuinely;
- Assessment of schools by some of the DEOs and ADEOs are not objective and therefore the ratings are not reliable;
- Some DEOs and ADEOs do not make timely visits to the school;
- Support in many cases is not provided in time;
- Some schools and DEOs dismiss PMS purely as school rankings.

Some principals and DEOs are of the opinion that PMS are not fairly conducted and it is reported that not all schools are in the “same level playing field” (MoE, 2012a, p.7). However, MoE (2012a) clarifies that PMS is not intended to ensure that all schools are at same level but rather it is a mechanism to encourage high performance schools and to provide support to low performing schools. “Odious Comparisons” (2015, para.4), in questioning PMS posed thus, “Do we need such a ranking system to gauge our schools? Are the methods adopted to assess schools fair?” Further, the paper also raises issues around the clarity in criterion used and using the same template to assess all level of schools. For example, different levels will reveal varying results in their assessment scorecards on factors such as effectiveness of infrastructure, quality and impact of teaching, training and so on. This leads to the question on the varying realities of schools in the country and the use of the same template in assessing them. How can schools having poor infrastructure, charging high fees because they are private schools, running autonomously and categorized as central schools be ranked using the same scorecard? Other issues such as student-teacher ratio, age of school infrastructure and location – rural and urban schools are also important to consider. “Odious Comparisons” (Ibid) also suggests that “the criteria to measure and compare schools must be more detailed and inclusive of several factors, yet grading schools is not a good practice” and in a CDA perspective it seems that there is a contradiction between the texts, policies and intentions and the reality as seen from school teachers point of view. Schools can compete amongst themselves without ranking and it is also important to envision each school beyond their performance score.

6.3. INFORMAL/EXTRA CURRICULA ACTIVITIES

6.3.1. HEALTH PROGRAMME IN EDUCATION

The MoE policy does not only focus on education but also gives emphasis to health related education programmes for the schools. Such policies include the Comprehensive School Health Programme, Health and Physical Education and School Feeding Programme. Further, to intensify the school health programmes, the ministry has put in place a ‘School Health and Safety Guideline’ whose implementation started in 2013. Currently many schools in the country have health coordinators or staff in-charge, who attends to the students’ health and sanitation issues. The effectiveness and efficiency of the programme is yet to be established. The health coordinators and staff in-charge are expected to teach the students about basic health and hygiene.

The School Health Unit was established within the Education Division in 1984 and later merged with the Curriculum and Professional Support Section in 1998 and named as the Comprehensive School Health Programme. The programme is a collaborative effort of the Health and Education Departments to promote awareness on health and well-being of students. A large number of Bhutanese youths are vulnerable to substance abuse, suicide, accidents, teenage pregnancy, and unaware of sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS. Further, to reinforce the policy, in 2007 the Department of Youth and Sports issued a circular seeking to incorporate the health programme into the schooling system working in coordination with Dzongkhag Medical Officers (DMO).

There are many activities initiated under the Comprehensive School Health Programme which are expected to be carried out with the support of the DMO. The programme comprises four core areas such as skills based health education, school health services, healthy schools environment and family/community involvement. The programme activities cover wide areas of health related issues: personal health, sexuality education, mental and emotional health, safety, first aid, nutrition and food safety, substance abuse, preventive and curative measures, safe water and sanitation, counselling, social services, clean school environment, congenial school environment for learning, and school-community interaction and relations. The activity also includes general annual check-ups by a medical doctor and the provision of medicine for de-worming, vitamin and iron folic acid supplementation. It also requires each student to maintain a notebook into which he/she enters his/her health record throughout his/her student life (MoE, 2007).

6.3.2. DRIGLAM NAMZHA/ BHUTANESE SOCIAL ETIQUETTE

One of the main goals of the Bhutanese education system is to promote the Bhutanese cultural heritage and national values as pillars of GNH. Therefore, the

ministry has undertaken to integrate the modern education system with the traditional and cultural values of Bhutan in both co-curricula and extra-curricula activities. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, Article 4 also insists on cultural preservation and promotion to enrich society and the cultural life of citizens (RGoB, 2008b). Since school children are the future custodians of cultural norms and values it is of paramount importance to impart our cultural and traditional values to them through education. PC (1999) states that school children

...must inculcate an awareness of the nation's unique cultural heritages, drawing upon sources of inspiration that date from the time of the Shabdrung as well as universal values that develop the capacity of our young people to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil, and to lead lives that are guided by moral and ethical choices (p.19).

Therefore, the Bhutanese education system has to be blended with the cultural and traditional values so that it lives in the minds of young people. It is expected that the cultural heritage should be evident in the lives of Bhutanese, infused with contemporary relevance in order to live good and spiritual lives.

National integration, preservation and promotion of culture and tradition are important for a small country like Bhutan. This also helps in maintaining identity, sovereignty and security of the country. Though Bhutan is a small country it is also multi-ethnic, multi-religion and multi-lingual. Therefore, national integration is important for the nation-building process (Mathou, 2002). To achieve this goal, the concept of "one people and one nation" has been championed by the fourth King to foster the unification of the country and to bring different ethnic groups together in order to reflect one Bhutanese society (Op. cit., p.245). In the 1960s, the third King saw the importance of a national language that would serve the purpose of unifying and integrating his people given the variety of vernaculars spoken in different parts of the country. Therefore, he declared 'Dzongkha' as the national language in 1971 (Gyatso, 2004). From 1971 Dzongkha was taught as a written language in schools.

This was followed by promulgation of a code of etiquette called 'Driglam Namzha' (Mathou, 2002) to promote Bhutanese identity, culture and tradition as well as to protect the sovereignty of the country. According to Phuntsho 'Drig' denotes order, conformity and uniformity. Thus driglam literally means a way or path (lam) having order and uniformity while 'namzha' refers to concept or system. Thus it is "a system of ordered and cultured behaviour and by extension, the standards and rules to this effect" (2004, p.572). However, Driglam Namzha is not concerned about moral and ethical dos and don'ts and right or wrong rather it deals with issues of physical and verbal behaviour specific to Bhutan's social and cultural context. Therefore, this concept on orderly and good manners and uniform behaviour is

considered a human concept that is universal to all societies and ages though it might be differently practiced (Phuntsho, 2004).

The Bhutanese Driglam Namzha might have been derived from Buddhist ethical practices that have to do with physical, verbal and mental conduct. These codes of conduct were introduced in the central monk body, monastics and administrative centers during the time of Zhabdrung. The formal practices at the institutional level started at the time of Zhabdrung. It is difficult to tell the exact time however the Driglam practice probably did exist even before the arrival of Zhabdrung in Bhutan (Ibid).

The major discussion of Driglam took place in 1963 in the National Assembly where a resolution was passed that all Bhutanese are required to wear a proper Bhutanese dress during formal occasions. The term 'Driglam Namzha' also received national attention during the 51st session of the NA in 1979. During this session it was realized that modernization was setting into the Bhutanese society as the urban population was growing. Hence, it was crucial to emphasize the importance of cultural values. The youth were beginning to imbibe western cultural values and it was important to address this scenario that was creeping in before it could influence the Bhutanese society. The promotion of Driglam Namzha was therefore part of the protection against the influence of other cultures, not only the western culture, as well as enhancing public social codes of conduct. Further, Driglam Namzha was strengthened after a royal decree in 1989. Thereafter promotion of Driglam Namzha was systematized and more emphasis was given to the national dress (Ibid). Bhutanese are expected to wear the national dress in all formal occasions and in this way Driglam Namzha gradually became part of Bhutanese citizens' identity. There was resistance and friction from a section of the population regarding the introduction of the national language and Driglam Namzha but this was overshadowed by the need to unite the country and safeguard her sovereignty.

Apart from the formal curriculum taught in schools, the school is one of the important places where citizens can learn the social and cultural aspects of the society. Along with the GNH and Educating for GNH, under 'Green School for Green Bhutan' initiative schools also promote social and cultural values among the students. The cultural greenery emphasizes inculcating the nation's values, beliefs and norms among the students. It is believed that through culture people can proclaim a sense of self and identity. This is evident in the way people dress, speak, sing, dance, play, pray and conduct rites and rituals. The school is therefore an important place where young children can learn about the culture and tradition of a nation (Drakpa & Dorji, 2013).

Further, to promote Driglam Namzha in schools, the Department of Culture (DoC) under Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs has been coordinating training

programmes for school teachers. So far the number trained is 1050, including people from other agencies. The main objective of the training was to bring about unity amongst the citizens and teachers in particular were trained in order to disseminate knowledge about Bhutanese etiquette to the younger generation. They were trained on various aspects of etiquette including the wearing of Kabney¹⁵ and Rachu¹⁶, which are used at different occasions (Choki, 2012).

At the school level, there seems to have been a working policy document in which Driglam Namzha was included with the aim of inculcating Bhutanese etiquette amongst the youth. For example, Tsenkharla MSS (n.d., p.29) policy document states that:

- Treat others, with respect and dignity, as one expects others to treat him/her.
- Dress in clean and proper uniform at all school functions and wear appropriate national attire at all times unless instructed otherwise.
- Maintain short and neat hair style for boys and uniform shoulder length hair for girls.

Drukgyel HSS students' diary also mentions that "all students of Drukgyel HSS are supposed to follow a code of conduct, which is very much a part of the national Driglam Namzha" (2014, p.11). Among other things, the school diary contains other codes of conduct such as student behaviour, hair style, dress code, unsocial activities, and participation in all activities of the school including academic honesty.

Schools have undertaken initiatives that work towards imparting 'wholesome education' to fulfill the mission of the ministry. Since Bhutan's greatest and most valuable wealth are the people, "His Majesty the King" reminded the youth of Bhutan: "Firstly that they are the custodians of our national heritage and cultural identity...Secondly, that they are the guardians of our peace and stability...Thirdly, that they are the stewards of our nation's future" (2015, para.5 & 8). Therefore, the most appropriate way to promote tradition and culture is through the school programme.

¹⁵A silk white scarf worn with *gho* (national dress) for male.

¹⁶Normally small red stripe scarf wore by female with *kira* (national dress for woman).

6.3.3. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Cultural activities in schools are considered extra-curricular and they play a role in providing ‘wholesome education’ as well as a holistic approach to education. The cultural activities enlighten students on the value of their culture and tradition. Such cultural activities also help in promoting and sustaining the cultural heritage of the country. PC aptly states that, “If our culture and heritage is to continue to survive and flourish, our young people must understand and accept their role as custodians of a distinctive culture and the values and principles on which it is founded” (1999, p.36). It also indicates that education plays a vital role in promoting and preserving the cultural heritage of the country by increasing awareness amongst the students and makes them to appreciate their cultural values. EMSSD (1990, p.44) highlights the following as some of the benefits of extra-curricular activities:

- Extra-curricular activities provide space for recreation and makes student’s life more enjoyable.
- Children develop holistically since they acquire life skills when they involve such activities.
- Through these activities children learn values and skills such as cooperation and team spirit, punctuality, leadership, creativity, competitive spirit, self confidence, social interaction, responsibility, and time management.
- Provides avenues for children to exhibit their potential and demonstrate their competencies.
- Children learn to appreciate culture and take initiatives to preserve culture.

The school is therefore an avenue through which cultural values can be inculcated and hence every school strives to put in place cultural activities such as songs, dance, masks dance as well as activities related to Bhutanese culture and traditions. Schools have taken the initiative to conduct dance competitions among themselves as well as at the dzongkhag level. They also participate in national celebrations where they exhibit a variety of dances and songs.

6.3.4. MINDFULNESS AND MEDITATION PROGRAMME

There was national concern that many youths were engaging in drugs, alcohol and anti-social activities. Therefore, the 83rd session of the NA passed a resolution that

all schools introduce a Choeshed programme.¹⁷ Further to intensify the programme, Zhung Dratshang (Central Monastic Body of Bhutan), Royal University of Bhutan (RUB) and the MoE formed an association called Samjor Lekchoed Tshogpa (mind and mindfulness education association) in 2009 which is led by a joint coordinating committee. The main aim of the association is to enhance mindfulness and compassion among the youth. This programme also focuses on encouraging the youth to have greater understanding about themselves and develop a positive attitude (Pem, 2009). The Vice Chancellor of RUB Pema Thlinely argued that “one of the basic essences of all education is to understand the mind” (Op. cit., p.1). According to the association, the mind and mindfulness education programme is to be introduced in all middle and HSSs as well as in two colleges of education. Later the programme has been introduced in PSs after realizing its benefits to students learning. The association also works towards the collaboration of the mind and mindfulness programme with the value education programme in schools with the aim of enhancing greater happiness (Ibid).

The introduction of the mindfulness programme in schools is part of the ‘Educating for GNH’ programme which aims at seeking happiness through education. The Cabinet Secretariat reported that “the ‘education that is right’ for Bhutan has to be a ‘GNH’ inspired education” (2013, p.10). It must provide the people an opportunity to learn to be ‘smart’ (to live in an increasingly globalized world) and also to be ‘wise’ (to live happier and dignified lives, in peace and harmony, with others and nature). The Fourth King always reminded the teachers to teach the children to “take care of their mind” and also “be mindful of their actions in body, speech and mind”, since mindfulness education encompasses the core value of ‘Educating for GNH’” (Op. cit., p.10). It is expected that through GNH students learn to be ‘good human beings’, be mindful in their actions, speech and thoughts.

It is also expected that mindfulness meditation enhances the academic performance of students, improves teachers and principals’ effectiveness and develops community awareness (Simmer-Brown & Carpenter, 2010). A research conducted by Santa Clara University (as cited in Ura, 2009, p.56) also suggests that the meditation programme be introduced in schools since it will benefit students in the following ways:

- i. Cognitive and Academic Performance*
 - a) Mindfulness meditation may improve ability to maintain preparedness and orient attention.

¹⁷Religious discourse is where students are taught and informed about the essence of life and positive thinking in order to develop good attitude.

- b) Mindfulness meditation may improve ability to process information quickly and accurately.
- c) Concentration-based meditation, practiced over a long-term, may have a positive impact on academic achievement.

ii. *Mental Health and Psychological Well-being*

- a) Mindfulness meditation may decrease stress, anxiety, and depression.
- b) Mindfulness meditation supports better regulation of emotional reactions and the cultivation of positive psychological states.

iii. *Development of the Whole Person*

- a) Meditation can support the development of creativity.
- b) Meditation supports and enhances the development of skills needed for interpersonal relationships.
- c) Empathetic responses are increased with meditation and mindfulness practices.
- d) Meditation may help to cultivate self-compassion

Similarly, the Association for Mindfulness in Education (2015, para.2) also found out the mindfulness training develops the following qualities:

- Increased attention
- Increased executive function (working memory, planning, organization, and impulse control)
- Decrease ADHA (Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder) behaviours – specifically hyperactivity and impulsivity
- Fewer conduct and anger management problems
- Increased emotional regulation
- Increased self-calming
- Increased social skills and social compliance
- Increased care for others
- Decreased negative affect, or emotions
- Decreased anxiety in general and test anxiety in particular
- Decreased depression
- Increased sense of calmness, relaxation, and self-acceptance
- Increased self-esteem
- Increased quality of sleep

On realizing that it has benefit and positive impact on students, schools have started practicing mindfulness meditation about few minutes during morning assembly, before starting lessons, during prayer sessions, before examinations and other times. The value education programme in schools is supposed to coordinate by Lam Neten (head abbot) of each dzongkhag with support from DEO and heads of schools. Besides students, this programme also intends to train teachers in meditation and mindfulness (Kuensel, September 26, 2009) since they can later teach to the students.

However, practicing of mindfulness and meditation encountered some problems at the initial stages where students found it funny and boring to do meditation. Most teachers and students did not understand the programme at the beginning (Tshering, 2012).

Most teachers never believed in it and some believers soon forgot it. I never really understood why this was happening. But I tried hard to advocate that it was to do calming our mind and sharpening our focus on studies-which was how I vaguely understood and I discovered I wasn't fully wrong (Op. cit., para.2).

There was skepticism when the programme was introduced in schools. However, most teachers and students later found out that mindfulness is useful and helpful in training their minds and helps in making the right decisions in life. They also realized that such a programme in schools makes their lives meaningful (Ibid). The programme is also supposed to help in reducing the discipline challenges in schools which in turn will improve academic performance.

These programmes are supposed to carry out from primary to higher secondary schools. According to Simmer-Brown and Carpenter (2010, p.3) mindfulness meditation is normally practice in the following method:

- i) Take good posture with straight spine, arms and shoulders relaxed, hands resting on the thighs. The chin is slightly tucked and the face and jaw are natural and relaxed. While the head is straight, the gaze is lowered, the eyelids half shut. If you are sitting on a cushion, your ankles are loosely crossed; if you are sitting on a chair, your feet are flat on the floor.
- ii) Place the attention on breathing, with a focus either on the nostrils, the abdomen, or on the sensation of the breath dissolving out into the space of the room. The breath should be natural, not controlled in any way. To focus attention, the breath—in and out—can be counted. When the practice becomes stable, counting can drop away.

- iii) Whenever thoughts arise and drag us away from attention to breathing, just gently notice this, let the thoughts go, and return to the breath. To support this noticing, it may be helpful to note in one's mind, "thinking." It is important that this be done gently, without judgment or harshness, just noticing and returning to mindfulness of breathing.
- iv) Periodically check posture and body sensation. If there is pain or discomfort, a subtle adjustment should help dispel it, and then simply return to attention to breathing.

Following the above method students were practicing mindfulness under the supervision of their teachers who were also trained in workshop for short duration. However, the activity seems to be difficult for younger students. Teachers expressed that they are facing difficulty in guiding their students of practicing mindfulness meditation and also to give reasons for practicing mindfulness as they themselves do not know much about mindfulness meditation. As one of the Primay School principals express that "sometimes children were playing during the time of mindfulness practice" which shows that students are facing difficulties to practice as instructed and might be only doing it because they are ordered to do it by the teachers. MoE said that in order to perform mindfulness meditation one must have skills and it will be difficult to get into mindfulness without skills. There are several criticisms on mindfulness practice in schools as some teachers said it is burden for them and also some of the teachers shared that it is not bringing any positive impact on the students' concentration and behaviours. They also shared that mindfulness practice is tiresome for students.

However, some teachers have expressed that mindfulness meditation has benefited their students to improve concentration and to become calm. They shared that students are happy to perform mindfulness meditation and often students request for doing again.

6.3.5. SCOUTING PROGRAM

The scouting program in Bhutan was initiated in the 1980s by a Non-Governmental Organization – Bhutan Youth Development Association. Their main focus was on school children who they brought together annually during the scout camps. Before that, the scouting programme was not popular among the youth. However, the scouting programme was established formally with support from the Asia Pacific Region in 1994. In 1996, having realized its usefulness and potential in the holistic development of the youth, Bhutan Scout Association (BSA) was established and subsequently became a full-fledged member of the World Organization of the Scout Movement in 1999 (BSA, 2015a).

The vision for BSA is to be “A Nation where youth is an asset, well supported and contributing to the harmony of the society”. It is working towards the mission “to provide youth health and development programmes to enable youth to be physically fit and mentally prepared with moral values and skills necessary to become productive and responsible citizens” (BSA, 2015b, p.1). The scouting motto is ‘Be Prepared’ and train the youth to be ready to face challenges in their life. In order to achieve its objectives, BSA (2015b) has adopted a number of strategies such as youth programmes, membership growth, resource management/development, positive image & visibility, information management systems, values and culture education and GG.

The scouting programmes in schools are categorized into three sections: Cub for PSs, Scout for secondary schools and Rover for tertiary institutions. Currently there are 564 active trained leaders and about 32,566 (2014) scout members registered with the BSA. In 1990, at Thimphu a ‘Community Based Scouting’ programme was started to provide an opportunity for young people to participate in the scouting programme as a lifelong education. Through this programme, they provide voluntary service to the community and institutions as well as individuals where necessary. To date there are more than 1000 members enrolled in the programme (BSA, 2015a).

The scouting programme in schools is managed by the Scouts and Culture Education Division under the Department of Youth and Sports. Scouting programmes in schools is one of the important non-curricular activities under wholesome education. Scouting programmes are also carried out at the national and regional level. Through these programmes, children are taught values, skills, leadership, life skills, first aid, safety tips, rescue, disaster management and many other skills including physical training. Besides these, they are also exposed to theoretical and practical sessions such as attending talks by guest speakers on various topics such as spirituality, practical application of daily life, tradition, culture, Driglam Namzha, peer helping skills, and talks by youth role models (MoE, 2014c).

The 1st Annual Scout Conference in 2014 introduced new evolutions within the scouting movement in schools. The following were the recommendations of the conference (Op. cit., p.13):

- Designing and putting in place a relevant and dynamic scouting programme to help scouts acquire leadership qualities with strong values of “Tha Damtshi¹⁸ and Lay Jumdrey”.¹⁹

¹⁸*Ought not to be transgressed*

¹⁹*The law of Karmic cause and effect*

- It is geared towards promoting citizenship education and self-development through meaningful and challenging activities focusing on the values of sharing, community living, pursuing a life of spirituality, building a spirit of brotherhood and trust among themselves and others and making them understand their role in nation building.
- Involving and grooming them throughout their formative years in non-formal, experiential learning, educational activities and giving them the life skills to help them achieve their full potential and develop into responsible citizens and leaders of tomorrow.

The following were some of the resolutions of the conference (Op. cit., pp.13-14):

- Deploy at least one trained scoutmaster in every school.
- Scouting in schools to be instituted as a programme and not implemented as a club activity.
- Scouting programme to be made accessible to special needs students.

Scouting needs to be diversified by incorporating essential elements comprising adventure/fun, social/community service, tradition/ spirituality to infuse values of Tha Damtshi and Lay Jumfrey.

6.3.6. GAMES AND SPORTS

Games and sports are considered as integral to education since it not only contributes to the physical growth of children but also helps in developing sound mental, intellectual and social capabilities. With these positive benefits, sports and physical activities policies are adopted in education systems across the world. Studies have found out that sports and physical activities in schools enhance enrollment, attendance and overall educational achievement. Moreover, promotion of sports and physical education in schools fulfills one of the objectives of ‘quality education’. Sports and physical activities in schools are therefore promoted through the ‘School Sports Program’ operating under the philosophy of ‘Youth Development through Sport’. The programme provides an equal opportunity to all children regardless of their talent, gender and age for their holistic development, making school friendly, meaningful engagement, and ensures maximum participation (Games and Sports Division [GSD], 2014).

According to the GSD, the aim of School Sports Program is “to foster balanced growth and development in children (physical, mental, moral and social)” (2014, p.7). The Division also works with the following objectives to promote games and sports in schools:

- To foster healthy lifestyles, instill values, enhance skills and enrich learning experiences.
- To encourage mass participation of children in sports and physical activities regardless of age, gender and talent.
- To encourage children to maximize on the benefits that sports and physical activities have to offer.
- To engage children and youth meaningfully in sports and physical activities.
- To promote traditional Bhutanese and contemporary sports.
- To explore talent and to encourage youth to pursue excellence in sports.

In fulfilling the aims and objectives, the Division organizes a number of programs and activities in the school, dzongkhag, regional and national levels on an annual basis. For the effective implementation and to ensure sustainability, some of the programs are decentralized to dzongkhags and Thromdeys. All schools are currently implementing the School Sports Program with the support of the RGoB (GSD, 2014).

The School Sports Program is divided into primary division from class PP to VI, Division ‘B’ for classes VII to VIII and Division ‘A’ for Classes IX to XII. Different sports programs are carried out in schools according to the ability of children such as (Ibid):

- Schools Sports and Physical activities
- Dzongkhag School Sport Meets
- Regional School Sports Meet
- Regional Traditional Archery Tournament (only for HSSs)
- National schools Games like National School Athletic meet, National School Games and national Football tournament.

All the levels of schools participate in the Dzongkhag School Sport Meet, Regional School Sports Meet and National School Games. PSs are entitled to propose budgets for the promotion of games and sports. It is stated that “we must not only promote sports but rather use sports and physical activity as a medium to make teaching-learning interesting and foster harmonious growth and development of children” (Op. cit., p.10). Games and sports are therefore important as part of every school’s activities and schools are encouraged to ensure that all children participate with enthusiasm irrespective of their age, gender and ability. The games and sporting culture is wide spread in the Bhutanese schooling system. The facilities

have improved over time. However, uniformity and quality might be lacking due to the location of schools, particularly schools that are based in rural and remote areas.

6.3.7. CLUBS IN SCHOOL

Clubs in schools are also considered one of the important activities that contribute to wholesome education. It is mandatory that schools institute club activities to supplement the curriculum and also provide the opportunity to develop creativity and experience learning outside the classroom. It is in this line that schools initiate various kinds of clubs to develop student's skills and talents. The clubs can be either educational or recreational, or both in nature. They are designed to keep students active and engage in fields of interest. The clubs programme in schools may also benefit students by broadening their spheres of interest and develop their future careers. Besides nurturing creativity and developing skills, the clubs also provide the opportunity to expend the excess energy in children as well as shape their overall personality. It is mandatory that schools conduct club activities once a week for one hour involving all the students (EMSSD, 2015).

The following are the suggested clubs that can be initiated in schools. The clubs can be merged under broad categories according to the needs and interests of the students (Op. cit., p.16).

Table 10 List of Suggested Clubs for School

1. Vocational Maintenance club Hair cutting Carpentry Baking Confectionery Photography Painting Tailoring	2. Health & Safety Education Aerobics Disaster Management	3. Civic Education Democracy Media Literacy Media and IT Journalism Audio Visual Current Affairs Law Leadership
4. Cultural Music Museum Driglam Namzha Singing and Dance Mask Dance Drama/Skit	5. Literary Dzongkha English Library Reading Lets Enjoy English (LEE)	6. Nature Waste management Rock Gardening Agriculture Fishery Nursery Raising Horticulture
7. Spiritual Yoga Dharma Buddha Astrology	8. Academic Resource Club Mathematics Science	9. Social Service Tarayana UNESCO Library maintenance

Choeshey		
10. Games and Sports Cricket Taekwondo Football Basketball Volleyball Futsal etc	11. Home Science Knitting Art & Craft Basket weaving Interior decoration Hair and skin care	12. Counselling Life Skills Peer helper

Source: EMSSD, 2015

EMSSD (2015) published a guide book in 2015 instructing schools to draft their own policy for clubs in order to ensure that activities are carried out effectively and efficiently. The guide further instructed that while framing the policy, schools needed to align their aims and objectives with the school’s vision and mission. The diversities in the students’ abilities as well as the level of class are also critical factors to be taken into account.

The club guide book has clearly mentioned the roles of the principal in order to promote and monitor clubs in schools. The book also defines the role of club coordinators, student coordinators and club members. Guidelines for appointing the respective coordinators are also specified. Further, it also provides the duration of club activities including when they start and end. It describes the environment under which club activities should be undertaken taking into account the safety of the members. Mechanisms for recruiting members, monitoring and support, review, assessment, evaluation, rewards and reorganization are provided (Ibid). With all these guidelines it is possible to promote clubs activities and make them operate within the limits of the school resources and capacity. Moreover, club activities contribute to the fulfillment of MoE’s prime objective of ‘wholesome education’. Schools across the country therefore have various clubs that function in line with guidelines stipulated in the individual guidebooks. Existence of clubs as well as their well functioning also contributes to how well a school is rated in Bhutan.

6.3.8. UNDERSTANDING THE CDS IN EDUCATION PLANNING AND POLICY

In theoretical perspective education helps to bring economic growth and social development. Al’Abri (2001) argues that educational reforms in the 21st century must aim to increase school enrolment, alleviate poverty and reduce gender inequality. Similar to this, the main purpose of education in Bhutan is to promote economic growth, reduce poverty and achieve self-reliance. Max Weber outlined the purpose of education is to gain political stability and establish an efficient bureaucracy. Thus the national education policy of Bhutan also aims to enhance development and produce productive citizens by making students physically, emotionally and ethically sound.

The education reforms in CDS mainly focus on promotion of national identity and citizenship development. It also aims to bring social integration and cohesion as developing countries are characterized by multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies. In the similar context, the Bhutanization of the national education system in 1980s and introduction of national language ‘Dzongkha’ in schools were intended to promote national identity and social integration. The role of education in CDS aims to promote political and cultural unity and also enhance social cohesion. Under the broad objectives, the education policy of Bhutan intends to inculcate traditional and cultural values by Bhutanization of the school curriculum and also introducing the non-curricula activities relevant to Bhutanese context. Abe (2006) stresses that the main characteristic features of the East Asian education systems are inclusion of moral and values education. The introduction of Bhutanese value education programme such as educating for GNH, social etiquette, mindfulness, meditation and cultural activities share the same ideas as education programme in East Asian CDS. The ‘Wholesome education’ for Bhutan and ‘Total education’ concepts for Singapore were almost identical to impart skills and knowledge to students on values and attitudes so that they developed into responsible citizens for their family, community and country. This also connects nation-building agenda of the state to gain sovereignty and maintain sustainable socio-economic development with the including a stable political system.

6.4. SUMMARY

Despite several political and economic challenges, Bhutan appears to be striving to achieve sustainable socio-economic development guided by GNH principles and values. These principles and values influence the formulation of government’s plans and policies. The history of socio-economic development in general and education in particular has so far functioned successfully within its limits for more than five decades. Within this period, unprecedented changes in education policies and plans have taken place. There have been a series of changes in the education system such as infusion of GNH into policy and planning, introduction of new curriculum, examination and assessment systems, the scouts programme, Driglam Namzha, games and sports, cultural programme, clubs, and banning of corporal punishment. The introduction of NAPE and the consistent changes in the curriculum have produced high quality in education and service provision. The co-curricula and extra-curricula activities play an integral part in the Bhutanese education system thereby fulfilling the main objective of ‘wholesome education’ as intended by the ministry. The issue about corporal punishment and discipline is an important example of discrepancies between the centre and local level implementation. There is similarity between the general education policy of Bhutan and CDS as both policies focus on promotion of tradition and cultural values. The Bhutanization of the school curriculum and introduction of non-curricula activities relevant to Bhutanese context are almost similar to the education system in CDS. Further, the values and moral education programme and Educating for GNH in

schools were introduced with the expectation to enhance social integration and promote cohesion in society like the education programme in CDS.

Chapter 7. IMPLEMENTATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS PERCEPTIONS

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part I presents biographical information of the respondents such as gender, age and type of employment. This part also covers the number of years respondents have been in the teaching profession and their qualifications. Further it delineates the dzongkhags in the sample by population, levels of school and location categories such as urban, rural and remote where the data was collected.

Part II provides the main analysis where different topics on policy matters have been analysed and the results presented in descriptive, tabular and graphic forms. The first section in this part covers general perceptions on education policy guidelines and presents overall understandings and knowledge of the policy by the principals and teachers. The second section provides perceptions analysis about the school management, administration and policy flow mechanisms. The third section explains education provision and facilities. The fourth section provides an analysis of the school curriculum and its quality. This is followed by a presentation of an analysis of the school health programmes in the fifth section. Section six covers the general perceptions about the quality of education. Section seven scrutinizes the availability of teaching-learning resources and ICT facilities in schools. Section eight provides an analysis of the distribution of infrastructure in schools. Section nine examines matters related to human resource and human resource development. The tenth section presents the findings of the wholesome education programmes. Section eleven explains GNH practices in schools. The last section presents the decentralization reality at the local levels.

The analysis of data is cross tabulated and the data is interpreted mostly in percentages depending on the respondents rating and is based on the Likert scale whose components include responses such as strongly agree, agree, neutral, strongly disagree and disagree. The sum of the Likert scale's rating of the respondents shows the degree of policy implementation or acceptance of the policy assuming they follow the policy objectives, which are normally interpreted – for example that 60% of the principals and teachers agree schools have safe and conducive learning environment in place. This means that the remaining 40% either strongly disagree or disagree or are neutral. As far as possible each policy item has been interpreted although mostly only striking figures such as highest and lowest percentages are presented depending on the priority of the analysis. The cross tabulate interpretations were also supported by interview data in order to validate the findings and triangulate the data analysis part.

PART: I BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

7.1. RESPONDENTS PROFILE

About 2415 set of questionnaires were distributed to the sample population, however only a total of 1277 (53%) were collected and used for analysis.

7.1.1. GENDER

Table 11 shows that 56.7% of respondents were male and 43.3% were female within the sample population of principals and teachers. The difference between male and female respondents is insignificant. The discrepancy is parallel to the country's total number of teachers (7335); there were 60.4% male and 39.6% female as at 2011.

From the total of 94 principals, female principals constitute 13.8% while the rest are male. The composition of male and female in the position of principal within the different levels of schools shows that male principals are 92% in PS, followed by HSS (87.5%), MSS (83.3%) and LSS (75%). A view of the composition of male and female teachers within the levels of the schools from primary to HSSs shows that the female representation is smaller than that of males. The highest difference of respondents was recorded in HSSs with 61.4% male against 38.6% female. The difference of male and female respondents in the rest of the levels of schools is minimal. In LSSs the male and female composition is almost equal in the sample population.

7.1.2. AGE RANGE

About 72% (n=1277) of the respondents fall within the age bracket of 26-40 years. The younger age group (18-25 years) of the respondents constitute 11% while the older age group (41 years and above) are 16.7% (see Table 11). Within the age group of 18-25 years, PSs have the highest percent of 42.6% followed by lower secondary schools (LSS) (33.3%), MSSs (14.2%) and HSSs (HSS) (9.9%) which suggests that most of the young teachers are placed in the PSs. However, most respondents are concentrated in LSSs within the age bracket of 26-40 years (33%) and 41 years and above (34%). This could be because there are more number of LSSs compared to MSSs and HSSs.

7.1.3. TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT

According to the RCSC there are three types of teacher recruitment procedures. With this consideration, respondents are categorized as regular, on contract and temporary. About 87.4% of the respondents are regular teachers compared to 10.3%

and 2.3% on contract and temporary respectively. The contract and temporary teachers are recruited to overcome the teacher shortage.

Out of 1116 respondents that are regular teachers, about 34.1% are in LSSs, followed by MSSs (22.8%) and 10.2% in HSSs. A total of 131 respondents are teachers on contract, of whom about 29% are in HSSs, 25.2% in LSSs and about 22.9% in MSSs and PSs (see Table 11). Most of the temporary teachers (n=30) are placed in PSs (46.7%) followed by LSSs (40%) and least with MSSs (3.3%).

Out of 7932 teachers in the country about 8% are on contract and they are mostly placed in HSSs and MSSs (MoE, 2012b).

Table 11 Respondents Profile

Characteristics	No. of Teachers	Percent
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	735	57.6
Female	542	42.4
Total	1277	100
<i>Age</i>		
18-25 years	141	11.0
26-40 years	923	72.3
41 years and above	213	16.7
Total	1277	100
<i>Type of Employment</i>		
Regular	1116	87.4
Contract	131	10.3
Temporary	30	2.3
Total	1277	100

7.1.4. NUMBER OF YEARS IN TEACHING PROFESSION

About 60% (n=1261) of the respondents have been in the teaching profession for 10 years followed by 27% and 12% within the range of 11 to 20 years and 21 years and above respectively (see Table 12).

Table 12 Number of Years in Teaching Profession

Years in Teaching Profession	No. of Teachers	Percent
0 to 10	762	60.4
11 to 20	341	27.0
21 and above	158	12.5
Total	1261	100.0

Compared to the levels of school, LSSs have highest percentage of respondents in the ranges in the teaching profession. However, HSSs have the lowest percentage of respondents (10.1%) that falls within the range of 21 years and above compared to the MSSs and PSs (see Table 13).

Table 13 Respondents by No. of Years in Teaching Profession

No. of Years in Teaching Profession	HSS	MSS	LSS	PS	Total
0 to 10	95	171	242	254	762
	12.5%	22.4%	31.8%	33.3%	100%
11 to 20	43	81	114	103	341
	12.6%	23.8%	33.0%	30.2%	100%
21 and above	16	33	60	49	158
	10.1%	20.9%	38.0%	31.0%	100%
Total	154	285	416	406	1261

7.1.5. QUALIFICATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

Looking at the qualification level of respondents against the levels of schools, PSs have a higher number of teachers (47.5%) with qualification of class XII and below compared to HSSs with only 3.1%. However, teachers with a master degree are distributed almost equally across the levels of school except for PSs with 11.2%. In the case of teachers with a bachelor degree, it varies with a highest of 34.4% in LSSs, followed by PSs (27.9%), MSSs (25%) and lowest in HSSs with 12.7 % (see Table 14).

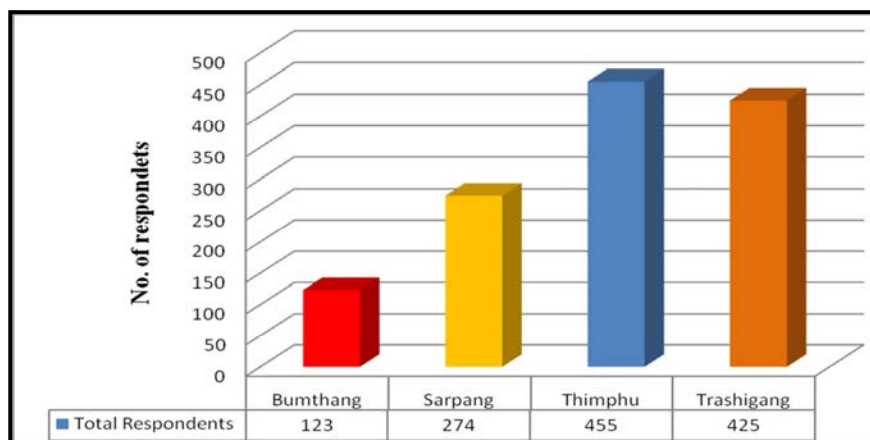
Table 14 Qualification of Respondents

Qualification of Teachers	Level of Schools				Total
	HSS	MSS	LSS	PS	
Master	52	44	39	17	152
	34.2%	28.9%	25.7%	11.2%	100%
Bachelor	89	176	242	196	703
	12.7%	25.0%	34.4%	27.9%	100%
Class XII and below	12	57	132	182	383
	3.1%	14.9%	34.5%	47.5%	100%
Total	153	277	413	395	1238

7.1.6. NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY SAMPLE IN DZONGKHAGS

From the total number of respondents of 1277 from the four sample dzongkhags, about 35.6% are from Thimphu, followed by Trashigang with 33.3%, Sarpang (21.5%) and the lowest are from Bumthang with 9.6% (see Figure 9). This variation is due to the number of schools as well as size of population in each of the dzongkhags. According to the MoE (2012b) there are 1257 teachers in Thimphu, 600 in Trashigang, 470 in Sarpang and 235 in Bumthang dzongkhags (a total of 2562 teachers in the four dzongkhags).

Figure 8 No. of Respondents by Sample Dzongkhags



7.1.7. RESPONDENTS BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLS AND DZONGKHAGS

The highest numbers of respondents at the schools level are from LSSs with 33.3% followed by PSs (32.2%) and the lowest from HSSs with 12.1% (see Table 15). This could be due to the high number of LSSs and PSs compared to the HSSs and MSSs in the sample dzongkhags. The trends at the national level are the same.

A comparison of the dzongkhags in relation to the levels of school reveals that Sarpang has highest number of respondents at HSSs (17.9%) and LSSs (45.5%). Thimphu has the highest number of respondents which stands at MSSs (29%) whereas Trashigang has highest number of respondents standing at PSs (44.2%). Therefore, the inconsistent distribution of respondents by the levels of schools may also affect the results from the analysis.

Table 15 Number of Respondents at School Level

Dzongkhag	Levels of School				Total
	HSS	MSS	LSS	PS	
Bumthang	15	32	31	45	123
	12.2%	26.0%	25.2%	36.6%	100%
Sarpang	49	52	124	49	274
	17.9%	19.0%	45.3%	17.9%	100%
Thimphu	43	132	151	129	455
	9.5%	29.0%	33.2%	28.4%	100%
Trashigang	48	70	119	188	425
	11.3%	16.5%	28.0%	44.2%	100%
Total	155	286	425	411	1277
	12.1%	22.4%	33.3%	32.2%	100%

7.1.8. TYPES OF SCHOOL

Out of 1277, about 76% of the respondents are from day schools while the rest are from boarding schools. In regard to the distribution of respondents within the levels of school, PSs have highest number of respondents of 39% coming from day schools and the lowest from HSSs at (6.8%). In contrast, LSSs have the highest number of respondents (35.9%) who come from boarding schools and the lowest from PSs at 9.2% (see Table 16).

Table 16 Respondents Rate from Boarding and Day Schools

Types of School	Level of School				Total
	HSS	MSS	LSS	PS	
Boarding school	88	80	110	28	306
	28.8%	26.1%	35.9%	9.2%	100%
Day schooling	67	206	315	383	971
	6.9%	21.2%	32.4%	39.4%	100%
Total	155	286	425	411	1277

7.1.9. LOCATION CATEGORIES OF THE RESPONDENTS

In so far as the Urban-Rural schools are concerned, the highest number of respondents from urban schools stands at HSSs (72.3%). On the other hand the highest numbers of respondents are from rural MSSs (see Table 17 for more details). Out of 1277 respondents about 49.3% are from urban, 36.3% from rural and 14.4% from remote areas.

Table 17 Location Categories of Respondents

Levels of school	Location Category of Respondents			Total
	Urban	Rural	Remote	
HSS	112	39	4	155
	72.3%	25.2%	2.6%	100%
MSS	147	135	4	286
	51.4%	47.2%	1.4%	100%
LSS	245	115	65	425
	57.6%	27.1%	15.3%	100%
PS	125	175	111	411
	30.4%	42.6%	27.0%	100%
Total	629	464	184	1277
	49.3%	36.3%	14.4%	100%

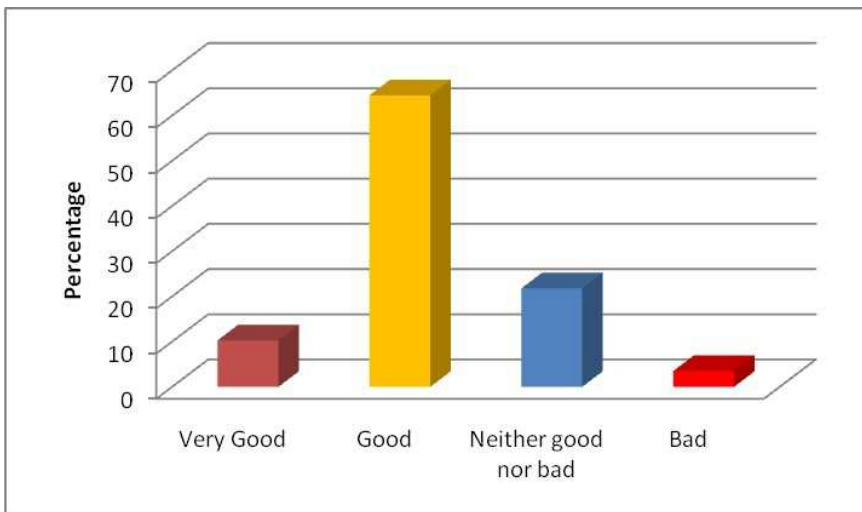
PART II: A COMPREHENSIVE DATA PRESENTATION

7.2. PERCEPTIONS ON EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES AND POLICY DECISIONS

Generally, teachers (n=1180) rated the existing education policy as good (64.5%) and about 10.3% rated the policy as very good. However, 3.5% also rated it as bad and about 21% of them indicated that it was neither good nor bad (see Figure 10). I can therefore be said that either this group of teachers do not know much about education policy or they did not want to express their opinion. This explanation is further supported by section 7.2.3.

On the other hand, the principals rated the existing education policy as good (n=94) at 76.6% while only a negligible percentage (1.1%) rated it as bad. About 12% of the principals also rated the policy as very good. This means that both principals and teachers share the same views that the existing education policy is generally good.

Figure 9 General Views on the Quality of Education Policy Guidelines



7.2.1. QUALITY OF EDUCATION POLICY BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

Table 18 shows the differing views and opinions about the quality of education policy guidelines by levels of schools. All levels of schools rated the quality of education policy guidelines are good, more than 70% stated that the quality of education policy guidelines is very good. Significantly about 78% of the PS principals' and teachers' rated it as good. However, there is no significant variation in rating the quality of policy guidelines within the levels of schools with the χ^2 value of 8.095 being far below the critical level of $\chi^2 = 12.59$ for $p = 0.05$. The p value calculated $p > 0.231$ is also much higher than 0.05 indicating that there is no variation in opinion about policy guidelines at the different levels of schools.

Table 18 Opinion of the Education Policy Guidelines by Levels of School

Levels of School	Quality of Education Policy Guidelines			Total
	Very Good + Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad +Very bad	
HSS	113	39	3	155
	72.9%	25.2%	1.9%	100%
MSS	214	65	7	286
	74.8%	22.7%	2.4%	100%
LSS	307	104	14	425
	72.2%	24.5%	3.3%	100%
PS	322	85	4	411
	78.3%	20.7%	1.0%	100%
Total	956	293	28	1277
	74.9%	22.9%	2.2%	100%

χ^2 8.095, $p < 0.231$

7.2.2. QUALITY OF EDUCATION POLICY BY LOCATION

About 80% of the principals and teachers in the rural areas opinioned that the quality of education policy guidelines is very good followed by 77.2% from remote areas and the lowest rating were from the urban teachers and principals at 70.4%. There were variations on the perceptions of quality of education policy guidelines at the different locations because χ^2 value of 15.225 is less than 0.004 indicating a strong relationship between opinions about the quality of education and the location of schools (refer Table 19).

Table 19 Opinion of Education Policy by Location of Schools

Location Category of School	Quality of Education Policy Guidelines			Total
	Very Good + Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad +Very bad	
Urban	443	171	15	629
	70.4%	27.2%	2.4%	100%
Rural	371	86	7	464
	80.0%	18.5%	1.5%	100%
Remote	142	36	6	184
	77.2%	19.6%	3.3%	100%
Total	956	293	28	1277
	74.9%	22.9%	2.2%	100%
$\chi^2 15.225, p < 0.004$				

While analyzing the specific policy as stated in Table 1.1 in appendix E, by comparing the scales ‘very good’ is rated quite low. However within the ‘very good’ scale, Educating for GNH is rated highest with 29.8%, followed by decentralization policy at 24.2% (detailed discussion in section 7.15) and the rest of the policies are rated lowest at about 18%.

A majority of the principals and teachers are of the opinion that all policies are ‘good’. The highest percentage in the ‘good’ scale is school infrastructure with 64.5%, followed by quality of education (62.5%), value education (61.5%) and rest of the policies are rated at 45%. In comparison to the other policies, finance in education was at 44.5% of the respondents rating it as ‘Good’. On the other hand 15.2% rated it bad indicating that ‘finance in education’ needs to be improved. Despite the good rating for school infrastructure (51.5%) and human resources management (50.4%), certain teachers also indicated that the facilities and services are bad and put them at 9.4% and 10.9% respectively. This means that certain schools still need the development of facilities while certain teachers are not satisfied with the human resource management.

7.2.3. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES

The degree of education policy understanding was categorized under the likert scale; ‘All’, ‘Somewhat’ and ‘Little’. ‘All’ indicated that principals and teachers know almost all the education policy guidelines adopted by the ministry, ‘Somewhat’ means they might have known the policy to a certain extent and ‘Little’ means having very little knowledge. Among the secondary school principals and teachers, the understanding of education policy within the likert scale of ‘All’

and ‘Somewhat’ have less variation within the range 43% to 47%. On the contrary, PS principals and teachers reported a better understanding of education policy with 53.8% (see Table 20). It is also interesting to note here that, HSS teachers have higher percentage of little knowledge (12.3%) of the education policy compared to PS teachers with 9.2%. However, 7.5% of LSS principals and teachers reported having less little knowledge about education policy among the all levels of schools. In general, the probability associated with the χ^2 value 13.740 is less than 0.033 indicating that there is a significant variation in level of knowledge of policy understanding within the levels of schools. If we look specifically at the degree of knowing all the policies among the principals (n=94) as leaders of schools, LSS principals rated highest with 87.5% while PS principals were lowest at 72%. There is also certain percentage of principals who have moderate knowledge of policies in all levels of school. About 2% of the PS principals fall under the category that have little knowledge of the policies (see the appendix E table 1.2). This suggests that there is some discrepancy in policy implementation by the principals in PSs and secondary schools because they are the key persons in the school expected to safeguard and implement policies passed down from the ministry.

Table 20 Understanding of Education Policy by Principals and Teachers

Levels of School	General Knowledge about Policy			Total
	All	Somewhat	Little	
HSS	68	68	19	155
	43.9 %	43.9%	12.3%	100%
MSS	125	137	24	286
	43.7 %	47.9%	8.4%	100%
LSS	197	196	32	425
	46.4%	46.1%	7.5%	100%
PS	221	152	38	411
	53.8%	37.0%	9.2%	100%
Total	611	553	113	1277
	47.8%	43.3%	8.8%	100%
χ^2 value 13.740, $p < 0.033$				

In total, about 48% of the principals and teachers indicated that they generally know almost all the education policy guidelines whereas about 43% reported that they somewhat knew while the rest had little understanding.

7.2.4. LOCATION CATEGORY OF OVERALL POLICY KNOWLEDGE

In regard to the location of the schools and their understanding of education policies, generally urban school teachers are expected to understand policies more

than their rural and remote counterparts because urban teachers seems to have more access to information and also they have more chances to interact with officials from the Ministry and Dzongkhag. However, in this research the opposite seems to have been the case. Fifty six percent of principals and teachers from the remote areas indicated that they understood the general education policy compared to their urban counterparts at 45% and 48.5% in the rural schools (refer Table 21). Therefore, the probability associated with the χ^2 value 7.346 is less than 0.119 showing that there is a significant variation in level of knowledge of policy understanding in terms of the location of schools. The same trend was observed while looking at the levels of school. It is unusual that teachers in urban areas have less knowledge of policy than their rural counterparts given that about 49% of respondents are from the urban areas. This is also in contrary to the view that urban teachers have information available to them as well as better access to communication facilities. Section 7.3 explains further about dissemination of policy information to schools.

Table 21 Policy Knowledge by the Location of Schools

Location Category of School	General Knowledge about Policy			Total
	All	Somewhat	Little	
Urban	283	290	56	629
	45.0%	46.1%	8.9%	100%
Rural	225	196	43	464
	48.5%	42.2%	9.3%	100%
Remote	103	67	14	184
	56.0%	36.4%	7.6%	100%
Total	611	553	113	1277
	47.8%	43.3%	8.8%	100%

χ^2 7.346, $p < 0.119$

7.2.5. KNOWING OF POLICY BY YEARS OF TEACHING

The level of policy knowledge was also compared to the number of years in the teaching profession (refer to Table 22). It seems that principals and teachers above 21 years in the teaching profession rated highest (63.3%) followed by 11 to 20 years (55.4%) and the lowest was 41.6%. However, there were also certain percentages of principals and teachers under different year brackets suggesting that they have moderate and little understanding of policies.

In total, 48.1% know all, 43.2% know somewhat and 8.7% know very little about the general education policy guidelines. Therefore, there is a strong co-relation

between number of years in the teaching profession and knowledge of the policy ($\chi^2 = 3.424$ and $p < 0.000$).

Table 22 Policy knowledge and No. of Years in Teaching Profession

No. of Years in Teaching	General Knowledge about Policy			Total
	All	Somewhat	Little	
0 to 10	317	364	81	762
	41.6%	47.8%	10.6%	100%
11 to 20	189	127	25	341
	55.4%	37.2%	7.3%	100%
21 and above	100	54	4	158
	63.3%	34.2%	2.5%	100%
Total	606	545	110	1261
	48.1%	43.2%	8.7%	100%

$\chi^2 3.424, p < 0.000$

7.3. MODE OF POLICY DISSEMINATION TO THE PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

New policies formulated must be disseminated for proper and uniform implementation to happen. Therefore, this analysis examined mode through which new policies are circulated to the principals and teachers. About 50% of the MSS and 40% of LSS principals and teachers reported that they first learnt about new policies from the media. However, within the range of 27% to 40% (see Table 23) all levels of school principals and teachers belonged to learnt about new policies from official letters from the ministry or from the DEOs. However, policies are also shared by principals in school meetings as indicated by one of the PS principals that “this year we didn’t discuss about the new policies but last year we discussed about the class PP admission”. From time to time principals and teachers also access information from workshops and colleagues.

Overall, about 39% of principals and teachers first learnt about new policies from the media, followed by official letters (33.8%) and the least from the workshops (2.6%). Therefore, the school levels do not determine the ease in access to information.

Table 23 First Sources of Policy Information

Levels of School	First Sources of Information					Total
	Official letters	Workshops & Meetings	Principal's announcement	Media & Newspapers	Friends	
HSS	53	5	25	52	3	138
	38.4%	3.6%	18.1%	37.7%	2.2%	100%
MSS	75	6	45	138	12	276
	27.2%	2.2%	16.3%	50.0%	4.3%	100%
LSS	124	5	99	162	13	403
	30.8%	1.2%	24.6%	40.2%	3.2%	100%
PS	157	15	76	121	23	392
	40.1%	3.8%	19.4%	30.9%	5.9%	100%
Total	409	31	245	473	51	1209
	33.8%	2.6%	20.3%	39.1%	4.2%	100%
χ^2 value 42.518, $p < 0.000$						

An analysis of the variations in the source of information on policy received by the principals and teachers in relation to the distance from the dzongkhag headquarters, it seems that principals and teachers located within the distances of 0 to 30km received more information from the different sources compared to schools located far away (see Table 24). Among the various information sources the workshops (71%) seem to score highest as the first source of information on policy. Even the furthest distance of 61 to 150km, the first source of information on policy is workshops (19.4%). However, the information reaching principals and teachers is not independent of the distance from the dzongkhag headquarters and sources of information indicated by $\chi^2 = 17.196$ and $p < 0.028$.

An analysis based on location and first source of information revealed that the rural principals and teachers received information first from workshops and conferences which was rated at 58.1% while the lowest was the media (29.2%). In the case of remote areas, the first source of information was from DEO offices rated at 29.3% while lowest was the media rated at (3%), contrary to urban schools.

In total, information always reaches the urban principals and teachers first (46.4%), followed by their rural counterparts (29.2%) and lastly to the remote areas (15.2%). This creates discrepancies in policy implementation in rural and remote schools

compared to the urban schools. It may also create variations in policy implementation based on the location of schools.

Table 24 First Sources of Information by Location Category

First Sources of Information	Location Category of School			Total
	Urban	Rural	Remote	
Official letter from the Ministry	156	122	56	334
	46.7%	36.5%	16.8%	100%
Workshops and conference	7	18	6	31
	22.6%	58.1%	19.4%	100%
Dzongkhag Education Office	20	33	22	75
	26.7%	44.0%	29.3%	100%
Principal's announcement	131	87	27	245
	53.5%	35.5%	11.0%	100%
News papers	54	45	10	109
	49.5%	41.3%	9.2%	100%
Television and radio	65	28	3	96
	67.7%	29.2%	3.1%	100%
Colleagues	19	25	13	57
	33.3%	43.9%	22.8%	100%
Internet (Web page)	109	106	47	262
	41.6%	40.5%	17.9%	100%
Total	561	464	184	1209
	46.4%	38.4%	15.2%	100%

Another variation has to do with first source of information on policy received by the principals and teachers in relation to the distance from the dzongkhag headquarters and the various locations of the schools. It seems that the principals and teachers located within the distances of 0 to 30km received more information from the different sources compared to schools located far away (see Table 25). Among the various information sources the workshops (71%) seems to score highest as the first source of information on policy. In relation to the furthest distance of 61 to 150km, the first source of information on policy was workshops (19.4%). However, access to information for principals and teachers was not independent of the distance from the dzongkhag headquarter and source of information as indicated by $\chi^2 = 17.196$ and $p < 0.028$.

Table 25 Information Received by Distance from Dzongkhag

Sources of Information	Distance from Dzongkhag to Schools			Total
	0 to 30 km	31 to 60Km	61 to 150km	
Official letter	258	99	51	408
	63.2%	24.3%	12.5%	100%
Workshops and conferences	22	3	6	31
	71.0%	9.7%	19.4%	100%
Principal announcement	173	39	32	244
	70.9%	16.0%	13.1%	100%
Media and News paper	298	111	64	473
	63.0%	23.5%	13.5%	100%
Colleagues and Friends	27	19	5	51
	52.9%	37.3%	9.8%	100%
Total	778	271	158	1207
	64.5%	22.5%	13.1%	100%

χ^2 value 17.196, $p < 0.028$

7.4. THE PREFERENCE OF POLICY DECISION

Policy decision is a key determining factor to successful policy formulation and implementation. About 73% of the teachers (n=1175) and 80% principals (n=94) prefer that government, in thorough consultation with the stakeholders and people, make policy decisions. However, only a small percentage of the teachers and principals prefer that policy decisions be taken either by the government (15.6%) or people (11.3%). A combination of the preferences of teachers and principals revealed that about 73% want policy decisions to be a joint effort of government and people (see Table 26).

Table 26 Preference of Education Policy Decisions

Preferred Decision	Teachers		Principals		Total	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Government	186	15.8	12	12.8	198	15.6
People	136	11.6	7	7.4	143	11.3
Both ways	853	72.6	75	79.8	928	73.1
Total	1175	100.0	94	100.0	1269	100.0

7.4.1. OPINION ABOUT DECISION-MAKING

The study reveals that a majority of the teachers (58.7%) indicated that policy decisions have mostly been made centrally by the MoE. About 21% of the teachers also indicated that decisions are taken during the AEC as well. 9.4 % of the teachers and principals opinioned that decisions were also taken in the NA. About 10% of the teachers (n=1135) mentioned that they don't know who makes policy decisions at the national level (see Table 1.3 in appendix E). This shows either they are lack of concern or non involvement in decision-making which may impact on policy implementation in the schools. The World Health Organization Coordinator in Bhutan expresses that "I think government is putting effort to reach out to people before the policy gets formulated which currently is top-down". She has an opinion that policy formulation became more open after democratization in 2008. Before the policy is formulated, several levels of public discussions were carried out even involving international agencies. However, one of the DEOs noted that "while framing the policies and plans, we call teachers from different schools and DEOs to the headquarters to discuss the policies and plans. It is developed there and once it is developed then sent to the dzongkhags for implementation". In this perception therefore it is right to conclude that teachers are involved in policy decisions although not all teachers may have participated in such processes.

7.4.2. SECTION SUMMARY

Generally the quantitative data indicate that the existing education policies are good but about 1% of the teachers have rated it is bad. Opinions however vary among different levels of school as well as the locations of the schools. Although they have rated most of policies are good but the percentages vary according to each policy.

In regard to the understanding of education policies, it seems that PS principals and teachers have more understanding about the policies than the secondary school principals and teachers.

Generally school teachers in the urban areas are expected to understand policy more than their counterparts in the rural and remote areas. Data however suggests that remote school teachers have a better understanding of the general education policies compared to their counterparts in the urban and rural schools. One of the reasons may be the small and close school communities in remote schools. They may also have more time to interact and discuss policy documents, circulars and so on sent by the MoE and other authorities. Since most of the remote schools have a smaller number of teachers, administrative matter in their schools might take more of their time. There are variations in understanding of policies in relation to the locations of school as well. Therefore, differences in levels of understanding of polices may affect uniform implementation in schools.

The number of years in the teaching profession also affects the understanding of policies. As the number of years in the teaching profession increases so does the understanding of policy. This could contribute to better policy implementation and shows that teachers are developing professionally.

Regarding policy dissemination, most of the principals and teachers indicated that they came to know about new policies first through the media. They indicated that information about new policies also comes from official letters from the ministry and the office of the DEO.

The principals and teachers prefer that policy decisions should be taken by the government after thorough consultation with the people. The respondents have opined that currently decisions are taken centrally by the ministry. However some of them also indicated that decisions are taken either in AEC or in Parliament. The data also revealed that some respondents are ignorant as to who makes policy decisions.

7.5. SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION: PERCEPTIONS OF PRINCIPALS

The study also sought to determine policy flows from the national level and the dzongkhags in relation to successful implementation by seeking the perceptions of teachers and principals. The data shows that DEOs quite often monitor the quality of education in the schools as indicated by 95.7% of the respondents. The DEOs also monitor and ensure that a good learning environment is fostered in the school as indicated by 90.3%. On the other hand 89.2% indicated that DEOs monitor overall school performance (see Table 27). Other components regarding the management of schools were also rated high by the principals with the lowest being 52.6%. With this result, it seems that DEOs make sure that the policies are implemented well in the schools and ensure that principals and teachers are convinced on the importance of the different policies. One of the DEOs asserted that “we visit schools twice in a year, one visit in the beginning and the next in the middle of the academic year. During this visit we check and evaluate and provide support if necessary”. However, there were a high percentage of the principals who indicated that DEOs seldom (39.8%) or never (5.4%) conducted meetings with teachers to discuss policy matters. There are also situations where DEOs seldom (24.7%) and never (12.9%) intervene when there are problems in the school as well as never (4.3%) and seldom (17.2%) acknowledge the effort of teachers. However, one of the DEOs had the opinion that “principals and teachers may not like it when we visit too much to their school. However, sometimes I pay a visit to schools, not basically to ask their problems, recently I went to a school to meet them and I said if you have any problem let us know, we are here to help you”. One of the principals also indicated that the DEO calls for meetings quite often where issues affecting the school are raised. “Recently, we had dzongkhag education conference

where we raised the issues. If we are not able to solve the issues it is forwarded to the annual education conference”. Overall, the average rating for ‘quite often’ was 79.3%, ‘seldom’ at 15.2%, ‘never’ at 3.6% and the lowest ‘don’t know’ was at 1.9% which means that DEOs monitor the school management policies often.

Table 27 Perception of Principals for School Management

School Management	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Don't know
i) DEO monitors overall school performance	0.0	9.7	89.2 (3)	1.1
ii) The DEO intervenes school level problems	12.9	24.7	61.3	1.1
iii) The DEO makes sure that all the teachers in the school are given equal opportunity to upgrade knowledge and skills	3.2	8.6	84.9	3.2
iv) The DEO acknowledges teachers for their special effort or accomplishments	4.3	17.2	77.4	1.1
v) The DEO monitors that a good environment is fostered in the school	1.1	6.5	90.3 (2)	2.2
vi) The DEO ensures that education quality maintained in the school	1.1	1.1	95.7 (1)	2.2
vii) The DEO conduct meeting with the teachers sharing policy matters	5.4	39.8	52.7	2.2
Viii) The DEO is concern school's health program	1.1	14.0	82.8	2.2
Average Percentage of Rating	3.6	15.2	79.3	1.9

7.5.1. PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS

Table 28 shows the perceptions of teachers on how school management policies are implemented in the schools by the principals. These perceptions are collected from the teachers of all school levels. Teachers indicated that 94% of principals ensure that teachers work towards the educational goals of the country. 93.3% indicated that principals and teachers work together to ensure that education quality issues are

a collective responsibility while 91.2% indicated that principals discuss overall educational goals with teachers in meetings.

Table 28 Perceptions of Teachers for School Management

School Management	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Don't know
i) The principal discusses overall educational goals with teachers in meetings	0.6	7.5	91.2 (3)	0.7
ii) The principal ensure that teachers work towards the educational goals of the country	0.3	4.4	94.0 (1)	1.4
iii) DEO monitors overall school performance	0.4	18.6	79.4	1.6
iv) The Principal intervenes when teachers have problems in the school	1.4	9.9	86.3	2.3
v) The principal makes sure that all the teachers in the school are given equal opportunity to gain knowledge and skills	1.7	9.8	85.5	3.0
vi) The principal acknowledges teachers for their special effort or accomplishments	1.9	11.5	85.2	1.4
vii) The principal ensures that a good environment is fostered in the school	0.5	6.7	91.6	1.2
viii) The principal and teachers act together to ensure that education quality issues are a collective responsibility	0.3	4.7	93.3 (2)	1.7
ix) Parents -Teachers meetings are conducted in my school	1.2	12.7	85.2	0.9
x) Most of the activities and works of the school are carried out through committees meetings	1.5	11.0	86.1	1.4
xi) The Principal exhibit transparency, accountability and efficiency in my school	2.4	7.7	87.2	2.7
Average percent	1.1	9.5	87.7	1.7

Among the perceptions, ‘quite often’ rates the highest in all items (70% to 94%). A similar pattern emerged in the rating by the teachers on how principals manage schools. The data indicates that the gap in terms of flow and implementation of policy is minimal between dzongkhag and the schools. However, certain teachers reported that DEOs seldom (18.6%) monitor the schools performance. The perception that, ‘seldom’ parents-teachers meetings are conducted, principals acknowledges teachers for their special effort or accomplishments and the activities and works of the school are carried out through committees meetings was at 12% as indicated in Table 28.

7.5.2. SECTION SUMMARY

The perception of principals seems to be positive that DEOs visit and monitor the schools often. The data also suggests that DEOs monitor the schools management regularly. The qualitative data indicates that DEOs conduct a minimum of two school visits in a year. DEOs have a feeling that visiting schools often and intervening in their daily administration may not be good for the schools. They also have limited time to visit each school as there are many schools under one dzongkhag.

The opinion of teachers towards principals are positive as principals ensure that everybody works towards achieving education goals, maintaining the quality of education, sharing information, acknowledging teachers hard work, making links with community, being transparent and running administrative matters well. However, certain teachers indicated that some principals seldom give attention to such polices.

However, by observing both the views of principals and teachers, it seems there is a gap between policy flows and its implementation which could be narrowed from the dzongkhag headquarter to the schools as they are agreeing that DEOs and principals rate the same in monitoring.

7.6. EDUCATION PROVISION

In general (see Table 29) access to education facilities and support received by the schools seem to be inconsistent with the education policy. However, in terms of ‘dzongkhag ensuring facilities to the schools’ was rated at 16.7% and was the lowest in the ‘Strongly Agree’ (SA) scale. The second lowest figure in the scale was 25% representing the special support received by the students based on location and economic status. Adhering to admission policy within schools stood third at 38.8%. Such views on the discrepancy in policy implementation were also shared by one DEO who stated that “regarding implementation and plans it is not uniform. It depends on the individuals – how they take it and how they put things. For example – the enrolment for class PP is 6 years but some schools accept 5 years and

7 months”. The same opinion was also shared by one of the PS principals who had the opinion that “I feel that policies are not implemented uniformly. In some schools children are admitted at very young age while some it is not”. However, the free tuition fee, text books (64.7%) and stationery in rural schools (58.9%) policies seem to be implemented well at various school levels. There were a certain percentage of principals and teachers who felt that policies are not implemented well in the schools at the average rate of 2.8% (Disagree [DA]) and 1.6% (Strongly Disagree [SDA]). This disagreement might indicate that there is an imbalance in resource allocation as one of the DEOs stated that “some schools have excess resources, we discussed in Dzongkhag Education Conference and decided to share resources to other schools”. A view of the individual scales indicates though that implementation is higher for certain policies. The average rate is about 50%. Therefore, it seems that access to education facilities and support needs to be strengthened further in some of the schools.

Table 29 Education Provision and Facilities Support

Education Provision	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
Tuition fees and text books are free in the school	64.7 (1)	24.7	6.8	2.3	1.5
Admission policy is adhere in the school	38.8 (3)	48.0	10.1	1.4	0.9
Rural school are provided free stationery	58.9 (2)	24.3	12.9	2.8	1.5
Dzongkhag ensure facilities of the school	16.7	49.9	27.3	3.8	2.3
School provides special support to students based on location and economic status	25.0	47.3	22.1	3.5	2
Total	204.1	194.2	79.2	13.8	8.2
Average Percentage	40.8	38.8	15.8	2.8	1.6

Combining two extreme scales (Table 30) reveals that tuition fees and text books are free in the schools and are therefore rated top in comparison to Table 29. Adherence to policy in admissions was second while provision of free stationery to rural schools was third as compared the second position assumed earlier in Table 29. Results in the lower scales are comparatively insignificant.

Table 30 Access to Education and Facilities Support

Access to Education	SA + Agree %	Neutral %	DA + SDA %
i) Tuition fees and text books are free in the school	89.4 (1)	6.8	3.8
ii) Admission policy is adhere in the school	86.9 (2)	10.1	2.4
iii) Rural school are provided free stationery	83.2 (3)	12.9	4.3
iv) Dzongkhag ensure facilities of the school	66.7	27.3	6.1
v) School provides special support to students based on location and economic status	72.4	22.1	5.5
Average Percentage	79.7	15.8	4.4

7.6.1. EDUCATION PROVISION BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

There are few variations in policy implementation with regard to provision of education by levels of school. One of the variations is that (item number 'iv' in Table 30) dzongkhags are not ensuring that schools have facilities. The probability associated with $\chi^2=10.005$ is more than 0.615 indicating that there is no strong relationship between whether or not the dzongkhag provides facilities to the different levels of school. This means that policy implementation in terms of provision of facilities varies at the different levels of schools (see Table 1.7 in appendix E).

The analysis is also made in comparison to the location of schools (urban, rural, and remote) and access to education. In this case, it was observed that policy implementation in urban, rural and remote schools are varied. However, with the exception of item no. i, there is no strong relationship irrespective of the location of schools (refer Table 1.9 in appendix E).

There are variations in policy implementation either in the levels of school or according to the location of schools.

7.6.2. SECTION SUMMARY

The quantitative data suggested that policy on access to education and its provision are implemented well in the schools. However, according to the levels of school implementation varies while the provision of facilities to the schools does not vary.

The study also found that the policy implementation varies according to the location of the schools while tuition fee and the supply of text books are uniform.

The qualitative data also shows that certain policies like PP admission are not applied uniformly across the schools. It was noted that some schools have more resources than others but after discussions amongst the principals, they seem to be able to share resources to those schools that are lacking resources.

7.7. SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The school curriculum is one of the important determinants in determining the quality of education. Generally, it seems that principals and teachers agree but do not 'SA', which means that the curriculum requires improvement.

Table 31 Summary Result of School Curriculum

School Curriculum	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i)The school curriculum is standard and comparable to international level	15.2	51.3	24.0	7.2	2.3
ii) Curriculum fulfils the general objectives of the nation	15.0	58.5 (1)	21.0	3.8	1.7
iii)Curricula are favourable in real classroom teaching	10.2	54.6	26.5	6.5	2.0
iv)The school curriculum promotes innovation, creativity, analytical thinking, skills, values and attitudes of the students	24.0	56.1(2)	14.8	3.9	1.1
v)The school curriculum caters to wide range of learning needs of the students including the ones with the special educational needs	16.1	53.6	22.3	5.9	2.0
vi) Curriculum is student friendly	17.0	54.7 (3)	22.7	4.4	1.2
vii)The school curriculum gives importance to assessments–both formative and summative	37.1	50.8	9.3	1.8	1.0

In rating data on the school curriculum, item no. ii obtained the highest percentage (58.5%) followed by item no.iv (56.1%) and then no.vi (54.7%) within the scale of

‘Agree’. However, principals and teachers also disagreed on certain issues relating to the school curriculum. About 7% seems to DA and indicated that the school curriculum is not standard and not comparable to the international standards (see Table 31 for more details).

7.7.1. SCHOOL CURRICULUM PERSPECTIVES BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

Analysis of different components of the school curriculum by the levels of school, reveal that most principals and teachers rated ‘Agree’ more than “SA’ to all items related to the curriculum, irrespective of the levels of school. Respondents from HSSs mostly rated ‘DA and SDA’ compared to other levels of school (see Table 1.10 to 1.16 in the appendix E). However, there are different perspectives about the curriculum which vary within the levels of school.

Responses from urban, rural and remote areas indicated that there were variations in perspectives with regard to curriculum design and implementation. However, item number (iv) and (vi) shows there were no variations in opinion irrespective of location. The data indicates curriculum policies are implemented well in the schools (refer Table 1.16 and 1.17 in appendix E).

7.7.2. SECTION SUMMARY

Most of the principals and teachers are generally positive about the school curriculum. They rated the curriculum as moderately good and legible.

However, there are different perspectives on the curriculum that vary at different levels of school. The views on curriculum design and implementation also seem to vary within the different school locations.

7.8. SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS

The health program has been integrated into the education policy therefore becoming an integral part of schooling system. In order to understand the success of school health program the opinion of principals and teachers was sought (see Table 32). Generally, school health programs seem to be on track because almost all the ratings are in the ‘SA’ and ‘agree’ scale. The highest percent was SA (71%) indicating that de-worming, vitamin and iron tablets are provided to the students. One of the UNICEF officials in Bhutan shares that they have conducted anaemia survey in 2003 and found out that about 86% of the children and 55% of women were anaemia. “We have done lots of interventions during the last ten years and I am sure we have improved a lot”. This could be the reason of having highest percentage regarding the iron tablets and other medicines. The second highest rating (68.8%) indicates that each student has a book in which they regularly maintain

their health record. However, the lowest percentage within the SA scale is item no.ii (22.5%) and vii (25.9%) which are also the highest in percentage in the DA scale. This indicates the health program might not be running effectively. This concern was also shared by officials from the Department of Youth Development Fund who lamented that “our teachers are overburdened in the field. At the moment the teachers are shouldering the responsibilities of health programs in the schools.

Table 32 Summary Result of School Health Programs

School Health and Emergencies	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) Health and physical education improve life of the students	38.0	49.9 (3)	10.9	1	0.3
ii)Comprehensive School Health Program is every much effective in the school	22.5	53.7(2)	20.5	2.4	0.8
iii) School Health In-charge/ Coordinator plays vital role for school health activities	39.0	47.2	11.5	1.6	0.6
iv) Annual school health check-ups are conducted	42.8	41.1	11.3	3.2	1.6
v) De-worming, vitamin and iron tablets are provided to students	70.9 (1)	24.4	3.5	0.5	0.7
vi) All students maintain health record book	68.8 (2)	24.7	4.8	1.3	0.4
vii)School based parenting education and awareness program is carried out	25.9	47.0	20.8	4.8	1.5
viii)School provides effective school health services to the students	31.6	54.8(1)	10.8	2.2	0.6
ix) School has prepared disaster management plan	51.3	40.9	6.5	1.1	0.2
ix) School has identified focal person for disaster management	55.8 (3)	35.1	7.1	1.4	0.5

There is also concern in the ministry how to reduce workload of teachers. Everybody in the field is not happy because so many things are coming in but at the moment there is no alternative and all these programs are beneficial for our students”. A similar view was shared by one of the school health coordinators; “I feel that almost all the teachers are overburdened because besides the usual teaching we have to look after the different activities. For instance, I am the health

coordinator and I look after any health related issues in the school. Sometimes when I carry out the health activities, I don't get time to teach my lesson". In order to carry out such extra-curricula activities in schools, teachers have to find time out of their tight teaching schedule.

The policy of having health activities in school is well intended but it must be noted that schools have their own activities which they are required to manage and these extra activities pose a problem in terms of time and space. One of the school health coordinators indicated that "for the school level, the Ministry of Health has designed the directives which will all help the children. All the guidelines suit the children. All activities are purposeful and helpful – only problem is that we are not able to implement it all". The activities seem to add more workload to the teachers who are already confronted with other challenges such as few staff leading to bigger workload. Although extra-curricular activities are important and useful to the students, such an extra workload is also likely to compromise the quality of teaching.

However, as reported by the Minister for Education, health is considered one of the important components that the schools need to integrate in their daily activities. He said that "healthy living is happy living, no one will be happy without good health". Therefore, the MoE is paying great attention to the health of students and considers this as a top priority.

7.8.1. SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

The study found PS principals and teachers are more positive about the health programs conducted in schools compared to the other levels of schools (see Table 1.8–1.27 in appendix E for details). The data suggests that there are variations in how health programs are conducted especially in HSSs and LSSs (see chi-square value in individual table from Table 1.8 to 1.27 in appendix E). However there is an exception in Table 1.18, in appendix E, which indicates that there is no strong relationship between whether or not health and physical education improve life of students with levels of schools ($\chi^2 = 20.800$, $P > 0.053$). This shows that irrespective of the levels of schools, there is agreement that health and physical education will improve the lives of students.

7.8.2. SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS BY LOCATION CATEGORY

The health programs as carried out in the different locations seem to record different results. Rural principals and teachers are 'SA' with the health programs conducted as opposed to their urban counterparts. However, urban schools were reported to conduct more health programmes in comparison to the rural and remote schools (refer to Table from 1.28 to 1.37 in the appendix E). Generally, there seems to be variations in how the various health programs in the schools are conducted in

different locations. One of the principals indicated that the “health of our students is fine or better when compared to remote schools”. However, with regard to particular items in the table showing the health programs running in the schools, four out of ten items indicate that there is no variation irrespective of their location, that is, item no. (i), (ii), (iv) and (viii) (refer Table 1.28, 1.29, 1.31 and 1.35 in the appendix E). Another PS principal also pointed out that “every Thursday we provide iron tablet and every six months gap we give de-worming tablets. Health officials such as health assistant, dental, eyes specialist visit our school on annual basis for the check-up”. Although there are variations in how the health programs are carried out within the levels of school and locations, the attitude towards the school health programmes is generally positive.

7.8.3. SECTION SUMMARY

Generally, the quantitative data suggested that school health programs are implemented well in schools. However, a negligible number of respondents reported concerns in relation to educating the parents on the same, annual health check-up and effectiveness of comprehensive health programs. The qualitative data suggested that ineffectiveness of such programs could be due to the already overburdened teachers who have to shoulder too many responsibilities besides teaching.

There seems to be variations in the implementation of such health programs within the different levels of schools and also as per the location of schools. However, the health and physical education programs are uniformly implemented across different levels of schools.

7.9. QUALITY OF EDUCATION

It is subjective to measure the quality of education. Nevertheless scholars have attempted to define quality of education by setting parameters around which it can be measured. An attempt has been made in this study based on the general perception of teachers, class size and access to teaching-learning resources to generate a tentative framework for measuring the quality of education. There are debates about the quality of education and the ministry is concerned about the quality of delivery of education in the schools. Table 33 shows that generally principals and teachers seem to agree that the quality of education is emphasized in all policies (57.7%). 42.1% of the respondents on this scale indicated that there is equal distribution of resources and 32.5% indicated that there is equitable distribution of resources. In this case, the ‘SA’ scale is insignificant when compared to ‘agree’ in terms of percentage.

However, there were also DA and SDA about the class sizes in the schools (DA-24.1%, SDA-19.2%), student-teacher ratio (DA-19%, SDA-21.1%) and access to

resource centres (DA-14.7%, SDA-8.4%) which indicates that these policies are not observed in the schools. One of the DEOs lamented that “there is major problem with regard to infrastructure. Class rooms are cramped and there are 40 to 50 students in one class”. This problem seems to be persistent in some of the schools in certain dzongkhags.

Table 33 Summary Result of Quality of Education

Quality of Education	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) Quality of education is focused on all categories of education policy	21.7 (1)	57.7(1)	16.9	2.8	0.8
ii) Student-Teacher ratio is followed in the school (1:32)	10.5 (3)	27.9	21.5	19.0 (2)	21.1 (1)
iii) Average class size of 32 students is followed in the school	13.5 (2)	24.6	18.3	24.5 (1)	19.2 (2)
iv) Teachers are accessible to Teacher Resource Center	8.4	32.5(3)	35.9	14.7 (3)	8.4(3)
v) School receives equitable resources	7.4	42.1(2)	32.2	12.6	5.7

When the two scales are merged (refer Table 34), the percentages seem to remain same, for example the agree scale in Table 33. The only exception is the class size in the lower scale. However, a significant number of principals and teachers remained neutral (see Table 34) because most of the policy decisions are made centrally and also school leadership and principals are administratively overburden and lack autonomy. Moreover, in CDS bureaucrats are guided by fixed rules and regulations in order to perform their duties diligently which means bureaucrats are empowered just to implement policies whether suitable or not in the field.

Table 34 Summary Result of Quality of Education

Quality of Education	SA +Agree	Neutral %	DA +SDA %
i) Quality of education is focused on all categories of education policy	79.4 (1)	16.9	3.6
ii) Student-Teacher ratio is followed in the school (1:24)	38.4	21.5	40.1(2)
iii) Average class size of 32 students is followed in the school	38.1	18.3	43.7 (1)
iv) Teachers are accessible to Teacher Resource Centre	40.9 (3)	35.9	23.4 (3)
v) School receives equitable resources	49.5(2)	32.2	18.3

7.9.1. QUALITY OF EDUCATION BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

In most of the items rated the PSs agree more compared to LSSs (refer Table 1.38 to 1.24 in the appendix E). HSSs and MSSs disagreed in relation to certain items such as average class size, student-teacher ratio and access to resources by teachers. This suggests that it is difficult to implement such policies in the secondary schools because a majority of these schools have enrolment pressure and a large number of students. One of the DEOs clarified this by pointing out that, “right now we have major problem with one of the lower secondary school in my Dzongkhag, which has got 1832 students from class PP to VIII with 67 teachers. Our teachers don’t have staff room due to the shortage of classrooms”. Generally there are variations in implementation of policies within different levels of school.

7.9.2. QUALITY OF EDUCATION BY LOCATION CATEGORY

Analysis based on location show a similar result to sub-section 7.10 because it seems that remote and rural schools agree more and are in disagreement with urban schools on most of the items (refer Table 1.43 to 1.47 in the appendix E). One of the principals of LSS located in urban area pointed out that “since we have large number of students in the class. It is very difficult to manage. In some classes we have about 52 students in one class”. The bigger number of students in urban schools might have been caused by rural-urban migration. In fact most of the PSs are located in remote areas while most secondary schools are located in urban and rural areas. This is supported by Table 17. However, there are differences in policy implementation within the different locations.

7.9.3. SECTION SUMMARY

Generally, principals and teachers are in agreement that the quality of education is emphasized in all education policies. However there is no agreement on the class size, student-teacher ratio and access to the resource centres. The qualitative interview also suggested that there are problems in schools such as inadequate infrastructure and large numbers of students with small classrooms.

There are variations in implementation of policy within the different levels of school in regard to average class size, student-teacher ratio and teachers' access to resources. The quantitative data shows that in many schools there are large numbers of students due to admission pressure coupled with a shortage of staff rooms and classrooms. The analysis based on location shows that remote schools are following policy guidelines as opposed to urban while rural schools find it difficult to implement the policy due to the large numbers of students coupled with inadequate infrastructure and admission pressure. In some schools they have as many as 52 students in one class which makes it difficult to conduct teaching-learning because of the inadequate facilities.

7.10. TEACHING-LEARNING RESOURCES AND ICT IN EDUCATION

Teaching-learning resources and ICT are emphasized in all schools. It is expected that all schools must have adequate teaching-learning resources and have access to computers with internet connection to in order to deliver quality education irrespective of the location of schools.

In regard to teaching-learning resources and ICT in education, principals and teachers simply agree rather than 'SA' (see Table 35). They agree rather than DA on access to such facilities in the schools. Particularly, within the agree scale, item no.v is top with 51.9% followed by item no. ii (50.4%) and then item no.iv (49.9%). The lowest rating within the agree scale is item no.iii (40.6%) which is also top in the DA scale (10.7%). This shows most schools are either do not have or are not equipped with computers and internet facilities. There are also certain percentages of DA with regard to the receipt of adequate textbooks and reference materials and school use of information technology in teaching and learning (see Table 35). About one third of schools are covered with an internet connection and about 68% of students have got textbooks adequately (Bedford, 2010).

Table 35 Teaching-learning Resources and ICT Facilities in Schools

Teaching-Learning Resources and ICT	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) School receives adequate textbooks, teachers' guide books and reference materials	26.4	47.5	15.5	8.7 (2)	2.0
ii) School has standing policy to take care of teaching-learning resources	21.3	50.4(2)	22.2	5.0	1.1
iii) School is equipped with computers and internet connection	21.3	40.6	20.6	10.7 (1)	6.8
iv) School uses information technology in teaching and learning	15.0	49.9(3)	22.6	8.3 (3)	4.1
v) Teachers are exposed to IT education for professional development in teaching	23.9	51.9 (1)	17.3	4.5	2.4
vi) ICT is emphasis in the school	21.6	48.4	20.9	5.7	3.4

7.10.1. TEACHING-LEARNING RESOURCES BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

The analysis of the access to teaching-learning and ICT facilities reveals that MSSs have more access to all these facilities followed by HSSs, LSSs and PSs (see Table 1.48 to 1.53 in appendix E). Nevertheless, PSs SDA on item no.i and ii with a higher percentage compared to other levels of school. However, PSs also SDA in the rest of the items such as item no.iii, iv, v and vi, which are all related to computers and information technology suggesting that most of the PSs may not have these facilities.

Generally, it can be observed that there are great variations regarding access to teaching-learning resources and ICT facilities within the different levels of schools. This variation is shown by the chi-square value of the different items analysed according to the levels of schools in each table (see table 1.48 to 1.53 in appendix E).

7.10.2. TEACHING-LEARNING RESOURCES BY LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

It seems that both the urban and rural schools' principals and teachers are in agreement in almost all the items with high percentages. However an insignificant percentage of urban principals and teachers do not agree with regard to the item relating to adequate supply of textbooks and policy guiding teaching-learning resources in the schools (see Table 1.54 to 1.49 in the appendix E).

It is significant to note that remote schools have rated SDA with almost all the items of teaching-learning resources. One of the reasons cited is that most of the remote places are either not connected to electricity or the internet. Therefore, given the different geographical locations of schools, access to such facilities might be varying. The chi-square value of each table also shows that there are variations in availability of teaching-learning resources in the different school locations (see Table 1.54 to 1.49 in the appendix E).

7.10.3. SECTION SUMMARY

There are agreements that teaching-learning resources and ICT are available in most of the schools. However certain percentages of principals and teachers felt that some schools are either not equipped with computers or internet facilities. Some of the principals and teachers did not agree that schools received adequate textbooks and references materials. The study also notes that there are variations within the different levels of schools regarding access to teaching-learning resources and ICT facilities in the schools. It seems that HSSs have almost all the resources in place compared to the other levels of schools.

The analysis based on location shows that urban and rural schools are equipped with almost all the teaching-learning resources and ICT facilities but remote schools significantly show that they are deprived of such resources and facilities. Therefore, geography plays a vital role in the distribution of facilities to the schools as most of the remote schools are not connected with electricity or internet facilities.

7.11. SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE

The school infrastructure such as classrooms, games and sports facilities, toilets, drinking water supply and furniture are the key components in promotion of better learning. A majority of respondents agree than SA to these components (see Table 36). Most of the principals and teachers indicated that schools have basic minimum sporting facilities (54.1%) followed by schools have safe and conducive learning environment in place (52.3%) and waste is properly managed (50.7%), compare to other items. Although the percentages may be insignificant, there were those not in

agreement on issues such as (see Table 36) adequate toilets (7.8%), safe and adequate drinking water supply (6.5%) and adequate furniture (6.1%) which means that such infrastructure require attention in certain schools.

Table 36 School Infrastructures

School Infrastructures	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) School has safe and conducive learning environment in place.	31.0	52.3 (2)	12.3	3.4	1.0
ii) Basic minimum sporting facilities (indoor/outdoor) including sports equipment are there in the school	19.1	54.1(1)	18.0	6.1 (3)	2.8
iii) There are adequate toilet facilities in the school	28.6	47.1	14.7	7.8 (1)	1.7
iv) School has safe and adequate drinking water supply	27.9	49.8	14.2	6.5 (2)	1.6
v) Waste is properly managed in the school	36.1	50.7(3)	10.9	1.9	0.4
vi) There are adequate furniture in the school (chairs, tables, blackboard etc)	30.6	47.6	13.5	6.1 (3)	2.3

7.11.1. SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURES BY LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

While observing individual items by the levels of schools, all the levels SA or agree in high percentages except the LSSs which comparatively rated lower percentages in the categories with high percentages (see Table 1.60 to 1.65 in appendix E). Although the percentage of respondents might be insignificant, out of five, four items in the lower scale rated SDA and DA by the LSSs and minimum of one item is rated DA by the HSSs and MSSs as well. It seems that secondary schools need improvement in infrastructure and PSs almost have adequate infrastructure according to this analysis since about 55 lower and middle secondary schools have no laboratory where as only 59% of schools have electricity connectivity and about 70% of schools have adequate water supply (Bedford, 2010).

7.11.2. SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE BY LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

Generally, the higher scale (SA and agree) were rated with highest percentage in all three locations – urban, rural and remote compared to the lower scale (DA and SDA). However in the remote schools certain percentages seem to be higher in the lower scale such as item no. ii, iii, v and vi (see Table 1.66 to 1.71 in appendix E). This suggests that in the remote schools there are inadequacies of games and sports facilities, toilets, furniture as well as poor waste management systems. The Chi-square value of each table also shows that infrastructure in schools vary according to the location of the schools.

However, one of the principals in an urban school indicated that they experience problems with disposing waste as well as inadequate toilet facilities due to the large number of students. “I have more than one thousand students but there are only three toilets in my school”, lamented the principal of the LSSs located in an urban area. Not only do facilities vary with location of schools but also variations within the same level of schools exist. Other sources also indicate that disparities persist regarding educational provision in regional and rural-urban areas (Bedford, 2010).

7.11.3. SECTION SUMMARY

There is agreement among the principals and teachers that schools have basic minimum facilities such as adequate classrooms, games and sports facilities, toilets, drinking water supply and furniture. A negligible number of respondents disagree which indicates that some schools might be missing such facilities.

There are variations in the availability of facilities among levels of schools. It seems that secondary schools need improvement in infrastructure but PSs reported to be having adequate facilities. In regard to the different location of schools, it seems that remote schools lack games and sports, toilets, furniture facilities and have poor waste management systems compared to urban and rural schools.

7.12. HUMAN RESOURCE

Rating of the human resource showed that they significantly agree more than SA. The highest percentage indicated that schools have an adequate number of subject competent teachers (50.5%) followed by staff development programs are conducted very often in schools or at national level (45.5%) while the lowest was that teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional & academic qualifications together with the MoE ensures HR policy is uniformly applied across the country, both scoring 41.1%. However there was also no agreement with certain human resource policies as indicated by the moderate response in item no. iii, although the percentages are insignificant (see Table 37). According to Bedford (2010) schools encountering have teacher’s shortage and they lack training

capacity. Most of teacher shortages are found in remote and difficult to access areas due to seeing fewer opportunities for professional development. Teachers felt low professional esteem and they are overburdened and they feel inadequately compensated according to the responsibilities they shoulder.

Table 37 The Human Resource

Human Resources Policy	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) MOE ensures HR policy is uniformly applied across the country	13.2	41.0	35.2	7.4 (3)	3.2
ii) Staff development program is conducted very often in school or at national level	12.4	45.5(2)	31.7	8.0 (2)	2.4
iii) Teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications	14.7	41.1(3)	28.3	11.5 (1)	4.4
iv) School has adequate subject competent teachers	17.8	50.5(1)	22.5	7.2	2.0

7.12.1. HUMAN RESOURCE RELATED ISSUES BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

While analysing data on human resource issues by the levels of schools, PSs seemed to agree to almost all the questions asked by the researcher thereby scoring the highest percentage while HSSs seemed to agree with only one question - 'adequate subject competent teachers' thereby scoring 55.5% compared to other levels of schools. Although the DA scale percentages may be low compared to the upper scale, secondary schools rated highest in most of the items (see Table 1.72 to 1.75 in appendix E). In general, the chi-square value of each table in appendix E (Table 1.72 to 1.75) shows that there are variations in the implementation of human resource policy in different levels of schools.

7.12.2. HUMAN RESOURCE RELATED ISSUES BY THE LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

Most urban and rural schools indicated that human resource policies are implemented properly in the schools compared to the remote schools. However, there are some principals and teachers in the remote schools who indicated that the human resource (HR) policy and staff development programs are not uniformly implemented in schools (see Table 1.67 to 1.79 in appendix E). Generally it seems

that there are variations in the implementation of the HR policy in the different school locations except for item no.ii where there are no variations in the implementation of HR policy irrespective of the locations of schools. The probability associated with the Chi-square statistic 6.616 is more than 0.579 indicating there is no strong relationship between human resource policy and the locations of schools (see Table 1.77 in appendix E).

Utilizing the CDA perspective in analyzing newspaper articles indicates that teachers constituted 96.93% of the total workforce of the ministry but only 44.83% got ex-country short-term trainings. There were also instances that training was not fairly distributed and about 52% of the teachers felt that the selection criteria were not followed in the Ministry. The report shows that about 70% of the teachers were not aware of trainings opportunities and other HRD programs such as promotion rules, transfers, entitlements etc. especially teachers in remote areas. There were problems where teachers were delayed in processing for trainings, promotions and transfers due to the lack of communication (Business Bhutan, April 16, 2011).

7.12.3. SECTION SUMMARY

Most of the principals and teachers are in agreement that HR policies are implemented well in the schools. However, about 11% of them DA that teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications.

A comparison of the different levels of schools reveals that there are variations in the implementation of HR policies across the schools. It can be noted that some secondary school principals and teachers are in agreement that certain HR policies are not uniformly implemented. Within the different locations of schools, some remote school principals and teachers have the opinion that HR policy and staff development programs are not uniformly implemented in schools.

7.13. STUDENT ENRICHMENT AND SUPPORT PROGRAMS

The MoE aims at providing ‘wholesome education’ to every student thereby making student enrichment and support programs in schools important. Principals and teachers indicated that almost all the student support programs are running well in the schools (see Table 38 for details). Some principals and teachers DA with item no. iii (8.2%), iv (6.2%) and v (4.7%) which indicates that some schools appear to lack a guiding and counselling program, scouting program as well as allocated periods for physical education and sports (see Table 38).

Table 38 Student Enrichment and Support Programs

Student Enrichment and Support Programs	SA %	Agree %	Neutral %	DA %	SDA %
i) Students are engaged fully in extra-curricular activities	29.1	55.0 (1)	12.1	3.0	0.9
ii) School ensures that students are abiding the students' code of conduct.	38.9 (3)	52.8 (2)	6.7	0.9	0.7
iii) School is equipped with counselling and guidance program	19.2	48.1	22.5	8.2 (1)	2.0
iv) School has scouting program	35.9	43.3	11.2	6.2 (2)	3.4
v) Physical education and sports periods are allocated	45.1 (2)	40.1	8.0	4.7 (3)	2.1
vi) Equal opportunities are given for both boys and girls for any activities in the school	56.0 (1)	38.4	4.3	0.6	0.6
vii) School encourages parents to educate their children at home	36.9	46.6	13.6	2.1	0.7
viii) School has good relation with community	36.5	48.6 (3)	12.4	1.9	0.6

7.13.1. STUDENT ENRICHMENT AND SUPPORT PROGRAMS BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

There are not many variations in regard to the implementation of student enrichment and support programs by the levels of schools. Irrespective of the levels of schools, principals and teachers reported that student support programs are implemented well in the schools (see Table 1.80 to 1.87 in appendix E). However, PSs' principals and teachers were in disagreement with two items, that is: (i) schools are equipped with guidance and counselling program and (ii) schools have a scouting program, and rated more than 10% in DA scale. This could be true because PS students might not face disciplinary challenges like secondary students because of their relatively young age and moreover, PS students might also be too young to participate in scouting programs. It could be that such programs require more attention in the PSs. Furthermore, scouting programmes were only introduced in PSs very recently.

However, the student support programs vary significantly within the different levels of schools evidently shown by the chi-square value in each table in the appendix (see Table 1.80 to 1.87 in appendix E).

7.13.2. STUDENT ENRICHMENT AND SUPPORT PROGRAMS BY LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

The student enrichment and support programs according to the location of schools shows that the programs are implemented well indicated by the significant percentage of the principals and teachers who SA and agree irrespective of their locations (see Table 1.88 to 1.95 in appendix E). However, the remote schools are in the DA scale as shown in item no. iii and iv, this could be because these schools are located in remote places.

The data reveals that there are variations in the implementing of student support programs in different locations of schools as shown by the chi-square value in the individual table in the appendix (see Table 1.88 to 1.95 in appendix E). However, irrespective of their locations the physical education and sports period allocated in the schools show no variation (see Table 1.92 in appendix with $\chi^2 = 7.209$, $p > 0.541$) which means that whether the schools are located in urban, rural or remote areas, every school ensures that they allocate time for physical education.

7.13.3. SECTION SUMMARY

The data shows the student enrichment and support programs are implemented well in the schools. However, certain percentages of principals and teachers indicated that programs such as guidance and counselling, scouting and period allocated for physical education and sports are not functioning well. Such programs also vary in implementation according to the levels of schools for example, in PSs counselling and scouting may not be necessary as students are very young. There is no variation observed in schools located in urban, rural and remote areas.

7.14. GNH PRACTICE IN SCHOOLS

Since the concept of educating for GNH started in 2009, schools across the country have been trying to implement GNH in the curriculum, pedagogy and almost all the activities of the school. This study found that most of the principals and teachers are of the opinion that the curriculum is designed with GNH values (90.2%), they try to infuse GNH in teaching-learning process (93.8%) and also they seek help from their colleagues regarding the GNH (91%) (see Table 39). One of the principals pointed out that “GNH values are incorporated in our teaching”. The same opinion was shared by one of the DEOs who indicated that, “GNH is integral part of lesson plan and curriculum”. Although the percentage is insignificant, some principals and teachers also reported that they never or seldom applied GNH and also do not know

GNH. One of the officers from the GNHC revealed that “firstly, to make understand about GNH to teachers is the biggest challenge and so far we have trained 12 teachers; still we have some more teachers to be trained”. The CDA of text shows that teachers generally know the four pillars of GNH but still need more effort on implementation of GNH principles and values in their school practice (Bedford, 2010). For the effective implementation of GNH principles and values it is very important that first principals and then teachers to understand GNH concepts clearly. Yet GNH is not mature to be introduced in the schools. For the effective implementation of GNH, teachers must develop capacity and formulate plans for transforming their own practice in schools rather than listening to lectures about GNH. Compared to other subjects it seems that to infuse GNH in mathematics and science class is more challenging for teachers. It indicates that GNH in the schools needs further promotion as well as developing the understanding among teachers in order to successfully infuse GNH in schools.

Table 39 GNH Practice in Schools

Self-Involvement and GNH	Never %	Seldom %	Quite often %	Don't know %
i) Curriculum caters national values and ethos of Educating for GNH	0.5	8.2	90.2	1.1
ii) I applied GNH in my teaching	0.5	4.9	93.8	0.2
iii) I seek help from colleagues when I am not sure of certain decisions to be made with relation to GNH	1.3	7.2	91.0	0.6

The practice of GNH marginally varies within the employment categories of the teachers; 95.1% of the regular teachers indicated that they applied GNH while teaching compared to the contract teachers (89.6%) and temporary teachers (90.3%). This variation is further validated by the chi-square value ($\chi^2 = 15.667$, $p < 0.047$) which indicated that there is a strong relationship between teaching GNH and types of employment. In analysing the seldom scale; contract (9.8%) and temporary (9.7%) teachers, have rated highest compared to the regular teachers which further denotes that GNH implementation is comparatively affected by the type of employment (see Table 40). Since contract and temporary teachers are recruited as and when needed and because they are mostly expatriates, they might not be aware of how to integrate GNH in the teaching-learning processes. This also substantiates why they responded in the never, seldom and don't know scales (see Table 40).

Table 40 GNH Practice by Types of Employment

Types of Employment	I Applied GNH in My Teaching				Total
	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Don't Know	
Regular	5	45	1046	3	1099
	0.5%	4.1%	95.1%	0.3%	100%
Contract	1	14	128	0	143
	0.7%	9.8%	89.6%	0%	100%
Temporary	0	3	28	0	31
	0%	9.7%	90.3%	0%	100%
Total	6	62	1202	3	1273
	0.5%	4.9%	94.5%	0.2%	100%

χ^2 15.667, $p < 0.047$

7.14.1. GNH PRACTICE BY LEVELS OF SCHOOL

In regard to the levels of school, principals and teachers of PSs indicated that they were positive about GNH practice (see Table 1.96 to 1.98 in appendix E). There are variations in GNH practices in different levels of schools except in appendix E in Table 1.97 ('I applied GNH in my teaching') which shows that there is no variation in practice of GNH irrespective of levels of schools. This is indicated by the chi-square value of $\chi^2 = 9.492$ ($p > 0.660$) in the table. This shows that every teacher is trying to apply GNH while teaching.

7.14.2. GNH PRACTICE BY LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

An analysis of GNH practice in schools reveals that the location of schools does not play a role since most principals and teachers indicated that GNH is infused into the curriculum, they often apply GNH in their teaching and they seek help if they are not sure of how to relate GNH to their teaching. One of the DEOs reported that "GNH is an integral part of lesson plan and curriculum". However, some teachers indicated that they never or seldom applied GNH or don't know GNH irrespective of their locations (see table 1.99 to 1.101 in appendix E).

In general, there seems to be no variation regarding the practice of GNH according to the location of the schools. There is an exception in Table 1.98 in appendix E showing that there is variation within the different levels of schools. It indicates that certain teachers do not seek help from their colleagues to help them apply GNH in their teaching.

7.14.3. SECTION SUMMARY

Most of the principals and teachers are opinioned that GNH values and principles are infused into the curriculum and that teachers try to incorporate GNH in teaching-learning process. Moreover, if teachers are in doubt about GNH pedagogy they also try to seek help from their colleagues. The DEOs support teachers to incorporate GNH in their teaching-learning process.

However, in comparison of the type of contract teachers and the practice of GNH in teaching, it was revealed that most of the teachers on contract and temporary basis seldom use GNH in their teaching as compared to the regular teachers. Therefore, this may affect the uniform implementation of GNH in teaching-learning process in schools.

Within the different levels of schools, there is not much variation in the practice of GNH. Schools try to incorporate GNH in their daily teaching-learning life irrespective of their locations.

7.15. DECENTRALIZATION POLICY

The decentralization process was started in 1981. Since then the government has tried to disseminate this policy to every government organization for better functioning and implementation of policies. Generally, in schools this policy seems to be adopted as most of the principals and teachers seem to have a positive view on the decentralization policy (see Table 1.1 in appendix E). However, there were views shared by DEOs and principals that decentralization is not fully implemented according to the mandate. One of the DEOs indicated that “on paper everybody says decentralized but I don’t agree it is not fully decentralized, in some areas it is not decentralized. For example, deployment of teachers – Dzongkhags are given number of teachers and we have authority to place to different schools we don’t have authority to retain the needed teachers”. A similar opinion was also shared by one of the urban PS principals. “I think decentralization in principle is there but in reality I don’t think decentralization is actually taking place in Ministry of Education because we have policies which are circulated from top. The decisions are made from top. The budget is send from top whether it is enough or not. It is all top-down process. My concept of decentralization is not something like this. I thought the school should work their own”. Similar views were conveyed irrespective of the levels of schools. One of the HSSs principal indicated that “I don’t agree with decentralization policy because in MoE most of the policies are from top-down. MoE seeks suggestions from teachers and principals but their suggestions are not considered”. This was the position taken by one of the principals of LSS who pointed out that “I think not much has been decentralized in case of education. We always work under their directives”. GNHC officers also shared similar views about the implementation of decentralization in the

dzongkhags and schools. The Minister of Education said that the government emphasises on decentralization and it has to be implemented in all levels of schools so that principals can be able to take decisions. He also said that minimum financial and decision-making authority will be given to the schools' leaders along with enhancing their leadership qualities.

There are reasons for not being able to decentralize fully. Some respondents indicated that decentralization is not taking place due to the lack of human capability in the dzongkhags and towns. As mentioned by one of the DEOs "At present we don't have that much capacity but in long run if we have capacity we will decentralize". An officer from GNHC had the opinion that plans are normally generated from the bottom and their responsibility is to monitor whether they fulfil the overall GNH goals or not. She pointed out that "based on the implementation capacity we send back the plans and policies and they are the one to implement". A PS principal while asserting that decentralization is in place said that "now the decisions and policies are not top-down, however, sometimes we received order without any prior information and consultation. Of course in my school we are following decentralization in most of the activities". The MoE has planned to enhance decentralization through strengthening the school management boards and by providing training to the school leaders to become more accountable.

Though the statistics shows that decentralization is functioning well, there is room for improving the way it functions, especially the planning and decision-making of the policies.

7.15.1. SECTION SUMMARY

There are views that decentralization in the education system has not matured and many principals, teachers and DEOs have opinioned that real decentralization has not taken root in the education system. Some of the principals further expressed that decentralization remains on paper but in reality all directives and decisions come from the central ministry. A similar opinion was shared to the fact that decentralization in the true sense is not happening within the MoE irrespective of the levels and locations of the schools.

7.16 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Generally, principals and teachers agreed that existing education policies are good however percentages vary according to each policy. Even the understandings of overall policies vary where PS principals and teachers have more understanding than staff at secondary schools. Remote school teachers have a better understanding of general education policies compared to their counterparts in the urban and rural areas. The policy understanding is also determined by the number of years in

teaching service. Therefore, differences in levels of understanding may affect uniform policy implementation in schools.

The policy flows to schools through different medium; however principals and teachers came to know about new policies first through media, then from official letters.

Many of the policy formulation and decisions are taken centrally by the Ministry of Education similar to CDS and also follow a top-down policy implementation model. It is therefore preferred that policy decisions are taken by the government after thorough consultation with staff in schools.

It also observed that there lies a gap between policy flows and its implementation as DEOs fail to visit some of the remote schools to monitor policy implementation. There are also certain teachers indicating that some principals seldom give attention to some policies. This may affect uniform policy implementation in schools.

There are variations of educational facilities in schools. It seems that remote and rural schools are comparatively lacking necessary facilities and also teaching-learning resources.

Regarding the curriculum, most of the principals and teachers are generally positive and rated that it is moderately good and legible. However, opinions vary according to the levels and location of schools.

Generally, schools health program are implemented well but teachers felt burdened to carry out the activities. Looking at the levels of schools it does vary where remote and rural schools are lacking some of the health activities.

Most of the teachers do not agree with the policy of class size, student-teacher ratio, and access to the resource centers. As many schools have to handle more number of students with less teachers and also lack of teaching-learning resources. It is also evident that most of the remote and rural schools are lacking ICT facilities, no internet and electricity connection, even lacking textbooks and reference materials.

It was also shown that most of the remote schools have inadequate facilities for games and sports, toilets, furniture and poor waste management. Nevertheless, some of the LSSs are also facing shortage of toilets and classrooms.

About the HR policy, some of the teachers felt that they are not given adequate opportunity to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications. The teachers at different levels of schools have the opinion that HR policies are not implemented uniformly across the levels and location of schools.

The overall student enrichment and support programme are implemented well in schools however counselling, scout and physical education programmes seem to be not implemented uniformly across the schools.

It seems that GNH values and principles are practiced well in schools and also teachers try to infuse in their daily teaching. However, variation are there as per the experience of teachers and also their understanding level. The GNH values and principles, culture and traditional values are an intergral part of the Bhutanese education system in order to promote national identity and social cohension which is similar to the role of education in CDS. Therefore the role of education in CDS is not only enhancing economic growth but also to promote cultural and traditional values of the country which basically intends to create national identity and integration.

Decentralization is an important process for successful and uniform policy implementation. However, in MoE decentralization is just on the paper. It seems that all directives and decisions are made centrally which is the charateristics of CDS where the state formulates and plans most of the policy. Many of the principals shared that decentralization is not functioning well in the Bhutanese education system as most of the policy decisions are taken centrally by the ministry.

Chapter 8. ANALYSIS OF THE CDS IN THE BHUTANESE EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION

The first section of this chapter explains the general policy objectives of education. The second section describes the perceptions on education policy formulation and decision-making. The third section discusses the understanding levels amongst principals and teachers with regard to education policy guidelines. The fourth section explicitly portrays the status of decentralization within the education system and presents views from principals and teachers including respondents from the MoE and GNHC. Fifth section presents the respondents' perceptions on the vertical and horizontal policy flow. Section sixth explains critical perceptions about the policy flow by the principals and teachers. Section seventh is a discussion about education provision in terms of tuition fee, text books and stationery in order to determine whether or not they are consistent with the policy guidelines. Section eight examines perceptions on the quality of the school curriculum. Section ninth discusses how far the schools maintain STR, class size, teachers' access to resources as well as fair distribution of resources. Section tenth makes an argument on the distribution of teaching-learning resources in schools while section eleventh examines the sufficiency of infrastructure in schools. Section twelfth discusses the HR policy aspects of the ministry and section thirteenth explains school health programs. Section fourteenth discusses extra-curricula activities in schools. Section fifteenth provides Bhutanization of education system and curriculum reforms including pedagogies, assessments and different teaching-learning approaches. Section sixteenth observes the GNH practices in schools. Section seventeenth discusses the validity and reliability of sample data and the last section presents a summary of the analysis.

8.1. THE OBJECTIVES OF POLICY GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATION

The objectives of Bhutan vision 2020 are guided by six principles; identity, unity and harmony, stability, self-reliance, sustainability and flexibility, which are implemented within the framework of GNH philosophy. The objectives explicitly explain that the central government functions to promote human development, cultural heritage, harmony and equitable development, good governance and environmental conservation. The education sector is central within the vision's objectives by providing appropriate knowledge and skills which include inculcating rich cultural values and heritage as well as also teaching student ethical and moral values. This is similar to Max Weber's ideas of the state upholding certain institutions to maintain order and social stability through a national vision and common objectives. Such a vision helps in the nation-building process as Heywood

(2007) explains that due to diversity in culture, ethnicity and race it is challenging in general to establish national unity. This can also be understood in relation to the state-led development strategy with special reference to the CDS that aims at maintaining a stable political system, economic growth and social security. Moreover, education reforms in CDS mainly focus on promoting national identity and citizenship of a nation by providing values and moral education besides the formal education which is stated in the vision statement of the country. Therefore, education policy guidelines are guided by long term and short term goals such as GNH philosophy, Bhutan 2020 and the MDGs where different actors contribute to policy formulation and decision-making processes.

8.2. POLICY FORMULATION AND DECISION-MAKING

The analysis reveals that the education policies are formulated by the MoE. The majority of the policy decisions are made centrally by the MoE, revealing the prevalence of a top-down model of policy implementation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975; Mazmanian & Sabatiers, 1918, 1983, 1989; & Bardach, 1977; & others). In such cases policy is assumed to flow uniformly from the central government in the form of regulations and instructions for implementation. This can also be related to the role of the modern state where power is concentrated at the central administration. Max Weber perceives the modern state as “the bureaucratic organization of authority and domination...as the central political organization, the state is first and foremost the dominant organization of society” (Lee, 1988, p.12). Therefore, the modern state is a legitimate form of governance where power is concentrated in a centralized political system. This discussion can also be related to the CDS where it is believed that the state must have a powerful centre and intervene in policy formulation and implementation. Moreover, it is expected that CDS should be highly state centric and endowed with a large and competent bureaucrats in order to implement policy successfully. However, in the study about 73% of the teachers and 80% of the principals preferred that policy decisions taken by the government should be changed and taken in consultation with the stakeholders. A majority of the principals and teachers indicated that most of the policy decisions are taken centrally and about less than 21% of them felt that it is either taken during AEC or in the NA.

The data analysis also showed that teachers are not clear about who makes policy decisions as some teachers indicated that decisions are made in AEC while some had the opinion that it happens in the NA. A few equally mentioned that they don't know. Although public bureaucrats play a decisive role in policy implementation in the modern state, they do operate and deliver services according to the fixed rules and procedures in a well established hierarchical order. This may affect the successful implementation of policy due to the lack of flexibility in implementation. There is also indication that education policies come from different actors such as

REC, GNHC and from the donor agencies therefore requiring the MoE to adjust policy as per the recommendations from the different actors and institutions.

However, the state tries to promote state autonomy (capacity and insulation) which Evans called “State embeddedness” in order to implement and sustain policy implementation. The bureaucrats are also insulated by the state so that policy can be implemented as intended without the influence of other parties. In the MoE, apart from the temporary and contract teachers, the regular teachers and principals are selected based on a competitive civil service recruitment process. The selected candidates are considered to be in prestigious positions given that they have regular employment in the government. Their promotion to higher positions is also based on a rigorous selection process. A similar strategy is adopted in the CDS to select the competent bureaucrats to formulate and implement development policies successfully. They are insulated by the state so that policies are implemented as intended without influence from different interest groups. In the background of the bureaucrats there exists a powerful and interventionist state that ensures that policies are implemented as desired by the centre. Therefore, DEOs and principals are empowered to implement reforms in schools without influence from external actors. They have certain bureaucratic power and responsibilities to ensure that policies are implemented as desired by the ministry, the King and the GNHC.

8.3. UNDERSTANDING EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES

In order to implement policy successfully the implementers must be able to understand the policy and know its intentions. Sabatier (1986) suggests that one of the important conditions for successful policy implementation is making policy clear and consistent with objectives so that policy can be implemented as intended. It is also mentioned by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) that policy implementation also depends on the willingness and ability of the implementers. This also includes their power to comprehend and understand the policy. Of the total (n=1277) about 48% of the principals and teachers indicated that they know almost all the education policy guidelines, 43% indicated that they somewhat know while the rest indicated that they knew very little. Such varying percentages of policy understanding may have diverse implications on policy implementation in schools. Seen in the light of the CDA perspective, although goals were written in policy papers it seems that teaching-learning was not happening according to the main objective therefore it shows that teachers were not very clear about the goals of education (Dorji, 2000) which is likely to effect the policy implementation. This is similar to Sabatier (1986) conditions for successful policy implementation where clear and consistent objectives are important for the staff to implement any policy successfully. The two teacher-training colleges of Paro and Samtse produce more than 300 graduates annually. This may also be an explanation for source of variation in policy implementation because these fresh teachers joining schools have to first

understand the policy and only then can they be able to implement the policy properly. This illustrates that there is a time and sequence problem as well.

However, understanding of policy varies within the levels of schools as the data and interviews indicate that principals and teachers of the PSs understand policy better than the other levels of school. In actual sense it is expected that secondary school principals and teachers understand policy better than the PSs since more qualified teachers are employed at secondary schools. At the same time most secondary schools are located in urban areas where better facilities and access to information through newspapers, television, internet and other medium of communications are readily available. While observing the understanding of policy based on location, it shows that principals and teachers in remote schools understand policy better than their counterparts in the urban and rural areas. One of the reasons may be due to the social setting of remote areas where they have smaller and closely knit social communities. Given this kind of spatial compression, the teachers have the opportunity to discuss policies formally and informally. They are also close to the authorities together with whom they are able to interact and seek clarification on any ambiguities. Rondineli and Cheema (1983) explain that successful policy implementation may depend on the nature of local power structure, social and cultural setting.

The study compared the understanding of policies by school principals and discovered that the LSS principals understood policy more than other levels of schools. They were followed by PS principals. Of course there are a certain number of principals who reported that they know policies moderately and very little. Therefore, such variations and low level of understanding may cause discrepancy in policy implementation and may also dilute well intended policies in the process of implementation.

Understanding of policy was also compared with the number of years in the teaching profession. The analysis revealed that there was a positive correlation indicating that the more years spent in the teaching profession, the better the understanding of the policy. Moreover, this also infers that experienced principals and teachers may contribute better to policy implementation. The poor understanding of the policy goals and objectives may hinder the success of policy implementation including the complacent attitude of implementers.

8.4. DECENTRALIZATION POLICY

After the introduction of decentralization in Bhutan in 1981, the MoE launched an administrative system to enhance better efficiency and improve the implementation of policy. The decentralized approach of policy implementation was expected to bring better results as power would be devolved to different levels of bureaucracy. This approach to policy implementation is assumed to give policy implementers

responsibility to execute intended policies better. However, success of policy implementation depends on the characteristics of the local power structures, social and cultural settings.

The MoE structure is hierarchical – Ministry at the central, DEO at the dzongkhag level and schools at the lowest level of system. DEOs and principals have the opinion that policy only flow in a top-down fashion from the ministry to the dzongkhag and not to the schools. Principals and teachers reported that decentralization exist only in principle but did not function in reality as intended because decisions and policies come from the ministry and their work is to simply implement and administer decrees. This means therefore that power is concentrated at the ministry and not decentralized. In the same vein one of the principals reported:

I think decentralization in principle is there but in reality I don't think decentralization is actually taking place in Ministry of Education because we have policies which are circulated from top. The decisions are made from top. The budget is sent from the top whether it is enough or not. It is all a top-down process.

There were other indications that the ministry seeks suggestions from teachers and principals but their views are not considered. Administrative powers are not conferred to either the DEOs or schools. The GNHC office was of a similar opinion that there was no decentralization in the education system since schools work under the directives of the ministry. Rondinell et al. (1983) assert that developing countries are often characterised by unified, centralized and regulatory government and most powers are vested at the centre. This is similar to the CDS that policies and plans are regulated from the centre directly. Therefore, such a system may affect successful policy implementation because it affects public choices and preferences. From an organizations' perspective, the situation does not encourage stakeholders to grow nor does it provide a sense of horizontal competition or collaboration among organizations. The determining factor for successful policy implementation in a decentralized system is the linkages with the sub-levels and empowerment of the implementers with clear understanding of policy objectives.

There were other opinions that the decentralized system in Bhutan is facing challenges due to the lack of capable human resources at the dzongkhags and schools. However, currently planning and administration seems to work and certain policy decisions are also made at the sub-levels region and school. Decentralization is taking place at a slow pace within the ministry due to bottle necks associated with the power structure and the influence of external donors as well. A detailed vertical policy flow discussion is presented in the following.

8.5. PROXIMITY OF POLICY FLOWS AND IMPLEMENTATION IMPACT

The smooth flow or dissemination of policy is an important procedure in policy implementation processes. This determines the successful policy implementation because policy flows from the ministry to the twenty dzongkhags should ideally spread to around five hundred schools located in various geographical locations. The mode of policy dissemination may also depend on availability of facilities such as the internet, roads, electricity as well as proximity to the dzongkhag headquarters. It is reported that most of the secondary school principals and teachers first received information about new policies of the MoE from the media and newspapers. However, a moderate number of principals and teachers of all levels of schools indicated that their first source of information was the ministry's official letters or from the DEO's office. Therefore, successful policy implementation does have a relationship with proximity to the centre as well as medium of dissemination and availability of facilities at the schools.

The policy flow analysis was also carried out based on the distance from the dzongkhag headquarters to the location of schools. It shows that a majority of principals and teachers initially received information from various sources within the distance of 0 to 30km compared to the schools located far away from the dzongkhag headquarters. However, the highest rated source of information according to the distance was workshops. This included even furthest remote school within a distance of 61 to 150km. The overall analysis also indicates that urban principals and teachers receive information faster compared to rural and remote schools. Therefore, the horizontal policy flow within the different locations is affected by the distance which may impact uniform implementation. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) mention that the clear flow of information is vital within and between organizations for successful policy implementation. This is termed 'inter-organizational communication and enforcement'. The effective networks of communication either horizontal or vertical are important within an organization to enhance uniform and successful policy implementation. The efficient and effective inter and intra organization communication is a crucial factor for the policy to be implemented uniformly and timely across every sub-division of the organization irrespective of their location. This finding can be related to Makinde's (2005) interpretation on transmitting adequate information clearly to the appropriate personnel in the field with accuracy and consistency. Therefore, schools located far away from the dzongkhag headquarters might have difficulties in knowing the existence of new policies and this may affect uniform policy implementation.

8.6. POLICY FLOW PERCEPTIONS BY PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

The vertical policy flow seems to be working as indicated by principals that DEOs often monitor the overall school performance. About 80% of the principals and 70% of the teachers indicated that their DEOs often visit schools and monitor school performance. DEOs ensure that policies are well implemented in schools and clarified policy intentions to principals and teachers. This shows that there is a commitment so that policies are transferred from the district to the schools in order to achieve the intended objectives. Principals indicated that DEOs frequently ask them to raise issues of concern related to the policies. Such a system may help the successful implementation of policy because the “open” communication in both vertical and horizontal is important for the organization (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) to get feedback and improve the system. This may also ensure that implementers have a clear understanding of the objectives resulting in uniform, accurate and consistent implementation of policy. The clear flow of information is vital within and between the organizations for the successful implementation of policy (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). This indicates that there is a marginal gap in the horizontal policy flow from the dzongkhag to the schools. However, a certain number of principals reported that DEOs seldom visit their schools to share concern on policy matters. This might have happened in remote schools as the DEOs may not be able to make visits often due to inaccessibility and distance from the dzongkhag headquarters which may most likely affect the consistent policy implementation in rural and remote schools.

The horizontal flow of policy between the principals and teachers have a marginal gap because more than 90% of the teachers reported that principals’ ensure the educational goals of the country and also the overall educational goals of the ministry are made clear to them. Teachers also reported that they collectively discuss the quality of education issues in meetings. Such healthy discussions may result in a positive impact on the policy implementation process. This bottom-up approach of policy implementation helps to recognize the individual as well as incorporate the ideas of the local policy implementers in the formulation of policy for the particular environment (Hjern, 1982).

Generally, principals and teachers seem to share similar views on the vertical and horizontal policy flow as there is a narrow gap of policy flow from the dzongkhag to the schools and from principals to teachers. However, the policy implementation theory does not consider different geographical locations of sub-level organizations because schools in Bhutan are located in urban, rural and remote areas at very high altitude with varied access and facilities. Therefore, this means that policy implementation may vary according to different locations of schools as well as their levels which are explained in the following section.

8.7. EDUCATION PROVISION

In general, the principals and teachers indicated that free tuition, text books and stationery for rural schools is consistent with the policy guidelines but dzongkhag does not ensure that there are facilities for the improvement of schools. This therefore creates a policy gap as reported by all levels of schools. A comparison based on the location of the schools reveals that other than in the provision of free tuition and text books, there are variations in education provision. This variation may affect the uniform implementation of policy in urban, rural and remote schools. Mostly the rural and remote schools are reported to have inadequate resources and special support to students with low economic status. It was also indicated that there is no equity in resource allocation among the schools because it appeared that some have excess while some are lacking and this may affect successful policy implementation. According to Van Meter and Van Horn, (1975) adequate resources and incentives are vital for smooth administration and efficient policy implementation. Usually resources such as funds are often inadequate and this hinders the achievement of policy objectives. Sadiman (2004) stresses that in developing countries there is inequality in education within regions; between rural-urban, public and private schools and also among the provinces within the countries. The factors contributing to inequality of education include lack of infrastructure, teacher shortage, lack of text books and other learning materials, geographical location of schools, low economic level of parents and lack of finance.

Uniform admission to schools policy is also applied variedly as indicated by DEOs and PS principals that implementation depends on individual understanding and perceptions on the policy. The quantitative data showed that specifically admission to class PP varies among the schools because some schools admit very young children before the permissible age of 6. This means that the policy implementation success in an organization is dependent on the subjective perceptions and clear understanding of the policy objectives by the implementers otherwise it may cause ambiguity and contradiction to its objectives (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

8.8. QUALITY OF SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The curriculum policy seems to be in tandem with the national education policy because most of the principals and teachers indicated that the school curriculum fulfills the general objectives of the nation and is comparable to international standards, is favorable to real classroom teaching, promotes innovation, skills, creativity and values, caters for a wide range of learning needs and is student friendly. However, a comparison of the different levels of schools revealed that HSS principals and teachers do not agree with many components of the curriculum compared to other levels which illustrate that there is variation in curriculum design and implementation. Principals and teachers from different locations of schools also noted that there are variations on some components of curriculum such as

objectives, standard and real classroom application. This may be due to a curriculum mismatch of the nation's general objectives compared to international standards. This may affect the curriculum practices of schools in different locations and it may have implications in the achievement of quality education.

8.9. QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Maintaining the quality of education is a priority for the MoE and most of the principals and teachers agree that the quality of education is emphasized in all matters of education. However, there is no agreement with regard to policies such as the student-teacher ratio (STR), average class size, teachers' access to resources and equitable distribution of resources. MoE aims to maintain STR 1:24 for all schools with an average class size of between 30-36 students for regular schools and 20 students for small schools (MoE, 2014, pp.44-45). This contradicts realities where schools are not able to follow this policy due to number of teachers and availability of classrooms. This may ultimately affect the quality of education and the achievement of the intended goals of the ministry. Therefore, it is important to understand the reality on the ground as faced by schools while applying such policies.

The school level analysis shows that HSSs and MSSs are not able to follow the policy on average class size, STR and teacher access to resources policy compared with the PSs; this could be due to the enrollment pressure and also shortage of classroom facilities. The location based analysis reflects a similar scenario because urban schools have large numbers of students compared to the rural and remote schools. Some principals of urban schools indicated that they have more than 52 students in one class and facing difficulties in managing this huge number. Further due to lack of classrooms, schools are not able to follow the STR and standard class size. This may cause variations in the quality of education within the levels of schools as well as schools located in different areas.

8.10. TEACHING-LEARNING RESOURCES

In general, it seems schools have teaching-learning resources in place which are not adequate as indicated by the principals and teachers. Despite the ministry's efforts in ICT promotion in schools, it seems that most schools are not equipped with computers and internet facilities. There was no agreement regarding the adequate distribution of textbooks, reference materials and use of ICT in teaching and learning.

As reported by the principals and teachers there is a great variation in resource distribution within the levels of schools. Findings show that MSSs received more resources compared to other levels of schools. Moreover, PS principals and teachers

reported that their schools are under equipped in regard to ICT facilities and therefore they could not use ICT in teaching and learning.

Respondents from both urban and rural schools have the opinion that the teaching-learning resources are provided adequately except the supply of text books and teaching-learning resources. On the other hand, remote schools indicated that their schools are inadequately provided with teaching-learning resources specifically ICT facilities. This may have a huge impact on the quality of teaching and learning in remote schools. It implies that there exists unequal distribution of resources within the levels and in different locations of schools.

8.11. SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE

Generally, principals and teachers indicated that schools have the basic minimum facilities that promote learning. However, it seems that the schools have inadequate facilities such as toilets and safe drinking water supply in most of the schools irrespective of levels and location.

Compared to the other levels of school, secondary schools seem to lack infrastructure facilities which can be correlated with the explanation of sub-section 8.9 regarding the large class size and inability to maintain STR due to lack of infrastructure such as inadequate classrooms and other facilities. The schools located in remote areas indicated that they have inadequate games and sports facilities, toilets, furniture as well as poor waste management facilities compared to other levels of schools. This infers that availability of infrastructure varies within the different and same level of schools based on the school locational settings.

8.12. HUMAN RESOURCE (HR)

Principals and teachers are satisfied with most of the HR components. However, it was indicated that MoE needs to focus on upgrading the academic qualification as well as the professional development of teachers. It was also reported that schools have adequate subject competent teachers.

PS principals and teachers agree that all HR related matters are implemented well. However, HSSs don't seem to be satisfied with the HR policy such as the staff development programme, opportunity for academic and professional development and adequate and competent subject teachers. In the overall, secondary schools do not agree that the HR related policies are implemented as intended. Most of the remote schools' principals and teachers reported that HR policies are not implemented properly in their schools compared to urban and rural schools with special reference to the application of uniform HR policy and opportunities for staff professional development. The study found that there is variation of HR policy implementation with respect to the levels of schools and their locations.

8.13. SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS

Among the components of the school health program, de-worming, provision of vitamins and iron supplements and keeping of health record books seem to be functioning properly. However, there are general feelings that school health programs are not running well due to the busy schedule of teachers. There was also concern from the MoE that teachers are overburdened and they have to shoulder many responsibilities besides teaching. This was echoed by the school health coordinators that teachers do not get time to focus on school health programs despite knowing its importance. Therefore, it is likely that successful implementation of school health programs may depend on teachers' workload and training or that the ministry may have to appoint fulltime health workers. If the present trend continues it is also likely that teachers may compromise the quality of teaching because of their over workload.

There are variations in school health programs as carried out in HSSs and LSSs albeit PS principals and teachers agree that health programs in schools are helpful and useful. Compared to urban and rural schools it seems that remote schools carried out less health programs and activities. In general, there is not much variation in the implementation of health programs in schools irrespective of their location but urban principals claim that their students' health is better compared to remote schools. This might be true if the facilities of urban and remote schools are considered (refer to section 8.11 the school infrastructures).

8.14. EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

One of the objectives of the Bhutanese education system is to promote Bhutanese cultural heritage and national values. Thus the ministry has undertaken to integrate the modern education with the traditional and cultural values of Bhutan. This is similar to values education system in CDS which Law (2009) states that it is important for economic growth because it helps to establish and sustain the state's political legitimacy and independence. The extra-curricular activities play a vital role in Bhutanese education system because they contribute to the achievement of 'wholesome education' goals. Such activities provide moral and values education to students through various programmes such as mindfulness and meditation, Driglam Namzha, games and sports, clubs, cultural activities, counselling and scouts. The 'Wholesome Education' programme is almost similar to Singapore's 'Total Education' where both stresses on moral and values education. Singaporean civics and moral education programme aimed to build a strong nation by offering lesson covering cultural, political and economic topics. Through moral education students are expected to become better citizens. It is also similar to the role of education in CDS which basically focused on economic growth and value education.

The introduction of Dzongkha language in schools followed by promulgation of a code of etiquette called Driglam Namzha are similar to role of the education system in CDS because education in CDS is considered to spread dominant culture, foster a sense of nationhood and contribute to nation-building. Most of the schools have working policy documents on Driglam Namzha which aim to inculcate Bhutanese values and etiquette such as treat other with respect and dignity, wear appropriate national attire, maintain short and neat hair style for boys and shoulder length for girls. Abe (2006) states that education in CDS based on a centrally control system which emphasised values and moral education. Such education is expected to expand national unity, national identity, citizenship, morality and respect for elders, the public officials and the elite. This is also similar to moral education in Singapore. However, schools in Bhutan have been facing challenges to inculcate such values and etiquette at the time of modernization as already students are under influence of Western culture. A majority of the urban schools are facing difficulties in promoting Bhutanese cultures and values as many students are under first influence of Western culture compared to the rural schools.

In 2009, schools started mindfulness education programmes in order to encourage the youth to have greater understanding about themselves and develop positive attitudes. Such programmes are partially similar to Singapore's 'Total Education' programme which focuses to impart skills and knowledge to students on values and attitude. The schools have started practicing mindfulness meditation during assembly, before starting lesson, during prayer session, before examinations and other times. In order to promote this programme, teachers were also trained. However, at the initial stage practicing of mindfulness programme encountered some problems such as students found it funny and boring. Most of the teachers and students also face difficulties in understanding the programme. Many teachers could not believe and didn't take the programme seriously. There were lot of scepticism when they were introduced in schools. Many teachers also felt that this programme is an additional burden to them. Some teachers share that practicing of mindfulness meditation has made little positive impact on the concentration of students.

The ministry considered that games and sports have to be an integral part of the Bhutanese education system which not only contributes to physical growth of students but also helps to develop sound mental, intellectual and social capabilities. Therefore, through games and sports the ministry attempts to instill values, enhance skills, foster healthy life style, encourage mass participation including promotion of traditional Bhutanese and contemporary sports. The introduction of traditional Bhutanese games and sports in schools are basically to maintain social cohesion, promote national identity and cultural unity very much similar to the CDS. However, games and sports facilities were not distributed uniformly within the different levels of schools and also as per the location. Most of the rural schools are lacking games and sports facilities compared with urban schools. Primary schools

seem to have inadequate and poor games and sports facilities compared to other levels of schools.

Clubs have been introduced in schools to contribute to wholesome education. It is mandatory that all schools institute various club activities in order to supplement the curriculum and also provide the opportunity to develop creativity and gain learning experience outside the normal classroom. It is mandatory that schools conduct club activities once a week for one hour involving all the students. There are various clubs such as vocational, cultural, spiritual, games and sports, health education, civic education, nature, literary, home science, social service, and counselling. The functioning of these clubs depends on the limits of schools' resources and capacity. The club activities were also different among various levels and location of schools.

The promotion of cultural activities plays a crucial role for wholesome development of the students. The cultural activities intend to promote and enlighten students on the values of Bhutanese culture and tradition where by it helps in promoting and sustaining the cultural heritage of the country. The schools play a vital role in promoting and preserving the cultural heritage of the country by making awareness amongst students and also make them to appreciate the cultural values of the country. Such cultural heritage promotion activities are similar to the CDS moral and values education programmes. The Singaporean education system emphasised on national cohesion, fostering a sense of national identity and impart core values of life basically aims to create a sense of national solidarity and independence.

8.15. TEACHING AND EDUCATION

Before the 1980s the teaching in schools was based on Anglo-Indian styles. Bhutanizing of the national education system started only after mid-1980s where teaching and learning was streamlined as per the national needs and aspirations. The national language subject 'Dzongkha' also started in schools though rest of subjects were taught in English language. By 1995, almost all the primary curricula were transformed into Bhutanese context and partially other subjects in secondary schools. It was suggested in the education policy that curricula must be developed with relevance to Bhutanese culture and values. Even the introduction of the NAPE system was suggested that curriculum must be designed drawing relevancy to Bhutanese children and also instructed to design new subjects such as agriculture, culture and traditions, arts and crafts, health and hygiene in addition to other conventional subjects. It was therefore designed based on Bhutanese values, culture and traditions and this is similar to the characteristics of the CDS education model. The introduction of the NAPE system brought major reforms in pedagogical practices from a teacher-centred to a student-centred learning approach. A new system of continuous assessment based on NAPE was started based on children's performance in the lessons. It also focused on learning by doing where students are

given opportunity to develop creative thinking and participatory learning experience. The NAPE system is supposed to replace the rote learning in schools but some teachers still seem to practice rote learning in certain subjects.

Other major reforms in teaching are the introduction of Bhutanese history, geography and economics in secondary schools. These subjects are supposed to design more relevance to the Bhutanese context where it should be inclusive of Bhutanese values and culture including gaining knowledge, skills and attitudes development. Therefore, Education Policy Guidelines implicated that curriculum is supposed to be designed in order to promote spiritual, cultural and traditional values besides it contributes to the promotion of nationalism and social cohesion. Bhutanization of curricula is also supposed to inculcate awareness of the nation's unique cultural heritage. It also should be focused on universal values in which youth should be able to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil and able to lead their life guided by moral and ethical choices. This is quite similar to the education values of CDS and civic and moral education of Singapore where such education is expected to promote national identity and social cohesion.

The banning of corporal punishment in schools was another milestone in the history of education reform. Though there were several debates for and against banning of corporal punishment in schools the ministry insisted to implement the policy. It came at the time when the ministry was initiating a 'Child-Friendly School' to enhance quality education and promote child development in all aspect of life. The existence of corporal punishment in schools was also against the NAPE system of education. Further it is also against the values and principles of GNH. One of the DEOs shares that "corporal punishment does not go with GNH values and principles but sometimes it is necessary". However, there seems to be prevailing different forms of corporal punishment in some schools. The Education Minister also shares in an interview (2014) that "in some case, there might be minor punishment but not to the extent it used to be in the past" which indicates a weakness and confusion about policy implementation and also failure of policy objectives understanding by principals and teachers.

This can be related to successful policy implementation in the top-down policy process where there should have clear understanding of objectives to implement policy successfully. Moreover, it is also a matter of perceptions and attitudes of the implementers, their ability, willingness to carry out the tasks and also availability of resources, capacity and time of implementers. Some of the teachers also have the opinion that it is quite challenging to teach in the class without corporal punishment. The teachers share that successful implementation of such policy must have a constant monitoring system at the grass root level and also a feedback system which directly goes to the ministry for policy refinement. Similarly, the top-down model of policy implementation suggests that there should be distinct roles for policy formulation and policy implementation along with a clear feedback

system. In order to implement policy successfully, it should consider the major role of implementers/actors and also the views of the target population.

8.16. GNH PRACTICE IN SCHOOLS

The concept of GNH is very broad. This research examined three components of GNH related to teaching and learning; curriculum designed with GNH values, how GNH is applied in teaching and understanding of GNH by teachers. The main aim to introduce GNH values in schools is to promote Bhutanese values through various GNH concepts and activities in order to foster a sense of nation-hood, spread one dominant culture, promote national identity and help in the nation-building process similar to the experience of the CDS. The integration of GNH values also help the achievement of social development goals of the state similar to the CDS where they emphasised to promote economic, political, social and cultural development. The GNH remains as a core values in the Bhutanese education system where as 'Educating for GNH is a working policy which governs all activities of the schools including both curricula and non-curricula activities. It was reported by a majority of the principals and teachers that they consider all components of GNH in their schools program such as in their lesson planning and also in teaching. However, some teachers reported that they found it difficult to understand and incorporate GNH in their teaching. According to a CDA reading of the GNH guidelines it is not difficult to understand why teachers are sceptic how to infuse GNH in mathematic and science lesson. "...several teachers admitted privately they weren't certain how happiness can be infused" in the teaching (Rick Westhead, May 30, 2010, para.33) Even GNHC feels that the biggest challenge ahead is to make teachers understand about the whole idea of GNH. This might have happened due to the type of employment since contract and temporary teachers do not seek help from others in order to understand GNH. The newly recruited teachers may also be facing similar problems. However, the Education Minister is a bit dubious about the introduction of GNH in schools, he shares in interview (2014) "GNH is like a vision –vision is not taught. We cannot educate and train for GNH; we can only make the environment conducive to make a person happy. When we say education, Bhutan is educating for GNH, it looks over simplistic but we cannot educate anyone for GNH, we can only put in place factors in the education system which would help you to become well balanced and a happy person - ultimately happiness can not be given by teachers you have to realize yourself within".

At the levels of schools, PS principals and teachers were positive about the practice of GNH compared to other levels of schools. However, there is not much variation in GNH practices because teachers are trying to incorporate GNH in their teaching program irrespective of levels and locations of schools. Therefore, success in implementation of GNH in schools may depend on the type of employment, teachers' understanding of GNH and training offered to the principals and teachers on GNH.

8.17. VALIDATION AND RELIABILITY OF SAMPLE DATA

In order to validate and check the reliability of the qualitative and quantitative sample data, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of texts is used as a tool. The texts analysis from the articles, newspapers, and various documents were selectively used and critically explained in the methodology. This cross verification of findings by applying CDA is called triangularization. The CDA proves to be an effective tool to validate the sample data that are collected from the respondents whether they are true views or not. Triangularization method has been applied in various discussions in this study, for instance in regard to the practice of GNH in schools. It indicates that GNH has been practised well in schools but in reality there are challenges and problems. Similarly there are other findings such as policy understanding, infrastructure, human resources policy, education provisions, decentralization, ban of corporal punishment, teaching-learning resources, extra-curricula activities and other education facilities that seem to be not matching in some cases with the sample data and its reality.

8.18. SUMMARY

Principals and teachers reported that the MoE follows the top-down policy implementation process as majority of the policy decisions are made and come from the centre. However, this model of decision making is preferred when combined with thorough consultation with the public and stakeholders.

The policy flow depends on the facilities available such as ICT, roads, media and proximity to central authority and district headquarters. Media and newspapers are considered first sources of policy information followed by official letters from the ministry and DEO office. The principals reported that DEOs monitor their schools often and share the policy matters. Similarly the teachers indicated that their principals ensure policy matters are understood by the teachers through meetings. Therefore, there is a narrow gap in the vertical and horizontal policy flow according to the findings.

The understanding level of policy varies among the principals and teachers and this may affect the uniform and consistent policy implementation. The data indicates that PS principals and teachers understand education policy more than the rest of the levels of schools. Similar results show that principals and teachers in remote schools understand policy better compared to their urban and rural counterparts. However, there is a positive correlation that the more years in the teaching profession the better and more the understanding of policy among teachers.

A majority of the principals and teachers indicated that decentralization has not taken place in the MoE since the power to make decisions reside with the ministry and has not been transferred to the dzongkhags and schools. This may impact

negatively on policy implementation since the policies may not be sensitive to local needs.

Most of the education provisions such as free tuition, text book and stationery are consistently made available to the schools. The admission policy, especially PP admission varies with the levels of schools and locations.

Curriculum implementation varies within the levels of schools and also according to the location of schools. However, there was no agreement regarding the average class size, STR and teachers' access to resources since most of the schools indicated that they have large numbers of students in one class coupled with inadequate teaching-learning resources. These resources are distributed unevenly within the levels of schools and in different locations of schools. Infrastructure such as toilets and safe drinking water supply vary according to the levels of schools and based on their locations.

In regard to HR policy, the principals and teachers felt that more emphasis should be put in upgrading the academic qualification and professional development of teachers although schools have adequate subject competent teachers.

School health programs are functioning well. However, many principals and teachers reported that besides teaching, which is already loaded, they have to attend to many other activities which further overload them. Schools find it difficult to implement extra-curricula activities due to inadequate facilities and lack of specialized human resource. It was also indicated that games and sports facilities are distributed unevenly within the levels and different locations of schools. GNH is practiced in schools irrespective of their levels and location. It however varies based on the type of employment and also number of years in the teaching profession.

Chapter 9. MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This study shows that there were issues of lack of coordination and inconsistent education policy implementation across the schools. The emerging issues on the quality of education and unequal and inadequate distribution of educational facilities across schools were also clear. Therefore, the study explored the success of the existing education policy implementation from primary to secondary schools of Thimphu, Bumthang, Trashigang and Sarpang dzongkhags. The study also sought to make an interpretation of general understanding of the education policy guidelines by the principals and teachers. It sought to examine the vertical and horizontal policy flows and gaps between MoE, dzongkhags and schools. Further, it examined the factors affecting policy implementation and whether the existing policies address the critical challenges in the area of education or not. Finally, the study also investigated GNH practices in schools.

The mixed-methods research was applied in the study involving administration of questionnaires and conducted several interviews in schools and with other stakeholders. Subsequently data and information were gathered and analyzed by linking quantitative and qualitative information. In the discussion of the results, quantitative and qualitative information was linked to available theories and literature to make meaning and draw conclusions.

9.1. FINDINGS

The findings of the quantitative data sampling and interviews are presented in seven sub-themes from section 9.2 to 9.7.

9.2. PREFERENCE ON POLICY FORMULATION AND DECISION-MAKING

In order to understand the preferences with regard to policy formulation and decision-making, questions were asked whether the respondents decisions to be made by government, people or both. The following were the findings:

- a) Majority of the teachers and principals prefer that policy formulation and decision-making be made by the government after thorough consultation with the public and relevant stakeholders.
- b) Most of the principals and teachers believed that policy formulation and decisions are taken centrally by the MoE and that the ministry has not transferred decision-making powers to the dzongkhags and schools.

- c) A small number of teachers are not clear about who make policy decisions.

9.3. UNDERSTANDING OF EDUCATION POLICY GUIDELINES

Principals and teachers were asked to rate the understanding of education policy guidelines in order to examine their understanding levels. The study also investigated their knowledge on who makes the policy decisions. The findings are as follows:

- a) Less than half of the principals and teachers indicated that they understand almost all the education policy guidelines whereas the rest of the respondents knew 'somewhat' or little.
- b) It appears that PS principals and teachers understand policy more than the other levels of schools.
- c) It was also revealed that principals and teachers in remote schools understand education policy guidelines better than those in urban and rural schools.

9.4. POLICY FLOWS AND DECENTRALIZATION

The study intended to examine the process of vertical and horizontal policy flows as well as the process of decentralization in the MoE. The vertical policy flow was assessed based on the proximity of the schools to the dzongkhag headquarters and the medium used in dissemination of policy whereas horizontal policy flows were analyzed based on the views collected from the principals and teachers of the various schools. The following are the findings:

- a) The data suggests that the first source of policy information was the media.
- b) A moderate number of principals and teachers also indicated that their first source of information on policy were through official letters from ministry and the DEOs' office.
- c) The schools located within a distance of 0 to 30km from the dzongkhag headquarters received policy information from various sources compared to the schools located far away.
- d) Workshops were rated highest as a medium for policy dissemination compared to the other modes.

- e) A majority of the urban principals and teachers got policy information from various sources compared to their rural and remote counterparts.
- f) A large majority of respondents reported that DEOs often visit their schools and monitor school performance. They also agree that DEOs' ensure that policies are clear to them in meetings and are well implemented.
- g) A small number of principals are critical that DEOs seldom pay visits to their schools and do not share policies matters.
- h) A large number of teachers reported that their principals ensure that the educational goals of the country are made clear to them very often through meetings.
- i) Majority of the teachers also agreed that principals considered their collective decisions in the meetings.
- j) According to a large majority of DEOs, principals and teachers including GNHC officers, there is the general perception that real decentralization has not taken place in the education system. They felt that most of the power is concentrated in the ministry and most of the decision-making powers, policy formulation, planning procedures and thus impact on implementation have not been transferred to the dzongkhags and schools.
- k) A majority of the DEOs and the GNHC office believe that decentralization is not functional due to the lack of human resource capabilities in the dzongkhags and schools. This is why the decentralization process has been moving at such a slow pace.

9.5. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION VARIATIONS IN ACCORDANCE TO LEVELS AND LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

To investigate whether the policy is implemented uniformly or not, two attributes were taken into consideration. These included the levels and location of schools. The study examined major education policies such as education provision, curriculum, class size, teacher-students ratio, teaching-learning resources, infrastructure, human resource issues, school health program, and extra-curricular activities. Generally, data shows that majority of the policy implementation vary within the same and different levels and also according to their locations. The following were the findings:

- a) A majority of the principals and teachers indicated that free tuition, text books, and stationery for rural schools are consistent with the policy.

- b) A large number of rural and remote respondents reported that there is unequal and inadequate allocation of resources among the schools.
- c) Many DEOs and majority of the principals indicated that the admission policy, especially the PP admission is not uniformly applied irrespective of the levels and location of schools.
- d) A majority of the HSS principals and teachers pointed out that many components of the curriculum are not aligned with the policy especially with reference to its objectives, standards and application in the classroom.
- e) A majority of the higher and MSSs are not able to follow the average class size and student-teacher ratio according to the policy guidelines. Principals in the urban schools have similar observations of having large class size and inability to follow the ratio prescribed in the policy.
- f) A majority of the secondary schools stated that there are shortages of classroom facilities due to the admission pressure. This was the same to schools located in urban areas.
- g) The general opinion was that the teaching-learning resources are inadequate. Respondents at all levels and different location of schools stated that there is uneven distribution of resources. Respondents from PSs reported that they received adequate textbooks but their schools are under-equipped with ICT facilities.
- h) Irrespective of the levels and locations of schools, a majority of principals and teachers stated that their schools have inadequate facilities such as toilets and safe drinking water supply.
- i) A majority of the remote schools, with special reference to PSs have inadequate facilities such as games and sports, furniture and waste management.
- j) A majority of the respondents noted the need for HR to focus on the upgrading of the academic qualification and professional development of teachers. A majority of secondary and primary school principals and teachers reported that HR policy was not applied uniformly especially in providing opportunities for the professional development and academic qualifications.
- k) The school health programs such as de-worming, the provision of vitamins and iron supplements as well as keeping health record books

was noted to be working well. However, teachers are engaged in many other activities (besides teaching) making them overloaded and this can potentially compromise teaching.

- l) A large number of the principals and teachers agree that extra-curricula activities are running well although a small number of schools felt that they are not able to carry out counseling, scouting and physical education due to the shortage of specialized human resource and facilities in schools.

9.6. GNH PRACTICE IN SCHOOLS

GNH is considered the guiding principle in Bhutan's development philosophy. Currently it is mandatory for every school in the country to infuse GNH in their school activities. This study examined the practice of GNH in the daily school life. The following were the findings:

- a. A majority of the principals and teachers indicated that they include GNH in their school programs.
- b. A small number of teachers noted that it was difficult to understand and incorporate GNH in teaching. This was the case with temporary, on contract and the newly recruited teachers.
- c. Irrespective of levels and location of schools, it appears that a majority of the teachers incorporate GNH in their teaching and learning activities.

9.7. FACTORS AFFECTING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

There are many factors affecting the success of policy implementation. The study explored the factors that hinder or enhance policy implementation in the different levels and locations of schools. The following are the findings:

- a) The number of years in the teaching profession and the experience of teachers determine the success of policy implementation irrespective of levels and location of schools.
- b) The top-down model of policy formulation and decision-making may have a negative impact on the effective and successful implementation of policy because relevant stakeholders and implementers are less involved in policy formulation.
- c) The horizontal policy flow is affected by the proximity of schools to the dzongkhag headquarters as well as schools located near urban areas.

Therefore, policy flow also depends on availability of information facilities such as newspapers, television, radio, internet, workshops and other medium of communication.

- d) The success of policy implementation may also depend on clear inter and intra communication networking of organizations as well as accurate and consistent information sharing within the sub-levels.
- e) Decentralization has not matured within the education system which may affect the proper implementation of policy as desired by the public. Lack of capable human resource also determines the implementation of policy in a decentralized system.
- f) The distances from the dzongkhag headquarters and frequency of monitoring by DEOs and principals also affected the success of policy implementation in schools.
- g) The different geographical locations (urban, rural and remote) of the schools also play a vital role in the successful implementation of policy. This means that policy implementation may vary between urban, rural and remote significantly.
- h) The successful implementation of policy by teachers may also depend on the number of years in the teaching profession, type of employment (regular, contract and temporary) as well as regular updates on policy matters.

9.8. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The study applied the funnel approach using theories about nation-building, CDS, top-down and bottom-up policy implementation. It seems that the Bhutanese state is similar to CDS in functioning.

Since the success of policy implementation depends on the exercise of power by the state it is believed that in order for the CDS to succeed it has to be highly state centric. In this way the state remains powerful and can intervene in order for implementation to be effective. The centralized policy process which utilizes a top-down approach is therefore considered recognizable in Bhutan. However, the effectiveness and success of the approach can only be determined by examining the long term goals of the country.

Further, the CDS theory explains that intervention by the strong state is characteristic of a developmental state as it regulates the formulation and implementation of policy in order to attain success. On the other hand, in order to

implement policy successfully the state also needs a strong government composed of a large and competent bureaucracy. All bureaucrats are selected through a competitive process and they hold a prestigious position in society. The 'state embeddedness' is a significant feature for the CDS to be able to implement policy without external influence. However, this notion needs to be revisited to further understand successful policy implementation in small and closed societies which still depends mostly on donor funding for its development. It is worth noting that state embeddedness may not guarantee full policy implementation. There is variation in policy implementation within the different levels and location of schools.

Makinde (2005) states that factors critical for the effective implementation of policy are communication, resources, disposition and efficient bureaucratic structure. However, geographic factors seem to play a role since proximity and location of schools seem to have impacted on policy implementation. Sabatier (1968), Van Mater and Van Horn (1973) assert that good communication and adequate resources can contribute to the successful implementation of policy. It seems that some schools are performing well with minimum facilities. For example, teachers from rural and remote areas seem to understand policy better than their counterparts in the urban areas.

The East Asian CDS development strategy is not only focusing on economic growth but also try to promote human resource development by expanding the national education system through major educational reforms. The main purposes of education in CDS are: to enhance technological change in manufacturing; to improve public services; and explicitly to promote a strong sense of social cohesion and political identity. Similarly to CDS, Bhutan also emphasises to achieve overall sustainable socio-economic development goals guided by GNH principles and values. Even the main purposes of education in Bhutan are categorized under the broad objectives of a holistic concept that innate the potentials of each and every child are fully realized; inculcate traditional and cultural values; prepare for the world of work with a sense of dignity of work; make awareness about the importance of agriculture so that they become educated farmers if they chose to be; Bhutanize the school curriculum and expand the technical and vocational training programmes. The introduction of national language 'Dzongkha', enhancement of Bhutanese etiquette 'Driglam Namzha', promotion of Bhutanese cultural and traditional values in schools with the purpose to develop a strong sense of national identity and also bring social cohesion which is similar to the CDS. The Bhutanese education system also focuses on promoting cultural and traditional values which is quite similar to the values and moral education in CDS. There is also not much difference between the 'Total Education' concept of Singapore and the 'Wholesome Education' ideas of Bhutan where both are meant to promote holistic development of the child in various fields such as skills, knowledge, values and attitudes which can ultimately create a strong sense of national solidarity and identity. The national

education policy of the CDS aims to contribute to socio-economic development while maintaining the cultural and traditional values and thereby promoting national identity and social cohesion which national education policy of Bhutan also emphasises.

9.9. CONCLUSION

The overall national education policy emphasises not only to contribute to socio-economic development of the country but it also aims to promote cultural and traditional values with promotion of GNH in schools which intends to maintain social cohesion and national identity similar to the CDS. Education also plays a vital role for nation-building by creating a unique national identity. The introduction of the national language 'Dzongkha', Educating for GNH, Bhutanese etiquette, and extra-curricula activities related to Bhutanese values in schools all have the purpose to develop a sovereign nation. Bhutanization of national curriculum, change of pedagogies and introduction of extra-curricular activities in schools are to achieve the main objective of 'Wholesome Education' goals. It is in this context that the study of education policy becomes important to see the success of policy implementation from the formulation to the implementation level in the entire education system of Bhutan.

At the macro level education policy seems to be implemented successfully in schools. However, at the micro level there are variations in policy implementation between the different levels of schools and their locations. The following are the conclusions drawn from the study:

The study found that most of the policy formulation and decision-making power is vested at the ministry and therefore majority of the principals and teachers preferred the inclusion of a maximum numbers of stakeholders in decision-making processes. The study found out that there is need to enhance decentralization in the education system in order to achieve successful policy implementation. There is also need for equity and adequacy in the distribution of resources among rural and remote schools.

A majority of the principals and teachers from the urban areas felt that STR and average class size was not being followed as per the policy guidelines as a result of shortages with regard to classrooms and other facilities. At the same time the workload of the teachers need to be considered. Similarly, improvements in the games and sports, furniture and ICT facilities in many primary schools is necessary.

The principals and teachers felt that HR policies related to opportunities for professional development need to be uniformly applied irrespective of locations and levels of schools.

There are several factors affecting the variations in policy implementation which include locations of schools, type of teachers, capable human resource, and communication networking of the sub-level organizations.

Policy reforms may not bring over night changes. However, this study sought to understand and contribute to the improvement of policy implementation in the education system of Bhutan. It is hoped that ultimately this will contribute to better policy formulation and decision-making process in pursuit of ‘Gross National Happiness’.

Recommendations for Future Research:

Although the study attempted to address many issues in relation to policy implementation in education system, the researcher realized that there are many other related areas to be studied. The following are the possible areas recommended for future research:

- a) The study could not include the views and opinions of students, non-teaching staff, parents and the public as the primary source of data. To get wider perspectives of policy matters involving students, non-teaching staff, parents and the public would be worth exploring in future researches.
- b) Since this study is limited up to the HSSs, it has potential to include policy implementation in tertiary education because this would have covered a wider range.

The current study applied interviews and questionnaires as the main research tools. However, in order to get the in-depth reality of policy implementation it would have used observation as one of the tools to collect data. Qualitative studies demand that researchers observe and get to understand phenomena.

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APPENDIX

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Appendix A: PhD Reseach Questionnaire for Principals and Teachers

Purpose of Survey:

The main purpose of the survey is to collect data on general education policy and health programme in education system. This research is carried out for the fulfillment of PhD studies at the Aalborg University, Denmark under the joint research project called Danish–Bhutanese Research Partnership 2011–2014. The main aim and objectives of the survey is to analyse the coordination of education policies at central and local levels in both horizontal and vertical perspectives; to assess the factors affecting the social service delivery in education and health care system of Bhutan; to describe and analyse the inclusion of Gross National Happiness (GNH) in education policies of Bhutan.

Therefore, I would like to request all the respondents to kindly answer the following questions. Your answers and views given here will be kept high confidential and anonymous. Thank you in advance.

Note: Put a tick mark in the box wherever appropriate.

Respondent profile:

1. Age: _____(years)
2. Put cross mark: 1. Male 2. Female
3. Type of employment: 1.Regular 2. Contract 3.Temporary
4. Number of years in the teaching profession. _____(years)
5. Mention your highest qualifications.

Qualification	
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6. How long have you been working as a teacher *at this school*? _____(number of years)

School Information:

7. Level of school

1	Higher Secondary School	
2	Middle Secondary School	
3	Lower Secondary School	

4	Primary School	
5	Community Primary School	
6	Extended Classroom	

8. In which Dzongkhag your school is located: _____
 9. In which Gewog you school is located: _____
 10. Types of school

1	Boarding School	
2	Day schooling	

11. Location of School from Dzongkhag heaquarter (distance by motor road): _____(KM)
 12. Location of School from nearest road head (distant in walking time): _____(hours or minutes).
 13. Locational category of the school

1	Urban	
2	Rural	
3	Remote	

14. Year of establishment of your school: _____

Education Policy:

15. How much do you know about the overall National Education Policy?

1	All	
2	Almost all	
3	Somewhat	
4	Little	
5	Very little	

16. When new policies are announced from the Ministry of Education, which is your first source of information.

1	Official letter from the Ministry	
2	Workshops and Conferences	
3	District Education Officer's Announcement	
4	Principal's announcement	
5	News papers	
6	Television and Radio	
7	Colleagues	
10	Internet (Web page)	
11	Others Specify(writing):	

17 (a) Generally what is your perception of the school management?(To be filled by Principal only)

Sl. No.	School Management	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Very often	Don't know
a	DEO monitors overall school performance					
b	The DEO intervenes school level problems					
c	The DEO makes sure that all the teachers in the school are given equal opportunity to upgrade knowledge and skills					
d	The DEO acknowledges teachers for their special effort or accomplishments					
e	The DEO monitors that a good environment is fostered in the school					
f	The DEO ensures that education quality maintained in the school					
g	The DEO conduct meeting with the teachers sharing policy matters					
h	The DEO is concern school's health programme					

17 (b) Generally what is your perception of the school management? (To be filled by teacher)

Sl. No.	School Management	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Very often	Don't know
a	The principal discusses overall educational goals with teachers in meetings					
b	The principal ensure that teachers work towards the educational goals of the country					

c	DEO monitors overall school performance					
d	The Principal intervenes when teachers have problems in the school					
e	The principal makes sure that all the teachers in the school are given equal opportunity to gain knowledge and skills					
f	The principal acknowledges teachers for their special effort or accomplishments					
g	The principal ensures that a good environment is fostered in the school					
h	The principal and teachers act together to ensure that education quality issues are a collective responsibility					
i	Parents -Teachers meetings are conducted in my school					
j	Most of the activities and works of the school are carried out through committees meetings					
k	The Principal exhibit transparency, accountability and efficiency in my school					

18. Indicate practice of GNH in the school.

Sl. No.	Self-Involvement and GNH	Never	Seldom	Quite often	Very often	Don't know
a	Curriculum caters national values and ethos of Educating for GNH					
b	I applied GNH in my teaching					
c	I seek help from colleagues when I am not sure of certain decisions to be made with relation to GNH					

19. The education policy at the national level is decided by

1	National Assembly	
2	National Council	
3	Gross National Happiness Commission (GNHC)	
4	Ministry of Education (MOE)	
5	MOE in consultation with GNHC	
6	Cabinet Ministers	
7	In the Annual Education Conference	
8	Don't know	

20. As per your current knowledge, rate the overall quality of national education policies of Bhutan.

1	Very Good	
2	Good	
3	Neither good nor bad	
4	Bad	
5	Very bad	

21. In what ways do you prefer that National Education Policy should be decided in Bhutan?

1	Government	
2	People	
3	Both ways	
4	By King	

22. What do you think about the following National Education Policies in the country?

Sl. No.	Policies	Very Good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad
a	Educating for GNH					
b	Decentralization Policy					
c	School curriculum					
d	Quality Education					
e	School Infrastructure					
f	Teaching Learning Resources and Use of ITC in Education					
g	Value Education					
h	Counseling Programme					
i	Comprehensive School Health Programme					
j	School Physical Education and Sports Programme					
k	Education Monitoring and Support Service (EMSS) System					
l	Financing in Education					
m	Human Resource Management					
n	School Disaster Management					
o	Community and Parental Participation in School					

23. In general terms, how much do you agree with the following statement about the National Education Policy practices in the school:

1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neutral, 4= Disagree, 5=Strongly Disagree and 6= Don't Know

A) Access to Education		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	Tuition fees and text books are free in the school						
ii	Admission policy is adhere in the school						
iii	Rural school are provided free stationery						
iv	Dzongkhag ensure facilities of the school						

v	School provides special support to students based on location and economic status						
---	---	--	--	--	--	--	--

B) Curriculum		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	The school curriculum is standard and comparable to international level						
ii	Curriculum fulfills the general objectives of the nation						
iii	Curricula are favorable in real classroom teaching						
iv	The school curriculum promotes innovation, creativity, analytical thinking, skills, values and attitudes of the students						
v	The school curriculum caters to wide range of learning needs of the students including the ones with the special educational needs						
vi	Curriculum is student friendly						
vii	The school curriculum gives importance to assessments – both formative and summative						

C) School Health and Emergencies		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	Health and physical education improve life of the students						
ii	Comprehensive School Health Program is every much effective in the school						
iii	School Health In-charge/ Coordinator plays vital role for school health activities						
iv	Annual school health checkups are conducted						
v	De-worming, vitamin and iron tablets are provided to students						
vi	All students maintain health record book						
vii	School based parenting education and awareness programme is carried out						
viii	School provides effective school health services to the students						
ix	School has prepared disaster management plan						
x	School has identified focal person for disaster management						

D) Quality Education		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	Quality of education is focused on all categories of education policy						
ii	Student-Teacher ratio is followed in the school (1:24).						
iii	Average class size of 32 students is followed in the school						
iv	Teachers are accessible to Teacher Resource Center						
v	School receives equitable resources						

E) Teaching-Learning Resources and ICT in Education		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	School receives adequate textbooks, teachers' guide books and reference materials						
ii	School has standing policy to take care of teaching-learning resources						
iii	School is equipped with computers and internet connection						
iv	School uses information technology in teaching and learning						
v	Teachers are exposed to IT education for professional development in teaching						
vi	ICT is emphasis in the school						

F) School Infrastructure		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	School has safe and conducive learning environment in place.						
ii	Basic minimum sporting facilities (indoor/outdoor) including sports equipment are there in the school						
iii	There are adequate toilet facilities in the school						
iv	School has safe and adequate drinking water supply						
v	Waste is properly managed in the school						

vi	There are adequate furniture in the school (chairs, tables, blackboard etc)						
----	---	--	--	--	--	--	--

G) Human Resources policy		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	MOE ensures HR policy is uniformly applied across the country						
ii	Staff development programme is conducted very often in school or at national level						
iii	Teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications						
iv	School has adequate subject competent teachers						

H) Students Enrichment and support Programme		1	2	3	4	5	6
i	Students are engaged fully in extra-curricular activities						
ii	School ensures that students are abiding the students' code of conduct.						
iii	School is equipped with counseling and guidance programme						
iv	School has scouting programme						
v	Physical education and sports periods are allocated						
vi	Equal opportunities are given for both boys and girls for any activities in the school						
vii	School encourages parents to educate their children at home						
viii	School has good relation with community						

24. Write your opinion about the general national policy of education in Bhutan.
25. What are your views about addressing health issues in education system of Bhutan?
26. Any other comments

Appendix B: MoE Approval Letter

FROM :

FAK NO. :

15 May 2009 3:04PM FI



དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་། ཤེས་རིག་ལྷན་ཁག།

Royal Government of Bhutan
Ministry of Education
Department of School Education
School Liaison & Coordination Division



DSE/SUCD/MISC/1/2013/ 2835

17 September 2013

The Director
Sherubtse College
Kanglung, Trashigang

Subject: **Approval**

Sir,

This is in response to your letter no. 19.(6)-SC/Staff/Gen/203/627 dated 16th August 2013 regarding joint research project called Danish-Bhutanese Research Partnership 2011-2012. In this regard, the Department of School Education is pleased to accord approval to visit various schools as proposed.

However, the DSE would like to suggest that while carrying out such programmes in our schools, the organizers have to arrange their programmes as per the convenience of the schools after consultation with the concerned Principals/DEO/TEO so that the normal school session ins not interrupted.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,


(Karma Tshen)
DIRECTOR




CC:

1. Hon'ble Secretary, Ministry of Education, for kind information.
2. DEOs/Principals, visiting schools for information and action.

Appendix C: Acts and Rules

Followings are the selected articles and section quoted from the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2008, Civil Service Act of 2010, Civil Service Rules and Regulations 2012 and the Penal Code of Bhutan, 2011.

A. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2008.

Preamble

WE, the people of Bhutan:

BLESSED by the Triple Gem, the protection of our guardian deities, the wisdom of our leaders, the everlasting fortunes of the Pelden Drukpa and the guidance of His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck;

SOLEMNLY pledging ourselves to strengthen the sovereignty of Bhutan, to secure the blessings of liberty, to ensure justice and tranquillity and to enhance the unity, happiness and well-being of the people for all time;

Article 7 Fundamental Rights

22. Notwithstanding the rights conferred by this Constitution, nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from subjecting reasonable restriction by law, when it concerns:

- a) The interests of the sovereignty, security, unity and integrity of Bhutan;
- b) The interests of peace, stability and well-being of the nation;
- c) The interests of friendly relations with foreign States;
- d) Incitement to an offence on the grounds of race, sex, language, religion or region;
- e) The disclosure of information received in regard to the affairs of the State or in discharge of official duties; or
- f) The rights and freedom of others.

Article 8 Fundamental Duties

1. A Bhutanese citizen shall preserve, protect and defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and unity of Bhutan and render national service when called upon to do so by Parliament.
2. A Bhutanese citizen shall have the duty to preserve, protect and respect the environment, culture and heritage of the nation.
3. A Bhutanese citizen shall foster tolerance, mutual respect and spirit of brotherhood amongst all the people of Bhutan transcending religious, linguistic, regional or sectional diversities.
4. A person shall respect the National Flag and the National Anthem.
5. A person shall not tolerate or participate in acts of injury, torture or killing of another person, terrorism, abuse of women, children or any other person and shall take necessary steps to prevent such acts.
6. A person shall have the responsibility to provide help, to the greatest possible extent, to victims of accidents and in times of natural calamity.
7. A person shall have the responsibility to safeguard public property.
8. A person shall have the responsibility to pay taxes in accordance with the law.
9. Every person shall have the duty to uphold justice and to act against corruption.
10. Every person shall have the duty to act in aid of the law.
11. Every person shall have the duty and responsibility to respect and abide by the provisions of this Constitution.

B. Civil Service Act of Bhutan 2010

Code of Conduct of the members of the Commission

22. The Chairperson and members of the commission shall: (p.9)

(b) uphold the sovereignty, security, unity and integrity of the Country

37. Civil Service values:

- (f) **Loyalty:** A civil servant shall at all times be true, loyal and faithful to the Tsa-wa-sum. (p.17)
- (g) **Openness:** A civil servant shall be as open as required about all the decisions and actions that he takes. He/she shall give reason for his/her decisions and restrict information to protect the wider public interest and confidentiality of the matter. (p.17)
- (h) **Professionalism:** A civil servant shall practice his/her profession with the highest standards of ethics and courtesy.
- (i) **Selflessness:** A civil servant shall always take decisions solely in terms of the public interest. He/she shall not do so in order to gain financial or other material benefits for himself/herself, his/her family, his/her relatives, or his/her friends.

Code of Conduct if a Civil Servant

38. A civil servant shall not:

- (h) act against the interest of Tsa-Wa-Sum. (p.19)

39. A civil servant shall abide by any additional code of conduct and ethics as may be prescribed by the BCSR. (p. 19)

Chapter IV

Duties and Rights of Civil Servants

Duties

44. A civil servant shall serve the Royal Government without fear, favour or prejudice to:

- (a) safeguard national security and interests;
- (b) maintain complete Tha Damtsi to the Tsa-wa-Sum;
- (c) uphold the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan and other laws, rules and regulations;

- (e) treat everyone with respect and courtesy in accordance with Driglam Namzhag;
- (g) not accept titles or decorations from foreign states or organizations without approval of the Royal Government;
- (h) maintain confidentiality of all facts and information discovered in the course of duty, both while in service and after separation from service;
- (i) **refrain from publicly expressing adverse opinions against the Royal Government;**

Rights

45. A civil servant shall have following rights:

- (e) opportunities to enhance professional qualification and skills as per rules;
- (h) express opinions on the lawfulness of the orders, including making constructive criticisms and suggestions to one's superiors;
- (i) **refuse a task which is in contradiction with laws and regulations;**

C. Civil Service Rules and regulation 2012

CHAPTER 3: CIVIL SERVICE CODE OF CONDUCT AND ETHICS (p.29)

3.1. Policy

- 3.1.1 Establish desired standard of behavior amongst the civil servants.
- 3.1.2 Promote and maintain trust and respect.
- 3.1.3 Inform general public and stakeholders on the Civil Service Code of Conduct and Ethics.

3.2. Code of Conduct and Ethics

A civil servant bestowed with the unique privilege and honour to serve the *Tsa-Wa-Sum* and with confidence and trust reposed in him shall abide by the following Code of Conduct and Ethics:

- 3.2.1 A civil servant shall be conversant with and uphold all the provisions of the Constitution, CSAB 2010 and BCSR.

3.2.1.1 A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Read, understand and abide by all provisions of the Constitution, CSAB 2010 and BCSR;
- ii. Share with and guide his superiors, peers and subordinates if they are not aware of any of the provisions;
- iii. Abide by the laws and rules of the country; and
- iv. Undertake courses on code of conduct and ethics as and when made available.

3.2.1.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Remain apathetic about the provisions of the Constitution, CSAB 2010 and BCSR; and
- ii. Breach or attempt to breach any of the laws or rules of the country.

3.2.2 A civil servant shall cherish, subscribe and promote the values of Tha Damtsi and Ley Jumdrey while serving the Tsa-Wa-Sum.

3.2.2.1 A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Always be loyal and faithful to the Tsa-Wa-Sum; and
- ii. Uphold both explicit and implicit terms and understandings he has with the Royal Government, public, family, agency, superiors, peers, subordinates and clients.

3.2.2.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Disrepute the Royal Government, Agencies, superiors, peers and subordinates;
- ii. Engage in any irrational decision-making and behaviour; and
- iii. Breach the norms and values of the society.

3.2.3.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Indulge in gambling or similar activities that may jeopardize his official reputation and performance;
- ii. Engage in individual or group altercation in public, related to official duty or otherwise; and
- iii. Speak and act in a way that is not in conformity to the civil service values of integrity, professionalism, honesty, impartiality, accountability, loyalty, and leadership.

3.2.4.1 A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Welcome and treat his clients with dignity and humility;
- ii. Always realise that he is a civil “servant” and paid to serve;
- iii. Be genuine in his behaviours, thoughts and actions;
- iv. Provide services with right frame of mind and as per established rules and procedures; and Respect the “Rights and Duties” of the client.

3.2.5 A civil servant shall maintain the highest standard of, amongst others, **integrity, honesty, fortitude, selflessness, loyalty, right attitude, right aptitude, patriotism** and endeavour to maintain **professional excellence** in service of the Tsa-Wa-Sum.

3.2.5.1 Integrity means possessing high moral and professional standards while performing duty. For this purpose, it means maintaining integrity at work.

b. A civil servant SHALL NOT:

ix. Criticise his Agency and Royal Government.

3.2.5.5 Loyalty means being true, loyal and faithful to the Tsa-Wa-Sum at all times.

a. A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Defend and implement the policies and programmes of the Royal Government and his Agency;
- ii. Work towards achieving the objectives of his Agency;

b. A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Criticise in public the policies, programmes and actions of his own Agency;

3.2.5.6 Right Attitude means having positive way of thinking and perception.

a. A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Uphold the right attitude about his work and people at all times;
- ii. Build and maintain smooth and effective interpersonal relationships;
- iii. Accept his weaknesses positively and work on improving them;
- iv. Understand other's weaknesses and help them improve;
- v. Be motivated and work hard not only for his Agency, but also for his own job satisfaction;
- vi. Be accountable for his actions;

3.2.5.8 Patriotism means loving and being proud of one's country, and serving the nation's interests with heart and soul.

a. A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Love and serve the Tsa-Wa-Sum;
- ii. Be happy and proud of being Bhutanese;
- iii. Do things that will strengthen peace, prosperity and happiness in the country;
- iv. Be a Goodwill Ambassador of the country while on study/training or otherwise abroad;
- v. Be sincere during trainings/visits outside and bring back maximum information, knowledge and skills to benefit the nation; and
- vi. Be willing to volunteer to serve the nation in times of need.

b. A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Engage in any thought or action that would undermine peace, security and sovereignty of the nation;
- ii. **Say things or involve in activity that would tarnish the image of the country; and**
- iii. Engage in thoughts or actions that would undercut his motivation to be sincere and hardworking.

3.2.7 A civil servant shall maintain confidentiality of official information and decisions.

3.2.7.1 A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Uphold the duty of confidentiality at all times.
- ii. Be as open as he is required with his immediate official colleagues about decisions and actions;
- iii. Restrict certain information to protect wider interest; and
- iv. Maintain confidentiality of information discovered in the course of duty, both while in service and after separation.

3.2.7.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Disclose information to an inappropriate person or system;
- ii. Share information with anyone including his family until it is brought to public by the authority concerned or an authorised person; and
- iii. Use information for personal gains.

3.2.17 A civil servant shall refrain from unauthorised communication of information, which shall be detrimental to the smooth and efficient functioning of the Royal Government and the prestige, territorial integrity, national security and stability of the Kingdom as a sovereign and independent nation.

3.2.17.1 A civil servant SHALL:

- i. Maintain confidentiality of information that is critical in the interest of the nation's security;
- ii. Be able to understand the importance and necessity of not disclosing certain information;
- iii. Realise that the first priority of every Bhutanese is the security and sovereignty of the nation; and
- iv. Ensure he has the necessary authority to disclose important official information.

3.2.17.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Disclose critical information to inappropriate person or audience; and
- ii. Use such information to incite disorder in the community and nation.

3.2.18 A civil servant shall refrain from making any statement of fact or opinion in the media or in any document which may have adverse effects against policies or actions of the Royal Government.

3.2.18.2 A civil servant SHALL NOT:

- i. Criticise or undermine policies, programmes and actions of the Royal Government in public and/or media.

3.2.19 A civil servant shall abstain from indulging in any activity or association that adversely affects an institution, national sovereignty and integrity of the country.

3.2.21 civil servant shall not provide any wrong information to the Royal Government.

D. PENAL CODE OF BHUTAN

Sedition

331. A defendant shall be guilty of the offence of sedition, if the defendant:

- a) Undermines the security, unity, integrity, or sovereignty of Bhutan by creating animosity and disaffection among the people;

- b) Write and distributes seditious pamphlet, poster or literature;

Issues a scurrilous and malignant statement against His Majesty or Royal Government with the intent to defame, disrupt, encourage contempt, or incite hatred of the people against Bhutan.

458. A defendant shall be guilty of the offence of promotion of civil unrest, if the defendant:

- a) Advocates national, racial, ethnic, linguistic, caste-based, or religious abhorrence constituting and incitement of violence; or
- b) Commits an act that is prejudicial to the maintenance of harmony between different nationalities, racial groups, castes, or religious groups and that disturbs the public tranquillity. (p.60)

Appendix D: Letter of Consent

Title: **Education Reforms in Bhutan**

Introduction: The main purpose of the interview is to collect data on general education policy and health programmes in the education system. This research is carried out for the fulfillment of PhD studies at the Aalborg University, Denmark under the joint research project called Danish–Bhutanese Research Partnership 2011–2014. The main aim and objective of the survey is to analyse the coordination of education policies at central and local levels in both horizontal and vertical perspectives; to assess the factors affecting the social service delivery in education and health care system of Bhutan; to describe and analyse the inclusion of Gross National Happiness (GNH) in education policies of Bhutan.

Procedure: In the course of the interview, you will be asked to answer minimum of 14 semi structured questions related to your work experiences. If you cannot answer certain questions, you may go to the next questions. The interview may take minimum of one hour with the given questions in which the conversations will be audio-taped. Your responses will be recorded using only code number to maintain confidentiality.

I understand that this research is approved by Royal University of Bhutan and Aalborg University, Denmark. If I have any questions or concerns about my rights or treatment as a research participant, I may contact Director, Sherubtse College at (phone # 04-535100) or by (e-mail: director@sherubtse.edu.bt).

I, Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss. _____ have read the above protocol and voluntarily agree to participate for the interview. The procedure and goals of the study have been explained to me by the researcher and I understand them. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this interview at any time without penalty. I understand that refusal to participate will not affect my career. I also understand that although the data from this study may be published, my identity will be kept confidential, as all data will be identified by number only and signed consent forms will be stored separately from the data. I have received a copy of this consent form for my records.

(Interviewee Signature)

(Researcher)

Appendix E: Analysis Tables

Table 1.1

Sl. No.	Policies	Very Good (%)	Good (%)	Neither good nor bad (%)	Bad (%)
a	Educating for GNH	29.8 (1)	56.1	12.7	1.4
b	Decentralization Policy	24.2 (2)	55.7	17.2	2.6
c	School curriculum	14.8	62.5(2)	19.5	3.1
d	Quality Education	10.3	64.5(1)	21.8	3.5
e	School Infrastructure	9.9	51.5	29.1	9.4(3)
f	Teaching Learning Resources and Use of ICT	13.6	50.8	26.9	8.8
g	Value Education	14.7	61.9(3)	19.7	3.7
h	Counselling Program	13.7	49.5	31.7	5.2
i	School Health Program	18.5 (3)	59.8	19.8	2.0
j	School Physical Education and Sports Program	16.9	57.7	22.1	3.2
k	EMSS System	13.4	56.2	26.9	3.5
l	Financing in Education	6.6	44.5	33.7	15.2 (1)
m	HR Management	6.7	50.4	32.1	10.9 (2)
n	School Disaster Management	14.5	59.3	24.2	3.0
o	Community and Parents participation in School	13.7	50.6	27.4	8.3

Table 1.2

Levels of school	Degree of policy understanding			Total
	All	Somewhat	Little	
HSS	6	2	0	8
	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100%
MSS	10	2	0	12
	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	100%
LSS	21	3	0	24
	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	100%
PS	36	13	1	50
	72.0%	26.0%	2.0%	100%
Total	73	20	1	94
	77.7%	21.3%	1.1%	100%

Table 1.3

Agencies	Teachers %	Principals %	Total	Total %
National Assembly	9.3	10.8	115	9.4
National Council	0.4	2.2	7	0.6
GNH	0.4	1.1	5	0.4
MOE	58.7	44.1	707	57.6
Cabinet Ministers	0.3	7.5	10	0.8
Annual Education conference	20.9	33.3	268	21.8
Don't know	10.1	1.1	116	9.4
Total	100	100	1228	100

A. Access to Education**Table 1.4**

Levels of schools	Tuition fees and text books are free in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	105	45	9	3	4	166
	63.3%	27.1%	5.4%	1.8%	2.4%	100%
MSS	172	69	20	6	6	273
	63.0%	25.3%	7.3%	2.2%	2.2%	100%
LSS	270	84	24	13	5	396
	68.2%	21.2%	6.1%	3.3%	1.3%	100%
PS	215	94	30	5	3	347
	62.0%	27.1%	8.6%	1.4%	0.9%	100%
Total	762	292	83	27	18	1182
	64.5%	24.7%	7.0%	2.3%	1.5%	100%
X² 12.779, p < 0.385						

Table 1.5

Levels of school	Admission policy is adhere in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	63	82	15	4	1	165
	38.2%	49.7%	9.1%	2.4%	0.6%	100%
MSS	84	135	40	9	3	271
	31.0%	49.8%	14.8%	3.3%	1.1%	100%
LSS	162	190	36	3	5	396
	40.9%	48.0%	9.1%	0.8%	1.3%	100%
PS	149	151	40	2	3	345
	43.2%	43.8%	11.6%	0.6%	0.9%	100%
Total	458	558	131	18	12	1177
	38.9%	47.4%	11.1%	1.5%	1.0%	100%
X² 24.022, p < 0.020						

Table 1.6

Levels of school	Rural school are provided free stationery					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	58	50	44	9	4	165
	35.2%	30.3%	26.7%	5.5%	2.4%	100%
MSS	113	95	45	13	6	272
	41.5%	34.9%	16.5%	4.8%	2.2%	100%
LSS	258	85	39	9	4	395
	65.3%	21.5%	9.9%	2.3%	1.0%	100%
PS	244	71	24	1	5	345
	70.7%	20.6%	7.0%	0.3%	1.4%	100%
Total	673	301	152	32	19	1177
	57.2%	25.6%	12.9%	2.7%	1.6%	100%
χ^2 115.938, p <0.000						

Table 1.7

Levels of school	Dzongkhag ensure facilities of the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	24	77	51	8	5	165
	14.5%	46.7%	30.9%	4.8%	3.0%	100%
MSS	35	129	90	13	5	272
	12.9%	47.4%	33.1%	4.8%	1.8%	100%
LSS	67	204	103	14	8	396
	16.9%	51.5%	26.0%	3.5%	2.0%	100%
PS	62	174	89	12	9	346
	17.9%	50.3%	25.7%	3.5%	2.6%	100%
Total	188	584	333	47	27	1179
	15.9%	49.5%	28.2%	4.0%	2.3%	100%
χ^2 10.005, P>0.615						

Table 1.8

Levels of School	School provides special support to students based on location and economic status					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	27	76	47	10	5	165
	16.4%	46.1%	28.5%	6.1%	3.0%	100%
MSS	51	137	68	12	5	273
	18.7%	50.2%	24.9%	4.4%	1.8%	100%
LSS	102	184	83	15	12	396
	25.8%	46.5%	21.0%	3.8%	3.0%	100%
PS	109	159	69	7	3	347
	31.4%	45.8%	19.9%	2.0%	0.9%	100%
Total	289	556	267	44	25	1181
	24.5%	47.1%	22.6%	3.7%	2.1%	100%

χ^2 31.141, p< 0.002

Table 1.9

Location category of school	Tuition Fee and free text books					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	403	130	35	16	8	592
	68.1%	22.0%	5.9%	2.7%	1.4%	100%
Rural	269	120	32	6	9	436
	61.7%	27.5%	7.3%	1.4%	2.1%	100%
Remote	90	42	16	5	1	154
	58.4%	27.3%	10.4%	3.2%	0.6%	100%
Total	762	292	83	27	18	1182
	64.5%	24.7%	7.0%	2.3%	1.5%	100%

χ^2 14.166, P>0.078

B. Curriculum with Levels of School

Table 1.10

Levels of school	The school curriculum is standard and comparable to international level.					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	13	77	54	13	9	166
	7.8%	46.4%	32.5%	7.8%	5.4%	100%
MSS	34	134	69	28	7	272
	12.5%	49.3%	25.4%	10.3%	2.6%	100%
LSS	55	216	80	38	7	396
	13.9%	54.5%	20.2%	9.6%	1.8%	100%
PS	81	168	82	10	5	346
	23.4%	48.6%	23.7%	2.9%	1.4%	100%
Total	183	595	285	89	28	1180
	15.5%	50.4%	24.2%	7.5%	2.4%	100%

χ^2 55.565, p < 0.000

Table 1.11

Levels of school	Curriculum fulfills the general objectives of the nation					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	18	90	46	6	6	166
	10.8%	54.2%	27.7%	3.6%	3.6%	100%
MSS	30	160	67	10	6	273
	11.0%	58.6%	24.5%	3.7%	2.2%	100%
LSS	57	239	74	19	7	396
	14.4%	60.4%	18.7%	4.8%	1.8%	100%
PS	77	193	67	7	3	347
	22.2%	55.6%	19.3%	2.0%	0.9%	100%
Total	182	682	254	42	22	1182
	15.4%	57.7%	21.5%	3.6%	1.9%	100%

χ^2 32.680, p < 0.001

Table 1.12

Levels of school	Curricula are favourable in real classroom teaching					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	15	83	43	16	8	165
	9.1%	50.3%	26.1%	9.7%	4.8%	100%
MSS	22	148	85	13	5	273
	8.1%	54.2%	31.1%	4.8%	1.8%	100%
LSS	40	212	100	32	9	393
	10.2%	53.9%	25.4%	8.1%	2.3%	100%
PS	48	191	88	16	3	346
	13.9%	55.2%	25.4%	4.6%	0.9%	100%
Total	125	634	316	77	25	1177
	10.6%	53.9%	26.8%	6.5%	2.1%	100%

χ^2 24.350, p<0.018

Table 1.13

Levels of school	The school curriculum promotes innovation, creativity, analytical thinking, skills, values and attitudes of the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	28	87	30	15	5	165
	17.0%	52.7%	18.2%	9.1%	3.0%	100%
MSS	50	163	49	10	1	273
	18.3%	59.7%	17.9%	3.7%	0.4%	100%
LSS	91	228	52	19	6	396
	23.0%	57.6%	13.1%	4.8%	1.5%	100%
PS	119	183	41	3	1	347
	34.3%	52.7%	11.8%	.9%	0.3%	100%
Total	288	661	172	47	13	1181
	24.4%	56.0%	14.6%	4.0%	1.1%	100%

X^2 59.593, p<0.000

Table 1.14

Levels of school	The school curriculum caters to wide range of learning needs of the students including the ones with the special educational needs					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	13	81	44	19	7	164
	7.9%	49.4%	26.8%	11.6%	4.3%	100%
MSS	33	145	77	14	4	273
	12.1%	53.1%	28.2%	5.1%	1.5%	100%
LSS	67	217	78	25	9	396
	16.9%	54.8%	19.7%	6.3%	2.3%	100%
PS	82	190	58	12	4	346
	23.7%	54.9%	16.8%	3.5%	1.2%	100%
Total	195	633	257	70	24	1179
	16.5%	53.7%	21.8%	5.9%	2.0%	100%

χ^2 52.662, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.15

Levels of school	Curriculum is student friendly					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	17	87	38	19	4	165
	10.3%	52.7%	23.0%	11.5%	2.4%	100%
MSS	39	133	90	10	1	273
	14.3%	48.7%	33.0%	3.7%	0.4%	100%
LSS	69	227	77	18	5	396
	17.4%	57.3%	19.4%	4.5%	1.3%	100%
PS	85	193	61	4	4	347
	24.5%	55.6%	17.6%	1.2%	1.2%	100%
Total	210	640	266	51	14	1181
	17.8%	54.2%	22.5%	4.3%	1.2%	100%

χ^2 68.850, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.16

Levels of school	The school curriculum gives importance to assessments – both formative and summative					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	35	95	20	8	5	163
	21.5%	58.3%	12.3%	4.9%	3.1%	100%
MSS	81	154	35	1	2	273
	29.7%	56.4%	12.8%	0.4%	0.7%	100%
LSS	166	188	31	5	5	395
	42.0%	47.6%	7.8%	1.3%	1.3%	100%
PS	155	163	21	6	1	346
	44.8%	47.1%	6.1%	1.7%	0.3%	100%
Total	437	600	107	20	13	1177
	37.1%	51.0%	9.1%	1.7%	1.1%	100%

X^2 59.582, $p < 0.000$

C. School Curriculum by Location Category**Table 1.16**

Location category of school	The school curriculum promotes innovation, creativity, analytical thinking, skills, values and attitudes of the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	132	335	91	28	5	591
	22.3%	56.7%	15.4%	4.7%	0.8%	100%
Rural	103	245	67	16	5	436
	23.6%	56.2%	15.4%	3.7%	1.1%	100%
Remote	53	81	14	3	3	154
	34.4%	52.6%	9.1%	1.9%	1.9%	100%
Total	288	661	172	47	13	1181
	24.4%	56.0%	14.6%	4.0%	1.1%	100%

X^2 15.406, $p > 0.052$

Table 1.17

Location category of school	Curriculum is student friendly					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	107	319	131	27	7	591
	18.1%	54.0%	22.2%	4.6%	1.2%	100%
Rural	69	238	106	19	4	436
	15.8%	54.6%	24.3%	4.4%	.9%	100%
Remote	34	83	29	5	3	154
	22.1%	53.9%	18.8%	3.2%	1.9%	100%
Total	210	640	266	51	14	1181
	17.8%	54.2%	22.5%	4.3%	1.2%	100.0%
X ² 5.693, p> 0.682						

D. School Health Programs by Levels of School

Table 1.18

Levels of school	Health and physical education improve life of the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	58	80	23	4	0	165
	35.2%	48.5%	13.9%	2.4%	0.0%	100%
MSS	89	148	35	0	1	273
	32.6%	54.2%	12.8%	0.0%	0.4%	100%
LSS	152	198	41	3	2	396
	38.4%	50.0%	10.4%	0.8%	0.5%	100%
PS	150	167	25	4	1	347
	43.2%	48.1%	7.2%	1.2%	0.3%	100%
Total	449	593	124	11	4	1181
	38.0%	50.2%	10.5%	0.9%	0.3%	100%
X ² 20.800, p> 0.053						

Table 1.19

Levels of school	Comprehensive School Health Program is every much effective in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	31	76	47	8	3	165
	18.8%	46.1%	28.5%	4.8%	1.8%	100%
MSS	51	156	61	3	2	273
	18.7%	57.1%	22.3%	1.1%	0.7%	100%
LSS	91	214	77	10	3	395
	23.0%	54.2%	19.5%	2.5%	0.8%	100%
PS	98	187	55	6	1	347
	28.2%	53.9%	15.9%	1.7%	0.3%	100%
Total	271	633	240	27	9	1180
	23.0%	53.6%	20.3%	2.3%	0.8%	100%

X^2 29.988, $p < 0.003$

Table 1.20

Levels of school	School Health In-charge/ Coordinator plays vital role for school health activities					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	53	83	19	9	1	165
	32.1%	50.3%	11.5%	5.5%	0.6%	100%
MSS	91	145	36	0	1	273
	33.3%	53.1%	13.2%	0.0%	0.4%	100%
LSS	165	188	34	4	4	395
	41.8%	47.6%	8.6%	1.0%	1.0%	100%
PS	148	143	47	8	1	347
	42.7%	41.2%	13.5%	2.3%	0.3%	100%
Total	457	559	136	21	7	1180
	38.7%	47.4%	11.5%	1.8%	0.6%	100%

X^2 37.196, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.21

Levels of school	Annual school health checkups are conducted					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	33	64	45	15	7	164
	20.1%	39.0%	27.4%	9.1%	4.3%	100%
MSS	124	122	20	6	1	273
	45.4%	44.7%	7.3%	2.2%	0.4%	100%
LSS	171	169	36	13	7	396
	43.2%	42.7%	9.1%	3.3%	1.8%	100%
PS	174	130	35	4	4	347
	50.1%	37.5%	10.1%	1.2%	1.2%	100%
Total	502	485	136	38	19	1180
	42.5%	41.1%	11.5%	3.2%	1.6%	100%
χ^2 103.630, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.22

Levels of school	De-worming, vitamin and iron tablets are provided to students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	109	44	9	1	1	164
	66.5%	26.8%	5.5%	0.6%	0.6%	100%
MSS	183	76	11	2	1	273
	67.0%	27.8%	4.0%	0.7%	0.4%	100%
LSS	282	101	10	0	2	395
	71.4%	25.6%	2.5%	0.0%	0.5%	100%
PS	260	70	11	2	4	347
	74.9%	20.2%	3.2%	0.6%	1.2%	100%
Total	834	291	41	5	8	1179
	70.7%	24.7%	3.5%	0.4%	0.7%	100%
χ^2 13.824, $p < 0.132$						

Table 1.23

Levels of school	All students maintain health record book					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	82	61	13	7	2	165
	49.7%	37.0%	7.9%	4.2%	1.2%	100%
MSS	167	84	16	4	2	273
	61.2%	30.8%	5.9%	1.5%	0.7%	100%
LSS	268	104	20	3	1	396
	67.7%	26.3%	5.1%	0.8%	0.3%	100%
PS	289	47	9	2	0	347
	83.3%	13.5%	2.6%	0.6%	0.0%	100%
Total	806	296	58	16	5	1181
	68.2%	25.1%	4.9%	1.4%	0.4%	100%
X ² 78.143, p< 0.000						

Table 1.24

Levels of school	School based parenting education and awareness program is carried out					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	30	75	47	8	5	165
	18.2%	45.5%	28.5%	4.8%	3.0%	100%
MSS	72	131	50	16	4	273
	26.4%	48.0%	18.3%	5.9%	1.5%	100%
LSS	119	192	68	13	3	395
	30.1%	48.6%	17.2%	3.3%	0.8%	100%
PS	95	145	81	20	5	346
	27.5%	41.9%	23.4%	5.8%	1.4%	100%
Total	316	543	246	57	17	1179
	26.8%	46.1%	20.9%	4.8%	1.4%	100%
X ² 24.746, p< 0.016						

Table 1.25

Levels of school	School provides effective school health services to the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	46	89	22	6	2	165
	27.9%	53.9%	13.3%	3.6%	1.2%	100%
MSS	61	174	30	7	1	273
	22.3%	63.7%	11.0%	2.6%	0.4%	100%
LSS	128	204	48	12	4	396
	32.3%	51.5%	12.1%	3.0%	1.0%	100%
PS	145	170	28	3	1	347
	41.8%	49.0%	8.1%	0.9%	0.3%	100%
Total	380	637	128	28	8	1181
	32.2%	53.9%	10.8%	2.4%	0.7%	100%
X^2 37.701, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.26

Levels of school	School has prepared disaster management plan					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	68	77	14	3	2	164
	41.5%	47.0%	8.5%	1.8%	1.2%	100%
MSS	117	132	21	2	1	273
	42.9%	48.4%	7.7%	0.7%	0.4%	100%
LSS	209	154	27	5	0	395
	52.9%	39.0%	6.8%	1.3%	0.0%	100%
PS	215	112	16	4	0	347
	62.0%	32.3%	4.6%	1.2%	0.0%	100%
Total	609	475	78	14	3	1179
	51.7%	40.3%	6.6%	1.2%	0.3%	100%
X^2 39.173, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.27

Levels of school	School has identified focal person for disaster management					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	86	65	10	2	2	165
	52.1%	39.4%	6.1%	1.2%	1.2%	100%
MSS	144	105	17	6	1	273
	52.7%	38.5%	6.2%	2.2%	0.4%	100%
LSS	238	127	25	3	3	396
	60.1%	32.1%	6.3%	0.8%	0.8%	100%
PS	200	108	32	6	1	347
	57.6%	31.1%	9.2%	1.7%	0.3%	100%
Total	668	405	84	17	7	1181
	56.6%	34.3%	7.1%	1.4%	0.6%	100%

X^2 14.191, $p < 0.289$

E. School Health Programs by Location Category

Table 1.28

Location category of school	Health and physical education improve life of the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	235	291	60	3	2	591
	39.8%	49.2%	10.2%	0.5%	0.3%	100%
Rural	159	213	55	8	1	436
	36.5%	48.9%	12.6%	1.8%	0.2%	100%
Remote	55	89	9	0	1	154
	35.7%	57.8%	5.8%	0.0%	0.6%	100%
Total	449	593	124	11	4	1181
	38.0%	50.2%	10.5%	0.9%	0.3%	100%

X^2 15.090, $p < 0.057$

Table 1.29

Location category of school	Comprehensive School Health Program is every much effective in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	135	327	118	6	5	591
	22.8%	55.3%	20.0%	1.0%	0.8%	100%
Rural	107	221	87	18	2	435
	24.6%	50.8%	20.0%	4.1%	0.5%	100%
Remote	29	85	35	3	2	154
	18.8%	55.2%	22.7%	1.9%	1.3%	100%
Total	271	633	240	27	9	1180
	23.0%	53.6%	20.3%	2.3%	0.8%	100%

X^2 15.113, $p < 0.057$

Table 1.30

Location category of school	School Health In-charge/ Coordinator plays vital role for school health activities					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	233	283	60	10	4	590
	39.5%	48.0%	10.2%	1.7%	0.7%	100%
Rural	177	200	48	9	2	436
	40.6%	45.9%	11.0%	2.1%	0.5%	100%
Remote	47	76	28	2	1	154
	30.5%	49.4%	18.2%	1.3%	0.6%	100%
Total	457	559	136	21	7	1180
	38.7%	47.4%	11.5%	1.8%	0.6%	100%

X^2 11.137, $p < 0.194$

Table 1.31

Location category of school	Annual school health checkups are conducted					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	238	251	68	23	10	590
	40.3%	42.5%	11.5%	3.9%	1.7%	100%
Rural	202	171	48	10	5	436
	46.3%	39.2%	11.0%	2.3%	1.1%	100%
Remote	62	63	20	5	4	154
	40.3%	40.9%	13.0%	3.2%	2.6%	100%
Total	502	485	136	38	19	1180
	42.5%	41.1%	11.5%	3.2%	1.6%	100%

X^2 6.939, $p < 0.543$

Table 1.32

Location category of school	De-worming, vitamin and iron tablets are provided to students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	418	154	16	0	1	589
	71.0%	26.1%	2.7%	0.0%	0.2%	100%
Rural	313	94	22	4	3	436
	71.8%	21.6%	5.0%	0.9%	0.7%	100%
Remote	103	43	3	1	4	154
	66.9%	27.9%	1.9%	0.6%	2.6%	100%
Total	834	291	41	5	8	1179
	i	24.7%	3.5%	0.4%	0.7%	100%

X^2 24.174, $p < 0.002$

Table 1.33

Location category of school	All students maintain health record book					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	373	173	32	9	4	591
	63.1%	29.3%	5.4%	1.5%	0.7%	100%
Rural	314	95	20	6	1	436
	72.0%	21.8%	4.6%	1.4%	0.2%	100%
Remote	119	28	6	1	0	154
	77.3%	18.2%	3.9%	0.6%	0.0%	100%
Total	806	296	58	16	5	1181
	68.2%	25.1%	4.9%	1.4%	0.4%	100%

X^2 17.329, $P < 0.027$

Table 1.34

Location category of school	School based parenting education and awareness program is carried out					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	175	271	103	35	5	589
	29.7%	46.0%	17.5%	5.9%	0.8%	100%
Rural	109	194	106	17	10	436
	25.0%	44.5%	24.3%	3.9%	2.3%	100%
Remote	32	78	37	5	2	154
	20.8%	50.6%	24.0%	3.2%	1.3%	100%
Total	316	543	246	57	17	1179
	26.8%	46.1%	20.9%	4.8%	1.4%	100%

X^2 18.589, $p < 0.017$

Table 1.35

Location category of school	School provides effective school health services to the students					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	179	331	64	13	4	591
	30.3%	56.0%	10.8%	2.2%	0.7%	100%
Rural	151	221	52	9	3	436
	34.6%	50.7%	11.9%	2.1%	0.7%	100%
Remote	50	85	12	6	1	154
	32.5%	55.2%	7.8%	3.9%	0.6%	100%
Total	380	637	128	28	8	1181
	32.2%	53.9%	10.8%	2.4%	0.7%	100%

X^2 6.399, $p < 0.603$

Table 1.36

Location category of school	School has prepared disaster management plan					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	281	266	36	4	2	589
	47.7%	45.2%	6.1%	0.7%	0.3%	100%
Rural	235	161	31	8	1	436
	53.9%	36.9%	7.1%	1.8%	0.2%	100%
Remote	93	48	11	2	0	154
	60.4%	31.2%	7.1%	1.3%	0.0%	100%
Total	609	475	78	14	3	1179
	51.7%	40.3%	6.6%	1.2%	0.3%	100%

X^2 16.208, $p < 0.039$

Table 1.37

Location category of school	School has identified focal person for disaster management					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	341	215	28	3	4	591
	57.7%	36.4%	4.7%	0.5%	0.7%	100%
Rural	255	137	32	10	2	436
	58.5%	31.4%	7.3%	2.3%	0.5%	100%
Remote	72	53	24	4	1	154
	46.8%	34.4%	15.6%	2.6%	0.6%	100%
Total	668	405	84	17	7	1181
	56.6%	34.3%	7.1%	1.4%	0.6%	100%

X^2 32.516, $P < 0.000$

F. Quality of Education by Levels of School**Table 1.38**

Levels of school	Quality of education is focused on all categories of education policy					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	25	91	42	4	3	165
	15.2%	55.2%	25.5%	2.4%	1.8%	100%
MSS	48	159	54	10	2	273
	17.6%	58.2%	19.8%	3.7%	0.7%	100%
LSS	84	235	56	14	4	393
	21.4%	59.8%	14.2%	3.6%	1.0%	100%
PS	92	200	46	8	1	347
	26.5%	57.6%	13.3%	2.3%	0.3%	100%
Total	249	685	198	36	10	1178
	21.1%	58.1%	16.8%	3.1%	0.8%	100%

 X^2 27.347, $P < 0.007$
Table 1.39

Levels of school	Student-Teacher ratio is followed in the school (1:32).					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	9	45	42	29	40	165
	5.5%	27.3%	25.5%	17.6%	24.2%	100%
MSS	23	67	59	68	56	273
	8.4%	24.5%	21.6%	24.9%	20.5%	100%
LSS	33	111	78	72	100	394
	8.4%	28.2%	19.8%	18.3%	25.4%	100%
PS	57	109	75	47	59	347
	16.4%	31.4%	21.6%	13.5%	17.0%	100%
Total	122	332	254	216	255	1179
	10.3%	28.2%	21.5%	18.3%	21.6%	100%

 X^2 40.528, $P < 0.000$

Table 1.40

Levels of school	Average class size of 32 students is followed in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	9	37	35	43	41	165
	5.5%	22.4%	21.2%	26.1%	24.8%	100%
MSS	32	65	44	76	56	273
	11.7%	23.8%	16.1%	27.8%	20.5%	100%
LSS	32	96	58	116	92	394
	8.1%	24.4%	14.7%	29.4%	23.4%	100%
PS	78	98	74	52	44	346
	22.5%	28.3%	21.4%	15.0%	12.7%	100%
Total	151	296	211	287	233	1178
	12.8%	25.1%	17.9%	24.4%	19.8%	100%

X^2 79.355, $P < 0.000$

Table 1.41

Levels of school	Teachers are accessible to Teacher Resource Center					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	5	48	68	29	15	165
	3.0%	29.1%	41.2%	17.6%	9.1%	100%
MSS	19	89	108	37	20	273
	7.0%	32.6%	39.6%	13.6%	7.3%	100%
LSS	29	111	147	69	38	394
	7.4%	28.2%	37.3%	17.5%	9.6%	100%
PS	46	132	105	37	25	345
	13.3%	38.3%	30.4%	10.7%	7.2%	100%
Total	99	380	428	172	98	1177
	8.4%	32.3%	36.4%	14.6%	8.3%	100%

X^2 37.281, $P < 0.000$

Table 1.42

Levels of school	School receives equitable resources					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	8	65	63	22	7	165
	4.8%	39.4%	38.2%	13.3%	4.2%	100%
MSS	10	106	111	35	11	273
	3.7%	38.8%	40.7%	12.8%	4.0%	100%
LSS	25	158	123	58	30	394
	6.3%	40.1%	31.2%	14.7%	7.6%	100%
PS	42	155	92	35	22	346
	12.1%	44.8%	26.6%	10.1%	6.4%	100%
Total	85	484	389	150	70	1178
	7.2%	41.1%	33.0%	12.7%	5.9%	100%
X^2 38.245, $P < 0.000$						

G. Quality of Education by Location Category**Table 1.43**

Location category of school	Quality of education is focused on all categories of education policy					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	115	366	116	14	5	616
	18.7%	59.4%	18.8%	2.3%	0.8%	100%
Rural	111	269	77	17	4	478
	23.2%	56.3%	16.1%	3.6%	0.8%	100%
Remote	50	99	22	5	1	177
	28.2%	55.9%	12.4%	2.8%	0.6%	100%
Total	276	734	215	36	10	1271
	21.7%	57.7%	16.9%	2.8%	0.8%	100%
X^2 12.511, $p < 0.130$						

Table 1.44

Location category of school	Student-Teacher ratio is followed in the school (1:32)					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	34	156	138	112	177	617
	5.5%	25.3%	22.4%	18.2%	28.7%	100%
Rural	76	144	88	104	66	478
	15.9%	30.1%	18.4%	21.8%	13.8%	100%
Remote	23	55	48	26	25	177
	13.0%	31.1%	27.1%	14.7%	14.1%	100%
Total	133	355	274	242	268	1272
	10.5%	27.9%	21.5%	19.0%	21.1%	100%

X^2 73.878, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.45

Location category of school	Average class size of 32 students is followed in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	61	134	93	155	173	616
	9.9%	21.8%	15.1%	25.2%	28.1%	100%
Rural	79	127	101	117	54	478
	16.5%	26.6%	21.1%	24.5%	11.3%	100%
Remote	31	52	38	39	17	177
	17.5%	29.4%	21.5%	22.0%	9.6%	100%
Total	171	313	232	311	244	1271
	13.5%	24.6%	18.3%	24.5%	19.2%	100%

X^2 72.168, $P < 0.000$

Table 1.46

Location category of school	Teachers are accessible to Teacher Resource Center					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	40	204	235	77	59	615
	6.5%	33.2%	38.2%	12.5%	9.6%	100%
Rural	45	146	176	73	38	478
	9.4%	30.5%	36.8%	15.3%	7.9%	100%
Remote	22	63	45	37	10	177
	12.4%	35.6%	25.4%	20.9%	5.6%	100%
Total	107	413	456	187	107	1270
	8.4%	32.5%	35.9%	14.7%	8.4%	100%

X^2 23.683, $p < 0.003$

Table 1.47

Location category of school	School receives equitable resources					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	39	246	205	77	49	616
	6.3%	39.9%	33.3%	12.5%	8.0%	100%
Rural	39	218	149	55	17	478
	8.2%	45.6%	31.2%	11.5%	3.6%	100%
Remote	16	71	55	28	7	177
	9.0%	40.1%	31.1%	15.8%	4.0%	100%
Total	94	535	409	160	73	1271
	7.4%	42.1%	32.2%	12.6%	5.7%	100%
X^2 16.791, $P < 0.032$						

H. Teaching-Learning Resources by Levels of School**Table 1.48**

Levels of school	School receives adequate textbooks, teachers' guide books and reference materials					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	25	84	36	14	6	165
	15.2%	50.9%	21.8%	8.5%	3.6%	100%
MSS	58	136	40	34	4	272
	21.3%	50.0%	14.7%	12.5%	1.5%	100%
LSS	75	194	79	34	12	394
	19.0%	49.2%	20.1%	8.6%	3.0%	100%
PS	139	145	39	20	3	346
	40.2%	41.9%	11.3%	5.8%	0.9%	100%
Total	297	559	194	102	25	1177
	25.2%	47.5%	16.5%	8.7%	2.1%	100%
X^2 74.721, $P < 0.000$						

Table 1.49

Levels of school	School has standing policy to take care of teaching-learning resources					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	19	87	40	15	4	165
	11.5%	52.7%	24.2%	9.1%	2.4%	100%
MSS	44	142	72	12	3	273
	16.1%	52.0%	26.4%	4.4%	1.1%	100%
LSS	78	195	94	24	3	394
	19.8%	49.5%	23.9%	6.1%	0.8%	100%
PS	104	164	64	12	3	347
	30.0%	47.3%	18.4%	3.5%	0.9%	100%
Total	245	588	270	63	13	1179
	20.8%	49.9%	22.9%	5.3%	1.1%	100%
χ^2 40.427, p<0.000						

Table 1.50

Levels of school	School is equipped with computers and internet connection					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	32	83	25	14	11	165
	19.4%	50.3%	15.2%	8.5%	6.7%	100%
MSS	87	107	44	24	11	273
	31.9%	39.2%	16.1%	8.8%	4.0%	100%
LSS	70	164	85	43	32	394
	17.8%	41.6%	21.6%	10.9%	8.1%	100%
PS	66	116	87	49	28	346
	19.1%	33.5%	25.1%	14.2%	8.1%	100%
Total	255	470	241	130	82	1178
	21.6%	39.9%	20.5%	11.0%	7.0%	100%
χ^2 44.506, p< 0.000						

Table 1.51

Levels of school	School uses information technology in teaching and learning					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	24	88	35	11	7	165
	14.5%	53.3%	21.2%	6.7%	4.2%	100%
MSS	51	159	52	8	3	273
	18.7%	58.2%	19.0%	2.9%	1.1%	100%
LSS	60	194	84	40	16	394
	15.2%	49.2%	21.3%	10.2%	4.1%	100%
PS	49	134	100	41	23	347
	14.1%	38.6%	28.8%	11.8%	6.6%	100%
Total	184	575	271	100	49	1179
	15.6%	48.8%	23.0%	8.5%	4.2%	100%

X^2 50.715, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.52

Levels of school	Teachers are exposed to IT education for professional development in teaching					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	32	87	38	5	3	165
	19.4%	52.7%	23.0%	3.0%	1.8%	100%
MSS	78	145	40	5	5	273
	28.6%	53.1%	14.7%	1.8%	1.8%	100%
LSS	108	206	50	21	9	394
	27.4%	52.3%	12.7%	5.3%	2.3%	100%
PS	76	159	77	21	13	346
	22.0%	46.0%	22.3%	6.1%	3.8%	100%
Total	294	597	205	52	30	1178
	25.0%	50.7%	17.4%	4.4%	2.5%	100%

X^2 32.471, $p < 0.001$

Table 1.53

Levels of school	ICT is emphasis in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	33	88	32	8	4	165
	20.0%	53.3%	19.4%	4.8%	2.4%	100%
MSS	77	145	40	9	2	273
	28.2%	53.1%	14.7%	3.3%	0.7%	100%
LSS	90	213	63	16	12	394
	22.8%	54.1%	16.0%	4.1%	3.0%	100%
PS	54	120	113	35	23	345
	15.7%	34.8%	32.8%	10.1%	6.7%	100%
Total	254	566	248	68	41	1177
	21.6%	48.1%	21.1%	5.8%	3.5%	100%
X ² 95.656, p< 0.000						

I. Teaching-Learning Resources by Location of Schools

Table 1.54

Location category of school	School receives adequate textbooks, teachers' guide books and reference materials					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	120	308	109	58	22	617
	19.4%	49.9%	17.7%	9.4%	3.6%	100%
Rural	158	212	66	39	1	476
	33.2%	44.5%	13.9%	8.2%	0.2%	100%
Remote	57	83	22	13	2	177
	32.2%	46.9%	12.4%	7.3%	1.1%	100%
Total	335	603	197	110	25	1270
	26.4%	47.5%	15.5%	8.7%	2.0%	100%
X ² 44.273, p<0.000						

Table 1.55

Location category of school	School has standing policy to take care of teaching-learning resources					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	110	316	148	31	12	617
	17.8%	51.2%	24.0%	5.0%	1.9%	100%
Rural	120	233	99	24	2	478
	25.1%	48.7%	20.7%	5.0%	0.4%	100%
Remote	41	92	35	9	0	177
	23.2%	52.0%	19.8%	5.1%	0.0%	100%
Total	271	641	282	64	14	1272
	21.3%	50.4%	22.2%	5.0%	1.1%	100%
X^2 17.258, $p < 0.028$						

Table 1.56

Location category of school	School is equipped with computers and internet connection					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	134	300	114	41	27	616
	21.8%	48.7%	18.5%	6.7%	4.4%	100%
Rural	116	166	110	52	34	478
	24.3%	34.7%	23.0%	10.9%	7.1%	100%
Remote	21	50	38	43	25	177
	11.9%	28.2%	21.5%	24.3%	14.1%	100%
Total	271	516	262	136	86	1271
	21.3%	40.6%	20.6%	10.7%	6.8%	100%
X^2 92.233, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.57

Location category of school	School uses information technology in teaching and learning					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	87	323	148	41	18	617
	14.1%	52.4%	24.0%	6.6%	2.9%	100%
Rural	87	240	103	33	15	478
	18.2%	50.2%	21.5%	6.9%	3.1%	100%
Remote	17	72	37	32	19	177
	9.6%	40.7%	20.9%	18.1%	10.7%	100%
Total	191	635	288	106	52	1272
	15.0%	49.9%	22.6%	8.3%	4.1%	100%

X^2 57.480, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.58

Location category of school	Teachers are exposed to IT education for professional development in teaching					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	158	330	104	14	10	616
	25.6%	53.6%	16.9%	2.3%	1.6%	100%
Rural	121	248	81	18	10	478
	25.3%	51.9%	16.9%	3.8%	2.1%	100%
Remote	25	82	35	25	10	177
	14.1%	46.3%	19.8%	14.1%	5.6%	100%
Total	304	660	220	57	30	1271
	23.9%	51.9%	17.3%	4.5%	2.4%	100%

X^2 63.994, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.59

Location category of school	ICT is emphasis in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	144	318	112	27	14	615
	23.4%	51.7%	18.2%	4.4%	2.3%	100%
Rural	109	227	102	28	12	478
	22.8%	47.5%	21.3%	5.9%	2.5%	100%
Remote	21	70	51	18	17	177
	11.9%	39.5%	28.8%	10.2%	9.6%	100%
Total	274	615	265	73	43	1270
	21.6%	48.4%	20.9%	5.7%	3.4%	100%
X^2 52.392, $p < 0.000$						

J. School Infrastructure by Levels of School**Table 1.60**

Levels of school	School has safe and conducive learning environment in place.					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	59	82	18	3	3	165
	35.8%	49.7%	10.9%	1.8%	1.8%	100%
MSS	85	152	32	3	1	273
	31.1%	55.7%	11.7%	1.1%	0.4%	100%
LSS	88	212	64	24	5	393
	22.4%	53.9%	16.3%	6.1%	1.3%	100%
PS	134	166	31	13	3	347
	38.6%	47.8%	8.9%	3.7%	0.9%	100%
Total	366	612	145	43	12	1178
	31.1%	52.0%	12.3%	3.7%	1.0%	100%
X^2 43.370, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.61

Levels of school	Basic minimum sporting facilities (indoor/outdoor) including sports equipment are there in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	39	106	16	3	1	165
	23.6%	64.2%	9.7%	1.8%	0.6%	100%
MSS	61	147	49	12	3	272
	22.4%	54.0%	18.0%	4.4%	1.1%	100%
LSS	56	211	78	35	13	393
	14.2%	53.7%	19.8%	8.9%	3.3%	100.0%
PS	70	169	68	24	16	347
	20.2%	48.7%	19.6%	6.9%	4.6%	100.0%
Total	226	633	211	74	33	1177
	19.2%	53.8%	17.9%	6.3%	2.8%	100.0%

X^2 42.277, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.62

Levels of school	There are adequate toilet facilities in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	34	86	32	12	1	165
	20.6%	52.1%	19.4%	7.3%	0.6%	100%
MSS	79	144	34	14	2	273
	28.9%	52.7%	12.5%	5.1%	0.7%	100%
LSS	82	183	71	45	12	393
	20.9%	46.6%	18.1%	11.5%	3.1%	100%
PS	148	136	34	24	5	347
	42.7%	39.2%	9.8%	6.9%	1.4%	100%
Total	343	549	171	95	20	1178
	29.1%	46.6%	14.5%	8.1%	1.7%	100%

X^2 70.898, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.63

Levels of school	School has safe and adequate drinking water supply					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	34	95	23	11	2	165
	20.6%	57.6%	13.9%	6.7%	1.2%	100%
MSS	72	134	42	21	4	273
	26.4%	49.1%	15.4%	7.7%	1.5%	100%
LSS	81	197	75	30	10	393
	20.6%	50.1%	19.1%	7.6%	2.5%	100%
PS	144	158	28	14	3	347
	41.5%	45.5%	8.1%	4.0%	0.9%	100%
Total	331	584	168	76	19	1178
	28.1%	49.6%	14.3%	6.5%	1.6%	100%

X^2 61.083, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.64

Levels of school	Waste is properly managed in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	47	86	23	8	1	165
	28.5%	52.1%	13.9%	4.8%	0.6%	100%
MSS	81	151	37	3	1	273
	29.7%	55.3%	13.6%	1.1%	0.4%	100 %
LSS	126	211	46	7	3	393
	32.1%	53.7%	11.7%	1.8%	0.8%	100%
PS	168	151	24	3	0	346
	48.6%	43.6%	6.9%	0.9%	0.0%	100%
Total	422	599	130	21	5	1177
	35.9%	50.9%	11.0%	1.8%	0.4%	100%

X^2 49.792, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.65

Levels of school	There are adequate furniture in the school (chairs, tables, blackboard etc)					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	51	92	14	7	1	165
	30.9%	55.8%	8.5%	4.2%	0.6%	100%
MSS	95	125	36	13	4	273
	34.8%	45.8%	13.2%	4.8%	1.5%	100%
LSS	95	191	63	30	13	392
	24.2%	48.7%	16.1%	7.7%	3.3%	100%
PS	122	152	43	21	9	347
	35.2%	43.8%	12.4%	6.1%	2.6%	100%
Total	363	560	156	71	27	1177
	30.8%	47.6%	13.3%	6.0%	2.3%	100%

X^2 26.160, $p < 0.010$

K. School Infrastructures by the Location of School

Table 1.66

Location category of school	School has safe and conducive learning environment in place					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	160	345	77	29	5	616
	26.0%	56.0%	12.5%	4.7%	0.8%	100%
Rural	170	233	61	7	7	478
	35.6%	48.7%	12.8%	1.5%	1.5%	100%
Remote	64	87	18	7	1	177
	36.2%	49.2%	10.2%	4.0%	0.6%	100%
Total	394	665	156	43	13	1271
	31.0%	52.3%	12.3%	3.4%	1.0%	100%

X^2 23.276, $p < 0.003$

Table 1.67

Location category of school	Basic minimum sporting facilities (indoor/outdoor) including equipment are there in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	105	325	133	32	20	615
	17.1%	52.8%	21.6%	5.2%	3.3%	100%
Rural	98	278	61	32	9	478
	20.5%	58.2%	12.8%	6.7%	1.9%	100%
Remote	40	84	34	13	6	177
	22.6%	47.5%	19.2%	7.3%	3.4%	100%
Total	243	687	228	77	35	1270
	19.1%	54.1%	18.0%	6.1%	2.8%	100%

$X^2 21.648, p < 0.006$

Table 1.68

Location category of school	There are adequate toilet facilities in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	149	307	101	49	10	616
	24.2%	49.8%	16.4%	8.0%	1.6%	100%
Rural	152	220	65	33	8	478
	31.8%	46.0%	13.6%	6.9%	1.7%	100%
Remote	63	72	21	17	4	177
	35.6%	40.7%	11.9%	9.6%	2.3%	100%
Total	364	599	187	99	22	1271
	28.6%	47.1%	14.7%	7.8%	1.7%	100%

$X^2 15.716, p < 0.047$

Table 1.69

Location category of school	School has safe and adequate drinking water supply					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	129	321	105	49	12	616
	20.9%	52.1%	17.0%	8.0%	1.9%	100%
Rural	165	229	49	29	6	478
	34.5%	47.9%	10.3%	6.1%	1.3%	100%
Remote	61	83	26	5	2	177
	34.5%	46.9%	14.7%	2.8%	1.1%	100%
Total	355	633	180	83	20	1271
	27.9%	49.8%	14.2%	6.5%	1.6%	100%

X^2 37.894, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.70

Location category of school	Waste is properly managed in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	204	328	70	11	2	615
	33.2%	53.3%	11.4%	1.8%	0.3%	100%
Rural	176	240	51	9	2	478
	36.8%	50.2%	10.7%	1.9%	0.4%	100%
Remote	78	76	18	4	1	177
	44.1%	42.9%	10.2%	2.3%	0.6%	100%
Total	458	644	139	24	5	1270
	36.1%	50.7%	10.9%	1.9%	0.4%	100%

X^2 8.226, $p < 0.412$

Table 1.71

Location category of school	There are adequate furniture in the school (chairs, tables, blackboard etc)					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	175	303	92	34	12	616
	28.4%	49.2%	14.9%	5.5%	1.9%	100%
Rural	169	219	49	30	10	477
	35.4%	45.9%	10.3%	6.3%	2.1%	100%
Remote	44	82	31	13	7	177
	24.9%	46.3%	17.5%	7.3%	4.0%	100%
Total	388	604	172	77	29	1270
	30.6%	47.6%	13.5%	6.1%	2.3%	100%

X^2 17.262, $p < 0.027$

L. Human Resource Policy by Levels of School**Table 1.72**

Levels of school	MOE ensures HR policy is uniformly applied across the country					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	17	70	62	8	7	164
	10.4%	42.7%	37.8%	4.9%	4.3%	100%
MSS	26	111	110	18	8	273
	9.5%	40.7%	40.3%	6.6%	2.9%	100%
LSS	55	177	113	35	13	393
	14.0%	45.0%	28.8%	8.9%	3.3%	100%
PS	63	122	130	21	10	346
	18.2%	35.3%	37.6%	6.1%	2.9%	100%
Total	161	480	415	82	38	1176
	13.7%	40.8%	35.3%	7.0%	3.2%	100%
X ² 26.299, P< 0.010						

Table 1.73

Levels of school	Staff development program is conducted very often in school or at national level					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	12	71	63	13	6	165
	7.3%	43.0%	38.2%	7.9%	3.6%	100%
MSS	28	105	102	28	10	273
	10.3%	38.5%	37.4%	10.3%	3.7%	100%
LSS	52	184	109	39	9	393
	13.2%	46.8%	27.7%	9.9%	2.3%	100%
PS	51	165	106	18	6	346
	14.7%	47.7%	30.6%	5.2%	1.7%	100%
Total	143	525	380	98	31	1177
	12.1%	44.6%	32.3%	8.3%	2.6%	100.0%
X ² 26.152, p< 0.010						

Table 1.74

Levels of school	Teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	15	63	51	25	10	164
	9.1%	38.4%	31.1%	15.2%	6.1%	100%
MSS	23	113	91	27	19	273
	8.4%	41.4%	33.3%	9.9%	7.0%	100%
LSS	65	160	92	61	15	393
	16.5%	40.7%	23.4%	15.5%	3.8%	100%
PS	61	139	106	29	11	346
	17.6%	40.2%	30.6%	8.4%	3.2%	100%
Total	164	475	340	142	55	1176
	13.9%	40.4%	28.9%	12.1%	4.7%	100%

X^2 37.017, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.75

Levels of school	School has adequate subject competent teachers					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	33	91	22	13	6	165
	20.0%	55.2%	13.3%	7.9%	3.6%	100%
MSS	49	147	55	18	4	273
	17.9%	53.8%	20.1%	6.6%	1.5%	100%
LSS	68	197	97	26	5	393
	17.3%	50.1%	24.7%	6.6%	1.3%	100%
PS	67	146	93	29	11	346
	19.4%	42.2%	26.9%	8.4%	3.2%	100%
Total	217	581	267	86	26	1177
	18.4%	49.4%	22.7%	7.3%	2.2%	100%

X^2 23.386, $p < 0.025$

M. Human Resource Policy by Location of School**Table 1.76**

Location category of school	MOE ensures HR policy is uniformly applied across the country					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	83	259	216	38	18	614
	13.5%	42.2%	35.2%	6.2%	2.9%	100%
Rural	61	196	161	45	15	478
	12.8%	41.0%	33.7%	9.4%	3.1%	100%
Remote	23	65	70	11	8	177
	13.0%	36.7%	39.5%	6.2%	4.5%	100%
Total	167	520	447	94	41	1269
	13.2%	41.0%	35.2%	7.4%	3.2%	100%
X^2 7.646, $p < 0.469$						

Table 1.77

Location category of school	Staff development program is conducted very often in school or at national level					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	82	279	192	47	15	615
	13.3%	45.4%	31.2%	7.6%	2.4%	100%
Rural	54	222	158	34	10	478
	11.3%	46.4%	33.1%	7.1%	2.1%	100%
Remote	22	76	52	21	6	177
	12.4%	42.9%	29.4%	11.9%	3.4%	100%
Total	158	577	402	102	31	1270
	12.4%	45.4%	31.7%	8.0%	2.4%	100%
X^2 6.616, $p > 0.579$						

Table 1.78

Location category of school	Teachers are provided with adequate opportunities to upgrade their professional and academic qualifications					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	91	256	173	71	23	614
	14.8%	41.7%	28.2%	11.6%	3.7%	100%
Rural	66	204	134	46	28	478
	13.8%	42.7%	28.0%	9.6%	5.9%	100%
Remote	29	62	52	29	5	177
	16.4%	35.0%	29.4%	16.4%	2.8%	100%
Total	186	522	359	146	56	1269
	14.7%	41.1%	28.3%	11.5%	4.4%	100%

$\chi^2 11.650, p < 0.168$

Table 1.79

Location category of school	School has adequate subject competent teachers					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	109	321	132	41	12	615
	17.7%	52.2%	21.5%	6.7%	2.0%	100%
Rural	85	246	104	35	8	478
	17.8%	51.5%	21.8%	7.3%	1.7%	100%
Remote	32	74	50	15	6	177
	18.1%	41.8%	28.2%	8.5%	3.4%	100%
Total	226	641	286	91	26	1270
	17.8%	50.5%	22.5%	7.2%	2.0%	100%

$\chi^2 8.670, p < 0.371$

N. Student Enrichment and Support Programs by Levels of School

Table 1.80

Levels of school	Students are engaged fully in extra-curricular activities					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	47	90	22	4	2	165
	28.5%	54.5%	13.3%	2.4%	1.2%	100%
MSS	67	158	34	14	0	273
	24.5%	57.9%	12.5%	5.1%	0.0%	100%
LSS	102	222	50	15	4	393
	26.0%	56.5%	12.7%	3.8%	1.0%	100%
PS	124	176	35	5	5	345
	35.9%	51.0%	10.1%	1.4%	1.4%	100%
Total	340	646	141	38	11	1176
	28.9%	54.9%	12.0%	3.2%	0.9%	100%

X^2 22.797, $p < 0.030$

Table 1.81

Levels of school	School ensures that students are abiding the students' code of conduct.					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	50	101	9	3	2	165
	30.3%	61.2%	5.5%	1.8%	1.2%	100%
MSS	87	163	17	3	3	273
	31.9%	59.7%	6.2%	1.1%	1.1%	100%
LSS	142	205	40	4	3	394
	36.0%	52.0%	10.2%	1.0%	0.8%	100%
PS	171	157	15	1	1	345
	49.6%	45.5%	4.3%	0.3%	0.3%	100%
Total	450	626	81	11	9	1177
	38.2%	53.2%	6.9%	0.9%	0.8%	100%

X^2 40.663, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.82

Levels of school	School is equipped with counseling and guidance program					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	55	80	19	9	2	165
	33.3%	48.5%	11.5%	5.5%	1.2%	100%
MSS	61	140	54	13	5	273
	22.3%	51.3%	19.8%	4.8%	1.8%	100%
LSS	63	206	79	35	11	394
	16.0%	52.3%	20.1%	8.9%	2.8%	100%
PS	55	137	110	36	6	344
	16.0%	39.8%	32.0%	10.5%	1.7%	100%
Total	234	563	262	93	24	1176
	19.9%	47.9%	22.3%	7.9%	2.0%	100%
χ^2 62.974, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.83

Levels of school	School has scouting program					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	54	89	13	8	1	165
	32.7%	53.9%	7.9%	4.8%	0.6%	100%
MSS	106	137	25	3	2	273
	38.8%	50.2%	9.2%	1.1%	0.7%	100%
LSS	160	157	41	24	12	394
	40.6%	39.8%	10.4%	6.1%	3.0%	100%
PS	121	118	48	35	23	345
	35.1%	34.2%	13.9%	10.1%	6.7%	100%
Total	441	501	127	70	38	1177
	37.5%	42.6%	10.8%	5.9%	3.2%	100%
χ^2 65.736, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.84

Levels of school	Physical education and sports periods are allocated					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	39	61	22	28	15	165
	23.6%	37.0%	13.3%	17.0%	9.1%	100%
MSS	120	113	26	9	4	272
	44.1%	41.5%	9.6%	3.3%	1.5%	100%
LSS	206	160	16	9	3	394
	52.3%	40.6%	4.1%	2.3%	0.8%	100%
PS	171	130	30	11	2	344
	49.7%	37.8%	8.7%	3.2%	0.6%	100%
Total	536	464	94	57	24	1175
	45.6%	39.5%	8.0%	4.9%	2.0%	100%
$X^2 144.107, p < 0.000$						

Table 1.85

Levels of school	Equal opportunities are given for both boys and girls for any activities in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	74	76	10	3	2	165
	44.8%	46.1%	6.1%	1.8%	1.2%	100%
MSS	136	118	15	2	1	272
	50.0%	43.4%	5.5%	0.7%	0.4%	100%
LSS	213	158	17	2	4	394
	54.1%	40.1%	4.3%	0.5%	1.0%	100%
PS	233	99	11	1	1	345
	67.5%	28.7%	3.2%	0.3%	0.3%	100%
Total	656	451	53	8	8	1176
	55.8%	38.4%	4.5%	0.7%	0.7%	100%
$X^2 36.432, p < 0.000$						

Table 1.86

Levels of school	School encourages parents to educate their children at home					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	40	80	33	7	4	164
	24.4%	48.8%	20.1%	4.3%	2.4%	100%
MSS	82	129	54	8	0	273
	30.0%	47.3%	19.8%	2.9%	0.0%	100%
LSS	140	190	50	10	3	393
	35.6%	48.3%	12.7%	2.5%	0.8%	100%
PS	171	147	24	1	2	345
	49.6%	42.6%	7.0%	0.3%	0.6%	100%
Total	433	546	161	26	9	1175
	36.9%	46.5%	13.7%	2.2%	0.8%	100%
χ^2 69.267, $p < 0.000$						

Table 1.87

Levels of school	School has good relation with community					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
HSS	43	85	31	2	3	164
	26.2%	51.8%	18.9%	1.2%	1.8%	100%
MSS	79	136	48	10	0	273
	28.9%	49.8%	17.6%	3.7%	0.0%	100%
LSS	120	213	49	8	4	394
	30.5%	54.1%	12.4%	2.0%	1.0%	100%
PS	169	148	23	4	1	345
	49.0%	42.9%	6.7%	1.2%	0.3%	100%
Total	411	582	151	24	8	1176
	34.9%	49.5%	12.8%	2.0%	0.7%	100%
χ^2 64.606, $p < 0.000$						

O. Student Enrichment and Support Programs by Location of School

Table 1.88

Location category of school	Students are engaged fully in extra-curricular activities					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	149	356	85	20	4	614
	24.3%	58.0%	13.8%	3.3%	0.7%	100%
Rural	151	256	55	11	5	478
	31.6%	53.6%	11.5%	2.3%	1.0%	100%
Remote	69	86	13	7	2	177
	39.0%	48.6%	7.3%	4.0%	1.1%	100%
Total	369	698	153	38	11	1269
	29.1%	55.0%	12.1%	3.0%	0.9%	100%

X^2 21.499, $p < 0.006$

Table 1.89

Location category of school	School ensures that students are abiding the students' code of conduct.					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	200	367	40	6	2	615
	32.5%	59.7%	6.5%	1.0%	0.3%	100%
Rural	218	217	34	3	6	478
	45.6%	45.4%	7.1%	0.6%	1.3%	100%
Remote	76	86	11	3	1	177
	42.9%	48.6%	6.2%	1.7%	0.6%	100%
Total	494	670	85	12	9	1270
	38.9%	52.8%	6.7%	0.9%	0.7%	100%

X^2 28.905, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.90

Location category of school	School is equipped with counseling and guidance program					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	141	319	108	37	9	614
	23.0%	52.0%	17.6%	6.0%	1.5%	100%
Rural	79	225	118	47	9	478
	16.5%	47.1%	24.7%	9.8%	1.9%	100%
Remote	24	66	59	20	8	177
	13.6%	37.3%	33.3%	11.3%	4.5%	100%
Total	244	610	285	104	26	1269
	19.2%	48.1%	22.5%	8.2%	2.0%	100%

X^2 45.921, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.91

Location category of school	School has scouting program					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	251	289	45	17	13	615
	40.8%	47.0%	7.3%	2.8%	2.1%	100%
Rural	156	207	66	33	16	478
	32.6%	43.3%	13.8%	6.9%	3.3%	100%
Remote	49	54	31	29	14	177
	27.7%	30.5%	17.5%	16.4%	7.9%	100%
Total	456	550	142	79	43	1270
	35.9%	43.3%	11.2%	6.2%	3.4%	100%

X^2 90.216, $p < 0.000$

Table 1.92

Location category of school	Physical education and sports periods are allocated					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	278	254	42	29	10	613
	45.4%	41.4%	6.9%	4.7%	1.6%	100%
Rural	221	178	41	24	14	478
	46.2%	37.2%	8.6%	5.0%	2.9%	100%
Remote	73	76	18	7	3	177
	41.2%	42.9%	10.2%	4.0%	1.7%	100%
Total	572	508	101	60	27	1268
	45.1%	40.1%	8.0%	4.7%	2.1%	100%

X^2 7.209, $p > 0.514$

Table 1.93

Location category of school	Equal opportunities are given for both boys and girls for any activities in the school					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	332	249	28	1	4	614
	54.1%	40.6%	4.6%	0.2%	0.7%	100%
Rural	274	174	21	6	3	478
	57.3%	36.4%	4.4%	1.3%	0.6%	100%
Remote	105	64	6	1	1	177
	59.3%	36.2%	3.4%	0.6%	0.6%	100%
Total	711	487	55	8	8	1269
	56.0%	38.4%	4.3%	0.6%	0.6%	100%

X^2 7.934, $p < 0.440$

Table 1.94

Location category of school	School encourages parents to educate their children at home					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	226	309	61	12	5	613
	36.9%	50.4%	10.0%	2.0%	0.8%	100%
Rural	171	205	88	11	3	478
	35.8%	42.9%	18.4%	2.3%	0.6%	100%
Remote	71	77	24	4	1	177
	40.1%	43.5%	13.6%	2.3%	0.6%	100%
Total	468	591	173	27	9	1268
	36.9%	46.6%	13.6%	2.1%	0.7%	100%

$X^2 18.791, p < 0.016$

Table 1.95

Location category of school	School has good relation with community					Total
	SA	Agree	Neutral	DA	SDA	
Urban	219	309	72	10	4	614
	35.7%	50.3%	11.7%	1.6%	0.7%	100%
Rural	176	227	65	6	4	478
	36.8%	47.5%	13.6%	1.3%	0.8%	100%
Remote	68	81	20	8	0	177
	38.4%	45.8%	11.3%	4.5%	0.0%	100%
Total	463	617	157	24	8	1269
	36.5%	48.6%	12.4%	1.9%	0.6%	100%

$X^2 11.207, p < 0.190$

P. GNH Practice in Schools by Levels of School

Table 1.96

Levels of school	Curriculum caters national values and ethos of Educating for GNH				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very often	Don't Know	
HSS	2	22	140	2	166
	1.2%	13.3%	84.3%	1.2%	100%
MSS	3	24	243	3	273
	1.1%	8.8%	89.0%	1.1%	100%
LSS	1	37	353	4	395
	0.3%	9.4%	89.3%	1.0%	100%
PS	0	17	326	4	347
	0.0%	4.9%	93.9%	1.2%	100%
Total	6	100	1062	13	1181
	0.5%	8.5%	89.9%	1.1%	100%
X^2 26.822, $p < 0.008$					

Table 1.97

Levels of school	I applied GNH in my teaching				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very Often	Don't Know	
HSS	1	11	153	1	166
	0.6%	6.6%	92.2%	0.6%	100%
MSS	1	17	254	1	273
	0.4%	6.2%	93.1%	0.4%	100%
LSS	3	18	374	0	395
	0.8%	4.6%	94.6%	0.0%	100%
PS	1	15	330	1	347
	0.3%	4.3%	95.1%	0.3%	100%
Total	6	61	1111	3	1181
	0.5%	5.2%	94.1%	0.3%	100%
X^2 9.492, $p > 0.660$					

Table 1.98

Levels of school	I seek help from colleagues when I am not sure of certain decisions to be made with relation to GNH				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very Often	Don't Know	
HSS	3	15	147	1	166
	1.8%	9.0%	88.6%	0.6%	100%
MSS	5	26	238	5	274
	1.8%	9.5%	86.9%	1.8%	100%
LSS	3	26	364	2	395
	0.0%	6.6%	92.1%	0.5%	100%
PS	4	21	322	0	347
	1.2%	6.1%	92.8%	0.0%	100%
Total	15	88	1071	8	1182
	1.3%	7.4%	90.6%	0.7%	100%

$X^2 17.036, p < 0.148$

Q. GNH Practice in Schools by Location of School**Table 1.99**

Location category of school	Curriculum caters national values and ethos of Educating for GNH				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very Often	Don't Know	
Urban	3	55	551	8	617
	0.5%	8.9%	89.3%	1.3%	100%
Rural	3	39	435	3	480
	0.6%	8.1%	90.7%	0.6%	100%
Remote	0	11	163	3	177
	0.0%	6.2%	92.1%	1.7%	100%
Total	6	105	1149	14	1274
	0.5%	8.2%	90.2%	1.1%	100%

$X^2 4.754, p > 0.784$

Table 1.100

Location category of school	I applied GNH in my teaching				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very Often	Don't Know	
Urban	3	24	588	2	617
	0.5%	3.9%	95.3%	0.3%	100%
Rural	2	28	449	1	480
	0.4%	5.8%	93.5%	0.2%	100%
Remote	1	10	166	0	177
	0.6%	5.6%	93.8%	0.0%	100%
Total	6	62	1203	3	1274
	0.5%	4.9%	94.4%	0.2%	100%
X^2 10.411, $p < 0.237$					

Table 1.101

Location category of school	I seek help from colleagues when I am not sure of certain decisions to be made with relation to GNH				Total
	Never	Seldom	Very Often	Don't Know	
Urban	6	43	565	4	618
	1.0%	7.0%	91.5%	0.6%	100%
Rural	7	38	433	2	480
	1.5%	7.9%	90.2%	0.4%	100%
Remote	3	11	161	2	177
	1.7%	6.2%	90.9%	1.1%	100%
Total	16	92	1159	8	1275
	1.3%	7.2%	91.0%	0.6%	100%
X^2 6.616, $p > 0.579$					

Appendix F: Recommendations

The study makes recommendations on two areas: to the MoE and for future research.

Policy implementation recommendations to the MoE are as follows:

The study recommends that the MoE should involve various stakeholders in policy formulation and decision-making especially the principals, teachers and parents. This will change the perceptions of people about the centralized power of the ministry as well as help in formulating suitable policies that reflect the reality on the ground.

In order to disseminate the policy uniformly, MoE needs to consider the medium of policy flow and establish facilities and information channels across the schools because this will enhance uniform and consistent policy implementation.

The study also recommends that MoE should ensure that every policy is clear to the implementers in order for them to implement policy successfully and accurately and fulfil its objectives. The study revealed that a majority of the respondents did not understand policies fully and this may lead to dilution or diversion of policy intentions.

The study also recommends that the MoE provides opportunities to those teachers who wish to participate in AEC and create a forum for teachers to discuss or share their concerns on education matters.

As proposed MoE is required to emphasize decentralization in order to implement policy successfully. The MoE should also enhance the human resource capacity building in the dzongkhags and schools in order for decentralization to mature in the education system.

It is also recommended that the MoE focuses on infrastructure development with special reference to rural and remote schools because there are inadequate games and sports, furniture and waste management facilities in schools. Furthermore, there is need to streamline the admission policy (especially pre-primary admission) and to observe strict implementation of policy in relation to class size, student-teachers ratio and teachers' workloads in the secondary schools in order to enhance the quality of education.

Since there are variations in policy implementation by levels and location of schools, the study also recommends that MoE identifies the problems irrespective of their levels and locations in order to provide better support for successful policy

implementation in the wider perspective in order to achieve the ministry's goal of quality and 'wholesome education' and also education for all.

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