



2013

The Role of at Epistemic Community in Haitian Education Reform Post Earthquake 2010

Joy Okeefe
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses

 Part of the [Education Policy Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Okeefe, Joy, "The Role of at Epistemic Community in Haitian Education Reform Post Earthquake 2010" (2013). *Master's Theses*. 1821.
https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/1821

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 2013 Joy Okeefe

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE ROLE OF AN EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY IN HAITIAN EDUCATION REFORM
POST EARTHQUAKE 2010

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

JOYE E. O'KEEFE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2013

Copyright by Joy E. O'Keefe, 2013
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completing a MA degree is truly a marathon event, and I would not have been able to complete this journey without the aid and support of countless people over the past seven years. I must first express my gratitude towards my advisor, Noah Sobe. His leadership, support, attention to detail, hard work, and scholarship have set an example I hope to match someday. Over the past 2 years, I have also enjoyed the aid and scholarship of Professor Tavis Jules who has supported me each semester while I completed my MS. His insights and comments were invaluable over the past 2 years and I look forward to continuing collaboration with him in the future.

I'd like to thank the many graduate and undergraduate students I have worked with in Cultural and Educational Studies and Higher Education Programs: Victoria Beagle, Landis Fryer, Emily Gaul, Lauren Miranda, Kaine Osburne, Sophia Rodriguez, Heather Schultz, Betsie Stockslager and Beth Wright. They each helped make my time in the MS program more fun and interesting.

Finally, I thank my parents for instilling in me confidence and a drive for pursuing my high education. And for the one who has made the many hours spent at the library, in coffee shops, and in my office seem worthwhile after all, Matt.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLE	vi
ABSTRACT	x
THE ROLE OF EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES IN HAITIAN EDUCATION REFORM POST-EARTHQUAKE 2010	1
APPENDIX A: DIRECTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN THE EDUCATION SECOR IN HAITI	41
APPENDIX B: PETER M. HAAS' EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY THEORY FRAMEWORK	47
APPENDIX C: A LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYZED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY	59
REFERENCE LIST	51
VITA	57

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The network of actors' involvement in Haitian education reform according to Haas' model of Epistemic Community Theory.	38
--	----

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the role of an epistemic community involved in the policymaking of education reform in Haiti after the devastating earthquake of 2010. It uses Peter M. Haas' (1992) framework as a theoretical lens. According to Haas, epistemic communities are conceptualized as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within a domain or issue area” (3). The epistemic communities involved in the policymaking of the current education reforms specifically related to privatization in Haiti are identified and analyzed through the content analysis of relevant documents and interviews with individuals involved in the reform efforts.

Introduction

On January 12, 2010, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake dealt the Caribbean island nation of Haiti a devastating blow. More than 222,570 Haitians died, 1.5 million people were left injured, homeless or hungry (Haiti Government 2010, p. 7), and it virtually destroyed the already weak state and administrative structures. The international community responded immediately with the promise of emergency medical support, food and shelter provisions, as well as with financial assistance including the cancellation of debt from the World Bank. Longer term relief has come in the form of programs dealing with recovery and reconstruction of the country. These programs, have presented a chance to effect profound social change by introducing intense democratic and economic reforms. Education is one area that has drawn significant attention from international organizations and the Haitian government. The decision-makers in the Haitian government have turned to knowledge experts in the international community to help solve the problems of the Haitian education system.

Very little research has been done on epistemic communities involvement and influence in international education reform. Haas (1992) defines epistemic communities as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within a domain or issuearea” (3), although their identification and proof of influence is often a challenge to

pinpoint. In this paper, after giving a brief history of Haiti's education system and the evolution of epistemic community theory, I will use Haas' (1992) framework of epistemic community theory to analyze the current education reforms happening in Haiti, focusing solely on the idea of privatization of the education system. I chose privatization as it has been a major focus of reform in Haiti given the government's inability to cope with the many needs of the citizens. I will discuss privatization in the education system further and then identify the actors in the epistemic community who are currently influencing policymaking connected to this idea in Haitian education reforms. Furthermore, I will discuss how these actors' credibility, shared policy knowledge, and the ways in which their ideas are diffused is consistent with Haas' (1992) conception of an epistemic community.

The Current State of Haitian Schools

Today, Haiti has one of the lowest enrollment rates in the world with an estimated 55 percent of children between the ages of 6 and 12 enrolled in school. Less than one-third of those enrolled reach the 5th grade. According to the World Bank (2006), Haitian public schools only have the capacity to serve 25 percent of the school-age population; and even before the earthquake, 25 percent of Haiti's districts, mostly in rural areas, did not even have a school. Low enrollment rates and high dropout rates are mainly due to economic hardship, high grade repetition rates, linguistic barriers (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010), and poor quality of the education offered. According to McNulty (2011), families are willing to spend half of their annual income to send their children to

school. Annual income for a Haitian family is approximately 400 USD annually. Due to these challenges, 5 years of schooling is the average education for a Haitian child (Bruemmer, 2011).

Today, there are approximately 17,000 primary schools in Haiti, 80 percent of which are private schools (McNulty, 2011). Despite its poverty and attendance rate, this is still the second highest percentage of private school attendance in the world (Bruemmer, 2011). Article 32 of the 1987 Constitution of Haiti stipulates that “the State guarantees the right to education.” It goes on to say that primary schooling is compulsory under penalties to be prescribed by law. Classroom facilities and teaching materials shall be provided by the State to elementary school students free of charge (Haiti Government, 1987), but the reality is quite the opposite. Because there is a lack of regulation and accountability, private schools are able to charge tuition rates that are simply unaffordable for average Haitian households. Annual tuition rates range from 50 USD in rural areas to 250 USD in urban areas (Wolff, 2008).

In addition, the Haitian government has no official school accreditations. In 2011, there were only ten accredited schools in the country, achieved through three different external systems: the US Agency for International Development (USAID), The World Bank, and the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB) (McNulty, 2011). Public schools are monitored through annual national exam testing. The Ministry of Education implements yearly national testing administered in all recognized public and private institutions at the end of the sixth, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The tests are

similar in content to those administered four decades ago in France (Wolff, 2008).

Another difficulty within the Haitian education system is to attract and retain qualified teachers, especially in the public sector. The education achieved by most school teachers in Haiti is extremely low, at about nine years of schooling. Only about 20 percent of teachers in private schools have completed training at teacher training colleges (Salmi, 1998). Instructors do not require certification or a teaching degree, and there is no standard curriculum (McNulty, 2011). The lack of professionally trained teachers and this lack of curriculum contribute to the low quality of education at many Haitian schools. Low salaries, approximately 60 USD per month result in high teacher turnover (Lunde, 2008). These low salaries and low levels of teacher training also contribute to what is called “the brain drain effect” where large numbers of Haitians leave the country in order to achieve a high level of education with little incentive to return. It is estimated that 80 to 86 percent of Haitians with a secondary education leave the country (McNulty, 2011). In most countries, the brain drain effect refers to college and university graduates who leave to pursue opportunities elsewhere. In Haiti, with more than 80 percent of the population who simply have a secondary education leaving, this brain drain effect has become a vicious cycle contributing to the country’s serious inability to pull itself out of this dire education crisis.

Language is also a barrier in education as most Haitian families speak Creole and schooling is delivered in a combination of French and Creole. Creole and French are both the official languages of Haiti; however most government and private sector dealings are

conducted in French. In addition, national examinations are administered in French.

There are great inconsistencies in the language of instruction by region, level, and subject matter (Wolff, 2008).

In addition, many families are unable to pay tuition or indirect costs of education such as uniforms and supplies, so many families with multiple children only send as many as they can afford to school. This disproportionately affects girls (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). In other cases, some parents choose to rotate schooling for their children, allowing siblings to take turns enrolling in school. This leads to a cycle of interrupted education, which in turn, can lead to higher repetition rates and increased educational costs for the family. Finally, classroom sizes are often in excess of 70 children with one teacher presiding (Kenny, 2011), which is often difficult for one teacher to manage. As a result, this creates an environment where children are denied individual attention and thoughtful feedback. As a result, approximately one quarter of Haitians between the ages of 15 and 29 are illiterate (Daumerie & Hardee, 2010).

Government Provision for Education Prior to the 2010 Earthquake

The Haitian government does not have the resources or capacity to take on the responsibility of regulating the Haitian education system. Before the earthquake, the government expenditures on education was approximately two percent of its gross domestic product (GDP). This is slightly less than half of the regional average of the budget allocation for public education (McNulty, 2011). In addition, while the educational institutions in populated areas are largely inadequate, the schools in rural

areas are virtually neglected. It is estimated that only 20 percent of education-allocated funds reach rural areas which account for 70 percent of Haiti's population (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). In this highly centralized system, 87 percent of Haiti's universities were located within or in close proximity to Port-au-Prince before the earthquake (INURED, 2010). To further illustrate this point, in 2007, 23 communal sectors lacked a school, and 145 were without a public school, all located in rural areas (The World Bank, 2006).

The Haitian Ministry of National Education and Professional Training (MENFP) is currently in charge of regulating the education system in Haiti. The ministry's mission has two goals: to provide education services to its citizens and to play a normative and regulatory role (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). However, like most government agencies in Haiti, MENFP is overburdened and does not have adequate support and therefore does not have the capacity to meet its mandate of monitoring, evaluating, and reporting on the academic performance of schools (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). For example, there is one inspector responsible for providing accreditation, pedagogical supervision, and administrative support for every six-thousand students (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). Furthermore, the governance and policy-making functions within the organization are not separated from management functions and currently, an independent policy-making body does not exist (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010).

Previous Education Reforms in Haiti

Three major recent reform efforts were The Bernard Reform of 1978, The

National Plan on Education and Training (NPET) of 1997, and The Presidential Commission for Education in Haiti of 2008. The Bernard Reform attempted to modernize the Haitian education system by creating vocational training programs as an alternative to traditional education in effort to align the educational structure with the market system. In addition, Creole began to be used as the primary language of instruction during the primary years during this time (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). The National Plan on Education and Training was a plan that introduced a shift away from the traditional French education model (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). One of the principle goals of this plan was to ensure that primary education would be made compulsory and free, neither of which have since happened. Most recently, The Presidential Commission for Education in Haiti, headed by Jacky Lumarque, rector of Universite Quisqueya, recommended new national curriculum to outgoing Haitian President Preval and the Ministry of Education. Post- earthquake, Lumarque, in cooperation with students, teachers, and educational NGO's, redrafted proposals for a National Education Pact. The primary goals were: 100 percent enrollment of all school-age children, a free education to all, including textbooks and materials, and a hot meal daily for each child. In addition, teacher-training was also highlighted as a priority in meeting these goals (McNulty, 2011).

The Post-Earthquake Education Reforms in Haiti:

In March 2010, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) marked the first major international intervention of the Haitian education system sparking the initial

collaboration among these actors in forming an epistemic community. The IDB created and presented a diagnosis of the post-earthquake education crisis to the government of Haiti and made suggestions as to how to redesign the system. To advise the process, the IDB enlisted the help of Paul Vallas, who is recognized for reforming several large education systems in the U.S. In May of the same year, the Haitian government chose the IDB as its main partner in working with Haiti's Ministry of Education to restructure its education system (Bruemmer, 2011). This plan calls for 4.2 billion USD of public funds to be invested in private schools over the next five years so that all children may have equal access to free education. By 2015, the plan calls for all children to be enrolled in free education up through grade six, and through ninth grade by 2020 (Bruemmer, 2011).

The IDB has pledge 250 million USD in grants and other resources, and has committed to raising an additional 250 million USD from private donors. The Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission (IHRC), co-chaired by Haitian Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellirive and former US President Bill Clinton, who also serves on the UN's Special Envoy to Haiti and co-created the Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund, approved the IDB's proposal in August 2010. It is argued here, that these actors form a policy network that make up the epistemic community that is currently influencing education reform in the form of privatization in Haiti.

Generation and Selection an Idea

Privatization of education, through its many forms, has been a contentious topic in the US for several decades. For at least a century and a half, universal schooling has been

viewed as a primary obligation of government; however, starting in the 1970's and increasing in intensity in recent years, both the public funding and provision of school have been questioned (Friedman, 1993; Lott, 1987). Proposals have been raised to shift school governance and some of the funding of it to the private marketplace. Historically, significant differences have existed in the public school system. Resources available to schools depend heavily on local property wealth result in schools in wealthy communities are better provided for than those in poorer communities (Murray et al., 1998). Parents with the means can move to neighborhoods that have better schools or ones that more closely match their educational values. Since the 1970's, opportunities have opened within large cities where district-wide schools based on academic or vocational themes attract students from different neighborhoods to encourage racial integration. In addition, the charter school movement took flight where state and local regulations were waived for a commitment to a particular educational goal or result (Belfield and Levin, 2003). Most controversial was the emergence of proposals to shift school control from the government to the private marketplace with government funding via educational vouchers or tuition tax credits (Carnoy, 1997; Levin, 1998; Belfield and Levin, 2003). Under these funding approaches, a private market for schools would replace the public school system. Parents could use a voucher or certificate for tuition to be redeemed by the state, or tax credits to reduce the burden of tuition (Belfield and Levin, 2003). The motivations behind these approaches were "to provide greater freedom of choice of schools as a right and more alternatives for families as a response to the increasing

uniformity of schools; to use market competition to make schools more effective with given resources; and to improve options for students in public schools that are economically and racially segregated” (Belfield and Levin, 2003, p4). These solutions are consistent with the general movement towards a more market-based system and less reliance on the government in other fields where decentralization is debated.

Given the education crisis, and the government’s inability to cope with the many needs of the citizens in Haiti, a plan to privatize the education system there is a shared idea that many believe will help dig that country out of its dyer situation. This idea has been promoted by both the government working in conjunction with other individuals and organizations, as well as other non-government organizations working in Haiti without the oversight and/or in collaboration of the Haitian Ministry of Education.

Diffusion and Persistence of the Idea in Haiti

The current Haitian education reform plan calls for 4.2 billion USD of public funds to be invested in private schools over the next five years, so that all children may have equal access to free education. By 2015, the plan calls for all children to be enrolled in free education up through grade six, and through ninth grade by 2020 (Bruemmer, 2011).

Under the new plan, the IDB would subsidize existing private schools by paying the salaries of teachers and administrators participating in the new system (Bruemmer, 2011). To qualify for the new system, schools must be structurally sound, offer free tuition, and must adopt a new national curriculum (IDB, 2010). Schools participating in

the system would undergo a certification process after which they will receive funding for educational supplies and to upgrade their facilities. To remain certified, schools must continue to comply with increasing standards such as the adoption of a national curriculum, teacher training and facility improvement programs. The plan also provides funding for nutrition and health programs, as well as financing the building of new schools (Bruemmer, 2011). The goals of this new system are to eliminate low quality, inefficient schools and increase productivity of the system over time (McNulty, 2011).

This idea of subsidizing private schools is not new to Haiti. For the decades, since Education for All (EFA), an international education initiative first launched in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 to bring the benefits of education to every child, hundreds of national governments, civil society groups, and development agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank have contributed to the private education sector in Haiti.

International private schools, mostly run by France, Canada and the United States, and church-run schools educate 90 percent of students in Haiti. For example, for years USAID has given priority to the private sector through the “Incentives to Improve Basic Education” project (PROBED). The objective of this project was to improve the quality of education and administrative efficiency of private schools in rural and urban areas and led to the formation of several private school networks that were both religious and nonreligious affiliated (Hadjadj 2000). The Canadian government has also been involved in the private education sector by donating over 3.2 million USD to projects that cover 3 Haitian districts and stress the quality of education and the reinforcement of decentralized

institutional capacities by supporting the creation of Ecoles Fondamentales d' Application Centres d, Appui Pedagogique (EFACAP), roughly translated to a school for the support and application of fundamental pedagogy (Hadjadj 2000). The French have also donated in upwards of 6.5 million USD to support NGOs, religious schools, and grant scholarships. These are just a few of the larger organizations who are promoting the same idea of privatization; however acting on that idea through different avenues (Hadjadj 2000). In fact, the American Institute for Research (2010) published a directory of 100 civil society organizations working in the education sector in Haiti and an overwhelming majority of them are supporting the private education system through funding, training, and providing curricular resources. For a full list of Civil Society Organization currently working in Haiti, please see Appendix A; However, while the French and Canadian governments, several churches, and hundreds of civil organizations have contributed extensively to the private education sector both before and after the earthquake, they may not be considered a part of the epistemic community due to their lack of cooperation when it comes to shared policy-relevant knowledge and coordination with the Haitian government.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research study is to to get a better sense of how the most recent education reform post-earthquake 2010 in Haiti has been steered and by whom, effectively identifying actors in an epistemic community that have played a role in these education reforms. While many in comparative and international education would argue

this is a matter of donor logic or neocolonialism, I believe a network-inclined type of analysis such as through the lens of an epistemic community is best suited to explaining the dynamics of Haitian education reform simply for their interconnectedness to form a knowledge community, the sheer magnitude of their influence, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that the Haitian government has a voice in the whole process whereas in neocolonial and donor logic efforts, the voice of the beneficiary is not considered. Furthermore, the objective of this study is to identify why these community members' beliefs, experiences, expectations, and practices are attractive to the international developing communities and to theorize what role this community plays in the policymaking of new education reforms in Haiti.

The Evolution of Epistemic Community Theory: A Review of the Literature

Historical Overview

The theoretical roots of epistemic community theory can be traced back to Foucault's use of the term episteme in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Science* (1970). Foucault explains that discourses change over time due to the changes in relationships among theories of representation and language, natural orders, wealth and value (xxiii). In *Reality Construction in Society* (1972), he uses the examples of the difference between the assumptions of truth during the Classical and Modern ages to illustrate his point. He states that during the Classical age, the theories of representation, language, and the natural orders of wealth and value were the underlying assumptions of knowledge. During the nineteenth century, the theory of representation

disappeared as the foundation of order and language. Foucault argues that historically isolated and defined things “imposed on the the forms of order implied by the continuity of time” (xxiii), the study of exchange and money was replaced by the study of production, and that the organism is valued more than the hunt for common traits. Foucault adds that “language loses its privileged position and becomes, in its turn, a historical form coherent with the density of its own past” (xxiii). In other words, the conditions of discourse changed over time from one era’s episteme to another and “things become increasingly reflexive, seeking the principle of their intelligibility only in their own development” (xxiii).

Building off Foucault’s work, Holzner (1972) refers to epistemic communities as “unified by a common epistemology and frame of reference such as the scientific community, religious communities, work communities or some ideological movement of the like” (69). He argues that epistemic communities “agree on the proper perspective for the construction of reality” (69). In other words, members of epistemic communities have common values and a shared frame of reference. These include “the importance of interplay between the structure and frame of reference, the symbolic system used within, and the power arrangement of the epistemic community” (70).

To summarize, Holzner states that there is a need for power arrangements in the interactions of the epistemic community. These arrangements facilitate the maintenance of the shared views that are established. They also regulate “the allocation of situations to the members” (70). For example, responsibilities within the epistemic community may be

assigned on the basis of “certified expertise” (70). They also make decisions regarding which and how much information to disclose to the outside world. They use standardized symbols to communicate with each other and keep that information “separate and distinct” (70). Barriers are intentionally created to keep this information from outsiders to prevent the common person from being connected to the epistemic community. The distribution of this information can be understood in terms of power arrangements and attempts to control the situations that members may face.

Ruggie (1975) borrowed the episteme concept from Foucault “to refer to a dominant way of looking at social reality, a set of shared symbols and references, mutual expectation and a mutual predictability of intention” (569-570) in his publication entitled “International Response to Technology: Concepts and Trends.” He combined Foucault’s idea with the concept of epistemic community as described by Holzner to define epistemic communities as “interrelated roles which grow up around an episteme; they delimit, for their members, the proper construction of social reality” (Ruggie 1975, p570). Simply stated, epistemic communities create a discourse that creates and carries out a standard or rules for collective behavior. The purpose is to make up for flaws in the current state system. This arrangement is only preferred when goals cannot be reached otherwise and/or if the arrangement does not impose higher cost on the state than situation being contended with (Ruggie 1975). After the publication of Ruggie’s article in 1975, the epistemic community theory remained obscure for the rest of the 1970’s and throughout the 1980’s. It wasn’t until publication of the special edition of International

Organizations in 1992, edited by Peter M. Haas, that it was again noticed by scholars.

Peter Haas' Approach to Epistemic Communities

Haas uses a constructivist approach to define epistemic communities. In the introduction to the the issue of International Organizations (1992), he asserts that policymakers are likely to consult epistemic communities during times of uncertainty because the goal of epistemic communities is to acquire knowledge that will lessen uncertainty. However, these specialists who are consulted have their own “interpretations of knowledge” (21) that are “based on their own causally informed vision of reality and their notions of validity” (21). Many social theorists claim that reality is socially constructed and argue that they construction of reality is an arrangement of intersubjective assumptions and definitions reproduced through social interactions. For example, Holzner and Marx (1979) argue that knowledge does not mean understanding of reality itself. They add “we are compelled to define knowledge as the communicable mapping of some aspect of experienced reality by an observer in symbolic terms” (93). For Haas (1992), reality is shaped by assumptions, expectations and understanding (21). Constructivism in general terms is “about human consciousness and its role in international life” (Ruggie, 1998, p856). As epistemic communities share their knowledge, they distribute new norms and understandings as well as technical expertise. As a result, they serve as a source of social construction.

In the 1992 Issue of International Organizations, Haas and other contributors argue that epistemic communities should be treated as an alternative approach to the

study of international policy coordination. Haas (1992) defined epistemic communities as “a network of professional with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within a domain or issuearea” (3). He explains that there are four features that characterize epistemic communities. The first is a shared normative and principled belief system that provide a value-based rational for social action of its members. Another is shared causal beliefs. These beliefs are determined from their basis for examining practices that lead to a set of problems in their issue area and serve as the basis for determining linkages between policy actions and possible outcomes. The third feature of these communities is a shared notion of validity “that is intersubjective, internally defined criteria for weighing and validating knowledge in the domain of expertise” (3). The final feature is these groups also have a common policy expertise. That is, they share a common set of practices connected to a set of problems to which their professional skills are directed. For asummary of Haas’ Epistemic Community Theory Framework, please refer to Appendix B.

Epistemic Communities and Policy Evolution

The expertise of epistemic communities gives members credibility and access to political systems and influence in policy debates (Adler and Hass 1992; Hass 1992). According to Adler and Haas (1992), epistemic communities use four methods to wield influence in the formation of policy. The first is policy innovation. Epistemic communities frame the issue, characterize the state’s interest, and set standards (375).

They also use policy innovation to determine which forum is most appropriate for the issue to be addressed. The second way in which epistemic communities wield their influence is through policy diffusion. Community members actively engage in efforts at the national level and spread their ideas via communication through various venues with their colleagues in other organizations. The acceptance of this information is then used to apply pressure on governments elsewhere. The third means by which epistemic communities are able to employ their influence is through policy selection. Epistemic communities may frame an issue and define lawmakers interests if there is no familiarity with the issue. If there is familiarity with the issue, lawmakers may call upon epistemic communities whose ideas align with their own for the purpose of legitimizing their policy selection. Lastly, epistemic communities may engage in policy persistence in order to exert influence in policymaking. Policy persistence refers to the longevity of consensus on ideas and goals among community members (Adler and Haas 375-382).

Epistemic Community Involvement in Policymaking

As stated earlier, epistemic communities are likely to be consulted by policymakers when there is a great deal of uncertainty involved on a given issue. An epistemic community can create a definition of an interest by exposing certain facets of an issue from which a policymaker can consider their interests in uncertain times. Adler and Haas (1992) argue that the role of the epistemic community is limited. Haas (1992) asserts that epistemic community ideas only have influence on policies when experts reach positions of bureaucratic power; however Adler and Haas (1992) caution to not

misinterpret epistemic communities to be on quests to control societies, but rather that they are in the business of controlling international problems and solutions. They add that longevity is confined to the “time and space defined by the problem and its solutions” (371). Therefore, the political impact of epistemic communities is only relevant as long as they are able to give advice on a convincing and consistent manner and as long as they are not challenged (Haas 1992).

Epistemic Communities vs. Other Organizations

The question remains as to how epistemic communities are different from other groups and organizations such as interest groups, social movements, members of disciplines or professions, and bureaucratic agencies. First, unlike lobbies and social movements, epistemic community members have shared causal beliefs and cause-effect understandings. In addition, members of interest groups do not necessarily have a shared knowledge base or the same causal beliefs. If members of an epistemic community were “confronted with anomalies that undermined their causal beliefs, they would withdraw from the policy debate, unlike interest groups” (Haas 1992).

Epistemic communities should also be differentiated from members of professions and disciplines. Members of any discipline can “share a set of causal approaches or orientations and have a consensual knowledge base, but they lack the shared normative commitments of an epistemic community” (Haas 1992). The ethics of an epistemic community stem from its principles instead of a professional code. Members of a disciplines rarely limit themselves to work that is aligned with their values whereas

epistemic community members are more likely to pursue work that is in line with their values and associate with other groups that also mirror and/or promote those values. Haas does admit that alliances, however short-lived, are formed between members of a profession and epistemic communities on the basis of common research (Haas 1992).

Finally, epistemic communities should be distinguished from bureaucratic bodies. Haas (1992) notes that the approaches to examining epistemic communities and bureaucratic politics “share a focus on administrative empowerment of specialized knowledge groups” (19); however bureaucracies operate to preserve their budgets and missions whereas epistemic communities apply their knowledge to a policy endeavor subject to their goals.

In summary, the idea of epistemic communities is grounded in ideas advanced by Foucault and Holzner. The epistemic community theory remained an enigma until Haas’ 1992 publication of a special edition of *International Organizations* resurrected this school of thought. In this special edition, Haas and other authors characterized epistemic communities and defined their roles in international policy. I will elaborate on how this model has been applied in a variety of situations later in this paper.

Epistemic Community Research Models Since Haas

To date, Haas’ model is the most widely accepted and applied in the study of international relations. For example, Hopkins (1992) finds support for Haas’ model through the examination of the role of international epistemic communities in four instances of food aid reform. This community consisted of economic development

specialists, food aid administrators, and agricultural economists. These members shared the goal of food security and also have a common scientific outlook based on social science. From his analysis, Hopkins concluded epistemic communities “play an independent and occasionally powerful role in changing international regimes and international politics” (264). He adds “incremental change can occur when the consensual views of an epistemic community diverge from the politically modal position of the supporters of a policy” (264). Hopkins further comments “synoptic change, however, is not plausible” (264).

Adler (1992) examined the role of an American epistemic community in the conception and practice of nuclear arms control. This community shares epistemic criteria regarding the “causes of war, the effects of technological change on the arms race, and the need for nuclear adversaries to cooperate” (102). Entrance to this epistemic community is based on “the sharing of epistemic criteria,...an active dedication to the cause,...collectively recognized expertise, and the ability to come up with new proposals and arguments” (112). This epistemic community consists of personnel in “government bureaus, research organizations, and laboratories, profit and nonprofit organizations, university research centers, and think tanks” (112) who know each other well.

Sauve and Watts (2003) analyze the role of an epistemic community in the development of the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture. They use the EAR instrument to gauge the impact of this epistemic community. The authors find the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI)

and the FAO Commission on Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture were indeed influential in the passage of this treaty. They also discover several of the members of each international organization's staff had at one time served as members of the other organization. As an epistemic community, the members shared normative beliefs, causal beliefs regarding the effects of adoption of bilateral or multilateral approaches to germplasm exchange, common validating criteria stemming from their common scientific background, and lastly, a common policy objective consisting of ensuring poverty alleviation and food security via efficient public research and development of genetic plant resources (Sauve and Watts 2003).

Van Daele (2005) uses Haas' framework to study the role of an epistemic community in the founding of the International Labour Organization (ILO) through the content analysis of materials in the International Labour Office and Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives. The content of other published documents from this period are also analyzed and used in Van Daele's research. The ILO was formed after World War I to create peace via social policy. Members of this organization are drawn from a variety of prewar epistemic communities, including the International Association for Labour Legislation and political networks such as the Second International. These scholars form a network called the International Association for Labour Legislation (IALL), which was itself an epistemic community. The IALL uses information politics to influence public opinion. This epistemic community attempted to secure passage of policies including unemployment insurance, working hours, housing, national insurance, and female labor

(446).

Barth (2006) states the scientists from the U.S. and former Soviet Union comprised an epistemic community during the 1980s. The scientists from the U.S. were from the Natural Resources Defense Council, and those from the former Soviet Union worked for the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The scientists from both sides of the Cold War divide shared four core beliefs. One is they believed scientists are able to move the international arms control agenda outside of representative government-to-government contacts. Another belief they shared is that a comprehensive nuclear ban treaty was a crucial step towards substantial arms control agreement and peace in general. Furthermore, they believed “such a treaty could be adequately verified by seismic means” (184). Finally, they believed their colleagues abroad shared the preceding beliefs. According to Barth, the collaboration of these scientists influenced Soviet arms control and changed the nuclear test ban debate in the U.S.

These studies in literature show support for Peter Haas’ (1992) model of epistemic communities across a variety of policy areas including food aid reform, nuclear arms control, the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture, and social policies advocated by the International Association for Labour Legislation. The members of these epistemic communities share the same normative beliefs and thinking about causes and effects. They also serve as linkages between possible policy actions and desired outcomes. Lastly, with the exception of the IALL, all of the previously mentioned epistemic communities share a common policy expertise. Even

though the aforementioned literature finds support for Haas' model of epistemic communities, a substantial portion of the literature that uses his model as a theoretical lens finds shortcomings in his approach.

Some research questions Haas' apolitical claim of epistemic communities (Sebenius 1992). Other literature finds that the criteria Haas establishes for epistemic communities are not always present in policymaking (Peterson 1992; Mendelson 1993; Finnemore 1994; Betskill and Pielke 1996). Some of the literature on epistemic communities suggests that some policy networks do not fully constitute epistemic communities (Ikenberry 1992; Kapstein 1992). Other scholars (Toke 1999; Dunlop 2000; Farquharson 2003; Jacobs and Page 2005) argue that Haas assigns too much influence to experts in these communities at the expense of other actors. Baark and Strahl (1995) and Houlihan (1999) find epistemic communities are not very effective in shaping public policy. Evans and Martin (2006) find epistemic communities created problems in the policymaking surrounding the creation of sustainable communities in the United Kingdom. Other research questions the applicability of Haas' framework, too. Lidskog and Sundqvist (2002) assert that Haas' model does not explain why scientific knowledge makes its powerful role possible. Simon (2002) suggests epistemic communities may not be as independent of government pressures as Haas' framework states they are. Trommer and Chari (2006) assert Haas' model does not explain why members of epistemic communities give institutions their advice. Despite these shortcomings, this research study will use Haas' model to examine Haitian education reform with these limitations in

mind.

Epistemic Community Theory vs. Donor Logic and NeoColonialism

As stated previously, while many would simply attribute the current reforms in the Haitian education system as examples of donor logic or neocolonialism, I believe it is more appropriate to look at the Haitian education reform efforts from an network-inclined type of analysis such as epistemic community theory. Neocolonial development strategies are generally a top-down type of structure where “donors” are located generally in European or American capitals, are socially and economically far away from the areas occupied by poor and excluded people whom they are supposed to help, and therefore tend to show little concern for those realities they are supposed to affect (Hickey and Mohan 2004). The voice of the beneficiaries of development initiatives is not considered in the planning, and obstacles to development become based on how the donor country differs from Western modernization. This oversimplification of culture as the cause of underdevelopment is transferred into a series of externally imposed, donor-driven aid initiatives of a top-down, technocratic, and economic nature. There have been countless critiques that have counted this process as neocolonial projects that are in the service of political and economic power (Sharp and Briggs 2006). While admittedly, the outcome of who gets power at the imposition of transnational initiatives could still shift, an epistemic community theoretical lens is more appropriate to examine the current education reforms in Haiti simply due to the fact that the Haitian government has a voice. It was the government who sought out the help of the international knowledge community

concerning education and the government still has an active role in determining what happens moving forward.

Research Questions

In order to achieve the research objectives, the following research questions have been formulated: 1. Who are the actors within the epistemic communities involved in Haiti's education reform efforts? 2. How have the actors who make up this epistemic community gained credibility in the global context? 3. What role has this community played in the policymaking of new education reforms in Haiti, specifically, the policy agenda to privatize education in that country? Finally, in examining these questions, this study aims to contribute to the debate in the international literature concerning the topic of epistemic communities, and at the same time to further global understanding of factors that have an impact on the implementation of education policies in such contexts.

Research Design

This is a study of the role of epistemic communities involved in the policymaking of Education reform in Haiti post-earthquake. The research will use Hass' (1992) framework and theoretical lens to explore the research questions. Haas (1992) defines an epistemic community as "...a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area," (3). I first identified the actors involved in education reform in Haiti by scanning current government documents related to education reform and generating a list of possible actors who are working together based

on names of people and organizations listed in those documents. Many of the actors under consideration can be found in Appendix B of Civil Society organizations currently working in education in Haiti; however the list was consolidated to include the InterAmerican Development Bank, The Vallas Group, The Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission co-chaired by former US President Bill Clinton, and Haiti's Ministry of Education. These actors were selected for the coalition that has formed between them as they appear to be working as a network to promote a single plan. Haas' framework also claims that the 4 features that define an epistemic community are that the actors must share a normative and principled belief system, causal beliefs, notions of validity and all have a common policy expertise. In wielding its influence, the epistemic community uses policy innovation, diffusion, selection, and persistence. The next step to the epistemic community actor identification was to search for documents on these individual actors that reveal their beliefs on the idea of privatized education and/or their belief in the market-driven system. The actors in the epistemic community involved in the policymaking of the education reforms in Haiti post-earthquake are identified and analyzed with these features and methods in mind through the content analysis of the relevant policy documents, transcripts of public speeches and interviews, and other related scholarly articles produced by either the individuals and organizations involved in the development of the reforms or others who have studied these topics.

This study used document analysis to examine the issue. Documents are analyzed for common themes according to Haas's framework of how an epistemic community is

constructed. A listing of the documents analyzed can be found in Appendix C. In doing so, the study determines if the actions taken by epistemic community, and the social reality these groups have created and the identification of their discourses and world views will be discussed. Furthermore, it examines if they used their power to impose their discourse and world views on policymakers in Haiti.

The theoretical goal of this study, the application of Haas' theory of epistemic communities, guides data collection. In examining the documents, my goal was to identify "the artifacts that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue" and "communities of meaning/interpretation/speech/practice that are relevant to the policy issue under analysis" (Weber 1985, p9) or members of epistemic communities that were involved in the policymaking of the Haitian education reforms. Words and phrases that measure goals, influence, coalition type, and actions that related to Haas' framework for an epistemic community were identified for the purpose of this data analysis.

Significance of the Study

The implications and significance of this study related to the continuing educational reform efforts in Haiti's educational policy and practice cannot be overemphasized. This study identifies the individuals and organizations who are involved in Haiti's education reform efforts, specifically, the movement to privatize education in that country, examines these actors credibility, and theorizes what role these communities play in the policymaking of new education reforms in Haiti. In doing so, the study aims to inform both decision-makers who seek out policymaking advice and the knowledge

experts within epistemic communities to further the debate on how epistemic communities are perceived, understood, and conceptualized within the international community. Furthermore, it will contribute to the global understanding of factors that have an impact on the implementation of education policies in the global context.

Findings

This section will focus on the Haitian context and argue that a small yet influential epistemic community is currently influencing education reform in the country. I will begin by using Haas' framework to discuss how this epistemic community has been constructed through generation and selection of the idea of privatization in education. While there are many governments and organizations involved in the persistence and diffusion of privatizing education in Haiti, I will go on to identify only a select few actors involved in Haitian education reform who share a common belief system related to privatization who are working in conjunction with each other and the Haitian government as a community to act on this idea. Finally, I will discuss how privatization continues to be diffused and make recommendations for persistence to ensure the success of the work of this epistemic community in Haiti's education reform efforts.

The Current Actors, Shared Policy-Relevant Knowledge, and Credibility

As previously stated, there are hundreds of actors currently working in Haiti in the education sector to create quality educational experiences for millions of children in Haiti. While these groups are effectively changing the education system by offering free and quality education through a private market, only a few actors have formed a coalition

in conjunction with the Haitian government, in effect-an epistemic community, to promote the privatization of education for a full and comprehensive overhaul of education sector in Haiti. These high-profile organizations, and individuals within those organizations, both political and nonpolitical, have been the face of education reform in Haiti post-earthquake. These actors are the InterAmerican Development Bank in conjunction with the World Bank, Paul Vallas of The Vallas Group, the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission co-chaired by former Haitian Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellirive and former US President Bill Clinton who also cofounded the Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund, and of course the Haitian Government/Haiti's Ministry of Education. I will argue that these actors form a small epistemic community using Haas' framework of epistemic community theory due to their shared beliefs, notions of validity, and policy expertise as well as in their methods of influence in the formation and distribution of policy.

The IDB has published extensively on their commitment to and the success of their funding projects regarding privatization of education as well as projects in other disciplines. According the IDB website, the objectives of their involvement in education policy are:

Training of human resources for development: to contribute to the formation of technical and scientific skills to enable people to efficiently carry out the occupational tasks of promotion and management needed for the economic and social development of the country; Equality of educational opportunities: to facilitate national efforts for introducing conditions of fairness in access to education opportunities for the entire population; [and] Efficiency of investments in education: to stimulate and support national efforts for rational

planning of education systems and the essential reforms in content, teaching methods, organization and administration of programs, institutions and systems, in order to achieve more positive results within the financial possibilities of the country. (IDB website)

Kubal (2003) argues that virtually every country in Latin America and the Caribbean was involved in some sort of education decentralization in the 1990's. In her research, she points to how the IDB's investment and influence in programs in Chile, Argentina, Mexico, Nicaragua among other Latin American and Caribbean countries share common policy implementations and outcomes as a result of the IDB's influence.

Paul Vallas is another actor who has promoted blurring the lines between public and private education. Vallas was never trained as an educator but entered into the field when Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley was given control of the Chicago Public School system in 1995, and subsequently appointed the then City Budget Director Vallas as CEO. In Chicago, he was credited with raising test scores, improving relations with the teachers' union, balancing the budget, and instituting several new programs including mandatory summer school, after school programs, and expanding alternative, charter, and magnet schools. From there, Vallas went to Philadelphia where he served under the State appointed School Reform Commission from 2002 to 2007 and oversaw what was then "the nation's largest experiment in privatized management of schools" (Gil et. al., 2012). As a result of his perceived successes in the urban, low socioeconomic conditions of his previous two tenures, Vallas was appointed as the head of the State administered Louisiana Recovery School District, where he served from 2007 until 2011. There he was

charged with fixing the both infrastructurally and economically devastated New Orleans public school system in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Today, the Recovery School District is arguably the largest school privatization effort in US History. Vallas has since created The Vallas Group, INC. to consult with school districts. His group has recruited a world-class team of educational experts with specific expertise in all functional areas of education including curriculum and instruction, teacher training and re-training, student and teacher assessments and interventions, and organizational and finance management. This group is currently under contract with districts in Connecticut, Texas, and Indiana. In addition, Vallas has added international education projects in Chili, and of course Haiti on behalf of the Inter-American Development Bank to his resume.

Former U.S. President Bill Clinton has access to Haitian Education reform through several venues. Clinton serves as the co-chair of the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission, on the UN's Special Envoy to Haiti, and is co-created the Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund. Clinton has a wide range of experience in privatization and support for markets. Under Clinton administration, the idea that "markets work best" led to a tremendous outsourcing of public functions to private companies in the United States. During his first term as president, Clinton "ha[d] supported school choice within the public system" (Pitsch, 1996, p.19) but had generally been opposed to a voucher system opposing the 1993 voucher initiative in California and a proposal to give federally funded vouchers to students in the District of Columbia (Pitsch, 1996); however he appeared to modify his position stating, "If you're going to have a private voucher plan, that ought to

be determined by the states and localities where they're raising and spending most of the money...If a local school district in Cleveland, or any place else, wants to have a private school choice plan, like Milwaukee did, let them have it" (cited in Pitsch, 1996, p. 19). In addition, in his State of the Union Address on February 4, 1997, Clinton advocated for choice but made no mention of vouchers in his 10-point education plan. In his plan, he specifies that "one size does not fit all in American education. All students and their families need to be able to choose a public school that meets their needs, and schools must be given more flexibility in return for greater accountability to parents and the public for high standards" (Murphy, 1997). On a grander scale, the first two goals of the Clinton-Bush Haiti fund are to support micro-finance institutions and provide small and growing businesses with access to financing & business services (Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund) which are both clearly private market driven initiatives to promote economic development. The fund also invests in several private projects that include helping children and adults access privately-supported institutions for basic education, and higher education and vocational training.

Results

This section will discuss how these findings on the idea to privatize schooling in Haiti and the actors involved in promoting that idea fit into Haas' (1992) conceptualization of an epistemic community both in definition and methods of influence. I will further make recommendations on how to ensure the efforts of this epistemic community persist and grow to realize the success of policy efforts put forth

and maintain the credibility that is already established.

First, Haas (1992) defines an epistemic community as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area” (p3). He also asserts that policymakers are likely to consult epistemic communities during times of uncertainty because the goal of epistemic communities is to acquire knowledge that will lessen uncertainty. It is clear that a network of credible individuals and organizations who have had previous experience in education and/or the policymaking sectors have been formed as the Haitian Prime Minister and the Haitian Ministry of Education has enlisted the help of the IDB, Paul Vallas, and Bill Clinton to enact the current reform plan discussed earlier in this work. Furthermore, given the state of affairs in Haiti’s physical and governmental infrastructure after the earthquake of 2010, uncertainty in the form of complete collapse of an already poor education system made it clear that the Haitian government needed to rely on outside experts if they were going to make any improvements to their education system thus resulting in the enlistment of help from the network of knowledge experts previously discussed in the reform effort.

Hass (1992) also lays out four characteristics that members of an epistemic community must share. The first is a shared normative and principled belief. As discussed earlier, all members share a belief that the market will provide for a better education system than the state. All actors in their previous experiences with privatization of education mention that the market provides for a more fair, efficient, and quality

education in a commitment to investing in human resources for the betterment of a country.

Similarly, Haas (1992) points to the shared causal beliefs “derived from their analysis of practices leading or contributing to a central set of problems in their domain that serve as the basis for elucidating the multiple linkages between possible policy actions and desired outcomes” (1992, 3). All members believe that the current conditions of poverty and the devastated infrastructure reveal the government’s inability to provide fair and equal access to a quality education. With the exception of Bill Clinton, I found that both the IDB and Paul Vallas believe that the lack of human resources and development in a particular city or country contribute to the poor education system and therefore a market system would help ensure more positive results in these areas; although Clinton’s outsourcing of public functions to private companies in other development fields, and his support for the voucher system in the US during his presidency might lead one to conclude that his ideas might transfer to the education sector.

The third criterion for Haas’ (1992) membership in an epistemic community is a shared notion of validity. In other words, there are “internally defined criteria for weighing and validating knowledge in the domain of expertise” (1992, 3). All members generally have validated that a market system provided for choice which ultimately leads to greater accountability and successful results in regards to the course of action. For Vallas this was through test scores which ideally would transfer into people who would

enter the workforce of a community better prepared to tackle challenges and development communities. For the IDB in developing countries, validity is measured in achievement, but also in development as people enter into the workforce better trained to do different jobs and promote development. For Clinton, he alludes purely to a notion of validity in the market as privatization develops more competition which contributes the economy.

Finally, Haas (1992) states that members of an epistemic community share an common policy expertise where members share a common set of practices connected to a set of problems to where their professional skills are directed. Based on the experience and statements made by all three identified members, all believe that out of their common practice and beliefs discussed above, human welfare will increase.

Table 1 summarizes the network of actors' involvement in Haitian education reform according to Haas' model of Epistemic Community Theory. To reiterate, Haas' definition of an Epistemic Community is "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (1992, 3). I have identified the InterAmerican Development Bank, The Vallas Group, Bill Clinton, and the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission as the network of professionals with a recognized expertise in education reform and who are currently involved in advising the Haitian government on current education issues. I have presented evidence that supports that all four of these actors believe that a market-driven education system will better provide a fair and quality education for all than an economically segregated public system. Additionally, all four

actors believe that the current conditions of poverty and a devastated infrastructure have led to the government's inability to provide equal access to a free and quality education. I have also provided evidence that this network advocates the validity that a market system provides for choice to meet individual needs which in turn leads to more accountability and high standards. Finally, these actors share a common policy expertise as discussed earlier through their various individual actions, statements, and involvements.

Table 1. The network of actors' involvement in Haitian education reform according to Haas' model of Epistemic Community Theory.

Definition: "...a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (1992, 3)				
Haas' Epistemic Community Theory Characteristics	Shared Normative and Principled Beliefs	Shared Causal Beliefs	Shared Notions of Validity	Common Policy Expertise
Haitian Context	A market-driven education system will better provide a fair and quality education for all than an economically segregated public system	Current conditions of poverty and a devastated infrastructure reveal the government's inability to provide equal access to free and quality education	A market system provides for choice to meet individual needs which leads to more accountability and higher standards	See examples and statements as described in the "Actors, Shared Policy-Relevant Knowledge, and Credibility" section of this document
IADB/World Bank	X	X	X	X
Paul Vallas/ The Vallas Group	X	X	X	X
Bill Clinton/ Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund	X	X	X	X
Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission	X	X	X	X

Arguably, this is a very small epistemic community. The members of this coalition are powerful and credible in promoting the ideas of privatized education; however to promote their agenda and have continued success, it would be wise to gain the support and collaboration of resources of the hundreds of other recognized organizations that are also currently promoting the idea of private education in Haiti, yet are acting outside of the current policy network controlling the reform. For the countless other organizations to align their support for private education with the Haitian government and the actors identified within the epistemic community acting within the network with the current education plan would ensure success and persistence of the major reform goals currently being enacted in the Haitian education sector.

Conclusion

I have argued throughout this work that there indeed does exist a small epistemic community that has sought to influence the Haitian education system in the form of promoting privatization in light of the reform efforts that have taken place since the earthquake of 2010. I have identified several individuals and organizations involved and have discussed the different levels of their beliefs and interests in the formation and dissemination of their ideas of privatization of the education system. I have also discussed recommendations for the current epistemic community members on how to ensure their efforts persist and grow to realize the success of policy efforts put forth and maintain the credibility that is already established.

As a result, to understand the values and interests to which such individuals and

groups are associated allows us greater understanding of the networks of power that are abound and also the various networks of influence in which ideas will circulate.

Considering that in this field these communities still are quite diffuse, with dialogue from other areas of knowledge (eg., political science, economics, etc.) and role in society (eg., state representatives, entrepreneurs, NGOs, associations, etc.), individuals who participate in these communities constitute themselves as spokesmen of efforts by the knowledge experts of certain educational ideas, not only in terms of its design, but also in its purposes, and in the case of Haiti, are not confined strictly to the field of education. When examining how these individuals and organizations gather and diffuse their ideas, we can see how the network of influence is broad and coordinated with many other international organizations and further research is needed in these areas.

In addition to this, we must consider the importance of deepening the analysis of the influence of epistemic communities in the production of specific policies in the educational field. With the exception of this study, and another by Dias and Lopez (2006) published in Portuguese who looked at how epistemic communities influence teacher training and curriculum in Brazil, no other studies have been published on epistemic communities influence in international education. Further research is needed on specific topics within education and how individuals and organizations within an epistemic community wield their influence in these specific areas.

APPENDIX A

A DIRECTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN THE
EDUCATION SECTOR IN HAITI

Source: American Institute for Research (2010)

1. ActionAid Haïti
2. Aide et Action
3. American Institutes for Research (AIR)
4. Appui Social aux Enfants Démunis (ASED)
5. Armée du Salut
6. Association Corps d'Honneur Chrétienne Toussaint Louverture pour le Développement (ACHTLD)
7. Association Coeurs Unis - Kè Kontre
8. Association des Enseignants pour une Nouvelle Vision Instructive et Educative
9. Association Haïtienne pour la Population de Développement Autonome (PRODEVA)
10. Association Passionnante Haïtienne pour le Service Social (PHASS)
11. Association des Paysans de Vallée (APV)
12. Association of Volunteers in International Service (AVSI)
13. Ayiti Education
14. Blue Ridge Haiti
15. Bureau Anglican de l'Éducation en Haïti (BAEH)
16. Bureau des Avocats Internationaux
17. Bureau de l'Eglise Méthodiste d'Haïti pour l'Éducation Générale (BEMHEG)
18. CARE

- 19.Catholic Relief Services (CRS)
- 20.Centre d'Action pour le Développement (CAD)
- 21.Centre d'Aide aux Personnes a Problèmes Auditifs (CAPPA)
- 22.Centre d'Apprentissage et de Formation pour la Transformation (CAFT)
- 23.Centre d'Éducation Communautaire Alternative (CECA)
- 24.Centre d'Éducation Spéciale (CES) 33 Centre de Formation et de Nutrition des Enfants (CFNE)
- 25.Centre de Formation et de Promotion de l'Homme (CEFOPROH)
- 26.Centre Humanitaire Adelina (CHA)
- 27.Centre de Nutrition, de Santé et d'Éducation des Enfants de La Caraïbe (CCNHEC)
- 28.Chances for Children
- 29.Christian Reform World Relief Committee (CRWRC) / Sous Espwa
- 30.Comite Central Mennonite (MCC)
31. Commission Episcopale pour l'Éducation Catholique (CEEC)
- 32.Compassion International - Haiti
- 33.Concern Worldwide
- 34.Confédération des Écoles Privées Indépendantes d'Haïti (CONFEPi)
- 35.Cooperative Housing Foundation (CHF)
- 36.Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC)
- 37.Eglise Méthodiste Libre
- 38.Espoir des Jeunes pour Avancement Mangot-Marion et Environ (EJAME)

- 39.Fédération des Écoles Évangéliques et Protestantes de l'Artibonite (FEPA)
- 40.Fédération des Écoles Protestantes d'Haïti (FEPH)
- 41.Fondation Boissette
- 42.Fondation Boussole
- 43.Fondation pour la Défense des Droits de l'Enfant (FODDE)
- 44.Fondation Digicel
- 45.Fondation Haïtienne d'Appui au Développement Local (FONHADEL)
- 46.Fondation Haïtienne de l'Enseignement Privé (FONHEP)
- 47.La Fondation Mortel
- 48.Fondation Nouveaux Horizon
- 49.Fondation Paul Gérin-Lajoie
- 50.Fondation Unibank
- 51.Le Fonds de Parrainage National (FPN) 74 Food for the Poo
- 52.Foundation HCS: Help for the Children of the Streets
- 53.Foyer des Enfants de la Providence
- 54.Foyer l'Escale
- 55.Foyer Maurice Sixto (FMS)
- 56.Groupe Haïtien de Recherches et d'Actions Pédagogiques (GHRAP)
- 57.Groupe de Support à la Communauté Haïtienne
- 58.Gwoupman Peyizan Gason ak Fanm Vanyan
- 59.Haitian Education & Leadership Program (HELP)

- 60. Haïti Vision
- 61. Hosean International Ministries (HIM)
- 62. Institut Mixte Sidney Woodman
- 63. International Mission Outreach
- 64. Jeunes Contre Violence et Criminalité Haïti
- 65. Kad Timoun Nan Sid
- 66. Kindernothilfe (KNH)
- 67. LAKAY
- 68. Mission Évangélique Baptiste du Sud d'Haïti (MEBSH)
- 69. Mission des Adventistes du 7^e Jour Nord-Ouest d'Haïti (MANOH)
- 70. Mission Chrétienne de l'Eau de Vie
- 71. Mission Eben-Ezer
- 72. Mission des Eglises Baptistes Indépendantes (MEBI-HAITI)
- 73. Mission Évangélique Bon Berger
- 74. Mission Lutherienne d'Haïti
- 75. Mission de Nazaréen en Haïti
- 76. Mouvement des Organisations Sociales pour l'Avancement d'Haïti (MOSAH)
- 77. Mutuelle d'Organisation pour le Développement de Trouchouchou (MODET)
- 78. National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Haiti
- 79. Òganis pou Kore Pwojè Kominotè (OKPK) / Inter Aide
- 80. Organisation des Habitants pour le Développement de Boucandrice / Ganthier

(OHDEB)

- 81.Organisation des Jeunes pour le Développement (OJEDESEM-3)
- 82.Organisation des Jeunes Penseurs pour le Développement de l'Ouest (OJPDO)
- 83.Organisation pour le Renforcement de l'Éducation et de l'Instruction (OREI)
- 84.Organisation de Support Familial pour l'Epanouissement de l'Enfant (OSFEE)
- 85.Organisation Tet Ansanm pour le Développement de Marre-Roseau (OTADEM)
- 86.Orpheline Eben-Ezer de Simon
- 87.Oxfam Quebec
- 88.Pain aux Hommes
- 89.Picardo Social Club Chretien
- 90.Plan d'Action pour le Développement et l'Intégration (PADEVI)
- 91.Plan Haïti
- 92.Programme National de Cantine Scolaire (PNCS)
93. Pwojè Espwa de Sud
- 94.Rassemblement des Amis de Petit-Goâve (RAPEG)
- 95.Save the Children
- 96.Société Haïtienne d'Aide aux Aveugles (SHAA)
- 97.SOS Village d'Enfants Haïti
- 98.Soutien aux Enfants de Tabarre (SAEDT)
- 99.Star of Hope Haïti 136 Viva Rio
- 100.Yéle Haïti

APPENDIX B

PETER M. HAAS'S EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY THEORY FRAMEWORK

Source: Haas, Peter M. (1992). International Organization, vol. 46, number 1. The MIT Press.

Definition: "...a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (1992, 3)	
Four Traits Members of an Epistemic Community Share	
Shared normative and principled beliefs	Provide a value-based rationale for the social action of epistemic community members
Shared causal beliefs	"...derived from their analysis of practices leading or contributing to a central set of problems in their domain that serve as the basis for elucidating the multiple linkages between possible policy actions and desired outcomes" (1992, 3)
Shared notions of validity	"...internally defined criteria for weighing and validating knowledge in the domain of expertise" (1992, 3)
Common Policy Expertise	Members of epistemic communities share a common set of practices connected to a set of problems to which their professional skills are directed, perhaps out of the belief that human welfare will be increased

APPENDIX C

A LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYZED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

*Please see the Reference Section for full citation information

American Institute for Research (2010) A Directory of Civil Society Organizations Working in the Education Sector in Haiti
Clinton-Bush Haiti Fund: clintonbushhaitifund.org
Gil, B., Zimmer, R., Christan, J., Blanc, S. (2007). <i>Student Achievement in Privately Managed and District-Managed Schools in Philadelphia Since the State Takeover.</i>
Government of Haiti. (2004). <i>Interim Cooperation Framework.</i> Port-au-Prince. July.
Government of Haiti. (2010). <i>Haiti Earthquake PDNA: Assessment of Damage, Losses, General</i>
InterAmerican Development Bank. (2010, 15-May). Haiti Gives IDB Mandate to Promote Major Educational Reform.
Kubal, M.R. (2003). <i>The Politics of Education Decentralization in Latin America: Rhetoric and Reality in Chile, Mexico, Argentina, and Nicaragua.</i>
McNulty, B. (2011). <i>The Education of Poverty: Rebuilding Haiti's School System After Its "Total Collapse"</i>
Murphy, J. 1997. <i>Pathways to Privatization in Education.</i>
Pitsch, M. (1996). <i>Clinton Position of Private Vouchers Debated</i>
UNICEF. (2010). <i>Children of Haiti: Three Months After the Earthquake: Progress, Gaps and Plans in Humanitarian Action.</i>
Wolff, L. (2008). <i>Education in Haiti: The Way Forward. Partnership for Education Revitalization in the Americas</i>
World Bank. (2006). <i>Haiti Country Economic Memorandum: Options and Opportunities for Inclusive Growth</i>
World Bank. (2007). Haiti Education for All. Project Appraisal Document. Washington, DC. World Bank. (2007a). "Social Resilience and State Fragility in Haiti"

REFERENCE LIST

- Adler, E. (1992). The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control. *International Organization*. 46(1): 101-145.
- Adler, E. and P. Haas. (1992). Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program. *International Organization*. 46(1): 367-390.
- American Institute for Research (2010) *Supporting Education in Haiti: A Directory of Civil Society Organizations Working in the Education Sector in Haiti*. Earthquake Recovery Update: July 2010.
- Baark, E. and J. Strahl. (1995). The Response of International Organizations to the Environmental Challenge: The Case of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). *Development and Change*. 26(3): 441-468.
- Barth, K. (2006). Scientists as Transnational Arms Control Advocates in the 1980s. *Osiris*. 21(1): 182-206.
- Belfield, C. and M. Levin. (2003). The economics of tuition tax credits for US schools. *NTA Proceedings*, 95th Annual Conference on Taxation, 1-15.
- Betsill, M. M. and R. A. Pielke, Jr. (1998). Blurring the Boundaries: Domestic and International Ozone Politics and Lessons for Climate Change. *International Environmental Affairs*. 10(3): 147-172.
- Bruemmer, R. (2011, 5-March). Schools Key to Recovery. Retrieved 2011, 21-October from The Montreal Gazette: Carnoy, M. 1997. Is privatisation through vouchers really the answer? *World Bank Research Observer*, 12, 105–116. http://www.montrealgazette.com/story_print.html?id=4388335&sponsor=
- Clinton Bush Haiti Fund. (nd) All About the Clinton Bush Haiti Fund. online:clintonbushhaitifund.org

- Daumerie, B., & Hardee, K. (2010). *The Effects of a Very Young Age Structure on Haiti*. Washington, D.C.: Population Action International.
- Dias, R. E. and S. B. López. (2006). Conhecimento, Interesse e Poder na Produção de Políticas Curriculares. *Currículo sem Fronteiras*. 6(2): 53-66.
- Dunlop, C. A. (2000). Epistemic Communities: A Reply to Toke. *Politics*. 20(3): 137-144.
- Education Commission of the States. (2003). No Child Left Behind.. Available [Online]: <http://nclb.ecs.org/nclb/>.
- Evans, R. and Marvin, S. (2006) Researching the sustainable city: three modes of interdisciplinarity, *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 38, No. 6, pp.1009-1028.
- Farquharson, K. (2003). Influencing Policy Transnationally: Pro-and Anti-tobacco Global Advocacy Networks. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*. 62(4): 80-92.
- Finnemore, M. (1994). International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy. *International Organization*. 47(4): 565-597.
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Friedman, M. (1993). Public schools: make them private. *Education Economics*, 1, 32-44.
- Gil, B., Zimmer, R., Christan, J., Blanc, S. (2007). Student Achievement in Privately Managed and District-Managed Schools in Philadelphia Since the State Takeover. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9239.
- Haas, Peter M. (1992). *International Organization*, vol. 46, number 1. The MIT Press.
- Haas, P. and E. Adler. (1992). Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program.. In *Knowledge*,

- Power, and International Policy Coordination*. Edited by P. Haas. pp. 367-390. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Hadjadj, B. (2000). *Education for All in Haiti Over the Last 20 Years: Assessment And Perspectives*. UNESCO.
- Haiti Government. (2010). Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti. Retrieved online:
http://www.haiticonference.org/Haiti_Action_Plan_ENG.pdf
- Haiti Government. (1987, 10-March). Haiti Constitution 1987. (G. U. Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Producer) Retrieved 2011, 20-October from Political Database of the Americas:
<http://pdba.georgetown.edu/constitutions/haiti/haiti1987.html>
- Holzner, B. (1972). *Reality Construction in Society*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Holzner, B. and J. H. Marx. (1979). *Knowledge Application: The Knowledge System in Society*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Hopkins, R. F. (1992). Reform in the International Food Aid Regime: The Role of Consensual Knowledge. In *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination*. Edited by P. Haas. pp. 225-264. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Houlihan, B. (1999). Anti-doping Policy in Sport: The Politics of International Policy Coordination. *Public Administration*. 77(2): 311-334.
- IDB. (2010, 15-May). Haiti Gives IDB Mandate to Promote Major Educational Reform. Retrieved from Inter-American Development Bank: <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2010-05-15/haitigives-idb-mandate-to-promote-major-education-reform,7150.html>
- Ikenberry, G. J. (1992). A World Economy Restored: Expert Consensus and the Anglo- American Postwar Settlement. In *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination*. Edited by P. Haas. pp. 289-321. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

- INURED. (2010). The Challenge for Haitian Higher Education: A Post-Earthquake Assessment of Higher Education Institutions in the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area. Interuniversity Institute for Research and Development (INURED). Port-au-Prince: INURED.
- Jacobs, L. R. and B. I. Page. (2005). Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy? *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 107-23.
- Kapstein, E. B. (1992). Between Power and Purpose: Central Bankers and the Politics of Regulatory Convergence. In *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination*. Edited by P. Haas. pp. 265-287. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Kenny, C. (2011, 3-January). Forget the Aftershocks. Retrieved from Foreign Policy Magazine: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/03/forget_the_aftershocks
- Kubal, M.R. (2003). *The Politics of Education Decentralization in Latin America: Rhetoric and Reality in Chile, Mexico, Argentina, and Nicaragua*. delivered: Latin American Studies Association. Dallas, Texas, March 27-29, 2003.
- Levin, H.M. (1998). Educational vouchers: effectiveness, choice and costs. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 17, 373–392.
- Lidskog, R. and G. Sundqvist. (2004). “The Role of Science in Environmental Regimes: The Case of LRTAP.” *European Journal of International Relations*. 8(1): 77-101.
- Lott, J.R. (1987). Why is education publicly provided? A critical survey, *Cato Journal*, 7, 475– 501.
- Lunde, H. (2008). Youth and Education in Haiti: Disincentives, Vulnerabilities and Constraints. *Haiti Youth Project*. <http://www.fao.no/pub/rapp/10070/>
- Luzincourt, K., & Gulbrandson, J. (2010, August). Education and Conflict in Haiti. Retrieved 2011, 15-October from United State Peace Institute: <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr245.pdf>
- McNulty, B. (2011). The Education of Poverty: Rebuilding Haiti's School System After Its "Total Collapse". *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* , 35 (1), 111.

- Mendelson, S. E. (1993). Internal Battles and External Wars-Politic-Learning, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan. *World Politics*. 45(3): 327-360.
- Murphy, J. (1997). *Pathways to Privatization in Education*. Ablex Publishing Group: Greenwich, CT.
- Murray, SE, Evans, WN and RM Schwab. (1998). Education-finance reform and the distribution of education resources. *American Economic Review*, **88**, 789-812.
- Pitsch, M. (1996). Clinton Position of Private Vouchers Debated. Education Week. Editorial Projects in Education. online: www.edweek.org
- Ruggie, J. G. (1975). International Responses to Technology: Concepts and Trends. *International Organizations*, 29.
- Salmi, Jamil. (1998). Equity and Quality in Private Education: The Haitian Paradox. LCSHD Paper Series, No. 18. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Sauvé, R. and Jamie Watts. (2003). An analysis of IPGRI's Influence on the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture. *Agricultural Systems* 78 (2): 307-327
- Sebenius, J. (1992). Challenging Conventional Explanations of International Co- operation: Negotiation Analysis and the Case of Epistemic Communities. *International Organization*. 46(1): 323-365.
- Sharp, J. and J. Briggs (2006). Postcolonialism and development: new dialogues? *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 172n. 1, pp. 6-9.
- Simon, S. W. (2002). Evaluating Track II Approaches to Security Diplomacy in the Asia- Pacific: The CSCAP Experience. *The Pacific Review*. 15(2): 167-200.
- Toke, D. (1999). Epistemic Communities and Environmental Groups. *Politics*. 19 (2): 97-102.
- Trommer, S. and R. Chari. (2006). The Council of Europe: Interest Groups and Ideological Missions. *West European Politics*. 29(4): 665-686.

- Van Daele, J. (2005). Engineering Social Peace: Networks, Ideas, and the Founding of The International Labour Organization. *International Review of Social History*. 435-466.
- Weber, R. P. (1985). *Basic Content Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Wolff, L. (2008). Education in Haiti: The Way Forward. Partnership for Education Revitalization in the Americas. Washington, D.C.: PREAL.
- The World Bank. (2006). Haiti: Options and Opportunities for Inclusive Growth. The World Bank.

VITA

Joy E. O’Keefe was born and raised in Frankfort, Illinois. Before attending Loyola University Chicago, she attended Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana where she earned a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education and English with a minor in Journalism in 2003. From 2005 to 2007, she also attended DePaul University in Chicago, where she received a Master of Arts Language, Literacy and Specialized Instruction with a focus in Learning Disabilities. While at Loyola, Joy was elected 2nd Vice President of the Comparative and International Educational Student Government Association.

Currently, Joy is an Adjunct Professor of Education at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois and serves as a Reading Specialist and Team Leader at Jefferson Middle School, Villa Park, Illinois. She lives in Chicago, Illinois.

