

## Education for Global Development

# Reconciling Society, State and Market

In 1997 John Martinussen's "Society, State and Market: A guide to competing theories of development" was published in English. It was an important book, a model of its kind, written with lucidity and simplicity, and considered the most comprehensive account of international development then in print. As reviewers observed, its contribution was to discuss development economics within the context of differing political and cultural circumstances. The Swedish academic Bjorn Hettne asserted that the book would: "... without doubt provide the baseline for research and teaching in the field well into the next millennium." However, it is worth noting, despite the high praise, how little attention Martinussen paid to education as a motor of development.

Our intention is to reconsider the development theories examined by Martinussen, but in the context of what has been achieved by global development education since the Jomtien Declaration of 1990. This set the Education for All goal to be achieved by 2015, monitored subsequently by UNESCO. We then consider the priorities for global education as part of the development goals post 2015, again using the theoretical framework set out in Martinussen's important book.



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## Society, State and Market

The concepts of society, state and market continue to dominate development issues, both in theory and in practice. It is important to understand, however, that they are not autonomous concepts, but are integrated, although to a greater or lesser degree according to national stages of development. They have a symbiotic relationship that should encourage an inter-disciplinary approach to theory-building and its application. This has implications for education policy and practice, as needs and aspirations will differ according to regional, national and indeed local needs and aspirations. However, let us consider them first individually.

First, what is understood by "society" will differ according to factors such as: the specific historical trajectory; demographic, cultural and linguistic patterns; the degree of cohesion, including common values

and their sustainability; the openness to outside influences, including migration, with the internet an increasingly important factor; agreement on economic aspirations and social directions; and the participatory setting of development objectives. The balance between public and private goods also needs to be considered.

The concept of "civil society" is crucial. It is generally accepted to comprise of a network of relatively autonomous voluntary associations. These range in organizational styles from the elaborate and structured, to the responsive and flexible according to need. The private individual and family, with personal hopes and aspirations should not be ignored. Indeed, civil society might be seen as a "shock-absorber" between the individual and the state. The extent of such a civil society, and its ability to work effectively, will differ according to the historical trajectory experienced. The implications for educational needs and provision are considerable, especially for patterns of formal, non-formal and informal education and learning; and of public and private provision.

In a similar way, what is understood by the "state" will also differ according to factors such as: again the historical trajectory; the balance between the state and civil society, including the degree to which the state is strong or weak ideologically, legally and physically; which affects the autonomy that the state and its policy-makers has in relation to civil society and to

the market. The Gramscian notion of hegemony is important here.

As Martinussen says, conventional economic theory allocates the state a key role in initiating and sustaining economic growth. However, dependency theory and neo-Marxist political economy deny the state such an autonomous role given capitalist ownership of the factors of production and control of the distribution of wealth. It should be noted that theoretical analysis of the state has taken place chiefly in industrialized and post-industrialized societies. This should caution against too ready an application in other circumstances. The implications for education are again considerable.

A market economy is affected by the structures of society and of the state sketched above. For instance, social norms, such as some degree of impersonal relationships and acceptance of a price mechanism, together with notions such as honesty and of the legal enforcement of contracts, are necessary to markets. These have implications for the cultural and political feasibility of a market economy and for development not commanded by the state. The presence of such norms and of receptive state structures differs considerably according to the historical trajectory experienced. Society, state and market are clearly interrelated, making necessary an interdisciplinary approach to development policy. We consider next the implications for education policy specifically.

### Education for All

While universal primary education (UPE) and the right to education had been the rhetoric of governments and international development agencies for years, the Jomtien Declaration made this aspiration universal and official (UNESCO 2011, p. 2). It was the outcome of the 1990 World Conference on Education, held in Jomtien, Thailand, which brought together over 150 governments, numerous NGOs and major development agencies.

The core aim was to meet: "... the basic learning needs of all children, youth and adults." To achieve this, learning should no longer be confined to the classroom, particularly if people of all ages were to be reached. Education for All was a concept encompassing programmes, activities and services in the public and private sectors aimed at meeting the basic needs of

all people, both within and outside school (United Nations, 2014). The declaration maintained that governments had an obligation to provide basic education for all, although it was recognized that: "... they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task" (World Conference on Education, p. 7). New partnerships and the mobilization of private resources were essential. As Martinussen's framework indicates, society and the market must also be part of the strategy for achieving such goals.

### A Framework for Action

While Jomtien outlined values and principles, it did not set fixed goals. Instead, a corresponding Framework for Action was agreed to aid national governments in formulating their own plans for implementing the declaration. Six broad objectives were given against which countries could set their own specific targets:

- Expansion of early childhood care and development
- Universal access to and completion of primary education by the year 2000
- Improvement in learning achievement
- Reduction of the adult illiteracy rate
- Expansion of provisions of basic education and training
- Increased acquisition of knowledge, skills and values

The framework was sensitive to countries' diverse needs and situations. This was not simply in terms of their different stages of development, but also how various factors translated into the relative strength of society, the state and market in a given country. As Jomtien was a vision for the future, it was realised that such factors would change dramatically over time in ways that could not be foreseen.

### Building on the "Jomtien Decade"

In 2000, the international development community met again at the World Education Forum in Dakar to assess the "Jomtien Decade". The forum adopted six Education for All (EFA) goals with a deadline for meeting them of 2015, which approximated to the broad objectives of the Jomtien Framework for Action. UNESCO consolidated its EFA leadership when it was

mandated to coordinate international efforts to reach these goals; and to lead the monitoring process through its Institute for Statistics and the annual EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR).

## The state of EFA

It has been a concern that governments and donors have pursued primary education enrolment to the detriment of other EFA goals. Even as early as 1996 the Jomtien Mid-Decade Meeting felt that the declaration had: "... often been reduced to a simple emphasis upon putting more children into school" (UNESCO 1996, p. 9). This has to a large extent been reflected in EFA progress.

At Jomtien it was projected that more than 160 million children would be without access to primary schooling by the end of the century if enrolment rates remained unchanged (World Conference on Education 1990, p. 1). By the year 2000, 102 million were still out of school, showing a positive trend, though still far from universal primary education (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2013). Over the next eleven years, greater progress was made, with the number declining to 57 million (United Nations June 2013, p. 5). The remaining gap is however proving stubborn, with progress stagnating since 2008. Nevertheless, narrowing the gender gap in primary enrolment is one of the biggest EFA successes. The number of countries where girls face extreme disadvantages, measured by the gender parity index, fell from sixteen in 1990 to just one in 2010 (UNESCO 2012, p. 108). This is, of course, still some distance from the global community's goal, with only 60 percent of countries achieving gender parity at primary level and 38 percent at secondary by 2011 (UNESCO 2013, p. 4).

The achievement of the other EFA goals is showing even slower progress. While the proportion of children enrolled in pre-primary education increased from 33 percent in 1999 to 50 percent in 2011, there remain very large regional disparities. Again, while global adult literacy rates have increased over the past two decades, 774 million adults were still illiterate in 2011, two-thirds of them women (UNESCO 2013, p. 3-4). The EFA goal on skills has had a sharper focus in recent years because of the increase in youth unemployment, with a GMR dedicated to the subject in 2012. Coordi-

nated global action has also been hampered by ambiguity about the meaning of this particular goal. Quality of education has also been given greater emphasis, partially because it has been so neglected to date. For instance, 130 million children are at school, but are still failing to meet basic reading, writing and numeracy standards (UNESCO 2012, p. 14). The 2013-14 GMR focuses on teaching and learning, bringing much needed attention and analysis to this issue.

Martinussen's framework is useful when reflecting upon the relative success and failure of the various EFA goals. The role of the state, with its dominant place in providing basic education for all, has been emphasized. The role of society, for instance in lifelong learning and skills development, has seen less attention. Similarly, the market continues to be seen by some as having no role in education at all. Nevertheless, if serious progress is to be made, society, state and market must each assume a role in education and development.

## The Post-2015 Development Goals

The shaping of the post-2015 Development Goals is well under way but, while several milestones have been reached, much remains to be decided. These goals will need to reflect the future of three, interrelated, development movements – the EFA Goals, MDGs and new sustainable development goals (SDGs), as initiated at the Rio+20 Conference in 2012. To encompass these movements, it is likely that the framework will be defined by a single set of global goals to eradicate poverty in the context of sustainable development (UNESCO 2013, p. 2).

## The road to 2015

The MDGs have been criticized for being developed without a substantive input from those they were supposed to assist the most. With this in mind, the post-2015 agenda has aimed to be as inclusive as possible. Again such a multi-stakeholder approach, integrating society, state and market, is essential to its legitimacy, but adds to the complexity of achieving a clear set of manageable goals.

In education, UNESCO will facilitate the debate among governments and other stakeholders through existing EFA coordination mechanisms. National and regional con-

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sultations are planned throughout 2014. As we stated in an earlier article (Morgan/White, 2013), UNESCO has invited a senior group of experts to revisit the Faure Report (1972) and the Delors Report (1996), two seminal documents produced by the organization; and to develop some principles for humanistic education in the 21st Century. The group's report is expected to be ready in Spring 2014. These UNESCO processes will culminate in the Global Education Conference in Spring 2015, which will agree a set of recommendations for the post-2015 education agenda (UNESCO 2013, p. 9).

## Educational priorities for the future

Two recommendations for the post-2015 education agenda have received broad support among advocates of global education initiatives, including UNESCO. First, it should include a specific goal on education, while recognizing its cross-cutting importance to other development objectives. Also, a detailed global education framework, the successor to the EFA Goals and the Dakar Framework for Action, should continue, separate from, but complementing the post-2015 development goals. Such a framework could bring greater clarity to an overarching global education goal and improve donor and government coordination and accountability (Rose 2013).

Priorities for the new education agenda have also begun to emerge based on the lessons of EFA and the education-related MDGs. There is clearly a need to pay greater attention to quality and learning, given the current emphasis on education enrolment rates. Again, education, including early childhood and secondary, should be equitable through universal access. Finally, education and learning must be for all, including youth and adults, and this necessitates action outside formal learning environments.

Several key reports and high-level meetings have helped shape the likely priorities in setting a cogent and coherent agenda. For instance, UNESCO has recommended to Member States an overarching global education goal that would ensure equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030. This goal is set out as five objectives which are access to free basic education, access to upper secondary and tertiary education, quality, functional levels of youth and adult literacy and lifelong learning to develop skills (UNESCO 2013, p. 7-9).

This is a preliminary proposal which will be developed by Member States and UNESCO in the coming year.

Yet again, the UN High-level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda delivered its report in May 2013. Among the panel's twelve proposed overarching goals is a dedicated goal on education, which is again to "Provide Quality Education and Lifelong Learning". One of the five "transformative shifts" that the report identifies as essential to delivering this, and the other goals, is a "new global partnership", an evolution of the eight Millennium Development Goals which includes the private sector, governments and civil society; essentially Martinussen's framework. The post-2015 agenda must reconcile society, state and market as complex stakeholders that play a fundamental and complementary role in initiating and sustaining development.

Also of note is the Global Thematic Consultation on Education in the Post-2015 Development Agenda, led jointly by UNICEF and by UNESCO. Its report, in September 2013, summarised the main themes and messages that emerged from wide-ranging consultations (UNESCO and UNICEF 2012). The report concluded that a stronger commitment to good-quality education, with a focus on learning, is perhaps the most important priority for the post-2015 agenda. The new agenda must also address the unfinished work of the EFA Goals.

The end of this global debate will be at the Heads of State and Governments' Summit, scheduled by the United Nations for New York in September 2015. Before then, UNESCO and its partners must secure a strong position for education within the overall development agenda, while shaping a cohesive, inclusive and cogent vision of the future of education for global development. To be successful in realising education for all people, this vision must reconcile the diverse societies, states and markets of different countries.

## Conclusion

The concepts of society, state and market are fundamentally interrelated and, as we have argued, must be reconciled if sustainable and just global development is to be achieved. As a consequence, development discourse and analysis should be interdisciplinary if it is to be effective in guiding policy. As we have shown this has, in turn, many implications for the shaping and implementation of educational initiatives in support of sustainable global development.

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