

## **Introduction:**

# **Universalization of Primary Education in the Historical and Developmental Perspective**

Akio YONEMURA

### **The Current State of the Development of Primary Education**

#### **International Approaches for Primary Education Development**

World War II to the 1960s

From the 1970s to the 1980s

Since the 1990s

#### **Previous Studies and Policy**

Problems in the Engineering-oriented Approaches

Towards a Political Economy Approach

#### **Features of the Book**

The “Developmental Tasks” Model and Its Meaning

Focus on the Completion Stage in Universalization of Primary Education

#### **Discussion: Characteristics of the Completion Stages in the Two Regions**

“Task-Solution Process Prolonged and Multi-layered” Development

Different Perceptions of the “Developmental Tasks” in the Two Regions

Towards Universalization of Primary Education

#### **A Summary of the Chapters in the Book**

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## The Current State of the Development of Primary Education

Universalization of primary education is an integral part of the United Nations Millennium Goals. It is one of the main priorities in the international community. Since the expansion of globalization since the 1980s, poverty, social disparity and social exclusion have become the basic and evident causes of social and political instability. Education has been considered a key element to rectify these conditions.

The 1990 Jomtien World Education Conference expressed such international concern. Since then, the international movement, Education For All (EFA), has made large advances in its pursuit of the universalization of basic (primary) education all over the world. Although an important modification of the target year of achievement to 2015, which means prolongation by 15 years, was implemented during the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum, many countries showed significant progress during the ten years (Chabbott 2003; Yonemura 2001). Although Sub-Saharan Africa area's net enrolment ratio in 2000 barely got to 58.2%, Arabian states and South and West Asian areas achieved that of about 80%. The rest of the areas exceeded the 90% level. Central Asian and Latin American areas especially showed high speed in their enrolment ratio improvement, getting more than ten percentage points increase in the ten years (Table 1).

**Table 1 Gross and Net Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education  
by Region (1990 and 2000)**

	GROSS ENROLMENT RATIO (GER) IN PRIMARY EDUCATION (%)						NET ENROLMENT RATIO (NER) IN PRIMARY EDUCATION (%)					
	1990			2000			1990			2000		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
<b>World</b>	<b>99.3</b>	<b>105.0</b>	<b>93.4</b>	<b>100.6</b>	<b>104.3</b>	<b>96.7</b>	<b>81.8</b>	<b>86.9</b>	<b>76.6</b>	<b>83.8</b>	<b>86.3</b>	<b>81.1</b>
Countries in transition	94.8	95.1	94.5	99.6	100.1	99.0	88.3	88.4	88.2	90.5	89.4	91.3
Developed countries	102.8	103.1	102.5	102.1	102.3	102.0	96.9	96.7	97.2	97.0	96.7	97.3
Developing countries	99.2	105.9	92.2	100.5	104.7	96.1	79.8	85.8	73.5	82.1	85.1	78.9
Arab States	87.4	96.8	77.6	91.9	97.2	86.3	76.3	83.8	68.5	80.9	85.0	76.7
Central and Eastern Europe	97.5	98.3	96.7	99.9	101.5	98.1	89.9	90.5	89.2	92.1	92.2	91.9
Central Asia	85.2	85.7	84.7	99.8	100.5	99.1	81.4	81.8	81.0	90.7	90.6	89.8
East Asia and the Pacific	117.0	120.2	113.5	110.0	110.6	109.3	96.0	97.7	94.1	92.7	92.9	92.5
Latin America and the Caribbean	105.0	106.2	103.8	123.1	124.7	121.5	86.9	87.4	86.3	96.6	97.1	96.1
North America and Western Europe	103.2	103.5	102.8	102.3	102.5	102.1	96.3	96.0	96.6	96.5	96.1	96.9
South and West Asia	92.2	104.3	79.3	95.9	103.8	87.4	72.7	86.6	57.8	80.6	87.2	73.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	74.1	80.9	67.3	81.5	86.7	76.3	55.0	59.0	51.0	58.2	60.7	55.6

source: [http://portal.unesco.org/education/admin/file\\_download.php/Table5\\_Participation.pdf?URL\\_ID=25571&filename=1067349690Table5\\_Participation.pdf&filetype=application%2Fpdf&filesize=150080&name=Table5\\_Participation.pdf&location=user-S/](http://portal.unesco.org/education/admin/file_download.php/Table5_Participation.pdf?URL_ID=25571&filename=1067349690Table5_Participation.pdf&filetype=application%2Fpdf&filesize=150080&name=Table5_Participation.pdf&location=user-S/)  
referred on 2006.11.06

However, the prospects are not necessarily bright; it seems difficult to achieve the target for the most impoverished countries such as Africa and South Asia. Simultaneously East Asia and Latin America appear to be accomplishing the goal in terms of quantity but not quality. In effect, the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar made a modification by adding the adjectives “qualitative and free” to the target of universalization of primary education. They noticed that the drive to pursue quantitative goals tended to cause qualitative problems.

In this situation, the question of how to understand, analyze and evaluate the current status of the development of primary education in developing countries is a big issue calling the interest of policy makers and researchers. The Institute of Developing Economies organized a project in order to challenge this theme. This book consists of articles by Japanese and foreign researchers who participated in the project.

The purposes of the project were: First, to develop a new approach that would complement the existing approach. The perspective for EFA was given only through quantitative measures such as enrolment ratios using the existing approach. However, the new approach should be able to grasp the complexity and richness of the reality thus producing a more convincing EFA perspective. The attempt to theorize Japanese experiences of the universalization of primary education should be included there. Second, to grasp the past processes and present achievement (or problems) in primary education development in developing countries, focusing upon cases of those countries which are completing or appear to have almost completed universalization of primary education. Research interest has not been given to such cases but they constitute and deserve proper research theme and investigation. The third purpose was to promote discussion among Asian and Latin American researchers.

The project had a period of only two years. Foreign contributions for this book were requested in the second year. The skeleton of the analytical framework which was under construction was shown to participants. They were asked to refer to but not restricted by it. Writing freely along each participant’s interest and methodology, focusing upon the situation of their interested country, was our consensus.

The result was satisfactory, if it is not perfect, except that we could poorly achieve the

third purpose due to time and financial restriction. Therefore, I hope that the publication of this book can compensate for that lack by stimulating further discussion not only within us but also among all readers. The rest of this introduction is presented to realize this purpose by facilitating readers to share our research question. It has the following structure. It begins with a review of the previous international approach to primary education development. Next, engineering characteristics in the previous studies will be critically discussed; the political economy approach will be proposed as an alternative; and a review of existing political economy literature will reveal necessity of more studies focusing cases of developing countries. Then, I will show the meanings of our project: the search for a new approach and the focus on countries in the final stage for primary education universalization. Finally, I will discuss what can be drawn from the articles in this book as a whole: it may have characteristics of argument rather than introduction. However, it will also serve readers to obtain a global idea of what are our project and its results before entering the following chapters. A summary of articles in the book is annexed.

## **International Approaches for Primary Education Development**

### World War II to the 1960s

After World War II, Unesco, among other international organizations, highlighted the importance of popular primary education in order to protect and strengthen the consciousness of human rights and democracy. In the meanwhile, developing countries, which comprised the newly independent Asian countries, also considered it indispensable for their nation building. Such international consensus was reflected in the regional conferences held in the late 1950s in Asia, Latin America and Africa by Unesco's leadership. This was exemplified by the adoption of primary education plans. Since then, educational research in the field of development has had the tendency to concentrate its concern on the technical and practical aspects to aid the development planning authorities. In effect, the importance of primary education appeared obvious at that time. They considered what was needed to realize its rapid diffusion was the technical ability to prepare educational plans which were consistent with national development planning and able to indicate efficient implementation processes. They presupposed that social consensus about universalization of primary education was unarguably attained.

However, the period of the idealistic nation building, which emphasized the political aspect of developmental tasks, was over by the 1960s. The reality of developing countries revealed essential needs for economic development. This meant that education development was viewed from the economic viewpoint. Consequently, the manpower approach and the human resource theory appeared on the scene. The manpower approach showed in an intelligible manner the necessity of secondary, higher and technical education for the purpose of economic development. It calculated and expressed the necessary amount of student increase in each educational category in the form of manpower planning in relation to economic development plans. It had the characteristics of an engineering approach fully developed from the simple educational plans in the 1950s and the early 1960s. Simultaneously, the human resource theory supported the idea that education contributes to economic development. Especially, the internal rates of return to education, which were calculated based upon that theory, became well known. It was an intelligible expression of education's economic meaning. Governments' budget distribution to education was rationalized by these theories.

According to many internal rate calculations, that for primary education was higher than those of secondary and higher education. However, it was usually ignored in international and national policy practice. In many cases, efforts to carry out the diffusion plans of primary education in the previous periods, although those plans were often the only setting up of targets, had revealed that they were too ambitious and far from the reality in terms of administrative and financial abilities and people's demands (World Bank 1974, pp.12-13). Primary education was given low priority in many developing countries and by international organizations with financial power such as the World Bank, however, some, including Unesco, maintained its concern.

#### From the 1970s to the 1980s

In 1970s criticism against the understanding of economic development as economic growth in the narrow sense became prevalent (Moon 1991, pp.4-5). The meaning of primary education was revived and strengthened in this new environment. The World Bank began projects of primary education development. In the latter half of the decade, the number of projects and their loan amount increased along with the advance

of “basic needs approach”. However, this move in the new direction was slow and gradual. The weight of the primary education loan in the education sector of the bank remained smaller than other educational categories until the first half of the 1980s (World Bank 1980, p.80, pp.127-140).

Colclough (1980) reviewed research in this period and discussed the contribution of primary education to economic development. He first examined primary education’s economic effect, taking it as labor productivity improvement through labor quality improvement by education. Studies on internal rates of return calculated by Psacalopoulos (1973) and the study on peasants’ productivity improvement by Lockheed et. al. (1979) were referred to. He next dealt with non-economic effects: studies about effects upon birth, health, nutrition and cultural formation of the modern nation and studies about education’s distributive effects. He also discussed poverty reduction effects. It can be said that the framework of economics which would support from 1990s onwards the international concern on universalization of primary education and poverty reduction was already being prepared there. However, Sen’s capability approach (Sen 1985) took a decisive role in providing a theoretical base to policies in that direction and raising the new broad international consensus in the 1990s. His assertion did not take the form of an argument for education specifically. However, its logical implication for policy practice was to give essential importance to basic education because the level of basic education is a main factor in determining the individual’s capability which decides the range of possible behaviors. Sen’s view was a theoretically deepened version of the basic needs approach which recognized primary education’s role. It contributed to practice and research in the field of primary education development in two ways. First, it proposed a synthetic vision to attain consensus among those individuals and organizations which supported further diffusion of primary education from the different standpoints. His capability approach had affinity with the standpoint that education is a human right and at the same time it retained economic standpoint that education is instrumental to attain welfare. Second, it convincingly showed the role of education in economic development, focusing only on the theoretical level. In development studies the relation between education and economic development has been discussed and empirically

verified. Strictly speaking, however, the problem of the direction of causality has not solved empirically and theoretically. Neither did Sen's argument. However, it gave a systematic and persuasive explanation of how education (especially basic education) affects economic development (people's welfare). Therefore, it served studies and their interpretations which assumed such causality by affording them "ground" for their assertion.

In the meanwhile, the involvement by the World Bank in primary education development during this period brought to it interest in various educational matters not only of hardware such as school construction but also inside of the classroom—textbooks, curriculum, instruction materials, quality of teachers, and instruction processes, etc. It was because the bank faced the generally low quality primary education in developing countries and its qualitative disparity within a country. Financial efficiency in the projects was also required. Answers for these concerns were explored mainly by the research of education quality. The typical trend in this direction was studies of education production function, which used student's academic scores as a dependent variable. Concerns on educational opportunities in the United States in the 1970s brought about the rise of these studies. Various statistical analyses were conducted by sociologists and economists using the education production function model and large scale micro data. The same method was applied to studies of developing countries. It was considered as clarifying the role of such educational inputs as teacher quality and school equipments in the improvement of educational opportunities and the reduction of their geographical and social class disparity (Colclough 1980, pp.16-19). At the same time, the method was supposed as a tool to find effective and efficient policy variables out of educational inputs variables (Solmon 1986).

#### Since the 1990s

In the year of 1990 landmarks appeared in the international development scene: The World Education Conference in Jomtien was held; World Bank's *World Development Report* for this year featured the "poverty" problem; and the first number of *Human Development* was issued by the United Nations Development Program. These incidences indicated that the changes which began in the 1970's are a main stream now. At that time, the World Bank was the biggest international financial organization in

relation to education development. Therefore, its attachment of importance to primary education had a big influence. The amount of the bank's loan for primary education in the 1990s increased three times as in the 1980s. It occupied the first place with a long lead to other education sub-sectors. The World Education Forum in 2000 and the UN General Assembly in the same year adopted goals for universalization of primary education, where the goal of the completion of primary education diffusion was reconfirmed although its achievement time limit was prolonged to 2015.

An impressive advancement has been attained in grasping the current status of education in developing countries through quantitative indices such as enrolment ratios since the international movement of EFA began. Unesco, which had long made efforts regarding educational statistics, promoted further data collection from those countries which had not prepared or insufficiently prepared them. It also set forward creation, preparation and standardization of those indices which can reflect enrolment and completion statuses more exactly and compare across countries and periods. The great strides attained by these efforts, along with access to the internet, allowed researchers to enjoy basic research conditions by making it possible to obtain easily the latest and more exact data of almost all countries in the world.

At the same time, concern on the quality of education has increased and thus, its measurement has advanced. Many developing countries have also participated in international examinations such as Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The essentiality of grasping the quality of education has been widely recognized if understanding real meanings of education diffusion is required. Organizations that specialize in conducting surveys periodical- and constantly and analyzing their results have been founded in not only developed countries but also developing countries. Unesco has also implemented regional programs with the same purpose. Its EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005 (Unesco, website) featured "quality of education".

The EFA movement, which began in 1990 and pursued the completion of its target by 2015, has also promoted research concern. However, the main research stream in methodological aspect has retained the education production function style. "Effective school studies" and "School improvement studies" which appeared in developed countries were applied to developing countries (Lockheed et. Al. 1991). Research



for program evaluation is prosperous recently: Psacalopoulous and Velez, E. (1993) analyzed effectiveness of Escuela Nueva Program in Colombia; Jimenez and Sawada (1999) dealt with El Salvador's EDUCO program, among others. Project evaluations through experimental setting have also been attempted. This is based upon random sample collection from project implemented objects (treatment group) and not implemented objects (non-treatment group). Such experimental design itself constitutes a part of the project in some cases. Studies on Pregresa, for example, examined effects of scholarship on enrolment ratios using "experimental" data obtained from the survey scheduled in the program (See, Chapter 5). All these studies have extended the number and kinds of explanative variables and employed more refined statistical methods, with their analytical interests and methodological style in common with those of education production function studies. They have become very affinitive mutually. Thus, the research scene as a whole can be understood as of extension and development of education production function approach (Unesco, website).

### **Previous Studies and Policy**

#### Problems in the Engineering-oriented Approaches

As described above, policy for primary education development has been given rationale by economic studies which have shown the social and economic importance of primary education. Sen's argument, especially, took an important role in the justification of recent efforts of primary education development. In the meanwhile, the task to conceive and materialize policies for primary education development has been corresponded by using the engineering-oriented approaches which are prevalent in the education development studies in each period.

Studies by manpower plan approach in the 1960s themselves had engineering characteristics and prepared framework for policy making. Thus, policy makers could count upon and directly apply it to practice. However, that received criticism from an economic viewpoint because of its inflexibility of ignoring substitutability between physical and human capitals. This defectiveness originated in its lack of theoretical depth; no further development was seen in that approach. From a viewpoint of policy making, it was not so much useful for primary education planning.

Since the 1970's education production function studies have been referenced and used for project preparation and evaluation. They have technical, practical and engineering characteristics which facilitate application for policy making. For example, some research evidence showed that textbook distribution was more effective than an increase in teachers; consequently, projects for textbook distribution were promoted. The studies referenced affirmatively were used to rationalize policies and guide their materialization.

New public management approach which appeared with World Bank as the main actor in the international development scene in the 1990's, is also a new type of engineering-oriented approach. It closely relates to neo-liberal ideology<sup>1</sup>. This new type of approach criticizes the existing education production function approach. The latter, leaving institutional settings as they are, focuses on finding effective educational inputs and increasing that input. In contrast with this, the former pursues institutional changes which generate an environment where effective educational inputs are of themselves selected and efficiently function. The new system is characterized by introduction of evaluation system, accountability, clear separation of the government which has responsibility to citizens from service providers, compacts between the government and service providers, increase of school autonomy, citizen participation, school choice by parents, and decentralization of administration. Such systems can accrue sufficient educational inputs and guarantee for an effective functioning of educational inputs through incentives (World Bank 2003, pp.46-61). Research is expected in that scheme to take the role of evaluation and feedback if implementing policies function as scheduled. Thus, a sub-program for the evaluation is often included from the first in the program design. Policy implementation is taken as an "experiment". Research "scientifically" evaluates and feedbacks its results. The "experiment" is supposed to be modified correctly in this manner.

The manpower planning approach and the policies based upon the education production function approach reflect the engineering thoughts of the classic type. In the meanwhile, the neo-liberalism oriented new public management approach reflects the modern system engineering thought. The former, with practical purposes, explores and specifies direct causal factors through statistical methods under a presumption of

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<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the new public management approach was formed, under the Margaret Thatcher's administration in the 1980s' England, through its neo-liberal practice.

the causality. In contrast to this, the latter does not search for the direct causal factors or strengthen them to attain the desired results but intends to build a “pseudo-market” as institution, thus building a mechanism which as consequence brings the desired efficient and optimal results.

However, both approaches are reaching an impasse from the viewpoints of both policy practices and academic studies. An alternative approach, or complementary one at least, which will offer a broader vision, is needed. In order to obtain a perspective such as for the universalization of primary education, a long-run and macro vision and consideration of historical and social differences by countries are required. In the supposed successful case of the Japanese primary education universalization, approximately 70 years were required for its completion. Such processes are hardly understandable if we deal with them only from a viewpoint of continuous and quantitative changes of a nation which is supposed to be a homogenous one. They should be understood as a historical and dynamic process where a geographical- and socially stratified nation brings with it changes of educational institutions and their social meanings through interaction among the social groups and the government. Engineering approaches, though, ignore conflicts, struggles, and compromises that permeate through policy decision and implementation processes. They concentrate their concern on the technical aspects of policy making and its implementation, taking it as being able to be dealt with rationally and technically. They are oriented towards generality through the use of mathematical models and quantitative approach. Their non-historical approach does not have an explicit spatial and time constraint thus propose in principle the same policies to every county in any time. However, the real policy decision and implementation processes are characterized by the conflicts, struggles and compromises among the actors mentioned above. Thus, the engineering approaches’ policy proposal is accepted or not accepted depending upon how such political processes go. Those policies which the majority of researchers consider rational thus be adopted may not be accepted by the policy authority which has to consider more political aspects and has the power to decide (See Chapter 3). When accepted, it may be given a different interpretation from the original plan and reshaped in the implementation process.

However, these engineering approaches to social problems themselves were created and developed in the social and political environment at the time. The classical approach

to the social problems in the period of post World War II had as its background the thinking of social amelioration which was parallel or opposite to the strong contemporary thinking of socialism. The social planning which involved the manpower approach was comparable to the planning under the socialist regime. The education production function studies were proliferated in the United States' "War against Poverty" in the 1960s, when the equality of educational opportunities was aimed at in an atmosphere of social and political movements for social amelioration. Their main interests were in social contradictions, social inequalities, and, thus policy intervention to solve these problems if they were not equipped with the methods for analyzing the political processes.

In contrast to this, the new system engineering approach, which was based on the neo-liberalism vision prevalent after the collapse of the socialist regime at the end of the 1980s, the main interests were held in attaining efficiency and constructing an incentive system for it. Furthermore, it argues that social problems such as poverty can or should be more efficiently solved through its application<sup>2</sup>.

These social and ideological characteristics of the engineering approaches may naturally cause political conflicts in their application. Especially, this is true for the neo-liberal system engineering approach because it uses the strong financial power of the international organizations and aims to carry out institutional rearrangements that are divorced from the social and historical conditions of the interested country. However, the engineering approaches can not analyze their own processes which they did and will generate.

### Towards a Political Economy Approach

The education studies which are related to development have developed a close relation to policy practice, thus bringing with it engineering orientation. It gave affinity to the engineering approach from the policy authorities but made it difficult to keep distance from policy practices in order to analyze them as objects of study or bring up questions from independent viewpoints. However, if studies should be advanced towards their proper direction of approaching the reality analytically, such an approach as can deal

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<sup>2</sup> Apple(2006) severely criticized the vision.

with confrontations, conflicts, and compromises in policy decisions and policy implementation processes, that is the political economy approach, is needed. This approach will broaden the study horizon by its macro and long run range as well. The previous studies will regain their relevant meanings when they are located in the relevant place of the long run and macro processes which the political economy approach indicates. This approach will also contribute to policy practices through the long run and macro perspective it can describe.

There are some previous studies in this direction to be mentioned when development of primary education is analyzed: Archer's sociological approach (Archer 1979, Archer ed. 1982), Green's Marxist historical approach (Green 1990), Myer and Hannan's comparative macro sociology (1979), and the latter's descent works by Ramirez and Bolli (1987) and Fuller and Rubinson ed. (1992).

These studies clarified the close relation of the modern state formation and the popular primary education system formation. However, their main interest is the initial processes for the primary education system establishment, i.e. its historical origin. Some which analyze the later development processes went no further than showing its relation with socio-economic factors through the statistical method (Fuller and Rubinson ed. 1992, pp.25-26). These studies also concentrate on historical processes of developed countries; very few deal with the case of developing countries. Meyer and Hannan's study conducts cross national analyses of enrolment ratio changes including developing countries but its basic interpretation of the results is that "the growth of educational system proceed of its momentum" in developing countries as well as developed countries (p.13).

These studies mentioned above have little to afford practical suggestions for the primary education development in developing countries. The analyses needed from the political economy approach will be what extends the analysis of the relation between the modern state formation and the primary education system formation. The period of universalization of primary education, which corresponds to the formation and completion of the welfare state, should be examined, not confined to the initial period of the primary education system formation. Such analyses should be also conducted about cases of developing countries.

This book pursues it.

## **Features of the Book**

### The “Developmental Tasks” model and Its Meaning

Part I of this book focuses on obtaining the historical and theoretical perspective of primary education development. It represents efforts to search for paradigms for analysis of the theme in the direction of the political economy approach. The concept “developmental tasks” presented in Chapter 2 plays a pivotal role in that attempt. The chapter identifies, based upon the Japanese experience, a certain number of developmental tasks to be achieved by a government in consecutive development stages in the process of universalization of primary education. Ignoring the education development stage and the corresponding developmental tasks leads to stumbling or distortion of the enterprise of education development.

Chapter 1 gives a historical and synthetic perspective of the development and universalization of primary education at the global level. It, using the “developmental tasks” model implicitly, though, argues that developed countries and the international society have influenced the primary education development in developing countries in problematic ways. First, they brought their completely developed primary education system in developing countries ignoring historical and social conditions (the education development stage and its developmental tasks) of these countries. Furthermore, they are now changing this completed primary education system of their own along with a change of their attitude towards the welfare state regime. They prefer to impose this new tendency on developing countries ignoring, again, the developmental conditions to be considered. Therefore, it would be necessary for policy makers to face up to the confused situation caused by the double influences unfit for conditions of the country they treat and their approach should be changed. The “developmental tasks” model can give an orientation in this sense.

Chapter 3 tries to modify the model in a direction of reality explanation rather than policy orientation. In the latter a government recognizes the tasks and solves them. In the meanwhile, in the former, “developmental tasks” are perceived and met in a historical, social development process by a society where a government is included as

its integral part. Although “developmental tasks” remain essentially common to all societies due to common institutional characteristics of educational systems in modern states, perception and solution of the tasks by a society take various forms depending upon historical and social conditions of that society. Education system development proceeds not necessarily in a way of consecutive tasks solution. In the chapter, the contrastive processes of achieving developmental tasks between Japan and Mexico are respectively modeled: a “task-solution process articulated model” and a “task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered model”.

The “developmental tasks” approach will afford a comparative framework for an analysis of the various experiences in developing countries. The developmental task concept is closely related to such various topics as educational systems differentiated by social classes, conjunction to secondary education, the question of education systems in multi-ethnically constituted society, bilingual education systems for minority ethnic groups, and the quality of education – all that appear in development processes. Thus, it will imply potentialities for richer analyses than an approach which counts only on quantitative indexes such as enrolment ratios and completion ratios.

#### Focus on the Completion Stage in Universalization of Primary Education

Chapters in Part II and Part III are case studies which deal with such countries as considered in the completion stage in their primary education universalization process. I will discuss here how the completion stage is defined and what meanings such focus has.

The modern education system is understood in the context of the formation of a modern state and the state’s efforts to modernize a society. It is an institution of integral importance which has a function to prepare a nation mentally and intellectually in modern society, which is constituted by social and political participation by the whole nation. It serves to form the mental substance of the modern society. It also functions as legitimizing and stabilizing the existing social and political structures of the modern society through the nation’s feeling of participation in the society. The universalization processes of primary education are integral parts of the creation of a modernized society, and the completion of these processes is needed for the completion of the modern society. Therefore, we can conceive the completion of the educational

universalization as being connected to the completion of the societal modernization: the completion of the universalization of primary education is defined as the point where these functions of “mental and intellectual preparation of the whole nation” and “legitimizing and stabilizing the society” are fully achieved. The full functioning of these functions is necessary in the completely modernized society<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, the completion stage of primary education universalization is defined as follows; it begins with having reached the upper limit of quantitative expansion of enrolment in the standard primary schools under the ordinary measures taken by the government. The developmental task in this stage is, in pursuit of the completion of the universalization of primary education in the sense above, the solution of the problems of non-enrolment in and non-completion of the primary education system, employing special policies; policies taken are not limited to educational policies in a narrow meaning but can take on characteristics of social welfare policy, giving financial aid to families, for example. At the same time, special policies to improve the quality of education in schools in poor areas and schools with a large percentage of poor children are implemented to dissolve the quality disparities among schools. Quantitative bench marks of when entering this stage will be about a 95% in net enrolment ratio and about an 80% in completion ratio<sup>4</sup>.

The book includes case studies which deal with Latin American countries as a whole, Mexico, Chile, Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam. Table 2 shows educational indicators of Mexico and the other 4 countries. It can be confirmed from the quantitative viewpoint that these countries are in the completion stage by checking these figures

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<sup>3</sup> Theoretically, the term “nation” should be substituted with “citizens” because a modern society needs citizens rather than a nation. But there is a contradiction that a citizen has to be prepared (educated) not by the society but by the state. I employed the expression which reflects this contradiction. Relating to the completion of the primary education system, there are three principles of the modern primary education system: compulsion, non-fees and secularity. They represent bench marks for the establishment of the system. Secularity is an important political and institutional expression of modernization, especially for a society where education was under strong religious power. When educational authority is passed to secular entities, educational contents also come to have secular and modern characteristics (curriculum based upon sciences and ethical and patriotic education instead of religious education). Compulsion and a lack of fees are principles which relate to universal enrolment. The modern society came to take on a complete form as a welfare state in developed countries. Criticism, skepticism and transformation of the modern society bring about changes in the image of the completion of the universalization of primary education. This point is discussed in Chapter 1.

<sup>4</sup> Small differences exist between these figures and those in Chapter 2. The differences are not essential. There may be differences by countries, as the contextual explanation above suggests.



with the mentioned bench marks. These countries are in very similar positions<sup>5</sup>.

**Table 2 Educational Indicators at Primary Education Level**

		Duration (yrs.)		Enrolment ratio (%)		Intake ratio (%)		Repetition ratio (%)	Survival ratio (%)	
		Primary	Compulsory	Gross	Net	Gross	Net		Grade4	Grade5
<b>Mexico</b>	1998	7	10	111	100	111	89	7	91	89
	2002	7	10	110	99	108	90	5	...	...
	2003	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Chile(*)</b>	1998	6	8	103	88	98		3	100	100
	2002	6	8	100	86	93		2	99	99
	2003	6	8	98	85	92		2	...	...
<b>Thailand</b>	1998	6	9	94	(**) 80	(**) 97		3	...	...
	2002	6	9	(**) 97	(**) 86	...		...	...	...
	2003	6	9	97	85	...		...	...	...
<b>Malaysia</b>	1998	6	—	97	97	94		na	...	...
	2002	6	—	93	93	92		na	...	...
	2003	6	...	...	...	...		...	...	...
<b>Viet Nam</b>	1998	5	9	109	96	108	81	4	87	83
	2002	5	9	101	...	(**) 99	...	(**) 2	...	...
	2003	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Footnotes: (\*) Chile's primary education system has a duration of 8 years. The figures refer to the first 6 years.  
 (\*\*) Unesco Institute for Statistics  
 ... Data not available  
 — Magnitude nil or  
 N/A Category not applicable

sources: Duration of primary <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/TableViewer/tableView.aspx>  
 Duration of compulsory <http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/html/Exceltables/education/compulsory.xls>  
 Gross and net enrolment [http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/html/Exceltables/education/gerner\\_primary.xls](http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/html/Exceltables/education/gerner_primary.xls)  
 Intake <http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/html/Exceltables/education/airnir.xls>  
 Repeater/survival <http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/html/Exceltables/education/sle.xls>

referred on 2006.01.11

No proper study concerns were given to how the developmental task in the completion stage of the universalization of primary education was met. There were references about the deceleration of enrolment speed and an increase of difficulty in education diffusion after the enrolment ratio reaches about 90%, also known as the “last 10% (or 5%) problem” (Car-Hill 1994). However, it was not a subject to be systematically studied. It has not been clear, even when limited to the quantitative aspect, if the gross enrolment ratio, net enrolment ratio or completion ratio should be used to calculate the “last 10% (or 5%),” although the expression has continued to be employed. Also in Japan, Amano's important and laborious wastage study (Amano 1997) had been long ignored, which had revealed that the wastage ratios in Japanese primary schools continued to be over 10% (or 5%) for more than 20 years (or 30 years) after the enrolment ratio reached over 95%. A limited number of researchers dealt with this theme, but there were no discussions about its meanings in the completion of the universalization of primary education in developing countries.

<sup>5</sup> Chile's primary education system has a duration of 8 years. The figures refer to the first 6 years.

However, as argued above, the theme of the completion stage of the universalization of primary education should not be understood as only the problem of the people excluded from educational opportunities. But the theme implies processes in which such problems are focused upon as social problems, and the society is changed through its own answers given to the problems. From this angle, the theme is of unique importance. Special attention of researchers who study the development of primary education should be called to it.

### **Discussion: Characteristics of the Completion Stages in the Two Regions**

Here I will discuss the results of case studies as a whole from the framework employed in Chapter 3. The discussion points out commonness of and differences between the Latin American and the Asian regions: They share “task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered” development and differ in terms of their present perceptions of the tasks to be achieved. I hope this will help readers’ global understanding of this book and also promote their participation in the discussion of this theme.

#### “Task-Solution Process Prolonged and Multi-layered” Development

In the countries dealt with in Part II and Part III, excluding Malaysia<sup>6</sup>, the question of education quality has become a big issue. The problem is derived from the general deterioration of the quality of public schools in the expansion period of the primary education system: the task of quality retaining in that stage is not met. Therefore, although the tasks to be met for these countries look only giving educational opportunities to the remaining small part of the young population in terms of quantity, the quality question not solved in the previous stage should be also attended at the same time. This is a situation to which the “task-solution process prolonged and Multi-layered” model, proposed in Chapter 3 based upon the experiences of Mexico, is applicable.

It is obvious that to maintain quality during the expansion processes is an extremely difficult task to be performed for financial reasons. However, as Chapter 3 shows,

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<sup>6</sup> Regarding Malaysia, discussion is impossible because of the scarcity of data such as the results of the international comparative examinations.

Japan, throughout the expansion period, retained the public educational cost per student at the same level as the previous periods in real terms. Internal and external factors should be considered to explain the developing countries' tendency to grant priority to quantity. The international movements which have promoted the diffusion of education since the end of World War II and that culminated in the present Education For All movement have basically set targets in the quantitative, rather than qualitative, terms. Therefore, it is obvious that endeavors to achieve the goals, on the part of the governments in developing countries, tend to grant the priority to the quantity. The aspect, which the movements take on, as international competition for national prestige through educational indicators has also promoted that tendency. At the same time, since the end of World War II increasingly many countries have adopted the political democracy system. If not, the people's voice has become stronger than ever. Therefore, it has become difficult to deny or suppress the people's demands for education on the basis of quality consideration.

It should be noted that these factors promote the "task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered" development regarding not only the primary but also upper education levels: in many developing countries such a trend is observable as granting priority to the educational expansion in the vertical direction rather than quality consideration or expansion in the horizontal direction. International standards for education are rising. Therefore, to maintain the national status in the international environment, it is necessary to increase the duration of compulsory education and the national mean years of educational attainment. Educational demands of people, including the lower strata, are rapidly going to the upper educational levels and expanding there. It is needed even for children from lower strata to have lower secondary or more education, not quitting with primary education level, to attain social upward mobility. In the 1990 World Education Conference in Jomtien, which marked the starting point of EFA, the universalization of "basic education", instead of "primary education", was agreed in order to be able to imply the lower secondary education. This made it possible for the governments in developing countries and international organizations to include the lower secondary education in this movement. The extension of compulsory education up to the lower secondary level in the 1990s in Mexico and Thailand also reflected such political dynamics.

Thus, many developing countries are in situations in which they should simultaneously

meet various tasks and demands, even though they are in the completion stage of universalizing primary education, in addition to the tasks proper to that stage.

#### Different Perceptions of the “Developmental Tasks” in the Two Regions

Although the cases in this book have common “developmental tasks” to be achieved, the perception about it is different by the region and so task solution is differently pursued.

In Latin America, the tasks for universalization appeared almost completed from the quantitative aspects, but the quality problem remained. Policy makers and researchers are focusing upon and addressing this problem<sup>7</sup>.

In Mexico, during the period from the 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s, there was a trend of expansion of welfare such as educational and medical services for people. In the field of education, the priority was conferred to the quantitative expansion and, thus, deterioration of its quality became notorious. In the 1990s the completion stage of universalizing primary education began. In the task of the completion of universalization, the question of both quantitative and qualitative improvements was inherently included with a close connection to the tasks of poverty reduction and alleviation of the socioeconomic disparity in the society. However, in actuality, the quantitative performance has been prevalent so far. Making the lower secondary level obligatory in 1993 pushed ahead the quantitative expansion in the vertical direction. The compensatory programs, dealt with in Chapter 5, have both quantitative and qualitative purposes, but only the quantitative effects have been confirmed.

In Chile, the voucher system, which began experimentally in the United States, was introduced nationwide under the military government in 1980 when the development of education was already in the completion stage of universalization. The military government, which took power by coup d’etat, adopted policies adversary to those of the welfare state which has orientation towards reconciliation between social classes. Education was not an exception. The continued reduction of the educational budget

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<sup>7</sup> Recently, many countries in this region have constructed a national system of examination preparation, implementation and evaluation for the purpose of improving the quality of education. The results are utilized in the chapters in Part II.

since the introduction of the voucher system brought about disparities of educational expenditures among localities according to the local financial abilities. Thus, the education quality became stagnated at the lower levels and disparities in the quality of education among localities and social classes were enlarged. The voucher system caused a quantitative expansion but not the quality improvement or equity in terms of quality. In the 1990s, along with the return to the civil government, a drastic increase in educational subsidies began. The voucher system was retained but improvements in the quality of education and reduction of the disparities were made. Various measures have been implemented. Despite all these, the differences in academic performance as of 2002 among social classes are huge and the absolute academic level of the low class is meager (Table 3 in Chapter 4). The planned measures to increase voucher amounts for poor children are expected to be effective in the improvement of education quality for them.

Latin American countries have different political situations such as those in Mexico and Chile. The primary education systems and their development are also different. However, common characteristics can be observed, as shown in Chapter 4: many countries in the region have reached quantitatively high levels; since the 1990s the problem of the quality of education, especially that of the poor strata has been the object of the policy makers' and researchers' interests. The question of the quality of education is basically a reflection of the old problem that the societies in the region retain: the sharp socioeconomic disparities between the urban and rural areas and among the social classes. The quantitative educational expansion does not necessarily mean reduction of such socioeconomic disparities: the disparities tend to be retained through the differences in education quality. The compensatory programs in Mexico were carried out in order to improve education quality and bring about brighter socioeconomic opportunities for the poor children; however, as mentioned before, the progress has been slow in coming, at best. The EFA (Education For All) 's drive for the achievement of the quantitative target and the insufficient endeavors to focus upon specific efficient measures for quality improvement by each country, as pointed out in Chapter 4, are the factors which have generated the present situations. However, a problem exists in socioeconomic disparities which are deep-rooted in the society. It can be said that the task of the completion of universalization is asking the society to face this problem.

On the other hand, the Southeastern countries, dealt with in Part III, are also in the completion stage of universalization. They seem to have the same challenge as Latin American countries but the governments' and researchers' interests have not been focused upon the question of the quantitative and qualitative improvements of educational opportunities for the poor strata.

In Thailand, it can be estimated from the net enrolment ratio and the repetition ratio that over 10% of all children do not complete primary level education (Table 1). This is the same as in Mexico. Thailand has increased its economic disparities between urban and rural areas and among social classes along with the sustaining economic development since the middle of the 1960s. In the 1990s the Gini index passed 0.4 (World Bank 1997, p.223). Students in private schools account for 10% of the total students, and the share is increasing. This suggests that the increase of the social sector which feels unsatisfied with the education quality in the public schools and can pay the fees of the private schools. The problem of the socioeconomic disparities, as in Latin America, is reflected in the problems of about 10% of children not completing school and disparities in education quality at primary education level<sup>8</sup>.

However, in contrast to Latin American cases, in Thailand there have been no special measures for poor children or poor areas so far; during the 1990s no progress has been seen in primary education even in quantitative terms<sup>9</sup>. In that period the government designed the expansion of lower secondary education, and this level of education became compulsory with the 1999 National Education Act. Not only the interest of policy makers but also that of researchers is being drawn to secondary education.

Regarding the quality of education, it seems that deterioration began during the military government period. Some policy efforts have been conducted since the 1990s, but no satisfactory results have been attained so far. The decentralization of the educational administration and the abolishment of small scale schools are expected to contribute to education quality, although the former faces objection and is politicized by organized teachers groups that have political influence at the national level. It seems that these measures have purposes of a rather political nature or of financial efficiency, although

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<sup>8</sup> This problem is related directly to the quality and meanings of the secondary education. In effect, the lower secondary level education expanded with retention of the large geographic and social class disparities (Funatsu, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> In Table 1 lower figures in both gross and net enrolment ratios are shown than in those in Chapter 7.

time is needed to know how and to what degree these measures will affect the quality of education<sup>10</sup>. However, in either case, there are no special policies which focus upon poor families or poor areas to improve the quality of education there and reduce disparities in quality among social classes or between areas.

Malaysia's case is interesting for its peculiar characteristics: it clearly shows that universalization of primary education does not mean only quantitative expansion but also implies a task which is closely related to the task of national integration. The Malay people, who have lower economic power but the largest population intend to, based upon their political power, strengthen their initiative of national integration through the Malayization policies in the educational systems and control of other language medium schools. In the meantime, the Chinese and Indian peoples, who have economically stronger power, strive to retain their own language medium schools and are opposed to government control. This competitive and confrontational relationship is considered to have been an important factor in not only the promotion of the diffusion of education in terms of quantity but also in the maintenance and improvement of education quality.

However, when seen from the viewpoint of task achievement for universalizing primary education, it must not be overlooked that there are still about 10% of children who do not finish that education level (Table 2). As far as the primary education development processes basically reflect the competitive and confrontational relations with respect to national integration, it is inevitable to generate sectors which are kept out from the competitive dynamics which work through the main three ethnic groups. Perhaps the minority ethnic groups in East Malaysia are included in such sectors. The political conditions which were basically determined by the severely confrontational relations among the three main ethnic groups have made it taboo to speak openly about ethnic matters. Thus, they also caused society to ignore ethnic groups other than the three main groups. However, recently, there are signs of changes in speech and social consciousness conditions regarding ethnic group affairs. Thus, it seems that discussion of the question of national integration from a broader viewpoint is becoming possible little by little. The task of completing the universalization of primary education is

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<sup>10</sup> In Mexico, the decentralization of the educational administration was carried out in order to reduce the political power of the national teachers' union for one reason (See Chapter 3). Regarding the small school question, in contrast to the Thai case, the Mexican government has actively increased community course schools for the small villages in order to assure educational opportunities for the children there.

expected to be achieved in such a context.

Finally, in Vietnam's policies for completing the universalization of primary education, the main measures are a transition to full-day operation to improve education quality and the "socialization of education" policy to financially support it. It can be considered that these focus upon adjustment of primary education in terms of curriculum contents and class hours to meet global educational standards in order to correspond to economic growth and globalization. The uniform control by the government over curriculum, facilities, and school conditions represents this interest. Although the government's consideration for poor families and poor areas is shown in such measures as fee exemption for the poor and the selective distribution of the budget to the poor prefectures, it is not the primary aim for the main policies mentioned to solve the problem of children not completing primary school. The measure, which targets quality improvement and the adjustment to global standardization of the educational system, is rather directed to increase the mean level in education quality than aimed at the lower social strata.

The policy for full day school operation by the Vietnamese government reminds us of the transition from the 4 year to 6 year primary school system in Japan in 1907. However, the difference is that it was conducted simultaneously at the national level in Japan<sup>11</sup>. The measure placed a heavy financial burden upon the small and financially weak localities but did not generate institutional differences among localities. However, when taking the "start with who is able" measure as in Vietnam, it should be noted that it may require a long time to dissolve the emergent disparities according to circumstances. Vietnam is going in this sense in a different direction from the desired policy in the completion stage of universalizing primary education – diffusion of education to all children and improvement of educational disparities. This will be a reflection of the country's condition in that it, with insufficient financial ability, has to grant priority to rapid economic growth, which had been stuck at low levels due to war against the United States up to the middle of the 1970's. Consciousness of the task of completion may arise after a higher economic level is reached.

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<sup>11</sup> This was possible because the Emperor's power permeated through up to the edge of the smallest administrative units and these smallest units had high administrative abilities. Under the present democracy it might be impossible.



In Latin American countries, there exist the policy efforts to complete universalization with focus upon the lower social strata, apart from the results. In the meantime, the three Southeastern countries dealt with here do not seem to have such focus. It is worth while analyzing causes which made the difference mentioned. The predominance of the three main ethnic groups in the political arena in Malaysia and the preference for economic growth in Vietnam can be considered as factors which explain the diminishment of the specific interests in the lower strata. However, it will be more important to find the factors which bring about, not diminish, interests in that question. The measures for the lower strata produce heavy financial burdens. It is not until the internal and external conditions strongly urge to do that the government actually starts to implement such special measures, as discussed especially in Japan's case in Chapter 3. In this sense, the Latin American cases reflect the urgent situation in which the old problem of the large disparities among social classes in the region is becoming a serious problem for the societies to solve. Indigenous peoples there occupy a considerable part of the lower strata. However, their existence, their social, economic and political conditions have politically special and heavy meanings which are related to the legitimacy of the states in Latin America. The recent growing concerns for the welfare of indigenous peoples and their strengthening political voice have created consciousness in the societies and the governments of the necessity of special measures for indigenous peoples and the lower strata as a whole. This has also produced a situation in which the task of achieving the universalizing primary education is to the responsibility of the societies and governments. In the meanwhile, the situations in which the ethnic minority groups in Asian countries live differ. The poor economic conditions under which minority groups are put and their voice against such oppressed situation are not considered as threatening the state's legitimacy.

#### Towards Universalization of Primary Education

The modern society of the perfect form is a theoretical abstraction. Actually, the modern societies, with historical dynamism, are in the developmental processes of the realization and modification of the "modernity". It could be said that in the developed countries, the modern society bore fruit, taking a kind of the "perfect" form as the welfare state. The completion of the universalizing of primary education could realize there in the process of formation of the welfare state; the welfare state, vice versa, was formed through processes of completing the educational universalization. In particular,

the various endeavors and institutional changes in the completion stage, when the educational universalization was reaching its completion, had meanings which did not remain within the educational sphere. In developing countries, the tasks for universalizing primary education also relate to questions such as reconsideration of the social system, participation of people in the social and political life of the countries, and the degrees of earnestness and seriousness at which the societies want to change themselves. In the present globalizing world where the images of the modern state and the welfare state are vacillating, and despite all difficulties mentioned, the endeavors to complete the universalization of primary education in developing countries will come to take on meanings as a pillar of their new state formation and the new world<sup>12</sup>.

The purpose of the social sciences is to reconstruct social processes and events in newer and broader contexts (referential frameworks) which are obtained and confirmed by analyses. Such reconstruction or deconstruction is sublation of the peculiarities of historical and social contexts and would help attain a firm meaning and orientation for social enterprises undertaken.

However, in actuality, studies do not progress in a logical manner or reach deconstruction of a complete or well organized form. An imperfect deconstruction is required, by the living reality, thus, to be substituted for another new deconstruction. This book, I hope, offers readers materials to undertake such a new deconstruction.

### **A Summary of the Chapters in the Book**

In Chapter 1 “Political Economy of Universalization in Primary Education”, the worldwide historical evolution of the modern primary education is described. The foundation and the development of modern formal education systems were conducted as state enterprises although there was a strained relation between “universality orientation” and “selection orientation” at the levels of their ideals, administration and practices. They were financed mainly by the community or families for a long time. The universalization of primary education in accordance with the idea of education as a human right was delayed. Sufficient governmental subsidies to support it were

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<sup>12</sup> About the question of emergent welfare states, see Usami (2004).

realized in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the processes of forming the welfare states. However, recently, the images of the welfare states and the conventional forms of formal primary education as being led by the state have begun to change. In the meantime, developing countries implemented the systems that evolved in developed countries, thus, their primary education systems had, from the beginning, a tendency towards being spearheaded by the state, including the financial aspects. However, this total dependency upon the state found itself in serious straits in 1980s when the international economic recession, which shrank the governments' budgets in general, and particularly in educational items, began. Recently, the skepticism and reconsideration about having the state lead the education system, which have appeared in the developed countries, have been influencing educational policies in developing countries. This has been bringing about confusion and complicated factors with respect to the enterprise of the universalization of primary education because the universalization of primary education inherently has orientation towards universality which requires the government to take the necessary proper role in its evolution. The chapter concludes with recollection of the developmental task model in the following chapter in order to get rid of such confusion and difficult situations.

In Chapter 2 "Stages of Development in Primary Education: Japanese Experiences", Japan's experiences with the development of primary education are generalized and described as a "developmental task model". The universalization processes are divided into four stages, and tasks to be performed by the government corresponding to each stage are pointed out. In the "initial expansion" stage, school systems should be established and schools constructed; in the "autonomous demand expansion" stage, school supply expansions, improvement of quantity allocations are needed; in the "shift towards universalization orientation" stage, enrollment of the entire school-aged population, alleviation of the advancement criteria and systematization of the enrolment reminders should be pursued; and in the "achievement of universalization" stage improvement of educational conditions, contents and quality, prolongation of the obligatory educational terms should be implemented. The schematization of this development task model was possible as Japanese experiences had such historical characteristics as the government's strong initiative and the consequent clear articulation of each stage, where the new task appeared after the old one was solved. It is worth while mentioning that this model limits the tasks to those for the government from a policy-oriented standpoint.

In Chapter 3 “The Process of Universalization in Primary Education: A Historical Comparison of England, Japan and Mexico”, the experiences of England, Japan and Mexico are covered. The task model framework put forward in Chapter 2 is employed but in a modified manner: the tasks to be performed and their performing processes are described as historical processes and results that are generated through interactions of the social actors (agents). The government is one of the agents, but it does not and can not decide and carry out matters by itself. Thus, trials and errors, unintentional events, fortuity in the historical universalizing processes of the primary education are also described. In England, the role of the social class struggle, as Marx and Engels’ *the Manifest of the Communist Party* (Marx and Engels, 1959) noted, was important in the development of primary education as well. In the meantime, in Japan, the government was pushing forward with the tasks of modernization and basically took the initiative, but people’s reactions were also essential. Despite this difference, the cases of these countries had common historical and social backgrounds and showed commonness in the processes of setting and achieving tasks. The motives for the completion of universalization were derived, on the one hand, from the demands of the society which asked for the welfare of children and, on the other, the interests of statism which were related to imperialism and militarism. It is suggested that the completion of the universalization process had characteristics distinct from a mere extension of the previous educational diffusion and required strong motivation for its achievement.

Regarding Mexico’s case, a rough historical sketch based upon the task model framework is put forward. Since the creation of the Secretary of Public Education in 1921, the federal government has been a promoter in the enterprise of primary education development. Under the command of the Secretary, the task of establishing a standard national system appeared to be achieved in the 1940s when curriculum for primary education in rural areas were legally integrated into those in urban areas. However, a huge difference of actual educational conditions between rural and urban areas remained reflecting the sharp disparity between the two areas in the country. Children in the localities with very small population and the indigenous peoples’ areas were practically not covered by the system. Thus, the task was not yet completed. In the 1950s, although demands for education in rural areas continued relatively weak, the expansion period began. The government actively constructed schools. In the 1970’s, the expansion was accelerated with construction of new types of schools in the remote

and isolated areas as well as the indigenous areas and the huge volume of schools in urban poor areas. This policy met the task of institutional modification directed towards universalization of primary education, taking off the economic, geographical and ethnographical barriers. However, the government could not meet the task to maintain and improve education quality due to the rapid massification. Thus a part of middle class began to flee from the public schools. This, in turn, became a cause of deterioration in the quality of education in public schools, resulting in a vicious circle. In the 1990s, Mexico entered the completion stage of the universalization process, challenging the task of completion of primary education through the special policy measures such as compensatory programs (Programas Compensatorios) and scholarship program (Progresá). They focused upon the last, primary education yet uncompleted, children. This task and the previous task of quality improvement are overlapped because the quality problem continued and appeared in the form of a massive number of repeaters. This problem is also reflecting in the low ranks achieved by Mexican students in the international achievement tests. The quality problem is one of the most urgent tasks to be solved. In Chapter 2, it is pointed out that Japan's experiences showed the stage by stage articulated processes of the developmental tasks and their solutions. Thus, the developmental task model, founded upon the basis of Japan's experiences, can be named the "task-solution process articulated model". In contrast to this model, the author summarizes Mexico's experiences as the "task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered model".

Part II "Case studies in Latin America" is comprised of three chapters.

In Chapter 4 "Universalization of Primary Education in Latin America: The Poor Results and Their causes", the present tasks to be performed for primary education in this area are analyzed focusing on the quality of education with the help of plentiful data. The author also explores causes which generate the problematic conditions. The net enrolment ratio in this area was 96.6% in 2000; the mean completion ratio of 18 countries was 88.1% around the same year, and its projection for 2015 was 93.7%. The targets of the EFA movement are going to be attained in many countries in this area. However, the quantitative expansion brought about deterioration in the quality of education: about 40% of all pupils in primary schools were "overage" in 1995, suggesting existence of a massive number of repeaters. The low ratios of the correct answers to the reading achievement examination, which was conducted in 7 countries

around 2000, revealed that almost half of the children in those countries can not grasp the meaning of the text. When this is combined with the completion data, the conclusion is that about 90% of children complete primary schools but half of them have unsatisfactory academic achievement. This is caused by the tendency towards giving priority to macro level targets; setting strategies and implementing them with insufficient consideration about their feasibility at the teachers' experience level; speculative policy decisions not based on objective scientific research results or systematic evaluation of past experiences; adoption of policies differing from the advice of world experts; attachment of importance to the operative and administrative aspects of program evaluations rather than their actual contribution to improvement of educational quality. The author emphasizes the needs for more conscious pursuit of education quality in the target decision processes; pedagogical considerations which take teachers' experience and reality into account in policy making; adoption of objectively and scientifically confirmed models and practices; and more serious consideration to expert opinion.

In Chapter 5 "Educational Effects of the Compensatory Programs in Mexico", the results of Mexico's programs for basic education improvement are analyzed in detail<sup>13</sup>. This country has attained almost 100% enrolment at the national level, but there are poor areas where many children are found out of school. There are a lot of repeaters in schools, the majority of whom failed in the promotion examination. There are two types of programs: scholarship programs which aim at promoting enrolment and advancement of poor children in schools and school improvement programs which are designed to reduce failing scores in promotion examinations through improvement of the quality of education. They are expected to contribute to an increase in the number of children who complete primary and lower secondary education. Since 1991 the programs have been expanded through loans from the World Bank and American Development Bank. The authors scrutinize and synthesize the programs' effects with various data and previous studies on the theme and conclude that the programs have contributed to an increase in the number of students in school and improved attendance ratios and promotion ratios, but improvement in the quality of education can not be confirmed. They also found that indigenous schools were behind rural ordinary schools in terms of children's academic achievement, and that the disparity was

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<sup>13</sup> Basic education includes lower secondary level, but the core of the programs is at the primary level.

growing.

In Chapter 6 “Universalization of Basic Education in Chile and the Voucher System”, the voucher system, which was introduced into the Chilean primary education system by the military government in 1980, is examined. The author also carries out historical analyses with reference to the developmental task model in Chapter 2. It is revealed that subsidies to educational activities in the private sector can be retrospective to 1876 when subsidies were conferred to the non-fee private schools that were patronized by churches. In 1951, the per-student amount of such subsidies was increased to half of the cost per student of a public school. Such measures went along with “liberty of education”, the traditional idea asserted by the Chilean conservative forces. The introduction of the voucher system was conducted in the completion stage of the universalization of primary education. The author carries out detailed analyses about educational finances, school choices by children and families and education quality under the voucher system. Based upon the results of her analysis, she argues that when educational opportunities for poor families are concerned, the voucher system contributed to the quantitative enlargement of the opportunities but deepened the qualitative disparities among social classes and placed the poor sector in a more disadvantageous situation, contrary to the assertions of its supporters. The developmental task model showed that it is essential to complete diffusion of educational opportunities to the whole nation and reduce quality disparities at the same time. However, the voucher had adverse effects in terms of improving the quality of education.

The voucher system was retained after the political power transfer to the civil government in 1990. However, the government’s educational budget rose drastically. The disparities between areas and between social classes were inclined to decrease. The “finance sharing” system was introduced in 1993, which could increase the disparities. The Technical Committee Report in 1994 proposed the attainment of equity and quality improvement through better utilization of the voucher system. Since then, reforms have been carried out based upon this report. Presently, there are plans to give poor children vouchers with increased value.

Part III “Case Studies in Southeast Asia” consists of four chapters.

In Chapter 7 “The Development of Primary Education in Thailand and Its Present Challenges: From Quantity to Quality through Effective Management”, the history of the development of primary education in the country and the present tasks to be achieved are described focusing upon the policy aspects. Under the military governments during the period including 1957 to 1973, the educational administration was transferred to the hands of militaries. Along with the increase in the number of students, the number of teachers also increased, but their salaries and working conditions were deteriorated. After the 1974 student revolution took place, the civil government was established and the educational administration returned to the competence of the Ministry of Education. The curriculum reform in 1978 brought about the change of the duration of the primary level from 7 years to 6 years. The 1980 National Primary Education Act provided that all villages should be equipped with schools. The development of primary education entered the completion stage of universalization in the 1990s. Since then, policy decisions and their implementations have been carried out in accordance with the EFA (Education For All) plans. The gross enrolment ratio in 1998 was almost 100% and since then over 100%. In 1996 the net enrolment ratio was about 90%; repetition ratios were higher in lower grades (8% in the first grade and less than 1% in the sixth grade); and the survival ratio was 95.5%. Regarding the quality of education, differences between areas and between social classes (private schools and public schools) are found. Its absolute level is low as the 1995 TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study) results show: of the 26 participant countries, 22<sup>nd</sup> in mathematics and 24<sup>th</sup> in sciences. According to the educational evaluation conducted from 2003 to 2005, about 40% of the sixth grade children performed rather poorly in Thai language, sciences, mathematics and English. Improvement of the instruction methods, betterment of teachers’ working conditions, decentralization of educational administration, and abolishment of small size schools are designed to improve the less than ideal situation. The decentralization plan is facing strong objection by teachers’ organizations and is in stagnation while reduction in the number of small schools has been progressing slowly.

In Chapter 8 “Universalization of Primary Education in the Context of Multi-Ethnic Society: The Case of Malaysia”, the development of primary education in Malaysia is described as dynamic processes in which Malay, Chinese and Indian peoples were integrated into the national education system employing the framework of the developmental task model in



Chapter 2 (modified in Chapter 3)<sup>14</sup>. Before World War II, during the “initial system introduction” stage, Malay people went to Malay medium schools established by the British colonial government. The enrolment grew. In the meantime, Chinese and Indian peoples founded their own primary and secondary schools. The “first intermediate system-expansion” stage continued to the 1953 Independence. During it the subsidized schools, which employed the Malay language as the medium of instruction, also offered opportunities for learning English, thus they came to connect to the upper level schools in which English was the medium of instruction and, thus, required. English, as a suzerain language, had value in the labor market. It was also expected to serve as the national common language after the coming national independence. In 1957 when independence was achieved, Malay medium schools were created; they received governmental subsidies as “standard schools”. At the same time English medium schools, Chinese medium schools and Indian medium schools were founded as “standard-type schools”, which enjoyed no subsidies. The “second intermediate system-expansion” stage began in 1971 when the Education Act was promulgated. It provided the change of “standard schools” to “national schools” and that of “standard-type schools” to “national-type schools”. Along with these changes, all schools were awarded subsidies and fees were abolished. In 1965, the system of auto-promotion to the secondary schools was adopted. At the same time, Malay medium secondary schools and English medium secondary schools, which had received subsidies, became non-fee schools. The racial conflicts between Malay and Chinese peoples culminated in a riot at the end of the 1960s. This led the government to the adoption of the Bumiputera (Malayanization) policy. Thus, in the “third intermediate system-expansion” stage, which corresponded to the 1970s, a phase-out of English medium schools was seen: in 1975 for primary level and in 1983 for secondary level. The “final system completion” stage began in 1980s. Enrolment in 2000 was 96.8%<sup>15</sup>. The government intended to strengthen Bumiputera policies through curriculum control and selective budget distribution to Malay schools. Recently, however, monotonous Malayanization is not the case. New dynamics of the confronting relations among ethnic groups are generated in the globalization of the

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<sup>14</sup> There are some differences in the period divisions and nominations given to each stage between the models proposed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. For example, the “autonomous demand expansion” stage and the “shifts towards universalization orientation” stage in Chapter 2 are merged into an “intermediate system-expansion stage” in Chapter 3. Such differences might deserve a theoretical discussion. However, I think that for the purpose of empirical analyses it is unnecessary.

<sup>15</sup> Table 2, which is based upon data from UNESCO Institute for Statistics, shows that the net enrolment ratio was 93% in 2002.

economy: emergence of some Malay children who go to Chinese schools to enjoy quality education in Chinese language, mathematics and science; recognition of the Chinese independent schools by the government; the government's decision and implementation of the employment of English as a medium of instruction in all primary schools in classes of mathematics and science.

In Chapter 9 "Vietnam's Quest for Universal Primary Education and Analysis of Its Financial Structure", the current status of the development of primary education in Vietnam and the tasks to be performed are discussed. It follows a detailed analysis of the financial structure of primary education in order to make clear what problems exist in the task performing processes.

Vietnam is one of the "Fast Track Initiative" subject countries which World Bank designates in order to promote rapid diffusion of primary education. The enrolment ratio was 109% in gross terms and 95% in net terms by 1980 (UNESCO 1992, p.3-54). This situation where almost all children go to school has been retained to the present. However, according to statistics in 2002, the 5<sup>th</sup> grade survival ratio is 88.5% (Table 1). This confirms that the country has reached the completion stage of the universalization of primary education. Difficulties in sending teachers to remote areas and the problem of instruction languages in ethnic minority group areas are related to the problems of those children who do not complete primary education. In order to improve the education quality, the government is making earnest efforts to change schools from the double-shift system to the full-day operation system. Presently, the schools in the double-shift system account for over 90% of all schools. The "socialization of education" policy means to financially support this transition.

60% of the total expenditure of primary education is accounted for by public education expenditures; the rest by household expenditures. In the international comparison, the families' financial contribution is high. Generally speaking, the donations from families and communities go to capital expenditure items such as school construction and rehabilitation. In rich areas they also go to current expenditure items such as school equipment, instruction materials and pay for additional classes. The transition to the full-day operation system requires construction of new class rooms and increases in teacher salary. Financing for such items falls on families because the budget for it has not been prepared by the government. The author points out the existence of large

financial disparities within prefectures although the government has contrived to reduce disparities among prefectures through its budget distribution. The “socialization of education” policy spearheaded by the government is a project to implement the community’s financial ability into educational services. Thus, the government’s implemental methodology – of starting the transition to the full-day operation system with those communities which are ready – necessarily enlarges the disparities within prefectures. This contradicts the government’s plan that has been presented to international organizations because a schedule of reduction of the household’s burden is shown in it. There are policy instruments to alleviate disparities within prefectures such as donation exemptions for poor families, pooling donations at the prefecture level, subsidies from prefectures for that purpose, free textbook distribution for poor areas, and promotion of activities for the poor by enterprises and popular organizations. The author argues that these measures will become more important hereafter.

In Chapter 10 “Universalization of Primary Education and the “Socialization of Education” Policy in Vietnam”, Vietnam’s “socialization of education” policy is focused upon. It takes a role of raising educational resources from communities. The measures are not limited to the monetary aspect. Various resources are to be mobilized and raised through the popular organizations whose active role in the social and political life is characteristic of the socialist system.

The author describes two types of “socialization of education” activities: the inhabitant participating type and the enterprise participating type. In the former, the School Encouragement Association, a local consortium for educational promotion, organizes the popular organizations and representatives of the enterprises in the locality. Many popular organizations support education development. For example, the Women’s Union promotes enrolment of children in schools, donations for school construction and support for poor children, and opening charity courses for non-formal education for women. In the second type, enterprises cooperate financially to construct schools. They also contribute to training students, thus, preparing them as productive workers and offering them employment in the future. Labor unions also participate in school construction, collection of donations for subsidies to children from poor families or the areas with difficulties in going to school. The author points out the contradictory situation in that the implementation of the policy brings about an increase of parents’ and communities’ financial burden and an enlargement of disparities among

communities while EFA (Education For All) preaches non-fee education. He also notes problems of local financial ability and sustainability of popular organizations' activities: many poor areas have difficulty in raising funds because they do not have enough educational resources to carry out "socialization of education" to begin with; it is probable, in the social changes which the country undergoes, to decrease the mobilization capability of the popular organizations by reducing influences of the socialist ideology and increasing members' work hours.

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