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# Revisiting Education and State Formation in the Era of Globalisation

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# Education and State Formation in the Era of Globalisation

The mass education systems which developed in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. and in East Asia and elsewhere after WW2 were largely organized by the state and seen as ‘public goods.’

However, the classical historical models of public education have been challenged since the 1980s by an accelerated process of globalization.

- Education policy has been increasingly globalized
- The dominant market-oriented ideology of the era of globalization has substantially permeated education policy.
- Newly formed states still tend to regard education as a public good, essential for the social integration and economic development of states. However, some of older developed states in the West have increasingly questioned this model.
- Skills formation has increasingly been prioritized over citizen formation.
- New public management theories have been mobilized to justify the marketisation, if not outright privatization, of education in some states.

# Roadmap

The purpose of my presentation is to provide some historical and comparative perspective on the debate about the state and market in education as it has evolved in the Era of Globalisation.

- To provide a reminder of the central role of the state in the formation of mass public education
- To discuss why the market has re-emerged as a major force in education policy in the era of globalization
- To examine the uneven spread of educational marketization
- To assess some the efficacy of some of the policies associated with what Pasi Sahlberg has called the Global Educational Reform Movement (GERM).

# The State and the Creation of Public Education Systems

The creation of modern public education systems in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. was essentially the work of the state.

Markets (private groups with help from governments) had generated apprenticeships, some professional schools, and networks of religious schools, but nowhere had the resources or motive to supply universal public systems of education.

This could only be done by states acting at local and national levels. States sometimes harnessed private initiative in building national education systems but were necessarily the main actors.

# Education and State Formation

National education systems have generally developed as vehicles of state formation. They were designed to achieve collective objectives and to meet public needs.

- Spreading dominant national languages
- Promoting national/state identity
- Inculcating the dominant ideologies
- Forming citizens
- Explaining the ways of the state to the people and the duties of the people to the state.

# Rapid State-Building – Rapid Education Development

National education systems developed most rapidly in countries (like Prussia, France, the USA and later Japan) which were undergoing the most intensive and accelerated process of state formation. Usually

- as a response to external military threats or territorial conflicts
- to rebuild after revolutions and civil wars
- to catch up economically with more advanced states

Where there was little motivation towards state-building – as in 19<sup>th</sup> England and Italy before unification – educational development lagged considerably behind.

# Education and State Formation in East Asia

As in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. , the creation of public education systems in East Asia - in Japan in the 1870s and after and in the tiger economies after 1960 – was primarily the work of the state.

It was part of an intensive process of state formation initiated in Japan during the Meiji Restoration and in the tiger economies after they gained independence (except in Hong Kong).

In each case it was driven by a form of situational nationalism (Chalmers Johnson) born of a need to ensure the survival of states which were threatened from outside (Japan) or whose survival as newly independent states was threatened by a fragile geo-political situation.

# Nation-Building

The very rapid development of public education systems in all these states was motivated by urgent public and collective objectives.

- Consolidating new national identities
- Integrating communities and fostering social cohesion
- Spreading common languages in diverse communities (English and Mandarin in Singapore)
- Forging a disciplined workforce and developing the skills for economic growth
- Developing the capacity of the state bureaucracies.

# Public and Private

East Asian education systems – excepting Singapore’s - made use of substantial private investments (in secondary schooling and university fees and tuition in tutorial schools) which allowed provision to grow more rapidly but the development of education was clearly driven and controlled by the state.

- The initial investment in education came mostly from government and fees only became a substantial part of total funding as families became sufficiently affluent to contribute.
- Private secondary schools and universities were tightly regulated and part-funded by the state.
- Strong educational bureaucracies at national and regional levels.

# Centralised School Systems

Until quite recently, the East Asian education systems were highly centralized:

- Quite standardized structure of schools - in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan following the US 6-3-3 pattern and with neighbourhood non-selective comprehensive schools with mixed ability classes and strong emphasis on interactive classroom teaching.
- Little school autonomy
- Equal resource distribution between schools (with rotation of head and teachers in some cases).
- National systems of examination controlled by the state
- Strongly prescriptive national curricula with state authorization of textbooks (Japan) and state-provided instruction materials (Singapore).

Centralisation had the benefit of:

- Embedding normative values and standards which helped by drive up educational achievements
- Allowing states to plan education development and skills flows (including through quota in different subjects) and integration skills supply with economic demand.

# Public Purposes Drive Educational Development

East Asian education systems have become less centralized over time.

But during the early years of rapid economic growth, state-led development of fairly standardized education systems proved extraordinarily effective, and these states now have amongst the highest enrolments and highest standards in core skills of any in the world.

Asian families have traditionally a high regard for education and are willing to invest heavily in it. This cultural legacy plus the rising opportunities provided by rapid economic growth no doubt motivated students to work hard and drove up achievement.

But what drove the rapid development of education most were shared public objectives for economic growth and nation-building.

# Drivers of Education Marketisation

Public education systems remain the norm across the world, and state-funded schools still greatly outnumber private schools, but there is doubt that there has been a major drive towards marketising education in many countries during the past 30 years. This is driven by a number of factors – some politically contingent, some more secular trends.

- Increasing economic globalization and technological advance since the 1980s has intensified economic competition and the shift towards the ‘knowledge economy’, thus exponentially increasing the demand for skills.
- Governments find it hard to meet the rising costs of meeting this demand and look to share costs with users.
- Corporations searching for new profit opportunities increasingly lobby to provide public services, national and globally.
- Where opportunity and mobility is curtailed (‘the opportunity trap’) more aspirational families increasingly seek positional advantage for their children and lobby for more school diversity and choice.
- With a dominant neo-liberal paradigm of globalization, international bodies which drive what Pasi Sahlberg calls the ‘Global Education Reform Movement’ have relentlessly advocated new public management policies which ape private sector practices.

## Challenging Some Myths of Global Education Policy (and research)

While the trends towards educational marketization in some countries is real it is important to avoid falling for the claims that it is all inevitable and convergent. In fact the policy rhetoric of the GERM is much more uniform than what actually happens on the ground.

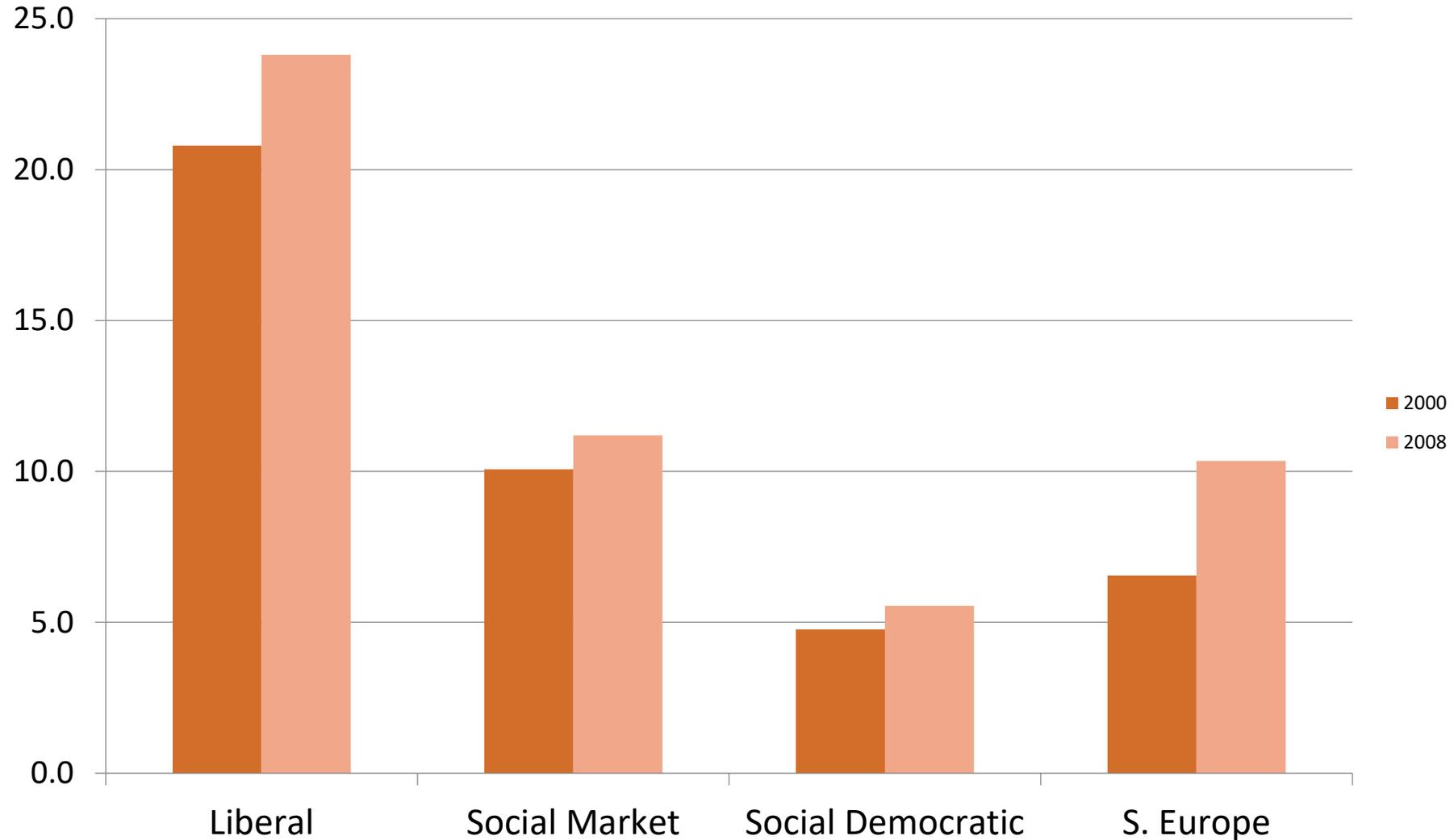
- Marketisation is a very uneven process
- Despite the rhetoric of GERM, there is very little evidence that educational markets – with enhanced competition, school diversity and choice etc – improve standards.
- There is nothing inevitable about educational marketization – it depends on national political decisions – at least in the countries rich enough not to be dependent on aid agencies – globalization is not a one-way street.

# Private Shares in Spending on Education – Slight Increase but Not Converging Significantly

Small increase in % of total education spending deriving from private sources (sub set country average increased from 13.7 % in 2000 to 16.5 % in 2008), with a non-significant convergence across countries during the period (CV from 0.83 to 0.66; P=0.801).

- Liberal countries tend to have the highest proportion of spending coming from private sources (23.8 % in 2008).
- The proportion was lower in the Social Market (11.2 %) and Southern European countries (10.3 %) and lowest in the Social Democratic countries (5.5 % in 2008).
- The country group averages have not converged much during the period (CV from 0.7 to 0.6) - continuing polarisation of the Liberal and Social Democratic state.

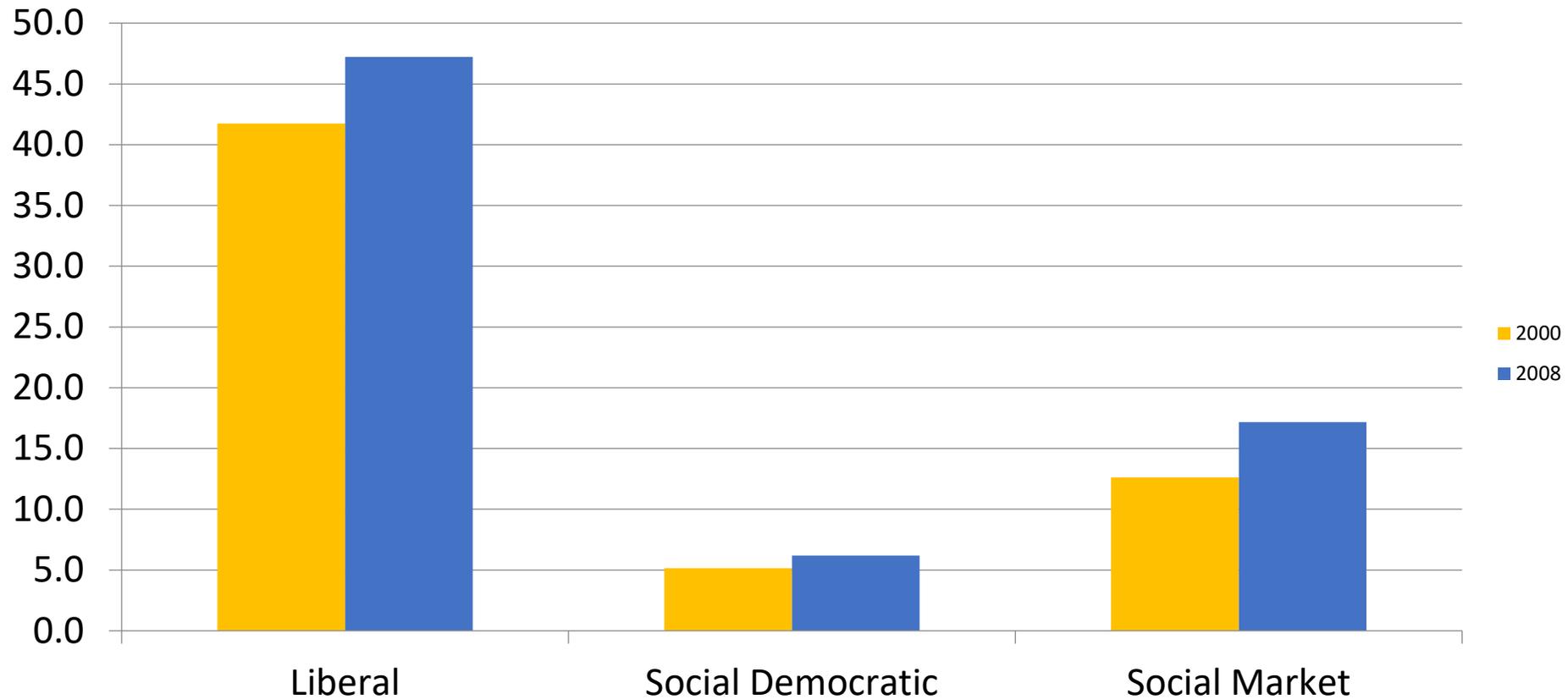
# Trends in Private Shares in Total Educational Spending, 2000, 2008.



# Private Spending on Tertiary Education – Up but No Significant Convergence

- Share of private funding in spending on tertiary education is higher and rose during the period (from an average of 26.7 % in 2000 to 32.1 % in 2008)
- No significant convergence across countries (CV from 0.883 to 0.774;  $P=0.67$ ).
- Liberal countries tend to have the highest share, followed by the Social Market countries, and with the Social Democratic countries having the lowest, by a long way.
- No significant convergence in the country groups during this period (CV from 0.974 to 0.902).

# Proportion of Total Tertiary Education Funding from Private Sources , 2000 and 2008.



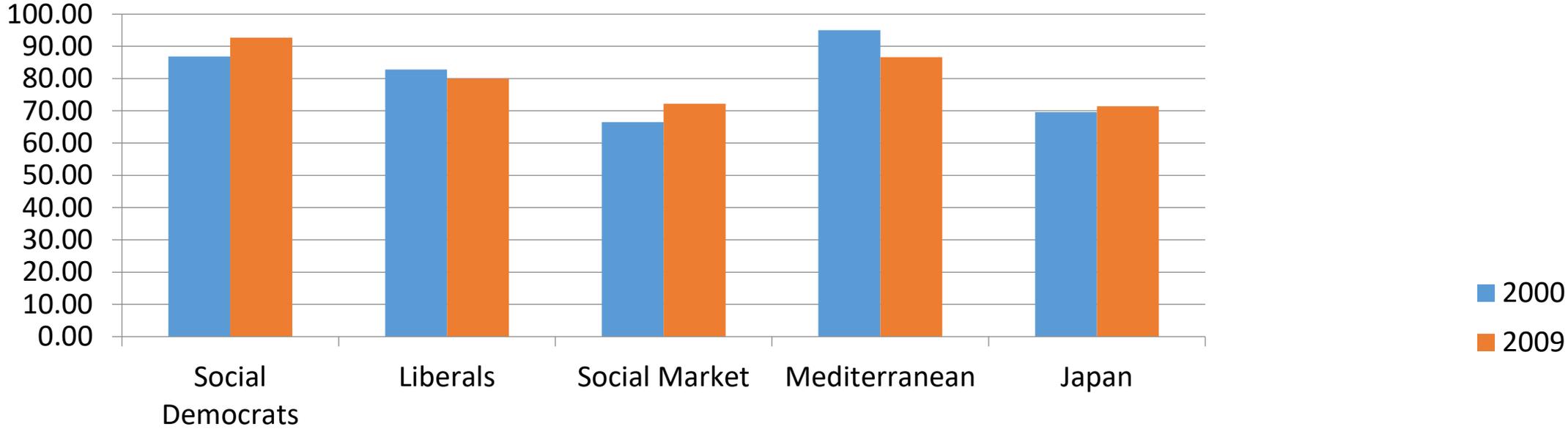
# Distribution of Public and Private Schools – Slight Convergence but not towards Privatisation

PISA data show little evidence of widespread privatisation of schools between 2000 and 2009.

- Proportion of schools classified as ‘Private Independent’ rose slightly across countries, from 4.25 percent to 4.42 % (with significant convergent trend ( $p=0.026$ )).
- Proportion classified as ‘Private Dependent’ declined from 14.92 % to 14.01 % .
- Proportion of schools which are defined as ‘Public’ (ie neither ‘Private Independent’ nor ‘Private Dependent’) increased slightly between 2000 and 2009 (from 80.81 % to 81.57 % ) in a slightly convergent trend (CV from 0.29 in 2000 to 0.25 in 2009;  $P=0.033$ ).

The slight increase in the relative shares of private spending on education may be due to increases in levels of fees or other educational costs to parents, illustrating a trend towards ‘marketisation’ of public organisations, but do not signal widespread privatization of schools *per se*.

# Proportion of all Schools Which are Public



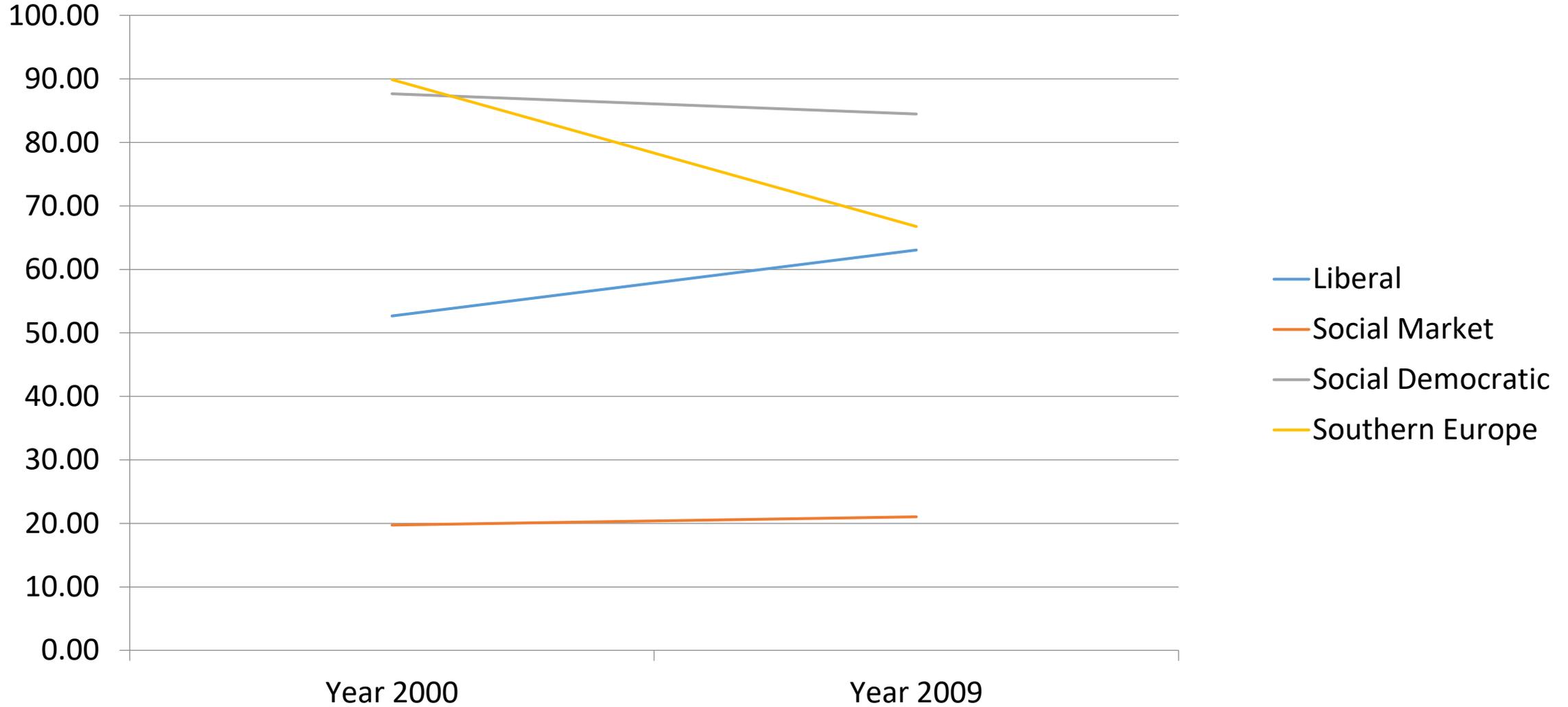
# Selection by Ability – Declined, No Convergence

Reports by head teachers on their schools for PISA suggests that selection to schools by ability (i.e. academic records) has decreased across OECD countries.

- Proportion reporting records ‘always’ being used in selection declined from 26.24 % in 2000 to 24.26 % in 2009.
- Proportion reporting their schools ‘never’ used academic records to select rose from 52.67 % in 2007 to 55.44 % in 2009.

The country groups are sharply distinguished on questions of selection.

# Proportion Saying 'Never Select by Ability'

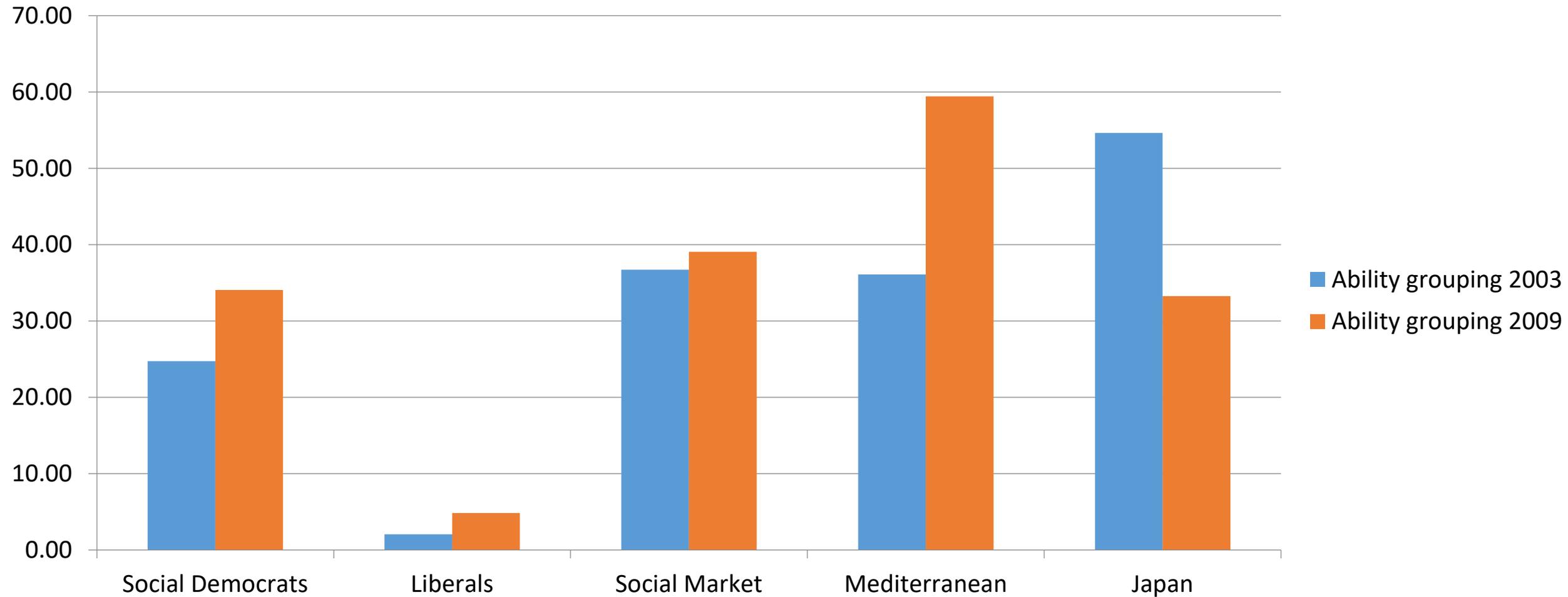


# Ability Grouping – Declining in Slightly Convergent Trend

Reports by heads suggest ability grouping has become less common across the OECD.

- The proportion of schools in each country reporting ability grouping in all subjects went up in two countries and down in 20 countries. The average proportion across countries declined from 39.01 % to 12.7 % in a convergent trend (CV from 1.82 to 0.97; P= 0).
- The average for the proportion of schools in each country not practicing ability grouping in any subject rose from 25.24 % in 2003 to 32.04 % in 2009.
- However, this is counteracted by the higher proportion of schools adopting ability grouping ‘in some subjects’ which has gone up in 15 countries and down in seven countries.

# Proportion of Schools Reporting Ability Grouping in 'No Subjects' by Country, 2003, 2009.



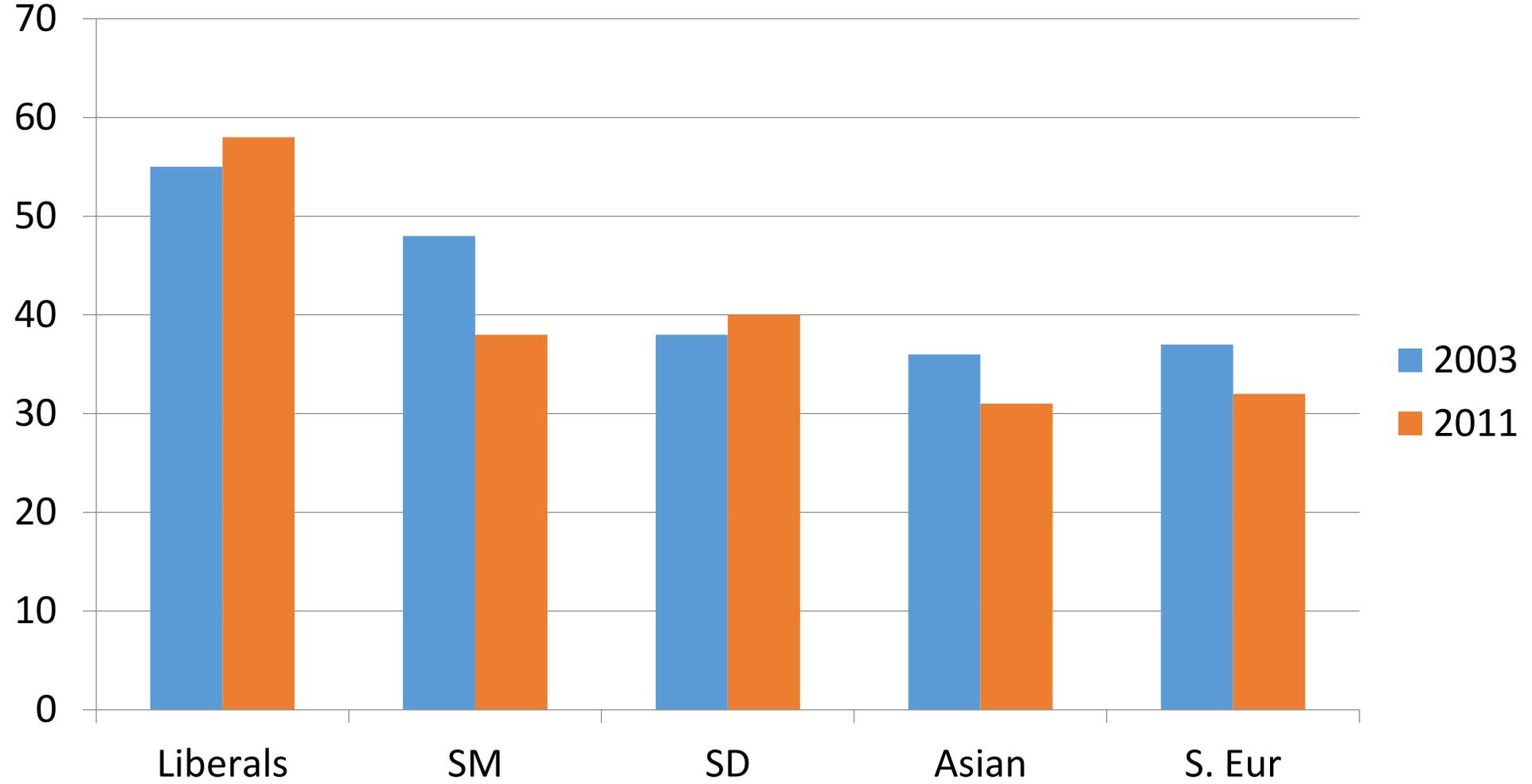
# Decisions Made at School Level - Non-Convergent Decline

OECD data collected from panels of country experts on levels of decision making suggest that the number of decisions made at the central level has risen on average across countries whereas the number of decisions made at the school level has decreased.

- Between 2003 and 2011 local decision-making decreased in ten out of 21 countries and increased in only four.
- No significant convergence across countries on this measure (CV 0.477 in 2003 and 0.499 in 2012;  $p=0.285$ ) and across country groups there were signs of divergence (CV from 0.195 to 0.273).

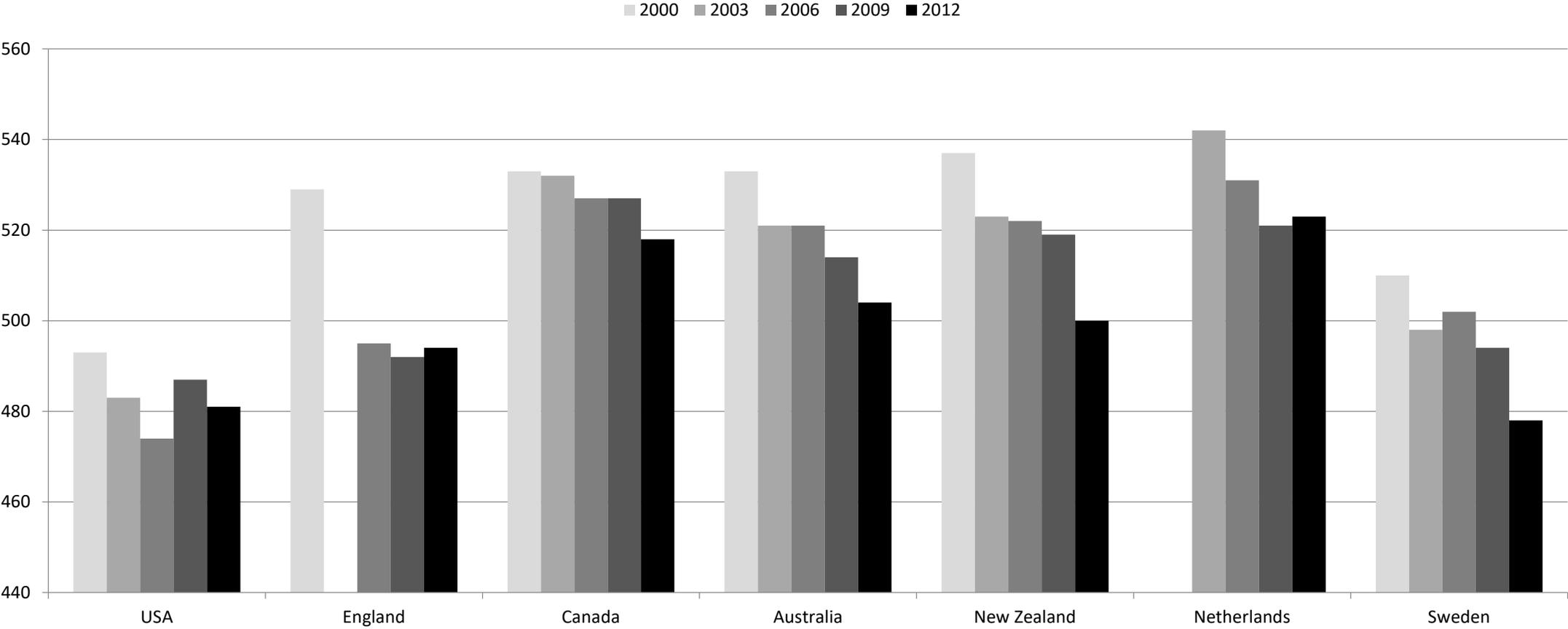
This flies in the face claims of a common and convergent trend towards decentralisation (Astiz et al, 2002).

# Proportion of Decisions Made at School Level across Country Groups in 2003 and 2011



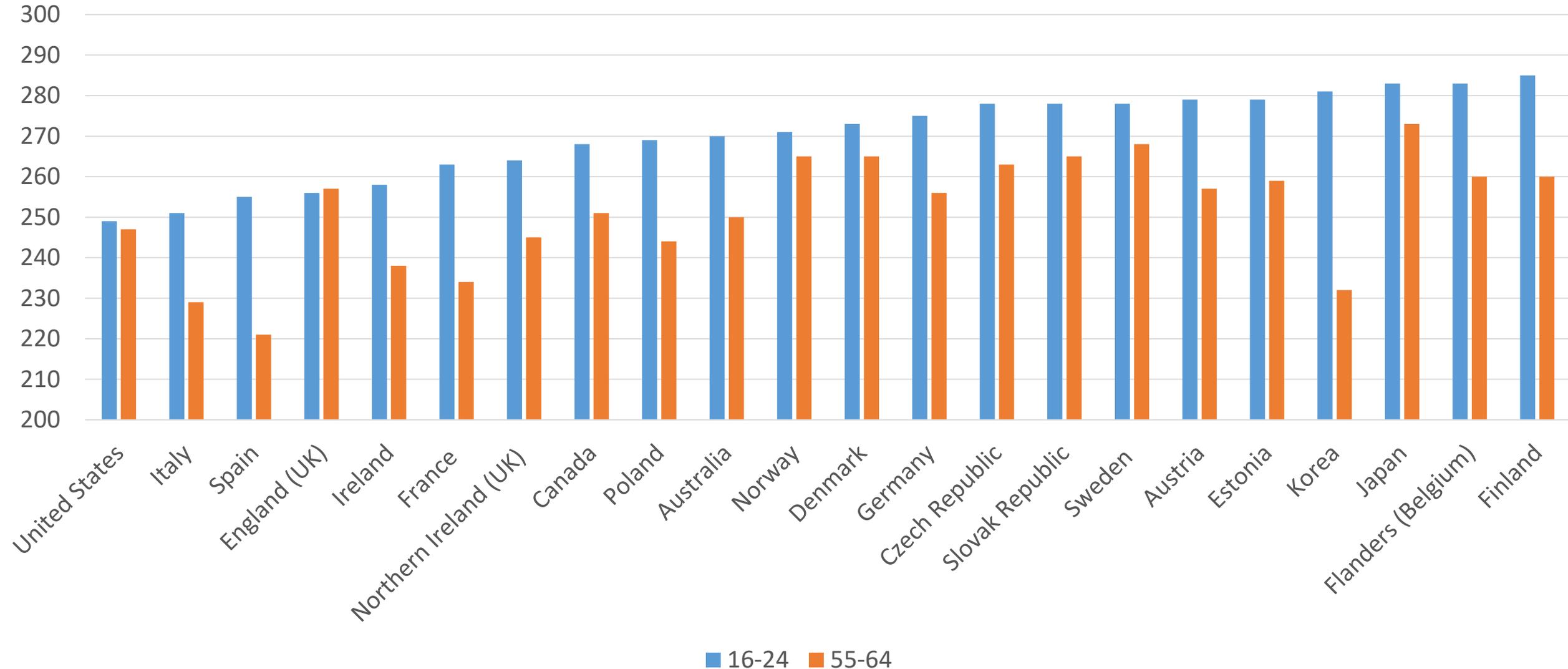
Neo-Liberal Countries Don't do Better

# National averages of 15-year-old students' mathematics achievement measured by PISA between 2000 and 2012. From P. Sahlberg, 2014



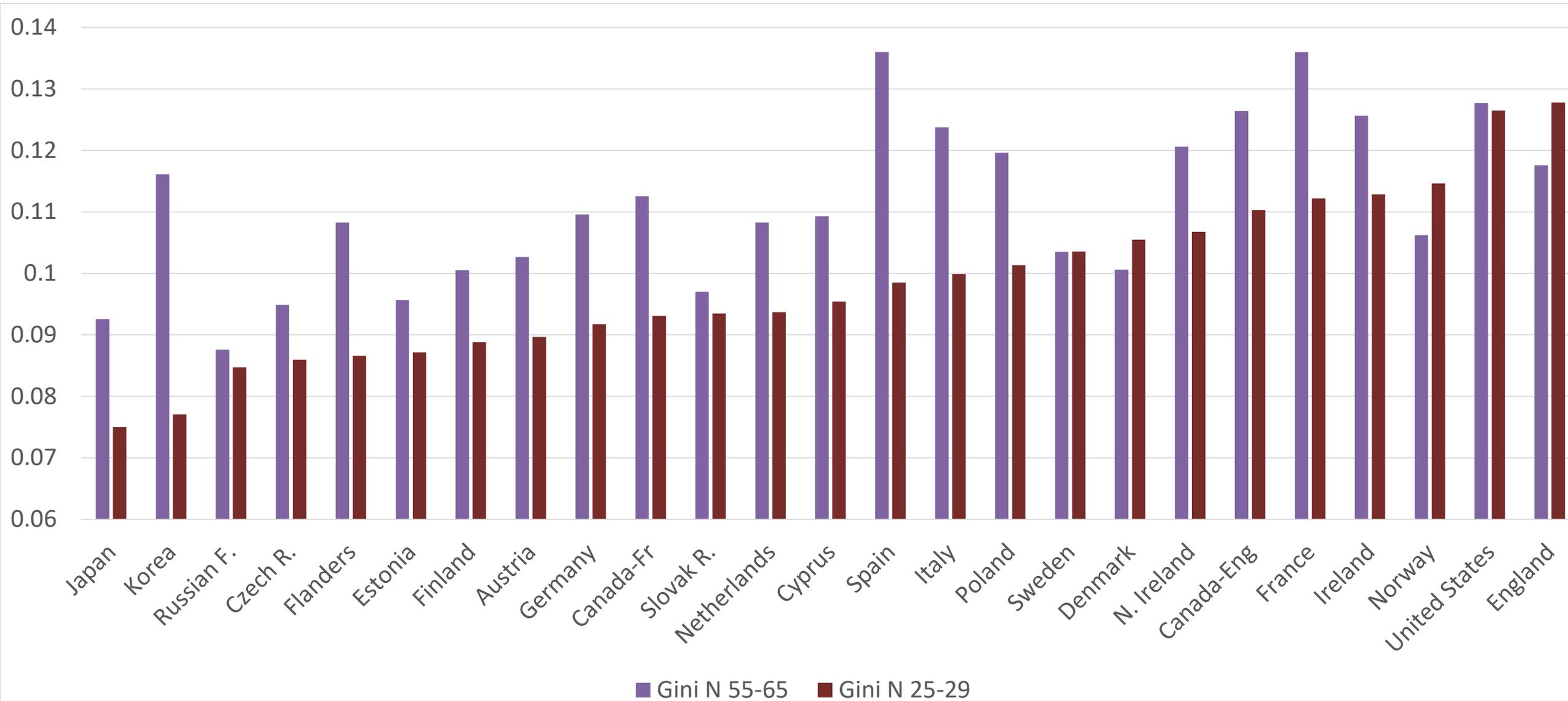
# Mean Country Numeracy Scores by Age Group, 16-24 and 55-64

Source: Green et al (2014) derived from data in OECD (2013b). *Skills Outlook 2013: First Results from the Survey of Adult Skill*. OECD, Paris.



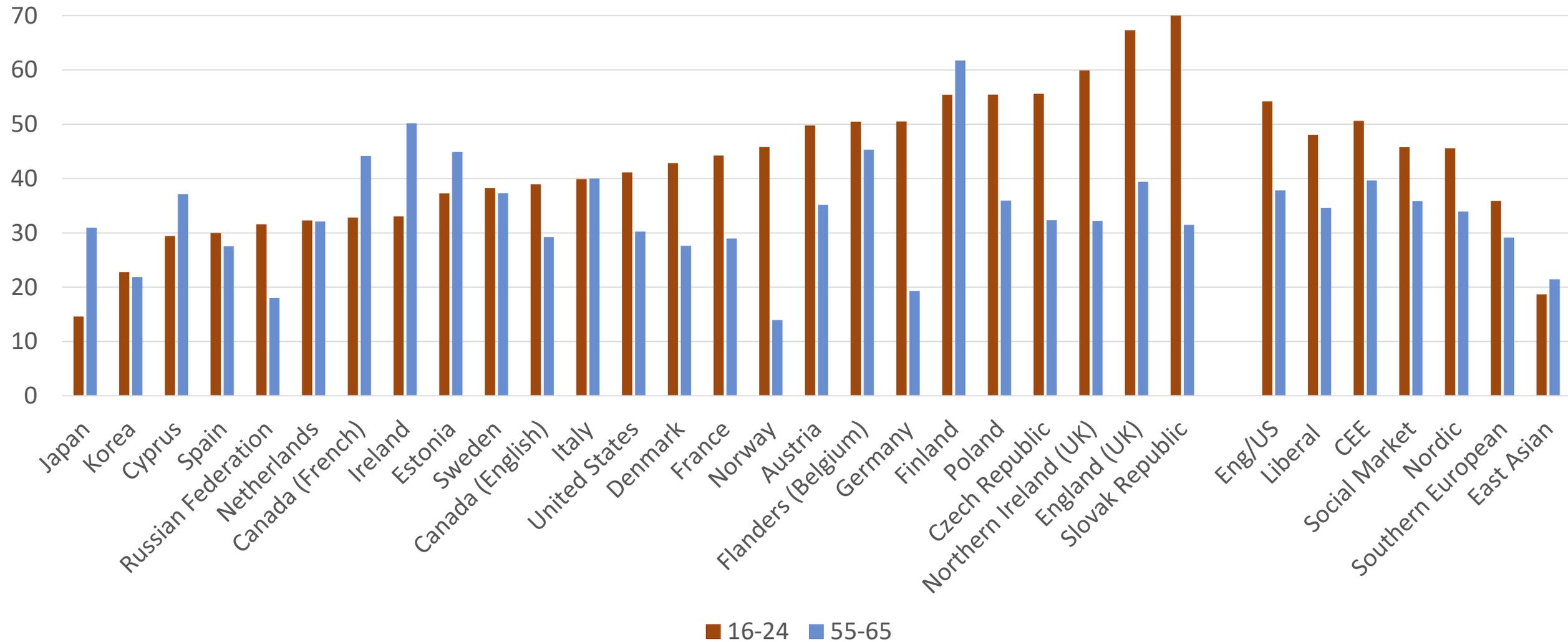
# Numeracy Ginis for Younger and Older Age Groups

Source: Green et al (2014) derived from data in OECD (2013b). *Skills Outlook 2013: First Results from the Survey of Adult Skill*. OECD, Paris.



# Social Gradients for Numeracy for Younger and Older Age Groups

Source: Green et al (2014) derived from data in OECD (2013b). *Skills Outlook 2013: First Results from the Survey of Adult Skill*. OECD, Paris.



# Finland – The European Champion

Finland consistently outperforms other western countries in International Surveys of Achievement in Literacy, Numeracy and Science (PISA and SAS).

Is it a paragon on Global Education Policy with its preference for school choice, diversity and competition and tough accountability regimes for schools and teachers? Hardly.

- School quality not driven by competition between schools
- A relatively standardized system with little school choice and diversity
- Comprehensive schools with no ability grouping
- No national testing regime
- No school inspection system

But:

- High levels of teacher training, professionalism and teacher autonomy.

# Effects of Marketisation in England

# Dismantling the National Education System

Increasing marketization in England is rapidly dismantling the public education and creating in its stead a patchwork of provision of the sort that we had before 1870.

An obsession with school choice and diversity, and competition between schools, is leading to creation of multiple types of school with different governance and funding, admissions procedures and curriculum priorities.

The current list includes free schools, faith schools, studio schools, university technical colleges and academies of various kinds, including sponsored academies, chain academies (ARK, ULT, AET etc) and converter academies.

Providers include charities, foundations, social enterprises, faith and community groups and private education businesses.

Local Education Authorities have been eviscerated and local planning eroded.

# The Effects of Marketisation in England

This patchwork of providers and school types, not to mention the byzantine complexity of the awarding bodies and certificates, lacks transparency to such a degree that only the most ‘savvy’ and well-informed of parents and students can navigate it. This:

- provides unfair advantages to better off, more mobile, and better informed parents
- creates more social segregation in schools with less balanced intakes.

The OECD (2010) found that school intakes explain 77% percent of the variation in school performance in England – only topped by Luxembourg and way higher than the OECD average of 55%.

The fragmented nature of provision undermines any sense of normative standards and expectations for young people and will create greater inequality of outcomes in a country which already has one of the most unequal education systems in the OECD.

# Re-Building a Democratic and Integrated System

Rather than obsessively fostering diversity and choice, and individual competition, we need to re-capture the high collective and public aspirations which inspired the remarkable creation of public education systems.

England and other countries with neo-liberal education policies need to re-build integrated public systems, with local democratic planning and control, where all children have access to decent local schools with high aspirations.

- Restore local elected education authorities
- Create a more consistent provision of quality with
  - A single system of high quality, non-selective comprehensive schools
  - more balanced intakes (through admission systems based on lotteries or banding in redrawn catchment areas)
  - Human resources distributed more equally across schools (including through rotating heads and teachers)
  - Enhanced resourcing for schools in more deprived areas (including the provision of additional out of school and vacation support)
- Support the teacher professionalism and respect in more high trust institutions.