Squaring the Circle:
EFA in the Post-2015 Global Agenda

Manzoor Ahmed
Senior Adviser, Institute of Educational Development, BRAC University, Dhaka
Vice Chair, Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE)
Email: manzoor.ahmed@bracu.ac.bd

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Abstract
MDG and EFA have influenced educational development in poor countries both positively and negatively. From the perspective of Bangladesh, international assistance in the context of EFA and MDG has led to expansion at the cost of educational outcomes with quality and equity, to put it with only mild simplification.

There will be unfinished tasks beyond 2015. But the future has to be envisioned with a lens broader and deeper beyond the unrealised and yet 'minimalist' 2015 agenda. Two inter-connected questions arise. The challenge in Bangladesh and other developing countries is how the global agenda, reflecting common essential goals (thus the least common denominator), can be taken as the floor rather than the ceiling by adapting, broadening and deepening global goals and indicators for the country. A related concern is how international cooperation can be supportive and promotive rather than confining. They pose a dilemma of squaring the circle, so to speak.

This paper, drawing on the on-going process and substance of civil society discussion in Bangladesh, looks at the two questions. Experience in Bangladesh may bear similarity to and be relevant at least for other countries in South Asia. An earlier and longer version of a paper on related issues under the title “Looking beyond EFA and MDG 2015“ was published in Bangladesh Education Journal, 12:1:7-26, June 2013.

Key Words: Post-2015 Education Agenda, Post-2015 Development Agenda, Post-2015 Discourse in Bangladesh
1. The Millennium Development and EFA Goals

The last decade of the past century saw many state level summits for stock taking of various development agenda and future planning. The Millennium Summit was the culmination of the series of global agenda-setting events. In September 2000, 189 members of the United Nations adopted the eight Millennium Development Goals or MDGs to be reached in 15 years by 2015. The second of the eight goals were to achieve universal primary education; the third goal was to promote gender equality in education and empower women.

Earlier in March 2000 in Dakar, having reviewed progress with Education for All (EFA) goals set in 1990 by the international community, an EFA framework for action was adopted. It contained six education goals with the target date of 2015 (Box 1).

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<th>Box 1. The Education MDGs and EFA Goals</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MDG 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education</strong></td>
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<td>Target 2A: By 2015, all children, girls and boys, complete a full course of primary schooling.</td>
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<td><strong>MDG 3: Promote gender equality and empower women</strong></td>
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<td>Target 3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015.</td>
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<td><strong>Six EFA Goals</strong></td>
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<td>1 Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.</td>
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<td>2 Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.</td>
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<td>3 Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes</td>
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<td>4 Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.</td>
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<td>5 Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.</td>
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<td>6 Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.</td>
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It can be seen that EFA goals 1 and 5 concerned with universal primary education and gender equality in education were incorporated into MDG. MDGs in education are important but modest objectives, which could not be the totality of educational progress that Bangladesh and other developing countries would pursue. Nor could these objectives capture the multiple ways education must contribute to fighting poverty and achieving other national development priorities and MDGs. EFA goals embraced a broader range of goals, but were still limited to basic education. The education MDGs and EFA goals in education had to be regarded as proxies and minimal conditions for educational development in a country.
Achievement of the modest and minimal education MDGs and EFA goals for 2015 will fall short globally and in Bangladesh. The EFA Global Monitoring Report of 2005 predicted bluntly that at the current trend and rate of progress, the goals of primary education for all children and elimination of gender disparities in education (beyond parity in initial access) would not be achieved in Bangladesh by 2015. It cannot be a consolation that our South Asian neighbors - India, Nepal and Pakistan – are also in the same predicament (UNESCO-GMR 2004).

There are open questions still to be resolved regarding the on-going international post-2015 development discourse. Will the debates on post-2015, EFA and MDG, lead to a continuation or a revision of the existing goals? In other words, will there be, or not, new and different targets both for development in general and for education in particular? In either case, who will be the principal stakeholders globally and from the country level; and how will they be involved in the discourse? What will be the negotiation process, taking into account these questions, to arrive at convergence and coalescence of views? How can the global agenda and country priorities, as these are articulated, be reconciled or made complementary to each other?

A critical analysis of three components that the above questions suggest - stakeholders, content of debates and the processes both at the global as well as regional and national levels - is necessary to assess the value, significance, feasibility and sustainability of the conclusions expected to emerge by 2015.

The present paper attempts to capture the views of civil society in Bangladesh regarding the post-2015 education agenda within the overall development agenda (MDGII?) as well as a broader post-2015 EFA agenda. It is seen as work in progress that will continue to be elaborated and refined until 2015, when the post-2015 global development agenda will be adopted.

It is clear that EFA and MDG education goals narrowed the educational canvas severely by focusing on targets and indicators related to universal primary education and gender parity. Other areas, such as early childhood development, skills and learning for youth and adults and quality of education did not find a place in MDG. These were mentioned in EFA, but without necessary elaboration of targets and strategies, thus signaling a lower priority to these goals. The paradox is that even the minimal goals are not likely to be achieved; so what would have been the point of adding to goals and targets? More importantly, what do the experience and record of progress so far suggest for the goals and agenda beyond 2015?

2. Squaring the Circle: Quality with Equity

A critical look at the articulation of EFA 2015 goals and education MDGs, to the extent the EFA goals were incorporated into MDG, and implementation strategies considered (or not considered), may suggest the approach to be taken to square the circle.

**Early childhood development.** Progress on ECCE (Early Childhood Care and Education), EFA Goal 1, has been too slow, in part because it was not accorded the priority with specific objectives and strategies. Attention has been mostly on pre-primary preparation for school, rather than a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to early childhood development from birth to transition into schooling. Such an emphasis could have led to a connected and coordinated approach linking health, nutrition, socialization of the child and intellectual growth taking advantage of efforts and initiatives in health, nutrition, child protection and care
through a comprehensive view. Scientific evidence regarding brain and neurological development in fetus and the first thousand days of life points to the urgency of looking at early childhood development as a continuum. The label of ECCE itself suggests a sectoral territoriality that needs to be overcome, which is especially important for disadvantaged population groups deprived of essential services.

**Access and quality.** The underlying premise of EFA and MDG education goals appears to have been that the first task is to bring all children into school; the question of quality could be tackled later. Hindsight shows that such a dichotomy was untenable. A plateauing of progress in recent years in access and retention suggests that deficits in quality in respect of acceptable learning outcomes and dearth of essential quality-enhancing inputs are constraints to meaningful participation in education. The phenomenon of “silent exclusion,” children nominally present in classroom but not engaged in learning, far too common, points to the same problem (Sabates, Hossain and Lewin 2011; Lewin 2007). Access cannot be sustained and cannot be meaningful for learners and society if essential quality inputs and processes are not in place as minimum conditions for achieving the learning results. These include sufficient numbers of teachers with appropriate professional and personal attributes, formative and summative assessment of and for learning as part of good pedagogy, adequate curricular design and learning materials, and necessary physical infrastructure and environment for learning.

**Equity with quality:** Equity has to be a cross-cutting theme for both the MDG development agenda premised on the overall goal of combating poverty and EFA aimed at human capability enhancement. The notion of quality can be only an abstraction without bringing in equity into the equation. Equity, a more nuanced concept than equality in a mathematical sense encompassing fairness and justice, has to be spoken of in the same breath with quality in education. Yet, global targets and the regional statistics used in the UN’s progress reports on MDGs do not bring to attention sufficiently the reality of disparity among countries within a region and among populations within countries. This of course is no excuse for countries not to recognize the reality of disparity and discrimination and plan, manage and monitor programmes to reduce the disparities.

Effort has been made by countries in varying degrees to address equity with quality with varying success. In the effort to expand access to basic education and eliminate gender disparity, Bangladesh has taken pro-active steps in the form of conditional cash transfer to children from poor families, stipends for girls, and free textbooks. The move to “nationalize” non-government primary schools and supporting teachers’ salary in non-government secondary school are policy measures justified on equity grounds. However, the consequences have not necessarily been equitable participation.

The incentive payments in the name of equity has starved out essential quality inputs in schools, such as enough capable teachers or even basic infrastructure and learning materials, thus undermining the objective of equity. The quality deficiencies have led to the emergence of a “shadow education system” with better-off students relying on private tutoring outside the school, aggravating inequity. Strategies that simultaneously consider quality-with-equity in programme planning and management as well as resource mobilization and use have not developed. Poverty remains the major factor in disadvantage and inequity. Population groups that have been marginalized include growing urban slum dwellers, street children, migrants and nomads, children with special needs, indigenous populations and remote rural groups, and...
linguistic and cultural minorities. A gender dimension in these areas of deprivation persists despite progress (Ahmed 2013).

**Linking education, learning, skills and employability.** EFA goal 3 (promoting learning and life skills for youth and adults) did not receive due attention in specifying objectives, targets and strategies, in part due to the complexity of this area in respect of providers, potential participants and activities. The qualitative deficiencies in provisions for basic foundational skills of literacy, numeracy, communication, and reasoning (provided through primary and secondary education); and general transferrable skills and knowledge in math, science, language, IT and social interaction necessary for further training and in work (provided through secondary education and general vocational/technical education) have become the principal obstacle to job-related specific skills development. The participants in such job-specific skills development through training, apprenticeship or on-the-job opportunities can do well if they come into these programmes with the basic competencies. Otherwise, ways have to be found to compensate for the prior deficiencies within job-specific training. (UNESCO-GMR 2012).

A comprehensive view of skills development through multiple public and private, formal and non-formal channels, with an equivalency framework and application of standards of quality, has been lacking. It is also necessary to design skills development with attention to the labour market dynamics in the formal and informal economy, the demands and needs of employers, and social protection and rights of workers leading to “decent jobs” (CAMPE 2013).

**Adult Literacy and lifelong learning.** It is not surprising that adult literacy remains an elusive goal. EFA Goal 4 (increase literacy rate by 50 percent) and target were set in a mechanistic and meaninglessly reductionist way, accepting a symbolic literacy definition of bare recognition of alphabet and signing one’s name, and this too without a credible verification in many instances. This approach and the underlying reductionist concept of literacy, with the imprimatur of UNESCO and the EFA community, have led to adoption of literacy programmes and targets in many countries which have not evoked great enthusiasm among the intended beneficiaries.

A case in point is the goal of “eradicating illiteracy” by 2014 in Bangladesh. Similar examples can be found in other developing countries with major literacy deficits. This approach disregards the continuum of literacy skills, its multiple dimensions and contextual character, and the need to bring the skills and capability to a self-sustaining level at learners’ own pace and time. Consequently what the statistics of the numbers of illiterates and literates and the literacy rates and quantitative progress reported globally really mean is any body’s guess. Direct measurements of literacy skills, rather than a self-reporting method often used, reveal large percentages of illiterates among those who have completed primary education. Even in richer countries, application of credible assessment has shown as many as one in five to be lacking functional literacy skills in their own contexts. (Ahmed 2011)

Interestingly, the EFA literacy goal ignored the plea of the adult education and lifelong learning community, also supported by UNESCO, to place literacy within the programme and strategy framework for lifelong learning, recognising literacy skill as a continuum and as the foundation of lifelong learning. (UNESCO-UIL 2010). With at least a quarter of the world’s population functionally illiterate, lifelong learning opportunity for all is needed more than ever in the era of the knowledge economy. Adaptation of skills and communications technology, lifelong learning with functional literacy skills as its base, has to be a core element of the basic education agenda.
The goal, targets and indicators for literacy have to be defined in a way that makes sense in relation to an overarching human capability agenda (Ahmed 2011, 2013).

**Education Governance.** The EFA and MDG goals were formulated as critical outcomes to be attained within a time frame. The assumption appears to be that once the goals are adopted and commitments to achieve them are announced, the wherewithal of reaching the goals in respect of organizational structures, decision-making, capacity building and mobilization of financial and human resources will happen. Obviously this has not been the case. The question then is whether governance and resource related goals and indicators in EFA and MDG agenda would have helped. And how such goals should be articulated in the post-2015 agenda?

Policies and objectives falter too often in implementation, to which the EFA and MDG experience amply testifies. The processes related to governance and management are by their nature contextual and specific to a country’s public administration structures, culture, history and norms which cannot be articulated in general terms as global goals. Moreover, bringing these into the list of global goals may undermine the sharpness and focus of a limited number of high priority goals, which has been a strength of MDG and EFA. Nonetheless, given the critical role of governance in achieving the goals, there is a case for seeking a way to indicate governance objectives and criteria. Development experience across countries in recent years have brought to the fore widely accepted governance criteria in terms of accountability, transparency, participation of beneficiaries and stakeholders, decentralization, rights and entitlements of people, and democratic norms which can be articulated as goals, targets and indicators in the context of country circumstances and priorities (Ahmed 2013)

In Bangladesh, civil society concerns have been expressed, among others, on two governance issues related to effective decentralization and developing a Government-NGO partnership mode that can make use of comparative advantages and strengths of the vibrant NGO sector. Both issues are linked with the perception and interpretation given among political leadership and bureaucracy about how the role and responsibility of the state for delivering public services can be exercised. A unitary and “statist” approach prevails which require central government to control and manage the services throughout the country. The culture and practice of a strong local government and community role under government auspices are yet to develop. (ibid)

A genuine partnership approach with NGOs, in spite of the record and demonstrated capacity of NGOs in pioneering and scaling up innovative approaches, has not developed, despite the rhetoric to the contrary. The common, not particularly effective pattern of Government-NGO collaboration is of “contract for services” with government selecting the contractor, specifying the job, supervising the work and assessing performance. The approach seems to combine the weaknesses of both the public sector and the NGOs - often the weak, unscrupulous and dishonest among NGOs landing the contracts (ibid.).

**Resources.** Adequate resources are obviously essential for implementing the goals serving equity with quality. MDG 8 urged international collaboration and cooperation to help poor countries carry out their MDG programmes. Although not stated as a goal, the Dakar Framework for Action included a pledge that no country should be left behind in achieving EFA goals due to lack of resources. Most of the rich countries have failed to take this as a priority commitment and act accordingly.
EFA and MDG have not specifically suggested national level resource targets and utilization criteria. Developing countries generally have shown increased spending on education since 2000. However, there are signs that economic downturn is affecting adversely education budgets of low and middle income countries. It has had an impact on the aid budgets of richer countries, many of them reducing education allocations in their aid portfolio (World Bank, 2010).

3. Way Forward

*Key areas for post-2015 EFA and MDG agenda*

In the civil society forums in Bangladesh, facilitated by the People’s Forum for MDG (PFM) and Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE), ideas regarding post 2015 EFA and post 2015 education MDG have been put forward as described below (PFM 2013).

1. A rights-based approach to educational development up to the age of legal prohibition of child labour (age 14 or roughly completion of grade 8) with specific standards to be met should receive prime attention. Quality standards for teachers and schools attempted to be implemented under the national Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP III) need to be assessed and examined to consider if the standards can be accepted, applied and implemented for all children nationwide. The aim must be to prevent any young learner from being subjected to sub-standard schools and teachers.

2. Early childhood care, education and development, from birth to smooth transition into primary education, up to age 8, should be incorporated in post-2015 agenda. This is justified by the proven strong influence of ECD on later learning, juvenile behaviour and adult life as well as the scientific evidence about the critical importance of the early years in human cognitive development. All Children should participate in quality preschool education, but this itself does not ensure adequate preparedness for entry into schooling, especially of children from deprived background. For smooth transition from home to school, all children from birth to school entry should participate in organised ECD programmes in family, community and work places, through services such as parenting, nurseries, playgroups and day-care (especially for children of working parents).

3. The “shadow education system” of private tutoring outside school to compensate for the shortcomings of schools must be addressed because it fosters inequality. Quality improvement in teaching-learning requires within-school special support for children coming from disadvantaged background and falling behind in class.

4. Decentralization of educational administration should cede greater authority and responsibility for planning services and management of budgets to Upazila and institution levels. A systematic trial of decentralization with enlarged school and Upazila level authority with accountability should be undertaken in selected districts before this is widely replicated.

5. Present education budget is grossly insufficient for the stated quality-with-equity objectives in education. Public expenditure for education and skills development should be increased in stages within a specified time frame up to the internationally advocated level - 6% of GDP or at least 20% of total national budget. There is scope to be innovative in mobilising education resources, such as education cess or surcharge on all taxes, as in India and Pakistan; public; private, community, local government partnership; better management
and accountability in current financing provisions in education; alternative use of substantial transfer payment in education for quality enhancing inputs, all of which should be fully exploited.

6. Ensuring adequate supply of teachers for manageable class size and adequate learning time and attracting and retaining the best and the brightest of the young graduates into teaching at the primary and secondary level are crucial for quality enhancement. The numbers of teachers need to be increased by at least 50 percent to achieve acceptable quality standards for teaching-learning in primary education in Bangladesh. A National Teaching Service Corps with effective pre-service education programmes within the general degree programme and special incentives and remuneration should be considered as a priority.

7. The literacy goal should be redefined, moving away from a reductionist “alphabetisation,” to make literacy the first step in a lifelong learning process, allowing each learner to achieve self-sustaining literacy and continue to engage in learning related to work, citizenship and personal fulfilment. A nationwide network of permanent community learning centres should be built up as the institutional base of lifelong learning. The network of learning centres, spaces, programmes, and IT kiosks should be expanded in partnership with communities, local government, communications media, NGOs and the private sector.

**Suggested post-MDG education goals**

The civil society in Bangladesh is trying to keep the discussion alive on post-MDG global agenda and the education agenda within the larger development agenda. It is recognised that, as in the current EFA goals and MDG, the latter can include only one or two education-related goals which have to serve as the proxy for the global education priorities. In fact, UNESCO-UNICEF consultation on EFA in Dakar (March 2013) has made such a recommendation to the UN High-level Panel on post-2015 Agenda (see below). Along this line, two education goals have been suggested from the Bangladesh civil society consultation in education.

The proposed goals are:

**Global Education Goal 1 in post-2015 MDG**

*Compulsory education up to age of work eligibility:* All children must begin primary education at right age and complete compulsory education up to age 14 or the age of work eligibility, whichever is later.

**Global Education Goal 2 in post-2015 MDG**

*Building the learning society.* Provisions must be made to enable all youth and adults to participate in lifelong learning programs related to work, citizenship and personal fulfilment.

The proposed targets and indicators related to these two goals above are shown in Table 1.
Table 1. Proposed Education goals, targets and indicators as part of post-2015 Global Development Agenda

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<th>Goals</th>
<th>Targets</th>
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<td>1. All children up to age of prohibition of child labour (age 14) will complete compulsory education of acceptable quality</td>
<td>1.1 All children from birth to transition into primary school participate in organised ECD programmes including preschool; 1.2 Ensure acceptable quality with adequate provisions for primary and post-primary education including teaching personnel; 1.3 All eligible children complete primary and post-primary education; 1.4 Implement a major expansion of secondary education.</td>
<td>1a Proportion of children with birth registration with urban-rural and gender breakdown; 1b Proportion of parents/care givers of young children from birth to 8 years participating in organised parenting skills and knowledge programmes with income quintile and urban-rural breakdown; 1c Proportion of children 3-5 years participating in ECD programmes with income quintile and urban-rural breakdown; 1d Proportion of children 5-6 years participating in preschool programmes with income quintile and urban-rural breakdown. 1e Proportion of primary and secondary schools meeting essential quality standards for physical facilities, learning equipment and environment and teaching personnel standards. 1f Proportions of students entering and completing primary school at designated age with gender, urban-rural breakdown; 1g Gross and net enrolment in primary and secondary education; 1h Assessed achievement by students of competency standards in languages (First language and English), mathematics, and science at primary and secondary levels with gender and urban-rural breakdown.</td>
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<td>2. All youth and adults will have opportunity to participate in lifelong learning related to livelihood, work, citizenship and personal fulfillment</td>
<td>2.1 Universal availability of learning centres, spaces, programmes, and learning technology networks; 2.2 Eighty percent of youth and adults participate in lifelong learning; 2.3 Assessed basic literacy competency achieved by all youth and adults and self-sustaining functional competency achieved by 80 percent of youth and adults.</td>
<td>2a Proportions of youth and adults making regular use of learning centres, spaces, programmes, and learning technology networks, with gender, income quintile and urban-urban slum-rural breakdown; 2b Proportion of youth and adults participating in literacy and post-literacy, work and livelihood skills training and personal fulfilment in community learning centres and other education programmes with gender, age and urban-urban slum-rural breakdown. 2c Assessed competency achievement of youth and adults in literacy at basic and functional or self-sustaining levels.</td>
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These goals are broadly consistent with the recommendation from the post-2015 EFA consultation in Dakar in March 2013. The recommendation submitted to the UN High Level Panel tasked with formulating the post-2015 agenda is encapsulated in the evocative phrase adopted in Dakar, “Equitable quality lifelong education and learning for all” (UNESCO 2013). The devil of course is in the details. How the targets and indicators are set for the education-related goals in the new overall development goals and the new post-2015 EFA agenda will determine if whatever broad goals adopted in reality accommodate the essential details. Moreover, there has to be adaptation and elaboration at the country level, as proposed by Bangladesh PFM under the heading “Additional National Indicators” related to both the goals it recommended, listed below.

1. Selected achievement of competencies, at specified grade or age level for participants in compulsory education - assessed results;
2. Assessment of governance measures – decentralisation, accountability, transparency;
3. Resources – adequacy and use;
4. Disparities in participation, provisions, and outcome;
5. Teachers – numbers and quality attributes.

As noted above, these are proposals under discussion in civil society forums. We expect that these ideas and suggestions will be the subject of dialogue involving government and major stakeholders in formulating a national position on post 2015 goals in education in the context of new EFA and MDG agenda.

References


