The Primary Review

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Research Survey 1/4

AIMS FOR
PRIMARY EDUCATION:
CHANGING GLOBAL
CONTEXTS

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This is one of a series of 32 interim reports from the Primary Review, an independent enquiry into the condition and future of primary education in England. The Review was launched in October 2006 and will publish its final report in late 2008.

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A briefing which summarises key issues from this report has also been published. The report and briefing are available electronically at the Primary Review website: www.primaryreview.org.uk. The website also contains Information about other reports in this series and about the Primary Review as a whole. (Note that minor amendments may be made to the electronic version of reports after the hard copies have been printed).

We want this report to contribute to the debate about English primary education, so we would welcome readers' comments on anything it contains. Please write to: evidence@primaryreview.org.uk.

AIMS FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION:
CHANGING GLOBAL CONTEXTS

Introduction

Fuelled by an historic convergence of globalisation, knowledge driven economies, human rights-based development and demographic trends, the recognition of the key role of education is growing in countries around the world (OECD/UNESCO 2002). This review offers a comparative perspective that focuses upon the changing global context of primary education in terms of the emerging educational responses to globalisation. The analysis of the changing global context of primary education inevitably raises questions about aims, processes and purposes of education in the twenty first century. Such questions are underpinned by the social, economic and political transformations that confront education. The changes are complex, uneven and contradictory; where uncertainty and risk is a feature of the age (Lauder *et al* 2006). The review begins by offering a brief historical overview of changes that have occurred in the last decade concerning primary education, leading to current priorities and trends; a conceptual understanding of the notion of globalisation and existing tensions that exist in relation to current educational concerns; the purposes of education in the context of globalisation, and its implications for and the place of primary education within those global goals. The final part of the paper examines two case study countries, namely India and China, in order to illustrate and juxtapose some of the key issues that have arisen in those countries as a result of the characteristics of globalisation. The paper concludes by considering future implications of primary education in light of the issues raised.

Historical overview and emerging trends

From a global perspective, the 1990s was the decade of concern for 'basic' education. This by and large was interpreted as primary schooling. Within a framework of education as a human right, on the one hand, and an acceptance of the impact that basic education has on fundamental concerns in development, such as health, employability, agricultural productivity, etc, on the other, a consensus emerged that the most important challenge to educational development was the achievement of 'Education for All' (EFA). This was formalised on a global scale at the beginning of the decade in the Jomtien Conference and the EFA Declaration, with its goal of achieving universal access to primary education by 2005. In a global sense, interest in primary education was at its highest, in the 1990s, with the World Bank and other multilateral donor agencies acting as chief drivers to education and declaring primary education to be their major, sometimes sole, educational funding concern.

The decade did, however, see considerable failure to put these intentions into action and the follow-up Dakar Conference of 2000 can be seen partly as an attempt to breathe new life into the EFA ideal, with the realisation that progress had been disappointing and targets had to be revised. The focus and the agenda shifted, with a growing recognition that simply boosting primary school enrolment rates was an inadequate response to the demand for a more educated society that could meet the needs of development. The concern instead became the quality of the educational experience that was being offered. Although the notion of a 'quality education' had in fact been part of the Jomtien agenda, it had been displaced in subsequent policy and action in favour of apparently more easily measured, easily targeted quantitative enrolment concerns. Now, however, 'quality' is most firmly in the educational

spotlight and the notion of what 'compulsory education' should be has also shifted to beyond the idea of 'basic education'.

Globalisation has undoubtedly been a key part of the background to the changes outlined above, both in terms of increases in the scope, reach and depth of globalisation itself and also in terms of increasingly sophisticated analyses and understanding of the phenomenon that inform policy initiatives. The ideology of globalisation has been used by a number of intergovernmental/multilateral organisations (such as, for example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)) and has played an influential role in shaping current policy. Rizvi and Lingard (2006) state that these organisations speak consistently of the 'imperatives of globalisation' and of the need to reformulate educational purposes in line with the requirements of a global economy (p.248). The authors argue that the agendas of organisations such as the OECD has shifted so that their ideological view represents a set of aims linked to the requirements of the global economy. Policy concerns, in the past, were related to the economic and cultural ends of education, and between equity and efficiency concerns. Over the last ten years the shift has been a concern for social efficiency; it has promoted particular goals of education. Those goals are linked to the requirements of a global knowledge economy and economic growth.

One of the key global goals for governments remains 'Universal Primary Education' (UPE), by the revised year 2015. One way this is translated is to equip all members of society with skills in literacy and numeracy that will allow them to function within their society. In order to achieve this aim, most countries have adopted a curriculum of five or six years of primary schooling which is considered sufficient to attain those objectives (UNESCO 2004).[1] However, existing trends suggest that compulsory education must extend beyond primary if it is to bring about a range of social and economic benefits to individuals and societies. Existing evidence on the relationship between human capital and the impact of education on the economic activity of individuals and a society and has been explored by UNESCO/OECD in the 'world education indicators' (WEI) programme[2]. Their analysis has shown a consistently strong and positive association between improvements in the stock of human capital and economic growth among WEI countries, an association that is greater than among OECD countries (OECD/UNESCO 2002). Interestingly, the strongest correlations between schooling and economic growth occur in Argentina, Chile, Malaysia and Uruguay - suggesting that it is the higher levels of education (secondary and tertiary) that are important for human capital to translate into economic growth (*ibid*). The point made is that human capital plays a stronger part in economic growth once it achieves a certain threshold, and that threshold lies beyond the primary phase.

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[1]   The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED97) defines primary education as one that: 'gives students a sound basic education in reading, writing and mathematics, along with an elementary understanding of other subjects such as history, geography, natural science, social science, art and music. In some cases, religious instruction is featured. This level consists of education provided for children, the customary or legal age of entrance being not younger than five years, or older than seven years. This level covers in principle six years of full-time schooling (UNESCO 2001)

[2]   Countries participating in the OECD/UNESCO World Education Indicators Programme (WEI) which has been examining the impact of human capital on economic growth relative to findings in OECD member states have included: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Jordan, Malaysia, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tunisia, Uruguay and Zimbabwe. The findings show that demands for educational opportunities are growing across WEI countries, the higher rates of primary school completion and recognition of the positive gains to be realised to further levels of education (OECD/UNESCO 2002).

The UNESCO review of education (2004), in focussing its attention beyond primary education, reflected a wider international change in educational focus. Their overview showed that no country has met the goals of universal primary enrolment without some critical mass of secondary participation. Others have also noted that no country has reached UPE without at least 35 per cent secondary net enrolment (Clemens 2004). With the emphasis on UPE, the EFA goals, and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG), notions of what should constitute 'compulsory education' and how it is expressed by national priorities have begun to change. Four in five countries now have regulations that define compulsory education beyond primary schooling. It is only in a minority of countries in Africa, North America and Asia where compulsory education is represented by the primary phase (UNESCO 2004).

There have also been changes in the supply and demand of educational services which have been linked to the goal of UPE. A UNESCO review revealed that whilst the majority of countries have experienced growth in primary enrolment, increases at this level occurred in tandem with increases in secondary enrolment. This was the case for countries which had low levels of enrolment as well as those nearing UPE. The point made is that 'meeting demand for primary education can spur greater demand for schooling at secondary level. The costs of educational opportunity go beyond meeting UPE goals and imply the creation of additional opportunities at secondary level' (UNESCO 2004: 15).

Globalisation: definitions and perspectives

There is no consensus on a definition of globalisation, or its implications in terms of its consequences for individuals, groups and nations in different parts of the world (Lauder *et al* 2006). The dominant view from the perspective of the developed nations is that it is about a competition among nations in which education plays a key role in outsmarting others in the search for scientific knowledge and technologies that enable innovation. National prosperity, justice and social cohesion are seen to rest on creating a highly skilled workforce with the knowledge, enterprise and insight required to attract the global supply of high skilled, high waged employment (*ibid*). In other words the claim is that globalisation will bring widespread benefits, so long as education can produce the appropriately skilled workers. This rhetoric is taken as common sense or the 'education gospel' (Grubb and Lazerson 2006), but in reality it raises concerns for individuals and societies. The concerns are associated with growing inequalities and how education may be contributing to widening inequalities in the search for national prosperity.

Rizvi and Lingard (2006) outline three perspectives of globalisation. First they define it as the ways in which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent. As such, it a set of social processes that imply 'inexorable integration of markets, nation states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation states to reach round the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper that ever before' (Friedman 1999: 9). In this way, globalisation is associated with technological revolutions in transport, communication and data processing. It is argued that such developments have transformed the nature of economic activity, changing the modes of production and consumption. From this perspective, the global economy is now characterised as informational, networked, knowledge based, post-industrial and service orientated (Porter 1990; Castells 2000).

Second, globalisation is perceived as a 'subjective …awareness by people and states of recent changes in global economy and culture' (Rizvi and Lingard 2006: 251). This view of globalisation is reflected in changing values, where there is a common interest in collective

actions to solve global problems (Albrow 1996: 34). It is a world of collective consciousness, where we see our problems as interconnected.

The final perspective of globalisation that Rizvi and Lingard (2006) outline is a critical one. It views globalisation is an ideological project of economic liberalisation that subjects states and individuals to market forces. In this ideology, power relations, practices and technologies play a 'hegemonic' role in organising how we understand the world (Schirato and Webb 2003). So, for example, the way in which the global economy operates and the manner in which culture, resources, crisis and power informations operate are taken for granted by us, as simply being the way the global economy operates.

Certainly globalisation is a fundamental change in the architecture of the world that, it is increasingly recognised, has implications for all countries and communities and that has changed our understanding of the nature of development itself and the options available to promote it. The growing complexity and sophistication associated with increased interconnectedness and mobilities of all sorts has immediate implications for the nature of an education appropriate to meet the needs of individuals, communities and nations in this era of globalisation. This alone would be one reason for an increasing concern with the quality of education, with this quality now being defined in terms of a preparation for a new set of economic, cultural and political conditions that are defined globally as much as locally.

Consequences of globalisation: tensions in policy

The consequences of globalisation have implications for education – and primary education, in particular – that may lead to tensions, if not contradictions, in policy emphases. There is, for example, considerable recognition in the literature that globalisation has commonly led to increased economic inequality, to the emergence of distinct 'winners' and 'losers' from globalisation, both in terms of differences between countries and communities and individuals within countries (as characterised by Hutton's 1996 description of a '30-40-30' society in the UK). The implications of this for education are themselves complex, depending for example on whether one approaches them from a perspective of 'social justice', 'social cohesion for the sake of stability' or 'individualism, the market and meritocracy'. The first of these leads to a concern for those who are disadvantaged and marginalised, treating education as a human right, and defining a quality educational experience in terms that recognise their communal and individual needs and differences and which aims to open up possibilities for economic, social and political participation without a loss of identity. A 'social cohesion for stability' approach is concerned with the social and political destabilising effects of extreme inequalities and may also lead to a focus on the poor and the marginalised. The educational agenda that emerges from this approach, however, is one of greater assimilation to the dominant social norms and 'social pacification'. Both of these approaches do, however, generate a tension between educational policies that aim to engage with a global economic order that is inherently inequitable – because not to engage would be economic suicide – and their goal of either justice or cohesion that must challenge the structural roots of this inequity (Torres 2002).

The third perspective suggested above, characteristic of 'new right' politics and neo-liberal economics, essentially removes this tension from the government policy agenda by making success or marginalisation a matter for individual responsibility, with the market as the best possible arena for the management of competition. The potential consequences of this for education are illustrated in Ilon's (1997) mapping of educational provision onto a socio-economic stratification that derives from the individual's degree of participation in the global economy. At the upper end we see the growth of high-cost private schooling with standards

defined internationally; at the bottom end we find sporadic attendance and low-quality schooling perceived to have minimal pay-offs.

The goals of education and the place of primary education

The need for a knowledge-based economy

Two characteristics associated with globalisation that have important implications for education in general, including primary education, are the growth of the so-called 'knowledge-based economy' (KBE) and the rapid pace of contemporary change (notably, though not exclusively, technological change). Brown and Hesketh (2004), amongst others, have challenged the significance, even the very existence, of the knowledge-based economy but it seems likely that a belief among policy makers in the growing importance of 'knowledge-work' for international competitiveness has driven much of their recent thinking. The essence of the KBE thesis is that the knowledge component of the modern global economy – ideas rather than material objects – is the greatest source of added value and, hence, of national and individual prosperity. The KBE is a high skills economy, based on leading-edge knowledge, research and creativity. One immediate consequence of this thesis is that tertiary education becomes a new focus of educational attention, exemplified by the World Bank's 'rediscovery' of this sector after years of neglect, but also visible in materials emerging from the OECD and national governments: for example, the OECD's strategic objective 4 is entitled 'Rethinking Tertiary Education in a Global Economy'. This speaks of the need for an appropriate balance of funding, both public and private, and also in terms of using indicators in relation to the individual and social returns of tertiary education. Returns to the individual are seen as labour market earnings, eschewing the broader liberal educational purposes once again, but in terms of tertiary education (Rizvi and Lingard 2006).

It would be difficult to prove that this increased concern with tertiary education has necessarily led to less policy attention being given to primary education, although presumably some sort of 'document count' might test this. What can be argued, however, on the basis of historical, national experiences around the world, is the likelihood of a 'backwash' effect: the greater the importance given to tertiary and higher education, the more that lower levels in the system are considered as a preparation for higher education rather than as useful ends in themselves (Dore 1997).

The knowledge economy and the associated changing purposes of education suggest a rather instrumental view of education. It serves the needs of a global knowledge economy where the economic framework and social efficiency, economic instrumentalism may be seen to usurp the goals of education associated with equity. Rizvi and Lingard (2006) illustrate how this is represented in the views of the OECD. For example, the OECD strategic objective 5, 'Building social cohesion through education', speaks of improving equity and opportunities, but the focus is on special needs associated with being ethnically or culturally different as a result of the flows associated with globalisation. Equity is therefore associated with social cohesion. It is seen as essential to developing and maintaining cohesive societies and not about challenging existing definitions of how for example institutions may be reproducing inequalities in relation to class, caste or gender.

Education, technology and globalisation: lifelong learning

Economic, social and technological changes are now having a major impact on the nature and structure of educational institutions (Lauder *et al* 2006). Economically, there have been three shifts: first, the increasing number of women entering the labour market has raised questions about the availability of early childhood education; second, the move to a

knowledge-based economy has led to justifying more students entering higher education; and intensified global competition, linked to technological innovations, has meant that the shelf-life of skills is reducing, leading to constant retraining. Technological change combined with the emergence of new ideas and products leads to a need for continuous 'upskilling' or 'reskilling' throughout one's working life and, therefore, a national and individual commitment to and capacity for continuous learning. (This argument can also be carried over into effectively coping with life outside the workplace as the pace of broader social change accelerates.) The more rapidly change takes place, the quicker that particular skills and knowledge become obsolete and must be replaced. These developments have led to a redefinition from 'education for life' to 'education through life', and a concept of lifelong learning, where the boundaries of education and life become blurred. The crucial question is how lifelong learning is interpreted.

> If students see it as a means to economic ends alone, then we produce clever, calculating pleasure machines. In contrast if the outcomes of education are to produce students that are more conscious of what they owe to society and the environment, then we are one step towards understanding how the fundamental problems that confront us require collective solutions.

<div align="right">(Lauder et al 2006: 57-58)</div>

During the 1990s, the notion of lifelong learning was underpinned by two emphases: one being a humanistic perspective that was about providing social democracy and opportunity, and the other being about the development of the neo-liberalist, self capitalising individual (Rose 1999, cited in Rizvi and Lingard 2006). Rizvi and Lingard (2006) suggest that it is the latter purpose of lifelong learning that is currently emphasised; and this is reflected in shifts in educational policy goals of influential agencies such as the OECD. The goals are concerned with preparing people for the world of work and a life of self-capitalisation (*ibid:* 253). They are indicated in a number of documents; for example, the OECD reports *The knowledge based economy* (OECD 1996a) and *Lifelong learning for all* (OECD 1996b). In these documents education is perceived as being about developing dispositions for learning across the life cycle, rather than at a particular stage (Rizvi and Lingard 2006). Learners are expected to be flexible, mobile lifelong learners, who have cosmopolitan dispositions and are able to deal effectively with cultural diversity, endemic change and innovation. This view of learners places less emphasis on the purposes of education being social justice and social democracy, and more emphasis on a concern associated with a neo-liberal ideology and its relationship with economic development.

With children in primary schooling being many years away from the labour market, or indeed from full participation in society in general, the focus of learning (within a context of lifelong learning) here moves to generic and transferable skills, rather than the particular. Primary schooling becomes repositioned, in a continuum of education that is now of much greater span and which is concerned in its earlier stages with developing the capacity to learn - 'learning to learn' - as much as with the learning of any particular body of knowledge or narrow set of skills. The function of primary schooling in this lifelong learning scheme becomes one of developing 'core skills', primarily identified as literacy and numeracy although various degrees and forms of socialisation may also be seen as important. Knowledge of the particular does not disappear from the curriculum, but time devoted to it may be reduced and the teaching of it may be recast so as to emphasise increasing learner autonomy, the skills of independent learning, and elementary metacognitive skills. In this context, strategies for effective and deep learning possibly replace transmission models of teaching.

In many countries in the world, however, the curricular simplification that is implied in the above account has not taken place. The backwash effect of selection examinations to higher levels of education, combined with increased quality differentiation among those higher level institutions that exacerbates competition for entry to the 'best' among them, leads to a content-cramming imperative in many schools. A further development associated with this highly charged competitive environment is the growth in private tutoring and 'cram' schools, outside the formal education system (Bray 1999). Traditionally this has been a phenomenon more associated with secondary schooling, but backwash effects are relentlessly driving to further down the system.

At the other end of the education phase, improving early childhood education and childcare is linked to lifelong learning and a number of international policies where the rationales are those of economic development. Early education is now part of the process of globalisation (Woodhead 2001). Diverse programmes of family support, childcare and early education can now be found throughout the world, very often strongly influenced by models that originate in Europe or North America (Lamb *et al* 1992). Moreover research evaluations increasingly take a cross national perspective, comparing quality in different country contexts (see, for example, Olmsted and Weikart 1989). The rationale forwarded in much of the documentation on the expansion of early years education, including the recent 'Education for All Global Monitoring report' (UNESCO 2007), is one that constantly speaks about the economic and social returns to the individual and society of investing in early childhood care and education. There is also the view that examining European quality issues in global context (as well as in historical context) encourages a broader perspective on particular issues and constraints that determine what counts for early childhood quality in specific economic, cultural, educational and political contexts (Woodhead 2001).

Globalisation and the benchmarking of standards: quality as learning outcomes

Underpinning the doctrine of employability is that education will give the opportunity to make oneself employable. Reich (2006) argues that 'the fate of workers within their own country will depend on the value of their credentials, skills and knowledge in the global market' (Lauder *et al* 2006: 35). This has led to a focus on raising educational standards, against a background of competition globally, because it is believed the best educated (that is those that are educated to a high standard) will be able to compete for high skilled, high waged jobs. A range of policies in all phases of education throughout the world, have been introduced in attempts to raise standards, although what constitutes standards is itself a matter of considerable debate. Standard setting, Room (2000) suggests, can be seen from two perspectives. 'From a consensus perspective, the trend towards global standard setting is seen as industrial progress from the national to the international level' (Lauder *et al* 2006: 41), where international comparisons and league tables are seen as testament to the country's progress. 'From a conflict perspective, how standards are set will reflect the strategic interest of stake holders especially in relation to positional competition' (*ibid*).

One important result of the focus on standards as a definition of quality has been an increased concern with the effectiveness of schooling and on the specification and measurement of learning outcomes. There are multiple strands to the responses to this that include attention to school management systems, the development of systemic education outcome indicators, the measurement of learning achievement, and means to ensure teacher and school accountability.

The emphasis on evaluating and improving the outcomes of education is reflected in the OECD and in the independent evaluation of World Bank support to primary education (Independent Evaluation Group 2006). In both cases, the emphasis is on economics and social efficiency. For example, OECD strategic objective 2 states that: 'the prosperity of

countries now derives to a large extent from their human capital and individuals need to advance their knowledge and competencies throughout their lives in order to succeed in a rapidly changing world' (cited in Rizvi and Lingard 2006). The IEG report for the World Bank stated that:

> primary education needs to focus on learning outcomes. The MDG push for universal primary enrolment [...] will not suffice to ensure that children achieve the basic literacy and numeracy that are essential to poverty reduction. To reduce poverty, countries need to make improved learning outcomes a core objective in their primary education […] recognising that improving learning outcomes for all will require higher unit costs than universal completion…Improve the performance of sector management in support of learning outcomes [....] Improve monitoring and evaluation systems that track learning outcomes over time among different income and social groups [...]
>
> (IEG 2006: x)

The World Bank's 2005 'Education Sector Strategy Update' commits the Bank to maintaining momentum on 'Education for All' and the MDGs, whilst at the same time promoting 'education for the knowledge economy' (secondary, higher and lifelong learning). Few of the sample investment projects that were used in the IEG evaluation aimed to improve learning outcomes, but one of the countries showing the most improvement in learning outcomes was India, where national commitment to learning outcomes and their measurement is high. Even in countries where learning outcomes have improved, however, absolute levels of student achievement remain low. For example, in Ghana, only 10 per cent of children reached the country's mastery levels in mathematics and 5 per cent in English. In India, half of the 7-10 year olds were unable to read fluently a short paragraph of grade one level (IEG 2006: xvi).

Equity and globalisation: promoting greater literacy and the debate over English

The idea of meritocratic competition is challenged by globalisation because nation states are losing control of some of the key features of selection (Lauder *et al* 2006). In higher education global consumerism raises questions about equality of opportunity in relation to access, since it is wealth that becomes the key determinant of access. In secondary schooling, in England, much of the debate about educational opportunity has focused on the strategies adopted by the middle classes to sustain their advantage in domestic competition (Ball 2003). Lauder *et al* (2006) ask 'what are the global routes to advantage now being laid?'

The issue of promoting greater literacy in an era of globalisation has, for some countries, raised the question of the language of instruction and the teaching of a second language. With the emergence of English as the global *lingua franca* in business, in science and technology, on the internet, and so on, the desire to learn English or to have one's children learn it has exploded. In some contexts the issue is when to start teaching it, with tensions between the 'earlier the better' argument and that which emphasises the importance of a secure grounding in the child's first language. In other countries the debate is over whether to make English the language of instruction and at what age this should begin.

This debate over language of instruction must, in many countries, be located in the context of positional competition, where access to education through English is one of the key factors distinguishing elites in countries where English is not the official or national language. Fluency in English may act as a social marker domestically, as in India for example, and may also be a crucial skill for accessing the labour market associated with the higher skills end of the global economy. A further key element in this positional competition, and one which is closely linked to access to English, is the growth of private schooling.

The rise of private schooling

Private schooling has arisen in response to different contexts. One common context has been where it has met excess demand due to shortfalls in the public sector supply (UNESCO/OECD 2002), for example, in the area of early years' education. It has also arisen due to a response to differential demand – for example offering specific opportunities that are not provided by the state, such as English language schooling and pre-school education. How enrolment is distributed across types of educational institutions reflects how important the private sector is in providing education. In nine out of sixteen WEI countries, the proportion of private primary school enrolment exceeded 10 per cent (OECD 2004). In comparison to OECD countries, WEI countries had a higher proportion of primary school students enrolled in the private sector.

In some countries that allow or encourage the establishment of private schools, their popularity is closely linked to the issue of language of instruction. In countries as diverse as India, Taiwan and Tanzania, a significant market has arisen for private, English-medium primary schools. In some cases there is an ongoing struggle between government policy, which may try to prohibit English medium teaching, and parental demand. This demand may arise largely from an economic and social elite who see access to high quality private schooling and to English language instruction as part of the maintenance of an elite status for their children. In such cases it is more difficult for the government to sustain attempts to suppress such schools.

Primary education in a global context: two case studies

We now provide two case studies of recent primary level educational developments, India and China. These case studies provide examples of how the issues discussed above may appear in practice. It is also felt that there is particular significance in choosing these two countries, given that together they constitute some 40% of the world's population and are both generating exceptionally high and sustained levels of economic growth that can be attributed largely to their engagement with the global economy. At the same time, the differences in their historical and contemporary ideologies add extra interest to any comparison between them.

Case Study 1: India

India is one of the fastest growing economies in the worlds, next to China. Yet the 2006 UN Human Development Report ranked India fairly low in terms of social indicators such as education, indicating that education for India's poorer majority has yet to catch up with the processes and benefits of wealth creation in which more affluent minorities are engaged.

Providing a highly significant example of a major national initiative to develop human capital, the Government of India (GOI) launched its District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in 1994 with support from the World Bank, the European Union, UNICEF and the UK and Netherlands governments.

> DPEP aimed to universalise access, increase enrolment, maintain attendance and raise achievement in primary education; to give particular attention to equalising opportunity and provision for disadvantaged groups [...] to maximise community involvement in education [...] to upgrade school buildings, to raise levels of school resources and equipment; to support teachers and schools with training, networking and resources centres; to strengthen and build capacity for planning, evaluation and management and to improve the quality of teaching itself.

(Alexander 2000: 98)

The models of pedagogy and pedagogical renewal enshrined in DPEP were not without their problems. In terms of quality, as subsequently defined and developed in the context of EFA, the DPEP model made relatively uncritical use of child-centred pedagogy allied, somewhat paradoxically, to school effectiveness research (Alexander 2001): Ramachandran (2003) argued that despite its explicit equity focus and considerable advances in this regard in many states and districts, access to primary schooling in rural areas continued to be a challenge for girls and children from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Despite some encouraging responses to the programme, the work of Aggarwal (2001) suggested that improvements were marked during the first few years of DPEP, but that student achievement levels were not sustained, that students from privately managed schools fared better than those in government schools, and that there was a long term concern over declining achievement in mathematics, which in turn had an adverse impact on secondary and senior secondary examination results (Aggarwal 2001).

DPEP has now been superseded by GOI's even more ambitious Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) programme, which aims to universalise elementary education for all children in the 6-14 age group, a task which covers over 190 million children in well over one million schools (Ministry of Human Resource Development 2002). At the same time, SSA retains DPEP's policy of positive discrimination in favour of girls, children with special needs and those from scheduled castes and tribes. The emphasis on equity is combined, as more generally in the international EFA context, with a concern to move beyond access and enrolment and address the imperative of educational quality, and to do so in a more rounded and rigorous way than in DPEP (Alexander 2007). SSA has also sustained the attention given in DPEP to securing a high level of local engagement and ownership of the reforms, especially where parents are concerned.

The concern for learning achievement, equity and learning outcomes

In terms of primary education, Ramachandran (2005) suggests that there remains a gap between rhetoric and reality. Census and sample data (National Family Health Survey, National Sample Survey Organisation cited in Ramachandran 2005) indicate progress in literacy levels and primary school enrolment during the 1990s. Government sources indicate the allocation of substantial funds to elementary education, and reiterate commitment to social equity in access to quality education (*ibid*). However, these statistics and commitments are not necessarily reflected in the reality of life in rural hamlets and urban slums (Ramachandran 2005). Ramachandran (2005) explains how in the district of Udaipur in Rajasthan there have been numerous innovative projects over the last fifteen years, yet nearly all social development indicators (relating to immunisation, child mortality, infant mortality and maternal mortality) are well below the state average. Additionally, primary schools in those districts do not function; the actual teaching time is as low as twenty-five minutes a day and two thirds of the girls attend night schools, which run for two to three hours in dim light. Women in these areas perceive schools as dysfunctional both for boys and girls. Ramachandran (2005) questions how many children will complete the primary cycle with the requisite skills. She also asks how much learning is actually happening when drop-out rates remain so high. For example, in Andhra Pradesh 96 per cent of children between the ages of 6 and 14 enrol in formal education, but the state drop-out rate is as high as 72 per cent between classes I and X. The rates may have changed since the figures cited by Ramachandran were collected, but the scale of the challenge undoubtedly persists.

In terms of the way forward for India, Ramachandran (2005), Aggarwal (2001), the PROBE team (PROBE 1999) and others have stressed the need to focus first and foremost on learning outcomes but to do so in a context which links equity with quality:

[…] access without quality is meaningless, and quality is the essence of equity. There is little point in pushing children into schools if we cannot simultaneously gear the system to ensure children acquire reading, writing and cognitive skills appropriate for each level of education. This necessitates […] changes in curriculum, classroom transactions, teacher training, classroom environment, teacher attitudes and school community linkages. Working on any of these, without addressing related issues does not lead to significant improvement in the learning outcomes of children.

(Ramachandran 2005: 172).

The case for providing educational opportunities beyond the primary phase

In line with this report's earlier discussion, Ramachandran argues that the goals of education in India need to extend beyond the primary years if children's prospects are to be significantly changed. Whilst the demand for education in India is high,

huge classes and inadequately trained teachers may mean that investment, enthusiasm, demand and a hugely dynamic economy still leave the majority of children barely literate and with no hope of continuing beyond the most elementary level to vocational or academic courses which might genuinely alter their future prospects

(Ramachandran 2005: 167).

Educational statistics for 2002-3 show that there was only one upper primary school for every three primary schools and only one high school for every five primary schools. In this respect, educational opportunities were limited beyond the primary phase. In response to this concern, Ramachandran (*ibid*) suggests that given that educational aspirations (especially from parents) have changed, the goals of education need also to change accordingly, with the development of post-primary education and training. It is an instrumental view of a changing world, with the overall goal being to address the whole system, rather than distinct phases of it:

Ordinary middle and high school is not enough. Given the changing scenario in the country – especially with respect to the educational aspirations of people – we have to think seriously about and plan for post-middle school and post-secondary education and training opportunities. [.....] Evidence from studies done in the last ten years clearly demonstrates that there is a tremendous demand in education – across the board and amongst all social groups. Wherever the government has ensured a well-functioning school within reach, enrolment has been high.

(Ramachandran 2005: 172).

The emphasis on learning outcomes beyond the primary phase is to place the value on education as a preparation for work. Ramachandran for example suggests multiple exit points from high school onwards, where children access a range of technical and vocational skills, and states that:

careful context-specific planning has to be based on rigorous exploration of employment or self employment opportunities and the natural resource base in the region. This is essential if we are to link education and training to productive work

(Ramachandran 2005: 172).

Furthermore this link with education and training is envisaged to be working with business and the development community, thereby highlighting the increasing role that the private sector may take.

It must be noted that since the publication of Ramachandran's critique, SSA has made substantial progress towards the goal of universalising basic education to age 14, as shown by the recent data on access, enrolment, equity and attainment (National Council of Education Research and Training 2006: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2007).

Private schooling in India

India has seen an expansion of the private sector in response to the increase in demand for education. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (which have low literacy rates) almost every village and hamlet possesses a 'teaching shop' (Ramachandran 2005 p.171). The demand for quality basic education and the perceived decline of the public educational system have led to parallel development of the increase in private and unaided schools (Anuradha *et al* 2001, Reddy 2004). Children whose parents can afford to send them to private tuition classes and those with literate parents (especially mothers) have been found to be the ones most able to read (Ramachandran 2005), illustrating the way in which a range of factors arising from socio-economic status may facilitate or impede successful primary schooling.

The specific configuration of such factors must be analysed for each country and this is not the place to do this for India, but the huge diversity in educational access and quality of provision is an important national phenomenon. School attendance varies across states and age groups in India. The 1998 National Family Health surveys found that attendance was 90 per cent higher in Himachel Pradesh and Kerala than in Bihar (cited in Ramachandran 2005: again, though more recent figures may show that the gap is closing the considerable regional disparities persist). Attendance declines further as children become older. This issue does not only apply to the backward, disadvantaged states, but is symptomatic of India generally. The issue of transition is therefore raised as a problem, especially for girls and especially in rural areas. The real problem is, however,

> that as we go down the social and economic pyramid, access and quality issues become far more pronounced in India. The vast numbers of the very poor in rural and urban India have to rely on Government schools of different types. The relatively better off in rural and urban India either access better endowed government schools or opt for private aided and unaided schools.
>
> (Ramachandran 2005 : 170).

Case study 2: China

Although one can legitimately query the accuracy of some of the official figures (Postiglione 2006), there is no doubt that the expansion of enrolment at all levels of education in China over the last twenty years or so has been a remarkable achievement. The quantitative aspirations within the 'quantity-quality' dilemma that had bedevilled Chinese educational policy-making for most of the twentieth century (Pepper 1996) had, in most of the country, been met by the early years of the twenty-first. By the late 1990s, therefore, attention began to be turned more fully to improving the quality of educational provision, and in 1998 the Ministry of Education announced an 'Action project for vitalising education for the 21st century'. The key component of this project in primary education was a major curriculum reform programme, designed to 'bring forth a new generation of high-calibre citizens, people who are competent enough to serve China's modernization drive' (Zhu, quoted in Wang 2005). The rhetoric here suggests this reform can be located within the wider post-Mao Chinese policies of opening up to the rest of the world and actively engaging with globalisation; but taking the longer view of Suzanne Pepper's (*op cit*) finely detailed study of 20th century educational reform in China, it can be seen as yet another twist in a protracted process of resolving multiple dilemmas within the Chinese context. Writing about higher education reforms in China, Mok (2005) has suggested that references to the demands of globalisation as a key reform rationale are at least partly a rhetorical device used by policy makers to justify actions designed to serve other, internally-driven ends, very much in line with Pepper's analysis. This argument might be extended to basic education reforms too but given the general opacity of the policy-making process in China, such an extension would be

difficult to defend and we must perhaps take the rhetoric at its face value. In that case, the reform described below may be seen as part of China's interpretation of the educational imperatives of globalisation.

The Primary Curriculum Reform Project

The Primary Curriculum Reform Project was launched in 2001 on a trial basis in 38 districts across the country but was rolled out rapidly thereafter so that by 2005 it was claimed that 95 per cent of grade one primary students were using the new curriculum (Wang 2005). The reform is much more than a change in the content of the curriculum but demands 'new teaching methods and new mind-sets, from teacher-centred (*yi jiao shi wei zhong xing*) to learner-centred (*yi xue xi zhe wei song xing*)' (Robinson 2006). Official statements express the need for 'competence-oriented education' to meet the needs of the modern world and criticise the earlier curriculum as being 'irrelevant to practical needs of society and meant for nothing but to prepare students for examinations' (Wang 2005), thereby continuing and yet seeking to end the long-running debate between reformers and traditionalists in Chinese education that Pepper (1996) documents.

The goals for the new mathematics curriculum provide an illustration of the overall orientation of the programme, with their reference to 'essential mathematical knowledge and necessary skills so that they will be prepared for future life development; students learn to apply mathematical thinking to everyday life […] develop their creativity, practical abilities […]' (Zhang undated). There is an emphasis on the reduction of content in favour of 'skills' and the solution of 'challenging and comprehensive problems with applications close to real life scenarios' (*ibid*). It is interesting to observe, however, that even officially approved documents acknowledge that this content reduction has its critics, who see it as a dumbing-down and hence a loss rather than a gain in quality (Wang 2005).

Post-imperial Chinese education has a long history of borrowing educational models – curricular, pedagogical and systemic – from elsewhere, usually in the name of 'modernisation' and usually with accompanying backlashes (Pepper 1996), and it would be easy to see these reforms as just another chapter in that history. This is an over-simplification, however, and it is just as important to note how the new curriculum retains important aspects of much older indigenous models. There remains, for example, an explicit emphasis on moral education, designed 'to strengthen patriotism, collectivism and the socialist ideal in order to assist students in the development of correct values, outlooks on life, and views of the world' (Huang 2004: 105). It remains to be seen, however, whether the ideals of the new curriculum will survive the almost inevitable backwash from the highly competitive national examinations for entry into senior high school and university, exacerbated by the existence of elite 'key' high schools and universities that are in themselves a product of a concern to promote educational quality, though on a much narrower front.

Economic development and inequity in education

A concern about quality represents only part of the current basic education agenda in China, however. Concurrently, and highlighted by the concern over quality, the issue of equity is receiving much attention, both in the policy rhetoric and in some interesting development projects. Rapidly growing economic disparity in post-reform China has been widely noted and, not surprisingly, this is being accompanied by widening gaps in educational access and provision. Although new forms of social stratification – notably the emergence of an urban middle class – are appearing and bringing with them new bases for social inequality, the fundamental sources of such inequality remain as they have been for centuries: urban-rural, east-west, majority Han/non-Han minorities are the key axes of economic and educational inequality. It is not surprising that, in a country of China's size and geographic complexity,

there are significant exceptions to these dichotomies, but it is a reasonably accurate generalisation to say that the minority peoples living in the rural areas of Western China are the most disadvantaged. These represent the last few percent of the population who have yet to have access to 'compulsory' basic education and among whom girls remain much less likely than boys to attend school and complete the basic cycle; but they are also those who are most likely to lack teachers, materials and other inputs that contribute to a 'quality' education (Postiglione 2006). One of this report's authors has himself experienced the vast discrepancies when visiting a primary school in Beijing that would be the envy of many in the UK, with multimedia classrooms, magnificent buildings and a vast array of teaching materials; then a short time later visiting a two-room school in a remote Yunnan valley, where the children only had teachers when young volunteers from other parts of the country could be persuaded to go there for a few weeks or months and, as a result, remained illiterate in their own first language.

A further element emerging in Chinese education that is almost certainly adding to growing inequalities - as in India - is private schooling. Historically the means of delivering almost all education, private schooling rapidly disappeared from China after 1949, only to re-emerge in the post-1978 reform era. Lin (1999) points out how this emergence has paralleled ongoing changes in the country's social class structure and attendant new educational demands. Weak legislative structures and administrative confusion in relation to private schools has presented difficulties for their establishment and probably reflect a certain official ambiguity towards them. There is undoubtedly some concern over the emergence of elite private schools and their implications for equity (*ibid*) but, given the growing economic and political significance of the new urban middle classes in China, their further expansion is almost inevitable.

There does appear to be a genuine concern in the government to address educational inequalities, although it is impossible to know from whence this concern arises: social justice, social cohesion and control, or more efficient human capital development. Thus, for example, the government has tried to increase the flow of qualified teachers to western areas by waiving university fees for those who train at 'normal' (teacher training) universities if they agree to seven years service in the poorest western areas. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this scheme is meeting with very limited success. Hannum (2003) also points out that policies of decentralisation that have been a core component of reform in education and other spheres, and particularly the demand for greater local mobilisation of funds for education, have contributed significantly to the growing disparity.

Addressing equity: the Gansu Basic Education Project

More positively, the Gansu Basic Education Project (GBEP) is a major intervention which brings together various educational policy strands in an interesting approach to educational development in remote and disadvantaged communities (Robinson 2006). GBEP is a multi-component project but with two pivotal aspects, School Development Planning and Participatory Approaches to Teaching, that define its shift of the emphasis in basic education towards a 'bottom up' approach that ultimately focuses on meeting the learning needs of the individual child (GBEP 2007). Important aspects in the project design include teacher training and up-grading; a variety of access improvement strategies such as the provision of scholarships, posting of female teachers to remote areas, feeding programmes and the development of child friendly campuses; the development of locally relevant materials for teacher and manager training and for classroom use.

A significant feature of the project is the considerable use it makes of ICT. To make use of an existing national infrastructure of satellite communications and educational television, resource centres were set up in 686 township central schools and in county-level in-service

teacher training institutions. These are equipped with satellite dishes and a range of electronic hardware, including computers, printer, CD-player and re-writer, data storage items, television, digital camera and computer modem, plus a range of software. Not all of these centres have internet access but connectivity is rapidly increasing. The centres are used for teacher professional development activities but also for the production of print and video materials by local teams, to be relevant to local conditions and learning needs (Robinson 2006).

An unusual component of the programme has been the designing and provision of 'Children's Schools', which start by asking: 'What is a child's school? What does a school look like that a child rather than an adult would design? What should a school be like when the child is placed at the centre of the picture?'(Smawfield and Du 2006). Important aspects of this design process include the provision, design and use of furniture to support participatory teaching methods and co-operative learning; the consideration of school and classroom displays; and the creation of a 'happy campus' by means such as the provision of sports and play space and facilities and the general improvement of the appearance and functionality of school grounds, often with active community involvement.

A recent account of the progress of GPEP identifies changes in *relationships* - between the school and local authorities, between school and community and between teachers and pupils - as the project's greatest achievements to date (GPEP 2007). The last of these is perhaps most important in terms of identifying and then being able to meet the diverse needs of learners in a truly inclusive education that addresses the issue of equity at its most fundamental level.

Conclusion

This brief survey and its case studies of major educational interventions in two countries very different from England have identified some of the changes occurring in the last decade that have influenced the current priorities and place of primary education within the context of globalisation. There have been several drivers associated with the globalisation process, notably the development of technology and ideas about the knowledge economy. These, together with the influence of multilateral agencies on national education systems, have had implications for the role of education in general, and the place of primary education in particular. Existing trends suggest that the duration of compulsory schooling must be extended in all countries beyond the primary stage if it is to bring about social and economic development to individuals and societies. But there is a cost of expansion.

Many countries face constraints in meeting the cost of expanding educational opportunities. Systemic expansion entails a proportional increase in resources, but many governments are unable to cope with the higher costs (UNESCO/OECD 2002). Middle income countries have largely met the goal of universal primary education and now aim to widen access and improve secondary and tertiary levels of education. However, there are constraints in generating funds to meet the high cost of post-compulsory education. A further problem is that the national context may be one of considerable social and economic inequality, and inequalities in post-compulsory education may re-enforce social inequalities. It is therefore important that policies aiming to increase participation in education also share out the costs and benefits at all levels of education. Herein lie notions of equity – in terms of who is to cover the costs and who is to benefit. The case studies of India and China reflect this increasing concern with equity.

As more countries move towards knowledge-based economies, there will be an increase in the importance of human capital (UNESCO/OECD 2002). The implication for attaining UPE

then, is that primary schooling can no longer usefully be considered in isolation, as a 'complete' educational experience in itself, but must be addressed on a continuum with other levels in education. On the whole, many non-OECD countries have achieved progress in raising access to and participation in education over the past generation (UNESCO/OECD 2002). The translation of increased access to school into increased availability of human capital depends on participation in further and higher levels of education (*ibid*). However, despite progress, more needs to be done in non-OECD countries, in order to attain the educational levels found in most OECD countries.

In a number of non-OECD countries, the issue of sharing costs among those that participate in the education system and society as a whole is currently being discussed (UNESCO/OECD 2002). The issue is relevant to the expansion of education at both ends of the spectrum – that is, pre-primary and beyond compulsory schooling, where public expenditure is less common than at other levels. The challenge will be to design policies that allow the new clients participating in education to share costs and benefits. Additionally, as the role of private sector funding increases, care needs to be taken that it does not create barriers for potential learners by denying access to opportunities.

Equity is clearly one of the dominant emergent issues in education worldwide, its significance highlighted by tendencies towards increased inequality within globalisation. But equity in education is no longer being interpreted in purely quantitative terms as in the past, in terms of the numbers of children from diverse backgrounds attending and completing school. Certainly, and sadly, these enrolment and retention issues remain a concern in far too many countries, but there is also emerging view of equity in more qualitative terms, to be judged by the quality of the educational experience provided. The foundations of equity remain in the need to ensure that all children do receive an education, but now also there is a concern that this education will be of the highest possible quality for all. Inevitably, 'educational quality' will become a contested issue, with broad lines of division being between an instrumentalist, purely human capital view of the role of education and an alternative position rooted in a more humanistic tradition. The examples of India and China presented here, though only brief snapshots, do suggest that any analysis of educational quality must retain sensitivity to contemporary and historical contextual differences; and this in an era when globalisation may be presented as an homogenising experience for all. We suggest that at heart educational quality means meeting learners' diverse needs and opening rather than foreclosing opportunity to develop as individuals and as valuable members of local and global society.

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APPENDIX 1

THE PRIMARY REVIEW PERSPECTIVES, THEMES AND SUB THEMES

The Primary Review's enquiries are framed by three broad perspectives, the third of which, primary education, breaks down into ten themes and 23 sub-themes. Each of the latter then generates a number of questions. The full framework of review perspectives, themes and questions is at www.primaryreview.org.uk

The Review Perspectives

P1   Children and childhood
P2   Culture, society and the global context
P3   Primary education

The Review Themes and Sub-themes

T1   Purposes and values
     T1a   Values, beliefs and principles
     T1b   Aims

T2   Learning and teaching
     T2a   Children's development and learning
     T2b   Teaching

T3   Curriculum and assessment
     T3a   Curriculum
     T3b   Assessment

T4   Quality and standards
     T4a   Standards
     T4b   Quality assurance and inspection

T5   Diversity and inclusion
     T5a   Culture, gender, race, faith
     T5b   Special educational needs

T6   Settings and professionals
     T6a   Buildings and resources
     T6b   Teacher supply, training, deployment & development
     T6c   Other professionals
     T6d   School organisation, management & leadership
     T6e   School culture and ethos

T7   Parenting, caring and educating
     T7a   Parents and carers
     T7b   Home and school

T8   Beyond the school
     T8a   Children's lives beyond the school
     T8b   Schools and other agencies

T9   Structures and phases
     T9a   Within-school structures, stages, classes & groups
     T9b   System-level structures, phases & transitions

T10   Funding and governance
     T10a   Funding
     T10b   Governance

APPENDIX 2

THE EVIDENTIAL BASIS OF THE PRIMARY REVIEW

The Review has four evidential strands. These seek to balance opinion seeking with empirical data; non-interactive expressions of opinion with face-to-face discussion; official data with independent research; and material from England with that from other parts of the UK and from international sources. This enquiry, unlike some of its predecessors, looks outwards from primary schools to the wider society, and makes full though judicious use of international data and ideas from other countries.

Submissions

Following the convention in enquiries of this kind, submissions have been invited from all who wish to contribute. By June 2007, nearly 550 submissions had been received and more were arriving daily. The submissions range from brief single-issue expressions of opinion to substantial documents covering several or all of the themes and comprising both detailed evidence and recommendations for the future. A report on the submissions will be published in late 2007.

Soundings

This strand has two parts. The *Community Soundings* are a series of nine regionally based one to two day events, each comprising a sequence of meetings with representatives from schools and the communities they serve. The Community Soundings took place between January and March 2007, and entailed 87 witness sessions with groups of pupils, parents, governors, teachers, teaching assistants and heads, and with educational and community representatives from the areas in which the soundings took place. In all, there were over 700 witnesses. The *National Soundings* are a programme of more formal meetings with national organisations both inside and outside education. National Soundings A are for representatives of non-statutory national organisations, and they focus on educational policy. National Soundings B are for outstanding school practitioners; they focus on school and classroom practice. National Soundings C are variably-structured meetings with statutory and other bodies. National Soundings A and B will take place between January and March 2008. National Soundings C are outlined at 'other meetings' below.

Surveys

30 surveys of published research relating to the Review's ten themes have been commissioned from 70 academic consultants in universities in Britain and other countries. The surveys relate closely to the ten Review themes and the complete list appears in Appendix 3. Taken together, they will provide the most comprehensive review of research relating to primary education yet undertaken. They are being published in thematic groups from October 2007 onwards.

Searches

With the co-operation of DfES/DCSF, QCA, Ofsted, TDA and OECD, the Review is re-assessing a range of official data bearing on the primary phase. This will provide the necessary demographic, financial and statistical background to the Review and an important resource for its later consideration of policy options.

Other meetings (now designated National Soundings C)

In addition to the formal evidence-gathering procedures, the Review team meets members of various national bodies for the exchange of information and ideas: government and opposition representatives; officials at DfES/DCSF, QCA, Ofsted, TDA, GTC, NCSL and IRU; representatives of the teaching unions; and umbrella groups representing organisations involved in early years, primary education and teacher education. The first of three sessions with the House of Commons Education and Skills Committee took place in March 2007. Following the replacment of DfES by two separate departments, DCSF and DIUS, it is anticipated that there will be further meetings with this committee's successor.

APPENDIX 3

THE PRIMARY REVIEW INTERIM REPORTS

The interim reports, which are being released in stages from October 2007, include the 30 research surveys commissioned from external consultants together with reports on the Review's two main consultation exercises: the community soundings (87 witness sessions with teachers, heads, parents, children and a wide range of community representatives, held in different parts of the country during 2007) and the submissions received from large numbers of organisations and individuals in response to the invitation issued when the Review was launched in October 2006.

The list below starts with the community soundings and submissions reports written by the Review team. Then follow the 30 research surveys commissioned from the Review's consultants. They are arranged by Review theme, not by the order of their publication. Report titles may be subject to minor amendment.

Once published, each interim report, together with a briefing summarising its findings, may be downloaded from the Review website, www.primaryreview.org.uk .

REPORTS ON PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

1. *Community soundings: the Primary Review regional witness sessions* (Robin Alexander and Linda Hargreaves)

2. *Submissions received by the Primary Review*

PURPOSES AND VALUES

3. *Aims as policy in English primary education*. Research survey 1/1 (John White)

4. *Aims and values in primary education: England and other countries*. Research survey 1/2 (Maha Shuayb and Sharon O'Donnell)

5. *Aims for primary education: the changing national context*. Research survey 1/3 (Stephen Machin and Sandra McNally)

6. *Aims for primary education: changing global contexts.* Research survey 1/4 (Hugh Lauder, John Lowe and Rita Chawla-Duggan)

LEARNING AND TEACHING

7. *Children's cognitive development and learning*. Research survey 2/1a (Usha Goswami and Peter Bryant)

8. *Children's social development, peer interaction and classroom*. Research survey 2/1b (Christine Howe and Neil Mercer)

9. *Teaching in primary schools*. Research survey 2/2 (Robin Alexander and Maurice Galton)

10. *Learning and teaching in primary schools: the curriculum dimension*. Research survey 2/3 (Bob McCormick and Bob Moon)

11. *Learning and teaching in primary schools: evidence from TLRP*. Research survey 2/4 (Mary James and Andrew Pollard)

CURRICULUM AND ASSESSMENT

12. *Curriculum and assessment policy: England and other countries*. Research survey 3/1 (Kathy Hall and Kamil Özerk)

13. *The trajectory and impact of national curriculum and assessment reform*. Research survey 3/2 (Harry Torrance, Dominic Wyse, Elaine McCreery and Russell Jones)

14. *Curriculum alternatives for primary education.* Research survey 3/3 (James Conroy, Moira Hulme and Ian Menter)

15. *Assessment alternatives for primary education*. Research survey 3/4 (Wynne Harlen)

QUALITY AND STANDARDS

16. *Standards and quality in English primary schools over time: the national evidence*. Research survey 4/1 (Peter Tymms and Christine Merrell)

17. *Standards in English primary education: the international evidence*. Research survey 4/2 (Chris Whetton, Graham Ruddock and Liz Twist)

18. *Quality assurance in English primary education*. Research survey 4/1 (Peter Cunningham and Philip Raymont)

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

19. *Children in primary education: demography, culture, diversity and inclusion*. Research survey 5/1 (Mel Ainscow, Jean Conteh, Alan Dyson and Frances Gallanaugh)

20. *Learning needs and difficulties among children of primary school age: definition, identification, provision and issues*. Research survey 5/2 (Harry Daniels and Jill Porter)

21. *Children and their primary schools: pupils' voices*. Research survey 5/3 (Carol Robinson and Michael Fielding)

SETTINGS AND PROFESSIONALS

22. *Primary education: the physical environment*. Research survey 6/1 (Karl Wall, Julie Dockrell and Nick Peacey)

23. *Primary education: the professional environment*. Research survey 6/2 (Ian Stronach, Andy Pickard and Elizabeth Jones)

24. *Teachers and other professionals: training, induction and development*. Research survey 6/3 (Olwen McNamara, Rosemary Webb and Mark Brundrett)

25. *Teachers and other professionals: workforce management and reform*. Research survey 6/4 (Hilary Burgess)

PARENTING, CARING AND EDUCATING

26. *Parenting, caring and educating*. Research survey 7/1 (Yolande Muschamp, Felicity Wikeley, Tess Ridge and Maria Balarin)

BEYOND THE SCHOOL

27. *Children's lives outside school and their educational impact*. Research survey 8/1 (Berry Mayall)

28. *Primary schools and other agencies*. Research survey 8/2 (Ian Barron, Rachel Holmes, Maggie MacLure and Katherine Runswick-Cole)

STRUCTURES AND PHASES

29. *The structure and phasing of primary education: England and other countries*. Research survey 9/1 (Anna Eames and Caroline Sharp)

30. *Organising learning and teaching in primary schools: structure, grouping and transition*. Research survey 9/2 (Peter Blatchford, Judith Ireson, Susan Hallam, Peter Kutnick and Andrea Creech)

FUNDING AND GOVERNANCE

31. *The financing of primary education.* Research survey 10/1 (Philip Noden and Anne West)

32. *The governance, administration and control of primary education*. Research survey 10/2 (Maria Balarin and Hugh Lauder).

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