

# Universal Basic and Secondary Education

**Joel E. Cohen**      Rockefeller University and Columbia University, USA  
**David E. Bloom**     Harvard University, USA

Caldwell observes: "Problems commonly described as 'environmental' are therefore often 'human behavioral.' For example, our assumptions and assessments regarding environmental disasters commonly misconstrue their causes, externalizing them in nature rather than internalizing them in misguided intentions and unrealistic expectations" (1999:8).

Caldwell's proposed responses to his environmental concerns are four: evaluation of major social-environmental trends, universalizing an ethic of environmental stewardship and sustainability, persuasion through communication, and leadership in the formulation and explication of public

policy. Caldwell quotes Kagan (1991:169): "Any successful society must be an educational institution."

We offer a hypothesis: educating well all of the world's children from the age of 6 through 16 would promote all four of the responses Caldwell proposes, would go a long way toward reducing or ameliorating the driving forces of the environmental situation that Caldwell identifies, and would have many other private and social benefits as well.

As of 1995, about 1.25 billion children in the world were aged 6 to 16 years old, inclusive (United Nations, 1998). Of this "school-age population," about 175 million lived in the more-developed countries (Northern America, Japan, Europe, Australia and New Zealand). About 1.07 billion lived in the less-developed regions (all of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, and Asia excluding Japan). Of those school-age children in the less-developed countries, about 164 million lived in the 48 least-developed countries as defined in 1998 by the United Nations General Assembly. According to the medium projection of United Nations Population Division (1998), the school-age population will not change much in total size in the next half-century but will shift dramatically between regions. The school-age population in the more-developed countries is expected to drop by 24% between 1995 and 2050, while the school-age population in the least-developed countries is expected to increase by 71% between 1995 and 2030 (see Figure 1).

It is difficult to estimate how many school-age children are being educated well, whether in a formal school or otherwise. Summary statistics on primary school enrollment are available (Williams, 1997:122), but enrollment is an unreliable surrogate for the number of children who are receiving an education of high quality. Late in the twentieth century, about three-quarters of the children eligible to attend primary schools in developing countries did so. The 130 million children who were out of school were disproportionately girls, and were mainly illiterate (Colclough and Lewin, 1993). A much smaller fraction of secondary school-age students are enrolled in school or receiving other education.

Educating all children well from age 6 to 16 would:

- increase the children's eventual productivity as workers;
- increase local capacities to use available technology and to develop technology appropriate for local circumstances;

---

**Joel E. Cohen** is Abby Rockefeller Mauzé Professor of Populations at the Rockefeller University, 1230 York Avenue, Box 20, New York, NY 10021-6399, USA (E-mail: cohen@rockefeller.edu), and Professor of Populations at Columbia University, New York. His research deals with the demography, ecology, epidemiology, and social organization of human and nonhuman populations and with mathematical concepts useful in these fields. He received doctorates in applied mathematics in 1970 and population sciences and tropical public health in 1973 from Harvard University. Dr. Cohen won the Tyler Prize for Environmental Achievement in 1999. In 1997, he was the first winner of the Olivia Schieffelin Nordberg Prize "for excellence in writing in the population sciences" for his 1995 book, *How Many People Can the Earth Support?* He received prizes from the Ecological Society of America (1972), the Population Association of America (1992), and the Pan American Health and Education Foundation (1998). Dr. Cohen was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1989, the American Philosophical Society in 1994, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1997, and the Board of Governors of The Nature Conservancy in 2000.

**David E. Bloom** is Professor of Population and Health Economics, Department of Population and International Health, Building I, Room 1110B, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston MA 02115, USA (E-mail: dbloom@hsph.harvard.edu). He received a Ph.D. in 1981 from Princeton University. He received an Alfred P. Sloan Research Fellowship, the Galbraith Award for quality teaching in economics, a Fulbright Scholarship in India, and a scholar-in-residence appointment at the Russell Sage Foundation, 1989-1990. His current research includes labor economics, health, demography, and the environment. He has written extensively on the linkages between health status and economic growth; the effects of population change on economic development; the determinants of wages, fringe benefits, and total family income; the adjudication of labor disputes; the measurement of discrimination; the emerging world labor market; the effects of rapid population growth; the economics of municipal solid waste; the sociology and economics of marriage and fertility; and the global spread and economic impacts of HIV and AIDS.

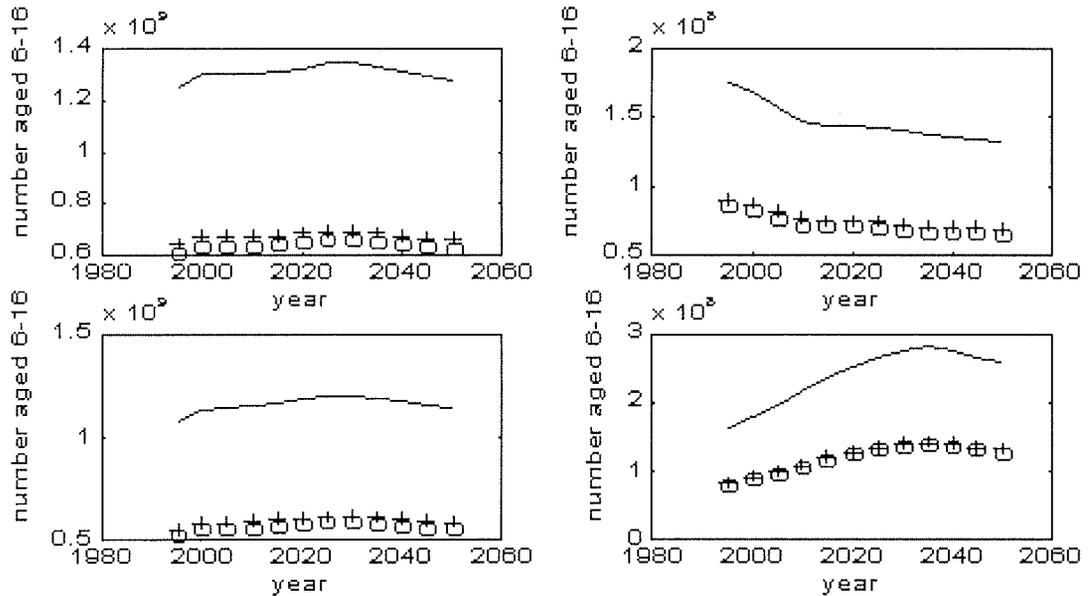


Figure 1. Anticipated Numbers of School-Age Children Worldwide (upper left), in More-Developed Countries (upper right), in Less-Developed Countries (lower left), and in Least-Developed Countries (lower right)

Note: Solid curve, both sexes; +, males; o, females. Original figure, based on medium projection of United Nations Population Division (1998).

- improve understanding of nutrition and disease prevention at home, thereby improving family health and child-rearing;
- reduce inequities between males and females;
- link everyone more closely to local and world cultures;
- strengthen the capacity of citizens to demand and deliver effective governance; and
- provide a crucial reserve of flexibility for a populace faced with unforeseeable contingencies.

In addition, increased education is strongly linked to slower population growth through several mechanisms, including: later marriage and later age at first birth, higher income and a greater value of parental time, greater use of family planning services, greater parental desire to invest time and money in the children they have, increased infant and child survival rates, and increased access for women to roles other than child-rearing.

Previous efforts to promote education for all (Coleclough and Lewin, 1993) include notably the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, under the leadership of UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF, the World Bank and 15 other international and bilateral assistance organizations (UNESCO, 1996; UNICEF, 1998). The World Bank (1995) has published its priorities for education. Several scholars have also envisioned broadening the reach of education (Miller, 1988; Cummings and McGinn, 1997; Delors et al., 1996; Husen, 1997; Dalin et al., 1994; Hallak, 1990; Coombs, 1985). None of these reports takes on the linkage of basic and secondary education with other parts of the education system and with other sectors, and a balanced consideration of all modalities of education (in addition to

the classical schoolroom). There is ample room for further inquiry and discussion.

Instead of assuming that education for all children age 6 to 16 is self-evidently the highest priority, the goal of universal education of high quality for all children aged 6 to 16 should be examined as one of a number of competing and complementary ways of improving human well-being. Fresh perspectives are needed from economists, developmental psychologists, demographers, statisticians, historians, cultural anthropologists, public health workers, and appropriate others without extensive prior involvement in education as a subject.

A global plan of action to ensure an education of high quality for every child from age 6 to 16 should be based on scholarly studies of policy options and strategies of implementation. Studies should address the following topics:

- Basic facts concerning school enrollment and other educational activities, educational attainment, and educational needs among 6- to 16-year-olds; sources and quality of basic statistical data, patterns, trends, and costs, by region, subregion, time period, and for countries at different stages of development.
- Intellectual history (both Western and non-Western) of the idea of universal basic and secondary education (UBASE); comparative anthropology of how other cultures prepare youth for adulthood; varying motivations (if any) for UBASE in different regions of the world; areas or issues of controversy.
- History of policies, legislation, and programs related to UBASE in various countries, international agencies, and donors such as foundations and nongovernmental

organizations (NGOs). By what processes have policy options been formulated, legislatively or otherwise? How have educational priorities been established, both within the field of education and in relation to larger issues of demographic change and economic, social, environmental, and cultural development?

- Projected consequences from 2025 to 2050 of achieving UBASE, including political, social, demographic, health, environmental, and economic aspects. How might expenditures required to fund UBASE complement or compete with other social goals, especially health?
- Links between education and demographic change. What evidence links primary and secondary education to demographic change? By what specific mechanisms does increased education slow rates of population growth? For each mechanism through which education affects demographic outcomes, how much and what type of education is needed to cause a given degree of change?
- Curricular issues (goals of education). How is “a quality education” to be defined, and by whom? What knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors should be expected from 11 years of education? What, if anything, will be included beyond the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic?
- Pedagogical issues (teachers and other means of education). Who becomes a teacher? How are teachers trained before and while teaching? How could training be evaluated and improved? How are teachers developed while they are teaching? How are teachers placed in schools? What other factors affect the educational effectiveness of teachers, and with what costs and benefits?
- Monitoring and assessing progress, and evaluating cognitive development and other educational outcomes; examining linkages between UBASE and other aspects of social and economic development; randomized experiments and operations research on the effectiveness of educational systems.
- Obstacles to the achievement of high quality in UBASE, including factors related to financing, politics, tradition, technology of education, and corruption. What are the positive and negative educational roles of traditional religions and cultures? What are the intellectual property constraints on the availability of materials? What are the opportunity costs of educating children for the children themselves, their households, and their communities?
- Comparative approach to changing large, complex systems. What can be learned, for the benefit of educational programs, from national and international efforts to extend and improve other large-scale systems, including agriculture, medical care, public health, defense, information infrastructure, traffic, trade, credit, irrigation and electrification?
- Preconditions, necessary conditions, and complementarities. Which is it most important to eliminate, educational deficiencies, poverty, or ill health? Or must at least two or all three be eliminated simultaneously? What

are the prerequisites for UBASE in health, nutrition, and infrastructure? How should implementation of UBASE be sequenced (country by country, region by region, or globally; all grades or age groups at once versus in sequence)?

- Costs, actual and projected, broken down by country or region, and expenditure category (teacher training, salaries, infrastructure, materials, administration). How do expected cost patterns vary by stage of development and by existing educational infrastructure? How important are opportunity costs of education for children and families in poor countries, and how can these costs best be reduced?
- Financing. Local versus international sources, public versus private, short-term versus long-term. What financing strategies make the most sense, given the enormous implications of reallocating resources towards UBASE within countries? What role could businesses play in mobilizing support and money for UBASE?
- Impacts of major trends. How would support for UBASE and the impact of UBASE be affected by trends such as rapid population growth in the developing world; increased numbers of elderly people; increasing urbanization; decreased family stability; increasing contact of different cultures; improvements in the status of women; and many others?
- Implementation and the generation of political will, including the roles of government, business, and NGOs: public versus private, and centralized versus decentralized provision of educational services, including education in nonconventional locations and through institutions other than schools; voucher systems versus direct public education.

A factually based strategy for educating well all the world’s children from the age of 6 to 16 could be a valuable step toward addressing Caldwell’s environmental concerns.

## Acknowledgments

Previous drafts of this commentary benefited from the comments of Robert M. Adams, Kate Auspitz, Jorge Balán, Francis Bator, Harvey Brooks, Howard Gardner, Nathan Glazer, Edward Glynn, William T. Golden, Patricia Graham, Emily Hannum, Linda D. Harrar, Suzanne Grant Lewis, John Holdren, Gary R. Johnson, Heather Joshi, Jerome Kagan, Carl Kaysen, Nathan Keyfitz, Jennifer Leaning, Robert A. LeVine, Noel McGinn, Joyce Moock, Anthony G. Oettinger, Rakesh Rajani, Larry Rosenberg, Henry Rosovsky, Jeffrey Sachs, Corinne Schelling, Bruce Scott, Adele Simmons, Neil J. Smelser, Steven Sinding, Raymond Vernon, and Paul S. Zuckerman.

## References

- Caldwell, L.K. (1999). “Is Humanity Destined to Self-Destruct?” *Politics and the Life Sciences* 18:3-14.
- Colclough, C. and K. Lewin (1993). *Educating all the Children: Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South*. New York: Clarendon Press.
- Coombs, P. (1985). *The World Crisis in Education: The View from the Eighties*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Cummings, W. and N.F. McGinn, eds. (1997). *International Handbook of Education and Development: Preparing Schools, Students, and Nations for the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Pergamon.
- Dalin, P. et al. (1994). *How Schools Improve: an International Report*. London: Cassell.
- Delors, J. et al. (1996). *Learning, the Treasure Within: Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Hallak, J. (1990). *Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
- Husen, T. (1997). "An Agenda for the Education of World Citizens," *Prospects* 27(2):201-205.
- Kagan, D. (1991). *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Free Press.
- Miller, G. (1988). "The Challenge of Universal Literacy." *Science* 241:1293-1299.
- UNESCO (1996). "Introduction to the Final Report of the Mid-Decade Meeting on Education for All."
- UNICEF (1998). *Education for All? The MONEE Project, CEE/CIS/Baltics*. Regional Monitoring Report No. 5. Florence, Italy: United Nations Children's Fund International Child Development Center.
- United Nations Population Division (1998). *World Population Estimates and Projections, The 1998 Revision*. Datasets on diskettes. New York: United Nations.
- Williams, J.H. (1997), "The Diffusion of the Modern School", in Cummings and McGinn, *International handbook*: 119-136.
- World Bank (1995). *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1995.

# POLITICS AND THE LIFE SCIENCES

SEPTEMBER 1999

CONTENTS

VOLUME 18, NUMBER 2

ISSN: 0730-9384

## ARTICLES

Male Age Composition and Severity of Conflicts  
*Christian G. Mesquida and Neil I. Wiener* ..... 181

The Kankakee Wetlands: A Case Study in Ethics  
and Public Policy  
*Sarah E. Roberts* ..... 191

## SYMPOSIUM: IS HUMANITY DESTINED TO SELF-DESTRUCT?

Protecting Humanity's Future: Threat, Response, and  
Debate  
*Gary Bryner* ..... 201

Show or Schau?  
*Heiner Benking* ..... 203

Is Humanity Destined?  
*Herman E. Daly* ..... 206

Pluralism and the Complexity of Knowledge  
*Bruna De Marchi* ..... 208

Social Choices for Sustainability: A Question of  
Equity and Justice  
*Lorraine Elliott* ..... 210

Universal Basic and Secondary Education  
*Joel E. Cohen and David E. Bloom* ..... 213

Only Politics Can Save Us  
*Gerard Fairtlough* ..... 216

Sustainability, the New Challenge of Governance,  
and Post-Normal Science  
*Mario Giampietro* ..... 218

Humanity's Survival is a Matter of Environmental  
Common Sense  
*Max Falque* ..... 222

Is the Third World Destined To Be the First One?  
*Renato Guimaraes, Jr.* ..... 223

The Persistence of the Species  
*Garrett Hardin* ..... 225

Back to Basics in Environmental Politics  
*Sheila Jasanoff* ..... 227

Toward a Self-Critical Environmentalism  
*Martin W. Lewis* ..... 229

Human Race at Crossroads  
*T. N. Khoshoo* ..... 232

Can Humanity Avoid Self-Destruction?  
*Mohamed Kassas* ..... 235

## SYMPOSIUM: IS HUMANITY DESTINED TO SELF- DESTRUCT? (cont'd)

An Issue We Ignore at Our Peril  
*Kai N. Lee* ..... 237

Democracy and the Integrity of Commons  
*Lennart J. Lundquist* ..... 239

Paradoxes of Progress: How Can Humanity Improve  
Environmental Thinking and Environmental Action?  
*Giridhari Lal Pandit* ..... 241

Causes of Troubles in the Struggle for Existence  
*Tatu Vanhanen* ..... 242

Integrative Science as Adaptive Device in  
Environmental Crisis: A Perspective from Ecology  
*Carlos Martin-Cantarino* ..... 244

Is Humanity Destined to Self-Destruct? Our  
Predicament: We Can't Know Enough to Know  
*Donald N. Michael* ..... 247

Will Malnutrition and Diseases Limit Human  
Numbers?  
*David Pimentel and Marcia Pimentel* ..... 251

Is There a Common Humanity?  
*Yvonne Rydin* ..... 253

Cancer-Risk Models and Statistical Casualties:  
Caldwell and the Need for Public-Interest Science  
*Kristin Shrader-Frechette* ..... 255

Learning the Lesson of Interdependence  
*Leslie Paul Thiele* ..... 257

Outliers and Advocates: Glimmers of Hope for the  
New Millennium?  
*S. Holly Stocking* ..... 261

Environmental Politics at Thirty: Caldwell,  
Churchill, and an Unruly World  
*Geoffrey Wandesforde-Smith* ..... 263

The Hare and the Tortoise: Dead in the Heat? Cross-  
National Differences and Knowledge Gaps in  
Environmental Policy  
*Nicholas Watts* ..... 266

## Response

Perspectives on the Self-Destructive Tendencies of  
Humanity: A Symposium Response  
*Lynton Keith Caldwell* ..... 269