

Joseph Zajda *Editor*

Second International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research

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*To Dorothy, Rea, Nikolai, Sophie
and Belinda*

Foreword

A major aim of this book is to present a global overview of developments in education and policy change during the last decade. By examining some of the major education policy issues, particularly in the light of recent shifts in education and policy research, the editors aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education and policy-driven reforms.

The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all. More than ever before, there is a need to understand and analyse both the intended and the unintended effects of globalisation on economic competitiveness, educational systems, the state and relevant policy changes – all as they affect individuals, educational bodies (such as universities), policy-makers and powerful corporate organisations across the globe. The evolving and constantly changing notions of national identity, language, border politics and citizenship which are relevant to education policy need to be critiqued by appeal to context-specific factors such as local-regional-national areas, which sit uncomfortably at times with the international imperatives of globalisation. Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing world where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty, and loss of flexibility; yet globalisation exposes us also to opportunities generated by a fast changing world economy.

In this stimulating book, the authors focus on the issues and dilemmas that help us to understand in a more meaningful and practical way the various links between education, policy-change and globalisation. Such include:

- The significance of the politics of globalisation and development in education policy – their effects on cross-cultural perceptions of citizenship, the nation-state, national identity, linguistic diversity, multiculturalism and pluralist democracy
- The influence of identity politics, gender, race, ethnicity, religion and class politics on education policy research and reforms
- The significance of discourse which defines and shapes education policy, reforms and action

- The essential ambivalence of the nexus between education, democracy and globalisation
- The special challenges of global ‘appearances’
- The encroaching homogeneity of global culture, which has the potential to reduce adaptability and flexibility
- The fit of the rapidity of change through globalisation with expected outcomes
- The purposes of globalisation considered against the emergence of a fragile sense of community identity
- The multi-dimensional nature of globalisation and educational reforms

The perception of education policy research and globalisation as dynamic and multi-faceted processes clearly necessitates a multiple-perspective approach in the study of education, and this book provides that perspective commendably. In the book, the authors, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt insightfully to provide a worldview of significant developments in education and policy research. They report on education policy and reforms in such countries as USA, China, Nigeria, Canada, UK, Israel, Australia and elsewhere. Understanding the interaction between education and globalisation forces us to learn more about the similarities and differences in education policy research and associated reforms in the local-regional-national context, as well as the global one. This inevitably results in a deeper understanding and analysis of the globalisation and education *Zeitgeist*.

Clearly, the emerging phenomena associated with globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (e.g., SAPs) have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all. When the poor are unable to feed their children, what expectations can we have that the children will attend school? The provision of proper education in a global world seems at risk. This is particularly so in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia, Central Asian Republics (former member states of the USSR), South East Asia, and elsewhere, where children (and girls in particular, as in the case of Afghanistan, Tajikistan and rural India) are forced to stay at home to help and work for their parents; they cannot attend school. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisations, shape and influence education and policy, and deny the access of the less privileged to the assumed advantages of an expanding global society. One might well ask what are the corporate organisations doing to enhance intercultural sensitivity, flexibility and mutual understanding, and are those excluded by the demise of democratic processes able to work together for the common good?

It has also been argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their capacity to tangibly control or affect their future directions. Their struggle for knowledge domination, production

and dissemination becomes a new form of knowledge, occurring as it does amidst Wilson's 'white heat of technological change'.

The Editors provide a coherent strategic education policy statement on recent shifts in education and policy research and offer new approaches to further exploration, development and improvement of education and policy-making on the global stage. In the different chapters, they attempt to address some of the issues and problems confronting educators and policy-makers globally. The book contributes in a scholarly way, to a more holistic understanding of the education policy and research nexus, and it offers us practical strategies for effective and pragmatic policy planning and implementation at the local, regional and national levels.

The book is rigorous, thorough and scholarly. I believe it is likely to have profound and wide-ranging implications for the future of education policy and reforms globally, in the conception, planning and educational outcomes of 'communities of learning'. The community-of-learning metaphor reflects the knowledge society, and offers us a worthy insight into the way individuals and formal organisations acquire the necessary wisdom, values and skills in order to adapt and respond to change in these turbulent and conflict-ridden times. The authors thoughtfully explore the complex nexus between globalisation, democracy and education – where, on the one hand democratisation and progressive education is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand globalisation is perceived (by some critics at least) to be a totalising force that is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, and bringing domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations. The authors further compel us to explore critically the new challenges confronting the world in the provision of authentic democracy, social justice and cross-cultural values that promote more positive ways of thinking.

In this volume, the editors and authors jointly recognise the need for genuine and profound changes in education and society. They argue for education policy goals and challenges confronting the global village, which I think are critically important. Drawing extensively and in depth on educational systems, reforms and policy analysis, both the authors and editors of this book focus our attention on the crucial issues and policy decisions that must be addressed if genuine learning, characterised by wisdom, compassion and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than rhetoric.

I commend the book wholeheartedly to any reader who shares these same ideals.

Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Peter W. Sheehan

Preface

The *New International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research (Handbook)* presents an up-to-date scholarly research on *global* trends in comparative education and policy research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of globalisation, education and policy research. Above all, the *Handbook* offers the latest findings to the critical issues in education and policy directions for the next decade, which were first raised by Coombs (1982). Back in the 1980s, these included:

1. Developing the new internal strategies (more comprehensive, flexible and innovative modes of learning) that took into account the changing and expanding learner needs
2. Overcoming ‘unacceptable’ socio-economic educational disparities and inequalities
3. Improving educational quality
4. Harmonising education and culture
5. International co-operation in education and policy directions in each country (Coombs 1982, pp. 145–157)

These educational and policy imperatives continue to occupy central place in educational discourses globally. Overcoming and reducing socio-economic and educational inequality is still on the policy agenda.

The *Handbook*, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in education, provides a timely overview of current changes in comparative education and policy research. It offers directions in education and policy research relevant to visionary and transformational educational leadership in the twenty-first century (Zajda 2010). Equality of educational opportunities, called by Coombs (1982) as the ‘stubborn issue of inequality’ (Coombs 1982, p. 153), and first examined in comparative education research by Kandel in 1957 (Kandel 1957, p. 2), is still with us.

The OECD’s reports on income inequality, *Divided We Stand* (2011), *Inequality rising faster than ever* (2013a), and *Crisis squeezes income and puts pressure on inequality and poverty* (2013b) documented that the gap between rich and poor in

OECD countries had widened continuously over the last three decades to 2008, reaching an all-time high in 2007. According to OECD report (2013a), economic inequality has increased more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also notes that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2013b). The widening economic and social inequalities in education are due to market-oriented economies, governance and schooling. Social inequalities, based on economic and cultural capital, and socio-economic status (SES) and exclusion, are more than real (Zajda 2011, 2014). A significant gap in access to early childhood education was documented in about half of the OECD countries back in 2001 (OECD 2001, p. 126). Access and equity continue to be ‘enduring concerns’ in education (OECD 2001, p. 26, 2013a).

The chapters in the *Handbook* are compiled into seven major parts:

1. Globalisation, Education and Policy Research
2. Globalisation and Higher Education
3. Globalisation, Education Policy and Change
4. Education Policy Issues: Gender, Equity, Minorities and Human Right
5. Education, Policy and Curricula Issues
6. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Curriculum and Policy Change
7. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools

The *Handbook* contains 50 chapters, with each chapter containing 6,000–10,000 words. The use of sections served the purposes of providing a structure and coherence and sharing the workload between section editors. The general editors and section editors ensured that each draft chapter was reviewed by at least two (at times three) reviewers who examined the material presented in each manuscript for the content, style and appropriateness for inclusion in the *Handbook*.

The general intention is to make the *Handbook* available to a broad spectrum of users among policy-makers, academics, graduate students, education policy researchers, administrators, and practitioners in the education and related professions. The *Handbook* is unique in that it

- Presents up-to-date global overview of developments in education and policy change during the last decade
- Combines the link between globalisation, education and policy and the Knowledge Society of the twenty-first century
- Provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the changing nature of knowledge, schooling and policy research globally
- Presents issues confronting policy makers and educators on current education reforms and social change globally
- Evaluates globalisation, education and policy research and its impact on schooling and education reforms
- Provides strategic education policy analysis on recent shifts in education and policy research

- Offers new approaches to further exploration, development and improvement of education and policy making
- Offers a timely overview of current changes in education and policy
- Has each chapter written by a world-renown educator
- Gives suggestions for directions in education and policy, relevant to visionary and transformational educational leadership, and empowering pedagogy in the twenty-first century

We hope that you will find it useful in your future research and discourses concerning schooling and reform in the global culture.

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Overview and Introduction

Joseph Zajda

1 Global Trends in Education and Academic Achievement

Since the 1980s, globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world have resulted in structural, ideological and qualitative changes in education and policy (Zajda 2014a). They including an increasing focus on the UNESCO's concepts of knowledge society, the lifelong learning for all (a 'cradle-to-grave' vision of learning) representing the lifelong learning paradigm and the 'knowledge economy' and the global culture. In their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, governments increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the 'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes (see Zajda 2014b). To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in co-operation with UNESCO, is using *World Education Indicators* (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals.

The 2011 OECD report addresses the importance of achieving equality of outcomes through ensuring equity – defined as a 'fair allocation of resources', giving importance to school inputs. This has become a dominant ideology in educational standards (Zajda 2014a). The report refers to factors which affect educational outcomes, including 'attending a school with positive student-teacher relations,

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certified teachers, and a strong infrastructure’ (OECD 2011, p. 454). Furthermore, the significance of inclusive school systems – those that support diversity among all learners – is highlighted in the *Education at a Glance* (2011), which states that: ‘school systems with greater levels of inclusion have better overall outcomes and less inequality’ (p. 455). Schools systems tend to be inclusive when experienced teachers and material resources are evenly distributed among schools:

...In some school systems, inequality is entrenched through the mechanisms in which students are allocated to schools, including tracks that channel students into different schools based on their prior achievement or ability, private schools and special programmes in the public sector (OECD 2011, p. 455).

The 2011 and 2013 OECD’s reports on income inequality, *Divided We Stand* (2011), *Inequality rising faster than ever* (2013a), and *Crisis squeezes income and puts pressure on inequality and poverty* (2013b) documented that the gap between rich and poor in OECD countries had widened continuously over the last three decades to 2008, reaching an all-time high in 2007. According to the OECD report (2013a), economic inequality has increased by more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also notes that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2013b). The widening economic and social inequalities in education are due to market-oriented economies, governance and schooling. Social inequalities, based on economic and cultural capital, and socio-economic status (SES) and exclusion, are more than real (Zajda 2011a, b, 2014a). Access and equity continue to be ‘enduring concerns’ in education (OECD 2001, p. 26, 2013a).

1.1 Comparative View of Academic Achievement

The OECD’s PISA international survey presents an encyclopaedic view of the comparative review of education systems in OECD member countries and in other countries. PISA 2012 was the programme’s 5th survey. It assessed the competencies of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science (with a focus on mathematics) in 65 countries and economies (covering almost two-thirds of the world). At least half of the indicators relate to the output and outcomes of education, and one-third focus on equity issues (gender differences, special education needs, inequalities in literacy skills and income). The chapters in the *Handbook* comment on education policies, outcomes, differences in participation, competencies demanded in the knowledge society and alternative futures for schools. Only a minority of countries seem to be well on the way of making literacy for all a reality. For the rest, illiteracy, as confirmed by the OECD study, was at the time, ‘largely an unfinished agenda’ (OECD 2002, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 67).

The major focus of the OECD survey was on quality of learning outcomes and the policies that shape these outcomes. It also contained the OECD’s Programme

for International Student Assessment (PISA), the performance indicators which examined equity issues and outcomes – with reference to gender, SES and other variables. The performance indicators were grouped according to educational outcomes for individual countries. The OECD international survey concludes with a set of policy questions that are likely to shape the ‘What Future for Our Schools?’ policy debate. These encompass *cultural* and *political* dimensions (public attitudes to education, the degree of consensus or conflict over goals and outcomes), accountability, and diversity vs. uniformity, resourcing (to avoid widening inequalities in resources per student, as demonstrated by current trends in some of the OECD’s countries), teacher professionalism, and schools as centres of lifelong learning.

1.2 Schools for the Future

One could conclude with six scenarios for tomorrow’s schools (see OECD 2001, *Education Policy Analysis*). The first two scenarios are based on current trends, one continuing the existing institutionalised systems, the other responding to globalisation and marketisation, and facilitating market-oriented schooling. The next two scenarios address ‘re-schooling’ issues, with schools developing stronger community links and becoming flexible learning organisations. The last two scenarios of ‘de-schooling’ futures suggest a radical transformation of schools – as non-formal learning networks, supported by both ICTs and a network society, and a possible withering away, or ‘meltdown’ of school systems (OECD 2001, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 119).

Education policy issues raised by Michael Barber (2000) in his keynote address ‘The Evidence of Things not Seen: Reconceptualising Public Education’ at the OECD/Netherlands Rotterdam International Conference on Schooling for Tomorrow (see CERi website at www.oecd.org/cer) include the five ‘strategic challenges’ and four ‘deliverable goals’ for tomorrow’s schools:

Strategic Challenges

- Reconceptualising teaching
- Creating high autonomy/high performance
- Building capacity and managing knowledge
- Establishing new partnerships
- Reinventing the role of government

Deliverable Goals

- Achieving universally high standards
- Narrowing the achievement gap
- Unlocking individualisation
- Promoting education with character

The questions that arise from the strategic challenges and deliverable goals framework, and which are useful in delineating the policy challenges and the goals pursued, centre on the issue of equality, or egalitarianism (rather than meritocracy)

in education. Specifically, one can refer to the different cultural and political environments, which affect the nature of schooling. Diversity and uniformity, with reference to equality of opportunity, need to be considered. Important equity questions are raised by centralisation/decentralisation, diversity/uniformity and curriculum standardisation issues, the unresolved ideological dilemmas embedded in educational policy content and analysis. These are followed up by the authors of the *Handbook*. Their writing reveals these and other problems confronting educators and policy-makers globally.

1.3 Educational Policy Goals and Outcomes

In analysing the discrepancy between educational policy goals and outcomes, Psacharopoulos (1989) argued that the reason why reforms fail is that the ‘intended policy was never implemented’ and that policies were ‘vaguely stated’, financial implications were not worked out, and policies were based on good will rather than on ‘research-proven cause-effect relationships’ (p. 179). Similar conclusions were reached by the authors of *Education Policy Analysis* (2001), who note that the reasons why reforms fail is that policy makers are ‘flying blind’ when it comes to policy outcomes (lack of reliable data on the progress made). In their view it is virtually impossible to measure how well different areas of policy work together as systems of the intended reform program. There are large and critical gaps in comparative data (the cost of learning and the volume and nature of learning activities and outcomes outside the formal education sector). There is also a need to refine comparative data, especially performance indicators, as current outcomes reflect ‘biases as to the goals and objectives’ of lifelong learning (p. 69).

2 International Studies of Educational Achievement

Psacharopoulos (1995) questions the validity and reliability of international comparisons of education policies, standards and academic achievement. In examining the changing nature of comparative education, he offers a more pragmatic educational evaluation of policy, which is based on *deconstructing* international comparisons. He comments on the controversy surrounding the validity of international achievement comparisons (IEA and IAEP studies on achievement in different countries), unmasking an erroneous use of the achievement indicators (including the use of *gross* enrolment ratios, which neglect the age dimension of those attending school, rather than *net* enrolment ratios), and suggests various new approaches to comparative data analysis:

Comparative education research has changed a great deal since Sadler’s times. The questions then might have been at what age should one teach Greek and Latin? Or how English schools could learn from the teaching nature in Philadelphia schools? Today’s questions are:

- What are the welfare effects of different educational policies?...
- What are determinants of educational outputs?... (Psacharopoulos 1995, p. 280).

3 Globalisation, Education and Policy

The *New International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* presents a global overview of developments in education and policy change during the last decade. It provides both a strategic education policy statement on recent shifts in education and policy research globally and offers new approaches to further exploration, development and improvement of education and policy making. The *Handbook* attempts to address some of the issues and problems confronting educators and policy-makers globally. Different chapters in the *Handbook* seek to conceptualise the on-going problems of education policy formulation and implementation, and provide a useful synthesis of the education policy research conducted in different countries, and practical implications. This work offers, among other things, possible social and educational policy solutions to the new global dimensions of social inequality and the unequal distribution of socially valued commodities in the global culture (OECD 2013a, b).

One of the aims of the *Handbook* is to focus on the issues and dilemmas that can help us to understand more meaningfully the link between education, policy change and globalisation. The *Handbook*, focuses on such issues as:

- The ambivalent nexus between globalisation, democracy and education – where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive education is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights; and on the other, globalisation is perceived by some critics to be a totalising force that is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, and bringing domination, power and control by corporate elites
- The influence of identity politics, gender, race, ethnicity, religion and class politics on education policy research and reforms
- The significance of discourse, which defines and shapes education policy, reforms and action
- The focus on the main actors (who participates and how and under what conditions?) who act as bridges in the local-national-global window of globalisation
- The contradictions of cultural *homogenisation* and cultural *heterogenisation* or the on-going dialectic between globalism and localism, and between modernity and tradition (Appadurai 1990, p. 295) and their impact on education and policy-making process
- Interactions between diverse education policies and reforms and multidimensional typology of globalisation
- The significance of the politics of globalisation and development in education policy – their effects on cross-cultural perceptions of such constructs as active citizenship, the nation-state, national identity, language(s), multiculturalism and pluralist democracy

- The OECD (2001) model of the knowledge society, and associated ‘strategic challenge’ and ‘deliverable goals’ (OECD 2001, p. 139)
- UNESCO-driven lifelong learning paradigm, and its relevance to education policy makers globally
- Different models of policy planning, and equity questions that are raised by centralisation/decentralisation, diversity/uniformity and curriculum standardisation issues
- The ‘crisis’ of educational quality, the debate over standards and excellence, and good and effective teaching

By addressing the above themes, it is hoped the *Handbook* will contribute to a better and a more holistic understanding of the education policy and research nexus – offering possible strategies for the effective and pragmatic policy planning and implementation at the local, regional and national levels. The *Handbook* by examining some of the major education policy issues provides a more meaningful concept map of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education, ideology and policy-driven reforms (Zajda 2014a).

Perceiving education policy research and globalisation as dynamic and multi-faceted processes necessitates a multiple perspective approach in the close-up study of education and society. As a result, the authors in the *Handbook* offer a rich mixture of globalisation discourses on current developments and reforms in education around the world. Understanding the ambivalent nexus between globalisation, education and culture – constructing similarities and differences in education reform trajectories is likely to result in a better understanding of the globalisation process and its impact on educational institutions.

Globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some serious implications for education and reform implementation. The economic crises (e.g., the 1980s), together with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all (see *Preface*).

Some critics (see Robertson et al. 2002) have argued that the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisations, shape and influence education and policy around the world. It has been argued recently that understanding the complex process of change and shifts in dominant ideologies in education and policy through the WTO-GATS process – as the key political and economic actors – and ‘subjects of globalisation’ can also help to understand the nexus between power, ideology and control in education and society:

Examining the politics of rescaling and the emergence of the WTO as a global actor enables us to see how education systems are both offered as a new service to trade in the global economy and pressured into responding to the logic of free trade globally...the WTO becomes a site where powerful countries are able to dominate and shape the rules of the game, and in a global economy some countries

increasingly view opening their education systems to the global marketplace as a means of attracting foreign investment (Robertson et al. 2002, p. 495).

The above critique of globalisation, policy and education suggests new economic and cognitive forms of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy may have significant economic and cultural implications on national education systems and policy implementations. For instance, in view of GATS constraints, and the continuing domination of multinational educational corporations and organisations in a global marketplace, the 'basis of a national policy for knowledge production may be eroded in a free-market context of a knowledge-driven economy' (Robertson et al. 2002, p. 494). This erosion signifies the corresponding weakening of the traditional role of the university, being the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake (intrinsic):

...the heart of the academic dogma is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and the processes of coming to know are good in themselves, and the university, above all institutions, is – or used to be – devoted to them. To investigate, to find out, to organise and contemplate knowledge, these are what the university is about... (Nisbet 1971, p. vi).

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. In the global culture, the university, as other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution (see *Globalisation and the Changing Role of the University*). Such a managerial and entrepreneurial re-orientation would have been seen in the past as antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university of providing knowledge for its own sake. Delanty (2001) notes that 'with business schools and techno science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy ... the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled than strengthened as a result of globalisation'. (Delanty 2001, p. 115). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector, and education in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology.

From the macro-social perspective it can be argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their power and capacity to affect their future directions, as the struggle for knowledge domination, production and dissemination becomes a new form of cultural domination, and a knowledge-driven social stratification. Furthermore, the evolving and constantly changing notions of national identity, language, border politics and citizenship, which are relevant to education policy, need to be critiqued within the local-regional-national arena, which is also contested by globalisation. Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing world, where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty and alienation. Jarvis (2000) comments on the need to 'rediscover' one's social identity in active citizenship:

Democratic processes are being overturned and there is an increasing need to rediscover active citizenship in which men and women can work together for the common good, especially for those who are excluded as a result of the mechanisms of the global culture. (Jarvis 2000, p. 295)

The above reflects both growing alienation and a Durkheimian sense of anomie in the world ‘invaded’ by forces of globalisation, cultural imperialism, and global hegemonies that dictate the new economic, political and social regimes of truth. These newly constructed imperatives in educational policy could well operate as global master narratives, playing a hegemonic role within the framework of economic, political and cultural hybrids of globalisation (Zajda 2014a).

4 Multidimensional Aspect of Globalisation

While there is some general consensus on globalisation as a multi-faceted ideological construct defining a convergence of cultural, economic and political dimensions (‘global village’ now signifies and communicates global culture), there are significant differences in discourses of globalisation, partly due to differences of theoretical, ideological and disciplinary perspectives. Multidimensional typology of globalisation reflects, in one sense, a more diverse interpretation of culture – the synthesis of technology, ideology and organisation, specifically border crossings of people, global finance and trade, IT convergence, as well as cross-cultural and communication convergence. In another sense, globalisation as a post-structuralist paradigm invites many competing and contesting interpretations. These include not only ideological interpretations but also discipline-based discourses, which include the notions of the homogenisation and hybridisation of cultures, the growth of social networks that transcend national boundaries supranational organisations, the decline of the nation-state, and the new mode of communication and IT that changes one’s notion of time and space.

Similarly, there is a growing diversity of approaches to comparative education and policy research. Rust et al. (2003) identified 28 different theories in comparative education research, observing decline in structuralist paradigms and detecting a corresponding methodological shift towards humanist and post-structuralist comparative education research (Rust et al. 2003, pp. 5–27).

5 The Aim, Purpose and Structure of This *Handbook*

The *Handbook* presents an up-to-date scholarly research on *global* trends in comparative education and policy research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of globalisation, education and policy research. Above all, the *Handbook* offers the latest findings to the critical issues in education and policy directions for the next two decades, which were raised by Coombs (1982). Back in the 1980s, these included:

1. Developing the new internal strategies (more comprehensive, flexible and innovative modes of learning) that took into account the changing and expanding learner needs
2. Overcoming ‘unacceptable’ socio-economic educational disparities and inequalities
3. Improving educational quality
4. Harmonising education and culture
5. ‘International co-operation’ in education and policy directions in each country (Coombs 1982, pp. 145–157)

The *Handbook*, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in education, provides a timely overview of current changes in comparative education and policy research. It offers directions in education and policy research, relevant to transformational educational leadership in the twenty-first century. Equality of educational opportunities, labelled by Coombs (1982) as the ‘stubborn issue of inequality’ (Coombs 1982, p. 153), and first examined in comparative education research by Kandel in 1957 (Kandel 1957, p. 2) is ‘still with us’, according to Jennings (2000, p. 113) and the prospect of widening inequalities in education, as described in part due to market-oriented schooling and substantial tolerance on inequalities and exclusion, are more than real. Access and equity continue to be ‘enduring concerns’ in education (OECD 2001, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 26).

The chapters in the *Handbook* are compiled into seven major parts:

1. Globalisation, Education and Policy Research
2. Globalisation and Higher Education
3. Globalisation, Education Policy and Change
4. Education Policy Issues: Gender, Equity, Minorities and Human Right
5. Education, Policy and Curricula Issues
6. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Curriculum and Policy Change
7. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools

The *Handbook* contains 50 chapters, with each chapter containing 6,000–10,000 words. The use of sections served the purposes of providing a structure and coherence and sharing the workload between section editors. The general editors and section editors ensured that each draft chapter was reviewed by at least two (at times three) reviewers who examined the material presented in each manuscript for the content, style and appropriateness for inclusion in the *Handbook*.

6 Globalisation, Education and Policy Reforms

In the opening section of the *Handbook* there are eight chapters that address the nexus between globalisation and education. The leading chapter reviews the changing paradigms in globalisation and neoliberalism (see chapter ‘[Globalisation and Neoliberalism: A New Theory for New Times](#)’). The next chapter discusses globalisation and ideologies (see chapter ‘[Globalisation, Hegemony and Education](#)

Policies'). The chapter that follows analyses the link between globalisation and societal changes (see chapter '[Globalisation and Social Change](#)'). The fifth chapter examines globalisation and its impact on education (see chapter '[Working with the Discontentment Around Globalisation: In Pursuit of the Promise of Education](#)'). The sixth chapter discusses the impact of globalisation on education in Latin America (see chapter '[Globalisation and Public Education Policies in Latin America](#)'). The seventh chapter analyses the nexus between globalisation, education and policy reforms (see chapter '[Globalisation and Its Impact on Education and Policy](#)').

Another major issue facing education and policy-makers is a new mode of governance in the global economy. The eighth chapter in this section examines a new mode of neo-conservative governance that responds to the market forces of privatisation, decentralisation and marketisation. The chapter considers dominant ideologies that justify a de-centred role of the State in the context of globalisation (see chapter '[Globalisation, Education and Policy Research](#)').

The concluding chapter considers policy borrowings in education and school reforms (see chapter '[Policy Borrowing in Education: Frameworks for Analysis](#)').

6.1 Globalisation and Higher Education

This section, containing six chapters, examines globalisation and higher education, and its impact on the reform in the higher education sector. The introductory chapter examines the impact of globalisation on the higher education sector and policy (see chapter '[Globalization and Higher Education Policy Reform](#)'). The chapter that follows analyses how globalisation shaped and constructed different global models of university rankings (see chapter '[Globalization and Global University Rankings](#)'). The third chapter discusses the impact of globalisation on policy in higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (see chapter '[Globalization, Policy Directions, and Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa](#)'). The fourth chapter analyses aspects of globalisation and neo-liberalism in the higher education sector in Latin America (see chapter '[Neoliberalism, Globalisation, and Latin American Higher Education](#)'). The fifth chapter examines policy paradigm shifts and the outcomes of education reforms in Hong Kong (see chapter '[Globalization and Hong Kong Educational Reforms](#)'). The concluding chapter examines the changing role of the university in the global economy (see chapter '[The Impact of Globalisation on the Mission of the University](#)').

7 Globalisation and Education Policy Reform

This section contains 16 chapters, divided as follows:

7.1 Globalisation, Education Policy and Change

This section has eight chapters, which examine further shifts in education and policy and the problems facing educational institutions and policy-makers alike. The introductory chapter considers the global relations that are affecting education and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa (see chapter ‘[Globalization, the Brain Drain and Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa](#)'). It is followed by the chapter analysing globalisation and the future role of education reforms in Africa (see chapter ‘[Globalisation and the Future of Education in Africa](#)'). The third chapter examines how globalisation affects low-fee private schools (see chapter ‘[The Globalisation of Low-Fee Private Schools](#)'). The fourth chapter examines a global relief education (see chapter ‘[Globalization and Global Relief Education](#)'). The fifth chapter discusses the concept of the ‘mutual identity’ in the global culture (see chapter ‘[The Globalism of an Empirical Mutual Identity: Culture and Thinking in Comparative Education](#)'). The sixth chapter critiques the nexus between globalisation and education reform globally (see chapter ‘[Globalization and the Business of Educational Reform](#)'). The last two chapters discuss education reforms, standards based education and academic performance (see chapter ‘[Reconstructing Education and Knowledge: Scientific Management, Educational Efficiency, Outcomes Based Education, and the Culture of Performativity](#)’) and governance in education and policy (see chapter ‘[Globalisation, Governance and Policy Reform in a Challenging World](#)’).

7.2 Policy Issues: Gender, Equity, Minorities, and Human Rights

This section has eight chapters. The introductory chapter in this section addresses the provision of the rights to education (see chapter ‘[Entitlement to Education: Fairness Analysis](#)’). Other chapters address the specific problems of providing equality, access and equity for all students, and the ways of offering schooling that is free from prejudice and discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, social class and religion. While globalisation, in some instances, has led to positive educational policy, the interpretation of knowledge given by globalisation is not as straightforward. The world-wide exchange of information may strengthen diversity, and provide research tools and knowledge that could challenge the excesses of tradition and patriarchal conformity, as far as gender inequality is concerned. The introductory chapter focuses on gender inequality in the global culture and the unresolved tensions between tradition and modernity.

8 Globalisation, Education and Policy Research: Changing Schools: Section 3: Globalisation and Education Policy: Comparative Perspective

This section titled ‘Globalisation and Education Reforms’ examines, in the two concluding sections of the *Handbook*, the challenges confronting educators and policy-makers in the era of globalisation. This part contains 19 chapters, divided as follows.

8.1 Education, Policy and Curricula Issues

This section contains another eight chapters, covering topics such as education in the global order, a pedagogy of peace, education in Brazil, language policies in Tanzania and South Africa, globalisation and education reforms in Australia, inclusive schooling globally and globalisation and humanities (see chapters ‘[Education in the Global Order](#)’, ‘[Global Pedagogy of Peace](#)’, ‘[Globalisation and the New Zealand Numeracy Standards: In Pursuit of Excellence](#)’, ‘[Improving Basic Education in Brazil](#)’, ‘[Language-in-Education Policies and Practices in Africa with a Special Focus on Tanzania and South Africa](#)’, ‘[Globalisation and the National Curriculum Reform in Australia: The Push for Asia Literacy](#)’, ‘[Globalization, Teachers and Inclusive Schooling](#)’, and ‘[Globalisation and Humanities in Canada](#)’).

8.2 Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools

This section contains another six chapters, ranging from globalisation and school governance to cultural and social capital in the global culture (see chapters ‘[Globalisation and Changes in School Governance](#)’, ‘[Globalization and Education Reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore](#)’, ‘[Globalisation and Educational Policy Shifts](#)’, ‘[Globalisation and the Value of Service Learning in an Undergraduate Teacher Education Program](#)’, ‘[When the Global Meets the Local: Global Citizenship and School Reform](#)’, and ‘[Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective](#)’).

The final section ‘Curriculum in the Global Culture’ contains five chapters concerned with the future developments in education globally. They deal with specific curricular issue in schools, undergoing transformation and change (see chapters ‘[Globalization and Education](#)’, ‘[Global Education](#)’, ‘[A Global Lens for Viewing Children’s Literature](#)’, ‘[Philosophical and Pedagogical Underpinnings of Globalisation and Education](#)’, and ‘[Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Science Education](#)’).

The globalisation processes taking place today are likely to legitimise the unequal distribution of cultural and social capital available. Given that cultural capital is one

of the most valuable social commodities, it plays a significant role in social mobility. The concluding chapter in Section 4.1 (chapter ‘[Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective](#)’) of the *Handbook* provides a critical analysis of key concepts of cultural and social capital in a global perspective (see ‘Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective’). The chapter examines the global implications of the concepts and their relevance for education and social stratification. The final chapter (chapter ‘[Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Science Education](#)’) critiques the impact of globalisation, neoliberalism and science education.

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Part I
Globalisation, Education
and Policy Research

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Globalisation and Neoliberalism: A New Theory for New Times?

Marko Ampuja

1 The Concept of Globalisation

As far as intellectual fashions go, the concept of globalisation has been a phenomenal success. Popularised in the financial and business press in the 1980s, the concept became the staple of academic conversations in the 1990s, especially in the social sciences. While globalisation cannot be singled out as the only concern among contemporary social scientists, it is in all probability the most popular topic of the past two decades, having been described as a ‘near obsession’ (Ritzer and Goodman 2003, p. 569). Such epithets are not based on mere impressions. For instance, in the Oxford Libraries Information System (OLIS) database, which contains over five million titles (mainly books and periodicals) held by over 100 libraries associated with Oxford University, there are over 2,500 titles with the word ‘globalization’ or ‘globalisation’ in them, published between 1988 and 2008. For comparison, this leaves even the key concept of the 1980s, postmodern (and its derivatives), behind, together with a serious current contender, namely, social capital (Fine 2010, p. 15; see also Ampuja 2012, p. 12; Scholte 2005, p. xiv).

Besides this huge volume, another characteristic of academic globalisation literature is its inclusiveness. Rather than being tied only to changes in the economy, it ‘might be better’, so argue a team of researchers that have been crucial for establishing globalisation discourse in academia (Held et al.), to conceive globalisation ‘as a highly differentiated process which finds expression in all the key domains of social activity (including political, military, the legal, the ecological, the criminal, etc.)’ (Held et al. 1999, p. 12). No wonder, then, that globalisation has become a central theme in widely different fields of social science, including sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology, education, communication studies, and political

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science. Yet the capacity of globalisation to appear in innumerable scholarly contexts is a double-edged sword. Several commentators have pointed to the indeterminacy and lack of specificity of 'globalisation', characterising it, for example, as a concept that creates 'an accumulation of confusion rather than an accumulation of knowledge' (Van Der Bly 2005, pp. 890–891). In light of such suspicions, a remarkable feature of globalisation discourse has been its resilience, its continuing capacity to generate debate within and across different disciplines.

Why is this so? An important reason why the concept of globalisation has gained such a firm foothold in academia is due to the fact that it is not only used to *describe* a host of changes in social and cultural life, but that it has also been developed, with much ambition, into a *theory or explanation* of their causes and consequences. Writing about the implications of globalisation for sociology, Urry warns against viewing it 'as merely an extra level or domain that can be added to existing sociological analyses that can carry on regardless'; instead, globalisation refers to a new type of research that is not 'focused upon the study of given, bounded or 'organized' capitalist societies' (Urry 2003, p. 3). Here one encounters the key argument that is repeated by globalisation theorists time and again, namely, that the logic of nation-states with their exclusive borders has given way to the logic of cross-border interactions and flows and that this completely transforms the way in which we should think about society and its change.

Such discussions of globalisation belong to a broader perspective according to which our epoch is so different from previous ones that earlier models of change, including the classical sociological tradition as a whole (functionalism, Marxism, etc.), no longer provide the means by which we can understand the economic, political, social and cultural logics of our time.

Globalisation is the most important keyword of this intellectual movement, but it is closely accompanied by many other catchwords and metaphors that are used to define the social today, such as flows, networks, hybrids, cosmopolitanism, mobility, connectivity, speed, time-space compression, uncertainty, and contingency. These concepts have become dominant in the social sciences, to the point of establishing a new theoretical orthodoxy that we can define as globalisation theory.

Globalisation theory thus refers to a renewal of social theory, to a claim that we need a new theory for new times that explains how and why complex and geographically expanded social forms, qualitatively distinct from previous ones, have emerged. As I will note later on, such explanations rely heavily on arguments about technological developments, especially the so-called information revolution that has attracted much interest in social theory in recent decades.

While the concept of globalisation as such is no longer considered even by its advocates as fresh as was earlier the case, the substantial theoretical and political ideas that lie behind this concept continue to influence social scientific thinking in powerful ways. In this article, I will critically examine those ideas. In the first section, I will discuss the general nature of globalisation theory and identify its the key arguments. After that I will point out the centrality of media and communications in several noted globalisation theorists' work, calling into question their preoccupation with new media technologies and their assumption that the impact of

those technologies is historically so significant that it necessitates a complete renewal of social theory.

A consequent point, developed in the final two sections of the article, is that at the same time as globalisation theorists have diverted attention to new communication technologies and networks, they have shown a massive disinterest in powerful political and economic forces that continue to shape the society. I will argue that this feature is not unrelated to the specific historical conjuncture in which globalisation theory rose to prominence, that is, the post-1989 period characterised by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the global triumph of neoliberal capitalism. Besides analysing the contours of globalisation theory, I will thus also address its political implications, namely, the question of whether or to what extent neoliberalism, as a political ideology, has affected the focuses and ways of reasoning that are typical for globalisation theory.

2 Globalisation Theory as the ‘Spatiotemporal Reformulation of Social Theory’

Academic discussions concerning globalisation took off in the period between late 1980s and mid-1990s. Advocates of the idea that globalisation should take the centre stage in social theory stressed the importance of increasing interconnectedness of the world. What they claimed was that instead of conceiving the world as a system constituted by economic, political and sometimes overt military competition between hierarchically positioned nation-states, the proper way to capture the nature of the post-cold war era was to forget such ‘territorialist’ analyses. They had been made redundant by the realisation that the most important development of the new historical moment was ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ (Giddens 1990, p. 64). Much of the early efforts to define globalisation followed similar cosmopolitan lines in claiming that the world had become, more than ever, a singular whole in which the humanity together faces common threats and risks (e.g. the global climate change, pandemics) and where people all over the world have developed a global consciousness (rather than one that is tied to the nation or their immediate locality; see, e.g. Robertson 1992, p. 8).

A more analytically differentiated definition of globalisation was offered by Held et al., for whom it referred to ‘a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power’ (Held et al. 1999, p. 16). Such a definition gave globalisation a truly extensive scope. Synchronically, Held and his associates analysed globalisation in a way that could, in principle, include all imaginable material and nonmaterial processes, provided that they could be demonstrated to be about ‘interregional flows’ that give rise to ever more complex

global social interactions. Diachronically, it transpires that globalisation, thus understood, has a broad time frame, stretching far back in human history, although the authors emphasised the intensity and velocity of contemporary 'thick' patterns of globalisation against their previous forms (Held et al. 1999, pp. 429–431).

Such search for novelties is common for globalisation theorists. They are interested in answering the question of how is our era different from the earlier one, typically with the help of dualistic concepts that propose a shift from modernity to another kind of modernity (whether it be 'late', 'high', 'second', 'liquid' and so on). Following this mode, Albrow (1996) argues that 'globalisation' or 'globality' are terms that offer a way of speaking about radically new things that should not be reduced back to *modern* experiences. For him, globalisation is a 'marker for a profound social and cultural transition' which, like 'Renaissance', refers 'to the aggregate of historical changes over a determinate period of history' (Albrow 1996, p. 95). Gesturing polemically towards Marxism, Albrow maintains that the new problematic of globalisation or globality 'can never be as precise as that of capital' (Albrow 1996, p. 90). This is so because old certainties have given way to new ambiguities, and today, 'we are aiming to depict the character of an epoch without deriving it from any single principle, or indeed from any set of principles' (Albrow 1996, p. 109).

While Albrow's proposition here is extreme in its indeterminacy, it marks a general difficulty in mainstream sociology of globalisation: a lack of analytic precision. It is quite common for academic analyses of globalisation to end up claiming that it is such a broad and multidimensional process that one cannot define who or what is driving it forward; it is therefore symptomatic that Anthony Giddens (2002) has written of globalisation as a 'runaway' phenomenon or that globalisation theory has recently mixed up with theories of complexity which propose that the future trajectory of society is so open-ended and indeterminate 'that current phenomena [may] have outrun the capacity of the social sciences to investigate' them (Urry 2003, p. 38).

Defeatism of this kind is rejected by Jan Aart Scholte, another key globalisation theorist, who argues that 'every study of globalisation should include a careful and critical examination of the term itself', since '[i]f a core definition is slippery, then the knowledge built upon it is likely to be similarly shaky' (Scholte 2005, p. 54). Seeking more precision than Albrow or Urry, Scholte claims that globalisation requires 'a multifaceted social explanation' that 'attributes the growth of transplanetary connectivity' to four primary dynamics: (1) capitalist production and accumulation strategies; (2) changes in regulatory and governance mechanisms that have facilitated increasing global connections in the economy, travel, cultural exchange, disease control and so on; (3) changes in identity construction so that there is 'a shift from nationalism towards pluralism and hybridity in respect of identity'; and (4) the spread of rationalism and instrumental reason as the dominant knowledge framework, accompanied by the rise of a secular global consciousness (Scholte 2005, p. 121).

In this way, Scholte gives a more concrete picture of what drives globalisation than many of his colleagues. However, Scholte (2005, p. 135, 154) admits that his

explanation is ‘an eclectic synthesis’ that refers to ‘an intricate combination’ the named four dynamics, none of which has primacy over the others. Because of this, he does not want to analyse how these forces are connected vis-à-vis each other. Such an analysis would lead to a theoretical discussion of, say, the kinds of relationships between capitalism and the rise of instrumental rationality or between recent changes in political regulation and capitalism in its neoliberal phase. Without this kind of theoretical discussion – which is not attempted primarily in order to avoid the charge of this or that form of determinism (Scholte 2005, pp. 153–154) – even the kind of causal framework of globalisation that Scholte puts forward is bound to remain more or less vague, which is a recurrent and, indeed, intentional feature of mainstream globalisation theory.

Is there something wrong here? Many academic globalisation experts would answer in the negative: globalisation is a ‘multicausal’ and indeterminate affair and it should be analysed as such. Period. But here is the core issue: the main argument of the kind of globalisation literature that has been reviewed above does not really analyse in great detail the causal forces *behind* globalisation. At the least, it is not on this terrain that the most prominent intellectual battles are being fought. A more important theoretical development has been the attempt to turn globalisation *itself* into a causal force.

This is a significant distinction. Rosenberg (2000, p. 3) has noted that any attempt to involve globalisation in the explanation of social change has two alternatives: either it must rely on preestablished social theories (i.e. classical sociological theories of modernity or capitalism) in order to provide an answer to the question of what globalisation is, how it is being caused and with what consequences or it must try to claim that the concept of globalisation *itself* denotes a new kind of social theory that will make these changes comprehensible. Rosenberg argues that in the first strategy, ‘globalisation’ remains a descriptive term, something to be explained by other means; only in the latter it becomes ‘the *explanans* of the argument’, and it ‘can legitimately function as such only insofar as a spatiotemporal reformulation of social theory succeeds’ (Rosenberg 2005, p. 12).

The reference to ‘spatiotemporal reformulation’ here is crucial and one that requires more elaboration. A basic definition of globalisation as increasing worldwide ‘interconnectedness’ could not suffice alone to make it the central category of social theory. In other words, evoking global ‘interconnectedness’ in every social and cultural domain does not explain anything, for it begs the question of what has made the world more interconnected. Similarly, Scholte’s ‘eclectic synthesis’ of different dynamics behind globalisation is inadequate to produce a theory of an epochal change. Instead, such an effort, as expressed by many globalisation theorists, rests on more sturdily built theoretical foundation: the elevation of the status of time and space as theoretical concepts and tools for sociological analysis.

Already quite a while back, Giddens (1979, p. 54) lamented that their importance was neglected in social theory and demanded that it ‘must acknowledge, as it has not done previously, time-space intersections as essentially involved in social existence’. He didn’t have to wait for long, as the rise of globalisation as an academic topic in the 1990s answered to his call perfectly. In the burgeoning globalisation

literature, references to the spatial and temporal restructuring of society became frequent, and we have witnessed a surge in discussion concerning ‘the annulment of temporal/spatial distances’ (Bauman 1998, p. 18), the demise of the nation-state, the deterritorialisation or hybridisation of culture, the formation of ‘Empire’ (Hardt and Negri 2000) that displaces former imperialist power struggles and so on.

After reading through many influential globalisation theorists’ work, we can reconstruct the contours of a recurrent intellectual procedure that consists of four arguments. First, globalisation is defined by them as a process of intensification of worldwide network and flows; second, in order to raise the stakes, it is claimed that this phenomenon has huge causal significance in that it enforces overall social and cultural transformation (e.g. Held et al. 1999, p. 31); third, the elaboration of the significance of globalisation is transmuted into a spatiotemporal framework that purportedly transcends previous sociological perspectives; and fourth, claims concerning the novelty of new media and communication technologies are presented in support of this framework, so as to convince the reader once and for all that we live today in a different kind of global era. Although media and communications is only one ingredient of the argument, it should not be seen merely as a rhetorical ornament of little significance. Instead, it is of strategic importance for the named ‘spatiotemporal reformulation’ that globalisation theorists have advanced, in different ways, as the basis of a new social theory.

3 Globalisation and Communications Technology

Emphatic declarations concerning qualitative differences caused by new means of communication to social relations are a typical feature of globalisation theory. Giddens, for example, argues that especially with the advent of satellites and other types of advanced electronic communications, ‘[f]or the first time ever, instantaneous communication is possible from one side of the world to the other’ and that this ‘alters the very texture of our lives’ (Giddens 2002, pp. 11–12; see also Held et al. 1999, p. 15, pp. 436–437; Beck 2000, p. 12). More programmatically, the salience of media-based arguments for globalisation theory is shown by Scholte. He claims that globalisation – if superficially discussed – easily gets mixed up with processes that have a long history, such as internationalisation, liberalisation, westernisation or modernisation. Since these concepts have been around in social theory for a long time, they are not helpful in identifying what is new in globalisation today. Therefore, Scholte (2005, p. 59) proposes that we need an understanding of globalisation that will break new ground and that this can be reached by conceiving globalisation as the rise of ‘supraterritoriality’. From this perspective, globalisation is viewed as a process that causes social and cultural relations to disengage from the restrictions of time and space, due to which we need to bid farewell to ‘methodological territorialism’ (Scholte 2005, pp. 65–66; see also Beck 2006; Urry 2000).

The crucial point here is that Scholte justifies the novelty of ‘supraterritoriality’ through references to media-technological innovations, in particular. Ever since the

birth of printing, advancements in communications technology – the continuous acceleration of communication by the succession of one type of electronic means after another – have led to a continuous reduction of the significance of location and distance as limiting factors in human connectivity, without eliminating them completely. With the invention and expansion of new communications technology, however, territorial distance is suddenly of little significance as ‘distance is covered in effectively no time, and territorial boundaries present no particular impediment’ (Scholte 2005, p. 62; see also Rosenberg 2000, p. 24). It is this feature that compels the use of new concepts, such as ‘transplanetary simultaneity and instantaneity’, the spread of which has taken ‘social relations substantially *beyond* territorial space’ (Scholte 2005, p. 62). A prime example of such a qualitative change is the Internet, a ‘supraterritorial communication par excellence, instantly relaying a full range of visual and auditory signals anywhere on the planet’ (Scholte 2005, p. 67).

Arguably the most influential sociologist of the recent two decades, Manuel Castells, repeats in many different variations the key argument of globalisation theory, according to which place-based social structures give way to networks and flows that give rise to a new economy, new kinds of social and power relations and new cultural experiences, together with providing new frames for political action. In a passage towards the end of the first volume of his trilogy, Castells sums up his position, arguing that ‘as an historical trend, dominant functions and processes in the Information Age are increasingly organised around networks’ and ‘that this networking logic induces a social determination of a higher level than that of the special social interests expressed through the networks; the power of flows takes precedence over the flows of power’ (Castells 2000, p. 500). This constitutes his ‘overarching conclusion’ (Castells 2000, p. 500).

For Castells, advances in information and communications technology, especially the emergence of the Internet, form the basis for a new ‘social morphology’ that dominates the society today: the network that he speaks about is primarily an electronic communications network. Even though Castells admits that there have been networks in earlier periods of human history, he maintains that they are today of different kind. New information and communications technologies ‘have spread throughout the globe with lightning speed’ in the past decades, ‘connecting the world’ in a more fundamental sense than was the case with previous technological revolutions (Castells 2000, p. 32).

The main theoretical point offered by Castells is the argument that while networks of today are not ‘placeless’, their ‘structural logic’ is, so that while ‘places do not disappear ... their logic and their meaning becomes absorbed in the network’ (Castells 2000, p. 443). It is of significance that in making such claims about new communications networks, Castells borrows strongly from Marshall McLuhan, a Canadian cultural philosopher popular in the 1960s and 1970s, who is known for his technologically determinist ideas according to which the history of civilisation can be divided between different stages dominated by different communications technologies.

An additional example of the prominent role that media and communications play in academic globalisation literature comes from the fields of cultural anthropology

and cultural studies. Arjun Appadurai, another 'key thinker' (Jones 2010, pp. 209–226) of globalisation, calls into question the importance of national and territorial boundaries for cultural identity. He argues that group identities 'around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous' (Appadurai 1996, p. 48). This poses 'an urgent need to focus on the cultural dynamics of what is now called deterritorialization' (Appadurai 1996, p. 49), that is, the weakening of the ties of culture to place and geographical territories (García Canclini 1995, p. 229).

In the age of globalisation, people and ideas come into contact with each other in a way that is less determined by their immediate locality or their national 'home', and this opens up new imaginations and new subjectivities. Appadurai emphasises that none of this would be possible without the media and communications, arguing that '[u]ntil recently, whatever the force of social change, a case could be made that social life was largely inertial, that traditions provided a relatively finite set of possible lives, and that fantasy and imagination were residual practices, confined to special persons or domains, restricted to special moments or places' (Appadurai 1996, p. 53).

However, 'in the past two decades, as the deterritorialization of persons, images, and ideas has taken on new force', '[m]ore persons throughout the world see their lives through the prisms of the possible lives offered by the mass media in all their forms' (Appadurai 1996, p. 54).

Note again how the media are singled out here as transformative agents of history. As such, globalisation theorists more often than not endow them with potent emancipatory qualities. For Castells, the network society is a different kind of modernity, characterised by democratisation and emancipation from the alienating standardisation of previous industrial mass culture, and these features are enabled above all by the new 'horizontal' communications technologies. He claims that the Internet, the paradigmatic media of the network society, 'will remain technologically open, enabling widespread public access and seriously limiting governmental and commercial restrictions to such access, although social inequality will powerfully manifest itself in the electronic domain' (Castells 2000, p. 384). They are pervasive, decentralised and flexible, and 'unlike the mass media ... they have technologically and culturally embedded properties of interactivity and individualization' (Castells 2000, p. 385).

Although in his recent writings Castells has been more aware of the limits set by the state and capital to Internet-based political emancipation, he remains confident that in the new regime of what he calls 'mass self-communication', exemplified by blogs, the 'exercise of power relationships is decisively transformed', 'new opportunities for social change' have opened up and audiences are more autonomous than ever before, 'at the origin of the process of cultural change' (Castells 2009, p. 4, 126, 413). A media-technological optimism characterises also the cultural globalisation theory of Appadurai (1996), who sees the media as a harbinger of a 'post-national' world. Since the media, due to their new technological properties, are increasingly able to bypass national boundaries and make cultural expressions

available in more spatially expanded and complex ways than before, they are undermining Western cultural domination and offering new sources for identity everywhere. Giddens agrees: ‘globalisation tends to promote a renewal of local cultural identities’ (Giddens 2002, p. xxiv). Even though academic globalisation theorists do not subscribe the kind of simplistic enthusiasm that features in mainstream business commentary on globalisation (e.g. Friedman 2006), they, too, associate the concept of globalisation with diversification, expansion, egalitarianism, pluralism, reflexivity and liberation. Arguments concerning media and communications are crucial for the utopian imagination of globalisation theory, in particular the idea that globalisation brings about the downfall of the sovereignty of the nation-state and, consequently, helps to realise the vision of a more decentred and democratic political and cultural order.

4 Critical Reflections

How credible is the emancipatory vision of globalisation theory and how should we assess its theoretical foundations? Even though the space here does not allow for a comprehensive treatment of this subject, some critical comments are in order.

First, one may question the notion that globalisation today signals a qualitative change in the spatiotemporal constitution of society (the coming of a new social form determined by networks and ‘supraterritorial’ relations). In response to Castells’s (2000, p. 508) claim that ‘the network society represents a qualitative change in the human experience’, it can be argued, as historical sociologist Michael Mann (1986, p. 13) does, that ‘overlapping interaction networks [spanning over long distances] are the historical norm’ – for example, networks related to trade and religion.

Even if one wants to focus specifically on electronic communications networks as the base of a new social formation, they, too, have a long history that can be traced back to the period of roughly between 1860 and 1930. Writing about the history of the globalisation of media (telegraph, news agencies) between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Winseck and Pike (2007) argue that rather than being tied to territorial dominance (although that was also a factor), the early formation of global electronic networks resulted from the actions of liberal globalisers from many countries who wanted to make the world open to investment and capitalist property relations, often in the guise of discourses of ‘modernisation’. Those interests were realised to a considerable extent, and as a result ‘globalization during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth was not just shallow and fleeting, but deep and durable ... built around networks and hubs that supported huge flows of capital, technology, people, news, and ideas which, in turn, led to a high degree of convergence among markets, merchants, and bankers’ (Winseck and Pike 2007, pp. 1–2).

Thus, whatever one may think of the difference regarding the intensity and extensiveness of the mentioned technological processes today, the fact remains that

a similar ‘structural logic’ of ‘spaces of flows’ to which Castells refers – the absorption of distinct locales into networks that link them together and the extension of communication beyond nation-state borders – was well established already in the earlier period. The notion that electronic media networks obliterate former barriers of time and space is hardly a new theme for social scientists who have made similar comments for at least 150 years (Mosco 2004).

More theoretically, the attempt to turn globalisation into an explanatory concept that compels a renewal of social theory, based on the mentioned technological changes, is highly dubious for the reason that former social theories can be used to make sense of exactly the kind of processes that globalisation advocates now single out as historical novelties. Marx argued in the mid-eighteenth century that ‘capital by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier’ and ‘[t]hus the creation of the physical conditions of exchange – of the means of communication and transport – the annihilation of space by time – becomes an extraordinary necessity for it’ (Marx 1973, p. 524). From this perspective, globalisation is not at heart a technological issue, but ‘something intrinsic to capitalist social relations themselves’ (Rosenberg 2000, p. 33) – in other words, it is a concept that describes rather than explains social change.

Second, academic discussions on globalisation do not only revolve around its nature from a theoretical angle, but they also concern ‘its impact on values such as wellbeing, justice and democracy’ (Callinicos 2007, p. 341). In the main, globalisation theorists are optimistic in claiming that globalisation refers to the dispersal of power and the consequent political democratisation and cultural pluralisation everywhere. For instance, Castells (1998, p. 400) argues that ‘Information networks, in the age of Internet, are truly out of control’, offering massive potentialities for agency and political action. For him, the rise of a global network society betokens the end of grand totalitarianisms and hierarchies of the industrial society: statist forms of governance, one-way communication to anonymous masses and an increasing political indifference among the populace. In Appadurai’s account, as noted, globalisation refers to the formation of a decentred world order where cultural impulses crisscross in surprising ways due to the proliferation of global media flows. These undermine the power of tyrannical nation-states that seek to control their citizens by maintaining homogenous identities.

The problem with these arguments is that they tend to assign too much causal power to the development of communication technologies alone, at the expense of looking at how their uses (or nonuses) are embedded in their social contexts. Castells, following McLuhan (1962, 1964), reasons that the properties of media and communications technology allow different things in different stages of history and we can analyse their societal and cultural effects primarily by looking at those properties. It is not that Castells would leave enduring social and economic dynamics out of his analysis, but the force and logic of technological innovation is ultimately decisive for him. Yet a belief in the revolutionary technological nature of the Internet as a prime force of democratisation shrugs off persistent inequalities in Internet access, class differences in Internet use (Turner 2010, p. 134) and material advantages possessed by powerful commercial corporations in the development of

online content, which also translates into advantages in terms of which sites receive most of the online attention (Fuchs 2009; Foster and McChesney 2011).

A similar lapse of memory is evident in Appadurai's argument concerning the liberation of imagination through deterritorialised media flows: there are major differences in how culture, including media, is consumed between classes and thus one cannot analyse the consequences of media proliferation merely in terms of the assumed technological potentialities of these media. Also, Appadurai leaves out of the picture the question of how imagination today is increasingly geared towards advertising and different types of marketing that are practically ubiquitous.

This process does not necessarily have to be interpreted as increasing Western cultural imperialism or Americanisation, but as a more general process of 'capitalist imperialism' (Harvey 2003) which in the cultural sphere refers to the globalisation of commodity aesthetics (Haug 2005, p. 47). Such critical themes, however, are rarely addressed by globalisation theorists who focus on a 'radically open cultural future' (Tomlinson 1997, p. 190) promised by deterritorialisation and cosmopolitanisation.

Third, globalisation theory is a theory of the weakening, if not the demise of the nation-state. To an extent, that theory makes sense. Nation-state governments have indeed lost much of their political capacity to manage the contradictions that arise from their role as mediators between the interests of the capital and the democratic aspirations of their citizens: market forces 'have begun to dictate in unprecedented ways what presumably sovereign and democratic states may still do for their citizens and what they must refuse them' (Streeck 2012, p. 26).

Yet this does not mean that nation-states are now 'merely instruments to record the flows of the commodities, monies and populations' (Hardt and Negri 2000, p. 31). Even under the global hegemony of neoliberalism, capitalist markets require certain amount of 'extra-economic' protection; in other words, they rely on the power of sovereign states 'to create and sustain conditions of accumulation and maintain the system of capitalist property' (Wood 2002, p. 178). Market forces cannot by themselves provide the political, legal and social authority that will guarantee necessary levels of stability, security, infrastructure, education, social welfare or legitimation, on which the functioning of global economy relies. This still makes the nation-state a terrain of political contestation and democratic struggle.

In recent years, characterised by the global financial crisis – now escalating into an acute political crisis in the European Union, in particular – the relationship between the markets, the state and democracy has become ever more volatile. In such conditions, it is justifiable to ask how much insight one can derive from the notion that the weakening power of the nation-state will open the gates to a more cosmopolitan global order. No doubt, there are examples of countries that have witnessed dissolution of exclusive national identities in recent decades, both officially and in every-day culture.

Furthermore, it is not to be doubted that the media and new means of communication have provided a variety of resources for 'experiments with self-making', as Appadurai (1996, p. 3) claims. Yet it is far from clear if changes in the media are fundamentally responsible for such increasing reflexivity, or, conversely, if the

recent surge in xenophobia and populist parties in many countries, also in the West, can be reduced to a cultural question of how nation-states try to maintain exclusive ideologies of ethnic purity. The capacity of citizens to be tolerant of difference and resistant to populist-nationalist rhetoric seems to be much more intimately intertwined with changes in the balance of power between sovereign states and the markets: in the current conditions of neoliberalism in which international markets increasingly dictate what is politically acceptable, the whole liberal democratic process based on party representation and national governments is becoming unresponsive to citizens who feel increasingly powerless to have an influence on politics through electoral pressure (Streeck 2012, p. 26). Such a situation is a breeding ground for venting one's powerlessness on nationalist hatred of 'lazy' outsiders, international organisations and cosmopolitan elites who are perceived as the enemies of the common people. Important as these themes seem, globalisation theorists are generally not interested in examining the specifically capitalist dynamics that are involved in the creation such worldwide crises tendencies. This omission leads me to consider, in conclusion, possible links between globalisation theory and neoliberalism.

5 Conclusion: Globalisation Theory and the Neoliberal Moment

Neoliberalism has established itself as the dominant political and economic dogma throughout the world (Harvey 2005, p. 3; Zajda 2014), constituted by a forceful defence of private property, competitive markets and 'individual freedom', in addition to an all-around attack against state intervention. As noted, globalisation theory is an intellectual current that has emerged in the post-1989 period marked by the hegemony of neoliberalism. What this means is that it has been developed in an intellectual milieu that was formerly permeated with, or at least much more conducive to, discourses that were critical of the political-economic power of capitalism. In the recent two decades, social scientific discussion has centred on issues other than the human consequences of the present socioeconomic system or is characterised by different degrees of submission to it. Although they recognise and comment on growing social and economic inequalities worldwide, globalisation theorists do so in a context of 'capitalist realism' (Fisher 2009). In other words, by and large, they succumb to the proposition that capitalism is inevitable and that one can only 'remain concern[ed about] how far, and in what ways, capitalism should be governed and regulated' (Giddens 1998, pp. 43–44).

Armed with such realisation, many influential social theorists have recently produced epochal diagnoses that posit a shift in the nature of modernity, namely, the coming of 'another' or 'late' modernity (Beck 1992; Lash 1999; Giddens 1991) that is different from its earlier national-industrial phase. A key ingredient of these diagnoses is the claim that the contemporary period is characterised by individualisation, the dismantlement of hierarchical bureaucracies and the dissolution of

paternalist forms of domination. They have also promoted the idea that the whole world system has become less hierarchical and more networked, together with being politically, economically and culturally more pluralistic. Globalisation theory is an organic part of this significant theoretical transformation.

While its representatives certainly do not sing the enthusiastic praises of ‘the free market’, globalisation theory is in a crucial sense consistent with neoliberalism. Besides accepting, though critically, the inevitability of capitalism, globalisation theorists share with neoliberals a polemic against the nation-state and a belief that individuals have become more autonomous of former ‘statist’ power structures and more fluent in choosing their identities themselves. A fascination with shifts in the spatiotemporal constitution of society which new media and communication technologies are said to have caused is also an expression of the same optimistic idea that we are dynamically moving towards a new social existence that is superseding the old. When grand societal utopias have been declared impossible, and when the power of capital seems more consolidated than ever, belief in the revolutionary nature of new media and communications carries on the hope that we are still on the threshold of millennial change that is pregnant with possibilities.

Focusing on the democratising tendencies of global ‘modernity’ or ‘network society’, globalisation theorists remain less concerned with ‘the continuities imposed by the logic of capitalist institutions’ (Bromley 1999, p. 14) or the fact that ‘democratically unaccountable concentrations of economic power’ (Callinicos 2007, p. 305), in the form of transnational corporations and financial markets, have dramatically increased their influence over the rest of the society in recent decades. Because of this, globalisation theory is incapable of properly addressing the ‘outrage’ (Therborn 2007, p. 113) that capitalism continues to reproduce through old and new forms of exploitation, inequality, insecurity, inauthenticity and uneven development of the world. Globalisation theory is not uncritical, but as a form of social theory, it falls short from realising its critical potentials in full.

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Globalisation, Hegemony and Education Policies

Holger Daun

1 Globalisation, Ideology and Policy

In the past three decades, political parties and governments in various countries around the world have accepted and even pushed for educational changes that they were unlikely to favour earlier. They formulate and implement policies that are alien or strange to their traditional core programmes and constituencies. One important reason for this is that new types of structures and cultures have emerged, to which established cultures and ideologies have been compelled to respond. As a result, ideological changes or shifts are taking place, and some of the frontiers between the prevailing ideologies have been blurred (Miller 1989).

The early modern ideologies were formed primarily along lines of the left-right division, but new phenomena have emerged to be evaluated, explained and acted upon along new ideological dimensions, for instance: large-scale arrangements versus small-scale arrangements, 'ecologism' versus 'economism', individualism versus collectivism and so on. Some political and educational ideologies have revived certain of their classical elements (Zajda 2014a).

The purpose of this chapter is to present an embryo of a heuristic framework for description of ideological shifts with regard to education. The chapter makes an overview of some of the most common ideologies and their roots and localises them within the context of more profound societal paradigms. It also argues that ideological and policy changes are conditioned by the challenges from the globalised meta-ideology, which is hegemonic in that it determines the discourse and argues that education is first and foremost for making countries economically competitive and modern. In the second place comes education for the sake of human rights.

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Globalisation is constituting itself as a new meta-ideology that carries strong elements of Western ideologies – principally individualism, the uniqueness of the individual and so on – which are among the elements that neoliberalism and modern communitarianism share, and this common denominator may be called the *global hegemonic meta-ideology*. Among other things, this meta-ideology largely consists of market ideas and ideas derived from human and citizen rights. Ideological adaptations towards this meta-ideology are taking place.

In terms of a dominant ideology, globalisation wields hegemonic power as it is presented as an inevitable and unavoidable process and global competition as an indispensable feature for a society in order to survive or at least progress (Brown 1999; Burbules and Torres 2000; Cox 2000; Gill 2000; Mittelman 1996; Zajda 2014b).

1.1 Ideology

The roots of the contemporary ideologies may be traced back to the eighteenth century, but this will not be done here. The emergence of these ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, reformist socialism, revolutionary socialism and anarchism) preceded or coincided with industrialisation and the construction of the modern state in Europe and North America. In the 1930s, the economic world crisis gave birth to Keynesianism, which added to these earlier ideologies¹ (see also Zajda 2014a).

The ideological shifts and mutations during the twentieth century have made it difficult for researchers to label the new versions of ideologies, even though some attempts have been made, such as ‘the New Right’ and ‘neo-conservatism’ (Apple 2000), ‘the New Left’ (Giddens 1994) and ‘neoliberalism’ (Brown et al. 1997a). The contradictions and confusions, conceptual and others, to a large extent derive from the structural and cultural changes that have taken place during the past decades, some of them due to globalisation processes but also the discourse on globalisation itself. Global competitiveness is now an overriding goal and discourse for most countries in the world, and equality and collectivity seem to be neglected or even rejected.

2 Paradigms, Culture and Ideology

Paradigm, culture, ideology and policy are interrelated concepts. A paradigm is the most abstract but also the most profound features of cultures, ideologies and social theories, and these features are situated at the level of (a) epistemology and ontology (view of man, view of society, view of the state, view of knowledge and so on),

¹According to J. M. Keynes, the state should actively intervene in society in order to avoid economic depression by extracting money (through taxes) from society when the economy was ‘hot’ and allocate money (public investments, subsidies) when the economy went down. A balanced economy, in his theories, meant also full employment. It seems that the financial crisis in the world starting in 2008 contributed to something like ‘international Keynesianism’.

(b) a view of the role of education in society and for the individual and (c) discourse and policies (Burrell and Morgan 1992; Watt 1994). Culture is construction of shared world views, visions and meanings.

Thus, paradigms are more abstract and general than both ideologies and policies. Aspects of culture(s) and visions used programatically to justify a certain state of affairs or vision of such state of affairs constitute ideologies. When ideological elements are transferred into the policy-making arena, they tend to adapt to the context and concrete circumstances (Sørensen 1987). Ideologies are now to some extent being de-linked from class structures and group interests and more and more linked to the drives for individual autonomy, competitiveness, ‘modularity’,² new types of governance, uncertainty, risk and so on (Gellner 1994; Reich 1997). It is evident that, apart from globalisation processes, certain aspects internal to each country contribute to the ideological and political shifts: for example, the expansion and prolongation of education and a higher material standard of living among the populations in some areas in the world have contributed to the changed basis and nature of ideologies (Inglehart 1990, 1997; Norris and Inglehart 2004).

Political party programmes and ideologies are less abstract than paradigms and often have to deal and negotiate with the concrete realities. Therefore, political programmes and ideologies may borrow from different paradigms, and different political parties may borrow from one and the same paradigm. That is, the content of the paradigm does not necessarily correspond completely to, for example, actual political party programmes or ideology nor can paradigms be applied to specific societal or educational situations or problems. Instead, they have to be ‘operationalised’ and ‘negotiated’ in order to become applicable in policies.

Policies are political decisions and their implementation, and they can vary in a number of dimensions, but here it will suffice to mention the ideological dimension, which may range from utopian to remedial.³ In the first case, policies are oriented towards goals that correspond to a low degree to existing realities. Remedial policies are defensive, since they, at least at the discursive level, aim at solving problems. However, there are various perceptions of what constitutes a problem and still more so of the solution of problems. Events and processes need to have a certain structure in order to be perceived as problems (Sørensen 1987).

As far as education is concerned, its value tends to be perceived in two principal ways: (i) as a value in itself or (ii) as an instrumental value. In the first case, it is seen as a human right, a basic human need or an indispensable aspect of welfare and well-being. In the second case, it is an investment and qualification for future roles in the spheres of production and consumption or a means to create democratic citizens, for instance, (Colclough 1990; Cornia et al. 1987; Farrell 1992).

With these conceptual distinctions, the most common ideologies and their shifts will now be brought up.

²This term has been coined by Gellner (1994) and means that individuals are socialised in such a way that they fit in and behave appropriately in many different situations and contexts.

³‘Utopia’, in the same sense as that used by Karl Mannheim. He argues that imaginary states of affair are utopian orientations, while he reserves ‘ideology’ for justification of the maintenance of present order (see Worsley 1991).

3 Early and Late Modern Ideologies

3.1 *Liberalism, Social Liberalism and Neoliberalism*

In classical liberalism, we find an economic and a political branch. The former makes certain basic assumptions about the conditions for economic progress. It argues that freedom of ownership and economic entrepreneurship and to freely enter and exit markets are human rights. Exchange on markets is the most effective and efficient way of attaining individual and societal progress. There should be minimum interferences from actors other than purely economic actors (mainly the state) (see Hayek 1960; Sabine 1964).

The principal ideas of the political branch of liberalism were realised in the countries in the north with the breakthrough of democracy and implementation of human and civic rights. With the economic depression and the application of Keynesian policies in the 1930s, classical liberalism eventually accepted a range of state interventions for the sake of economic growth, economic stability and equality. This version of liberalism came to be called *social liberalism*. On the other hand, some central elements of the classical liberal ideology – especially in the economic domain – have been revived and sometimes refined under the label neoliberalism (Crowley 1987).

Neoliberalism is hostile to and defines traditions as ‘externalities’ (to the economy), but at the same time it depends on the persistence of tradition (nation, religion, family) (Apple 2000; Giddens 1994; Zajda 2014b). Two important assumptions are that everything could be ‘marketised’ and that human beings are driven by the desire to maximise their own utility regardless of time and place. Structural adjustment programmes initiated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in a large number of countries around the world are based on the late liberal assumptions.

3.2 *Conservatism*

Conservatism as an ideology emerged when the countries in Europe were characterised by church control over peoples’ lives, unequal socioeconomic structures and a highly differentiated and selective education. These features were the ones to be preserved since they defended the privileged groups of society (Sabine 1964).

Contemporary conservatism is impregnated by ideas from that period, and its principal goal is to revive societal features and values that formerly existed. Locality and territory are important in the conservative ideology, be it the local community or the nation. For nationalists among the conservatives, it is the nation that is the context of decision-making and identity, while it is the local community among locally oriented conservatives (similar to one of the communitarian branches) (McCarthy et al. 1981).

As in liberalism, inequalities were (and are) seen to be due to inherited biological differences, differences in efforts made by the individual himself or herself or both. Individual freedom is important, but earlier as well as certain later conservatives do not believe as much as late liberals in individual rationality and market solutions. They see a need for moral training in accordance with specific conservative values and dissemination of Christianity. Also, there is a need for a state 'that guards the nation, religious institutions that guard moral values and the families that guarantee that moral values be taught' (Held 1995, p. 139). For example, if the dissemination of Christian values and nationalist elements is perceived to be at risk with the implementation of decentralisation, then late conservatives are reluctant to such a reform (Lauglo 1995).

Some researchers use the term 'the New Right' instead of conservatism or neo-conservatism. According to Giddens (1994), the New Right is not conservatism because it is 'hostile to tradition', while at the same time it depends on 'the persistence of tradition'; it honours nation, religion and the family. Held (1995) finds within the New Right 'severe tensions between individual liberty, collective decision-making and institutions and processes of democracy' (p. 495). Brown et al. (1997b) argue along the same lines when they – within the New Right – find argument for international competition as well as romanticisation of the past of the 'ideal' home, family and school. In conservatism, education is generally seen as fostering, mainly in moral values and citizenship.⁴

Conservatism exists also in cultures and 'civilisations' other than the ones in Europe and America. Among adherents to Islam, for instance, there are conservative groups, whose forms of values and beliefs have many features in common with conservatives in the North. (See, for instance, Ahmed 1992; Ayubi 1991.) Islamic revivalism has two principal orientations, one conservative and fundamentalism and one progressive (Gregorian 2001). For example, groups of fundamentalists and Islamists struggle for the restoration of what is believed to have been the societal state of affairs during the first decades of Islam (Saadallah 2004).

3.3 Communism, Utopian Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Cooperative Socialism

The above-listed ideologies have one thing in common: the belief in a classless and stateless society with emancipated individuals who are collectively oriented and rational. Anarchism implies individualism, but it is an individualism which is collectively oriented. However, the means to reach this state of affairs and the solutions the listed ideologies suggest for reaching this utopian society differ considerably (Bakunin 1981; Kropotkin 1981; Sabine 1964; Woodcock 1962).

⁴It is common in relation to transition countries to argue that former Communists are conservatives, because they want to restore the situation prior to the collapse of the Communist system. This popular use of 'conservatism' is more or less meaningless.

The classical anarchists believed that individual (sometimes violent) actions, such as sabotage, strike, etc., could make the capitalist society collapse and that an egalitarian society could be created from the ruins of the capitalist society.

Utopian socialism was born before Marx' writings became known and was later revived after the upheaval of the 1960s. Cooperative socialists, syndicalists and anarchists support private initiatives driven by cooperative ideals, that is, ideals other than market principles. One principle they have in common is a belief in small-scale cooperative efforts as a means to achieve a classless society (Woodcock 1962).

Utopian socialism and cooperative socialism existed mainly in England and France during the last decades of the nineteenth century. These socialists were convinced that the establishment of cooperative movements and firms (not-for-profit) could lead to a better society without capitalism and a strong, central state. A general theme in syndicalism is the belief that society can change in the direction mentioned above through massive participation in trade unions and their strategic general strikes. Small pockets of syndicalists exist in many places in the world (e.g. also in Sweden).

Reformist socialism eventually became social democracy, which rejected the revolutionary way of changing the capitalist society. Instead, it was seen as possible to seize the state through general elections and then use it for societal transformation. Before reformist socialists ever came into this position, they tended to see the education system as one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, an apparatus that defended the interests of the privileged class (Althusser 1972). With the implementation of universal primary and secondary education, this view changed, and nowadays education is seen as a way to a more egalitarian society (even if the sorting function of education systems is still recognised to be working) (Blackledge and Hunt 1985).

3.4 *Populism*

Populism is by some researchers seen as socialist, while others see it as conservatism (or even fascism). In this chapter, no attempt will be made to classify populism, but it is mentioned here, because it is sometimes an ingredient of the third orientation (communitarianism), which is described below. Nowadays 'populism' is often used in everyday language to mean 'opportunistic', 'folk'-oriented, etc. However, the term populism was originally used for the view that once upon a time, people lived in a 'natural' or 'innocent' state of affairs; there was no urbanisation and no large-scale capitalism or big state, and leaders were locally based and came into power position either by tradition or through elections at the local (village) level. Life was not very complicated, there were no national elites and people at the grassroots level knew what was best for themselves (Ionescu and Gellner 1969). In the populist view, education should be locally based and owned and it should be for local purposes (Lauglo 1995).

4 Globalisation, Hegemony and Education

Globalisation is something more than internationalisation. The latter is resulting from state as well as non-state actions taken from within countries in relation to bodies and people in other countries. Globalisation is processes of compression of the world (in space and time) through ICT, economic interdependencies of global reach and an ideology (Cox 2000) or ‘the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole’ (Robertson 1992, p. 8). These processes are multidimensional and take place regardless of national frontiers and have a wider reach than internationalisation. Globalisation carries ideologies but is also itself a world view or ideology. It is also the near-global spread of ideas, discourses, institutions, organisations, technology and so on. Of particular importance is the general penetration of capitalist forms, market principles and purposive rationality.

Globalisation implies a challenge to and a questioning of national and local cultures; universalisation of certain cultural aspects and particularisation (and revival) of others, a new role for the national state to mediate universalisation and encourage competitiveness and de-territorialisation. The latter means that cultures, religions, ideologies, etc., are being de-linked from territories (mainly through migration but also through the experiences made through ICT messages).

Complex and sometimes contradictory processes occur. A contradictory pattern of democracy is spreading. There is, on the one hand, the market-oriented view that democracy is elite competition for votes and/or free choices on markets of various types (Apple 2000; Chubb and Moe 1990). On the other hand, there is also the broader communitarian view that democracy is the possibility to participate in and influence the construction of one’s everyday life (Cheru 1996; Giddens 1994). Culturally, national societies and other collectivities experience ‘constraints to produce their own unique accounts of their places in world history’ (Robertson 1992, pp. 289–290). The taken-for-granted aspects of cultures are challenged and ‘Traditions have to explain themselves...’ (Giddens 1994, p. 23). Ideologies have tended to linked to socioeconomic classes and different interests (nationally) but are now being de-linked from these forces. This might provoke exaggeration of the importance of local ideas and values (particularism).

Globalisation contributes to new and sometimes contradictory requirements in relation to education: some of which are religious-moral versus secular, formation of human capital versus broad personality development and competition and elitism versus equality and democracy (Benhabib 1998; Chabbott and Ramirez 2001). Globalisation is perceived by politicians and policy-makers to require competitiveness, and the way to achieve this is by the same actors believed to be found in the world models as they are defined and studied by Meyer et al. (1997) and their research group. These models stipulate how the relationships between the state, civil society, the citizen and education should be arranged. Beyond these relationships, this package consists of ‘a distinct culture - a set of fundamental principles and models mainly ontological and cognitive in character, defining the nature and purposes of social actors and actions’ (Boli and Thomas (1997); Meyer et al. 1997).

Paradoxically, while world models ‘signal’ plurality, individualisation and multiculturalism, it also standardises and secularises cultures and ideologies (Burbules and Torres 2000).

5 Educational Paradigms and Ideologies

Using ideal types (in the Weberian sense, see Gerth and Mills 1970), which methodologically directs attention towards cores of categories and emphasise differences, and relying primarily upon secondary sources, the dominating paradigms and some of their principle themes are described below. Three paradigms behind educational policies and surrounding educational issues have during the past decades been struggling for influence in many areas of the world. These paradigms will be referred to as: *the market-oriented paradigm*, *the etatist-welfarist-oriented paradigm* and *the communitarian-oriented paradigm*. As ideal types, they correspond neither directly to any present-time political parties and various movements nor to particular varieties of educational policies.⁵

5.1 *The Market-Oriented Paradigm*

The whole philosophy and terminology of this paradigm derive from liberal micro-economics (as opposite to Keynesian policy which is macro-oriented). Consequently, for the basic assumptions of the market-oriented paradigm, reference may be made to the previous description of liberalism.

Market proponents believe in individualism and individual rationality, features which have been specified by philosophers such as Hayek (1960). Individualism in this context means that the individual is a utility-maximising creature who acts rationally (purposively) through self-seeking behaviour of the market place (Held 1995). For the individual to be able to do so, there should be as much freedom as possible and as little steering as possible from forces (externalities) other than the market mechanisms (Miller 1989). Tradition, family, clan and nation are externalities that are anachronistic and irrelevant for rational action or an obstacle to development to a higher stage of efficiency and standard of living (Crowley 1987). When individuals can maximise their own utility, this accumulates and favours the development of society into higher stages. Deregulation of markets world-wide will make the world more conducive for individual utility maximisation and, thus, higher stages of development (Hayek 1960).⁶

⁵Feminism is not discussed here as a specific paradigm, but it certainly is. Feminism cuts across the three paradigms, while gender issues are severely neglected in all three paradigms, especially in the market-oriented paradigm (Blackmore 2000).

⁶Some theories in social science share the basic assumptions with the market paradigm: behaviourist psychology and pedagogy, human capital theory, rational choice theories and exchange theories (see Blau 1964; Craib 1992; Downs 1957; Homans 1961; Sweetland 1996).

Democracy tends to be seen not primarily as a political matter but as the possibility to choose; to be free to choose is even seen as a human right (Chubb and Moe 1990). Morals are formed from the experiences that individuals make when they act rationally in the market sphere (Hayek 1960). For example, individuals will realise that it is irrational to engage in criminal or other acts or courses of action than those derived from the market principles. In this way, a moral system emerges. Market proponents do not reject altruism (charity, for instance), but it should come in when market mechanisms do not function effectively (Doyal and Gough 1991).

The basic assumptions mentioned above are used in the educational domain. To base education on market principles is an idea that comes from Friedman (1962) and Schultz (1961). More specifically, education is seen as a good or commodity, and when all consumers can choose, the quality of the goods and services improves. The market paradigm has been applied to education either literally or as a metaphor. In the first case, actions and arrangements in the educational field follow the market principles. The prototype is a private agent who calculates the revenues in relation to the costs of organising education. The owner as actor does not have any other revenue than the fees paid by the parents. Marginal profit from accepting each new pupil is estimated. Unlimited choice and school fees are two of the most important features in the first case. In the second case, the educational field is treated as if it were a market (quasi-market). Choice among public schools is one such example. 'Marketisation' of the field of education can, in this view, be partial – the ownership and delivery are private, but the owners or their customers receive public funds.

The market paradigm has impregnated the educational and other discourses during the past three decades. These discourses have adopted terms such as entrepreneur, delivery, consumer, client, etc., from the market paradigm.

5.2 The Etatist-Welfarist-Oriented Paradigm

This paradigm has various roots: the non-revolutionary branch of socialism, Keynesian economics and welfare policy and humanist psychology and sociology as well as positivist sociology (Cuzzort and King 1976; Dow 1993; Sabine 1964; Vincent 1994). The terminology of this paradigm is mainly administrative and pedagogical. The assumptions of this paradigm are often not as explicit as those of the market approach. However, the following assumptions may be derived or inferred from different sources.

The role of the state is to eliminate, or at least reduce, inequalities or inefficiencies resulting from the workings of the capitalist system. Capitalism itself should not be abolished but regulated (Curtis 1981; Sabine 1964). The individual is seen as a self-actualising agent. Due to societal inequalities and different phases in individuals' biography (e.g. childhood), there are always individuals who are not able to satisfy some of their basic needs through own efforts. Satisfaction of their needs has to be guaranteed by the collectivity (the public sector), and efforts are made to optimise needs satisfaction (Doyal and Gough 1991).

Inasmuch as the etatist-welfarist orientation assumes that education and individual positions are conditioned by macrostructures, measures to improve education have to deal not only with the formal education system but also with societal structures. Due to an emphasis on the state as guarantor of individual and societal prosperity and development, a liberal world market is useful only to the extent that it can serve in the construction of human welfare; economic growth is not seen as a value in itself but as a means to achieve maximal well-being (Cornia et al. 1987; Doyal and Gough 1991).

Proponents of this paradigm suggest political means to achieve goals and political solutions to social problems. To the extent that issues are transferred to the political platform for public decision-making, democracy is enhanced (Dow 1993). Educational reforms should be decided upon and accomplished through the state, and proponents of this paradigm have traditionally been reluctant to decentralised and private solutions (Lauglo 1995). Coordination at the central level is necessary so as to guarantee equality or equivalent provision of services. On the other hand, decentralisation of the state apparatus will give schools enough autonomy to improve education, and choice among schools *within the public sector* will make schools more accountable and stimulate them to improve.

School education is a human right that must be guaranteed by the state. Through schooling, economic and other equalities in the larger society can be achieved. In turn, society benefits from a schooled population. Thus, the state has an interest in organising or, at the very least, supporting formal education. Agents other than the state would not concern themselves with issues such as democratic training, democratic participation and equality (Carnoy 1992).

5.3 *The Communitarian Paradigm*

Communitarianism is not a paradigm in the same sense as the others. Rather, it consists of various ideas and practical approaches that have a certain common denominator, different from the core of the other paradigms. Communitarians have a common denominator in what Thomas (1994) calls ‘college’ (the local as the platform for decision-making and locus of intent); decisions are made at the local level and for the common good at that level. That is, a ‘community’ or an association should be the context for decision-making and ties of solidarity. The common is not necessarily the nation-state but a ‘community’.

In the view of communitarians, both welfare bureaucracy and market forces undermine altruistic incentives (Green 1993), while communitarianism is a third alternative – between large-scale capitalism and centralised political bureaucracy (Etzioni 1995, p. 149). The latter are perceived to create anonymity and alienation (Hunter 1995). A vacuum has emerged in between the individual and the central state. The holism that formerly existed in peoples’ lives has become individualism and even atomism (Etzioni 1995; McCarthy et al. 1981). Communitarians argue

that a strong civil society is a necessity for the preservation of individual liberty and that ties and networks are very important elements in society and communities (Wesolowski 1995).

There are two branches of communitarianism. One is the early (or conservative) communitarian, based on the local community traditions. This branch has a long tradition in the USA but became more articulate from the 1970s in the form of some organised religious groups and scattered and unorganised groups of parents and/or teachers (Etzioni 1995; McCarthy et al. 1981; Piven and Cloward 1995). The other branch is the late communitarianism that emerged in the 1960s.

For some of the early communitarians, the goal is to restore the 'spirit' of community (Etzioni 1995), while others go still further and argue for a restoration not only of the spirit but of the functions and forms of the old communities (McCarthy et al. 1981). In some places, intermediate units such as clans, extended families and so on, are the foundation for communitarianism (Wesolowski 1995).

Communitarians of this type have a minimalist approach to the role of the state, but they see a need for a state (in the same way as conservatives do). Also, this branch has similarities with and is by some researchers called populism and is often locally or nationally oriented (Lauglo 1995). However, some features that Apple (2000) assigns to neo-conservatives also fit here: 'romantic appraisal of the past', 'real knowledge', national curricula, national testing, 'Western tradition' (p...).

Late communitarians do not see 'community' as something necessarily based on common residence or locality but as some type of 'sameness' (Offe 1996) or shared life style, be it ecological issues, feminist issues, gay life styles, etc. Community then is more or less an aggregate of autonomous individuals that share certain concerns (Blackmore 2000). This branch seems to have been influenced by communism, anarchism, utopian socialism and post-modernism. It is internationally oriented and defends individual autonomy and civil society, and in this category, we find adherents to the new movements that started to emerge in 1960s (Held 1995). The community is a basis for identity formation and democratic participation (Waters 2000). This branch is critical of the neoliberal concepts of freedom and preferences as something neutral and independent of social and cultural context; both of them are acquired in a social, political and cultural context. Late communitarians see the common good as resulting from shared activities and transmitted values from which the individual derives his or her freedom and choice possibilities (Haldane 1996; Kukathas 1996).

In regard to education, schools should be locally owned and run, either by local communities, NGOs or other associations. Late communitarians argue that many children grow up without a network in which they can be properly socialised and supported. Schools are expected to repair this 'undereducation' but are too narrow in their task and too test oriented. They should teach morals, solidarity and responsibility and produce social capital. Democracy should be learnt by experiences of cooperation, moral training and so on in school life (Etzioni 1995). Finally, there are certain similarities between late communitarians and the de-schooling movement (Illich 1971).

6 Meta-ideological Dimensions

From studies on values and morals (e.g. Inglehart 1990, 1997; Norris and Inglehart 2004; World Values Surveys), we may derive or distil certain ideological features, which here are considered as dimensions of paradigms. Certain features of paradigms are highly relevant in an educational context. If we take these features to be dimensions with opposite poles, the paradigms can then be located on these dimensions. Provisionally, the dimensions have been scaled into seven categories.

The dimensions are (i) materialism/consumption versus post-materialism, (ii) centralism versus decentralism, (iii) big state versus small state, (iv) purposive rationality versus value rationality, (v) representative democracy versus direct democracy, (vi) secularism versus sacredness, (vii) self-orientation versus other orientation, (viii) individualism versus collectivism and (ix) autonomy versus equality. In principle, the paradigms and ideologies can be placed along the dimensions as in Table 1.

Materialism/Consumption Versus Post-materialism This dimension is used by Inglehart (1990, 1997) and Norris and Inglehart (2004) in their analysis of the value shifts that seem to have taken place in many countries. Materialism and consumption means that acquisition of goods and services takes place principally for its own sake. Post-materialism means that priority is given to nonmaterial ideals (morals, ecology, humanitarianism and so on).

Centralism Versus Decentralism This is an ‘old’ dimension that has been debated ever since the emergence of classical ideologies. This dimension has, however, been revived. It concerns the level of decision-making and implementation. *Big state versus small state*: It deals with the legitimacy and desirability of state intervention in society. Logically, this dimension does not have to accompany the centralism-decentralism dimension.

Table 1 Principal paradigms and ideology dimensions

Materialism, consumerism	M	E			C1	C2		Humanistic, post-materialist values
Centralism			E	C1			M, C2	Decentralism
Big state	E			C1	C2		M	Small state
Representative democracy	E		M ^a				C1, C2	Direct democracy
Secularism	M, E			C2		C1		De-secularism
Purposive rationality (reason)	M, E					C2	C1	Value rationality (moral)
Self-orientation	M		C2	E		C1	S	Other orientation
Individualism	M		C2	C1		E, C1		Collectivism
Autonomy/freedom	M	C1 ^b	C2	E				Equality
Universalism	M, E			C2			C1	Particularism

M Market orientation, *E* Etatist orientation, *C1* Early communitarianism 1, *C2* Late communitarianism 2

^aApart from representative democracy (elite competition for running of the state), choice is democracy

^bNot individual but local autonomy in relation to the central state

Representative Democracy Versus Direct Democracy: Secularism Versus De-secularism This dimension should not be perceived to apply to the religious aspect only. Apter (1965) and Gellner (1994), for instance, see strong de-secularist elements in utopian ideologies as the opposite of secularism.

Purposive Versus Value Rationality Whether drives and purposes deal with achievement in measurable in technical/economic terms or with achievement of moral/value goals.

Individualism Versus Collectivism Refers to the arrangements for attaining goals – whether the goals should be predominantly individual or collective and whether the goals should be attained through individual or joint efforts (Thomas 1994).

Self-Orientation Versus Other Orientation Refers to the goals themselves (*ego vs. alter*) – whether self or other is the object for goal achievement (ibid).

Autonomy/Freedom Versus Equality The attainment of former tends to imply increasing inequality and vice versa. When resources are or are seen as limited, this dimension is articulated.

Universalism Versus Particularism Universalists assume that social, political and educational phenomena are transferable to any cultural context in the world, regardless of time and place, while the opposite applies to particularists.

Three of the most globalised paradigms are placed along these dimensions in Table 1.

The placements of the paradigms in positions along certain dimensions should be seen as approximations based mainly on the sources mentioned (see, for instance, Inglehart 1990, 1997). The essential thing here is whether an ideology or paradigm has a middle position or whether it is to the ‘left’ or the ‘right’. Moves are not visible in the table, but it may be mentioned that several social democratic and socialist parties around the world have moved on the dimension of centralism-decentralism in the direction from an ‘etatist to a communitarianist’ position market proponent and late communitarians share positions on decentralisation, small state, self-orientation and autonomy with etatism. We also find that communitarians are opposite to the other paradigms on representative versus direct democracy.

Approximations of positions of paradigms along certain, relevant dimensions can also be made specifically for the domain of education, and we use two ideologies (and political parties) – conservatism and social democracy – in Sweden as examples (see Table 2). The following dimensions have been included: (i) education as skills formation versus education as broader personality formation, (ii) education principally as an instrument for achieving higher productivity and citizenship competence versus education as a value in itself, (iii) limitless choice versus no choice, (iv) education run as a market versus education as a public matter, (v) centralised governance versus decentralised governance, (vi) competition among schools and among students versus cooperation among schools and among students, (vii) national curriculum versus local curriculum, (viii) education as individual good versus as common good, (ix) secularism versus de-secularism and (x) diversified versus Unitarian.

Table 2 Educational paradigm and ideology shifts of two political parties in Sweden

Education as skills formation	M2	M1	S2	S1			Education as personality development
Education as an instrument		M2 S2	M1		S1		Education as a value in itself
Limitless freedom of choice		M2	M1	S2		S1	No freedom of choice
Private, market	M1	M2	S2	S1			Public
Individual good	M1		M2		S2	S1	Common good
Decentralised governance	M2	S2	M1			S1	Centralised governance
Competition	M1 M2			S2		S1	Cooperation
National curriculum	S1		S2	M2	M1		Locally adapted curriculum
De-secularism	M1		M2			S1 S2	Secularism
Diversified	M1		M2	S2		S1	Unitarian

Table 3 Basic features of the market-oriented, communitarian-oriented and post-modernist paradigms and their common denominator

Market-oriented	Meta-ideology (globally hegemonic common denominator)	Communitarian-oriented and post-modernist
<i>Generally</i>		
Civil society as society minus state, profit or utility maximization, effectiveness, efficiency, competition, human capital	Individualism, freedom of choice, technical (purposive) rationality, participation, individual autonomy. Private actors, entrepreneurs	Civil society as society (minus state and market), human rights, NGOs, solidarity, values, multiculturalism, local community
<i>The common denominator educationally</i>		
Individualism, freedom of choice, purposive (technical) rationality, decentralisation, per pupil funding of schools, accountability, participation, individual autonomy, state withdrawal, education as an individual issue. Education seen as The Motor of development. Lifelong learning		

The changed positions of these two Swedish parties from the 1950s to the first decade of the new Millennium are pointed out in Table 3. The approximations are based on their messages in massmedia in 2002, 2006, and 2010, and their party programmes in the 1960s.

Moderaterna (the Moderates) was a conservative party, at least until the end of the 1990s. Still during the preparations of the implementation of a comprehensive education system in Sweden, the Conservative party was reluctant to have a common school for all children in the beginning of the 1950s. Their general profile was Conservative. In the 1990s, they changed their name to *Moderaterna*, and then in the beginning of the new Millennium, the party programme was somewhat

changed but still more so was the implemented policy. The *social democrats* were reluctant to privatisation and decentralisation until the end of the 1980s, for example. Their general profile was etatist-welfarist but has changed in the direction towards the market-oriented and communitarian paradigms.

Since the 1980s, certain developments in the educational research and policy community laid the groundwork for the spread and main streaming of the market paradigm to many areas of the globe. Ideological elements such as ‘the agent’, ‘the micro’ and ‘the rational individual’ took a leading position in the educational research and policy communities (Ball 1990; Craib 1992; Morrow and Torres 2000; Popkewitz 2000). These are typical features of the market-oriented paradigm. However, another discourse stemming from the communitarian paradigm emerged with a focus on cultural issues and human rights. The elements of these two dominant paradigms are now articulated in the form of globe-wide policies, their common denominators (see Table 3) attaining global spread.

A more or less uniform policy has been formulated or implemented world-wide, more specifically introduction of market forces and decentralisation; standardisation of educational ladders and curricula, global reduction of gender differences in math and science; globalising demand for educational credentials; more and more similar types of homework and a growing similarity in how nations organise and govern their school systems (Spring 2009).

Reich (1997) has coined the concept ‘symbolic analyst’ (i.e. professionals who to a large extent use symbols in their work – they are researchers, consultants, etc.) and they are heavily involved in the world-wide dissemination of the market and communitarian paradigms and their common denominator.

7 Conclusion

Despite frequent incompatibilities with local economic structures and cultural patterns, the meta-ideology or paradigmatic features described above are taken for granted by policymakers around the world. The educational features that have been globalised are ostensibly biased towards achievement, cognition and purposive rationality.

Governments are compelled or have the ambition to be on the track, and the meta-ideology is seen as the answer to the requirements of competitiveness and modernity. This is one of the principal reasons for the ideology and paradigm shifts (Burbules and Torres 2000; Camps 1997; McGinn 1997; Meyer et al. 1997).

To use dimensions for analytical purpose can be fruitful in different ways: (a) we can place the policies of one and the same political party or government on the scales at different moments in time and establish if and what shifts have taken place and (b) we can discover what positions different political parties in a country have at a certain moment in time. The dimensions make evident what positions different ideologies or political parties have at different moments in time but also how they compare

at a specific moment in time. When there are shared positions, there is space for 'alliances'. Also, a middle position may be seen as pragmatic and makes it possible to negotiate with both 'sides'.

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Globalisation and Social Change

John P. Keeves, I. Gusti Ngurah Darmawan, and Petra N. Lietz

1 Globalisation, Education and the Wellbeing of Humans

The most striking change during the past two centuries has been the growth in the number of people living on planet Earth. Over this short period of time in the history of the planet, the human population has increased sevenfold. The reasons for this change have frequently been attributed to increased ‘food supply and health care, albeit unevenly achieved on a global scale’ (Lincoln 2006, pp. 51–52). However, it could be argued that both of these sources, together with many other contributing factors, were dependent on the establishment world-wide of formal education that developed in different countries at different stages over different times, during the past two centuries and, in particular, during the past 100 years. The advancement of knowledge on food production and in the fields of health care has been largely dependent on the ways in which formal education has been provided. There was no prescribed world-wide policy for the establishment of educational services until the past two decades. Moreover, there has been little recognition or scholarly work on the changes in world education that have occurred, except by Connell (1980) that covered only part of the twentieth century. Consequently, it is necessary to examine briefly in this chapter several aspects of this change, particularly the formal drive towards globalisation and the monitoring in the future of the changes in human

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development and in the initial learning of the skills of literacy and numeracy by people across the whole world (see also Zajda 2010a, 2014a).

Following the cessation of hostilities in the First World War, a proposal was advanced for the formation of a League of Nations in 1919. However, one of the most powerful nations, the United States of America, was not willing to join the League. Germany only joined in 1926 and withdrew 7 years later. The USSR joined shortly afterwards in 1934. Japan withdrew in 1933 and Italy in 1936. Within a few years, in 1939, most of the major countries of the world were engaged either directly or indirectly in a Second World War. After the termination of the Second World War in 1945, the leaders of the Allied Forces moved to establish the United Nations Organization with strong support from the United States and a headquarters in New York and with many subordinate agencies. One specific agency was formed in 1946 to develop cooperation across the world between nations in the fields of education, science and culture, namely, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It was this organisation, UNESCO, based primarily in Geneva, but with affiliated centres in different parts of the world, and at times, without support from the United States, that initiated, endorsed and supported educational activity and the movement towards globalisation.

UNESCO, in its early years, considered especially the problems of developing countries, by establishing an institute for the training of teachers in Mexico in 1951, and institutes primarily for lifelong education in Hamburg, Germany, in 1951 and for educational planning in Paris in 1963.

Fifty years ago, a small group of scholars meeting at the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg recognised that little was known about the educative processes which were operating across the countries of the world. There was one man who gave nearly 50 years of his life to building a body of knowledge and spreading that knowledge across the world through the preparation and publication of monographs, journals, handbooks and encyclopaedias as well as monitoring the advancement of the outcomes of education across the world. That man was Neville Postlethwaite.

After 40 years of operation, the thrust of the UNESCO program shifted towards 'Education for All' following a World Conference at Jomtien in Thailand in 1990 and a World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000 for a comprehensive review of policies concerned with basic education and the progress made towards 'Education for All' (Zajda et al. 2008; Zajda 2010a). The forum reaffirmed commitment towards these ambitious goals by the year 2015. Two major political developments facilitated this movement towards globalisation in education, namely, the removal in 1990 of the barrier that formed in Europe after the cessation of the Second World War and the remarkable move by many countries towards democratic government during the 40-year period from the 1950s to the 1990s (Giddens 1999). The thrust of the World Conference on 'Education for All' in 1990 was not just concerned with initial education at the elementary school level. Targets were set on six important dimensions:

- Expansion of early childhood care and development
- Universal access to completion of primary education

- Improvement in learning achievement
- Increase in adult literacy rates
- Expansion of provision of basic education and training in essential skills required by youth and adults
- Increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values necessary for better living and an improved quality of life (Maclean and Vine 2003, p. 18)

The path towards globalisation in the field of education was laid down in 1990 by UNESCO and its members, which no longer viewed the countries and their people who occupied planet Earth as fragmented national groups, who fought for the rights of trade and for territory as well as the accompanying wealth and mineral resources. Tensions still exist (Zajda 2010c). However, there are global forces at work that seek unity and fairness among the seven billion people now living in a uniting world. The rate of growth of the world's population is now of concern for all, and the major solutions to the problems raised by the so-called population explosion lie through education and the establishment of agreement among the peoples of the world that there are solutions that can be realised for sustainable development.

The challenge for the survival of the human race on planet Earth that flows from the explosion of the worlds' population arises from six main natural sources. Lincoln (2006) has provided an informed overview of the situation and the nature of these sources that have challenged the human race: (a) the limited supply of fresh water, (b) the limited supply of food, (c) the limited supply of fossil based fuels, (d) the limited climate and temperature range in which human beings can live, (e) the emergence of new forms of disease that are harmful to human beings and (f) the destruction of ozone in the stratosphere. In addition, there are also seven non-natural or man-made sources that have highly destructive effects, namely, (a) the use of weapons of mass destruction involving nuclear fission; (b) the use of pathogenic bacteria and viruses in biological warfare; (c) the possible harmful effects of genetic engineering; (d) the harmful effects of industrial accidents, the spillage of huge quantities of oil and the release of radioactive fission and decay products; (e) the loss of soil fertility, through erosion and through salinisation; (f) the reluctance of groups of people to share territory when damage occurs from asteroid and comet impact, tsunamis and typhoons and (g) the widespread availability of narcotic and other drugs.

The many different agencies of the United Nations Organization monitor many of these natural and non-natural sources and causes of disasters and their widespread harmful effects. However, the spirit of globalisation provided by the United Nations Organization is beginning to have highly beneficial effects. There are, moreover, two areas where monitoring is occurring on a world-wide basis that are directly related to the field of education, which give guidance for the programs and operations of UNESCO and that are related to the globalisation movement which has emerged in recent decades (Zajda 2010a, b, c). These two areas are (a) the monitoring of the well-being of the human race through the use of the Human Development

Index and the Gender Inequality Index and (b) the monitoring of educational achievement, particularly with respect to the foundational skills of literacy and numeracy and the learning of mathematics and the sciences.

2 Globalisation: Monitoring Human Development

The major human characteristic that arises from the effects of globalisation and the impact of the processes of education is referred to as ‘human development’. There are now nearly 200 separate national entities in the world that are linked together in the United Nations Organization. In June 2010, there were 192 member states of the United Nations Organization that were able to provide data on aspects of human development. In addition, there were the occupied Palestinian territories, Hong Kong and Macao, which were Special Administrative Regions of China, the Taiwan Province of China, as well as other small countries and emerging areas.

Some nations and countries are very large, both with respect to the physical space that they occupy and with respect to the number of people that they contain. Other nations and countries occupy small islands that have relatively few people. Some countries can be classified as highly industrialised and are referred to as ‘developed’, and the rest are referred to as ‘developing’, where the idea of development generally involves industrialisation. Developing countries can be classified in terms of their links to the UNDP regional bureaux: Arab States, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia (CIS), Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Other important groupings involve the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the European Union.

2.1 *Index of Human Development*

The Human Development Index (HDI) is calculated for those countries that can provide the necessary data. These 169 countries were classified into four groupings for 2010, namely:

- Very high human development (with an HDI of 0.788 or above) (42 countries)
- High human development (with an HDI of 0.677–0.780) (43 countries)
- Medium human development (with an HDI 0.488–0.669) (42 countries)
- Low human development (with an HDI below 0.470) (42 countries)

Over time it is possible for countries to shift from one category to another, and not necessarily to move to a higher level on the HDI scale. Furthermore, it is possible to examine from a starting point in 1980, using a hybrid HDI measure that has changed overtime, the effects of globalisation with respect to changing economic and political circumstances as well as, more importantly, population growth.

The monitoring of the effects of globalisation is of interest and importance for those who undertake the planning and the making of policy in the many different

countries and the social and cultural groups of the world (see also Zajda 2014b). While the use of an index such as the HDI necessarily over-simplifies greatly the situation under consideration, it can be employed to indicate the operation of changes that has adverse effects on the overall human development of the people in the countries that occupy planet Earth. The major issue is necessarily to plan for 'sustainable development'. Moreover, it would appear that the advancement of formal education over the past two centuries has led to marked population growth. Furthermore, population growth is likely to be a major contributing factor to climate change. Currently, it is widely accepted that there are only economic solutions to climate change. Nevertheless, certain economic solutions could have deleterious effects on human well-being across the world, in either the short or long term, if it were assumed that they would provide the major solution to the problem. However, it is likely that the solutions to the problems of climate change and population growth, as well as the other changes that may be having adverse effects on human life, such as the shortages of food and of potable water in certain regions of the world, demand an educative approach.

An example of the importance of the process of education on the problem of population growth is discussed in some detail by Inayatullah (2003) from Pakistan with respect to female literacy and its relationship to population growth.

A significant reason for laying greater emphasis on female literacy is the established relationship between it and fertility. Summers (1992) reported on a World Bank study linking female education and fertility where educating 1000 women would have averted 600 births. (Inayatullah 2003, p. 296)

Thus, there is evidence of the relationships between the participation of girls in schooling, fertility and population growth, with a rise in literacy rates leading to a decline in population growth. The consequences of the acceptance of such a relationship could lead to the control of population growth particularly in regions of Asia and Africa that could contribute to the solution of the problems generated through the 'population explosion'. Under these circumstances, consideration is given in this chapter not only to the Human Development Index but also to a related index that involves the examination of differences between males and females – the 'Gender Inequality Index (GII)'. The United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Statistics Division are responsible for the preparation annually of the Human Development Reports that examine change overtime with respect to these and other indexes.

3 Calculating the Human Development Index

The combining of the different perspectives of health, economic advantage, educational attainment and the expected participation in education at the national level to form a single index that enables changes which arise from the effects of globalisation to be monitored over time is of considerable practical significance for the making of policy, particularly with respect to the provision of education. The appropriate index for these purposes must be capable of being assessed in a very wide range of countries. In addition, it must focus on those essential aspects of human development that

Calculating the human development indices—graphical presentation



Fig. 1 The construction of the Human Development Index (HDI) (Source: UNDP 2010, p. 215)

can be accepted in a wide range of cultures to be meaningful and important. Moreover, the procedures for the collection of this information must remain stable over time.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) initially resolved in the 1970s to collect information on four characteristics of the population of a country.

- Life expectancy at birth
- Adult literacy rate
- Primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio
- Gross domestic product per capita (UNDP 2009)

Figure 1 shows in diagrammatic form how the revised Human Development Index is constructed and how the information is used to calculate the values of the index from the data collected.

A revised form of this index has been developed recently by UNDP. These versions of the index, employed by the UNDP, would appear to be similar to the resource conversion process advanced by Coleman (1971) that combined financial resources (GNI per capita) with social resources (life expectancy at birth) and human resources (educational level attainment) in a simple additive way to link together (a) a long and healthy life, (b) knowledge acquired and (c) standard of living. In addition, these ideas were consistent with the views of the Indian scholar and 1998 Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen (1999) in his studies of welfare economics.

Table 1 records the Human Development Index (HDI) values for a small number of countries in which the authors of this chapter have lived for long and short periods of their lives. Furthermore, the values of the four indicators of the index are recorded for 2010, and the rank order for each of the countries was calculated for 2010 with respect to the 169 countries that provided the necessary information (UNDP 2010, pp. 143–146). Life expectancy at birth (years) is the number of years a newborn infant could expect to live if the current patterns of age-specific mortality rates at the time of birth were to remain the same throughout the child's life. Mean years of schooling is based on population censuses and household survey data compiled by UNESCO and from other sources to provide benchmarks for school attainment by gender and age group. Expected years of schooling are estimated from information based on data concerned with enrolment by age at all levels of education. However, cross-national comparisons of expected years of schooling should be made with caution (UNDP 2010, p. 140). GNI per capita (PPP US\$) is the

Table 1 Human Development Indicators (HDI) for 2010

Country or region	HDI 2007	^a Life expectancy at birth	^b Mean years of schooling	^c Expected years of schooling	^d GNI per capita	^e Rank world order
Australia	0.937	81.9	12.0	20.5	38,692	2
Sweden	0.885	81.3	11.6	15.6	36,936	9
United States	0.902	79.6	12.4	15.7	47,094	4
United Kingdom	0.849	79.8	9.5	15.9	35,087	26
Germany	0.885	80.2	12.2	15.6	35,308	10
Indonesia	0.600	71.5	5.7	12.7	3,957	108
<i>Developed countries</i>						
OECD	0.879	80.3	11.4	15.9	37,077	
Non OECD	0.844	80.0	10.0	13.9	42,370	
Very high HD	0.878	80.3	11.3	15.9	37,225	
High HD	0.717	72.6	8.3	13.8	12,286	
Medium HD	0.592	69.3	6.3	11.0	5,134	
Low HD	0.393	56.0	4.1	8.2	1,490	
World	0.624	69.3	7.4	12.3	10,631	

Source: UNDP (2010, pp. 143–146)

Notes

^aIn years, for 2010

^bIn years attainment

^cIn years expected

^dGross national income per capita ppp US\$ for 2008

^eFor 169 countries

gross national income in US dollars expressed in purchasing power parity terms divided by the size of the population.

In addition, HDI values are recorded in Table 1 for six specially selected countries, for the world and two economic regions and for the four groupings with respect to the level of the Human Development Index. The first five countries listed in Table 1 have very high values of HDI that are greater than 0.84 and life expectancy levels very close to 80 years, together with high levels of education and high levels of GNI per capita.

Australia has a high rank (ranked second in 2010 behind Norway) that arises from its very high level of life expectancy as well as from its high level of health services. Moreover, Australia has a relatively high level of participation by adults in education, and many of whom are of immigrant origin and are enrolled in university and technical and further educational institutions. The values for these five countries can be contrasted with the values recorded for Indonesia that is in the Medium Human Development group of countries. It is of interest to note from the foot of Table 1 that across the world, life expectancy is 69.3 years and the average GNI per capita is above US\$10,000.

Table 2 presents the Trends in the Human Development Index for specific years associated with the period of time for which such values are available from 1980 to

Table 2 Trends in the Human Development Index 1980–2010

Country	HDI rank 2010	Human Development Index (hybrid) values										Average annual HDI growth			
		1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010	1980–2010	1990–2010	2000–2010				
Australia	2	0.791	0.819	0.887	0.914	0.925	0.935	0.937	0.57	0.67	0.25				
United States	4	0.810	0.857	0.873	0.893	0.895	0.889	0.902	0.36	0.25	0.10				
Sweden	9	0.773	0.804	0.843	0.889	0.883	0.884	0.885	0.45	0.48	-0.04				
Germany	10	–	0.782	0.820	–	0.878	0.883	0.885	–	0.62	–				
United Kingdom	26	0.737	0.770	0.824	0.823	0.845	0.847	0.849	0.47	0.49	0.31				
Indonesia	108	0.390	0.458	0.508	0.500	0.561	0.593	0.600	1.43	1.35	1.82				
World	–	0.455	0.526	0.554	0.570	0.598	0.619	0.624	1.05	0.85	0.89				

Source: UNDP (2010, pp. 156–160)

2010 for the six countries of particular interest to the authors, namely, Australia, United States, Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom and Indonesia and the world. Six aspects of the data recorded are of interest. First, all six countries over the period of time from 1980 to 2010 are shown to have clearly identifiable increases in the values of the HDI with Indonesia recording a substantially greater rate of change and the United States recording the smallest rate of change. Second, all six countries increased over the years under consideration in the values of the Human Development Index. The United Kingdom, however, recorded a slight fall between 1995 and 2000, but recovered between 2000 and 2005. Third, Sweden declined from the value that peaked in the year 2000, but is slowly regaining in strength. Thus, growth in the value of the index under the influence of the forces of globalisation is not necessarily automatic, since the brief decline in the United Kingdom may have arisen from changes in GNI per capita and through immigration. Fourth, Germany was unified as a country in October 1990 and appropriate data were not available for 1980. Fifth, the estimated value of the HDI for the world has increased over the 30-year period from 1980 to 2010. Sixth, while the procedures for calculating the values of the index have changed over time, a hybrid form of the index has been developed to enable meaningful comparisons to be made across the 30 years involved.

4 The Gender Inequality Index (GII)

In 2010, the Gender Inequality Index (GII) replaced the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) as a composite index that sought to estimate the extent of gender inequality with respect to the four indicators that were incorporated within the original Human Development Index (HDI) that is described above, by estimating separate values for females and males. By combining the two knowledge or education values, the four indicators were reduced to three, and the three indexes were subsequently combined to form a single index of gender-related development. The new Gender Inequality Index (GII) considers the three dimensions of health, empowerment and the labour market and involves five indicators of the characteristics of the gender inequalities operating within a country and between countries:

- Maternal mortality ratio
- Adolescent fertility rate
- Female and male population with at least secondary education
- Female and male share of parliamentary seats
- Female and male labour force participation rates

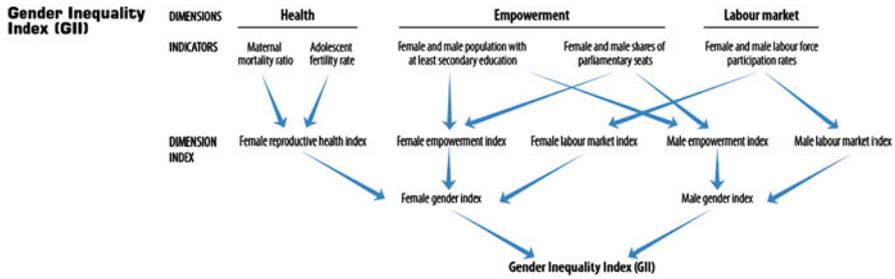


Fig. 2 The Gender Inequality Index (GII) and its components (Source: UNDP 2010, p. 215)

From these indicators, female and male gender indexes are calculated as is shown in Fig. 2, and from these indexes the Gender Inequality Index (GII) is calculated. This index estimates the difference in human development arising from inequalities in female and male achievements in the three dimensions of health, empowerment and the labour market. The index value of unity (1) indicates that women fare as poorly as possible in all dimensions, and a value of zero (0) indicates that men and women fare equally (UNDP 2010, pp. 215, 219–220).

Table 3 records the values of the five indicators for 2008, and where possible 2010, for the six selected countries of interest and for the developed countries, with respect to OECD membership, as well as for all countries with respect to HDI quartile-ranked groups and for the 169 countries of the world for which data were available. Sweden ranks third in the world for the Gender Inequality Index, with a low maternal mortality ratio and a low adolescent fertility rate and a high percentage of females holding seats in parliament. In contrast, Indonesia is ranked 100th on the GII out of 137 ranked countries and a relatively high GII value as a consequence of a high maternal mortality ratio and a high adolescent fertility rate as well as a low proportion of women with seats in parliament. In all comparisons recorded in Table 3, the percentages of males in the labour force exceed the percentage of females. However, it is only in the countries ranked medium and low on the Human Development Index that there are marked differences between females and males in their level of participation in secondary education, with the males having a higher percentage of the population aged 25 years and older, who had the opportunity to engage in secondary schooling. Across the countries of the world, there is a 10 % difference by gender in level of educational participation, with only approximately half of the women of the world having attended schools beyond the level of primary schooling.

Table 3 Gender inequality index and its components in 2010

HDI rank	Country	Gender inequality index		Maternal mortality ratio 2003–2008	Adolescent fertility rate 1990–2008	Seats (%) in parliament		Population with at least secondary education		Labour force participation rate (5)	
		Rank 2008	Value 2008			Female 2008	Male 2008	Female 2010	Male 2010	Female 2010	Male 2010
2010											
	<i>Selected countries</i>										
2	Australia	18	0.296	4	14.9	29.7	95.1	97.2	69.9	83.0	
4	United States	37	0.400	11	35.9	17.0	95.3	94.5	68.7	80.6	
9	Sweden	3	0.212	3	7.7	47.0	87.9	87.1	77.1	81.8	
10	Germany	7	0.240	4	7.7	31.1	91.3	92.8	70.8	82.3	
26	United Kingdom	32	0.355	8	24.1	19.6	68.8	67.8	69.2	82.2	
108	Indonesia	100	0.680	420	39.8	11.6	24.2	31.1	53.3	86.2	
	<i>Developed countries</i>										
	OECD	–	0.317	8	19.4	20.6	84.0	86.6	65.5	80.1	
	Non OECD	–	0.376	16	11.2	18.1	70.4	72.1	58.2	82.3	
	<i>All countries</i>										
	Very high HD	–	0.379	8	19.1	20.5	83.7	86.1	65.3	80.2	
	High HD	–	0.571	82	47.7	13.3	61.2	61.3	52.7	79.5	
	Medium HD	–	0.591	242	41.8	16.0	40.9	57.4	54.7	84.1	
	Low HD	–	0.748	822	108.9	14.4	19.0	32.0	61.3	83.4	
World		–	0.560	273	53.7	16.2	51.6	61.7	56.8	82.6	

5 Monitoring Educational Outcomes

In this chapter, it is argued that education is the major existing global force that can probably save mankind in the years ahead from destroying human life on planet Earth. While both national economic development and life expectancy are components of the Human Development Index, education is a key component of the index. Furthermore, while conservation of natural resources is also essential for human survival, the knowledge gained from scientific inquiry as well as the understanding and the application of such knowledge demand that nearly all people in the world have mastered the skills of literacy and numeracy. It is the task of education not only to undertake the passing on of cultural traditions from one generation to the next but also to ensure that all people in the world can contribute to what has become known by UNESCO as ‘sustainable development’.

The establishment of UNESCO by the United Nations Organization in the years following the end of the Second World War sought to ensure that these tasks associated with education, the maintenance of cultures and scientific inquiry were not restricted to the wealthier and more economically developed nations but were spread across the world to the rapidly increasing number of people occupying the planet. It is the purpose of this section of this chapter to address the issue of monitoring the basic outcomes of education in the fields of literacy, numeracy and the advancement of scientific knowledge at a global level to ensure that the challenges faced by mankind, currently and in the future, are being met.

It was from the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, which was concerned with supporting the process of lifelong education, that the monitoring of educational outcomes, as well as the advancement of an understanding of the forces influencing the quality of the educative process, was first raised as a world-wide issue. It was from a small group of scholars who met in 1958 that a movement for research into the quality of educational provision and the monitoring of the outcomes of education emerged within a global setting.

The work envisaged was highly complex, but was able to draw on the experience of many scholars from around the world. They planned the undertaking of the assessment and measurement of educational outcomes, the storage and analysis of data, the conduct of the sampling and processing of information and the drawing of meaningful conclusions from the evidence and findings assembled.

The scholars involved, led by Torsten Husén of the University of Stockholm, established themselves as an organisation for the conduct of research that became known as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). They started their program with a pilot study in 1959–1961, which was followed by a study of achievement in mathematics in 1962–1967, with the initial goal of testing the feasibility of such an investigation and the relevance of the enterprise in the building of a body of knowledge about the processes of education.

At these initial stages, only 12 countries were involved in each of these two studies. The next stage involved the expansion to six areas of the school curriculum,

science, reading comprehension, literature, French as a foreign language, English as a foreign language and civic education. This study operated from 1967 to 1975 with 21 countries taking part in one or more areas. The findings of this research continued to contribute to the building of a body of knowledge and the establishment of the theoretical foundations for the study of the fields of primary and secondary education.

The next stage from 1978 to 1990 sought to focus on the making of policy both within and between countries with studies into the classroom environment, preprimary education, computers in education and written composition and with replication studies in mathematics, science and reading literacy (see Degenhart 1990; Keeves 1995; Postlethwaite 2004; Papanastasiow and Plomp (2011)).

Two of these studies explored the possibilities of monitoring change over time, namely, the two science studies and two reading studies. During the 30-year period from 1959 to 1989, the procedures for the collecting and storing of data and of the measurement and analysis of data had been developed to such an extent that the monitoring of educational outcomes was feasible.

From 1990 onwards, much of the work undertaken by IEA has been directed towards monitoring change over time as well as expanding the number of countries across the world becoming involved in the program of research and accountability. By 2009, the number of countries in the world that had the necessary skills and concern for participation in one or more of these IEA research studies had risen to 82. A global movement was underway, which had been built up largely from voluntary efforts in a period of 50 years. The first subject field to engage in the monitoring process was that of science in 10 countries with studies both in 1970–1971 and in 1983–1984.

6 The First and Second IEA Science Studies

The Second IEA Science Study was conducted in 1983–1984 and was designed as a replication of the First IEA Science Study that was undertaken in 1970–1971. Nineteen countries were involved in the first study, and 24 countries were involved in the second study, with 10 countries taking part in both studies so that change in achievement over time could be examined. The aims of the second study were to (a) measure the current state of school science across the world in 1984, (b) examine the ways in which science education had changed since the early 1970s, (c) identify factors that explained differences in the outcomes of science education programs across countries, (d) investigate relationships over time in the explanatory factors and outcomes and (e) assist participating education systems, especially those in developing countries to investigate issues of particular interest in their own systems. The second study placed a greater emphasis on the production of national reports than had other studies conducted by IEA.

Of particular interest were the gender differences in science achievement in the 10 countries that participated in both studies (Kotte 1992). This work showed the

improved performance of girls in all fields of science. Keeves and Saha (1992) also examined the magnitudes of the relationships between science achievement and measures of social background between the two occasions of testing in the 10 countries involved. Marginally stronger relationships were recorded for 1984 than for 1970.

It would appear likely that this provided evidence that the effects of home background on science achievement at the 14-year-old level had increased over the period of 14 years. Such a change was also argued to be consistent with the development of a more meritocratic society across the world, where education was becoming more important for the attainment of higher social status. However, more technical alternative explanations were possible that were associated with improved measurement and greater spread in the outcome measures between occasions.

The performances of the students at the 10-year-old and 14-year-old levels across the countries involved on both occasions were Rasch scaled and equated across the two levels of schooling and the two occasions of testing 14 years apart. Figure 3 records the changes in levels of science achievement between 1970–1971 and 1983–1984, drawn on a common scale with a mean score of 500 and with 100 score units equivalent to one logit.

In a majority of countries at both the 10-year-old and the 14-year-old age levels after adjustments for the slight differences in the ages of the samples between occasions, there were recognisable gains in science achievement between 1970 and 1984. Science had assumed a more prominent place in the school curriculum from the initial years of schooling in most of the countries under survey. It was argued that since this was the first occasion on which achievement in science had been compared across time and across year levels and across countries, and because of the increasing emphasis on the learning of science, student achievement in science should be monitored by educational systems over time and efforts maintained to continue to raise the levels of science achievement (Keeves and Schleicher 1992, pp. 277–279).

7 The First and Second IEA Studies of Reading

The First IEA Study of Reading Comprehension was conducted in 15 countries in 1970–1971. The tests were constructed around four skills of reading at the 14-year-old level: (a) ability to follow the organisation of a passage and to identify antecedents and references in it, (b) ability to answer questions that were specifically answered in the passage, (c) ability to draw inferences from a passage and (d) ability to identify the writer's purpose, intent and point of view. Analyses confirmed the presence of these four specific reading skills, nested under a single higher-order reading ability said to involve 'reasoning' (Thorndike 1973).

The Second IEA Reading Literacy Study was conducted in 32 school systems in 1990–1991. The tests were constructed with the assumption of the operation of both a higher-order general 'reading ability' and three component factors involving

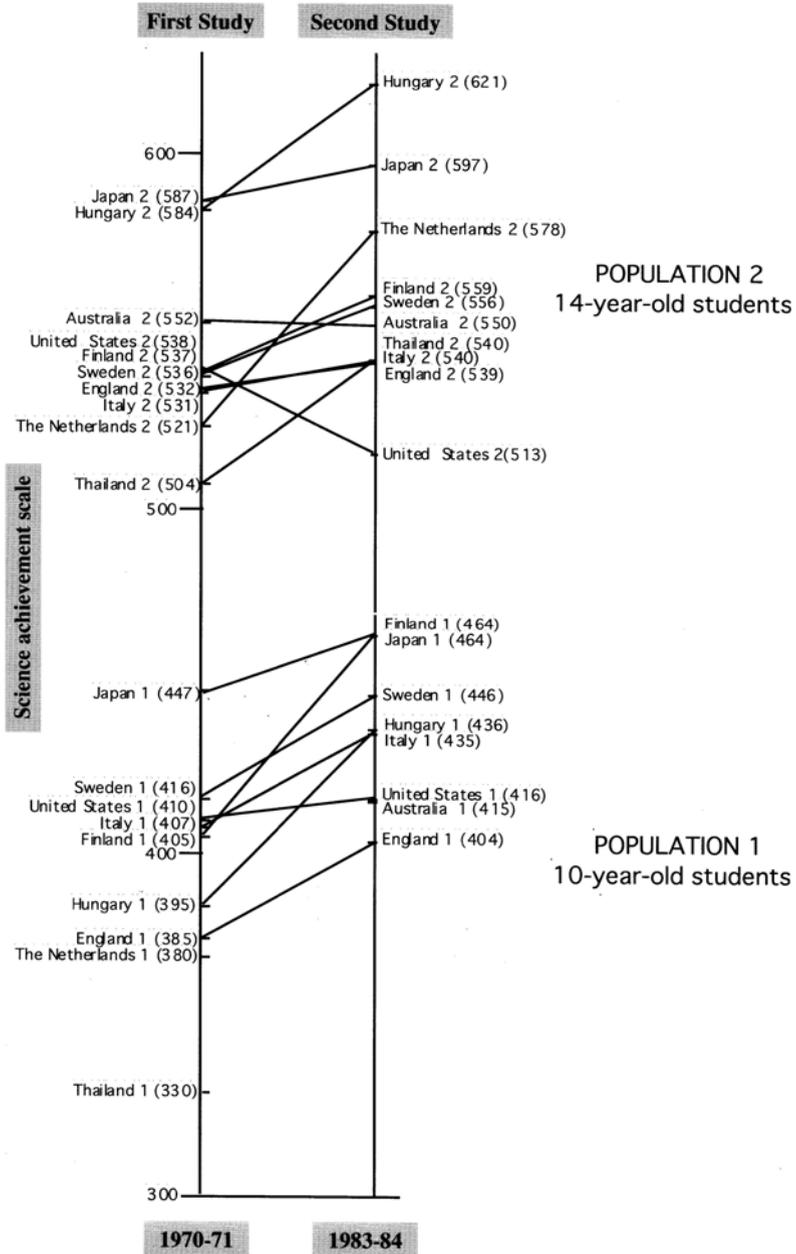


Fig. 3 Changes in levels of science achievement: 1970–1984 (Source: Keeves 1995, pp. 46–47)

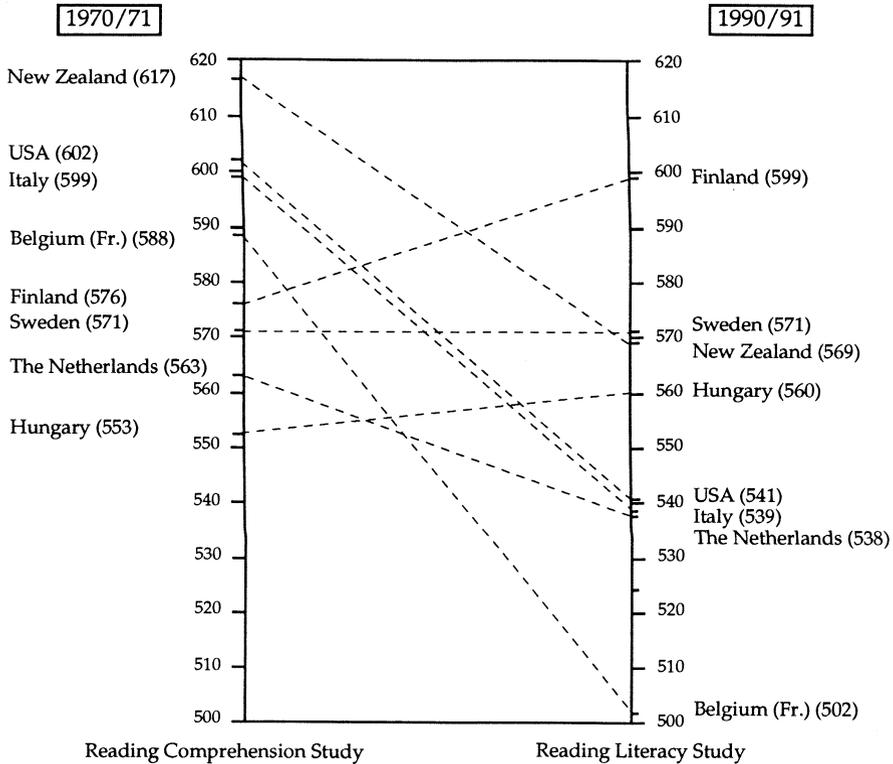


Fig. 4 Changes in reading achievement: 1970–1990 (Source: Lietz 1996, p. 182)

narrative, expository and documentary reading nested beneath the single factor of reading ability. This hierarchical structure of reading ability was validated by confirmatory factor analysis that supported the calculation of a total reading score as well as three subscale reading scores (IEA 1993). Thus, although the reading tests on the two occasions were apparently different in structure, it was shown to be meaningful to Rasch scale the test scores on the two occasions and equate the tests to compare the levels of performance of the eight countries that had tested in the two studies at the 14-year-old level on both occasions. Figure 4 records the change in reading performance between 1970–1971 and 1990–1991 for the eight countries on the two occasions measured on a common scale.

8 Globalisation and Monitoring Within Countries

From time to time, there have been survey studies with soundly drawn samples that have formed trend or longitudinal investigations to monitor changes in performance over time. The first major survey study of this kind in the field of education was

conducted in Scotland in 1932 and 15 years later in 1947 to examine change in intelligence over time (SCRE 1949). In England, a follow-up study of the Plowden National Survey of 1964 was undertaken 4 years later in 1968 and was reported by Peaker (1967, 1971). This study followed the same students over the two occasions. In Australia, the Australian Studies of School Performance was carried out in 1975 and again 5 years later in 1980 with 10- and 14-year-old students in the fields of literacy and numeracy (Keeves and Bourke 1976; Bourke et al. 1981). However, a substantial and continuing program was initiated in 1969 in the United States in order to assess achievement at the levels of grade 4, grade 8 and grade 12 in reading, mathematics and science and was named the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) (Tyler 1985). All these studies have had direct links with IEA, either in influencing the IEA programs or being influenced by the IEA studies.

The major problem in trend and longitudinal studies in the monitoring of performance has been to measure accurately and meaningfully change over time. At the beginning of the IEA studies, Georg Rasch was present among the group of scholars who met in Hamburg in 1958. His ideas were taken up by Ben Bloom and his colleagues and students in the Department of Education at the University of Chicago in order to develop systematically the use of the principles of measurement. These principles were advanced, first by Lawley (1943) in Scotland and subsequently by Rasch (1960) in Denmark that satisfied the requirements of measurement and permitted equating between levels of schooling and between occasions in order to provide for curriculum changes. Nevertheless, these ideas of not only measurement but also monitoring educational outcomes were strongly attacked in England (see Panayides et al. 2010). After a delay of nearly 30 years, appropriate and rigorous procedures were developed, and both IEA and NAEP were able to progress towards the making of strong comparisons of change in educational outcomes that permitted the meaningful monitoring of learning and teaching in schools both within and between countries from 1990 onwards.

9 Monitoring of Achievement in the National Assessment of Educational Progress in the United States

NAEP has assessed the educational performance of fourth, eighth and twelfth grade students annually with an assessment program that was specifically designed to meet the needs for information at the national and state levels. Figure 5 presents the NAEP mean scores for students in grade 4 and grade 8 in the subject of mathematics on a scale of performance where the standard deviation of the national grade group is approximately 50 score units. Over the time period from 1990 to 2009 of 18 years, there have been clearly recognisable gains in student performance at both grade levels. It can be estimated that for 1 year of schooling, the advancement in the level of achievement of students on the average is approximately 10 units per grade (or 40 units across four grades) with respect to 2009 scores. Thus, over the 18-year period, the grade 8 students have improved by 20

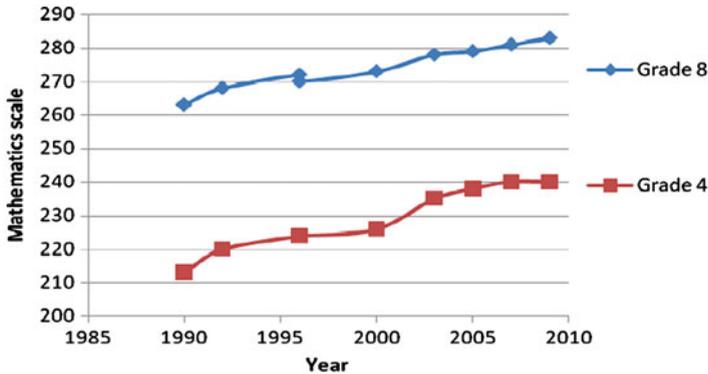


Fig. 5 Mathematics achievement of grade 4 and grade 8 students in the United States from NAEP studies in years 1990–2009 (Data source: <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/>)

score units or approximately 2 years of schooling. At the grade 4 level, the improvement has been even greater. These were substantial gains in achievement in a period of time of less than one generation, and this involved raising the performance of substantial numbers of students. While the expressed policy of the United States Government of ‘No Child Being Left Behind’ might not have been fully achieved, considerable progress had been made in the achievement of the basic level of performance by the grade 8 level.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress gave rise to a short-lived program, referred to as the International Assessment of Educational Progress (IAEP). Studies were conducted under the auspices of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States. The first study undertaken in 1988 in the fields of science and mathematics involved seven countries, and a second study carried out in 1990–1991 involved 20 countries, with students tested at the 13-year-old age level (Lapointe et al. 1989, 1992). However, this program was not sustained after testing on only two occasions.

10 Globalisation and the Monitoring of Educational Outcomes

Since 1990, under the guidance of UNESCO and the other United Nations agencies involved in the World Conference at Jomtien in Thailand that declared a global policy of ‘Education for All’, many of the nations of the world turned towards participation in a program of monitoring achievement in education. While there are many programs currently in operation cross nationally, there has been a drive among them towards the undertaking of monitoring achievement outcomes in education, either nationally or cross nationally, and in many countries, both national and

cross-national programs have been undertaken. Reviews of this movement from a global perspective have identified several different approaches. Benavot and Tanner (2007, p. 15) in a review for the UNESCO International Bureau of Education identified two major approaches, namely, '(a) an emphasis on learning outcomes and (b) an emphasis on life-enhancing educational experiences'. Kamens and McNeely (2009, p. 20), working from Stanford University in the United States, contended that the operation of three principal features were involved: '(a) ideologies of education as a source of national and world progress, (b) the hegemony of science as a critical means to development and (c) the idea that educational systems and indeed, society in general, could be managed to produce desirable outcomes'. Postlethwaite (2004), who was from 1962 to 1992 the driving force behind the IEA programs of studies, argued in simple terms that the two main reasons why Ministries of Education carried out assessment programs were (a) 'to identify the strengths and weaknesses in the system at a particular point in time and (b) to track changes in the system over time' (Postlethwaite 2004, p. 27).

As authors of this chapter, we argue in terms of (a) the needs of the peoples of the world for survival on planet Earth and (b) the well-being of each individual person alive on planet Earth, and (c) since programs must operate effectively at national levels, the needs of each of the 200 countries or regions forming the political structure of the world in which we live must also be considered. While the underlying thrust can be associated with globalisation, no single agency can undertake all the tasks involved in the monitoring of educational outcomes, the provision of educational services and the guidance of the educative processes in all situations across the 200 countries of the world. In concluding this chapter, it is important to identify the six major agencies below, currently involved in monitoring educational outcomes.

11 The Agencies Currently Involved in Monitoring and Evaluation Programs

11.1 The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

This agency is currently operating from a headquarters in The Hague, the Netherlands, and has several studies currently in progress that involve the assessment of educational outcomes:

PIRLS in Reading (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study)
TIMSS (Studies of trends in performance)
Civic Education Study

IEA commenced operation in 1959 and conducted its first study in 1960.

11.2 The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)

This agency is sponsored by the OECD and is based in Paris. It assesses the competencies of 15-year-old students in the domains of literacy in reading, mathematics and science.

PISA commenced operation in 1997 and conducted its first study in 2000.

11.3 Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ)

The SACMEQ agency is controlled by the Ministers of Education of 15 Southern and Eastern African Countries for the monitoring of educational quality and is supported by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) that is a UNESCO Institute located in Paris. SACMEQ operates from South Africa.

SACMEQ conducted its first major study in 1995.

11.4 Latin American Laboratory for the Evaluation of Quality in Education (LLECE)

This body is an assessment network and system that evaluates the quality of education in Latin America and is supported by UNESCO. Its activities are coordinated through UNESCO's Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (UREALC). The first study was conducted in 1997. LLECE sponsored a second assessment (SERCE) study in 2007. An Internal Oversight Service (IOS) focused on the impact of LLECE and evaluated the two assessment studies to examine their effects on the declared 22 objectives of LLECE, in the 15 countries participating in the program.

11.5 The Conference of Education Ministers of Countries Using French as the Language of Communication (CONFEMEN)

This body conducts a Programme for the Analysis of Educational Systems of States and Governments (PASEC).

CONFEMEN was founded in 1960 and had initially 15 member states. In 2009, CONFEMEN's office was located in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and CONFEMEN had 41 members, of whom 24 were participating in an evaluation

study that examined trend data in order to promote public debate about the quality of education provided within each system.

11.6 The World Bank

The World Bank is based in Washington DC, in the United States. The World Bank currently supports assessment and evaluation studies in individual countries. Assessments are made as conditions of loans to low-income countries that are granted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Studies are known to have been conducted in many countries including Kenya and Vietnam for which some findings have been made publicly available. The World Bank made approaches to IEA to undertake such work in 1981, but for a variety of reasons, this approach did not proceed.

These six agencies are supporting the monitoring of educational outcomes across a majority of the approximately 200 countries of the world.

12 Participation in the Monitoring Programs Across the World

In this chapter, two aspects of the effects of globalisation have been examined, namely, (a) the Human Development Index and (b) the achievement of educational outcomes, particularly of literacy, numeracy and mathematics and science performance in primary and secondary schools. Approximately 193 countries and areas could be classified with respect to the four categories of the Human Development Index and whether or not the country participated in the programs of monitoring educational outcomes conducted by the six agencies referred to in the previous section. It should be noted that the data were compiled from many sources, using information available in 2009.

Table 4 records a cross classification of agency against the assigned category of human development, together with 11 countries that were not assigned to an HDI category in 2009. In addition, there were seven areas that were duplicated in the information provided by IEA since, for example, Belgium was subdivided into the Flemish and French-speaking areas but not included in the information involving the Francophone countries. Consequently, the data recorded in Table 4 are provided to show a pattern of relationships rather than an estimated effect. However, approximately 70 % of the countries or areas of the world were, in 2009, engaged in one or more monitoring or evaluation programs. Thus, approximately 30 % of the countries or areas (54 countries) were not involved in a program, while 139 countries or areas were involved in one or more programs out of approximately 200 countries or areas. For other relationships, the percentages recorded in Table 4 are discussed rather than the actual numbers recorded.

Table 4 Country participation in monitoring programs

Agency	Very high HD		High HD		Medium HD		Low HD		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
N members	38	100	45	100	75	100	24	100	11	100	C200	
IEA	31	82	23	51	26	35	0	0	2	18	82	41
PISA	33	87	26	58	10	13	0	0	0	0	69	35
SACMEQ	0	0	2	4	8	11	3	13	2	18	15	8
LLECE	0	0	10	22	4	5	1	4	0	0	15	8
PASEC	0	0	5	11	10	13	13	54	0	0	28	14
World Bank	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	2
No entry	3	8	9	20	27	36	7	29	8	73	54	27
Country entries	35	92	36	80	48	64	17	71	3	27	139	70

Data compiled from many sources using information available in 2009

Both IEA (82 %) and PISA (87 %) served the very high human development countries. In addition, IEA (51 %) and PISA (58 %), together with LLECE (Latin American Program) (22 %), served the high human development countries. In addition, IEA (35 %) shared in serving the medium development countries that were also served by SACMEQ (11 %) and PASEC (13 %). It is PASEC (54 %) and SACMEQ (13 %) that provide the financial support required for the participation of the low human development countries in their assessment activities. There was some movement into and out from the programs of these agencies, and not all of the countries listed as members in this analysis were active members on any particular occasion or in any particular study.

Nevertheless, the overall impression provided by the data recorded in Table 4 established that in the 50-year period from when IEA first started its program of evaluation studies in 1960 with a small number of 12 countries, the thrust towards globalisation had led to quite remarkable growth in the monitoring of educational outcomes.

Moreover, this growth has been particularly strong since 1990 when IEA reoriented its program of research towards the monitoring of achievement, but without completely ignoring the research component of its work.

13 Conclusion

The world in which we live faces the immense challenge for sustainable development. In the past two centuries, the population of the world has increased sevenfold. The greatest single factor associated with this growth has been the advancement of formal education. The effects of increased formal education are particularly noticeable from the time of the cessation of hostilities in the Second World War. However, this chapter argues that only through educating to a higher level all the people who occupy planet Earth can the challenge for sustainable development be met. It is

necessary for the ‘globalisation movement’ that was initiated by the United Nations Organization and its agencies, particularly UNESCO, with an emphasis on education, science and culture, to continue to direct activities towards the sustainable development of the human race on planet Earth through the provision of educational services.

The advancement and expansion of the tasks of monitoring educational achievement across the years of schooling in 70 % of the countries of the world must be considered to be directly attributable to his lifetime of work. It is only through the globalisation of education across the world that the many challenges to the human race on planet Earth can be met (Zajda 2010a, 2014a). Neville gave his working life to monitoring the outcomes of education and the building of knowledge about the processes of education across the world towards attaining the major goal currently faced by mankind of sustainable development.

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Working with the Discontentment Around Globalisation: In Pursuit of the Promise of Education

Crain Soudien

1 Introduction

In 2003 the British Fabian Society produced a pamphlet in which they argued that the increasing economic inequality, exploitation and instability evident in the world today were not the ‘automatic product of globalisation’ but the result of a ‘particular brand of *free market globalisation* (emphasis in original)’. This brand, they argued, was ‘imposed by an elite group of free market ideologues, the key institutions of economic governance, self-interested rich nation governments and their associated transnational business corporations’ (Jacobs et al. 2003, para 1). To this brand of globalisation, they offered an alternative, a more positive concept of globalisation ‘which holds out new opportunities for human co-operation, peace, shared wealth and social solidarity’ (para 2). Important as this intervention is, particularly in questioning the negative way in which the concept is generally presented, I argue in this paper that it is based on a restrictive understanding of the significance of globalisation in our individual and collective lives. It is premised on an economic understanding of globalisation. Life in this politics is governed by the market and the institutions that surround it. Challenging this politics, it calls for an equitable system of global trade, the regulation of the market and the establishment of global mechanisms for the redistribution of income and wealth from rich nations and actors to poorer ones.

It would be naïve in the extreme to discuss globalisation outside of a consideration of capital flows, trade relations and market arrangements, but there is a good deal more to it. An economic reading of it misses the cultural, social, political implications of globalisation at the personal level, particularly the extraordinarily

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complex ways in which we ourselves – viscerally and in our consciousness – have become enmeshed in it. It misses also our articulations, personal and collective, with globalisation at the super structural levels of the very economy which supposedly sits at its heart. Our expectations, particularly those of us in the networks of political, economic and intellectual power, of what we have come to understand as ‘normal’ have inscribed in them a dependence on the facilitative instruments that have come to characterise globalisation, *inter alia*, information networks, monetary mechanisms and global regulatory structures. Whatever we think of globalisation, the extraordinary degree to which it has come to produce the normative frameworks within which we operate quickened the rhythm and pace of social change, and thrust us, we the various peoples of the globe, into connection, wanted and unasked for, with each other, which has reconstituted the basic conditions of the everyday. We find ourselves, at all levels of our lives, more affected by each other’s economic, political, social and cultural decisions than has ever been the case before (Held and Koenig-Archibugi 2003). Heightened interdependence is the fundamental new ontological reality which confronts us. It requires levels of sensitivity and awareness such as we have never been called upon to display before. It is this that makes education now the key universal of our times. In it, such as few other socialising experiences through which we go, such as our bringing up experiences in the family, or our induction into religious and belief systems, lies the opportunity for the enlargement of our capacity for critical consciousness.

Given these developments, I return to the question I posed in an earlier discussion of globalisation and education, how might we think of the value of education? (Soudien 2005a, b). In that contribution, I argued that we now have access to analyses of the significance of globalisation in sociology, cultural studies, politics and many other disciplines that are alert to both its oppressive and liberatory potential (Dimmock and Walker 2000; Held and McGrew 2003; Nandi 2002). The same possibility, I continued to suggest, existed for discussions of globalisation and education. In this paper, I seek not just to repeat that argument, but to draw out the urgency of the educational imperative for how we manage ourselves in the complexity of globalisation. The capacity it provides individuals and communities with opportunities for critical thinking, of thinking of their self-interest and the interests of others, is deeply important for the prosperity, peace and social and cultural advancement of the peoples of the world.

As in the previous work, I introduce what I argue are the two dominant educational critiques of globalisation, namely, the *delinking* position and the *subverting* position. The first seeks to break with globalisation and to stand ‘outside’ of it and its educational cultures and apparatuses. The second acknowledges its ubiquity and so argues for staying ‘inside’ and reforming the systems and structures on which it depends. These, I argue, are by themselves inadequate and so I attempt to show that an alternative position to globalisation already exists in the practices of individuals and groups around the world which is based on a critical synthesis of the insights of the *delinkers* (or *outsiders*) and *subverters*. I seek to show that in this practice, in its recognition of the limitations of language to deal with the complexity of social identity and social issues, encapsulates the promise of education. Central to the synthesis is

what the delinkers and subverters could bring to a new and alternative pedagogical practice. From the first, we have a scepticism rooted in the conviction that there exists in and amongst us, and is indeed practised, alternative understandings and knowledges of the world. From the second is a conviction that dominant forms of social practice and their pedagogical forms can be overhauled. It is in the interaction of these two perspectives that new pedagogical practices with potential to resist those forms of globalisation that are only about standardisation, homogenisation and universalisation of values and sociocultural norms can be envisaged. How this interaction is managed as an educational act is the primary objective of the article.

The argument made here uses McGrew's hermeneutical framework (see Hall et al. 1992). The significance of McGrew's approach is its refusal to make globalisation a totalising discourse which ineluctably pulls the world in a single direction only and thus conditions and determines the fate of all who come within its compass. This position is suggested by some of globalisation's most strident critics, such as Amin 1997; Wallerstein 1983; and even, in some ways, in the much more nuanced work of Castells 1996.

Deeply aware of the power of the new economic conditions in which we find ourselves, McGrew argues, as I tried to suggest at the beginning of this contribution, that central to the new circumstances in which we find ourselves is the re-articulation of the local and the global into a new relationship defined by the disembedding and re-embedding of actual time and space. This argument—time-space compression—is well known.

It is in the context of these globalised developments that the question of education comes to assume much greater significance (see Giddens 1991, p. 4). It has become more difficult for both individuals and groups to make their way through the challenges of modern life, with competing claims on their loyalties, particularly with respect to events that are culturally and socially distant and remote from them. Their ability to navigate these conditions in which they find themselves is marked by, on the one hand, the oppositional logics of “blood”—nation, culture, race or their supposed common history—and on the other, claims to their sense of morality and justice: that which they think is right. Their embeddedness and articulation into this complexity is characterised by this tension. This is at the heart of what the educational challenge is: How to stimulate in human beings the capacity to identify with the pain and suffering of others without directly experiencing that pain and suffering themselves and so to act in the interests of and for all humanity. Where, in the last 100 years or so, a concern with these issues may have been the preserve of the intellectual classes (see Sanders 2002, p. 4, talking of the role of the intellectual after the Dreyfus affair in France in 1898) or, as Giddens (1991, p. 86) said, of the ‘affluent strata’, the development of this capacity has increasingly become a general social question. People are having to think their way through profoundly difficult moral questions which, just a generation ago, would have been resolved by assertions of what is commonly understood as their ethnic or racial identity as Africans, Indians, Europeans, Chinese and so on (i.e. thinking with their “skins”).

What, however, can education offer? What promise does education hold for the development of the ability of young men and women to think their way beyond

themselves and their own circumstances into a broader ecological appreciation of their interdependence? What kind of education will equip people, wherever they might find themselves, to deal with these issues? Towards answering this challenge, the approach taken in this essay, following Held, McGrew, Goldbatt and Perraton's work (1999), is to argue for an educational way of engaging globalisation. Such a way, it is suggested, is by bringing the scepticism of the outsiders into a dialogue with the political commitment of those referred to as the subverters.

To constitute the lineaments of this dialogue, it is necessary to make clear who the outsiders and the subverters are and what they stand for. In setting these positions up, it is recognised that what is being attempted here is not a full and final account of the complexity and contradictions of the postures taken by the respective theorists and schools of thought to which they belong, but a survey of those elements in their arguments that speak to the condition of globalisation and its derivative meanings such as universalism, standardisation, homogeneity and uniformity. In accepting that the theorists referred to are not all strictly addressing the question of globalisation, it is important, nonetheless, to recognise how much they are talking about the *substance* of globalisation, that is, the questions of conceiving the world through the prisms of universalisation, homogenisation, integration, uniformity and standardisation. It is this that makes the delinkers and the subverters necessary objects of scrutiny. They help to inform what the politics of engagement with globalisation might look like.

2 The “Outsiders”

The work of the outsiders is varied and complex and ranges, powerfully, from structuralist analyses to what are essentially sociocultural perspectives. This work is consistently growing in sophistication and clarity. Its immediate focus is hegemony. In an earlier version of this argument (Soudien 2005a, b), I began with the socio-cultural and recovered then the political economy analysis approaches used by the delinkers. This time I begin with the structural to acknowledge the material primacy of the economic in the everyday. While the theorists in this group of delinkers do not consistently use the term globalisation, important in recognising their distinctiveness is the controlling and assimilative power they see in hegemony and which they seek to reject.

Amongst the most important political economy delinkers is Samir Amin (1997). Invoking the political economy language of ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’, he argues stridently for the delinking of the local sphere from that of the global. He suggests that the global ‘centres’ have used what he called the five monopolies to assert their precedence politically and economically. These are technological monopoly, financial control of worldwide markets, monopolistic access to the planet's natural resources, media and communication monopolies and monopolies of weapons of mass destruction. He argued for the delinking of the national from the global, ‘which in my view remains the crucial link simply because of the existence of a political organization that we will be experiencing for a long time yet, what I call

delinking ... is unavoidable' (Amin 1997, p. 40). Instead of the world generating solutions to problems through international agencies, nations and regions must define their own solutions. From this perspective, solutions emerge from the bottom up. Nations work with their own problems from the vantage point of their own political dynamics and then, having distilled their own answers and solutions, take these to the next level, which is the region, and from their own locally informed position engage with other countries and powers in the global arena. This is an important argument. Its point of departure is the precedence which needs to be given to the local. It is not naïve about the need for managing relationships on a global scale, but it does not wish which of the 'centre' to be the basis on which the local begins its analysis of what is in its own interests.

Alongside of the structuralist critique, there exists a deeply important sociocultural critique of globalisation. This critique is made by scholars and theorists who take post-colonial positions to black feminists such as Lorde and hooks and the increasingly important cultural critique based on the work of Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko who make the argument for indigenous epistemologies and ontologies.

The post-colonialists seek to argue that there is a way of living and knowing beyond the shadow of globalisation (see Loomba et al. 2010). Important about their general orientation is their insistence on understanding the relationship between culture and the economy, and an equally strident insistence on 'keep(ing) alive particular metanarratives for critical purposes, while minimizing and accounting for their European traces' (Loomba et al. 2010, p. 34). This leads one directly to the work of Lorde whose central mission was to end the burden of the subordinate operating within the rules of dominant groups in society. She wrote in *Zami* (1982) also quoted in Lewis-Qualls 2000) that what was needed was for the development of 'a self-defined, self-created genre, emphasizing the multiplicity inherent in ... knowledges/experiences, and refocusing, reshaping, and challenging traditional epistemic concepts'. Lorde was unhappy with the way in which traditional, 'objective' knowledge obscured its own biases, excluded the narratives of others not like itself and erased them. To deal with these difficulties, she argued for a way of understanding that embodies complexity, multiplicity, contradiction and change (Schneir 1994, p. 169).

Based on a body of writing that has become iconic, particularly but not only in feminist circles and epitomised by the line 'the Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's House' (hooks 1994, p. 96), Lorde's work has provided malcontents with interesting critiques of dominance. Out of it has emerged piercing dissections of how dominant and globalised forms of knowledge work and how they might be questioned. What is significant about this writing is its insightful commentary on the state of education and knowledge about self and *other*.

Briefly, bell hooks (1997), also writing from a black feminist perspective, took a similar position to that of Lorde. She explained:

It was disturbing to me that intellectual radicals who speak about transforming society, ending the domination of race, sex, class, cannot break with behaviour patterns that reinforce and perpetuate domination, or *continue to use as their sole reference point* (her emphasis) how we might be or are perceived by those, whether or not we gain their acceptance and approval. (hooks 1997, p. 129)

Powerful about the Fanonian contribution is its interest in defining a way of living for oneself in the present that was not in a state of permanent thrall to colonial hegemony. This constituted for him ‘a living death’ (Gibson 2011, p. 9). He insisted on understanding the self-organisation of the oppressed. In this was the alternative to hegemony—a kind of ‘absolute’ negativity emanating out of a lived revolt (p. 10).

Evident in the variety of these outsider approaches to globalisation, it needs to be said, is a serious and sustained critique of the hierarchalising and ranking, the dividing and indeed the *othering* proclivities of globalisation. The problems highlighted are deep, but, unfortunately, the critiques do not do enough to help one understand how to engage in the complexity of dominance and to move beyond it. The culturalist approach of the black feminists and the religious and political fundamentalists struggles to articulate the basis for a real alternative episteme. While the literary outsiders and some of the African-centred philosophies, such as Lorde’s, are important as critiques, the result of their work is a set of dispositions and behaviours which, in the end, turns them into critical insiders. The delinking economists, on the other hand, fail to engage with the politics of the conjuncture and to deal with the existing conditions of connectedness. Absent in their approach is a recognition of the already connected world and the ways in which institutions and individuals everywhere are articulated into processes and protocols which are incongruous with national or regional independence. While authors such as Amin (1997) have said that the economic and cultural system they are arguing for is not an autarchy, it is exactly the autarchic principle of economic autonomy, and by implication, cultural autonomy that underpins their approach. As Meyer and Ramirez (1999) have argued, there is an explicit world order which provides the world with models to copy and to standardise and which increasingly makes it difficult, if not impossible, for even the remotest parts of the globe, to seek independent lines of development.

So, evident in these arguments is an intense desire to escape from the embrace of the globalised mainstream, but not enough explanation of how this might be done. As Lewis-Qualls (2000) has argued, ‘(Lorde) lacks a language to communicate what she knows about multiplicity’. Similar difficulties are evident in particular versions of Afrocentric, indigenous knowledge and other religiously centred philosophies. An example of the first is what Adams (1997) described as the self-determination school of thought in the USA which emerged out of frustration with the mainstream establishment. It sought to separate black people physically and socially from the majority of the society and to create an independent ‘environment such as a state in which blacks can implement their survival strategies’ (Adams 1997, p. 441). This frustration is also seen in the work of radical Aboriginal educators in Australia. Brady (1997, p. 421), for example, said that her ancestors had in place systems of education and social cohesion ‘which sustained them for 40,000 years... I believe that it is time we empowered ourselves to take back our education so that we can move with pride into the next 40,000 years’. Another example is found on the African continent itself and is promoted by Banteyerga (1994) who argued that ‘“modern education” is not satisfactorily addressing the problems of Africa to meet the needs and aspirations of the African people’. Supporting Banteyerga (1994), Nekhwevha (1999, p. 492) made the point that Africans need to move away from

‘their long academic sojourn’ in the Western imagination and should struggle ‘to make African culture and experience the primary constituent of our world view’. For Nekhwevha (1999), this approach would be integrative, empowering and liberatory. Central to all these critiques is a specific understanding of hegemony as a predatory globalising movement which has no respect for local culture and local knowledges.

What these challenges lose sight of, however, without wishing to diminish the importance of their critique of mainstream education, is how Africanisation or indigenous knowledge systems are *already* engaged in conversation with the global world. It is true, as Seepe (1998) and others implied, that intense processes of cultural alienation have taken place within African communities. What, however, an appeal for the revival of a displaced Africa underestimates is the extent to which African people continue to hold on to their own cultural practice *and* to take these practices into modernity, which is characterised by the dominance of institutions and practices defined by European ideas of rationality such as humanism, individualism, democracy, parliament, systems of justice, education and so on that emerged in the eighteenth century. In the process, the African people are redefining modernity and, indeed, their own traditions. Globalisation in this situation is not a one-way process. A similar point could be made about particular forms of Islamic education and other religiously based forms of education that seek to extract young people from the commitments and entanglements they already have with the existing modern global world in which they find themselves. Unilateral declarations of epistemic independence are hardly possible and any attempt to police the boundaries of the knowledge-making experience and to insist on “protecting” it from globalisation is, as Sardar (2004) has argued in his new book, *Desperately Seeking Paradise*, fraught with the dangers of authoritarianism and intolerance.

It is in this recognition of an emerging cultural practice that one begins the process of developing alternative forms of education. This requires, I want to suggest, a politics that is not just about delinking, but about linking the world in ways that are already in practice and developing the epistemic frameworks that are able to work with this interrelatedness and to translate these into curricular and pedagogic practice. Let us turn to the ‘insiders’ to see what a critical deconstruction of their approaches might offer towards such a new approach.

3 The ‘Insiders’

What is the ‘insider’ position? There is, it is important to emphasise, no single and coherent ‘insider’ position. Insiders are themselves in dispute strategically and tactically. There is, however, a commitment to working with the politics of domination and especially with globalisation. The range of positions includes the contributions of particular radical constructivists (Harding 1993), post-Fordists (King and McGrath 2002), multiculturalists and those of a variety of Marxists.

There are two approaches amongst the constructivists that bear attention, namely, social constructivism and post-Fordism. Constructivism takes some of its elements from scholars such as Dewey, who take their point of departure from the experience of doing. Through doing knowing citizens could be developed who were actors rather than spectators in social life (see Phillips and Burbules 2000, p. 33). An important articulation of learning through doing is provided by Harding (1993, p. 54), who argued that in societies organised hierarchically ‘by race, ethnicity, class... or some other such politics... (elites) both organize and set limits on what persons who perform such activities can understand about themselves and the world around them’. What was needed, instead, she argued, was an approach which works epistemologically with the positions of the people ‘upon whom limits are set’ because these people are able to generate more critical questions and so provide a more inclusive framework for working with a diversity of knowledge bases (ibid). It is in finding ways of surfacing the emergent assumptions and propositions of how things work that lie behind their practice that new educational forms could be imagined. The relevance of this position for developing an inclusive rather than marginalising form of globalisation is great.

Some post-Fordists (King and McGrath 2002, p. 33), aware of the potential loss of the opportunity to engage with what people know, argue that globalisation has the potential to further marginalise ‘already economically peripheral individuals, communities and economies’. Their interest is in turning globalisation, through education, into marginalised people’s favour:

Post-Fordism emphasises ... the need to extend both quality and quantity in a drive towards a high skill economy,... to greater worker autonomy and the need for a new combination of knowledge and skills. The rapid nature of technological change under post-Fordism highlights the need to foster skills and attitudes for lifelong learning and highlights the impossibility of once-and-for-all training at the beginning of a career path.

Interesting as the radical constructivist positions and the post-Fordist positions are, particularly insofar as they appeal for the need for higher-order thinking, they do not obviously engage with the central question of power and displaced knowledges and skills. In different ways, they essentially accord an agency to the individual and the group which underplays the extent to which social structures (which are of dominance in globalisation) shape the conditions of their participation in society and the capacity people have to bring sublimated knowledges and understandings into play. Critics (Prawat 1995, p. 14) of social constructivism point to an ‘excess of individuality’ in its approach, while post-Fordists have been slated for taking the politics out of knowledge production. The Marxist riposte to these critiques, which is that economic relations are determinative, has similarly been found wanting.

In the wake of the retreat of the socialist project (with the collapse of the Soviet Union), Marxism and neo-Marxism have found their basic sociological approaches seriously threatened by new and rival epistemological readings of society. The most critical reading of Marxism has come from post-colonialism, which accuses Marxism, and indeed Marx himself, of being reductionist, essentialist and totalising,

and of being complicit with a Eurocentric project and ‘with imperialism in its contemporary guise as globalisation’ (see Bartolovich 2002, p. 1 and Connell 2007). Bartolovich’s response is that postcolonial studies have ignored the economy. Referring to an editorial note in *Postcolonial Studies* in which a Benetton exhibition was reviewed, she commented, ‘Does it never really occur to (the editors) that these material forces (the economy) might have something to do with Benetton’s ‘semiotic’ success?’ Bartolovich (2002, p. 11) went on to make the point that the ‘dizzying disequilibria’ of power and resources in the contemporary world system are:

literally *irreducible* without closing the gaps in *material* inequalities among peoples (emphasis in the original). Significantly, for contemporary Marxists, the preoccupation of Post-Colonialists with the ‘contest of cultures’ (and education) misreads the imbalances within the global political economy and the very material ways in which the imbalances produce intellectual and cultural effects: Radical metropolitan intellectuals must recognize that it will only be possible to ‘think globally’ as a matter of course when the current global asymmetries... have been eliminated. (Bartolovich 2002, p. 14)

This line of thought has been taken up by a number of scholars, who argue that globalisation of capital is fuelled by a neoliberal ideology (Apple 2002; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Zajda 2014). These challenges, they argued, can be addressed through the ‘advance of contemporary Marxist scholarship’. At the heart of McLaren and Farahmandpur’s argument is the thesis that education is necessary for the direct production of labour power—the one commodity that generates the entire social universe of capital. Educators constitute the guardians of labour power and can either reproduce or subvert it ‘by inserting *principles antagonistic* (emphasis in the original) to the social domination of capital’.

The principles referred to include social justice, equity and solidarity for progressive change and are materialised through the process of explicitly teaching students how knowledge is related to the process of production and consumption historically, culturally and institutionally. The role of a critical pedagogy is to help people live humanely and to live as humans and to enable people to realise their powers and capacities. Unlike liberal education, which is focused on the individual, critical pedagogy is social: ‘Revolutionary critical pedagogy attempts to help individuals liberate themselves *through* the social, through challenging, resisting and transforming commonly held discourses and practices... the creation of a society in which each person participates according to his or her abilities for the benefit of his or her needs’. Elements of this are evident in Grossberg’s (1994) praxical pedagogy in which people are offered the skills that would enable them to understand and intervene in their own history.

The contributions by McLaren, Farahmandpur and Grossberg are important for the purpose of this discussion. However, there remains a difficulty with the approach they suggested. Tired as they are (see Bartolovich 2002, p. 15) of the debate, the problem remains that the nature of the world that they had conceived is configured around a Western version of modernity. This modernity provides the temporal framework for understanding and locating all meaning. Presented this way, sensitive as they may be to differences (see Bartolovich 2002, p. 15), this perspective decentres and in some ways delegitimises experiences outside of the struggle of what it means to be a ‘Western’ modern subject.

What this critique of the insiders suggests is that one is confronted with social constructivists who accord too much freedom to the individual and with Marxists who continue to operate inside a structural hermeneutic framed by an over-determinative economic analysis. What this over-determinacy produces is what Wagner (see Le Grange 2004, p. 73) has very usefully referred to as a blind spot. A blind spot is what scientists don't know enough about or care about. Try as the Marxists might to take into account the non-Western other—the colonised, or the 'non-European'—they cannot help but view the humanity of a non-Western subject against a Western understanding of what humanity is, and it is only until the Western version is attained that the subject might be said to have attained full humanity.

4 Working Across the 'Outside' and the 'Inside'

While there is a great deal to be said about the hegemony of Western forms of cultural capital (see, e.g. Soudien 2005a, b and Tomlinson 2003, p. 225), what is important for this discussion is the impact that it has had on educational practices around the world, especially educational policies. Critically, inclusive as educational policies have attempted to be in most countries, they have come to settle around normative markers—literacy and competence in the global economy—that advantage English-speaking middle-class groupings and disadvantage others who do not fit this profile or who struggle to obtain the attributes of English-speaking and middle-class behaviour.

There is a disjunction between preferred pedagogical cultures almost everywhere and the daily lives that people live. Characteristic of these daily lives, it is argued, are dispositions and forms of deportment that are rooted in everyday knowledge (constituting what Muller 2000, p. 79, would call the 'profane') which has insufficient purchase in the world of achievement. Confronting modern education in all of its complexity, young, marginalised people, and sometimes their teachers, operate in a world signposted by people other than themselves and with what Partha Chatterjee (1997, p. 5) has described as 'the imposition of high culture on society'. The effect of this, as Chatterjee (1997, p. 30) has said, is that young people and their teachers have to work with a 'discourse... which, even as it challenged the colonial claim to political domination, it also accepted the intellectual premises of 'modernity' *on which colonial domination was based*'. This, it is suggested, constitutes the central paradox of globalisation and education for many countries around the world (see Chatterjee 1998). The paradox amounts to the abidingly complex puzzle of how countries might engage with this 'high' road and still remain alert to the challenges of including all their people. Even in countries such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and now China which stand as examples of alternative but successful forms of modernity, and where it has been argued that Confucianism and systems of trust were powerfully influential in fostering economic development (see Amartya Sen 2000), the paradox continued. Japan, for one, wrestles with the question of how

to bring up its children and to deal with new social problems such as youth crime (see Kamijo 2000, p. 183; Numata 2003, p. 261).

Against this backdrop, we have two interrelated problems in working with the outsider and insider positions of our malcontents. For the former, it is about dealing with the contradictions that come with their own insider locations. The second problem is the managing of bewilderment, and often ineptness of the avowed insiders, with respect to the totalising discourse that globalisation stands for. I made the argument in an earlier (see Soudien 2005a, b) critique that ‘engaged’ forms of pedagogy rhetorically proclaim a position but seldom demonstrate what such a position consists of. In developing such a position, I suggest that critical engagements with globalisation already exist in practice. Instead of having to invent new ways of explaining how individuals and societies might mitigate, overcome and even transform the corrosive and exclusionary standardisation and homogenisation of globalisation, the challenge of contemporary education is to make explicit the pedagogical processes surrounding the existing practices that already exist. Efforts in this direction have also been made by people such as Gough (2000), who said, drawing on an argument about performativity, ‘if knowledge is recognised as both representational and performative it will be possible to create a space in which knowledge traditions can be performed together’—a third interstitial space between the local and the global.

The significance of understanding this practice as ‘already there’ is its locatedness in what Gough and others, including Lorde and Grossberg, have termed the *third space* or *the gap*. This third space is neither inside nor outside but pivots across the difference between being inside and outside. It is argued that this third space is already an entrenched feature of everyday life in many societies. It is present, for example, as young Chinese people encounter the similarities and differences between old cultures that their parents remember and cherish, and the Western world presented to them in films, songs, texts and social practices. It is present as the young South African males engage with the logic of debate as opposed to physical prowess to register their newly acquired manhood (see Soudien and Nekhwevha 2002). To understand the pedagogical character of this pivotal point and to see how it might be made explicit and therefore, inform practice, it is necessary to turn to literary theory and the work of scholars on difference and the interpretation of difference, such as Homi Bhabha (1994).

Referring to interpretation and the challenge of understanding, he made the comment that ‘the linguistic difference that informs any cultural performance [and here it is important to include “education” too] is dramatised in the common semiotic account of the difference between the subject of a proposition [the “you”] and the subject of enunciation [the “I”]’. The drama of the moment is captured in the act of interpretation where the ‘I’ cannot address its history in its own words and is not conscious—because of the general conditions of language and discourse—of the strategies that are mobilised in the moment of enunciation. This difficulty of expression is important. It points to ambivalence, or better, instability, deep in the heart of the moment of enunciation. How am I to speak? How might I represent this object? This is the moment of possibility. It is at this moment that the enunciator experi-

ences an episode of crisis. What he or she is representing is not a mirror of anything but, as Bhabha (1994, p. 37) said, an ‘open, expanding code’ framed by the possibility of language.

Language in itself is never sufficient enough to encompass or consume the object of representation. It is always grasping. Trinh T. Minh-Ha (1996, p. 5), referring exactly to this difficulty, spoke of ‘language only communicates itself in itself... (and) constitutes a material reality of its own. How one renders this reality is another matter’. This opens up the way for the enunciator (the educator) to begin questioning his or her relationship with the object of enunciation. If the enunciator cannot find all the words to contain that object, can it ever be fully understood? This is the most critical, complex and powerful moment in any learning process. It demonstrates to the learner and the teacher the hubris of any form of totalisation. Knowledge cannot be faithfully and completely reproduced. It is always in a state of interpretation. Looking at it in this way, all knowledge is therefore provisional and vulnerable. No knowledge is absolute.

Globalisation as universalism and homogeneity and standardisation as a new form of totalisation are therefore problematic. Knowledge itself must therefore be made the object of inspection and not simply be accepted or rejected because of where it comes from. What are its history, objective and scope?

Following this line of thought, any pretension of the “inherent” originality and purity, and therefore superiority, of one knowledge form over another is untenable. As Bhabha said, ‘[this moment], though unrepresentable in itself, constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation and ensure[s] that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew’.

It is only through a sustained process of education in the skills of deep historicisation and deep interpretation that this appropriation can be made possible. And it is true that different forms of education can achieve the same effects, as Appiah (2002) and Wright (2002) have argued, using Ashante and Yoruba history as examples. Subjecting all forms of knowledge to the enquiry of not only what it proposes but also where it comes from, and how it is constructed, opens it up to a scrutiny that reveals its constructedness. It is then that one can really work with it. These approaches are inherently the approaches of the sceptical outsiders, who are always alert to how they are positioned in relation to the dominant knowledge forms (am I included in it or not), and the determined subverters seeking to include themselves on absolutely equal grounds. This deepening, it is suggested, is what education should strive for.

Importantly, however, it needs to be understood that this is the promise only and not, ipso facto, the fulfilment. While historicisation and crises of interpretation always produce something new, it is possible that the attempt to mediate, translate and interpret the other often produces ‘an assimilation of contraries’ which either domesticates the object or ruptures the continuity that binds it to the enunciator. This assimilation of contraries produces what Gough (2000) has spoken of as *perturbation* or what Bhabha (1994, p. 38), quoting Fanon, described as ‘that occult

instability which presages powerful cultural changes'. That those changes could be perverse as far as the other is concerned is important to note.

5 Conclusion

How, in closing, do we turn this into practice is more easily said than done. At this point, however, what is at stake in the struggle for a different kind of education becomes clearer. From standardised forms of education that are taking root everywhere, we ought to, at the minimum, insist on the development of deep forms of engagement with the range of knowledges that people have access to. Said (2002, p. 46) talked of the 'critical sense that can only come from a sustained encounter with the actualities of reading and interpretation'. This reading, I want to suggest, need not only be textual. It must be that largely, but not exclusively. It needs to include the oral, visual and other forms of knowledge acquired in other kinds of ways. While this deep form of engagement does not guarantee that the young people who emerge from an encounter with it will necessarily become better people, the chances that they will be able to deal with the complexity of globalisation more assuredly and with a more generous sense of themselves in relation to the world must certainly be greater.

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Globalisation and Public Education Policies in Latin America

Robert F. Arnove

1 Introduction

The local public radio station in Bloomington, Indiana, carries a national and international business news programme “Marketplace” which has among its corporate sponsors General Electric (GE). Two of the corporation’s advertising blurbs are the following:

1. “GE: from plastics to medical systems to lighting GE, we bring good things to life”.
2. “Marketplace is made possible by GE and its 300,000 employees worldwide, who believe that understanding the global economy is everyone’s business”.

Yes, indeed. Understanding the workings of companies like GE in the global economy is particularly pertinent to my home town, where, as Joann Wypijewski pointed out in a February 12, 2001, article in the *Nation* magazine entitled, “GE Brings Bad Things to Life: For Downsized Workers in Bloomington, It’s Time to Start Thinking Globally”. Over the past 10 years, GE and other major corporations, like Otis Elevator and RCA-Thomson Electric, have moved more than 3,000 jobs south of the border to the *maquiladora* assembly plants where Mexican workers are paid \$2.00 an hour without benefits, instead of the \$16 dollars an hour with benefits that American workers are receiving. At the same time, an influx of manual labourers from Mexico and Central America into highly exploitive low-paying jobs in Bloomington and surrounding counties forms a growing shadow economy.

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2 Rationale for Global Education for Democratic Citizenship Education

Among the deleterious consequences of corporate restructuring to maximise profits has been the erosion of high-paying jobs, the creation of economic enterprise zones largely exempt from fair labour practices and adequate health and safety regulations, and the large-scale transnational migration of manual labour who often face hostile climates for themselves and their children in neighbourhoods and schools not prepared to welcome them. At the same time, current advances in telecommunications enable educators to link up classrooms with students and teachers from around the world to share common concerns and the ways in which the Internet can connect internationally minded activists to the struggles of peasants and workers to organise and defend their lands and rights whether in the rain forests of Brazil or the mountains and jungles of Chiapas or the shop floors of contracting factories of major multinational companies such as Nike in Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Just as these global forces can divide and fragment communities and social movements, they provide opportunities for unifying peoples engaged in common struggles for human dignity.

The phenomenon of globalisation can be defined as the “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1991, pp. 6–9; Held 1991, p. 9). Various adjectives may be used to describe the different dimensions of this process. Certainly economic and cultural globalisations are foremost among the descriptors used for the processes by which societies are increasingly linked in real and virtual time.¹ Economic globalisation, the result of major transformations in the processes of producing and distributing goods and services, is integrally related to changes in the international division of labour. One of the central characteristics of this highly globalised capitalism is that the factors of production are not located in close geographic proximity. Simultaneously, however, national economies are increasingly integrating into regional ones. The era of “Fordist” mass-scale production within national boundaries has been replaced by “just-in-time” Toyotism.² The fragmentation and reintegration of economies is facilitated by concurrent revolutionary improvements in telecommunications and computerisation, all made possible by quantum leaps in the production of scientific and technological knowledge. The ease with which individuals can communicate via satellite, and by which products can be assembled and disseminated, has its cultural counterparts in the so-called Coca-Cola-isation [sometimes also referred to as “Coca-Colonisation”] of the world and the spread of television programmes and movies from the West and North to the rest of the world (Barber 1995). These trends are paralleled by the increasing use of English as a language of scholarly production and advanced studies, as well as the language of business and diplomacy. Flyers distributed at the most frequented transportation hubs and commercial centres of major cities around the world promote the study of English and computers as the surest and quickest way to find a job and enter the global economy.³

In the realm of education, globalisation further refers to the closely entwined economic and education agendas and policies promoted by the major international donor and technical assistance agencies, namely, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and national overseas aid agencies such as USAID (United States Agency for International Aid), CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency), and JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency). While conservative in nature, these policies are frequently denominated “neoliberal”. The terms derive from the neoclassical economic theories of classical economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who believed that the role of the state consisted in establishing the conditions by which the free play of the marketplace, the laws of supply and demand, and free trade based on competitive advantage would inevitably redound to the benefit of all. Government policies based on these notions have led to a drastic reduction in the state’s role in social spending, deregulation of the economy, and liberalisation of import policies. The educational counterparts of these policies have included moves to decentralise and privatise public school systems. The prescriptions offered by these powerful agencies are supposed to enhance the equality, efficiency, and quality of education. Although the state’s role is diminished in certain key areas of educational provision and administration, it also is enhanced in the sense of establishing norms for performance and regulatory mechanisms to guarantee accountability.

Fiscal stabilisation and structural adjustment policies associated with neoliberalism are designed to reduce a country’s budgetary deficits and external debt while bringing inflation under control. These were serious problems throughout Latin America in the 1980s, where, in certain countries, the annual inflation rate exceeded one thousand percent. The indebtedness of two Latin American countries alone, Brazil and Mexico, exceeded \$200 billion. The servicing and repayment of external debts was crippling the capacity of countries to grow economically. In need of foreign capital, the countries of Latin America (similar to those of Africa and Eastern Europe) turned to the IMF and the World Bank to obtain a good credit rating and access to foreign capital on reasonable terms. The “conditionalities” imposed by these external donors, while necessarily involving, in the short run, cuts in social spending, a tightening of the belt and economic hardships frequently for the poorest members of a society, in the medium-run are supposed to lead to economic stability and in the long run to economic growth. The argument also is made that in the absence of such economic stability and growth, democracy is unlikely to flourish.

3 Neoliberal Policies and Their Consequences

Education policies recommended by the staff of the World Bank also are supposed to favour the democratisation of school systems and more efficient use of scarce public resources to reach the neediest members of a society, while requiring elites to pay for the most costly levels of education that have the lowest rate of economic return.⁴

In a previous review of the “pros” and “cons” of these policies, however, I argue that the role of the state in educational provision is critical to national consensus formation and the creation of a democratic policy. There is little evidence to suggest that decentralising and privatising education have led to greater efficiency and less corruption in school management and financing. Furthermore, in a context of growing poverty, stimulated by neoliberal economic policies, the introduction of cost recovery measures such as user fees has had a deleterious impact on attainment of universal primary education and literacy. Many of the measures designed to strengthen school autonomy, facilitate the role of teachers in decision-making, and enhance the status of teachers as professionals have contributed to an erosion of teachers’ collective voice through unions. Moreover, moves to decentralise the financing and running of schools are complemented by neoconservative policies that dictate curricula and textbooks. As such, current curricular policies are not responsive to local variations in sociocultural context, a touted goal of current educational reforms. Contrary to these initiatives from above (national curricular standards and control, strict accountability measures usually associated with standardised tests, and greater local responsibility for raising school funds), most teachers throughout the region would prefer centralised financing to provide an adequate common floor of funding for all schools and more locally determined curricula (Arnove 1997). At a conference (held in Bellagio, Italy) on multicultural, democratic citizenship education for the twenty-first century, an English colleague quipped to me what decentralisation meant in Britain: “centralization of control, and decentralization of responsibility,” roughly corresponding to Hanson’s definition of “deconcentration,” which “typically involves the transfer of tasks and work, but not authority, to other units within an organization” (Hanson 2002, p. 2).

The consequences of the neoliberal economic and education policies, in my judgement, have been generally deleterious for the countries of Latin America. Interestingly enough, Latin America also may be the region most highly integrated into the neoliberal education agenda. This is a result of the nature of dependent capitalist development that has characterised the region since the nineteenth century (Carnoy 1990, p. x). Latin America is characterised by an unusual enrolment pattern: a larger than normal percentage of students enrol in the highest levels of education, while, given current levels of economic development, a greater than expected number of students do not complete basic education. Although attendance and completion rates are improving overall for previously disadvantaged populations – mostly as the result of progressive economic and education policies that target low income populations – a recent report of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL 2010, Table II.A-2.) indicated that rural populations have disproportionately lower relative to urban areas: for example, in Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, rural student secondary education completion rates are over 65 % lower than their urban counterparts – and high school completion is significantly related to opportunities for social and economic mobility.⁵

The excellent collection of essays edited by Reimers (2000) on education in Latin America documents a persistent pattern of unequal schools and unequal

chances for the most disadvantaged populations in the region. Most of the chapters on the six principal countries studied (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and the United States) reach the conclusion that many educational reforms of the previous decade may have contributed little to overcoming existing inequalities, and the overall outcome of neoliberal economic policies has been a widening of the breach between the richest and poorest in the region. The various authors systematically substantiate the fact that access to primary education has expanded to near-universal coverage of the relevant age group but that access to the levels of education that are most important for social mobility and entry into the most modern and competitive sectors of the increasingly globalised economies remain the privileged reserve of elites. Well-designed compensatory programmes may raise the scores on standardised tests of the most marginalised and disadvantaged populations of the countries studied but rarely close the achievement gap between the least and most favoured students. Moreover, as several of the authors point out, particularly Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein (2001) with regard to the Chilean case, even when scores are raised for the beneficiaries of compensatory programmes, only minimal competency levels are achieved. More sophisticated cognitive skills as well as enhanced feelings of efficacy are necessary if individuals and their communities are to effect improvements in their lives and more sweeping social change.⁵

4 Promising Educational Reforms

Policy reforms that could contribute to greater equality of educational opportunities and more equitable outcomes in the Americas (South and North) are documented in Reimers (2000) and substantiated by research in other regions of the world. They include quality preschool and early childhood programmes with supplementary nutrition and health-care services; more adequate school infrastructure so that poor, rural, and indigenous children have the same amenities (school desks and chairs, electricity, running water, and toilets) enjoyed by their more advantaged peers in urban and private schools; a flexible academic calendar responsive to the socioeconomic context of schools in different regions of a country; sufficient supplies of textbooks and culturally sensitive as well as socially relevant curricular materials in the appropriate languages; teaching guides matched to transformed curricula; student-centred, more active pedagogies that involve collaborative work as well as personalised attention to each child; significantly improved preservice and in-service teacher education and professional development programmes and opportunities; incentive pay for teachers working under difficult conditions and, generally, more adequate remuneration and social recognition of the importance of teaching; and, significantly, greater participation of teachers, parents, and communities in the design of education programmes to meet their self-defined needs, as is the case with the *Escuela Nueva* (New School) of Colombia, which has become a model for a number of countries around the world.

Intangible factors such as school culture (the values propounded by school personnel and student peer groups) also are significant. Bradley Levinson's 10-year study of a Mexican junior high school, for example, documents how the egalitarian ideology of the 1910 Revolution enters the discourse and practices of school personnel and is appropriated by students. The belief that *todos somos iguales* (we are all equal) strongly shapes interactions between students and, contrary to much US and European social and cultural reproduction theory, overrides the forces that would stratify students by social class, ethnicity, and gender (Levinson 2001). Research on equitable classrooms underscores the importance of multidimensional and complex instruction that demands high levels of performance of all students and encourages the development and evaluation of multiple abilities. In such classrooms, "the interaction among students is 'equal-status,' that is all students are active and influential participants and their opinions matter to their fellow students" (Cohen 2000, p. 276).

This set of recommendations is particularly appropriate for female students, who are often the most discriminated against with regard to access to schooling and the types of curricula that lead to high-status jobs. For females a complementary set of interventions would include placement of schools closer to their homes, female teachers and administrators as role models, opportunities to be taught separately where appropriate, academically challenging and engaging curricula (especially in mathematics and the sciences), waiver of tuition and book fees, and, in some cases, monetary incentives to families to compensate for lost income or opportunity costs borne by them. In some cases, agencies working to promote greater school participation rates by females have employed a variety of outreach activities and media, including extension agents and socio-dramas performed in communities, to counter notions that religious doctrine or cultural traditions prohibit the education of daughters (Sutton 1998).

With regard to adult female literacy programmes, Stromquist's study of the MOVA (*Movimento de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos*) in São Paulo, Brazil, between 1989 and 1993, points out that even in the best intentioned programmes aimed at empowering dispossessed populations, education reforms need to take into account the particularities of individual lives and the historical and sociocultural context in which literacy skills are practiced. As with school-based programmes aimed at individual transformation and social change, public policies must necessarily attend to structural conditions of poverty, the public and private aspects of patriarchy, and the workings of an economy that increasingly exploits the manual labour of unskilled women (Stromquist 1997).

While proponents of greater equity in school financing call for more adequate and appropriate targeting of public funds to redress past and continuing inequities, they do not wish that merely more of the same traditional, urban-based education be provided to the dispossessed. Ultimately, reformers advocate educational programmes that are matched to particular contexts and that involve the collaboration of top-level policymakers and grass-roots stakeholders. To return to Reimers' edited collection, chapters on Colombia and Mexico indicate how, in multiple regression analyses, nonschool family and contextual variables explain more of the variance in

academic achievement and school continuance rates than did school variables. In some sociocultural contexts, certain educational interventions, which are expected to have beneficial effects, turn out to have no or even negative results. Indeed, the one study (by Muñoz Izquierdo and Ahuja Sánchez) that involved a longitudinal, quasi-experimental design with multiple linear regression models running on different subsets of social strata found, for example, that “Lower Rural stratum who improved their achievement most significantly achieved it without having access to . . . [an] investment [in didactic materials]” (Muñoz Izquierdo and Ahuja Sánchez 2000, p. 366).⁶ The authors speculate about the possible inappropriateness of curricular materials, which is a possible explanation for the lack of success or outright failure of other well-intentioned compensatory programmes.

The Colombian *Escuela Nueva* has been looked to internationally as a promising strategy for achieving universal primary education in rural areas. It is a model of educational reform that is sensitive to local circumstances and flexible with regard to the academic calendar, the content of instruction, the evaluation criteria and promotion procedures, and the role of parents in school decision-making. Attempts to replicate the model, however, without significant adaptation to local circumstances are likely to fail. In addition to the importance of strong community support for the pedagogical model, attempts to transplant the model even to other areas of Colombia have been problematic. A key to the success of this reform, and any other, is the preparation of teachers. As Levin (1992, p. 242) has pointed out, “The implementation and expansion of this type of movement requires constant monitoring, problem solving, and adaptation”. The transformation of teacher attitudes and skills to create effectively functioning new schools is particularly challenging not only in rural settings but in urban settings as well.

5 Citizenship Education Para Un Nuevo Proyecto De Nacion

Competent and committed teachers, similarly, are the one essential component in effective civic education aimed at creating critical, participatory citizens for democratic societies. This is one of the conclusions of the 28-country study of civic education for the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) by Torney-Purta et al. (2001, pp. 24–25). Especially important were the competencies of teachers to be reflective practitioners and to employ a pedagogy that encouraged discussion and the ability of students to critically examine differing points of view and beliefs surrounding important issues.

Data collected on the civic knowledge and engagement of 14-year-olds pointed out some significant and unique patterns. As a case in point, Colombia, which was an outlier (low on civic knowledge but high on willingness to vote), reveals the following contradictory findings: Colombian 14-year-old ninth graders scored well above the international averages on questionnaire items related to having learned in school to cooperate in groups with other students, understand people who have different ideas, protect the environment and contribute to solving problems in the

community, and vote in national and local elections (more about this later). Colombian students also scored high on items related to acceptance of immigrants and supporting equal gender rights in the political domain and scored highest of all students on the importance of social movements related to citizenship. Conversely, Colombian students scored lowest of all on test items related to content knowledge, interpretive skills, and total civic knowledge, a set of competencies that in the statistical analyses were the most important factors related to what the researchers call engaged citizenship. While Colombian 14-year-old students scored high on declared intention to vote, data on actual voting behaviour of Colombian citizens indicate that the voter turnout at approximately 45 % was well below other countries, with the exceptions of Switzerland at 43 % and the United States at 36 %. The US data highlight contradictions found in this study as well as previous international studies of civic education conducted by the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement. In previous studies by Torney-Purta and Barber (2005), students did not score highly on all three important dimensions of knowledge, trust, and efficacy. In fact, in some cases, the more knowledgeable the students, the more cynical they were. Earlier political socialisation research in Colombia by Reading (1969) revealed that as students progressed through the country's education system, their attitudes towards the political system became more negative. The data on Colombia from the 28-country study indicated both high levels of patriotism and pride in the country, but also lower levels of trust than the international average with regard to television and radio news (but not newspapers) and the government.

The data from this and other comparative studies strongly indicates that the challenge for educators all around the world is how to combine civic knowledge and competence with feelings of efficacy (a belief that change is possible and that human agency – that of individuals and their collectivities – can effect change for the betterment of all). The more schools function as models of democratic communities, the greater is the probability that students will have the experience of democracy and the corresponding knowledge and skills to carry into adulthood and the public domain (Zajda 2014).

6 What Is to Be Done

Not only university students but high school students as well have shown that they can take the initiative and actually assume leadership roles in addressing issues related to economic exploitation and actual enslavement of children, as well as the horribly exploitive sweatshop conditions under which adults and children work to produce, for example, the clothing that is marketed by universities with their logos on them. The “No-Sweat [Shop]” movement which links labour unions, university students, faculty, and administrators with human and environmental rights groups across the globe to achieve a living wage and safe and health conditions for factory workers is an example of globalisation from below (see Giroux 2002, pp. 453–455).

What has been called the “Lilliput Strategy”, by which hundreds of small Lilliputians in Jonathan Swift’s fable tied down the giant Gulliver, is illustrative of what international social movements from below can do to stop the deleterious consequences of globalisation from above by transnational corporations and international financial institutions. These actions have achieved victories related to the distribution of free or low-cost antiretroviral medicines for AIDS patients in countries, such as South Africa, devastated by the disease; stopped the wholesale firing of union workers who refused to accept cutbacks in wages, working conditions, and benefits in countries whose profits were soaring; and have forced major agenda setters in education, like the World Bank, to at least talk about “putting a human face” on globalisation (Brecher et al. 2002, pp. 26–29).

Far from being marginal to social movements aimed at social justice, at creating democratic citizens crucial to a sense of globalisation from below, universities – and especially teacher preparation institutions – are crucial for preparing present and future generations of students with the knowledge, skills, values, and ideals to understand and transform the world. As against the current emphasis in so many education systems with preparing students to fit into pre-existing occupational slots and compete in the global economy, there is a need to reassert the once commonly accepted goals of a public education system contributing to public enlightenment, creating citizens and a sense of nationhood. While education systems were expected to contribute a sense of pride in one’s own cultural heritage, leading educators and statespersons also expected public schooling to contribute to the struggles of populations and countries all around the world for self-determination and justice. In some respects there is a need to return to the Education State envisioned by the nineteenth-century Latin American idealists such as Andres Bello and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, as well as the internationalism of Jose Martí.

Concerned educators as public intellectuals are ideally suited to carry out the research, service activities, and teaching that contribute to an understanding of the global forces that impact economies and education systems internationally. Combined with critical analysis of current worldwide trends in economic and education policies is the need to stimulate the imaginations of teachers, students, and policymakers with reference to alternative and preferable futures consistent with ideals of democratic citizenship, both locally and globally.

As education philosopher McCarty (1992) has argued, the rationale for global education can be made “in principle”:

Instead of asking, “What is the future really going to be like and how should we alter education to accord with it?” We might ask, “What kind of future people do we most rationally desire and how can we educate accordingly?” Another way to put it is this: instead of trying to map the real in the future, we should be constructing, right now, the ideal future.

She further notes: “Education is one of the principal means by which we bring about the future – or, at least, attempt to bring the future about” (McCarty 1992). I consider understanding the global forces that impinge upon our daily lives to be one of the central competencies that all individuals should have, to participate as effective citizens in local, national, and transnational communities. Furthermore, in accordance with the writings of Martha Nussbaum (2000), I would consider

the development of multicultural-global efficacy to be one of the fundamental competencies essential to a just society (Nussbaum 2000).

7 Conclusion

As above demonstrates, educators have a role to play in the liberal education of teachers and the generations of students they will influence. They also have a role to play more broadly with public education in imparting global perspectives and an understanding of the major international forces that have an impact on our communities and daily lives. To return to the introductory observations of this chapter, globalisation can and does work in ways that often are catastrophic in nature, creating feelings of powerlessness at local and national levels. At the same time, there is ample evidence that transnational social movements can counter the negative forces of globalisation and create conditions for a more just future for all. Those working in the field of education “should be grateful for such a challenge because there is so much we as educators can contribute” (Arnove 2001, p. 593; see also Arnove 2005).

Notes

1. For further discussion, see Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. New York: Routledge; King, A. D. (1997). (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Vayruyan, R. (1997). *Global Transformation: Economics, Politics, and Culture*. Helsinki: Finnish National Fund for Research and Development; Saskia Sassen (2007). *A Sociology of Globalization* New York: W.W. Norton; and How globalization affects education systems is explored. *Comparative Education Review*, 46(1), 1–9.
2. On “Fordism” and “Toyotism”, see Wilms W.W. (1996). *Restoring Prosperity: How Workers and Managers are Forging a New Culture of Cooperation*. New York: Times Business/Random House; Dowbar, L., Ianni, O., and Resende, P.E. (1998). *Desaios da Globalização*. Petropolis, Brazil: Editora Vozes. It should be noted that the very term “Toyotism” suggests not only the interconnectedness of the global capitalist system but its vulnerability to disruptions caused, for example, by the 2011 natural disasters in Japan.
3. With the ascendance of China as a worldwide economic power, it may very well be the case that such flyers will also encourage students to study Chinese, which is rapidly expanding its share of languages used in international communications. See, for example, “Top Ten Languages in the Internet. In millions of users. Internet World Stats”. Accessed at [www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm]
4. See, for example, Psacharopoulos, G. (1990). Comparative Education: From Theory to Practice, Are you A:\neo* or B:*ist? *Comparative Education Review* 34(3), 369–380.

5. For further discussion of recent data on the inequitable outcomes of education systems in Latin America, see Robert F. Arnove, Stephen Franz, and Carlos Alberto Torres, "Education in Latin America: From Dependency and Neoliberalism to Alternative Paths to Development". In Robert F. Arnove, Carlos Alberto Torres, and Stephen Franz (2013) (Eds.), *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (4th edition). Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield.
6. For further discussion of Colombia, see Sarmiento Gómez, A., Equity and Education in Colombia. In Reimers, F. (2001). (Ed.), *Unequal Schools, Unequal Chances: The Challenges to Equal Opportunity in the Americas* (pp. 202–247). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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Globalisation and Its Impact on Education and Policy

Joseph Zajda

1 Globalisation and Society

The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms around the world has become a strategically significant issue, for it expresses one of the most ubiquitous, yet poorly understood phenomena of modernity. As a process it is associated with politico-economic and cultural transformations and the ongoing technological revolution within information and communications technologies (ICTs). One of the most important engines of the evolving phenomenon of globalisation has been the rapid development of ICTs (Zajda and Gibbs 2008; Zajda 2008a).

With this in mind, I would like to define ‘globalisation’, from a social and cultural transformation perspective, as a new dominant ideology of *cultural convergence*, which is accompanied by corresponding economic, political, social, technological and educational transformations (Zajda 2014a). Such a process is characterised by increasing economic and political interdependence between nations, which ultimately transforms the ethnocentric core of nation-state and national economy. This was already exemplified by Wallerstein’s (1979) world-system concept map model of social change (which is still relevant as a major theoretical perspective on explaining globalisation) where ‘the world system’ is a network of *unequal* economic and political relationships between the developed and less developed nations. His model of the world system is also relevant to theories of social stratification and discourses of inequality. Social stratification is commonly defined as *unequal* distribution of socially valued commodities, such as power, status, occupation, education and wealth.

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What then is ‘globalisation’, given its multidimensional nature? Is it a ‘market-driven process’ only, which imposes a neoliberal economic discipline and which represents the triumph of global capitalism? If so, is it spearheaded by multinational conglomerate? Is it connected to the discourse about modernity (Giddens 1990; Robertson 1992)? Is it also driven by ‘intensified modes of competition that compresses the time and space aspects of social relations’ (Giddens 1990)? These are some of the questions arising from a critical perception of a multidimensional nature of globalisation.

The phenomenon of ‘globalisation’ refers, in general sense, to people around the globe being more connected to each other than ever before; to a quantum-like pace of the international flow of communication, knowledge and money; to consumer goods and services produced in one part of the world being increasingly available in all parts of the world; and to the explosion of international travel.

1.1 Globalisation and Its Effects on Societies

More than ever before there is a need to understand and analyse both the intended and the unintended economic, social and political effects of globalisation on the state, political economy, educational systems and individuals across the globe. One of those developments is a growing inequality and social stratification globally. That the income gap between high-income and low-income nations has increased was acknowledged by the International Monetary Fund (2002):

That the income gap between high-income and low-income countries has grown wider is a matter for concern. And the number of the world’s citizens in abject poverty is deeply disturbing. But it is wrong to jump to the conclusion that globalization has caused the divergence, or that nothing can be done to improve the situation. To the contrary: low-income countries have not been able to integrate with the global economy as quickly as others, partly because of their chosen policies and partly because of factors outside their control. No country, least of all the poorest, can afford to remain isolated from the world economy. (International Monetary Fund 2002)

Recent data from the World Bank indicates that in developing regions, the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day fell ‘from 47 % in 1990 to 22 % in 2010. Some 700 million fewer people lived in conditions of extreme poverty in 2010 than in 1990’ (*The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013*; see also Edward and Sumner 2013). According to OECD report (2013), economic inequality has increased by more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also notes that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2013).

Furthermore, the evolving and constantly changing notions of national identity, language, border politics and citizenship, which are relevant to education policy, need to be critiqued within the local-regional-national arena, which is also contested by globalisation. Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing

world, where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty, inequality and alienation. Teune (1998) argues that forces of globalisation have produced a new divide between rich and poor nations:

What is becoming global depends of the level of complexity of entities within countries. The more complex entities, educated individuals, high technology firms, higher educational research institutions, and new technologies, are the first into the global system. More complex, more wealthy countries are also the first in. The least developed parts of the world are breaking away from hierarchal state authority into fragmented groups... So there are two worlds of human societies... one that is part of a global society and another that is set loose from hierarchal control and engages in activities that seem to be dissociated with anything global at all other than technologies that enhance group solidarity and the destruction of enemies. But both phenomena are part of the process of globalization, thousands of tribes co-existing in a complex world society. (Teune 1998)

2 Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation

The term ‘globalisation’, like postmodernism, is used so widely today in social theory, policy and education research, which it has become a cliché (Held et al. 1999). Explaining the origins of globalisation, Waters (1995) argues that it is the ‘direct consequence of the expansion of European cultures across the world via settlement, colonialisation, and cultural mimesis’ (p. 3). Waters’ analysis of the nature of globalisation immediately highlights its two major and interconnected dimensions—economic and cultural. Other writers focus more on political, social, pedagogical and technological dimensions of globalisation.

In recent years, the construct of ‘globalisation’ has become a ubiquitous signifier in education and social sciences, and there is a need to analyse the paradoxical complexity and ambiguities surrounding connotations and denotations attached to the term by different individuals, who employ a rich diversity of perceptions, disciplines and methodologies. By finding some common features and differences, we may be able to provide a more meaningful paradigm in pedagogical discourse. Globalisation has been described as ‘the most over-used term in the current political lexicon’. It refers both to the compressions of the world in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa *and* the ‘intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole’ (Bromley 1996, p. 120).

Globalisation, due to its paradigmatic complexity and a vast multitude of competing and contested interpretation and usages, is not an easy term to define. The most intriguing thing about the use of the term ‘globalisation’ in the mass media and in Internet communications is that it is used ‘without any explicit definition whatsoever’ (Robertson and Khondker 1998, p. 27). As Robertson and Khondker (1998) explain, the term ‘globalisation’ is ambiguous and has acquired multitude of meanings:

the word ‘globalization’ has become so fuzzy and used with such a variety of different meanings that a general theory of globalization must acknowledge and incorporate various discourses. The most prominent current usage of the term ‘globalization’ is undoubtedly associated with the global expansion of the market form of economy. (Robertson and Khondker 1998, p. 27)

In attempting to offer a pragmatic but *evolving* definition of ‘globalisation’ that is inclusive of a *sympiotic* relationship between ‘skyscraper economies’ and ‘shanty towns’, one should focus on the increasing transnational processes and interdependence and also international discourses concerning the global human rights, global economy, equality, freedom, environment and other significant issues related to a world system. Today, economic rationalism and neo-conservative ideology has become a dominant ideology, in which education is seen as a producer of goods and services that foster economic growth (Apple 2004). Ideals of human rights, social justice, ethnic tolerance and collectivity are exchanged for key concepts from the discourse of global economy, including productivity, competitiveness, efficiency and maximisation of profit (Zajda et al. 2006; Biraimah et al. 2008; Zajda 2008c). Education has been affected by the crisis of the welfare State and the weakening of civil society. As such, it has shifted its focus, from the ‘learning of meanings’ to the ‘learning of earnings’ (Zajda 2005).

Furthermore, the real problem lies not so much in defining globalisation as a phenomenon but in understanding and critiquing its intended and unintended consequences on nation-states and individuals around the world (Biraimah et al. 2008, p. xvii). Definitions of globalisation have varied from one author to another. Some have described it as a process, while others as a condition, a system, a force or a phenomenon of time and place. In the last two decades (1990–2008), there has been a virtual explosion of interest in globalisation among comparative education scholars and policy analysts (Appadurai 1990; Banya 2005; Bray 2005; Cheng 2005; Daun 2005; Giddens 1990, 2000; Robertson 1992; Waters 1995; Arnove and Torres 1999; Sklair 1999; Carnoy 1999; Stromquist and Monkman 2000; Welch 2001; Crossley and Jarvis 2001; Carnoy and Rhoten 2002; Arnove 2005; Geo-JaJa and Zajda 2005; Rhoads et al. 2005; Rust and Jacob 2005; Sabour 2005; Zajda 2005; 2008c; Zajda et al. 2006; Biraimah et al. 2008). Yet, there is still no visible general consensus, from the literature, as to what constitutes its fundamental characteristics or core processes. In general, globalisation literature is divided between economic, social and cultural dimensions of globalisation. Rust and Jacob (2005) argue, from a political economy perspective, that globalisation is defined, dominated and controlled by giant transnational corporation and market forces, which are, at times, almost borderless:

Globalisation involves the transformation of space and time, transcending state territories, state frontiers, and historical traditions. Whereas international relations embody the notion of transactions between nations, global relations imply that social, economic, political, and cultural activities disengage from territorial authority and jurisdictions and function according to more immediate imperatives of worldwide spheres of interest. Through globalisation the economy is dominated by market forces run by transnational corporations owing allegiance to no nation state and located wherever global advantage dictates. (Rust and Jacob 2005)

Paralleling the development of multinational industry is a vivid example of a global electronic finance market that exchanges more than a trillion dollars a day (Bergsten 1988, quoted in Rust and Jacob 2005).

2.1 *Globalisation as a Construct*

First, as suggested earlier, there are numerous definitions and perceptions of globalisation. As described in the *Globalisation Guide* (2002), nearly 3,000 definitions of globalisation were offered in 1998 alone. Second, there are contested interpretations of globalisation. The conservatives' definition of globalisation as the turning of the world economy into a single market, and in terms of education its marketisation, constant cost-cutting and facilitating closer links between it and the economy, threatens the ability of many communities and nation-states to localise quality education or increase GDP through tax revenues and trade regulations (Geo-Jaja and Zajda 2005). To some critical theory researchers, globalisation means economic hegemony from the North in terms of providing the sole model to be adopted by the nations of the globe (Apple 2004; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Rhoads et al. 2005; Zajda 2014a). Stanley Fischer (2001) in his speech 'The Challenge of Globalization in Africa' stressed that 'globalisation' is a multifaceted concept, containing many important 'economic and social, political and environmental, cultural and religious' dimensions, which affect everyone in some way:

Its implications range from the trade and investment flows that interest economists, to changes that we see in our everyday lives: the ease with which we can talk to people all over the world; the ease and speed with which data can be transmitted around the world; the ease of travel; the ease with which we can see and hear news and cultural events around the world; and most extraordinarily, the internet, which gives us the ability to access the stores of knowledge in virtually all the world's computers. Equally remarkable, internet technology is not particularly expensive or capital intensive—but it is human capital intensive, and therein lies one of the implications of globalization for economic and social policy.

Fischer also stressed that globalisation was not new and that the idea was as ancient as history of human civilisation:

...Globalization is not new. Economic globalization is as old as history, a reflection of the human drive to seek new horizons; globalization has usually advanced, though it has sometimes receded—most importantly, during the 1930s, the prelude to World War II (Fischer 2001).

According to Robertson (1992), on the other hand, the concept of globalisation is associated with reconstructed notions of space and intensification. He believes that 'Globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992, p. 8). Sabo (1993) adds the element of interdependence to the concept arguing the term 'globalisation generally refers to the growing interdependence among the world's societies'. Stiglitz (2002) develops the theme of interdependence in claiming that 'Globalisation has been accompanied by the creation of new institutions that have joined with existing ones to work across borders' (Stiglitz 2002, p. 9). Held et al. (1999) suggest that globalisation may be thought of as 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2). The range of dimensions, Held et al. observed, stretches 'from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual'. Held and

McGrew (2000) describe globalisation as a complex phenomenon affecting different cultures across time and space and that the construct denotes ‘time-space compression’ due to ICTs, ‘accelerating interdependence’ among nations and a general economic and cultural ‘global integration’ (Held and McGrew 2000, p. 3).

2.2 *Globalisation Discourses as a Concept Map*

In reconceptualising globalisation as a paradigm in comparative education, I would like to distinguish at least *four* of the many overlapping globalisation discourses:

- The *regional/civilisational* discourses, such as those of North and South America, East and West, Australasia and South East Asia
- *Ideological* discourses of left and right addressing pro- and anti-globalisation (development thesis) perspectives
- *Disciplinary* discourses, within intra-disciplinary theories in major disciplines, including politics, economics, cultural studies, education, sociology and media studies (see also Robertson and Khondker 1998)
- *Poststructuralist* and *postmodern* discourses of globalisation, with their critique of the grand narratives

2.3 *Pro-globalisation and Anti-globalisation Researchers*

As a theoretical construct in social theory, ‘globalisation’ has acquired considerable ideological and emotive force among pro-globalisation and anti-globalisation researchers alike. *Pro-globalisation* scholars argue that there is growing evidence that inequalities in global income and poverty are decreasing and that globalisation has contributed to this positive economic outcome already during the 1990s:

...the World Bank notes that China’s opening to world trade has brought it growth in income from \$1460 a head in 1980 to \$4120 by 1999. In 1980, Americans earned 12.5 times as much as the Chinese, per capita. By 1999, they were only earning 7.4 times as much. The gap between rich and poor is also shrinking with most nations in Asia and Latin America. The countries that are getting poorer are those that are not open to world trade, notably many nations in Africa. (<http://www.globalisationguide.org/03.html>)

Anti-globalisation researchers maintain that the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world was increasing between the 1960s and the 1990s, as demonstrated by the findings of the World Bank. The UNDP 1999 *Development Report* revealed that the gap between the richest and the poorest nations had grown from 30 to 1 in 1960 to 82 to 1 in 1995:

...over the past ten years, the number of people earning \$1 a day or less has remained static at 1.2 billion while the number earning less than \$2 a day has increased from 2.55 billion to 2.8 billion people. The gap in incomes between the 20 % of the richest and the poorest

countries has grown from 30 to 1 in 1960 to 82 to 1 in 1995. By the late 1990s the fifth of the world's people living in the highest-income countries had: 86 % of world GDP—the bottom fifth just 1 %. 82 % of world export markets—the bottom fifth just 1 %. 68 % of foreign direct investment—the bottom fifth just 1 %. 74 % of world telephone lines, today's basic means of communication—the bottom fifth just 1.5 %. (<http://www.globalisationguide.org/03.html>)

2.4 *Globalisation and Socioeconomic Transformations*

As above demonstrates, globalisation can be seen to be associated with the processes that define the new forms of social stratification, where the gaps between the rich and the poor are growing and expanding daily. For instance, if a company decides to transfer its business operations to another region/country, where labour is cheap, taxes are minimal and profit margins large, then its workers become unemployed or unemployable. Recent collapse of major banks, construction companies and other industries, where middle-range executives, who earned in the excess of \$100,000, suddenly found themselves without jobs, exemplify the inherent dangers of fast-track 'riches to poverty' global syndrome. Meanwhile, the income gap in the late 1990s, between the fifth of the world's people living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest, has grown from 30 to 1 in 1960 and 74 to 1 in 1997. This has some serious consequences on 'debt' economies, which were in economic crisis due to inflationary pressures as well (Argentina in 2002, Russia during the 1990s, etc). By 1996, the resulting concentration of wealth had 'the income of the world's richest individuals...equal to the income of 52 % of humanity'. Robert Wade (2002) argues that 'the most comprehensive data on world incomes, based on household income and expenditure surveys, find a sharp increase in inequality over as short a time as 1988 to 1993' (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 2002).

Some critics view globalisation as a process that is beneficial—a key to future world economic development—and also inevitable and irreversible. Others regard it with hostility, even fear, believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens employment and living standards and thwarts social progress. Economic 'globalisation' is a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labour) and knowledge (technology) across international borders. There are also broader cultural, political and environmental dimensions of globalisation.

Globalisation, in view of its economic and cultural dominance, where progress and development are used as performance indicators to evaluate other nations and their well being, affects and dislocates, in one sense or another, local cultures, values and beliefs. Globalisation, with its imposition of relentless and boundless consumerism, competition, and market forces, invites ideological and economic

wars and conflict among individuals, communities and societies at large. Rust and Jacob (2005) believe that education and education policy change play a significant role in the globalisation agenda:

The contemporary educational reform debate has been taken over by so-called neoliberal groups that popularise a special language not found in conventional education discourse. This language is based on a free-enterprise economic metaphor. According to this metaphor, a productive society and system of education are based on individual interest, where people are able to “exchange goods and services” in an “open marketplace”, to the mutual advantage of all. (McLean, 1989, quoted in Rust and Jacob 2005)

In such a marketplace, defined and controlled by globalisation and market forces, ‘government is constrained to narrowly defined functions, such as supervision, licensing, etc., which protect individual interests and enable them to make free choices’ (Rust and Jacob 2005). In short, private initiative, choice and enterprise are sources of efficiency and productivity. At the heart of this discourse, according to Rust and Jacob (2005), is the call for parental choice among public and private schools, subjecting the schools to market forces, allowing schools to flourish if they satisfy consumer demands, while those which fail to conform to consumer demands will be impoverished and left behind. The most radical of various proposals to reform schooling under the imperatives of accountability, efficiency and cost-effectiveness are education vouchers:

The voucher was proposed by conservative economist, Milton Freedman (1962) when he suggested that money follow children rather than go directly to the local education agency. That is, parents should be allowed to use government resources to purchase educational services at a state-approved educational institution of their choice. Educational vouchers became a major education policy issue in a number of countries in Europe, including England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. (Rust and Jacob 2005)

3 Cultural, Political and Economic Globalisation Discourses

3.1 Globalisation as a World System

Some scholars, in order to explain the processes of the world economy, have used mainly economic dimensions of globalisation and accompanying market forces. When globalisation commonly refers to the development of social and economic relations across the world, it designates an economic dimension. If one of the key aspects of globalisation is the emergence of a *world system*, coined by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974, the world forming of a single social order, then the construct acquires yet another new dimension—a concept map of a world system, divided into stratified zones, based on unequal relations between the core, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries (Wallerstein 1979). Wallerstein assumes that capitalism is at the heart of the world system and attempts to explain the rise of Western Europe to world supremacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

3.2 *Globalisation as a Global Capital Model*

Sklair (1999) uses his global capitalism model (Sklair 1999, pp. 156–158) to critique globalisation process (see also Sklair 2001, 2002; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005). Some globalisation researchers, engaged in globalisation analysis, tend to accept a linear and one-dimensional model of globalisation, where the whole world comprises a single economic system operated by a single division of labour (see their theorisation of this division of labour (Wallerstein 1979, 1989)). The contemporary process of globalisation and the world economy differs both qualitatively and quantitatively, if one is to include the size and pace of global electronic finance market), from previous eras:

Consider the neoliberal agenda that has so dominated comparative education inquiry the last few years. Is this a new and fundamentally different way of legitimating capitalist relations in the world? Or is it, as Wallerstein (1983) intimates, the same basic cluster of ideologies that has legitimated the position of hegemony many times since the sixteenth century?

Furthermore, a transnational economic hegemony is fundamentally different from previous national hegemonies, be they economic, political, social or technological. Increasingly, new international institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, World Trade Organization, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and others, have been very active in regulating, at times salvaging, nations from economic disasters that could result in a global depression. The changes in the world economy, which some critics have labelled as ‘post-Fordism’ and ‘disorganised capitalism’ (Lash and Urry 1987), have contributed to ‘the deregulation and globalization of markets, trade and labour (Featherstone 1990, p. 7). It points to the process of *accelerated* and *compressed* globalisation, with the globalisation of capital. The process is also governed by ‘the globalization of capital flows, with 24-h stock market trading’ (Featherstone 1990, p. 7), which deregulated local markets and necessitated the relevant politico-economic transformation.

3.3 *Globalisation as a Cultural Transformation*

Giddens (1990) and other social theorists (see Robertson 1992) argue that globalisation is one of the outcomes of modernity, which is characterised by the nexus of new structural political, economic, cultural and technological developments. In terms of political economy, globalisation represents a new mode in the transfer of capital, labour production, consumption, information and technology, resulting in significant qualitative change. Some critical theorists refer to globalisation as a new form of imperialism. This new cultural and economic imperialism is represented by a *standardisation of commodities*—the same designer labels appearing

in shops around the world, a global recomposition of the capital-labour relations or the subordination of social reproduction to the reproduction of capital, the globalisation of liquid capital, the deregulation of the labour market, the outsourcing of production to cheap labour markets and the intensified competition among transnational corporations. This is supported by Wallerstein (1984) and others who also suggest that globalisation is the ultimate expression of the ideology of consumerism, driven by market expansion and profit maximisation. Using a critical theory discourse, we could argue that the teleological purpose of the global economy is to maintain, expand and protect wealth, power and privilege.

Finally, globalisation as a new dimension of political economy and culture has depended on a fusion of capitalism and advanced technologies, leading to 'technodeterminism' (Zajda 2008a, b, c) and what has called techno-capital (see also Langman and Morris 2005).

4 Globalisation and Its Politico-economic Impact on Societies

The above shows that the term 'globalisation' is a complex construct and a euphemism concealing contested meanings, ranging from Wallerstein's (1980, 1989) ambitious 'world-system' model, Giddens' (1990) notion of 'time-space distanciation' highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal from the immediacies of local contexts and Castells' (2000) approaches to globalisation by way of networking, proposing that the power of flows of capital, technology and information constitutes the fundamental morphology of an emerging 'network society'; to a neoliberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system'. James Petras believes that leftist intellectuals are themselves perpetuating 'bourgeois hegemony' by using 'globalisation' instead of 'imperialism' or 'structural adjustment' instead of 'monopolisation of wealth', while searching for 'bourgeois prestige, recognition, institutional affiliation, and certification'. He labels them provocatively 'cocktail left', who tend to ignore 'the ideological distortions' and inappropriate theoretical frameworks that are taught at prestigious colleges' and who, as they vent their 'inconsequential radical views', climb the academic ladder (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. 3, from <http://chronicle.com/chronicle>).

From the macro-social perspective, it can be argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their power and capacity to affect their future directions, as the struggle for knowledge domination, production and dissemination becomes a new form of cultural domination and a knowledge-driven social stratification. Globalisation weakens the idea of the nation-state. The global economy, Walters (1995) argued, makes it more

difficult for the nations affected to carry out social policy ‘which is governed by national interests’:

The acceleration in globalization since the mid-1970s has nevertheless caused a loss of effectiveness of national policies in the sphere of welfare. (Walters 1995, p. 19)

Furthermore, the evolving and constantly changing notions of national identity, language, border politics and citizenship, which are relevant to education policy, need to be critiqued within the local-regional-national arena, which is also contested by globalisation. Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing world, where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty and alienation. Jarvis (2002) comments on the need to ‘rediscover’ one’s social identity in active citizenship:

Democratic processes are being overturned and there is an increasing need to rediscover active citizenship in which men and women can work together for the common good, especially for those who are excluded as a result of the mechanisms of the global culture. (Jarvis 2002, p. 295)

The above reflects both growing alienation and a Durkheimian sense of anomie in the world ‘invaded’ by forces of globalisation, cultural imperialism and global hegemonies that dictate the new economic, political and social regimes of truth. These newly constructed imperatives in educational policy could well operate as global master narratives, playing a hegemonic role within the framework of economic, political and cultural hybrids of globalisation.

The transition from the nation-state and the ‘national’ economy to a ‘liberal competition state’ under the sign of ubiquitous globalism questions the relationship ‘between the *nation-state*, *democracy* and *national solidarity*’ (italics mine). The dominant ideologies of economic and political order (and the ‘political correctness’ in a given culture) in developed and developing nations are likely to shape the nature and direction of comparative education research. Perceptions of economic determinism, ethnic and racial domination and political systems (which are controlled by dominant economies, hence the inherent stratification of the world into developing and developed nations) are the key factors in education and social change. Thus, there exists the need to politicise comparative education discourse, by incorporating not only *culturalist* and *aesthetic* and but also *economic* and *political* dimensions. This is necessary for policy analysts and policymakers within political and educational administrative hierarchies, who prioritise and decide the level of funding for education and research.

The dramatic consequences of globalisation on the world’s economy are such that they change the meanings of our taken-for-granted assumptions about education and society in the postindustrial age. The very idea of national economies is becoming obsolete, as demonstrated by economic collapses during the 1990s (and possible future collapses elsewhere) in Argentina, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia and Russia, to name a few. The ‘economic meltdown’ in Japan had triggered-off major economic crises in other countries. Australia had been also affected by it. Equally nebulous and meaningless are the notions of ‘national corporations, national capital, national

products and national technology'. Using similar arguments we could say that the idea of 'national education' is equally fallacious. This is particularly so in the age of increasing economic, cultural and information technology interdependence. National governments are 'unable to control international capital, which crosses the borders with great speed' (Korsgaard 1997, p. 17).

4.1 *Is Globalisation Global?*

Globalisation, as some authors argue, is not 'really global' for there exists a divergence between rich (developed) and poor (developing) nations. The less developed nations or the euphemism for poor countries of the 'Third World', the term was originally coined by the French demographer Alfred Sauvy, are not usually affected by the process of globalisation. It is equally difficult to talk of 'global culture' as a single and universal mode of living. Sociologists use the term 'culture' as a *collective* noun for 'the symbolic and learned aspects of human society, including language, customs and convention' or to refer to 'the total repertoire of human action'. If, then, by 'culture' we mean 'a collective mode of life' or a 'repertoire of beliefs, styles, values and symbols', then, as Smith (1991) points out, we can only speak of *cultures*, 'never just culture, for the collective mode of everyday life assumes many and diverse modes and repertoires' (Smith 1991, p. 171). Despite intercultural differences and cultural diversity in the world, which would seem to work against globalism, the concept of a 'global culture' has been used in the media, education and advertising.

5 Globalisation and Implications for Education: Global Pedagogies

5.1 *Global Pedagogies*

One of the forerunners of schooling for tomorrow was Ivan Illich (1973), and in his book *Deschooling Society*, he advocated a number of radical policy proposals for changing schools and pedagogy. Illich argued that schools had to be transformed, and in particular, he was a visionary in foreseeing the use decentralised schooling and the use of information technology in educational settings in the future. He came to believe that information technology had a potential to create decentralised 'learning webs', which would generate quality learning for all:

A good educational system should have three purposes: it should provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empower all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known.

5.2 *The Moral Function of Global Pedagogy*

At the same time, since the 1990s, a number of scholars and policy analysts began to stress the moral function of global pedagogy. For instance, Jacques Delors (1996) in his report to UNESCO of International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, *Learning: the Treasure Within*, believed that education had an important role to play in promoting tolerance and peace globally:

In confronting the many challenges that the future holds in store, humankind sees in education an indispensable asset in its attempt to attain the ideals of peace, freedom and social justice. (p. 13)

A similar concern with a moral dimension in education is present in Jérôme Bindé (2002) in ‘What Education for the Twenty-First Century?’ where it is suggested that a new paradigm shift in education should be aiming to ‘humanize globalization’. At the same time he reminds us that one of education’s future major challenges will be ‘to use the new information and communication technologies to disseminate knowledge and skills’ (Bindé 2002, p. 393; see also Zajda 2009).

5.3 *The Schooling for Tomorrow Project*

More recently, one of the important works in the area of global pedagogies is *The Schooling for Tomorrow* project (SfT), which is a major CERI project in developing futures thinking in education. Schooling for Tomorrow (SfT) was launched in November 1997 at an international conference in Hiroshima. It is an international project located in OECD’s Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). *Schooling for Tomorrow* offers six scenarios of schooling for the future, constructed through the OECD/CERI programme on ‘Schooling for Tomorrow’. The goal is to improve our understanding of how schooling might develop in the years to come and assess the potential role of education policy and pedagogy to help shape these imagined futures for schooling. Two of the scenarios cover the continued unfolding of existing models (the ‘status quo extrapolated’), the next two describe the substantial strengthening of schools with new dynamism, recognition and purpose (described as ‘reschooling’), while the two final scenarios depict future worlds that witness a significant decline in the position of schools (‘deschooling’). The report suggests that there is an urgent need to develop different ways of integrating futures thinking with global pedagogies more fully in education policy and practice. Global pedagogies are more likely to promote critical thinking and reflection on the major changes, such as economic, social, political and technological, taking place in education and society.

6 Issues in Education for Tomorrow

Some of the policy and pedagogy issues in education for tomorrow include ‘new forms of governance and policy-making’ to prepare our schools for the twenty-first century. An innovative approach to governance and education policy is based on long-term thinking, where policymakers are engaged in a proactive process of constant learning

Policy-making, not just students, teachers and schools, must be in a process of constant learning. For this, methods and strategies for long-term thinking are needed. Despite the fact that education is *par excellence* about long-term investment and change, forward-thinking methodologies are woefully under-developed in our field. (p. 148)

Johansson also argues that schools play a significant role in cultural transformation:

In sum, schools have been very important and, in many respects, successful institutions. They were integral to the transformation from agrarian to industrial societies. They represent a very important investment for our countries in making the further transformation from industrial to the knowledge-based societies of today and tomorrow, but for this they must be revitalised and dynamic. (p. 151)

At its 57th session in December 2002, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the years from 2005 to 2014 the *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development*. The need to act, with reference to education for sustainable development (EFS), is the result of a growing international concern about the social, economic and environmental challenges facing the world and the need for ‘improved quality of life, ecological protection, social justice and economic equity’ (<http://www.environment.gov.au/education/publications/caring.html>).

In October 2009, Angel Gurría, (OECD Secretary-General) in ‘Education for the future - Promoting changes in policies and practices: the way forward’ described some of the changes and priorities in education for tomorrow. Some of them are:

...We need to form people for a more inclusive world: people who can appreciate and build on different values, beliefs, cultures. Inter-personal competencies to produce inclusive solutions will be of growing importance. Second, the conventional approach in school is often to break problems down into manageable bits and pieces and then teach students how to solve each one of these bits and pieces individually. But in modern economies, we create value by synthesising different fields of knowledge, making connections between ideas that previously seemed unrelated... Third, if we log on to the Internet today, we can find everything we are looking for. But the more content we can search and access, the more important it is to teach our students to sort and filter information. The search for relevance is very critical in the presence of abundance of information...The 21st century schools therefore need to help young individuals to constantly adapt and grow, to develop their capacity and motivation, to expand their horizons and transfer and apply knowledge in novel settings.

6.1 New Paradigm Shift in Pedagogy

Already in *Towards Schooling for the Twenty-First Century*, Per Dalin and Val D. Rust (1996) argued that there had to be a new paradigm shift in learning and teaching for the twenty-first century. The authors discuss major transformations

globally, including political, economic, ecological, epistemological, technological and moral 'revolutions' (p. 32). They stress that in a conflict-ridden world, the 'school must play a basic role in peace education' (p. 64). One could argue that the new and evolving paradigm shift in pedagogy is dictated by forces of globalisation, politico-economic change, 'knowledge society' and ITCs, to name a few. As argued recently in *The Politics of Education Reforms*, the term 'globalisation' is a complex cultural and social theory construct and, at times, a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant perspectives and ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-system' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of 'time-space distanciation' (highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal from the immediacies of local contexts) and Castells' (1989) approaches; to globalisation by way of networking, where the power of flows of capital, technology and information constitutes the fundamental paradigm of an emerging 'network society'; to a view of globalisation as a neoliberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (see Apple 2004; Carnoy 1999; Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2002; Zajda 2008a, b, c, 2009). We have suggested that globalisation, with its political, social and economic systems, and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries and information communication technologies (ICTs) that are having profound and differential effects on educational institutions and nations in general. One of the effects of forces of globalisation is that educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism. Hence, the politics of education reforms in the twenty-first century reflect this new emerging paradigm of standard-driven and outcome-defined policy change (Zajda 2009, 2014a, b).

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. In the global culture the university, as other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution (see *Globalisation and the Changing Role of the University*). Such a managerial and entrepreneurial reorientation would have been seen in the past as antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university of providing knowledge for its own sake (see also Sabour 2005; Zajda 2005). Delanty (2001) notes that 'with business schools and techno science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy ... the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled than strengthened as a result of globalisation' (Delanty 2001, p. 115). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector and education in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology.

Education in the global economy is likely to produce a great deal of discontent and conflict. We are reminded of the much-quoted words 'All history is the history of class struggle' (Marx and Engels 1848). Globalisation too, with its evolving and

growing in complexity social stratification of nations, technology and education systems has a potential to affect social conflict. When discussing the complex and often taken-for-granted symbiotic relationship between consumer production and consumption in the global economy, it is worth considering extending Marx's famous theory of the fetishism of the commodity, to include the 'production fetishism', or an illusion created by 'transnational production loci, which masks translocal capital', and the 'fetishism of the consumer', or the transformation of the consumer's social identity through 'commodity flows' or global consumerism, made possible by global advertising. Appadurai (1990) suggests, that through advertising in the media and commodities, the consumer has been *transformed* 'into a sign', both in Baudrillard's sense of a *simulacrum* and in the sense of 'a mask for the real seat of agency, which is not the consumer but the producer and the many forces that constitute production' (p. 308). In a postmodern sense, a postindustrial global culture can be considered as a new hybrid of *global* cultural imperialism (see also McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005).

There is a trend in educational systems around the world of shifting the emphasis from the progressive child-centred curriculum to 'economy-centred' vocational training. This was discovered in a comparative study of education in China, Japan, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and the Scandinavian countries (Walters 1995, p. 18). Although these nations are vastly different in terms of politics, history and culture, and *dominant ideologies*, they are united in their pursuit for international competition in the global market. Hence, curriculum reforms and school policies increasingly address the totalising imperatives of the global economy discourse competition, productivity and quality.

7 Evaluation

Globalisation, marketisation and quality-/efficiency-driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the 'lifelong learning for all' or a 'cradle-to-grave' vision of learning and the 'knowledge economy' in the global culture. Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the 'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes. To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in cooperation with UNESCO, is using *World Education Indicators* (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative

indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals.

Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy around the world. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises (e.g. the 1980s), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (eg SAPs), have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all. The poor are unable to feed their children, let alone send them to school. This is particularly evident in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia, Central Asian Republics (former member states of the USSR), Southeast Asia and elsewhere, where children, for instance (and girls in particular, as in the case of Afghanistan Tajikistan and rural India, to name a few), are forced to stay at home, helping and working for their parents, and thus are unable to attend school. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisation, shape and influence education and policy around the world. Third, it can be argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their power and capacity to affect their future directions, as the struggle for knowledge domination, production and dissemination becomes a new form of a knowledge and technology-driven social stratification. I would like to stress that one of central and unresolved problems in the process of globalisation within a postmodernist context is the unresolved tension, and ambivalence ‘between cultural *homogenization* and cultural *heterogenization*’ (Appadurai 1990, p. 295, italics mine), or the ongoing dialectic between globalism and localism, between faith and reason, between tradition and modernity and between totalitarianism and democracy.

Apart from the multifaceted nature of globalisation that invites contesting and competing *ideological* interpretations, numerous paradigms and theoretical models have been also used, ranging from modernity to postmodernity, to explain the phenomenon of globalisation. When, for instance, a writer or a seminar speaker uses the word ‘globalisation’ in a pedagogical and educational policy context, one wonders what assumptions, be they economic, political, social and ideological, have been taken for granted, and at their face value—uncritically, as a given, and in this case, as a *globocratic* (like technocratic) phenomenon. The politics of globalisation, particularly the hydra of ideologies, which are inscribed in the discourse of globalisation need to be analysed critically, in order to avoid superficial and one-dimensional interpretation of the term.

If we define the global system (e.g. the global economy, the global markets, the global media, etc.) as referring to economic, political and social connections which crosscut borders between countries and have a significant impact on ‘the fate of those living within each of them’ (Giddens 2000), then we are focusing on culturally

and economically interdependent ‘global village’. The term ‘culture’ already includes all other dimensions and artefacts. In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of globalisation Giddens focuses on the ‘increasing interdependence of world society’ (Giddens 2000), whereas Korsgaard (1997) and others argue that globalisation reflects *social relations* that are also linked to the political, social, cultural and environmental spheres (Korsgaard 1997, pp. 15–24). The globalisation process is characterised by the acceptance of ‘unified global time’, the increase in the number of international corporations and institutions, the ever-increasing global forms of communication, the development of global competitions and, above all, the acceptance of global notions of citizenship, equality, human rights and justice (see also Featherstone 1990, p. 6).

The above critique of globalisation, policy and education suggests new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism (see Zajda 2008b). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations (see Zajda 2014a, b). For instance, in view of GATS constraints, and the continuing domination of multinational educational corporations and organisations in a global marketplace, the ‘basis of a national policy for knowledge production may be eroded in a free-market context of a knowledge-driven economy’. This erosion signifies the corresponding weakening of the traditional role of the university, being the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake (intrinsic):

...the heart of the academic dogma is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and the processes of coming to know are good in themselves, and the university, above all institutions, is – or used to be – devoted to them. To investigate, to find out, to organise and contemplate knowledge, these are what the university is about ...

8 Conclusion

The above analysis of social change and education policy reforms in the global culture shows a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms – where on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand, globalisation is perceived (by some critics at least) to be a totalising force that is widening the socioeconomic status (SES) gap, and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and bringing increasing levels of power, domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations. Hence, we need to continue to explore critically the new challenges confronting education and policy reforms in the provision of authentic democracy, social justice and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy (Dalin and Rust 1996; Zajda 2009). We need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and ongoing education reforms, if genuine culture of learning, and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than rhetoric (Bindé 2000; Coulson 2002; Zajda 2010a, b).

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Globalisation, Education and Policy Research

David Turner

1 Introduction

When we enter into the process of researching education, or even before we start researching phenomena in education, we carry into our examination a number of assumptions. These assumptions are so deeply ingrained in our way of thinking and our underlying philosophy or epistemology that we find it difficult to examine them critically. In this chapter I wish to look at the range of conceptual and theoretical tools which we apply when developing a study in education. More particularly what I want to examine is a range of conceptual tools which are completely lacking or missing from those that we regularly deploy.

In spite of all evidence to the contrary, we believe that if a group of similar individuals or institutions find themselves in the same position, they will act in the same way: conversely, if a group of individuals or institutions act in different ways, then we believe that there must be something different about them that explains the difference in their behaviour (Turner 2008).

I say, 'in spite of all evidence to the contrary', because we know in practice that in all studies of social phenomena, intra-group variation is much larger than intergroup variation. Thus, if we are looking at the performance of a class of students, the difference between the best girl in the class and the worst girl in the class and the difference between the best boy in the class and the worst boy in the class will be much greater than the difference between the performance of the average girl and the average boy. And this is true for all groups that we define for the purposes of analysing educational difference; difference within the group is always greater than the difference between groups.

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However, the notion that in similar circumstances similar people will respond in similar ways is extremely deeply embedded in our way of perception and thinking. We can trace it back to the origins of logic in the Aristotelian syllogism. Two forms of the syllogism might be noted:

If A, then B.

A.

Therefore B.

We might take a concrete example of this:

If a pupil is female, then she will score better on the maths test.

This pupil is female.

Therefore she will score better on the maths test.

(This example could be extended by countless examples: this pupil will score better if they are taught by method X, pupils from a home with many books will perform better and so on.)

There is an alternative form of the syllogism:

If A, then B.

Not B.

Therefore not A.

Again we might exemplify:

If the pupil gets sufficient support at home, then they will stay on at school.

This pupil has not stayed on at school.

Therefore they were not getting sufficient support at home.

This line of reasoning and the search for those indicators which will allow us to differentiate between different groups of pupils or different groups of institutions has formed the basis of large-scale survey methods in educational studies. Such studies are devoted to identifying which background variables account for the difference between pupils who perform well and those who perform poorly. But the influence of such an approach goes far beyond the actual concrete examples cited here. In our general way of thinking about educational situations, we assume that if two groups perform differently, there must be some underlying factors that could be manipulated and that account for the differences. I am going to call this approach which assumes that homogeneous agents will respond to similar circumstances in similar ways 'single-centredness'.

Having briefly exemplified what is meant by single-centredness, it would perhaps be well to spend a moment examining what the alternative is. A label for the alternative, 'multi-centredness', is relatively easy to identify, but what should be included under the heading of multi-centredness? In a multi-centred understanding a group of individuals or institutions, identical on all measured criteria, in identical circumstances might be expected to behave in radically different ways. However, they might be expected to divide themselves among the possible courses of action in predictable proportions.

This concept that individuals or institutions faced with identical options would choose to respond in divergent ways is both easy and difficult to grasp. It is relatively simple to grasp the concept and to acknowledge intellectually that it could happen. But it is so much a variance with our normal way of thinking about educational responses that we might well dismiss it as impossible in practical circumstances. For that reason, I shall examine some concrete circumstances in which a multi-centred understanding might be developed.

2 Multi-centredness

Some years ago I taught identical twins. My first and immediate observation was that I found it very difficult to distinguish between the two of them. But perhaps more importantly, I discovered that most of my colleagues also failed to distinguish between the two identical twins. Some background reading on the topic of identical twins suggested to me that identical twins are often not, in fact, identical, but are mirror images one of the other. And this turned out to be the case with the twins in my class. And with considerable effort I was eventually able to distinguish between them. A second observation followed almost immediately upon the ability to distinguish between them; I noticed that one of them worked hard and the other one copied his work from his brother. In this way, for the minimum combined effort, they could both receive praise for their work, since most of the people who taught them did not bother to assure themselves that both of them were contributing to the work produced.

In many ways this is a typical multi-centred situation. Two people as similar in background and circumstances as we can imagine found themselves in a situation where it made perfectly good sense for one of them to work and the other to copy the work from his brother. Had both of them chosen to work hard, they would have received no more praise or reward than under the solution chosen. On the other hand, had both of them chosen not to work, they both would have been punished for laziness.

There is an additional aspect of multi-centredness which might perhaps be noted here. Although the logic of the situation promotes a difference between the two twins, it does not determine which of them will work hard and which of them will copy. Indeed it does not say that one of them will work hard all the time, as opposed to a situation where one of them works hard in maths and the other one works hard in English, for example. The latter solution would give a distribution of labour and specialisation which again would be difficult to explain in single-centred terms.

The result of applying a multi-centred model, therefore, is the development of a break in the causal chain between the overall pattern of the outcome (in any particular classroom, we would expect one twin to be working hard and the other copying from him) and the individual responses of each agent to the circumstances (we will be unable to predict which of the twins will be working hard). Because of this disassociation between the overall configuration of outcomes and the responses of individuals, there is room within a multi-centred approach to apportion praise or blame. Genetics and circumstances may have produced a situation in which the optimum benefits

accrue if only one twin works. But neither inheritance nor environment explains which twin works hard in a particular class, and the hard-working one deserves credit for his diligence as much as the idle one deserves blame for his laziness.

This brings in a slight aside, in the sense that it raises the kinds of difficulty which we face in assigning responsibility, praise and blame in a theoretical framework which is single-centred. If behaviour is the outcome of genetic or environmental influences, then responsibility for action must be limited, as we recognise in allowing that extenuating circumstances mitigate responsibility. Managing the theoretical demands of two distinct models of behaviour, one of which relates to explaining behaviour and the other of which assigns responsibility, we are more likely to produce confusion than clarity. Or we are left with clichés such as ‘tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime’ or ‘hate the sin, love the sinner’. As with so many clichés, however, these are either meaningless or impossible to operationalise.

Outside of the education system we are more fully familiar with multi-centred interpretations. In the rush hour, some commuters take the train, some the bus, while others drive to their place of work. The single-centred solution that all commuters would choose exactly the same route to work, and that we might find the entire rush hour packed into a single train, while all other routes remain empty, is so counterintuitive as to be absurd. What is less clear is whether we have formalised our understanding of traffic into multi-centred theoretical approaches which would allow us to be able to predict with some degree of certainty what proportion of commuters would take any particular route. However, again we can notice in a multi-centred understanding that it is possible to arrive at predictions about the overall configuration of traffic, while it remains difficult to tell whether any particular commuter will be travelling a particular route on a particular day. For example, other things being equal, all traffic routes will take the same time to traverse. Were this not the case, travellers would be motivated to move from the traffic jams to the more free-flowing routes until travel times were equalised.

In addition to the scenario set out above, of identical twins, I have tried elsewhere to develop an approach to classroom management, which might explain how teachers produce very different classroom atmospheres (Turner 2007a). There is, of course, a great deal that could be done in terms of developing multi-centred approaches more fully. At the moment we have only indications of where such approaches might lead us. For example, there is considerable debate in the literature about whether identical twins perform better at school if they are dressed differently or if they are separated for their classes (Tully et al. 2004). However, most studies relevant to this area have been framed in single-centred terms, and a multi-centred approach might lead to more nuanced findings.

3 Multi-centredness and Policy Analysis

One of the interesting aspects of multi-centred approaches, as should become clearer in the examples which will be introduced later, is that they support policy development. Even today, when the bulk of theories being used are single-centred,

policymakers are looking for solutions which are multi-centred. Thus policies will frequently be couched in terms of goals and targets, even though those goals and targets are without theoretical foundations. For example, the UK government set the goal of having 50 % of young people having an experience of higher education by the year 2010. Yet there is no available explanation of why 50 % is the appropriate figure. Indeed, as noted above, we have no concept that it is the appropriate response of any group that 50 % should attend university; either all of a group should, or none of it. We therefore know that when a policymaker sets a target in terms of a percentage of a group achieving an outcome, the figure has simply been plucked out of the air.

In some cases, targets might be set by comparing groups; the same percentage of girls as boys should attend schools, for example. However, this is an atheoretical approach and based upon the dubious grounds that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

If we return to an educational setting, we might observe that 80 % of people with the appropriate qualifications at the end of upper secondary schooling proceed to university. And we might wish to examine why 80 % of pupils, rather than 90 % or 100 %, follow that route. Our immediate reaction, in a single-centred approach, would be to try to identify what it is that distinguishes the 20 % who do not proceed from the 80 % who do. We might, for example, wish to differentiate between working class and middle class pupils or between young men and young women. And certainly we might come to the conclusion that 90 % of appropriately qualified middle class pupils proceed to university, while only 40 % of working class pupils do similarly. Or we might discover that 99 % of boys proceed to university but only 60 % of girls. The multi-centred approach does not deny there can be differences between groups. What it does suggest, however, is that in all but extraordinary circumstances the groups into which we divide our study remain heterogeneous in their responses to circumstances. Not all working class female students will choose to go on to university, nor will all of them choose to leave.

What this analysis suggests is that in many education settings an understanding which is multi-centred holds out a more interesting analysis than a model which is simplistic and single centred. However, there is a further aspect of multi-centredness which is of interest and which may make it even more urgent that we address the question of developing multi-centred theoretical approaches and frameworks. Multi-centred theories which told us why 80 % of a group do one thing and 20 % do something else, and perhaps even more importantly told us what it was in the circumstances which would help to shift from 80 to 85 %, are exactly the kind of frameworks which policymakers would find useful. Even where single-centred approaches have provided the beginnings of an explanation of educational phenomena, they have not proved useful to policymakers.

We might take, for example, a widely accepted conclusion from single-centred approaches: children who grow up in homes with a large number of books do better in school than children who grow up with no books at home. But no policymaker has ever suggested that the policy response to this understanding should be to distribute books to people's houses. Nor has any policymaker suggested that an appropriate

response to gender differences in educational achievement would be the provision of sex change operations for young people. Single-centred interpretations very rarely give rise to appropriate policy responses even when they provide a reasonable description of circumstances which promote or inhibit educational development.

4 Policy Considerations

Now let us examine three practical policy situations and see how multi-centred approaches could help us to develop more specific policies for those situations.

The first example relates to the identification of institutional racism. In the UK, more Afro-Caribbean boys are excluded from regular school than any other ethnic group; is this the result of racism in the school?

In fact Afro-Caribbean boys are almost three times as likely as the majority population of the country to be excluded from regular schooling (Department for Education and Skills 2003: 4). This is a *prima facie* case for the presence of racism in the system. However, we need to be careful in examining the exact mechanism by which this might happen.

We might be looking at a situation in which Afro-Caribbean boys are exactly as likely to respond negatively to the school setting as their peers, but where teachers respond much more vehemently to the behaviour of Afro-Caribbean boys than to other boys and girls who exhibit similar behaviour. This would certainly be a case where we would identify racism in the school, and on the part of school teachers. But it is not clear that this is the only way in which high levels of exclusions could be accounted for. It might possibly be the case that Afro-Caribbean boys, on leaving school, will enter particular segments of the labour market, possibly including segments which are prejudicial on grounds of race. This in turn might mean that the school curriculum was particularly unsuited for the preparation of these boys. In such circumstances Afro-Caribbean boys might be expected to resist the imposed school curriculum, to resist it more directly and positively, and in greater numbers than the rest of the school population. Indeed, rejecting the school curriculum might then be a perfectly reasonable response to their position in the external labour market and have nothing to do with racism in the school (although there might well be evidence of racism in some other part of the system). The point at issue here is that the identifiably different behaviour of a specific group of pupils might either be a specific feature of the education system or a very reasonable response to circumstances outside the school which are relevant to school performance.

Single-centred approaches to the theory cannot help us to distinguish between the two cases – between inexcusable racism within the education system and everybody within the school system making perfectly reasonable adjustments to equally inexcusable racism outside the education system. However, the policy implications of the two cases are radically different. But until we have a multi-centred approach which helps us to analyse what proportion of specific pupil populations can be expected to reject the school imposed curriculum, we will not be in a position to

differentiate between internal school phenomena and responses to external circumstances.

The second example relates to gender differences and discrimination on the basis of gender. Consider a school system in which 98 % of boys stay on for secondary education and 95 % of girls stay on for secondary education. Are the girls under-represented in secondary education? Are the boys underrepresented in secondary education? Are the boys overrepresented in secondary education?

We really have no idea because the only kind of standard that we can apply is an ad hoc comparison of groups within the system; one group stays on more or less frequently than the other group. We do not have any theories that cover the percentage we would expect to attend. We have no framework for judging whether a particular percentage of school attendance is appropriate for the economy, for personal development or for social development. Since we have no multi-centred theories, the only standard that we can apply is whether males and females, in this case, behave in the same way. But why should we assume that groups that face differentiated labour markets and differentiated roles in society should necessarily respond in exactly the same way to the education system?

We face the same kind of dilemma in evaluating local autonomy, as can be illustrated with a third example. In England the government introduced a compulsory hour of reading and an hour of mathematics into the primary school. In Wales no such unified structure was imposed, but schools were expected to introduce their own strategy for developing reading and mathematical skills among young children. In Wales, 80 % of the schools chose to adopt the English solution (National Literacy Trust 2004). Does this represent a lack of local autonomy? Does it represent the fact that the materials were available and cheap for the English solution? Is 80 % a high figure for the voluntary adoption of a uniform solution in a system where there is local autonomy? Is 80 % a low figure?

The fact of the matter is that nobody knows. We do not have any kinds of multi-centred theories which would allow us to engage with the question of whether those schools which chose the external solution were exercising their autonomy or not. As is quite apparent, the lack of such a theoretical framework is a major shortcoming of our present understanding of issues in globalisation, centralisation and decentralisation.

Most of the interesting questions which we face in education policy today require multi-centred answers. In the summer of 2000 there was considerable controversy in the press when a young woman, with very high examination scores at the end of upper secondary schooling, was refused admission by Oxford University. This was taken (most notably by the Chancellor of the Exchequer) as an indication that pupils from state schools were being discriminated against by the elite University (BBC 2000). But unless a university can accept all students who apply to it, how can we possibly know whether there is discrimination or not? What proportion of state school students would we expect to be in Oxford University if no discrimination were exhibited? What percentage of working class children, middle class children, children of single mothers or any other group would we expect to be in Oxford University as evidence of a fair admissions system?

The fact of the matter, again, is that we really have no basis for making these judgements. In 2004 the UK government established the Office for Fair Access to oversee the fairness of university admission procedures, with the aim of supporting and encouraging ‘improvements in the number and/or proportions of students in higher education from low income and other under-represented groups’ (Office for Fair Access 2014).

Establishing a bureaucracy and a system of accountability is the easy part: the difficult part is providing a multi-centred analytical framework so that judgements about the equity of admissions policies can be made. This is a notoriously difficult area, which in the past has included discussion of quotas, positive discrimination and affirmative action. However, there is a radical shortage of theory in this and related fields, which cannot be glossed over entirely by referring to ‘improvements’, and leaving open whether that will involve increases or decreases.

In all of those complex areas of policy which have been highlighted in this chapter, there is a complex interaction between individuals and institutions who have to opt for a course of action and policymakers at some larger level of integration who have to encourage, discourage or approve the selected course of action. ‘We cannot appoint more teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds if they do not apply / are not qualified’. ‘We cannot admit more children from state schools to the University if they choose not to apply’. This complex interaction between policy and personal preference is typical of educational settings, especially those educational settings which are important for ethical reasons. But is a lack of applicants sufficient evidence that our processes are fair? Or might this not be a response to perceived or real unfairness in our procedures? These are admittedly difficult areas, but we are seriously under-equipped in terms of theory to address them.

5 Conclusions

What I have tried to show in this chapter is that in the context of globalisation and expansion of education systems, most of the theories which we apply are single-centred, while most of the interesting problems we face are multi-centred. Discussion of the exercise of local autonomy, of global influences and of transnational effects is conducted without a theoretical framework which allows us to evaluate the true strength of those influences (Turner 2007b). If we are to develop a clear understanding of how local, national and international forces act together to influence the development of education systems, and the opportunities of individuals, we need to develop frameworks of analysis which are multi-centred. Such multi-centred approaches would connect directly with the concerns of policymakers and have a direct impact upon policy-making.

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Policy Borrowing in Education: Frameworks for Analysis

David Phillips

1 Introduction

When we contemplate the history of endeavour in comparative education, we can trace a consistent line of interest in what might be learnt from other systems of education – from aspects of educational provision ‘elsewhere’. The early investigators of education outside of their own countries were in many cases motivated by the desire to ‘borrow’ ideas that might be successfully imported into their home system. Among them was Marc-Antoine Jullien, who in his famous *Plan for Comparative Education* of 1816/1817 advocated practical trials based on the observations that would be gathered in his ambitious survey and who argued that ‘a wise and well-informed politician discovers in the development and prosperity of other nations a means of prosperity for his own country’ (Fraser 1964, p. 37). And from Jullien onwards, ‘borrowing’ became a common, if often unrealistic, aim of much investigative work of a comparative nature.

Noah and Eckstein identify ‘borrowing’ as characterising the second stage of their five-stage developmental typology of comparative education. To this stage belong those investigators who travelled to other countries with the specific intention to learn from example and so to contribute to the improvement of education ‘at home’. Although what they reported was ‘rarely explanatory’, and they usually limited themselves to ‘encyclopedic descriptions of foreign school systems, perhaps enlivened here and there with anecdotes’ (Noah and Eckstein 1969, p. 5), they nevertheless established a tradition in comparative study which persists today – the outsider’s systematic collection of information which might provide inspiration for reform.

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The early investigators, then, were ‘motivated by a desire to gain useful lessons from abroad’ (Noah & Eckstein, p. 15), and throughout the nineteenth century, there was much study of foreign systems of education, Prussia and France figuring prominently as ‘target’ countries. Among the more important figures in the United Kingdom who devoted their attention to identifying what might be learnt from Prussia in particular were Matthew Arnold (poet, man of letters, and inspector of schools), Mark Pattison (Oxford don, Rector of Lincoln College), and Michael Sadler (civil servant, professor and vice chancellor, and Master of University College, Oxford). They produced between them scholarly studies of considerable value, and they can still be read with profit today. But, as Noah and Eckstein explain, ‘it was one thing to assert that the study of foreign education was a valuable enterprise; it was quite another to believe that foreign examples could be imported and domesticated’ (p. 21).

The apparently simple three-stage process of (i) identification of successful practice, (ii) introduction into the home context, and (iii) assimilation is extraordinarily complex and presents the comparativist with many problems (Phillips and Ochs 2003). The *locus classicus* for a description of the basic dilemma is Michael Sadler’s much-quoted speech of 1900, ‘How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?’ in which we find the passage still worth repeating:

In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and ‘of battles long ago’. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. (Sadler, in Higginson 1979, p. 49)

This famous injunction undermines the very notion of the feasibility of policy borrowing. But despite our awareness of the complexities of borrowing, it is a phenomenon, which needs to be analysed and understood. In the rest of this chapter, I shall attempt to unravel some of the problems involved and to describe recent work in Oxford on models designed to assist such analysis and understanding – models based upon a close analysis of historical examples.

2 Definitions

‘Borrowing’ is an unfortunate term, which is linguistically inadequate to describe processes for which other more suitable terms have been used. Among them are ‘copying’, ‘appropriation’, ‘assimilation’, ‘transfer’, ‘importation’, etc. (Phillips and Ochs 2003). But it is ‘borrowing’ which has become fixed in the literature, and so I shall use this term to describe what can be defined as the ‘conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another’ (Phillips and Ochs 2003).

I use the adjective ‘conscious’ since I consider ‘borrowing’ to be essentially deliberate and purposive. There is much in a country’s approach to education that might influence practice elsewhere, and that ‘influence’ might take many forms, but influence does not imply a process of ‘borrowing’ unless there has been a quite deliberate attempt to ‘copy’, ‘appropriate’, ‘import’, etc. a policy or practice elsewhere identified as being of potential value in the home country.

Susceptibility to influence, then, is not of itself borrowing; policy borrowing, however, implies influence, and so a ‘borrowed’ policy may ipso facto demonstrate that the borrower country has been ‘influenced’ by ideas from elsewhere. And influence of course can also be deliberate and purposive in ways which are more or less irresistible, as with conditions imposed by the World Bank and other aid agencies, the efforts of missionaries, the role of occupying forces (as in Germany and Japan after the Second World War), and the counsel provided by specialists called in to give advice in other types of post-crisis situation (such advisers were much in evidence in Eastern Europe after the collapse of Communism). In the aftermath of rapid political or economic or other forms of systemic change, there is considerable scope for such influence from outside. Sometimes, it will be welcomed, at least initially; sometimes, it will be gradual and subtle in its effects; sometimes, it will be resisted with varying degrees of rigour. As Samoff (1999) has put it, ‘the organisation and focus of education nearly everywhere in the modern era reflects international influences, some more forceful than others’ (1999, p. 52).

Although I shall be concerned with various aspects of cross-national ‘influence’ in education, my focus will be on identifiably purposive attempts to borrow policy from elsewhere and not with the more general processes of internationalisation or globalisation in education which might result in apparently ‘foreign’ practices being observable in a particular country. And the focus will be on the historical example, since it is through previous and completed instances of ‘borrowing’ that we can begin to analyse the processes involved and to generalise from them.

3 Borrowing as a Process

The notion that policy can simply be transplanted from one national situation to another is of course simplistic, though it is by no means uncommon to hear politicians and influential bureaucrats – usually following a short fact-finding tour to another country – expounding the advantages of foreign models and their potential for incorporation into the home context. There are many examples of such naive enthusiasm for apparently successful provision elsewhere (Phillips 1989).

In previous studies, I have attempted a typology which includes this kind of interest, together with more serious attempts to learn from elsewhere:

- Serious scientific/academic investigation of the situation in a foreign environment
- Popular conceptions of the superiority of other approaches to educational questions

- Politically motivated endeavours to seek reform of provision by identifying clear contrasts with the situation elsewhere
- Distortion (exaggeration), whether or not deliberate, of evidence from abroad to highlight perceived deficiencies at home (Phillips 2000, p. 299)

The foreign example may be used both to ‘glorify’ and to ‘scandalise’ the home situation, to use Gita Steiner-Khamsi’s terms. More often than not, it is ‘scandalisation’ that dominates – successful practice elsewhere is used as a device to criticise provision at home. But only rarely is there any attempt to assess the complexities of the processes involved in actually implementing practices in education observed in foreign countries. A former Secretary of State for Education in England, prone to eulogising the German model, once made an observation – in connection with plans to introduce a national curriculum in England – that indicated, if unconsciously humorously, some degree of awareness of the problems:

... there will have to be much greater influence from the centre, more direction from the centre as far as the curriculum is concerned [...] At the same time ... I don’t want to chill and destroy the inventiveness of the teachers ... I don’t want to go down the completely regimented German way, because ... it took all those years from Bismarck onwards to get it agreed. (Phillips 1989, p. 268)

The processes involved in the borrowing of education policy can indeed take a long time, but time is not the only factor involved. Let me turn now to ways in which the processes might be described and analysed.

4 Cross-National Attraction

I begin with attempts which Ochs and Phillips (2002a, b) have made to devise a model which might describe the aspects of education elsewhere that spark off ‘cross-national attraction’. By identifying and analysing in detail a series of ‘snapshots’ of evidence of the direct influence of the German experience on educational development in England (exemplified in official reports and legislation, but also in more informal discussion of what might be learnt from Germany over a long period), we can begin to put together a ‘structural typology of cross-national attraction’ that might facilitate analysis of education ‘elsewhere’. Our principal aim here is to devise a framework for analysis of what attracts in foreign systems.

We see those aspects that initiate ‘cross-national attraction’ as essentially embedded in the context of the ‘target’ country and we describe them in six stages within our ‘structural typology’ (Ochs and Phillips 2002a, b) (Fig. 1).

The purpose of this typology is to guide analysis of *both* the processes *and* the context of ‘cross-national attraction’, which the researcher can use in thinking about the discrete elements of educational policy, their interrelationship, and the necessary conditions for policy transfer. The typology aims (1) to provide a framework for thinking about the development of educational policy as a process, (2) to identify important factors in the context of policy transfer, and (3) specifically to examine which contextual factors are important for the successful adoption of educational policy derived from elsewhere.

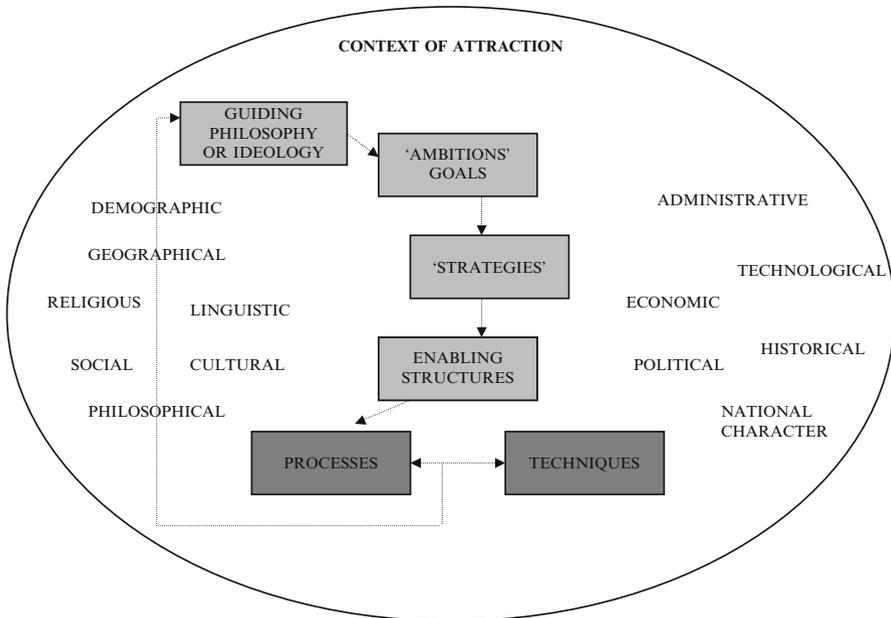


Fig. 1 Structural typology of ‘cross-national attraction’ in education

It seeks to categorise features of educational policy in one country which have observably attracted attention in another. It tries in this regard to create a structure for analysis of what might otherwise appear to be a general and unfocused interest in education ‘elsewhere’. It expresses aspects of educational policy as six stages:

1. *Guiding Philosophy or Ideology of the Policy*: The core of any policy and the underlying belief about the role of education – formal, non-formal, and informal.
2. *Ambitions/Goals of the Policy*: The anticipated outcomes of the system, in terms of its social function, improved standards, a qualified and trained workforce, etc.
3. *Strategies for Policy Implementation*: The politics of education or the investigation of the political leads to be considered in the forms of governance of education and the creation of educational policy.
4. *Enabling Structures*: There are two types: those supporting education and those supporting the education system. Here, we examine the structures of schooling, such as funding, administration, and human resources.
5. *Educational Processes*: The style of teaching (formal, informal, and non-formal education, generally speaking) and the regulatory processes required within the education system. This includes such matters as assessment, curricular guidelines, and grade repetition.
6. *Educational Techniques*: The ways in which instruction takes place. This includes aspects of pedagogy, teacher techniques, and teaching methods (see Ochs and Phillips 2002a).

As we have put it in our previous study (Ochs and Phillips 2002a):

The process of educational policy development begins with its guiding philosophy or ideology, influencing the ambitions and goals of the education system, then moves through its strategies, the development of *enabling structures*, and then on to the *processes* and *techniques* used for instruction. The close relationship and synergies between *processes* (such as methods of learning) and *techniques* (such as pedagogy of instruction) are illustrated by the arrow between the two boxes. A circular flow illustrates that changes in educational policy, at any point in the process, will ultimately lead back to the *guiding philosophy or ideology* of education, and the cycle will begin again. Although the flow and evolution of the process is unidirectional, the process and speed of development is largely influenced by the contextual factors. All aspects of educational policy are embedded in context, and the degree of contextual influence varies according to each situation. ‘Cross-national attraction’ can occur at any point; a foreign country may be interested in only the techniques described in an educational policy, a combination of elements, or the whole policy. ‘Borrowing’, at any stage, may impact the development of educational policy in the interested country. (Ochs and Phillips 2002a, pp. 14–15)

The six stages enable us to categorise interest in aspects of educational provision elsewhere. In the case of British interest in education in Germany, the example on which our structural typology is predicated, we have devised a schema to place historical examples of such interest within the stages described in the model.

Table 1 below includes eight of the examples used in a previous study and identifies the factors in terms of cross-national attraction that can be identified in the use made each time of German provision.

Table 1 Categorisation of legislation, etc. in England in terms of use of the German example, 1834–1986

Legislation, reports, etc.	Factors in cross-national attraction	Result
Select Committee Report on the State of Education, 1834	Strategies, enabling structures, processes, techniques	Accumulation of considerable evidence to inform future discussion
Newcastle Report on the State of Popular Education, 1858	Enabling structures	Preparing the ground for the introduction of compulsory elementary education
Cross Report on the Elementary Education Acts, 1888	Strategies, enabling structures, processes	Potential models for the solution of problems resulting from legislation
1902 Education Act (the Balfour Act)	Strategies, enabling structures, processes	Introduction of local education authorities
1918 Education Act (the Fisher Act)	Strategies, enabling structures, processes	Principled support for notion of continuation schools
1944 Education Act (the Butler Act)	Guiding philosophy, ambitions, enabling structures, processes, techniques	Selective secondary education, based on a tripartite system
Robbins Report on Higher Education, 1963	Strategies, enabling structures	Expansion of higher education
HMI Report on Education in the Federal Republic, 1986	Enabling structures, processes	Introduction of National Curriculum; national testing

Source: Phillips (2003), derived from Ochs and Phillips (2002a)

Here, then, we attempt to analyse the aspects of education elsewhere that have attracted attention in terms of British interest in education in Germany. But we can now incorporate our typology of cross-national attraction into a larger model that takes the processes of policy borrowing back a stage and also anticipates future developments once initial ‘attraction’ has become manifest.

5 Policy Borrowing in Education: A Composite Model

Our composite model incorporates an analysis of the impulses which initiate cross-national attraction; it then moves through the processes of decision-making, implementation, and ‘internationalisation’ (or ‘indigenisation’, or ‘domestication’, as it has also been called) which follow logically from any purposive attempt to borrow policy (Fig. 2).

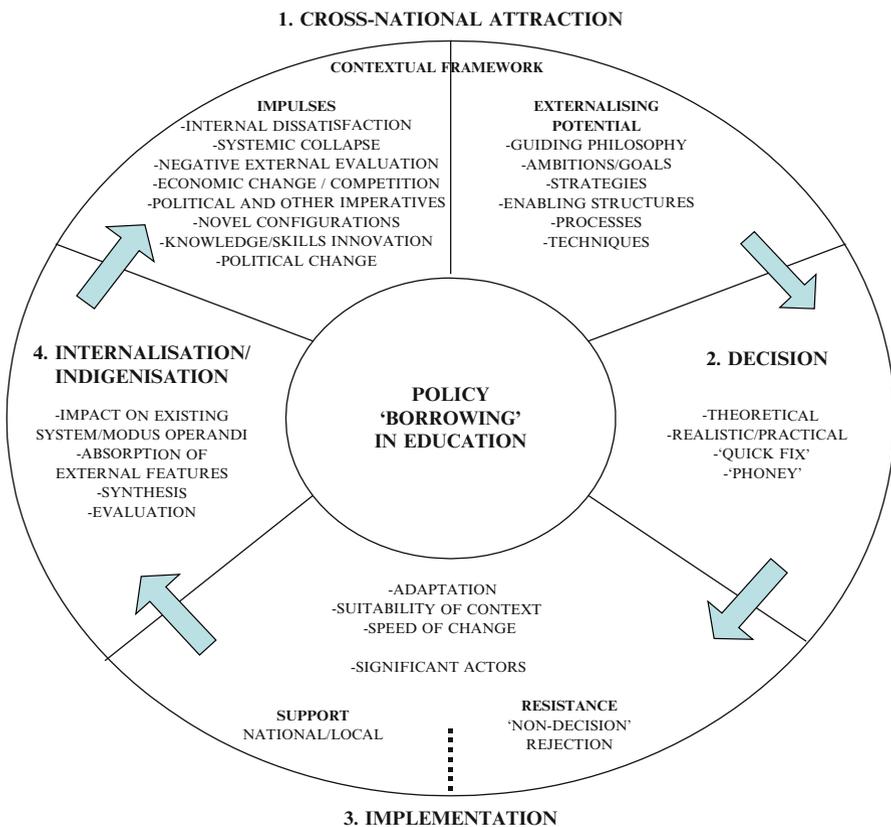


Fig. 2 Policy borrowing in education: composite processes (Source: Phillips and Ochs 2003)

5.1 *Impulses*

This more complex model starts with the impulses that spark off the types of cross-national attraction described in the typology. These impulses might originate in various phenomena:

- Internal dissatisfaction: On the part of parents, teachers, students, inspectors, and others
- Systemic collapse: Inadequacy or failure of some aspect of educational provision; the need for educational reconstruction following war or natural disaster
- Negative external evaluation: For example, in international studies of pupil attainment such as TIMSS or PISA, or through widely reported and influential research by academics
- Economic change/competition: Sudden changes in the economy (as in Southeast Asian countries); new forms of competition creating additional needs in training
- Political and other imperatives: The need to ‘turn around’ policy as voters become dissatisfied; responsibilities through aid donation or occupation following conflict
- Novel configurations: Globalising tendencies, effects of EU education and training policy, various international alliances, for example
- Knowledge/skills innovation: Failure to exploit new technologies
- Political change: New directions as a result of change of government, particularly after a long period of office of a previous administration

We are dealing here with the preconditions for change; the next segment of the model describes the various foci of attraction and places them, as we have seen, against the background of the complex contexts in which they are embedded: historical, political, economic, social, cultural, religious, demographic, and administrative.

5.2 *Decision Making*

The next stage is that of decision making. We see the types of decision falling into various categories:

- *Theoretical*: Governments might decide on policies as broad as ‘choice and diversity’, for example, and they might retain general ambitions not easily susceptible to demonstrably effective implementation.
- *Realistic/practical*: Here, we can isolate measures which have clearly proved successful in a particular location without their being the essential product of a variety of contextual factors which would make them not susceptible to introduction elsewhere; an assessment will have been made as to their immediate implementational feasibility.
- ‘*Quick fix*’: This is a dangerous form of decision-making in terms of the use of foreign models, and it is one that politicians will turn to at times of immediate political necessity. Examples might be various measures introduced in the countries

of Eastern Europe – often as the result of advice from outside advisers – following the political changes of 1989.

- ‘*Phoney*’: This category incorporates the kind of enthusiasms shown by politicians for aspects of education in other countries for immediate political effect, without the possibility of serious follow-through. An example might be the case of American ‘magnet schools’ which attracted the attention of Kenneth Baker when he was Secretary of State for Education in England in the 1980s. The nearest example to such schools that emerged in Baker’s 1988 Education Reform Act was found in the city technology colleges, which were by no means an instant success and which clearly did not resemble the ‘model’ of the magnet schools of the United States.

5.3 Implementation

Implementation will depend on the contextual conditions of the ‘borrower’ country. Speed of change will in turn depend on the attitudes of what can be termed ‘significant actors’ – these are people (or institutions) with the power to support or resist change and development, and they can be particularly effective in decentralised systems, where there is less direct control. Resistance might take the form of delayed decision, or simply of nondecision.

5.4 Internalisation/Indigenisation

Finally, there is a stage of ‘internalisation’ or – as it has been called – ‘indigenisation’ of policy. The policy ‘becomes’ part of the system of education of the borrower country, and it is possible to assess its effects on the pre-existing arrangements in education and their *modus operandi*.

There are four steps in this segment of the model:

1. Impact on the existing system/*modus operandi*: Here, we examine the motives and objectives of the policymakers, in conjunction with the existing system.
2. The absorption of external features: Close examination of context is essential to understand how and the extent to which features from another system have been adopted.
3. Synthesis: Here, we describe the process through which educational policy and practice become part of the overall strategy of the ‘borrower’ country. Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) discuss the process of ‘recontextualisation’ in acknowledging that context affects the interpretation and implementation of such ‘borrowed’ policies.
4. Evaluation: Finally, internalisation requires reflection and evaluation to discern whether the expectations of borrowing have been realistic or not. The results of evaluation might then start the whole process again, with further investigation of foreign models to put right perceived deficiencies.

This brings the model full circle. In a Hegelian sense, we see a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, with a ‘synthesised’ system ripe for further development as the developmental process begins again.

6 Discussion

Our research has uncovered rich veins of material in archives (especially in the Public Record Office in London) and little-known published sources (parliamentary reports, now defunct journals, forgotten travel, and other accounts), which constitute a body of descriptive and analytical writing concerned with various aspects of policy attraction. This has enabled us to create the theoretical models described above and has facilitated our understanding of educational borrowing as a phenomenon over the past 200 years or so (Phillips 1993, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2003; Ochs and Phillips 2002a, b; Phillips and Ochs 2003).

We have been engaged in Oxford in a detailed examination of what it is that has attracted educationists in particular countries to aspects of educational provision in other countries at particular times and why and how such attraction has manifested itself. A special focus of our work – and one which needs to be developed – has been on the context of the target country and the extent to which those features of its educational provision that attract attention are conditioned and determined by contextual factors which make their potential transfer problematic.

Our investigations (Ochs and Phillips 2002a, b) have shown that by identifying and analysing in detail a series of ‘snapshots’ of evidence of the direct influence of the German experience on educational development in England (exemplified in official reports and legislation, but also in more informal discussion of what might be learned from Germany), we can construct models to facilitate analysis of interest in education elsewhere. Those models need now to be tested through their application to further examples of observed borrowing in education in various national contexts.

Our aim has been to provide insights into the processes by which educational knowledge is developed and practice is informed by means of the foreign example, what Zymek (1975) has called ‘*das Ausland als Argument in der pädagogischen Reformdiskussion*’ (‘the foreign country as an argument in the discussion of educational reform’). Future work needs now to draw upon research which has focused on specific historical phases and events (e.g. the period leading up to the First World War), the development of new ideas (e.g. in vocational education) or institutions (the technical universities, for instance), and the role of ‘significant actors’ (like Horace Mann in Massachusetts or Matthew Arnold and Michael Sadler in England). We might look in particular at the case of Japan, which has been both an ‘importer’ of educational policy and an ‘exporter’ in terms of the interest its education system has attracted from the United States and the United Kingdom especially (Goodman 1991; Shibata 2001).

7 Conclusion

Analysis and understanding of the processes of policy borrowing contribute to our necessary ability to be critical of attempts (exemplified in the historical record) to use the foreign example indiscriminately. Investigation of the historical background allows us to come to grips with present-day issues in educational borrowing, among them the conditions in which the outcomes of important studies like PISA and TIMSS are impacting policy. The PISA results, for example, are currently having a profound impact on the policy discussion in Germany.

It is hoped that this present chapter will encourage others interested in all aspects of policy borrowing in education to use and develop the models it describes in order to produce more sophisticated ways of analysing the complex processes involved in this important area which remains of central concern to comparativists.

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Part II

Globalisation and Higher Education

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and *Suzanne Majhanovich*, *University of Western Ontario*

Globalization and Higher Education Policy Reform

W. James Jacob

1 Introduction

Documenting higher education policy reform trends is difficult to accomplish for any one country, let alone to accomplish on a global level within the limits of a single chapter. I recognize that higher education trends are context-specific and often are tied to the swinging pendulum of political change. Some trends, however, are so significant that they span political boundaries, permeate diverse cultures, and influence both market-leading and market-laggard higher education institutions (HEIs). In this chapter, I outline a number of global higher education trends in the comparative, international, and development education literature. Several case study examples are provided from multiple geographic regions, including Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

2 Organizational Element Shifts

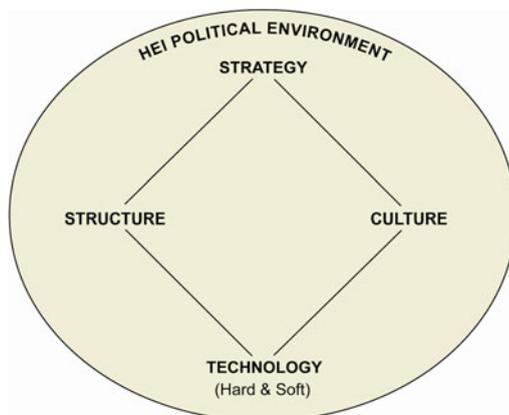
Universities and HEIs are among the oldest organizations on the earth. Traditionally resistant to change, HEIs can take years to begin or finalize a change process. Circumstances that impact one or more of the primary higher education organizational components—*strategy*, *structure*, *technology*, and *culture*—may take months, years, or decades to accomplish recognizable, let alone sustainable, change. These circumstances may stem from necessary changes within an HEI or from one or more external forces. The primary components of organizations do not

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Fig. 1 Four essential higher education institutional com



operate within a political vacuum but rather must conform to one or more political environments. This is especially the case when it comes to the primary organizational elements of HEIs (see Fig. 1).

Strategy is positioned at the apex of the four-component figure because—at least in theory—strategy should *lead* institutional culture, technology, and structure (Jacob 2009). Most successful higher education administrators recognize the importance of a guiding strategy. Included in this strategy are HEIs’ vision and mission statements, list of core values, strategic plan, and annual operating plans. The political environment has a huge role in the direction of higher education institutional strategy. Higher education strategy traditionally hinges upon the type of HEI. If an HEI is owned and operated by a nongovernmental organization (e.g., for-profit organization or a business, an individual, or a church), then the strategy is largely based upon the sponsoring organization or individuals’ strategy. Government HEIs generally have guiding strategies in alignment with the current political ideology (Zajda 2014a). Strategic reforms are often required to bring HEIs in alignment with the political environment. These reform efforts may be in direct alignment or contrary to sponsoring organizational strategies.

Culture is at the heart of every HEI and is established and perpetuated by a large group of well-established stakeholders. Often newcomers to a HEI have to sift through the formal culture to unearth and discover often several layers of informal culture. Despite continued pressure from internal and external forces—including the omnipresent influence globalization has on any large organization with hundreds to tens of thousands of employees and students—culture is generally the most difficult organizational element to change. It is especially difficult to implement sustained higher education institutional culture change. Regardless of periodic political shifts, academic trends, and technology innovations, institutional culture for most university personnel remains constant.

Congruence of an HEI’s culture with its local and global environment is essential for innovation and adaptation to market needs (Bartell 2003). A strong institutional

culture has been likened to a Janusian culture and is considered by Cameron (1984) as an appropriate culture for HEIs in a dynamic and rapidly changing environment. Incoming students from the so-called e-generation demand a curriculum that best meets their interests and market demands when seeking employment after graduation. The global financial crisis has only exacerbated this cultural shift toward an institutional culture that better incorporates student needs and interests. But it is not always an easy or quick adjustment for every faculty member, administrator, and support staff personnel to adjust to or meet these changing needs.

Broken down into two types of technology, this organizational element is essential at every level of higher education reform. *Hard technology* refers to the state of an HEI's technological infrastructure, including facility capacity, distance learning abilities, computers, and software. *Soft technology* relates directly to the quality of an HEI's human resources, including all faculty, administrators, students, and support staff. Individual and collective knowledge, interpersonal networks, and associations are directly linked to institutional soft technologies. Both hard and soft technologies are integral to the existence and future of HEIs. Hard technology almost always changes at a faster pace than notoriously slow HEIs (Hawkins 2007). Innovation often supersedes political reform efforts but is often closely aligned with market trends and employment demands. With the rapid evolution of hard technologies, graduating students are required to adapt. An eclectic mind-set toward continual skills acquisition and remaining up-to-date with hard technologies is as important for today's higher education instructors and graduates as any previous certification programs or traditional curricula used to be.

The most effective culture change agents understand the importance of values and norms that exist with each HEI. Sometimes these norms and values have existed for generations. HEIs which can best adapt their institutional culture to align with market demands and student interests are most likely to succeed in this hyper-competitive and resource-limited environment.

Both formal and nonformal organizational structures exist within every HEI. Organizational structures include faculties, schools, departments, centers, and institutes within HEIs. Structures also include the way in which personal and institutional relationships *function* within these same organizational units (faculty relationships with others in their same department), with other units within the same HEI (e.g., relationships between faculty members and administrators from different schools or different departments), and with external agencies (such as with government and accreditation agencies), HEIs (including partner and competitor HEIs), businesses (including those that hire recent graduates or contribute in one way or another with HEIs), and individuals (e.g., students, parents of students, alumni, sponsors, etc.). Facilities management is an often overlooked and underfunded organizational structure area that works behind the scenes at all HEIs. Too often sponsoring agencies fail to recognize the importance a well-administered and operating facilities management team can play in student and personnel satisfaction, beautification of campuses, planning for capital expansions and mergers, and maintenance of existing infrastructure.

Formal higher education structures include the way in which people and organizational units associated with HEIs are organized and how these individuals and units are theoretically *supposed to function*. Nonformal structures include the way in which personal and institutional relationships may *actually function* that differs in one or more ways from the formal structure. For instance, a faculty member in one department may hold much closer personal networks and relationships with colleagues from another department or school than he/she does in his/her own department. The formal higher educational structure does not necessarily reflect reality.

Global influences have helped change both formal and nonformal higher education institutional structures (Zajda 2014b). With the rapid increase in technology communication in recent years—the modes, manners, and speed in which we can communicate with others within our HEIs and across the globe have forever changed—there is an increasing trend to branch out of traditional formal communication and reporting structures. The global financial crisis in recent years has implanted an indelible footprint on HEIs. Among the higher education organizational structure shifts resulting from this global financial crisis include greater competition for already diminished financial resources and demands for greater outputs from already limited human resource capacity.

3 Innovation in Higher Education

Innovation depends on so many factors, but the political environment is among the greatest influences that enables or prevents innovation in higher education. Figure 2 provides an overview of the factors necessary to cultivate innovation at the higher education level.

The figure is based upon the overall framework introduced by Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan (1979), with a subjective-objective x-axis and a regulation-change y-axis. Ethics, core values, and human rights are essential elements in both preventive and enabling political environments and should not be compromised regardless of the innovative approach advocated by governments, HEI administrators, faculty members, students, and all others within and who have an influence upon higher education at all levels. Ethics include establishing institutional review boards (IRBs) that ensure all research activities are conducted in accordance to international human rights related to research as outlined in the Nuremberg Code (1948), Declaration of Helsinki (1964),¹ and the *Belmont Report* (1979). Academic freedom differs depending on the country and even within many country contexts. Some governments curtail academic freedoms for various reasons that prevent higher education faculty members and students from researching and publishing about politically sensitive or controversial topics, even if their research and publications adhere to the strictest scientific standards and protocols. In this regard academic freedom can be highly regulated or at the center of radical changes in virtually every field of academic study. Academic freedom is widely recognized as a key ingredient to foster innovation in higher education.

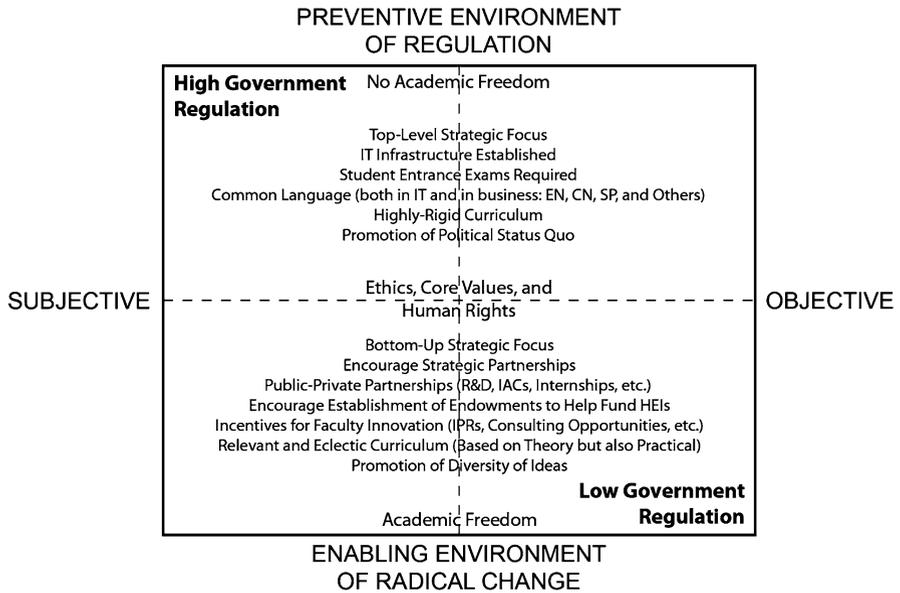


Fig. 2 Political environments that lead to innovation in higher education

In accordance with the four key components of HEIs, strategy leads innovation in higher education. Higher education institutional strategies can range from a top-down to a bottom-up focus. Generally speaking, the more individual faculty members are able to set their own research agendas, the more they are able to build their own innovation capacity. In an ideal HEI scenario, the university-wide strategy will give latitude for individuals to excel in their individual strategic foci while at the same time enabling individuals to meet the university-wide mission, vision, and core values. Too often, top-level higher education administrators prevent fostering and enabling environment that fosters this type of innovation. Governments that interfere too much with higher education institutional strategies often inadvertently prevent innovation because of too much strategic regulation.

It is essential for governments to work with the higher education subsector by building the foundational information technology (IT) infrastructure necessary to conduct optimal research, communications, and Internet-based activities. This infrastructure capacity is required for students and faculty members to make IT a centerpiece of their research and training experiences. It is a crucial foundational cornerstone of innovation in higher education and often is linked to carefully planned IT infrastructure that includes government regulations and linkages to the private sector.

Student entrance examinations at the undergraduate level allow the top research universities in the world to be highly selective. Too often, however, required higher education entrance examinations only widen the access and equity gap between

those who *have* the ability to pay for their higher education degree/s and those who *do not have* this ability. The student entrance examination requirement is a social justice issue that leaves many ethnic minority and low socioeconomic status students at a disadvantage compared to others. Affirmative action policies help to level the access to higher education playing field, but more can and should be done by governments to help the most disadvantaged student groups gain greater access to higher education opportunities.

Higher education is regulated by languages. Computer operating systems are written in standard programming codes (or computer languages) that are understood by computer programmers and software design engineers, who speak many different languages. IT uses a universal or globalized language that maintains high regulations and is easily taught to higher education students. Similarly, a handful of spoken languages are recognized as universal or global higher languages of business (English and Chinese) and regional influence (French, Spanish, Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, and Swahili). The dominance of English as the global language of business is astounding; Chinese—with the sheer number of native Chinese speakers and the consistently burgeoning national economy China has had over the past 15 years—is also a spoken language of growing importance in business. Regional languages are important for political, cultural, and historical reasons and often influence innovation efforts at the higher education level throughout many regions of the earth.

Curriculum needs differ depending on the subject matter. Because education is a learning process, the curriculum is under the constant need of change as well. The bureaucratic nature of HEIs leads to a rigid curriculum and often prevents necessary changes based on new scientific research, theory evolution, and alternative and optimal mediums of instruction. Professors who have taught a course for 20 years are often reluctant to spend the time needed to update reading materials and ensure the course materials are current with industry standards and practice. The most effective higher education curricula are those which link theory and practice. This linking process is best done by building a series of curricular bridges between theory and practice that include keeping course materials up-to-date and relevant.

An enabling political environment helps HEIs establish strategic partnerships with businesses, government agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and other HEIs. These partnerships are essential in a world that continues to globalize and where the internationalization of higher education is becoming standard operational practice rather than an afterthought. Flexibility to reach out to local communities and overseas stakeholders helps HEIs further strengthen existing partnerships and establish nontraditional partnerships that will help them better adapt to and meet the dynamic changes of higher education demands of the future.

As centers of knowledge production, reproduction, and innovation, HEIs are often defined by their research and development (R&D) capacity. Funding is an essential component of most research initiatives. Government- and/or private-sponsored R&D in higher education are examples of effective public-private partnerships in an enabling environment. Research is at the heart of higher education. Industry advisory councils (IACs) should be established within each faculty, school, or college within

an HEI to help establish public-private partnerships with key stakeholders in industry in both the public and private sectors.

An IAC should consist of representatives of current and emerging employers in a given country, who will be given an active role in providing feedback to the administrators and faculty members on the curriculum. IAC members should be broadly representative of local industry and should include participation from both government and private sectors. Recruiting private sector representatives to join an IAC is often challenging in an environment with a limited or nonexistent tradition of cooperation between academia and industry. IACs can assist HEIs by providing advice and counsel to senior administrators; strengthen relations with business leaders and stakeholders; promote the strategic mission, vision, and goals of HEIs; and assist in providing access to public and private resources.

Internships are reciprocal and beneficial to HEIs, students, and employers. Internship opportunities for students help bridge the theory and practice gap by providing current higher education students with firsthand experience in their future field of employment. Employers are able to witness the amount of preparation their interns have when starting an internship and from this can provide feedback to higher education administrators on areas that they might strengthen their curriculum. Internships often link faculty members with professionals in the field who are at the forefront of cutting-edge technologies and research opportunities.

In the wake of the global financial crisis—where so many governments worldwide have been forced to limit or reduce government funding for higher education—alternative sources of revenue generation are vital. Student tuition can only be increased so much before public outcry and political opposition becomes too strong. Endowments are a key strategy of many higher education administrators in their efforts to fund increasing research and operating costs. Interest generated from large donations from individuals, foundations, and corporations can help offset increases in costs of living and inflation. While endowments provide optimal financial protection, the periodic ebbs and flows of a global market economy remind us of the volatility of this financial reliance model.

It is important to note that not all government involvement regulation of the higher education subsector is deemed negative nor are all of the higher education regulation factors listed in Fig. 2 entirely negative (both at the subjective and objective ends of the x-axis spectrum), and in some instances greater regulation can encourage greater innovation. If left unchecked, some factors listed in the enabling environment hemisphere can lead to a higher education system that supports an inequitable neoliberal agenda.

4 Higher Education Autonomy

Autonomy is where an organization has achieved a state of independence, self-reliance, and sustainable self-governance. An autonomous HEI is an independent and self-reliant institution that is free to establish its own policies, guidelines,

curriculum, funding streams, and governance. The goal to achieve greater autonomy is a global trend for HEIs. Many governments are struggling to deal with the task of transitioning toward greater autonomy among higher education institutions that have for decades been highly regulated. The shift toward greater autonomy rarely occurs overnight; most successful autonomy changes take into account the four higher education institutional components as depicted in Fig. 1.

An important part of higher education autonomy is the notion of academic freedom. Freedom of expression—both in scholarly writing and in public discourse—is a foundation goal of higher education autonomy. Varying levels of academic freedom exist along an autonomous spectrum, with some HEIs highly centralized compared to others (see the y-axis of regulation in Fig. 2). On one side of this spectrum, there is little or no academic freedom and on the other side complete freedom. Great strides have been made in recent decades on a global scale, but freedom of expression remains an autonomy stumbling block for many students, faculty members, and administrators.

Government policy makers and higher education leaders supporting limited academic freedom fear that relinquishing control of what is published and permissible in academic and public discourse will ultimately lead toward a potential overthrow of government ideology (Hamilton 1995; Olson 2009). In such an environment, academic excellence is rarely achievable. Innovative thought, research, and paradigmatic shifts are restricted often in parallel with the amount of academic freedom restrictions. Some governments go to great lengths to curtail information flow via the Internet and other media outlets. But the very dynamics associated with rapidly changing technologies and the various facets of globalization prevent governments from achieving an absolute stop to academic freedom of expression.

There are too many circumstances and intervening variables involved in the global higher education labyrinth of networks. This labyrinth includes networks from within and without each HEI that prevent even a great wall from successfully keeping all marauding information out of reach. The global market economy only accentuates these porous borders (Zajda 2005, 2010).

5 Governance Reforms in Higher Education

Issues of governance are at the forefront of many current higher education reforms. Multilateral development agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (and other regional banks), International Association of Universities (IAU), and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) include governance as a primary focus of many of their higher education programs. Often multilateral higher education-funded initiatives are linked to the central incorporation of governance in the national policy framework (see, for instance, the World Bank-funded Second Higher Education Project in Vietnam and its seminal book *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*).

Leadership is often associated with governance and rightfully so as HEIs provide graduates who will become the future leaders at all levels of countries in every major social sector and of businesses in private and public sectors. Presenters at the recent Higher Education Reform Workshop covered four overarching themes of higher education governance: institutional and social reform; tighter fiscal constraints and increased accountability (especially in the aftermath of the global financial crisis and recovery period); identification and establishment of good governance principles; and quality assurance as a major component of governance in higher education (Jacob and Slowely 2010).

The term *higher education governance* implies that there are practices or principles of *higher education good governance*. Dealing with issues related to leadership, strategy, professional development, community involvement and outreach, and corruption in one degree or another has been and continues to be a challenge for higher education leaders and policy makers across the globe. Government agencies are increasingly supportive of educational reforms that include an emphasis on good governance practices at all levels. In the wake of the Enron scandal in the United States and the financial crisis that rocked global markets and destabilized traditional national financial structures worldwide in 2008 and for many years afterwards, professional schools have increasingly emphasized the importance of governance in higher education training. Courses emerged with titles like Ethics and Values; Ethics and Management; Media Ethics, Law, and Responsibility; Ethics and International Affairs; and Leadership and Corporate Accountability.

Four principles of higher education good governance deserve attention in this chapter: *coordination*, *information flow*, *transparency*, and *accountability*. Each of these elements is essential to building a viable HEI. The combination of all four elements produces a model HEI in which good governance synergy can flourish into sustainable quality improvement. The principles of good governance should be embedded in higher education institutional strategic plans and operational plans. A strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) analysis or specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound (SMART) analysis can help identify specific areas HEIs need to strengthen in order to be more effective. Failure to support and maintain good governance efforts in a HEI can lead to detrimental results. Administrators who elect to ignore these four principles of good governance will do so at their own peril.

5.1 *Coordination*

Higher education good governance starts with coordination. Nowhere is coordination needed more than by higher education administrators and policy makers. The principle of coordination is defined as leadership by example, necessity, and context. In order to be effective, coordination must be first understood (through appropriate information flow mediums), and it must be reciprocal. Effective coordination includes ensuring that diverse and multiple perspectives are included in the coordination process.

Where democratic participation is essential in many areas of higher education coordination, other circumstances require alternative coordination leadership styles. The roles of higher education legislative bodies (i.e., university senate and other elected and leadership-appointed committees) are essential coordinating mechanisms within HEIs to establish ownership, stakeholder buy-in, and sustainable change. Boards of directors are important decision-making and coordinating groups that can have long-lasting influence on higher education reforms.

No single coordination model is appropriate for every context. Coordination protocols that work well for the Marriott School at Brigham Young University may not necessarily work for Tsinghua University's School of Economics and Management. Coordination is best implemented if it is encouraged at the top. Some instances require different leadership styles. For instance, emergency situations at a university require different coordination efforts than nonemergency, day-to-day operations. How an HEI responds to a bomb threat or other emergencies in a specific building on campus will undoubtedly be different from coordination of the delivery of an online executive management program. Both situations require exceptional coordination models to be effective.

5.2 Information Flow

Higher education institutional strategy, culture, technology, and structure are most successful when they are understood by all stakeholders and affiliates of the HEI. This requires efficient and accurate dissemination of information. It includes ensuring that feedback loops are in place so that administrators can learn from the rest of their organization in a true learning organization fashion.

If students are to buy in and have ownership for higher education policies and procedures at their respective HEIs, they need to first understand the policies and procedures. This same principle applies to faculty members, administrators, and staff members who need to be informed about their institutional requirements in order to avoid conflict of interest, legal pitfalls, and other requirements unique to HEIs.

HEIs which have mastered the principle of information flow know how to protect, store, and disseminate this information. The most successful HEIs do not always have the most information available all of the time. In fact, once information is obtained, it is as important how the information is stored or disseminated as it is in obtaining the information in the first place. This includes meeting federal guidelines for archiving personal information on students, higher education personnel, donors, and other stakeholders. It also means that responsible administrators ensure that information submitted to their HEI is accurate, including such items as transcripts, test scores, and diplomas of student applicants; degree requirements and publication verifications of faculty members; and background checks on personnel, who are hired on part- and full-time bases.

If used appropriately, information flow can also help higher education administrators get a message out to all key stakeholders as well as the public. This includes

helping to dispel inappropriate gossip or rumors before they get out of hand or countering an inaccurate media report about your HEI by publishing a press release or news conference on the controversial topic or issue. Successful brand-name recognition comes from mastering the principle of information flow.

HEIs can do better in disseminating positive information about themselves for marketing and professional exposure purposes. The silo syndrome so pervasive in many HEIs—where faculty members from the same department seldom if ever talk to one another, let alone attempt to understand what others in their department are doing with their respective research, interests, and outreach initiatives—is a major obstacle for many departments and HEIs.

Better use of information technology (including websites, blogs, and the media) is essential in mastering the principle of information flow within an HEI. Internet-based videoconference and other communication mediums can help break distance and culture barriers and maximize the use of already limited resources. But IT has its limits too, so established policies that are in alignment with government policies (i.e., *Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act* [HIPAA] and *Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act* [FERPA] in the United States, the *Privacy Law* in Australia, and the *Data Protection Act* in the United Kingdom) are an essential component in any higher education information flow initiative. Learning how to harness the latent IT information flow potential is an essential strategy for achieving good governance.

5.3 Transparency

The third key principle of higher education good governance is transparency. Involvement and inclusion are important not only for effective coordination and information flow efforts but also to ensure people are provided with facts and knowledge of higher education decisions and operations. The need for greater transparency in higher education finances has only been exacerbated by the recent and ongoing global financial crisis. Fiduciary responsibilities are paramount in meeting seemingly endless requirements of government and private sponsors, grant agencies, and local community commitments.

Effective higher education administrators understand the importance of transparency in virtually all areas of higher education governance. When it is possible, transparent leaders inform others of why certain decisions were made. Sometimes decision making contains sensitive privileged information that cannot be disseminated for one reason or another. Nothing is more frustrating for students than to not know why her tuition continues to climb on an annual basis while funds seem increasingly tight. Where information is unavailable—or even worse misunderstood—dissonance, contention, and ignorance prevail. Understanding is nearly impossible to achieve in a nontransparent higher education environment. And it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a higher education change effort to succeed where it is not understood.

5.4 Accountability

If higher education good governance starts with coordination and is operationalized through information flow and transparency, then accountability is the central principle that provides an anchor to the other three. Without accountability the other three principles are shallow with no solid foundation to build upon. Being accountable is being an effective leader. It includes the essential leadership characteristics of being ethical, honest, and transparent. Responsibility is an underpinning of accountability, and it should guide all decisions and actions of higher education leaders.

Accountability also means the ability to stand by one's decisions. Higher education leaders are human and therefore prone to make mistakes. The best higher education leaders, however, learn from their mistakes. When mistakes happen, the principle of accountability leads individuals to recognize their mistakes, make restitution for their mistakes when appropriate and when possible, and strive to not make the same mistake again. Wise higher education leaders not only learn from their own mistakes but also learn from others.

Ethical leadership is a growing field in management studies and is an increasingly important characteristic employers look for when interviewing recent higher education graduates (Cavaliere et al. 2010; Liveris 2011). In the post-Enron world we live in, the foundational accountability characteristic of ethical leadership will continue to be a key characteristic for higher education leaders and graduates.

6 Quality Assurance

Global standards in higher education require HEIs to adjust and meet these standards or in many cases be left behind. Quality assurance and quality improvement initiatives are at the forefront of government and profession-based attempts to provide national and global standards of excellence. Most countries have established national policies regulating the training of teachers, medical doctors, and lawyers. In some instances accreditation of these and other professions is maintained by government agencies. In other contexts independent accreditation agencies provide this role. In some instances both government and independent accreditation is sought after, especially for HEIs desiring to achieve world-class status (Bigalke and Neubauer 2009; Zajda 2014b).

Striving for excellence is not always an easy task and often takes a significant investment in limited resources (time, money, and leadership at all levels). Quality assurance in higher education stems from a rich literature of quality assurance programs that originated in business and medical fields (Doherty 2008). The term *quality* is context dependent and often political by nature. Sustainable higher education quality assurance initiatives should take into account the four principles of good governance and work within the framework of the four essential higher education institutional components outlined in Fig. 1.

Some of the most fundamental quality assurance practices include accreditation; benchmarking; networking; conducting periodic self- and external studies of departments, schools/faculties, and HEIs; total quality management; and force field analysis. The most successful higher education administrators are those who recognize that quality assurance is a continual improvement and learning process. It involves the skill of reflection or what I call reflective quality assurance by learning from past successes and mistakes. This reflection process must be made a priority by higher education administrators at all levels. The excuse that “I am too busy” or “I don’t have time to devote to reflection and feedback following each major initiative” only prevents leaders from learning by doing. Reflective quality assurance practices activate a synergy effect where individuals can learn so much more from their past by taking careful account of what they learned and from the collective feedback they received from participants in major and minor change efforts.

Governments with a long-term objective to join the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) must meet the requirements outlined by the European Union, which is based on the *Bologna Magna Charta*.² This is no easy task and often takes substantial curricular adjustments for countries which have expressed a desire to join the European Union, including Kosovo, Romania, and Turkey. Meeting the EU higher education standards requires substantial quality assurance procedures and practices to be put in place and to ensure that all of the Bologna Process and the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) Programme standards are met for student and faculty mobility, teaching, research, articulation of coursework through the European Credit and Accumulation System (ECTS), and recognition by other EU member states of student degrees upon graduation.

National and global rankings are becoming increasingly political and are often perceived to be linked to higher education institutional quality, regardless of the methods employed by the ranking institution (Deem et al. 2009; Portnoi et al. 2010). Brand-name recognition tends to be linked in many ways to global rankings, especially for the top-tiered research universities. Among the most influential ranking systems, the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education’s *Academic Ranking of World Universities*, the *Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings*, and QS Rankings by QS Quacquarelli Symonds Ltd. often influence senior administration decisions on what quality improvement foci should be made as part of strategic planning and quality assurance initiatives in the future.

7 Conclusion

Higher education reforms are often linked to global markets and technology changes. Global, regional, national, and local factors are all relevant in shaping the political reform efforts in higher education. In this chapter I have identified and discussed several leading higher education policy reform trends at the global level. Each policy reform must take into account certain institutional elements common

among all HEIs—strategy, culture, technology, and structure. Strategy is at the forefront of most significant and sustained higher education changes. Innovation trends in higher education—where HEIs are traditionally viewed as centers of innovation, R&D, and technology transfer—are outlined in Fig. 2 and emphasize the need for a greater balance between government regulation and enabling environments that foster creativity and innovation. At no time should matters of human rights, research ethics, and core values be compromised regardless of the innovative outcome.

Academic freedom is central to many higher education policy reform efforts, and results of academic freedom can be viewed along a spectrum of options depending on the national and institutional contexts. Quality assurance is at the forefront of most policy reform efforts, among which include the four principles of good governance: coordination, information flow, transparency, and accountability.

Many of the trends identified and described in this chapter highlight the need for current and future higher education leaders to understand the global nature of higher education. Higher education change initiatives in one country no longer operate in a vacuum and have an influence, to some degree or another, on the global higher education landscape. Similarly policy reform efforts that prevent an equitable balance of greater collaboration, networking, social justice, quality assurance, and innovation in higher education will have negative lasting consequences on international higher education. It is my desire that the suggestions raised in this chapter will help bridge these negative potential consequences by encouraging higher education leaders to carefully consider the international impact of existing higher education policies and especially when forging new ones.

Notes

1. The Helsinki Declaration was subsequently revised in 1975, 1983, 1989, and 1996.
2. The various European Union agreements in recent years include the Lisbon Convention on Recognition of Degree Certificate Qualifications in the European Region, Lisbon, 1997; EHAE, Bologna, 1999; Salzburg Declaration on the Social and Civil Responsibilities of Universities, Salzburg, 2001; and Convention on HEIs, Salamanca, 2001.

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Globalization and Global University Rankings

Val D. Rust and Stephanie Kim

1 Globalization and University Rankings

In 2003 the first international ranking project was undertaken by Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education with the title *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (SJTUIHE 2008). It was followed by the *London Times World University Rankings* in 2004 (Times 2008). The *Times* project differed from China's in that it aimed to put a British stamp on universities. The British claim that the Shanghai reports do not give the British the recognition they deserve. Both of these annual reports have "triggered the transformation of world higher education" (Marginson 2010). Even though these ranking systems have been around less than a decade, other rankings themselves on the national level have a longer history (Zajda 2014a).

It is difficult to imagine a time in history when globalization has had a greater cultural, economic, and political impact. It affects countries, cultures, and systems in different ways—some in positive and others in more negative ways. All sectors of society are being affected. Higher education is no exception (Knight 2008). In the past two decades, there have been dramatic changes in higher education and ideology defining standards and global competitiveness (De Witt 2008; Knight 2008; Zajda 2005, 2008, 2014b; Rust et al. 2010; Rust and Kim 2012). Combined with the impact of globalization and the development of the global "knowledge economy,"

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these competitive forces have resulted in the *global competition phenomenon* that is currently reshaping higher education, including:

1. The rise of global university rankings
2. Declarations by nations to have a world-class university
3. The development of regional units of control
4. The development of cross-border quality assessment practices
5. The internationalization of universities

1.1 National Rankings

National ranking systems have a long history. They are viewed as a powerful source of analysis and comparisons between universities at the national level (Labi 2008). Ranking systems of higher education institutions in the Netherlands, for example, are highly competitive and context dependent. *Elsevier*, a weekly magazine in the Netherlands, publishes an annual *Beste Studies* that ranks bachelor, master's, and doctoral programs in the country. And "Selection Guide Higher Education" (*Keuzegid*) is an annual survey of Dutch students about their program and university.

In the early 1990s, many news magazines in Germany began to publish "hitlists" of the "best" German universities. At the time, the criteria for what was deemed "best" were highly controversial. However, in 2002, the Center for University Development (CHE) at Bonn University compiled the first annual comprehensive German university ranking system. It relied on about 30 indicators, including the quality of students, the number of enrolled students, the average time to degree, the number of graduates each year, the extramural funds obtained, the quality faculty, the quality of teaching, the volumes in the university library, etc. The results of this inquiry are published in *Die Zeit*. Further, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation has a research ranking which measures how attractive German universities are to international scientists (*Zeit Online Rankings* 2010).

In Canada, *Maclean's* magazine has had a clear impact on university funding. In Alberta, for example, universities have not been ranked very highly, and politicians have taken advantage of this record by failing to provide requested resources (Chronicle 1998).

The United States has long maintained rankings of its universities and colleges, the most prominent being the annual rankings of the *US News & World Report* that have been given the broadest media coverage, because they have publicized to families where they ought to send their children to get the best possible education.

The ranking business in America became so complex that in 1997 the University of Illinois Education and Social Science Library set up a collection site, where they catalogued print and electronic sources concerning institutional rankings related to law, medicine, engineering, business, distance learning, community college, African American, Hispanic, activist, moral, and a host of other ranking systems for colleges and universities.

Chinese national university rankings have become common. While North America and Europe have a history of national rankings, China began the process in 1991

when the Guangdong Academy of Management Science published its first China university ranking system (Wu et al. 1993). Now this informal institution has changed its name to Chinese Academy of Management Science and created 13 huge annual China university evaluation reports which rank 100 Chinese top universities and 36 first-class graduate schools in total and undergraduate programs in science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, philosophy, economics, law, education, literacy, history, and management (Science 2010). Now China has more than 40 China university and China graduate school rankings set up by 15 institutions and private researchers.

1.2 *Specific Field Rankings*

Some ranking systems began to look at specific fields of study. For example, in 2000 *Coupe* published a worldwide ranking of economics departments (Coupe 2000), which had followed a publication a year earlier that ranked departments and individuals according to the number of pages they had contributed to the “core journals in the field” (Kalaitzidakis et al. 1999). A similar assessment had been made in 1996 by L.C. Scott and P.M. Mitias, who ranked economics departments in the United States (Scott and Mitias 1996).

BusinessWeek has long published international rankings of part-time, distance, and full-time MBA programs, as well as executive programs, indicating which schools are among the top 25 and second-tier 25 institutions. Some of their rankings exclude the United States, which tends to dominate most ranking systems (*BusinessWeek* 2010).

1.3 *International Rankings*

In the last century, international rankings were of interest only to education specialists, and nobody took seriously the notion of global or cross-country comparisons. Since then things have taken a dramatic turn. When the Shanghai rankings appeared, higher education specialists, the media, and the general public took notice, and these rankings began to influence university administrators, political leaders, students, and the media. In fact, national leaders in China, Germany, and France quickly initiated research and development (R&D) policies that aimed to increase their higher education stature (Hazelkorn 2008). Rankings have continued to influence attitudes to the point that almost every nation is now conscious of its global standing in higher education. The Shanghai rankings were developed using a small number of crucial indicators of universities. The weights given to each of the indicators are as follows.

Criteria	Indicator	Weight (%)
Education quality	Alumni of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	10
Quality of faculty	Staff of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	20
	Highly cited researchers in 21 broad subject categories	20

(continued)

Criteria	Indicator	Weight (%)
Research output	Papers published in <i>Nature</i> and <i>Science</i>	20
	Papers indexed in Science Citation Index Expanded and Social Science Citation Index	20
Performance	Per capita academic performance of an institution	10
Total		100

The ranking system has not been without controversy. In France, for example, the annual rankings have outraged French politicians, who note that the Université Pierre et Marie Curie, the highest-ranked French institution, comes in at number 42. The French are especially unhappy that the rankings seem biased toward English-speaking institutions. Even if such a condemnation is correct, the rankings continue to influence the global flow of students, researchers, and money, and even the French pay attention to the annual international rankings, in spite of their flaws (Labi 2008).

One of the major incentives for looking at the rankings is the competition for international students. There are now more than three million international students in the world, and universities are fighting to attract them and their money to their universities. No matter what the ranking system, it is likely that the very top universities, such as Harvard, Oxford, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will remain at the top of the list; and it is the second tier of “world-class” universities that are attempting to establish their credentials sufficiently to attract students. Because the criteria used in the Shanghai and *Times* ranking systems differ, they show quite different outcomes. The breakdown of the top 100 institutions is quite different.

	Shanghai	<i>Times</i>
USA	60	34
Western Europe	34	51
Japan	5	5
Others	1	10
Total	100	100

This may suggest that the geopolitical rise and decline of countries affect their institutions of higher education. It is clear that Asian universities have improved dramatically in recent years. The University of California system of ten universities contains still today the best cluster of public universities in the world, but states like Texas are pouring greater sums of money into their system in order to establish top research institutions (Kelderman 2010). In Europe, only Britain appears to be enhancing its status in terms of world-class universities.

1.4 Building a Better Ranking System

Both the Shanghai and the *Times Higher Education* lists seem to have as many critics as fans. The critics say the methodology is flawed, with Shanghai putting too much emphasis on scientific research and the *Times* on the opinions of people at peer

institutions. More broadly, there are also fundamental questions by fellow academics about the utility of even the best cross-border assessments.

When officials of Germany's Center for University Development tried to broaden its highly regarded national rankings to German-speaking universities in Switzerland, the effort failed. The Germans discovered that the Swiss professors were largely ignorant of the universities in their neighboring country. If this occurs between two neighboring countries, the Germans contend that it is foolish for an institution in China to make decisions about universities throughout the world. Critics in Europe are attempting to fix the problem by creating their own ranking systems. French administrators support such an effort, stressing that such a ranking system would give greater weight to the humanities and social sciences, as well as criteria such as student satisfaction (Labi 2008).

The Institute for Higher Education Policy is an independent, nonprofit organization based in Washington, D.C., that is trying to bring more coherence to the process by setting up an online clearinghouse to help people understand something about the different ranking systems. According to their website, the institute focuses on access and success, accountability, diversity, finance, and global impact of their work. A similar effort is taking place within UNESCO's European Centre for Higher Education. In 2002 it assembled a group of international ranking experts who are launching a quality audit of rankings (IREG 2014).

Although susceptible to manipulation and misuse, rankings have become an integral part of international higher education. Even critics concede that rankings can serve an important function. "Our concern is that they are being used as a proxy for quality, and that is sad," says Robert Coelen, at an international symposium on university ranking in 2009. "As a marketer on the right side of the divide, I have to say that there is some benefit. As an academic, I have to raise serious questions about the methodology" (Labi 2008).

The Consortium for Higher Education and Research Performance Assessment (CHERPA) is a European network of leading institutions that is attempting to design a global ranking of higher education institutions that avoids the flaws and deficits of existing international rankings. The design will follow the "Berlin Principles on the ranking of higher education institutions" which stress the need to take into account "the linguistic, cultural, economic and historical contexts of the educational systems being ranked" (Berlin, 2006). The project intent is to compare only institutions which are similar and comparable in terms of mission and structure. It will include focused rankings on particular aspects of higher education at the institutional level (e.g., internationalization and regional engagement) and two field-based rankings for business and engineering programs.

2 Developing a World-Class University

2.1 National Efforts to Be World-Class

According to Philip Altbach (2003), every country "wants a world-class university. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one.

Everyone, however, refers to the concept” (Altbach 2003, 5). The “best” institutions are those that score high on arbitrary indicators and weightings chosen by whoever is doing the ranking. Thus, each ranking system implicitly defines educational quality through the indicators selected and the distribution of weighting mechanisms (see also Zajda 2014a).

The one thing we know is that among the tens of thousands of universities in the world, only a few are world class. And the most elite universities are located in a small number of countries. These include the United States, Japan, and the United Kingdom. In most countries, universities are stratified and differentiated, and those that are world class represent a tiny pinnacle. In the United States, of more than 4,300 academic institutions, very few have managed to make their way to the top echelons. In other countries, the number of top-tier institutions is also limited. In Germany, where the government formally has treated all universities similarly in terms of budgets and mission, a small number of institutions were invited to enter into competition for millions of Euros in extra funding. The intention is to improve Germany’s international standing among universities. No universities in the former German Democratic Republic were selected to be among the elites (DW 2006).

Some areas of the world are making strong commitments to developing world-class institutions. Russia announced the creation of a pilot program designed to create national research universities (Zajda 2008). The goal is ultimately to boost Russia’s social and economic development and to help the country become an active member of the world community (Lebedev et al. 2009).

The Russians initiated a nationwide competition that resulted in the selection of 12 universities designated as “national research universities.” Two other institutions, Moscow State University and St. Petersburg State University, were designated “special status” universities (Zajda 2008). Finally, two new universities, the National Nuclear Research University and National Research Technological University, are being created to ensure the development of advanced study in science, technology, and engineering.

Each of the national research universities is slated to receive funds over the next 5 years approximating double their current budgets. The “special status” institutions will receive funds beyond this allocation and are also required to seek funds from local sources and other means. To make certain funds are not squandered, each institution must satisfy specifications, including indicators such as “the promotion of younger researchers and instructors, development of new technology and new pedagogical methods, publications in internationally recognized journals, and the transfer of university intellectual property to the market” (Lebedev et al. 2009). If a national research university does not measure up, its status can be revoked. Russia is keenly aware that it cannot accomplish its goals without educational partnerships with US and European universities involving exchanges in technology, communications, and pedagogy.

In Chile, quite a different approach is being taken: billions of dollars are being set aside to send graduate students abroad to earn graduate degrees. Expressing a commitment to the development of human capital, in 2010 more than 5,000 Chilean graduate students were awarded grants to study at elite foreign universities (Lloyd 2010).

China is as active as any country in the world in creating world-class research universities. On 4 May 1998, at the centennial ceremony of Peking University, pre-President Jiang Zemin announced that China should have several world-class universities to accelerate the process of modernization (Ministry of Education in China 2009). In reaction to this announcement, the minister of education suggested that the central government provide one percent of its annual financial income to support the establishment of several world-class universities.

Even though this step signaled the origins of the well-known “Project 985” (named for its May 1998 announcement date), prior steps had already been taken. In 1993 the country adopted the Guidelines of China’s Educational Reform and Development, which advanced the notion that 100 key universities would be designated to develop specialized and quality programs. Then in 1995 the national government initiated Project 211, designed to develop 100 key universities in the twenty-first century. Such ambitions were significant, because China had long seen itself as relatively weak in terms of its contribution to world-scale higher education. This self-perception stood in contrast to its self-image as one of the great civilizations of the earth, and its quest to establish world-class universities has been both symbolic and practical. Symbolically, world-class universities would convey to the world China’s value as a great civilization. Practically, higher education would be seen as essential and instrumental for social and economic development.

The 1995 Project 211 represents the first major effort in this era by China to strengthen higher education by developing key disciplines, improving its Internet system, and building its institutional capacity (Mohrman and Wang 2010). The 1999 announcement led to the naming of the first group of nine universities that would become world-class. Each of the universities received a substantial 5-year additional funding resource for enhancing their research levels.

Later, another 30 universities gained membership in this great Chinese university club and received different amounts of additional funding, not only from the central government but local governments and some special national institutes. Project 985 extends the earlier initiative but emphasizes “management reform, faculty development, creation of research bases and centers, infrastructure upgrades to support instruction and research, and expanded international cooperation” (Mohrman and Wang 2010).

Although these universities are regarded as the top universities in China, they face great challenges in attaining a world-class status. To this point, the 39 universities have finished their second-period research plan and the third-period plan was initiated in 2009.

To the central government, creating some world-class universities represents a shortcut in the international competition race toward new scientific and technological revolutions. To local governments, having one or more great universities means having more competitive accountancies against other provinces. The universities are actively recruiting renowned scholars from around the world to build and work in state-of-the-art laboratories and research centers. As a result, ordinary people are paying more attention to higher education, and they are beginning to encourage their youth to try their best to enter into those best universities.

Other countries around the world are following a similar path. In 2006, the Taiwanese government implemented a “World Class University Plan” where they judged Taiwan’s universities harshly, stating that its “top universities cannot compete with foreign universities” (Ministry of Education in Taiwan 2008). The Ministry of Education set out to select several top universities in Taiwan and provide additional funding, with the intention that at least one university become one of the 100 best universities in the world within the next decade. Subsequently, the Ministry of Education selected 11 universities for special funding and support.

Many countries are turning to private institutions to enhance their higher education status. The United Arab Emirates, for example, has chosen to import higher education programs and personnel from other countries, thus creating a “hybrid system, in which rapid private provision is being encouraged and supported by governmental initiatives alongside the more modest expansion of federal institutions” (Kirk and Napier 2010). This is only one example of developing hybrid public/private systems; others are found in Kenya, Vietnam, and Malaysia (Rust et al. 2010). Of course, many of these countries cannot hope to have any world-class universities, so they are usually positioning themselves in terms of regional dynamics.

A key feature in the global race is academic capitalism, distinguished by universities that have become entrepreneurial marketers and treat knowledge as a commodity rather than a public good (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Another feature is an increase in institutional mergers, which involve the melding of “strong” and “weak” (Harman and Harman 2008). With growing demand for higher education in the free-market system, the global higher education environment is also experiencing increased provision of private and cross-border higher education, accompanied by student mobility.

3 Regional Units of Control

There are important regional higher educational responses to globalization. For example, the Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific have joined together to ensure that each country in the region has a well-defined accreditation process (Hawkins 2009). For the countries of Europe, the most important regional initiative has been the Bologna Process. Europe was long the global center of educational innovation, quality, and standards. However, it has stagnated in the past half century, and the general consensus has been that universities in the United States have taken the competitive lead in educational standards and research. To address this decline, European educators, ministers, and policy makers met at Bologna, Italy, and adopted the so-called Bologna Process. The purpose of the Bologna Process (or Bologna Accord) is to make European higher education standards more comparable, competitive, and compatible. In 1999, the accord was initially signed by ministers of education from 29 European countries, but it has extended far beyond the European Union and has been signed by ministers from 47 countries (EHEA 2014).

The overall aim of the Bologna Process is to establish a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), with a harmonized degree and course credit system that

will allow students to move freely between countries without having to translate their credits or qualifications. In particular, the efforts to introduce a three-cycle degree system—composed of bachelor, master’s, and doctoral degrees—are already beginning to change the landscape. In these countries, advanced degrees must be aligned with global academic standards and be aligned with the Bologna Process. A fundamental assumption is that second and third cycle training is the advancement of knowledge through original research.

There are other regional organizations that cultivate higher education development. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), for example, has worked together for several decades, but in 2007 it decided to launch a European Union-style community. One of the initiatives includes the ASEAN University Network, an autonomous organization mandated by the ministers of education with the objectives (1) to strengthen the existing network of cooperation among universities; (2) to promote collaborative study, research, and educational programs; (3) to promote cooperation and solidarity among scholars, academicians, and researchers; and (4) to serve as the policy-oriented body in higher education (AUN 2014). ASEAN has not been able to bring about agreements like the Bologna Process, but its efforts signal the importance of regional bodies in higher education development.

4 Quality Assurance Practices

In this period of intense globalization, quality assurance has become a priority. The proliferation of institutions, rapid expansion of students, mobility of students in foreign parts, and other factors have forced policy makers to attend to accountability and quality. In the past, the major focus of most countries has been to increase access and enrolments. Now the focus is shifting toward quality and achievement, not only among students but among professors and educational administrators (Ramirez 2010). Certain issues must be raised. First, most countries have mechanisms for assessing the quality of their higher educational institutions. However, as institutions emerge that fall outside the normal boundaries of control, particularly with regard to cross-border institutions, there is often no mechanism for assessing them.

Second, many countries have attempted or are attempting to establish accrediting agencies. Accreditation is a process by which institutions are judged to be competent and credible in that they meet specified standards established by an agency that formally certifies them (Lenn 1992). Developing nations usually turn to highly developed countries and their quality assessment specialists to help define quality and establish an accreditation procedure. In the process, quality assurance has become a contested issue. In fact, some observers claim it is nothing more than the cosmopolitan powers once again imposing their notions of quality on the rest of the world and universalizing the criteria by which quality is to be determined (Ntshoe and Letseka 2010).

As international forces confront local traditions, there is inevitable stress and conflict. Anthony Welch suggests that cronyism in both Malaysia and Vietnam and corruption in Vietnam are so endemic to bureaucracies overseeing quality

assessment that it is impossible to make objective judgments about the universities of these countries. In addition, he found ethnic discrimination a persistent problem (Welch 2010). In Argentina, attempts to implement quality assurance has been very slow, mainly because such attempts confront the complexity associated with the decision-making process of collegiate governing bodies. In other words, benchmarks set up by new quality assurance standards involve a social as well as a technical dimension (Gertel and Jacobo 2010).

These assessment issues are recognized in almost every country. For example, the Republic of Georgia was saddled with corruption for the first decade after it became independent, and there was little chance for quality control mechanisms to be instituted. Those issues have been largely overcome, but attempts to establish an accreditation system have been difficult, because the Ministry of Education and Science has experienced so many turnovers of its highest administrators and many institutions do not want to be subjected to outside intervention by an accreditation agency.

5 The Internationalization of Universities

There are a number of conventional factors which international education specialists have used to determine if an institution of higher education is becoming internationalized: foreign students coming to a country, students going abroad, foreign languages taught at a university, and international content in courses taught.

5.1 Foreign Students Enrolled

Likely the most obvious indicator of internationalization is whether a university actively and successfully recruits students from abroad. This is difficult for institutions in countries that do not have a traditional foreign student presence. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), approximately three-fourths of all foreign students are located in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Australia, and Japan. The United States is far and away the primary host of foreign students (OECD 2011), although the United Kingdom and Australia are now aggressively seeking to increase the number of foreign students. A major contributor to the US numbers is China. In 2004 there were less than 10,000 Chinese students; in 2013 there were more than 270,000 (IIE 2014).

5.2 Study Abroad

A second indicator of internationalization is study abroad, which involves short-term exchanges of students in immersion programs or travel study. Immersion studies genuinely expose students to a local country and its higher education, while travel study

is somewhat akin to tourism, although some of the programs are more rigorous than others. The most popular study abroad program in the world is in the European Union ERASMUS program, which was initiated in 1987 and now involves more than 4,000 institutions of higher education in 31 countries. More than 2.2 million students have taken part (European Commission 2014). In the United States, the so-called Lincoln Commission issued its report in 2005 and projected that each year approximately one million US students ought to be engaged in study abroad (NAFSA 2005). This is a noble aim and indicates the importance study abroad is gaining in the country.

5.3 Foreign Language Instruction

A third indicator of internationalization is foreign language instruction. There are a number of ways to make a judgment about foreign language instruction. How many students are enrolled in foreign language courses? How many different languages are taught at the institution? Are the languages restricted to a certain region of the world?

The two most popular languages in the world are English and Mandarin, each of which has more than one billion speakers. But there is a sharp difference in the two languages. Almost 900,000,000 people speak Mandarin as opposed to only 330,000,000 who speak English as a mother language; however, 812,000,000 speak English as a second language, while only 178,000,000 speak Mandarin as a second language (Ostler 2005). However, the situation may be rapidly changing as more and more people are learning Mandarin as a second language.

English dominates higher education second language programs. In Korea, for example, universities are reforming their curricula to offer a substantial proportion of their courses in English (Byun et al. 2011; Kim 2013). Other institutions throughout Asia—for example, in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong—are also aggressively reforming their curricula to include English mediated instruction.

Finally, another way to measure commitment to language by a university is the number of foreign languages offered. UCLA, for example, offers 71 different foreign languages ranging from Azeri and Coptic to Bantu, Kurdish, Icelandic, and Quechua (UCLA 2014).

5.4 International Content of Courses

A fourth indicator of internationalization is curriculum content and degrees. We might, for example, assess the level of information courses contain about other countries, people, events, and places. Of course, foreign languages, area studies, comparative government, and comparative literature are inherently international in scope. However, some universities are designing international programs where the international content is traditionally not obvious. Duisburg University in Germany has an international

degree in computer science and communications engineering, intended to be more meaningful not only for foreign students coming to Germany but to prepare German students to function more easily in a global environment (Schwarz et al. 2003).

6 Conclusion

Globalization, internationalization, and global competitiveness have transformed higher education and are now central to university plans, mission statements, and programs. According to Jane Knight, internationalization has “come of age” (Knight 2011). However, a shadow side of internationalization is the tendency to establish a single set of criteria that shapes institutions: “all of this emphasis ... gravitates towards an ideal, a typical picture of a particular type of institution” (Huisman 2008), what Kathryn Mohrman, Wanhua Ma, and David Baker (2008) call the Emerging Global Model (EGM) of the top stratum of research universities. Each of the internationalizing factors we have considered tends to reinforce a global model. The danger is that internationalization could remove a university from its local context and purpose and demand conformity.

However, there are great universities in the world that do not conform to the standard criteria of rankings, quality assessment, etc., whose missions include spreading higher education to the great masses of the country. Standard criteria of quality might have a detrimental influence on these institutions. The *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM) and *Universidad de Buenos Aires* (UBA) in Argentina provide access to a quarter of a million students or more on many sites and perform many functions in national and regional development and social and cultural life, as well as national research leadership. This range prevents UNAM and UBA from concentrating resources so as to maximize research intensity and reputation.

Most important, there is not one way to internationalize a university. The challenge confronting nations that are attempting to internationalize their institutions, such as China and Russia, is to link their efforts to national criteria and local imperatives.

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Globalization, Policy Directions, and Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Kingsley Banya

1 Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Introduction

Since the 1980s, the World Bank's economic reform policies are felt by many to be synonymous with privatization. Privatization or a movement toward privatization has become the most significant agenda of the bank in every sector (Richardson and Haralz 1995). The postwar Keynesian view of the world is being replaced by an astute and technicist world of market and of managerialism. Since the 1980s, there has been a major change in the landscape of contemporary higher education in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). New goals, policies, and practices have replaced traditional and long-established values, concepts, and approaches. There have been dramatic and drastic changes in higher education. In view of financial difficulties, most of the countries in the region adopted structural adjustment policies associated with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The underlying philosophy of these policies is that any aspect related to the public sector is inefficient and any aspect related to the private sector is, ipso facto, efficient and desirable. Accordingly, privatization is being pursued in all sectors of the economy, including higher education, and is viewed as an effective instrument for improving efficiency and easing financial crisis (Guruz 2003a, b). In the region, the transition to a market economy is viewed as a key strategy to spur development and to leapfrog into the modern knowledge economy.

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1.1 Tertiary Institutions and Knowledge Economy

As centers of research and development, universities are the main agents of knowledge production and as such play an important role in globalization (The Economist, cited in Guruz 2003a, b). Accordingly, all countries face the challenge of transforming tertiary education to drive national competitiveness in ways that also support long-term sustainable development (in the fast-changing twenty-first century). New information technologies can facilitate access to quality learning and make education more relevant and effective. This is particularly important in sub-Saharan Africa, which has the greatest needs in terms of higher education. The rapid advancement in knowledge production that has formed the basis of economic development among nations has undoubtedly been the reason behind globalization. As rapid scientific and technological development grows, developing countries have to keep up with the rapidly growing knowledge economy.

Globalization advances as societies become more dependent on information and knowledge (Nerad 2006; Zajda 2014), thus “minimizing the relevance of national borders” (Guruz 2003a, p. 3). These are further challenged by the indirect privatization of higher education, as institutions are forced to broaden their sources of funding to include more financing by students (student fees) and industry (research grants, consultancy fees, etc.) (World Bank 1994, cited in Guruz 2003a, b). This undermines a fundamental assumption behind the modern institution of the university, i.e., that the nation.

Mal-processes such as globalization have been guided by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and other international economic organizations. Globalization has penetrated universities, affecting – or “infecting” – their governance, which in turn has had a great effect on academic faculty (Stiglitz 2002; Appadurai 2001; Zajda 2014). Technology, globalization, competition, and rising market forces have radically reshaped higher education (Guruz 2003a, b). This view of universities as profit-motivated commercial institutions is incongruent with the concept of the nation-state and has therefore been greatly criticized (Timur 2000).

In sub-Saharan Africa, these policy changes have been manifested in several ways but especially in the establishment of private universities. What used to be a state enterprise university has become private for-profit business. In almost every country in sub-Saharan Africa, state universities are now competing with private universities. Private higher education is not an altogether new phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa, but the recent rapid growth and the motives for establishing them are new.

2 Higher Education and Reforms

Since the early 1980s, the scope and importance of tertiary education have changed significantly over the past three decades. In the early 1980s, tertiary education took place at universities. It largely covered teaching and learning requiring high-level

conceptual and intellectual skills in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences. It also involved the preparation of students for entry to a limited number of professions such as medicine, engineering and law, and disinterested advanced research and scholarship. Today, tertiary education is much more diversified and encompasses new types of institutions such as polytechnics, university colleges, or technological institutes (Banya 2010).

Substantial reforms are taking place in tertiary education systems, mainly aimed at encouraging institutions to be more responsive to the needs of the society and the economy. This has involved a reappraisal of the ethos and purposes of tertiary education and the need for governments to set new strategies for the future. It has also involved more flexibility for institutions (e.g., delivery system) combined with more clearly defined accountability to society. The tertiary sector is expected to contribute to equity, ensure quality, and operate efficiently (OECD 2008).

The rise of the knowledge economy has resulted in an increased link between economic prosperity and higher education. Thus, higher education reform has explicitly tied higher education to economic development. It has attempted to transform economic structures by turning the labor force into a highly skilled, technologically competent, educated work force capable of competing in a global economy. This inevitably has led to increase focus on tertiary education (Stiglitz 2002; Zajda 2010, 2014).

The goal for countries is to raise higher-level employment skills and to improve knowledge dissemination to the benefit of society (OECD 2008). This view was supported by the 2008 World Bank publication *Accelerating Catch-Up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*, which argued that the focus should increasingly be on using resources more efficiently, on innovative sources of funding, and on improving higher education efficiency. To contribute more significantly to development, universities needed to “consciously and persistently transform themselves into a different type of educational enterprise: networked, differentiated and responsive institutions on the production of strategically needed human skills and applied problem-solving research” (World Bank report, 2008, p. 7).

2.1 Universities and MDGs

In sub-Saharan Africa, tertiary education is increasingly being used to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In September 2000, all 192 United Nation member states adopted the UN Millennium Declaration, a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty in all its forms by half by 2015. The following year, agreement was reached on eight goals supported by 21 quantifiable targets and 60 indicators through which progress could be measured. The eight fundamental goals are:

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Data: Proportion of population living on less than one dollar a day

Key target: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Data: Adjusted net enrollment ratio in primary education per 100 children of the same age

Key target: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Data: Ratio of girls to boys gross enrollment ratios

Key target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Data: Under-five mortality rate per 1,000 live births

Key target: Reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Data: Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births

Key target: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

Data: Population living with advanced HIV who is receiving antiretroviral therapy

Key target: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it, compared to 2005

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Data: Percentage of population without an improved drinking water source/improved sanitation facility

Key target: Halve the proportion of people without improved drinking water source/improved sanitation facility

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Data: Net official development assistance as percentage of 1 % of donors' gross national income

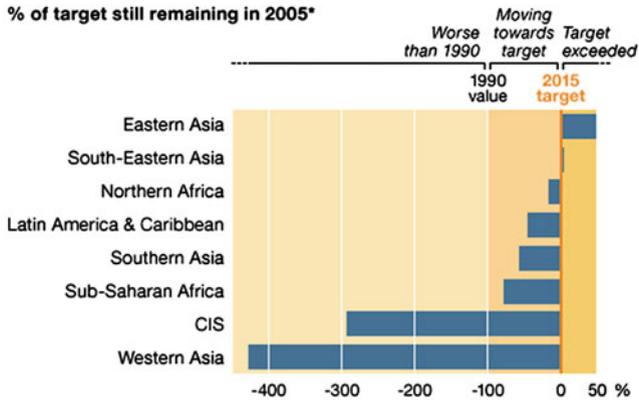
Key targets: 2010=0.56 %, 2015=0.70 %.

A 2009 assessment of progress on MDGs is as follows:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

GOAL 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

DATA: Proportion of population living on less than \$1 a day
 KEY TARGET: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day

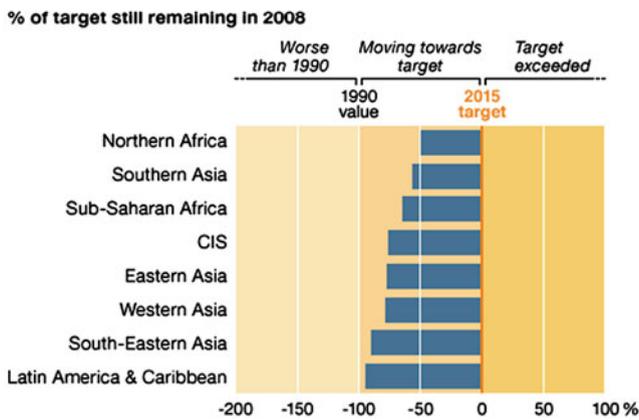


*Latest figures. No data for Oceania
 Source: UN (2009)

2. Achieve universal primary education

GOAL 2: Universal primary education

DATA: Adjusted net enrolment ratio in primary education per 100 children of the same age
 KEY TARGET: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling



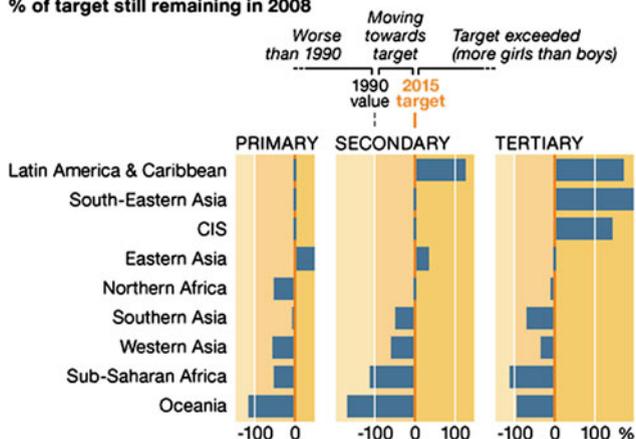
Source: UN (No data for Oceania) (2009)

3. Promote gender equality and empower women

GOAL 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

DATA: Ratio of girls to boys gross enrolment ratios

KEY TARGET: Eliminate gender disparity* in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015

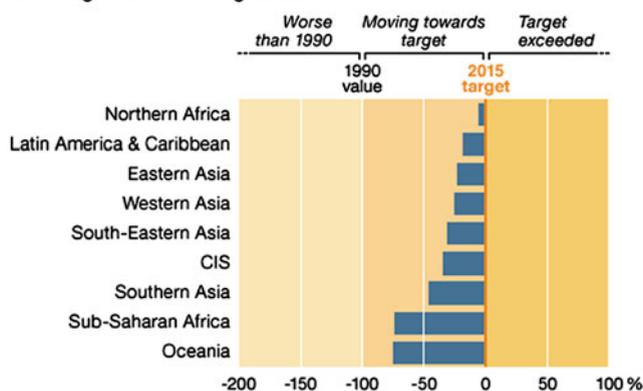
% of target still remaining in 2008

4. Reduce child mortality

GOAL 4: Reduce child mortality

DATA: Under-five mortality rate per 1,000 live births

KEY TARGET: Reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate

% of target still remaining in 2008

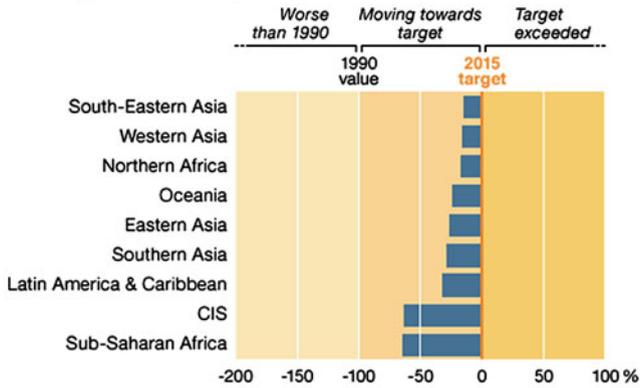
5. Improve maternal health

GOAL 5: Improve Maternal Health

DATA: Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births

KEY TARGET: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio

% of target still remaining in 2008



Source: UN, WHO estimates (2009)

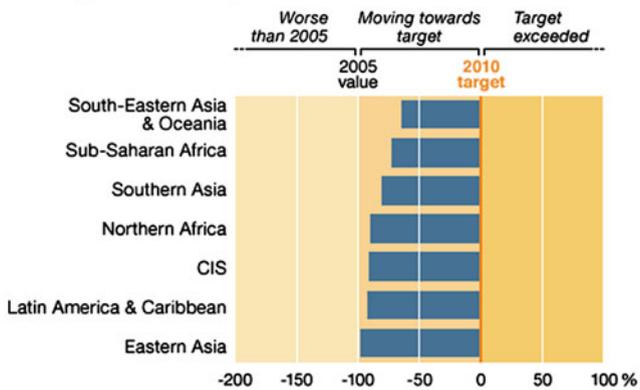
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

GOAL 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

DATA: Population living with advanced HIV who are receiving antiretroviral therapy

KEY TARGET: Achieving, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it, compared to 2005

% of target still remaining in 2008



Source: UN (2009)

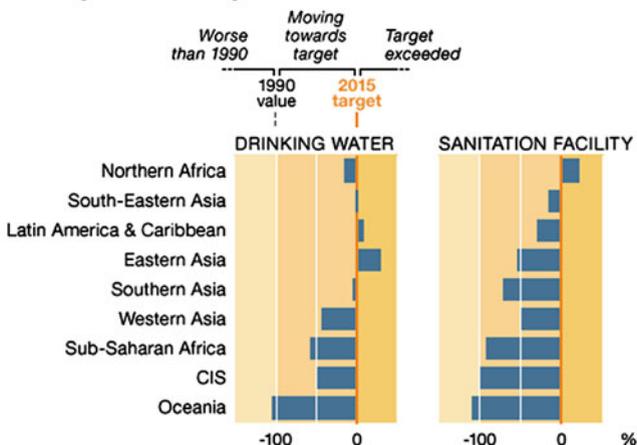
7. Ensure environmental sustainability

GOAL 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

DATA: Percentage of population without an improved drinking water source/ improved sanitation facility

KEY TARGET: Halve proportion of people without improved drinking water source/improved sanitation facility

% of target still remaining in 2008



Source: UN (2009)

8. Develop a global partnership for development

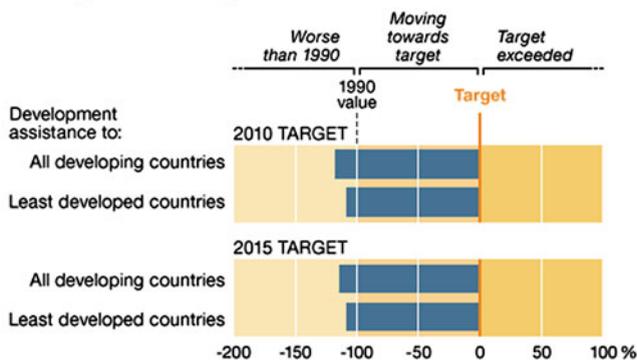
GOAL 8: Develop a global partnership for development

DATA: Net official development assistance as % of 1% of donors' gross national income

KEY TARGETS: 2010 = 0.56%

2015 = 0.70%

% of target still remaining in 2008



Source: UN (2009)

At national level, the formulation and implementation of higher education policies towards specific developmental goals should be encouraged. It is important that universities should include the inculcation and translation of the MDGs into every facet of institutional operations by:

- Taking each goal in turn and ensuring it found expression in university policies, for example, development economics, sustainable development, ethics policies, and conflict resolution as well as gender mainstreaming and being also involved in HIV/AIDS eradication efforts.
- Ensuring buy-in by involving all stakeholders and role-players in drafting a declaration supporting the MDGs that would be reflected in university strategy and other framing documents.
- Identifying and engaging all internal and external stakeholders to determine the level of support they could offer the institution in MDG-based initiatives. Stakeholders could include government agencies and businesses.
- Incorporating the MDGs in curricula by offering a compulsory module for all students, infusing the values and focuses of the goals.
- Promoting intellectual engagement on the MDGs by holding discussions and lectures.

3 Trends in Higher Education

A review of the higher education landscape in SSA points to the following trends.

3.1 Phenomenal Growth of Institutions

The expansion of tertiary institutions has been remarkable in recent decades. Expansion of tertiary education has accompanied by a diversification of provision. New types of institutions (different models – polytechnics) have emerged, and educational offerings within institutions have multiplied. New modes of delivery have also been introduced, for example, the French-speaking University Agency, AUF, “has adopted” 13 open and distance learning projects initiated by institutions in seven African countries. The projects represent 15 new degree courses which will be on offer through the AUF website. The involvement of higher education institutions in developing countries is a recent innovation in the agency’s distance education system. The AUF aims to promote higher education and research in French-speaking universities and centers. It is based at the University of Montreal in Quebec where it was founded in 1961. The agency’s budget of more than EUR40 million comes essentially from the French government, with contributions from Canada-Quebec and the French-speaking communities of Belgium, Switzerland, and Cameroon (Marshall 2008).

Since 2000, the agency has had a growth spurt and now has 63 branches operating under nine regional offices throughout the world. Its network links 693 establishments in 81 countries, 47 of which are members of the International Organisation of La Francophonie.

For the past decade, the AUF has been promoting communication technologies, including open and distance learning available online or on CD-ROM, and digital campuses and technologically equipped information access centers that are available free to students.

A recent innovation is that universities and other higher education institutions in Africa and other developing countries have started contributing to the agency's open and distance learning system, known as FOAD (Formations Ouvertes et a Distance). The AUF has made funding available for distance courses that are formulated by universities themselves.

After a major program to "train the trainers," AUF offered the first eight African bachelor's and master's degrees that were partly or entirely online. From the 2008 to 2009 academic year, the agency is introducing 13 distance courses from establishments in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Morocco, Senegal, and Tunisia (Marshall 2008).

To speed development of FOAD, the agency launched a call for projects specifically from "southern" countries, which led to the 13 new African proposals – plus one from Vietnam – being adopted by the AUF Scientific Council when it met in Paris in May.

Burkina Faso had the most proposals accepted, with three from the University of Ouagadougou, two from the Institut International d'Ingénierie de l'Eau et de l'Environnement, and one from the Université Polytechnique de Bobo-Dioulasso. Two projects were chosen from the University of Alexandria, Egypt, and one each from institutions in Madagascar, Morocco, Senegal, and Tunisia.

Similarly in Kenya the government plans to launch a multimillion dollar e-learning university next year, potentially increasing higher education access and easing an admissions crisis plaguing public universities. The National Open University of Kenya will enable students to pursue their degree dreams through online learning, a trend already practiced on a small scale by private universities. The hope is that the new state institution would absorb a large number of students who, despite attaining the minimum university admission grade of C+ and above in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education, could not attend public universities because of limited slots.

The e-learning university is one of three strategies being pursued by Kenya to help admit a backlog of at least 40,000 extra students, which has built up for close to three decades as universities have been unable to enroll all qualified school leavers. Many students who qualify for degree study after the release of the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education in February each year have to wait for up to 2 years before they can be admitted to government-sponsored programs. By contrast, those who can afford self-sponsored courses or private higher education often enroll in October of the same year. Many other students cannot afford the prohibitive costs of parallel degree programs. Private universities are equally expensive.

“The establishment of this university is tailored to address the critical issue of access by giving Kenyans more opportunities to study in their own time and at their convenience,” said Ruto (Minister of Education). “Though the internet, in a clearly defined mechanism, they can learn from the stations where they are without necessarily going to the university,” he added. The new approach will use a range of platforms to allow student to follow lectures online, interact with lecturers, submit assignments, and check on their grades, an approach adopted by several private and public universities locally. Lectures will also be able to upload course materials, post assignments, and generate online discussions via blogs. In Kenya, successful electronic-based degree programs have been dominated by foreign and international qualifications, mostly postgraduate degrees featuring collaborations between local private institutions and foreign institutions.

3.2 Enrollment

In 2004, 132 million students were enrolled in tertiary education around the world, up from 68 million in 1991. Average annual growth in tertiary enrollment over the period of 1991–2004 stood at 5.1 % worldwide.

In Africa, there have been dramatic increases in the number of tertiary institutions. Both Ethiopia and Kenya exemplify this. For example, in Kenya, for decades, students have been plagued by an admissions crisis that has forced qualified students to wait for up to 2 years after graduating high school to enter a university. In 2009, universities admitted an extra 4,000 publicly funded students to help ease the backlog. To ease the problem, the Joint Admissions Board (JAB) capped new enrollments at 24,300, up from a last year’s ceiling of 20,000. In selecting students for Kenya’s seven public universities, JAB dropped the minimum grade in last year’s Form Four exam to a grade B of 63 points from 65 points the previous year. However, access issues still persist, with 57,000 of 82,000 students who scored the minimum C+ grade required for admission to universities missing out on places in ‘regular’ government-funded programs at state universities. The decision to admit students is part of a plan to reduce a backlog of at least 40,000 students waiting for university places and to allow qualified students to enter higher education straight from high school. Opening of an eighth state university is expected to further increased government’s allocation to institutions from this year’s (2010) figure of US\$640 million, which is US\$293 million higher than government spending on institutions in 2009. In the past, failure to increase funding in line with enrollments undermined university expansion plans, including constructing new campuses, at a time when classes were overflowing.

In another move aimed at easing the admissions crisis, Kenya plans to use private universities to admit government-sponsored students. This innovative approach will see private universities – which have vast capacity and infrastructure that is currently underutilized – admit at least 25,000 extra students in the next 2 years. “Private universities could help admit the extra students as long as there are incentives and

good structures to support such a plan,” said Professor Freida Brown, Vice-Chancellor of the United States International University in Kenya. Kenya also hopes that the expansion of colleges will help deal with the admissions problem. But inadequate facilities have so far prevented colleges from meeting their goal of increasing access to higher education (This Day 2009). This poses a series of impediments: “First, because higher education is vital to having the leaders, managers, and scientists, Africa needs to eradicate poverty and achieve sustainable development; but also because of the importance of higher education in ensuring an adequate supply of qualified teachers” (This Day 2008).

Increased student enrollment has seen the rise of female participation in tertiary education, as well as growing participation of more mature students leading to a rise in the average age of student bodies. In addition, in most countries, tertiary student bodies are increasingly heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic background, ethnicity, and previous education. In Sierra Leone, over the past 30 years, there has been more enrollment of students outside the upper class than previously. The majority of students are now free outside Freetown, the capital.

3.3 New Funding Arrangements

There have been new funding arrangements at tertiary education institutions. State funding of students for tertiary education has been the norm at almost all state institutions until recently. State stipends covered tuition, book allowances, and living expenses. With the advent of neoliberals and the World Bank, IMF adjustment, and conditionality, new forms of scholarships have been introduced. Some countries are expanding their student support systems: loans and fellowship/stipends. A diversification of funding sources has become the trend. The dependence on government for funding higher education is diminishing in many countries in the region. The competition demand on the government has partially led to fewer fellowships for students in the traditional disciplines. When public funds are allocated to tertiary education, they are increasingly characterized by greater targeting of resources (e.g., girl child education), performance-based funding, and competitive procedures.

3.4 Accreditation

The development of formal quality assurance systems is one of the most significant trends affecting tertiary education systems over the past few decades. Prior to the 1980s, accountability and performance were guaranteed by state institution’s monopoly over higher education. The phenomenal rise of institutions has changed the landscape for tertiary education. Starting in the late 1990s, quality became a key topic in tertiary education policy. The expansion of tertiary education has raised

questions about the amount and direction of public expenditure for tertiary education. The inability to control the quality of education in for-profit colleges is increasingly being discussed both by strong proponents of private higher education and opponents. The perceived lack of “substance” and the accusation that their programs are “vague” and “shallow” as well as relaxed entry requirements continue to plague private institutions (Banya 2010).

The role of government in regulating quality is severely handicapped by social, political, and economic factors. At present, the state role seems to be limited to the granting of licenses to operate private institutions. However, many governments in the region are unable to enforce many of the conditions they specify for accreditation, and there is no ongoing monitoring of an institution once accredited. The accreditation process is in its infancy. This has ramifications for graduates who may want to further their studies abroad and within the continent. The recent (2008) case between the Catholic Church of Nigeria and National Universities Commission (NUC) is instructive in this regard. There are very few qualified individuals in the various ministries of education that could do accreditation work. Personal development in this area is still evolving. In the meantime, corruption in accreditation is on the rise in various countries (Xinhuanet 2004).

The introduction of foreign universities in the region has added to the accreditation problem as well as to the day-to-day administration of some of the universities. Various private institutions have had to be closed for operating unaccredited schools. Higher education has been subjected to vulgar forms of commercialization and has led to bogus credentials. A couple of examples from various parts of the region illustrate this point. This was the case at the University of Port Harcourt in Nigeria when the vice-chancellor had to rescind 7,254 degrees due to cheating, falsifying academic records, and other indiscretions. In Cameroon, for example, alarmed at the number of fraudulent diplomas being received by the commission in Cameroon responsible for assessing higher education qualifications issued abroad, the prime minister has reportedly instructed the public and private sectors to require job applicants to submit an official document of equivalence for diplomas obtained overseas. A total of 308 diplomas out of 911 submitted to the commission for evaluation in recent months were found to be forged, according to a report in *QuotidienMutations.info* of Yaoundé. The vast majority of these forged qualifications – 291 of 308 – were for the Chad baccalaureate. An official at the Ministry of Higher Education’s department of academic equivalence told the newspaper that the number was “enormous and without precedent.”

In Kenya, the Commission for Higher Education has cautioned students against enrolling in five institutions based overseas, but offering degrees to students in Kenya. The five institutions are Bircham International University, Nations University US, Dor International Theological College, Dublin Metropolitan University, and America V University. None of the five are authorized to offer programs in Kenya.

In Mozambique, the government in August approved new regulations governing the licensing and operation of institutions of higher education in the country. There are currently 70,000 students at 38 tertiary institutions across the country. The regulations were approved by the Council of Ministers, and they establish objective criteria on the

composition, function, and supervision of these institutes, such as minimum faculty requirements, the appointment of rector or directors, and mission statement for each institution. Earlier in the year, the government decided to place a temporary suspension on the licensing of new higher education institutions so that it could approve new legal instruments to guarantee quality and service. According to Deputy Minister of Justice Alberto Nkutumula, some problems have arisen due to the lack of distinction between universities, polytechnics, and other higher education institutes.

In Nigeria, the National Universities Commission (NUC) has released *Guidelines for Cross-Border Provision of University Education in Nigeria*. It provides a definition of cross-border university education, as well as a framework for quality provision of cross-border education. A scheme of application, registration, accreditation, and evaluation is also outlined. While the document is designed to establish a regulatory framework for cross-border provision and quality assurance, it also encourages qualified overseas universities to explore opportunities, especially those wishing to establish branch campuses (National University Commission, July, 2010).

3.5 *New Managerial Class*

Important changes have occurred in the leadership of tertiary institutions. New ways of organizing decision-making structures and academic leadership have emerged. Academic leaders are increasingly been seen as managers, coalition builders, and entrepreneurs. A new class of managers of the university has risen to help create what has been called “the enterprise university” (Marginson 1997). This has given rise to the academic bourgeoisie, the new people of power, the managers of the university (Nisbet 1971) with characteristics that include strong executive control and marketization; collegial rules have been supplanted by presidents’ advisory committees and a “shadow” university structure. Faculty work has been redefined with assaults on the institution of tenure.

This new policy is seen through agency theory (AT). As a theoretical orientation, agency theory (AT) represents work relations hierarchically as a series of contracts between one party, “the principal,” and another, “the agent.” The theory is concerned with problems of compliance and control in the division of labor between work relationships. Although initially developed in relation to business firms, it became adapted and extended to public sector work relationships as means of exacting the accountability and performance of employees where market incentives and sanctions did not operate, for example, schools and higher education. AT theorizes work relations at all levels of the management hierarchy. Hence, a single person will be principal to those further down the chain of command and agent to those further up. Central to its focus is how one gets an agent

to act in accordance with the interests of the principal. Instead of specifying a broad job specification based on a conception of professional autonomy and responsibility, it specifies chains of principal–agent relationships as a series of contracts as a means of rendering the management function clear and accountable. AT theorized hierarchical work relationships as contracts where a principal becomes a commissioning party to delegate work to an agent to perform in return for some specified sanction or reward. It speaks to the relationship between employer and employee in all types of work contexts – schools, government agencies, universities, and businesses (Althaus 1997; Buchanan 1975; Boston et al. 1991, 1996; Chan and Rosenbloom 1994; Eisenhardt 1989; Jennings and Cameron 1987; Jensen and Meckling 1976; Palmer et al. 1993; Pratt and Zeckhauser 1985; Wistrich 1992).

Agency theory constitutes a strategy that is committed to (1) strategic management, (2) divestment of noncore activities, (3) reengineering to create customer focus, (4) delaying/decoupling, (5) total quality management, (6) use of modern information technology for management information systems, (7) improved accountability systems, and (8) establishing appropriate cultural values, teamwork, and leadership. AT provides not only for a selection and modification of governance structures, but it enabled a much tighter and clearer specification of role, as well as greatly increased accountability:

- A shift from collegial or democratic governance in flat structures to hierarchical models based on dictated management specifications of job performance.
- The implementation of restructuring initiatives has led to increasing specifications of workloads and course content by management. Such hierarchically imposed specifications erode traditional conceptions of professional autonomy over.
- Market pressures increasingly encroach and redesign the traditional understandings of worker’s rights and must adapt to market (Marginson 1997).

The essence of contractual models involves a specification which is fundamentally at odds with the notion of professionalism. Professionalism conveys the idea of a subject-directed power based upon the liberal conceptions of rights and freedom and autonomy. It conveys the idea of a power given to the subject and of the subject’s ability to make decisions in the workplace. The basis for managerial rests on an appeal to technicist principles of efficiency and economism (Habermas 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978; Pusey 1991; Welch 1997, 1998).

Enhancing worker productivity, such as in the compulsory use of new technologies, forms the new techno-logic of performativity. Performance targets are set, and individual workers compete against each other for rewards and punishments. This new regimen means that questions drawn from the discourse of business efficiency come to dominate: “Is it efficient?” and “Is it saleable?” become more and more important and more common questions than “Is it true?” (Lyotard 1984, p. 51).

3.6 Partnerships

Tertiary education is becoming more internationalized and increasingly involves intensive networking among institutions, scholars, students, and other actors such as industry. The concept of North-South partnership is an old phenomenon that has covered almost every aspect of life between the two regions. Today, however, it has taken on a new meaning and has become significantly more important. This is manifested, for example, in NGOs from the North and their counterparts in the South. In globalized Africa, partnership in higher education has more relevant, especially given the key role the knowledge economy plays in society. North-South partnerships between educational institutions are viewed as an important way in which the human and the institutional capacity of African universities can be improved. But building and maintaining successful partnerships that can work within and challenge the tenacious asymmetries of global power, resources, and capabilities often require sensitive planning and attention to detail. Many times these qualities are not given much thought or attention.

In general, partnerships are entered into for various reasons, and depending on a particular country, different motives: for example, a recent survey (2010) found that most UK institutions were motivated to partner with African institutions as a means to engage with the current internationalization process in higher education, to pursue research excellence, and to explore opportunities for staff to work in new and different sociopolitical and cultural contexts. For African institutions, on the other hand, the benefits of partnerships include the potential of attracting joint funding and building institutional capacity through professional development for staff and the mentoring of younger researchers. The report notes that it is believed that partnerships hold the potential to help African institutions achieve developmental goals, given the vital role of higher and further education sectors in this area.

4 Policy Recommendations

Although the provision of higher education institutions has increased and student enrollment has risen, most countries face the challenge of simultaneously raising tertiary education participation rates and improving quality. Achieving a sustainable level of financial support is also essential in the current economic climate. With increased emphasis on accreditation, there is a shift from a focus on quantity to a greater emphasis on the quality, coherence, and equity of tertiary education. The policy recommendations will help ensure that tertiary education functions to meet the development goals of a country.

4.1 New University Ethos

Despite 50 years of formal independence, many African universities are yet to develop new philosophies, aims, and objectives that are peculiar to the region and its problems. The modern African university was established on three premises, namely, (1) it can contribute to economic growth by supplying the necessary human resources for a knowledge-driven economy by generating knowledge and promoting access and use of knowledge, (2) it has the potential of increasing access to education and in turn increasing the employability of those who have the skills for a knowledge-driven economy, and (3) it could play a role in supporting basic and secondary education by supplying these subsectors with trained personnel and contributing to the development of the curriculum. Unfortunately, these expectations for the most part have not materialized. There are several reasons for their failure, chief among which is that the African university is a product of the modern world, yet the environment which inherited it is largely traditional, agrarian, and preindustrial. The environment context is one caught in change from external forces – centuries of economic exploitation, colonialism, intellectual and cultural dominance, and brain drain. Those who have benefited from the African university remain exceedingly small and do not integrate with the larger sector.

The Humboldt notion of the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the international gold standard of scholarship still holds (Banya and Elu 1997). The “ivory tower” type of university that is separate and insulated from the mundane concerns of the larger community has to change. If African universities are to help pull the continent from its present underdevelopment, radical changes that involve the community need to happen. Thus, the first priority for countries should be to develop a comprehensive and coherent ethos for the future of tertiary education to guide future policy development. The plan should include goals both medium and long term in unison with national social and economic objectives. Ideally, it should result from a systematic national strategic review of tertiary education and entail a clear statement of strategic aims. The mission and profile of individual institutions would need to be clearly defined in accordance with the agreed-upon strategy. The normal blanket statement of goals and objectives can no longer suffice.

4.2 Administrative and Policy Changes

As noted earlier, the advent of a new managerial system means internal university administration needs to change. Tertiary education authorities must divest some responsibilities, such as food services and building maintenance, but hold those responsible accountable for performance evaluation. An evaluation of their staff expertise and current skill needs may be useful to identify potential mismatches and to develop professional development and training programs to keep pace with changing demands. Instruments could be developed to achieve accountability at the

same time permit institutional autonomy. Such autonomy should be transparent to all. The establishment of instruments such as performance contracts or performance-related funding must be part of any autonomy deal. The collection and dissemination of more and better information, such as faculty performance evaluation, policy development must be regularly reported to stakeholders.

4.3 Funding

Given the myriad demands on the state, new funding mechanisms need to be established. As indicated earlier on, more and more burden of the schooling must be placed on students. However, the government will have to provide the backing for any financial scheme such as student loans, etc. In the case of financial difficulties, a means test should be instituted so that the needy can attend tertiary education. Funding should be designed to meet the policy goals sought for the tertiary education system (e.g. expansion, quality, cost effectiveness, equity, capacity building). In light of the evidence of the private benefits of a tertiary degree, graduates could bear some of the cost of the services offered by tertiary institutions. There must be a comprehensive student support system. A mixed system of grants and loans would assist students in covering tuition fees and living costs, alleviating disproportionate reliance on family support.

4.4 Accreditation

It is apparent as never before that the link between the knowledge economy and employment is leading many to seek bogus qualifications. It is also apparent that tertiary education is a multibillion enterprise, which a lot of people want to have a share. This too has led to a wave of dubious higher education institute in the region and bogus diplomas from abroad. There is, therefore, a need to build a national commitment to quality. It is important that the aim of quality assurance system be clearly stated and that expectation be formulated in alignment with the tertiary education strategy.

Quality assurance must contribute to the improvement of coordination and integration of the overall tertiary system. There is also a balance to be struck between accountability and quality improvement. From an accountability point of view, it is important that quality assurance systems provide information to various stakeholders, but quality assurance also needs to be/become a mechanism to enhance quality rather than simply force compliance with bureaucratic requirements. The development of the quality assurance system must be an ongoing process to fulfill the need for accountability and ensure that baseline standards of quality are met. Once

baseline standards are met, external quality assurance must evolve toward an advisory role to enhance improvement. Many of the universities are not at this stage yet. The baseline standards are still being worked out, on trial-and-error bases. Some established institutions of higher education are too powerful for the accreditation agencies to properly monitor. This needs to change with strong financial support from the state.

The issues of equality in tertiary education need to become more prominent in national debates and policy making. Currently that is not the case. A coherent and systematic approach to equality would assess where equity problems arise. These could range from income constraints faced by families, insufficient student support, inequity of opportunities at the school level, and admissions issues or internal university-related problems, such as lack of a proper faculty evaluation regime.

4.5 Equity

Although access to higher education has improved over the past 50 years, there are still areas within countries that are disadvantaged in terms of access. There is a predominance of institutions in the urban and relatively well-to-do areas. The rural areas are still without adequate institutions to meet demands. This places heavy burdens on students and their parents from rural areas in attending universities in metropolitan areas. The universal dimensions of educational inequality – gender, socioeconomic origin, rural–urban, and regional (especially the core–periphery gradient) – are all present in SSA countries. Surveying university enrollments in sub-Saharan Africa, Teferra (2007) writes that “major enrollment disparities by gender, economic status, regional setting (rural-urban), ethnicity and race abound” (p. 558). In studying the results of grade six reading tests from 14 Southern and Eastern African countries, Zhang (2005) found that on a standardized score scale (mean=500; standard deviation=100), the average difference in the 14 countries between rural and urban students was 50 points.

The key ingredients in an equity agenda include career guidance and counseling services at the school level and articulation of a plan between secondary and tertiary education systems. There should be opportunities to enter tertiary education from any track in upper secondary school and varied supply of tertiary education to accommodate a more diverse set of learners, for example, polytechnic institutions and universities (Banya 2010). The expansion of distance learning and regional learning centers must be instituted as indicated earlier in the chapter. Positive discrimination policies for particular groups whose prior educational disadvantage is well identified must be instituted. Incentives for tertiary education institutions to widen participation and provide extra support for students from disadvantaged backgrounds must be encouraged.

5 Conclusion

In the past 50 years or so, tertiary education policy reforms have undergone remarkable changes in sub-Saharan Africa. On the one hand, there has been qualitative growth both in student enrollment and institution of higher education. New opportunities have arisen for people who perhaps never thought of achieving university-level training, a blessing in itself. However, at the same time, new challenges have arisen that must be addressed in order to improve quality and equity for the vast majority of the population in the region. Despite increased enrollment, as noted by UNESCO, less than one percent of college age group is receiving tertiary education. This needs to be drastically improved, without adversely affecting quality.

The implementation of the recommendation proposed in this paper may help to improve access without compromising quality. Thus, higher education institutions have brought mixed blessings in terms of access and quality. There is a need to reinvent the African university so that its obligation to the environment in which it is established and which nurtures it becomes a major purpose of higher education. Indeed, the African university needs to become closely related to its environment and from it draw inspiration; for in it are embedded the roots of African culture and civilization – worldview, values, customs and traditions, creative works, knowledge, skills, and technology.

If African development is to be meaningful, then the African university must be a force not merely in preservation of the traditional culture but in its revitalization and, consequently, in bringing vibrancy to the traditional environment and pride in the cultural heritage. Thus, the African university's challenge is to create a new society and new individuals by working from the strength of the culture and African realities. After decades of dependency, there are no signs of African countries giving attention to cultural renewal and revitalization to address current social problems. The emphasis on genuine educational alternatives in Africa, where local knowledge plays an important role in development, is gaining currency.

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Neoliberalism, Globalisation, and Latin American Higher Education

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1 Introduction

The political and economic context in much of Latin America may be described as one of turmoil and transition. During the past few decades, we have witnessed the toppling of authoritarian and anti-democratic regimes, and in the dust of destruction, democratic governments have emerged (Lakoff 1996; Levy et al. 2001). With governmental change has come major economic restructuring as Latin American countries increasingly have sought to participate in a global market place, mostly following the lead of free-market entrepreneurialism fashioned by the USA and other Western powers (Boron and Torres 1996). This changing sociopolitical and socio-economic landscape poses major challenges to education throughout Latin America (Boron 1995; Levy 1994; Morales-Gómez and Torres 1990; Morrow and Torres 2000; Torres and Schugurensky 2002). Of particular concern to us is the impact such changes may have on the national universities in Argentina and Mexico.

In Argentina, for example, the government and its citizens are confronted with economic turmoil and political chaos. Once the favourite son of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and acting largely under its direction, the Argentine economy has been devastated by global economic strategies and political corruption under the helm of former President Carlos Saúl Menem and more recently under the direction of the Minister of Economy Domingo Cavallo and President Fernando

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de la Rúa (Frasca 2002). Corruption and failed economic strategies led to the Argentine government defaulting on its debt of some \$140 billion and a virtual freeze of Argentine assets, while the ranks of the unemployed swelled to over 20 % of the nation's population. So devastated were the citizens of Argentina that their uprising in December 2001 toppled the de la Rúa presidency and led to a rapid transition of five presidents within days, culminating with the ascension of Eduardo Duhalde of the *Partido Justicialista* and runner-up to de la Rúa in the 1999 presidential race. The tumultuous political and economic context in Argentina has had serious repercussions for state-supported higher education. In particular, the economic fallout for the *Universidad de Buenos Aires* (UBA) has been crippling.

Like Argentina, Mexico too faces serious challenges caused to a large degree by a rapidly changing political and economic context. For example, while the country has had democratic elections since 1929, one party – *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) – so completely dominated the political landscape that no serious political pundit would describe such a context as truly democratic. In fact, in 1988, there was much sentiment as well as hard evidence that the PRI may have manipulated election results to retain its political stranglehold over Mexico, while perhaps denying Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and the *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) the presidency. But with the victory by Vicente Fox and the *Partido Accion Nacional* (PAN) in July 2000, Mexico entered a new era of realised democracy. And with democracy have come serious choices and considerations, including challenges and opportunities associated with globalisation. The choices and considerations confronting Mexico have direct implications for state-supported higher education. Relatedly, we contend that the changing context of Mexican higher education policy and the nation's support for public universities largely are evident through the relationship between the state and the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM) or National Autonomous University of Mexico. Known throughout the country as *la máxima casa de estudios*, UNAM is Mexico's pre-eminent public research university. UNAM's importance to the national context is why we select it as a site for our study.

Our intent in this chapter is to explore the changing political and economic context for state-supported higher education in Argentina and Mexico. In particular, we examine each country's pre-eminent public university in the light of challenges and opportunities that we associate with globalisation. From our perspective, globalisation represents a historical reality that imposes itself upon societies, but that also may be influenced by institutions and governments seeking to shape global processes for their own ends. Consequently, we are interested in the ways in which globalisation is shaping UNAM and UBA, as well as how these institutions may play a role in advancing their own respective country's global endeavours. Additionally, we contend that processes associated with globalisation largely are defined by neoliberal economic perspectives, and consequently, we are concerned about the ways in which such views are limiting the ability of Latin American countries to develop and support their public universities in accordance with their respective social contracts.

2 The University of Buenos Aires

The University of Buenos Aires was founded in 1821 and is located in the heart of Argentina's largest and most cosmopolitan city. With a student enrolment of roughly 170,000 students, UBA is by far the country's largest university. A member of the League of World Universities, UBA's programmatic structure includes the following major schools: Law and Social Sciences, Economic Sciences, Exact and Natural Sciences, Meteorology, Architecture, Philosophy and Letters, Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Dentistry, Pharmacy and Biochemistry, Veterinary Sciences, Psychology, and Social Sciences.

UBA is emblematic of the democratic ideals of higher education, offering a high degree of access to the poor and lower-middle classes. With its open door policy, minimal fees, and coverage of the most advanced segments of science and technology in the country, UBA is the flagship of higher education in the Southern Cone (more or less the southern half of South America). As one of the oldest universities in the region, it reflects, more than most Latin American institutions, the Napoleonic tradition of serving the state through the preparation and training of public servants. Ironically, the vast majority of contemporary Argentinean elites who now advocate privatisation were in fact educated at UBA.

Our research team visited UBA in the spring of 2002 with one member spending 2 months in the city as part of a sabbatical leave. Consequently, we were able to observe events in Argentina and Buenos Aires over an extended period of time. Additionally, due to the fact that one member of our research team is a citizen of Argentina and has numerous connections to professors and high-ranking officials affiliated with UBA and the Ministry of Education, we gained access to several key individuals. For example, we were able to interview the following people: a leading Argentine economist and Professor at UBA; the Secretary of Academic Affairs at UBA; the Secretary of University Politics at the Ministry of Education; the Secretary of Technology, Science, and Innovation and President of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Investigations (CONICET); a leading Argentine scholar at UBA specialising in higher education; and an engineering professor well known for his administrative expertise in higher education. Interviews with the preceding individuals were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim and form the basis for the key themes discussed in this section (most were translated from Spanish to English).

Our discussions with key analysts centred on the changing political and economic context for public universities in Argentina with a particular focus on globalisation and its implications for UBA. Of course, the economic crisis loomed large and was as inescapable as the pounding from the nightly *cacerolazos* – groups of protesters who march through the streets of Buenos Aires pounding on pots and pans. Although one might claim that the economic crisis “slants” our findings, it could just as easily be argued that the crisis served as a powerful lens for focusing on globalisation and the changing role of the public university.

2.1 The Economic Crisis and the Need for Reform

Much of our interactions centred on the role of globalisation in shaping the contemporary context for the Argentine public university. In general, globalisation was viewed as an imposition by outside forces mainly acting upon the Argentine economy. In fact, some described globalisation as a form of “economic colonialism” sanctioned by the USA. As one professor explained, “Globalisation to us means economic hegemony from the North in terms of providing the sole model to be adopted by the nations of the globe”. This individual went on to describe a research team that she is part of and their efforts to make sense of globalisation and its impact on universities. She noted that within the research group, there was a strong tendency to see “globalisation as Americanisation”; that is, the group believes that many of the transnational economic policies supposedly designed to open up world markets actually serve the interests of powerful policy makers such as the USA.

A key point stressed by several individuals was the fact that while globalisation may be inevitable, it does not necessarily produce homogeneous results. That is, global forces interact with local realities and the consequences vary from one country to the next. “Globalisation”, explained by one individual, “is a very powerful wind that will be blowing with great intensity for the foreseeable future. But the impact of globalisation in Argentina, though, largely depends on domestic factors.... Globalisation is an objective force in history, but the concrete effects are filtered by the local political, cultural, and economic situations. One effect may be felt in a country like Mexico. A different effect may be seen in Argentina, or Korea, or Taiwan”.

Several interview participants criticised forms of globalisation advanced by powerful NGOs such as the World Bank and the IMF. One expert found it more than interesting that several years ago, when he had argued that international agencies were driving Argentina’s public policies, he had received a great deal of criticism, but now things have changed. As he explained, “Nowadays, no one, not even right-wing scholars have a single doubt about the international impact on national and local productivity, because the IMF is deciding our daily lives and there is no doubt about the impact and the consequence of this”. This individual went on to add, “It’s interesting to realize that all we have published, all we have said, all of a sudden is just the most cruel truth that we are dealing with, that we are totally dependent on what leaders within the IMF think of us”. The irony, of course, is that former President Menem had been recognized by the IMF as one of its most faithful followers. “So, we were the model for the rest of the world ... We were doing exactly what they asked of us”.

Directives from NGOs may add to funding problems faced by UBA. There is a strong push to decrease public support – this despite the country’s historical commitment to free public higher education. One expert described a movement sponsored by major financial institutions, including the World Bank, to advance the privatisation of higher education. “There are powerful people saying that university education should not be public. Or, if it is public, one should have to pay for it. The idea that the university is for elites is becoming increasingly popular. ... Structural

adjustment policies imposed upon the country over the past 15–20 years are pushing the idea that the university is something that should be privatized and the state should not be involved. These policies suggest that we should be devoting our resources to elementary and high school education. Forget the university. This movement is growing stronger by the hour”.

Despite financial problems, the dominant perception was that even when economic recovery arrives, there are major concerns about the degree to which the government will support its public universities. This has led to serious questions about the future of state-supported universities in Argentina. One expert explained that forces are at work to fundamentally alter the identity of the Argentine university, to “basically reflect the American model and see the market as the driving force for the university”. As this individual pointed out, such a view suggests that the purpose of the university is to transform human resources to match the labour market. This perspective clashes with UBA and its European-style model, whereby the university prepares “professionals to occupy the civil sector and meet broad public needs”.

Nearly everyone acknowledged that major reforms may be needed at UBA and other state-supported universities. One individual suggested that Argentine universities should have been reformed in the 1970s, when universities in Mexico and Brazil were reformed. “The Argentine university began to reform, too, but the military coup interrupted that. So, after the coup, reform did not continue. All we saw was the liberalisation of the political life of the university. Thus, the Argentine university arrives at the age of globalisation without having solved the pre-globalisation problems that it had”. Given the importance that universities play in processes linked to globalisation, Argentina faces a difficult challenge.

2.2 Access to Higher Education

A key aspect of a country’s economic development and its ability to compete in a global environment is the development and support of a highly skilled workforce (Reich 1991). But this is a major challenge in Argentina, because of the lack of a strong educational structure undergirding the development of human capital. For example, although attendance at public universities in Argentina is free, the reality is that few Argentines from low-income backgrounds are likely to attend a university. As one individual explained, “Access is a key question. I believe that the public university, although it is free, doesn’t help the poor. It’s very simple. The university students we have are not the children of labourers. It’s hard for them to get to the university, even though it’s public and free”. A major part of the problem is attrition at the precollege level. A faculty member explained the problem in the following manner: “If you take 100 students at say first grade what you will find is that the number of people who finally make it to a university and graduate is less than four. So, there is very little access, because there is dramatic attrition at the very initial levels of the primary system. So, the university is essentially an elitist university.

However, not all of the people who are there are members of the elite. At best, it is a middle-class phenomenon. The poor do not make it to the university. The poor desert the system and we can never recover them”.

One expert suggested that a solution to the problem rests with a revision of the Argentine tax system. Argentina relies too much on indirect taxes, taxes to the consumer, he explained. Consequently, taxation does not impact people in relation to their earnings. Therefore, lower-income sectors of the population pay proportionally more than higher-income sectors. And given that the higher-income sectors are more likely to receive a quality education and go on to attend a free public university, they benefit disproportionately from public revenues. This individual suggested that the solution is to adjust the burden of taxation and provide necessary educational services and support to where they are most needed – among the poorest sectors of the society in the form of improved primary and secondary education and financial assistance for university studies. Another individual supported a similar notion and used the phrase “democratic debt” to describe the need for Argentine society to see education as a necessity for its entire population.

2.3 Faculty Work and Scientific Support

Although the recent economic crisis has exasperated problems, the reality is that the Argentine public university offers marginal economic support for faculty work. One individual stated the problem succinctly: “Salaries are very low, a little lower than those in Mexico and Brazil. Today, a full-time professor with seniority can be paid about 2,000 pesos a month [roughly US\$670]”. As a consequence, many professors have other careers; they simply cannot survive as full-time professors. There are many “taxi cab professors”, noted one individual. “People are always travelling between jobs. They want to be exemplary professors, but they just don’t have the time. They have other work to do”.

Despite the lack of adequate financial support, the basic educational mission of the university is maintained by a tradition in which teaching is viewed as a form of public service. In essence, many professors at Argentine universities see their teaching as a contribution to the larger social good. One individual said it best: “There is a cultural element that helps to sustain the function of the university system; that is, there is a long ingrained tradition which says that the university and the teaching activities in this country are akin to the work of a missionary. So, many people think that, ‘Well, if I get paid, great, but if I don’t, that’s ok, because I have to spread the word.’ The problem is that this goes against the general tendency that we see overseas and in most countries in Latin America in which you have full-time professors”. It was pointed out that although the tradition of teaching as public service certainly is admirable and the sentiment worthy of preservation, running a university based on part-time professors may limit its intellectual vitality.

Within the Argentine university, the research and teaching functions are somewhat separate, with research often occurring within university institutes and centres,

while teaching takes place within academic programs. Thus, while it may be possible to support academic programs with part-time, “missionary-minded” faculty, this is less likely to work with regard to the research function. Consequently, and in the light of marginal economic support, the Argentine university in general and UBA in particular face serious challenges in developing and sustaining scientists and scientific investigation. One individual pointed out that Argentina lacks an internal structure to support scientists and their research. Instead, they must rely almost entirely on external funds simply to maintain an infrastructure. “Argentina cannot maintain an infrastructure for scientific development. It can’t pay their salaries and fund their research.... We need a structure that permits a scientist to conduct his research, exchange ideas with colleagues, and pays him well enough to live decently, not wealthily, but with dignity”. This individual pointed out that without such a structure, Argentina loses some of its top scientists to other countries.

A point of concern is the need to look past the current economic crisis toward Argentina’s long-range future. What is needed, maintained by one expert, is to “give greater attention to developing intellect”. He went on to add, “The only way to export value is to cultivate intellect in the university and to support research, innovation, and put that creativity into the products that the country can sell”. This individual went on to point out that Argentina presently produces only about 500 doctoral graduates in all the sciences every year and that 30,000 may be needed over the next 10 years. Another expert in this area suggested that for every dollar invested, Argentina would get three back. This individual also noted that legislation recently had been passed to increase support for science and technology, but the economic crisis made it impossible to provide the funds to the universities.

2.4 Connections to Industry

A final theme that yielded some contentious results concerns the role of industry in supporting scientific development at public universities such as UBA. Some felt that building such connections were necessary, given the lack of state support for public universities. Others, however, saw university-industry partnerships as antithetical to a democratic university. A supporter of university-industry connections explained the need in this manner: “A crucial goal is to form a new alliance between scientific and technological research and industry. Globalisation and the knowledge society compels us to look at this fundamental connection. If not, Argentina will be in the same position it was in during the 1980s. We cannot survive as exporters of commodities and importers of technology”.

Although one often hears complaints in the USA that universities are too tied to corporate-industry interests, the case is much different at UBA. In fact, a few of the individuals with whom we spoke complained of a lack of connection between the university and outside interests, including the interests of the business community. As one colleague noted, “While in the U.S. one might complain about corporatisation, in Argentina the opposite problem may in fact exist. In Argentina, I would say that

the dominant idea is that the university is an autonomous body, because we had to struggle for many years against political intrusion. Thus, a strong tradition has formed in which university life is to be something entirely autonomous. The result of this is very, very low levels of connection with firms and even with the community”.

But forging university-industry partnerships is complicated in Argentina. In fact, any discussion of university-industry connections must begin with at least some mention of the historical relevance of university autonomy and powerful beliefs about universities operating independent of external forces (the 1918 Córdoba Reform played a key role in advancing the autonomy of Latin American universities). One individual with whom we spoke was particularly disturbed by increasing connections between universities and corporations: “But, nowadays, corporatisation is totally overwhelming the purposes of universities. So, for students there is no possibility of demanding some kind of public specialties. Like, for instance, if you look at architecture; there is no urban architecture anymore because it is not marketable. The same thing happens if you look at lawyers and doctors; there is no public health, and it used to be really, very important.... For me, marketisation of the university is the privatisation of minds. You are being prepared to belong to corporate enterprises”.

3 The National Autonomous University of Mexico

The National Autonomous University of Mexico is centred in Mexico City, although it also includes campuses and schools throughout the country. UNAM is a complex array of preparatory, undergraduate, graduate, technical schools, and research institutes serving over 200,000 students and involving nearly 30,000 academic personnel. Programmatically speaking, UNAM is comprised of many *facultades* (similar to schools or large academic departments) that operate somewhat independently. Included among the *facultades* are the following: Architecture, Political and Social Sciences, Administration and Accounting, Law, Economics, Philosophy and Letters, Engineering, Medicine, Sciences, Veterinary and Zoological Medicine, Psychology, and Chemistry. Other disciplinary areas are centred in various *escuelas*, including the School of Music, the School of Art, and the School of Professional Studies. Additionally, much of the research at UNAM, which accounts for roughly 50 % of the country’s university research, is conducted at research centres housed within institutes affiliated with the university. For example, the Institute of Scientific Investigation encompasses nearly 20 separate research centres focused on various natural science areas.

Officially founded in 1910, UNAM was granted autonomy from the government in 1929. With autonomy, UNAM was to be funded by the federal government, but it was intended to operate politically independent from the state. However, autonomy from the federal government has never been fully realised. As Ordorika (1996, 2003) has pointed out in his work on reform at UNAM, federal intervention and political ties have long dominated the governance of the university. The lack of real

autonomy has in part led to numerous clashes over the years among students, faculty, and administrators. The most recent clash was the student strike of 1999. In this instance, students believed the government and administration, in seeking to implement substantial student fees, were in violation of Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution and the social contract that formed the historic basis for UNAM's existence as the nation's university (Cardiel and Rodríguez Gómez 2000; Domínguez Martínez and Pérez Cruz 2000; Rhoads and Mina 2001).

Visits to UNAM were conducted in June 2002 and March 2003. As was the case with the University of Buenos Aires, we interviewed key faculty, administrators, and policy makers who we believed could shed light on the political and economic challenges confronting UNAM in particular and state-supported higher education in general. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim (once again, those conducted in Spanish were translated into English). Included among our interviewees are the following key individuals: the Rector (President) of UNAM, the Minister of Education under former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, the Director of the Centre for Studies of the University (roughly equivalent to an Institutional Research office), and five highly esteemed research faculty at UNAM, all of whom specialise in the study of higher education. What follows is a discussion of the key themes that emerged from our interviews.

3.1 Support for Public Higher Education

For the past two decades, Mexico has been wrestling with the question of how much support is needed to adequately fund public universities. In the 1980s and early 1990s, cuts were made to public higher education as a response to two conditions: an economic downturn caused by drops in crude oil prices and structural adjustments advanced by the IMF and World Bank. Such cuts were challenging, if not devastating. In the past few years, however, the government has shown a renewed commitment to public higher education and recently under the Fox administration pledged no more cuts.

But no one we interviewed suggested that current funding for public higher education is close to being adequate. The challenge is quite grave for some faculty, and most see Mexico at a crossroads in terms of developing a clear project for public higher education. One expert situated the overall challenge: "We all know that the costs of higher education are increasing at a very rapid pace and it may not be feasible for the state to assume all the weight of financing. On the other hand, we also need to have a very clear social pact with regard to responsibilities. What are the responsibilities of the state? What are the responsibilities of the universities? What are the responsibilities of the legislature?" This individual went on to argue that Mexico needs to develop a national policy that defines the future of public higher education. "If this doesn't occur in the near future, I foresee public universities faltering very badly due to insufficient funds. I do not think we can follow the models of the United States where almost everything has been left up to the markets".

To understand the needs of public higher education in Mexico, one must understand the nature of the social contract. In Mexico, there are far-reaching expectations of public universities such as UNAM, by comparison to public universities in the USA. UNAM not only provides half of the country's university research and educates well over 200,000 students, but it also runs the nation's seismological system, the National Library (roughly equivalent in the U.S. to the Library of Congress), the National Botanical Garden, and institutions comparable in scope to the Smithsonian and the National Observatory. As one individual explained, "UNAM has assumed these responsibilities as part of its role as the national university. There is no such parallel in the U.S." Consequently, when international banking organisations such as the IMF seek to impose financial cuts on public higher education, they fail to comprehend the fact that the Mexican model of higher education is different from that of the USA.

3.2 Higher Education Reform and Neoliberalism

A major concern raised throughout most of our interviews was the imposition of a US-based, neoliberal model of higher education. Imposition came as a result of structural adjustments as well as at the hands of Mexico's own leaders, some of whom seem intent on reshaping the country's social and economic relations around a US-based model. One expert talked about UNAM's student strike of 1999 and pointed out that the tuition increase sought by former Rector Francisco Barnés would not have amounted to more than 3 % of the university's budget. "It was not an issue about the budget of UNAM. It was not going to make a big difference. The problem was, in my opinion, the fact that the tuition increase was brought up at a difficult moment in Mexican life, at a time when many people believed that free education was a social right, and that the general policies that are set up by the international financial institutions run counter to this important social right". This individual went on to explain that in many countries, especially in Latin America, there is a long-standing tradition, a social contract, in which the state is expected to provide public services such as health and education. "But some of the international financing institutions have not been very clear about these social contracts; they haven't recognized that social contracts have a history, they have a background, and they represent many things for many countries. This has been part of the problem. To what extent can it be said, even if it comes from the World Bank, that nations should not fund free higher education? Why not?" This individual went on to comment that international agencies need to understand the social history of a given society; they cannot blindly assume that "the nation-state is an old conception and that we have to leave everything up to the market".

Another expert explained that since the 1980s, when it became clear that Mexico did not have the capacity to pay its foreign debt to the World Bank and the IMF, the influence of globalisation increased in Mexico. "Now we are not entirely in control of our own fate, but must follow neoliberal principles of economics as dictated by

the international banking agencies. One of the major shifts then relates to the role of the public; within a neoliberal context there is very little sense of the public. What we see then is a very strong sense of individualism, a free market mentality. So, the sense of public education has changed and it is affecting public universities, since we exist within a public sphere that in fact may be disappearing”.

One way that global trade organisations impact the Mexican university is through accreditation efforts. As one expert explained, “In the context of world commerce, and more specifically GATS, a liberalisation of the commercial aspects of higher education is being promoted. The propositions of accreditation act to create limits such that only the programs or universities that are nationally accredited can participate. In this sense, accreditation can operate as a counterforce to economic opportunities, unless, of course, a university agrees to construct its programs and policies in ways that are compatible with the dictates of multilateral organisations such as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). So, there is a real tension here: Accreditation as a strategy to open global commerce and accreditation as a way of limiting which institutions get to participate”. This individual also suggested that accreditation is interpreted by many within the Mexican academy as a threat to autonomy, given that external forces have increasing influence over a university’s programs. However, there is significant disagreement with regard to this latter point. Some, such as physicians, lawyers, accountants, and veterinarians, see accreditation as a vehicle for increasing their participation in the global professional market. However, scholars in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities tend to be more sceptical, according to this expert. From the position of the sceptics, accreditation simply is being used to bring Mexican universities in line with a neoliberal global vision.

3.3 Faculty Support and Accountability

Discussions of financial issues at UNAM and other public universities eventually turned to conversations and concerns about faculty accountability. Most policy analysts recognise the need to increase support for faculty in Mexico. As it stands now, professors at public universities must find ways of supplementing their salaries in order to achieve a middle-class lifestyle. Recent funding measures have been passed and adopted, but such measures have linked an increase in faculty support to accountability measures. Performance programs such as PRIDE, *Programa de Primas al Desempeño del Personal Académico de Tiempo Completo*, offer faculty the opportunity to increase their salary by as much as 100 %. PRIDE covers a 3-year period, and in order to participate, faculty must agree to improve certain performance measures. Such measures may include the number of students graduated, publications, grants, and so forth. Thus, instead of offering across-the-board raises to an underfunded professoriate, the government has linked increased salaries to accountability measures. Additionally, research faculty have the option of joining SNI, *Sistema Nacional de Investigadores*, through which they can receive additional financial

support. But there are problems with these incentive programs. As one research professor explained, “You can get 1/3 of your salary from the university, 1/3 from PRIDE, and 1/3 from *Sistema Nacional de Investigadores*. But you have to fill out tons of paper work just to earn a reasonable salary. With these three programs and the behaviours that they encourage, we start to resemble the professors in the U.S. However, there is a big difference. We have to sustain a very high level of performance simply to elevate our salary to a reasonable wage, whereas in the U.S., sustaining such high levels of productivity often results in elevating one’s salary above the norm”.

Faculty must compete for the incentive funds or else they have to take other work. What this all means is that the current structure is inadequate for meeting the basic needs of professors; as a consequence of limited support and the structure of incentives, faculty must compete against one another for the basic funds needed to survive. It is not like the USA where one starts with a basic level of adequate support and then the research stars compete for the major grants and rewards. A faculty member pointed out that this form of accountability and efficiency is promoting a culture of competition: “It’s destroying the collective identity that Mexican intellectuals have had in the past. So, it’s changing the academic culture from one defined by a social collective, to a group of individuals acting for their own interests”. Another professor added, “The neoliberal shift is really evident around the sense of accountability and efficiency. Programs have been implemented to increase the efficiency and accountability within the public sectors, including institutions such as UNAM. We are slowly becoming an individualist society when at one time we were a mass society”.

The push toward increased accountability is not disconnected from global events. One expert suggested that with structural adjustments came pressure to reduce higher education expenses and at the same time become more accountable. The policies implemented in Mexico to support faculty follow the neoliberal push to increase accountability and efficiency. A second individual elaborated: “It’s not that accountability and efficiency are bad, but these policies have been implemented in such a way that public universities lose some of their autonomy, some of their control. If the government ultimately controls the programs that fund faculty and that evaluate faculty performance, how can universities remain autonomous? How can they be autonomous when they have to follow particular rules implemented by the government to receive funds through these programs?”

3.4 Science, Technology, and the Market

We also pursued questions about the possibility of building connections with industry as a means to support higher education. We wanted to get a sense of the degree to which university-industry partnerships had begun to shape Mexican public universities, if at all. Some individuals saw little market for university science and research. As one expert noted, “There is no real market for university development

and research. The most dynamic corporations and firms are transnational and so they don't need the technology that our institutions would offer to them. They have their own technology centres in their own countries and sometimes work with these very prestigious universities in the U.S., France, and Germany. They have their own resources. There are only a few examples where Mexican companies turn to academic science". This individual went on to ponder why the public university does not develop a more advanced system of research and technology as a means of attracting corporate and industrial interest. He then answered his own question: "The answer is that we would need help from industry to build such an expensive infrastructure. It's cheaper in the short-run for Mexican companies to buy technology from foreign companies than to invest in our university researchers".

Others commented on efforts to advance university-industry partnerships. A few noted that CONICET (*El Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas*) is supposed to serve this goal, but it has been a tough road. There is much mistrust between the business and industry sector and the university. One expert put it this way: "Academics say that they don't trust the corporations for fear they will lose their autonomy. On the other hand, the corporations will say that they can't trust academics to deliver, because they work at a different pace. Academics don't understand the time constraints that corporations and industries face. They don't understand how industry works, so they distrust academics. This mutual distrust constrains these types of relationships".

Another analyst commented on the national program to build bridges between universities and industry, as led by CONICET: "The national program of science and technology has clear goals to build stronger ties, bridges between universities and industry. But this process is going to take many years, 15 years at the very least. We are very deficient in this area. We have a lack of internal structure for science and technology and universities need to play a bigger role. This is why we are becoming a *maquiladora* society – we don't have the capacity to conduct advanced science and technological work". Without a more advanced university infrastructure, scientific research tends to be more basic, more academically oriented. CONICET will continue to play a role, but as one individual pointed out, "CONICET has been supporting Ph.D.s for the purpose of strengthening university research, but many of these individuals go to work in the private sector, because of the salary differential".

Although some faculty are concerned about increasing university-industry partnerships, they fear that such a trend is inevitable. Their concern centres on the declining notion of the "public" and the increasing dominance of the "private". One analyst commented, "In the past the national university – UNAM – engaged in scientific investigation for the society. Research was to serve the interests of the state, of the public. But now, within the context of globalisation, when the state and national interests no longer dictate, then university science must answer to and address private, global enterprises". A second added, "The public is disappearing and so what becomes of a university that has been defined by its service to the public? As a result of these circumstances, there is much pressure on UNAM to reform, to become more accountable to private, global enterprises and be less oriented to the public". One individual saw the problem as a loss of national

vision: “There is no national vision from a neoliberal perspective – there are only markets and the logic of markets dictate everything. And so in Mexico, national culture, national identity, the role of the national university is all in transition. What will become of the university? Who knows? Can we generate a national project within an increasingly neoliberal society?”

4 Conclusion

We do not dispute the historic reality of globalisation. With dramatic changes in communication technology, informational management, and transportation, global interconnectedness is quite inevitable. Consequently, we do not adopt an anti-globalisation stance as much as we seek to challenge a particular strain of globalisation that has come to dominate social and economic policies, including policies shaping public universities. Of course, we describe this strain as neoliberalism, or neoliberal globalisation. More specifically, we take issue with the presumption that processes associated with US-led definitions of free markets and privatisation are necessarily more rational and egalitarian than strategies linked to strong nation-states and self-determined public interests. Additionally, we see public universities in countries such as Argentina and Mexico playing a key role in challenging the hegemony of neoliberal globalisation and forging alternative visions of global affairs that are more compatible with long-standing social contracts. In this regard, we support the idea conveyed by Burbules and Torres, who argued that as global changes occur, “they can change in different, more equitable, and more just ways” (2000, p. 2).

A telling point of our study is the fact that the critique of neoliberal globalisation has clearly moved from the political left to the mainstream, at least in parts of Latin America. This is not an insignificant finding. For example, although a handful of our interview subjects are positioned on the intellectual left and one might expect them to be critical of neoliberalism, several of our subjects are located in the mainstream, at the centre of university operations, and yet even these individuals offered a serious critique of neoliberal practices associated with globalisation. It was apparent from many of the comments that the North–South separation of power has created much consternation about economic and cultural impositions deriving from international banking agencies and the USA and that reservations about the potential soundness of neoliberal policies are no longer limited to a relatively small range of intellectuals.

Another telling finding is the changing nature of the “public” or the social good that public universities historically have been charged with serving. As public universities increasingly become framed by neoliberal practices, the traditional sense of a public good linked to communitarian and collectivist concerns shifts to more individualist, privatised interests. This same phenomenon has been described in the USA in the work of Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) and the growing dominance of academic capitalism and a knowledge/learning regime framed by free

marketeerism. While such a shift in US higher education is barely distinguishable from the highly competitive, individualist society in which public universities are embedded, the same cannot be said of Latin America. Countries such as Argentina and Mexico have long-standing traditions and social contracts that have defined the relationship between the state and its citizens. Clearly, many of the values and beliefs associated with neoliberal versions of higher education are challenging fundamental elements of Argentine and Mexican culture.

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Globalization and Hong Kong Educational Reforms

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1 The Challenges of Globalization: Introduction

To meet the challenges of globalization, high technology, economic transformation and international competitions in the new century, there have been numerous educational reforms and initiatives in many countries in the Asia-Pacific Region and other parts of the world (Cheng 2005a, Ch. 7). As an international city which is the meeting point of the West and the East, Hong Kong has a strong tradition to echo the global trends in its development and has initiated a series of educational reforms in the past decades.

In a context of globalization, the experiences of educational reforms in Hong Kong particularly in the past decade may provide a good case for understanding the dynamics of educational reforms and drawing theoretical and practical implications for research, policy formulation and implementation not only in Hong Kong but also in other international communities. Based on the observations in Hong Kong and the Region, this paper aims to analyze the reform syndrome, bottle-neck effects and their impacts on teachers and school education and highlight the direction of new developments.

The Hong Kong society has been experiencing numerous challenges of a great transformation due to the fast changing and competitive economic environment in the Asia-Pacific Region as well as the political transition in July 1997 from being a British colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China. In such a context, policymakers and the public had new and high expectations of the role and functions of school education (Cheng 2001). From 1984 to 2000, the Education Commission issued seven major reports and a number of review reports and reform proposals (Education Commission 1999a, b, 2000a, b, May & September).

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Also in the last over 10 years, the Education and Manpower Bureau (now renamed as Education Bureau) implemented numerous initiatives to change nearly every key aspect of the school system, from the administrative structure to the curriculum organization, from the school governance and management to the classroom teaching and learning, from the application of information technology to the examination system and from the school external and internal evaluation to the accountability to the stakeholders. In response to globalization and the international trends, Hong Kong has experienced mainly two waves of educational reforms in the last two decades, like many other areas in the world (Cheng 2005b; Cheng and Tam 2007).

2 First Wave of Educational Reforms

Since the 1980s, following the successful expansion of basic education systems to meet the needs of national economic developments, many policymakers and educators in the Asia-Pacific Region began to pay attention to the improvement of internal process, including teaching and learning in schools. In India, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia, Mainland China and other regional countries, numerous initiatives were evident to target at improving some important factors of internal school process, including school management, teacher quality, curriculum design, teaching methods, evaluation approaches, facilities and environment for teaching and learning (Gopinathan and Ho 2000; Kim 2000; Abdullah 2001; Rajput 2001; Tang and Wu 2000).

Like its regional counterparts, Hong Kong formulated its first wave of educational reforms through the Education Commission Reports No. 1–6. The initiatives covered the following areas in school education: language teaching and learning, teacher quality, private sector school improvements, curriculum development, teaching and learning conditions and special education. The first wave of educational reforms in Hong Kong had its root in the assumption that the policymakers have clear education aims and could find out the best practices to enhance effectiveness or the optimal solutions to solve major problems for all schools at the school-site level. These first wave initiatives were generally characterized by a top-down approach with an emphasis on external intervention or increasing resources input. Ignoring the school-based needs, the impacts of most initiatives proposed by the Education Commission were often limited, fragmented and short term on improvement in school education (Cheng 2000).

3 Second Wave of Educational Reforms

In the 1990s, following the international movements towards marketization, accountability and quality in education with aims to satisfy stakeholders' expectations, the second wave of educational reforms emerged in different parts of the world. Most

policy efforts were directed at ensuring the quality and accountability of schools to the internal and external stakeholders (see, e.g., Coulson 1999; Evans 1999; Goertz and Duffy 2001; Headington 2000; Heller 2001; Mahony and Hextall 2000).

In some areas of the Region, such as South Korea, India, Mainland China, Singapore and Taiwan, there was a growing trend of educational reforms emphasizing quality assurance, school monitoring and review, parental choice, student coupons, marketization, school competitions, school-based management, parental and community involvement in governance, school charter and performance-based funding (Mukhopadhyay 2001; Mok et al. 2003; Cheng and Townsend 2000; Mohandas et al. 2003; Pang et al. 2003).

Hong Kong, like its counterparts in the Region, started similar second wave of education reforms through the Education Commission (1997) Report No. 7 and other initiatives proposed by the Hong Kong SAR Government since 1997. The key reforms and initiatives are summarized below.

3.1 School-Based Management and Change in School Governance

In 1991, the Education and Manpower Branch (EMB) and Education Department of the Hong Kong Government initiated a new scheme, called “School Management Initiative” (SMI), to induce a type of school-based management framework to public sector schools. In just a few years of implementation, more and more school principals, teachers and supervisors accepted the ideas and principles of school-based management. Witnessed was a clear diffusion of SMI ideas, concepts, skills and experiences from pilot SMI schools to new SMI schools and from SMI schools to non-SMI schools (Cheng and Cheung 1999). The Education Commission in 1997 had required all Hong Kong public sector schools to implement school-based management by 2000 (Education Commission 1997).

In February 2000, the Advisory Committee on School-based Management published a consultation document to ask for strengthening the role, structure and governance of school management for accountability in the transition towards school-based management. Since then, there had been a lot of public controversies between the school sponsoring bodies and the Government in restructuring the existing school governance that is heavily relying on volunteer school sponsoring bodies. As a measure to ensure accountability in school-based management, the “Education (amendments) Ordinance 2004” began to be enforced in 2005, and all aided schools will have to submit the draft constitutions of their Incorporated Management Committees (IMC) to EMB and establish them before 1 July 2009. Each IMC will have members of representatives of the school sponsoring body, the school principal, independent social constituencies and elected parents, teachers and alumni, responsible for management of their schools. With this change, the original school governance will be going to shift from the school sponsoring bodies to a group of various stakeholders, and all IMCs will be under direct supervision, monitoring and intervention of EMB instead of school sponsoring bodies.

3.2 Report No. 7: Measures for Quality Education

To pursue quality school education, the Education Commission in its Report No. 7 recommended the following measures in 1997:

1. Schools should be facilitated to set goals and indicators for monitoring and evaluating quality education.
2. All schools should have put in place school-based management in the spirit of SMI by the year 2000 as the internal quality assurance mechanism.
3. Education Department adopts a whole-school approach to quality assurance inspection and sets up a quality assurance resource corner.
4. All schools which have put in place school-based management should enjoy the management and funding flexibility under the SMI.
5. Government should set aside a substantial amount of money to establish a “Quality Education Development Fund” to fund one-off projects for the improvement of education quality on a competitive basis.
6. Government should raise professional standards of principals and teachers through providing coherent pre-service and in-service trainings and setting up a General Teaching Council, and all schools should be required to put in place a fair and open performance appraisal system for principals and teachers.

These policy recommendations adopted a school-based approach to establishing a more comprehensive mechanism for education quality assurance and school effectiveness. With reference to this report, a series of initiatives in education with long-lasting impacts were implemented by the new government established in 1997.

3.3 New Government’s Initiatives Since 1997

After the handover of Hong Kong sovereignty from UK to China in 1997, the first Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region (SAR), Mr. Tung Chee-hwa (1997a, b) presented in his Policy Address an important blueprint for the educational development of Hong Kong in the new century. It supported the measures proposed by the Education Commission Report No. 7. It also set a time schedule to review and streamline the education-related executive and advisory structure. It asked the Education Commission to conduct a thorough review of the structure of preprimary, primary, secondary and tertiary education, as well as the school curriculum and examination system, while the Board of Education had at the same time completed a review of 9-year compulsory education (Board of Education 1997).

Since this policy address, a number of reviews and initiatives on key aspects of school education had been conducted. The key progress of these developments is summarized as follows (Cheng 2005b).

New Reform Proposals 2000

In 1999 and 2000, the Education Commission had reviewed the education aims and structures and formulated new framework and proposals to reform the early childhood education, school education, tertiary education and continuing education (Education Commission 1999a, b January, September; 2000a, b May, September). The Commission claimed to adopt the principles including student-focused, “no-loser,” quality, life-wide learning and society-wide mobilization. The focuses of the whole reform package are summarized as below:

1. Reforming the admission systems and public examinations so as to break down barriers and create room for all
2. Reforming the curricula and improving teaching methods
3. Improving the assessment mechanism to supplement learning and teaching
4. Providing more diverse opportunities for lifelong learning at senior secondary level and beyond
5. Formulating an effective resources strategy
6. Enhancing the professionalism of teachers
7. Implementing measures to support frontline educators

Since the proposals covered a wide range of crucial issues and large-scale changes and had to be implemented in a short period, they had raised a lot of debates and concerns. Even though the directions and principles of education reforms proposed were generally welcome by the public, how and why these proposals and recommendations can be effective to serve the principles of education reforms and new aims of education in practice remained a major concern among the public. Particularly, without clear research evidences and pilot studies to support these proposals, it was really difficult to convince the public or educators that they are feasible, effective, and practical to be implemented.

Curriculum Change in 9-Year Universal Education

Echoing the new education aims, principles and proposals of reform proposed by the Education Commission in 1999 and 2000, the Curriculum Development Council published its proposals on curriculum change and development in November 2000 (Curriculum Development Council 2001). It proposed some guiding principles in planning a new curriculum framework for 9-year universal education that aims to provide schools with a structure for outlining and developing different curriculum modes. It was hoped that, with this framework, the teaching contents can be flexibly rearranged, modified or replaced in response to the needs of society and to suit different needs of students.

The key components of the curriculum framework include eight Key Learning Areas, Generic Skills and Values and Attitudes. The council also proposed a schedule which last beyond 10 years for implementing curriculum reform: short-term

strategies (2000–2005), medium-term strategies (2005–2010), and long-term strategies (2010 and beyond). In the short-term development, it is expected that:

- Based on the principles of the curriculum reform, the Education Department will develop new curriculum guides, subject guides and exemplars and teaching/learning materials; engage in research and development projects; and disseminate good practices.
- Teachers and schools can promote learning to learn through infusing generic skills into existing school subjects.
- The following key tasks have been shown to be useful strategies for promoting learning to learn: Moral and Civic Education, Promoting a Reading Culture, Project Learning and Use of Information Technology.
- Schools can prepare for the transition to the new curriculum framework and gradually develop a school-based curriculum, using the new framework to suit the needs of students and schools.

In the medium-term development, schools should have followed the central directions and used the curriculum guides of the open framework provided to develop a school-based curriculum most suited to the abilities and needs of students and the mission of the schools. They should continue to raise their quality of teaching and learning. And finally, in the long-term development, the vision for lifelong learning can be achieved.

Since this curriculum framework was quite different from the traditional model with strong emphasis on development of school-based curriculum, most schools and teachers had to spend a lot of time and effort to “scratch from the beginning”, learn the related ideas and skills from retraining, redevelop their school curriculum in different subject areas and practice them in classrooms. In such a large-scale reform in school curriculum together with other parallel initiatives imposed by EMB, many teachers were inevitably overloaded and frustrated when the professional support, time, resources and preparation were not sufficient in its implementation.

Changes in Senior Secondary Education and Higher Education

In 2004, the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) proposed to change the senior secondary education and higher education system from the existing British system (3+2+2+3) towards a new academic structure (3+3+4). After the consultation from October 2004 to January 2005, EMB formally announced in May 2005 the change towards this new academic structure together with comprehensive reforms in senior secondary curriculum and the public examination (Education and Manpower Bureau 2005). The primary five students in 2004/2005 school year will be the first cohort to enter the new academic structure which will start from 2009/2010 school year.

Under the new “3+3+4” academic structure, all students will enjoy 6 years of secondary education; and all students will have a senior secondary student learning profile including results in the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education

(HKDSE) examination and other achievements during the senior secondary years. Students will take a completely new senior secondary (NSS) curriculum, including four core subjects (Chinese Language, English Language, Mathematics and Liberal Studies), 2 to 3 electives from 20 NSS subjects and/or a wide range of course from career-oriented studies (COS) and other learning experiences.

In addition to fundamental changes in curriculum, there will be drastic changes in the public examinations including the components of school-based assessment that will be very demanding on additional effort and time of teachers in their daily operation and potentially affecting the learning ecology in classrooms towards examination oriented. Given the large-scale changes in nearly every key aspects of the senior secondary education, how the parents, frontline teachers, school principals, education officers and change agents at different levels can be well prepared to implement these changes successfully has been very controversial in the policy debates.

Medium of Instruction and Allocation of School Places

Just after the handover of Hong Kong sovereignty to China in July 1997, the Education Department issued the Guidance for Secondary School on Medium of Instruction (MOI) in September 1997 to encourage secondary schools to use Chinese as MOI and to discourage the use of mixed code (i.e. a mixture of Chinese and English) in teaching and learning. Those schools wishing to use or to continue using English as MOI with their 1998/1999 and future Secondary 1 intake should demonstrate to ED that they satisfy below three requirements necessary for the effective use of English as MOI:

1. Student ability to be an average percentage of not less than 85 % of students who are able to learn effectively in English in Secondary 1 intake for the past 3 years
2. Teacher capability of using English as MOI
3. Support strategies and programmes to give sound school-based assistance to students

Finally, with these requirements, only 114 secondary schools were allowed to be EMI schools (using English as MOI) and over 300 other secondary schools had to be CMI schools (using Chinese as MOI). This policy was coercively implemented since 1997 and had been reviewed by a working group of Education Commission in 2005 (Working Group 2005). Up to now, it still meets consistently very strong complaints and criticisms from parents, students, teachers, schools and scholars these years (Cheng 2005c). In general, CMI schools were suffered from being perceived as weaker schools for less able students and parents were strongly dissatisfied with. After 10-year implementation, it has been evident in research that (1) those intake students of equal academic ability in CMI schools were much disadvantaged in gaining entrance to universities when compared with those in EMI schools (South China Morning Post 2008, 15 March) and (2) there was a clear trend in the results of public examinations of both certificate level and advanced

level that the overall performance of Hong Kong students in English was significantly declining across years after the implementation of the MOI policy (Cheng 2005d). In 2008, the Education Bureau (previous EMB) has openly recognized the problems of the existing MOI policy and indicated to make some modifications giving secondary schools more autonomy in deciding their school-based MOI policy (Sing Tao Daily 2008). The modifications are still under consultation with concerned parties.

Traditionally, primary graduates were classified into five bands and allocated to secondary schools according to the average scores of their schools as well as their own scores calibrated by their school scores in the public Academic Aptitude Test (AAT). Band 1 represented the best groups of students and Band 5 represented the weakest group. In general, Band 1 students had the better choice of EMI secondary schools or those schools they liked. Correspondingly, schools with majority of Band 1 student intake became Band 1 schools and those with majority of Band 5 students became Band 5 schools. In 2000, Education Department cancelled the AAT and implemented a transitional arrangement for allocation of primary graduates to secondary schools. The banding of students for allocation to secondary schools was reduced from a five-band system into a three-band system according to the performance of their schools in AAT in the past 3 years. In other words, since 2000, the individual differences of students within each band or each secondary school were largely increased, and consequently, the difficulties of handling individual differences and meeting diverse needs of students in teaching and other educational services were drastically increased within each public secondary school in Hong Kong. Without a comprehensive package of professional and resources support to schools and frontline teachers, the whole secondary education at teacher, school and system levels was suffering from the drastic increase in structural difficulties due to increased diversities and differences among students.

School Self-Evaluation and External School Review

Echoing the international movements on educational quality assurance in 1990s as well as Education Commission Report No. 7, the Education Department established the Quality Assurance Inspection (QAI) Section in 1997, responsible for planning the overall inspection and developing a system of performance indicators. All aided schools were required to conduct school self-evaluation and report annually their self-evaluation findings, achievements, reflection and follow-up actions in the School Report (SR) that should be endorsed by the school management committee (SMC) and uploaded onto schools' own website before the end of November every year.

Starting from 2004, EMB implemented external school review (ESR) to validate schools' self-evaluation activities once every 4 years. To support ESR, schools were required to conduct beforehand an assessment of school performance in 14 areas which cover the four domains set out in EMB's Performance Indicators framework. Since the reports of ESR were uploaded on the web of EMB and widely and selectively reported in the public media, the reputation of many reviewed schools was seriously damaged from such kind of reporting particularly in a context of serious

competitions between schools due to the fast declining student populations. School self-evaluation and ESR became a nightmare to most schools and teachers during the whole process of preparation, implementation and outcomes. Most aided schools and teachers had to put them as a top priority and make their great effort to prepare them. In addition to other ongoing educational reforms, school self-evaluation and ESR were in fact creating tremendous pressure and serious anxieties on teachers and principals and distracting their attention and effort away from the core purposes of school improvement and student learning (Circular Letter 2005). As a compromise, in July 2005, EMB finally announced to stop the uploading of External School Review (ESR) reports on the web and modified the requirements of preparation and documentation for ESR.

Since 2004, EMB implemented the Territory-wide System Assessment (TSA) to measure the progress of students from Primary 3 through Primary 6 to Secondary 3 against a professionally defined standard of basic competency in Chinese Language, English Language and Mathematics. It was hoped that TSA can help identify students' strengths and weaknesses and has generated a wealth of information that can be used by schools and teachers in improving the learning and teaching process (<http://www.edb.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeid=5094&langno=1>). At the same time, the results from TSA could become part of monitoring measures to inform school self-evaluation and ESR for quality assurance and accountability at both school-site level and system level.

Information Technology in Education

In 1997, the SAR Government started to invest substantial resources to the implementation of a series of IT initiatives in school education. In 1998a, b, the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) had published its policy paper, "Information Technology for Learning in a New Era," to outline a 5-year strategy (1998/1999–2002/2003) for promoting IT in Education, with the missions as follows: to provide adequate IT facilities, including network facilities, for our students and teachers to enable them to access information; to encourage key players in the school system to take up the challenges of their respective new roles; to integrate IT into school education meaningfully through necessary curriculum and resource support; and to foster the emergence of a community-wide environment conducive to the culture change (Education and Manpower Bureau 1998a). In July 2004, the Government further updated the strategy for promoting IT in education.

From the past experiences of education reforms, mere large-scale resources input and training are not sufficient to bring effective changes and outcomes in the classroom and at the school level. Up to now, how the school management and professional culture can match the huge investment in IT hardware and training and transform them into effectiveness, quality and relevance in education at the site and individual levels is still a challenging question to the reformers of IT in education in Hong Kong. As pointed by Cheng (2006a, b, c), there should be paradigm shifts in using IT in learning and teaching in echoing the paradigm shifts in education towards

globalization, localization and individualization in education as well as development of students' contextualized multiple intelligences for sustainable development in the future. Reflecting on the limitations of techno-centric strategies on use of IT in education, Education Bureau (EDB, the previous EMB) proposed the third strategy on IT in education to meet the changing needs of schools, teachers and students as their capacity to use IT in the learning and teaching process develops (Education Bureau 2007).

The new IT strategy puts the priorities to reduce the burden on teachers in integrating IT into their core activities from lesson planning to assessment of students, continue to sharpen teachers' IT pedagogical skills, generate a favourable environment at the school level and equip parents with the skills to guide their children to use IT to learn at home. Specifically, the following actions will be taken in the future (Education Bureau 2007):

- (a) To provide a depository of curriculum-based teaching modules with appropriate digital resources
- (b) To continue to sharpen teachers' IT pedagogical skills
- (c) To assist schools to draw up and implement school-based IT in education development plans
- (d) To enable schools to maintain effective IT facilities
- (e) To strengthen technical support to schools and teachers
- (f) To collaborate with non-governmental organizations to raise information literacy of parents and launch parental guidance programmes on e-learning at home

Quality Education Fund

Aiming to encourage school-based innovations and initiatives for promoting the quality of education, the SAR Government established the Quality Education Fund (QEF) on 2 January 1998 with an allocation of \$5 billion. It mainly supported worthwhile non-profit-making initiatives for basic education, including preprimary, primary, secondary and special education. It covers the projects on promoting the quality of teaching and learning in schools, projects promoting all-round education, school-based management projects and educational research (Quality Education Fund 1998). After a few years of implementation, the practice and effectiveness of QEF had been reviewed. It is clear that many school-based initiatives have been encouraged and promoted by the generous financial support of QEF in these years. However, at the same time, how a comprehensive knowledge base for an effective practice of school education in Hong Kong can be generated and accumulated from the numerous school-based initiatives is still an important issue. In particular, many schools had spent their scarce resources (particularly teachers' time and energy) to "invent a wheel" or "scratch from beginning" in a fragmented and piecemeal way when they implemented their school-based initiatives particularly in the area of using information technology in education.

Teacher Education and Principal Training

Both the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Qualifications (ACTEQ) and University Grants Committee (UGC) of the Hong Kong SAR Government started in 1997 to review the existing in-service and pre-service teacher education in Hong Kong, respectively. They finished their reports in January and February 1998 and submitted them to the Government. Emphases were made on the development of an all trained and all graduate teaching profession. Also, all in-service teachers were encouraged to pursue continuing professional development.

In November 2003, the ACTEQ published a document entitled “Towards a Learning Profession: The Teacher Competencies Framework and the Continuing Professional Development (CDP) of Teachers”. This document provided a generic Teacher Competencies Framework (TCF) for facilitating teachers’ professional development in general and also provided reference for teachers and schools in formulating CPD plans specific to the person and appropriate to the school at a particular time. Schools were asked to put CDP on the school development agenda, and teachers were required to pursue professional development activities of not less than 150 h during the 3-year “try-out period”.

The leadership role of school principals has become crucial to effective implementation of educational changes and school-based management. The Government had set up various task forces or committees to establish a framework requesting aspiring principals, newly appointed principals and serving principals to pursue continuing professional development and enhance leadership competence (Task Group on Training and Development of School Heads 1999; Education Department 2002). Given the educational initiatives so complex at the school site level, how principals would have the necessary competence to lead and implement them in such a short time is a really crucial issue.

As described above, there were so many parallel initiatives in different areas of school education in the last decade, requiring teachers to implement them. Before and during the implementation, inevitably teachers were required by their schools or the Government to take various kinds of assigned courses, seminars and workshops with an aim that they could achieve the necessary knowledge, skills and competences to implement the planned changes in their schools such as school-based curriculum, school-based assessment, new curriculum subjects, school-based management, school self-evaluation, extended learning experiences for students, home-school collaboration, language proficiency for EMI or Putonghua teaching, managing increased individual differences and diversities in classroom, using IT in teaching, learning and management, inclusive education, etc. In addition to the numerous ongoing educational initiatives, the continuously increased activities of teacher professional development and training themselves became a serious burden to teachers in these years.

4 Reform Syndrome in Hong Kong

The discussion of educational reforms in Hong Kong should be put in the larger context of the Asia-Pacific Region. In the past two decades, there had been nine trends of education reforms at four levels of education systems in the Asia-Pacific Region and other parts of the world. At the macro-level, the main trends include towards re-establishing a new national vision and educational aims, towards restructuring an education system at different levels and towards market-driving, privatizing and diversifying education. At the meso-level, increasing parental and community involvement in education and management is a salient trend. At the site level, the major trends are ensuring education quality, standards and accountability; increasing decentralization and school-based management; and enhancing teacher quality and the continuous lifelong professional development of teachers and principals. At the operational level, the main trends include using information technology in learning and teaching and applying new technologies in management and making a paradigm shift in learning, teaching and assessment (Cheng 2005a, Ch. 7). To a great extent, the education reforms in Hong Kong shared most key features of these international trends and could be considered as part of international movement of education changes and developments in response to the challenges of globalization and international competitions in the new century.

Due to the serious international or regional competitions, when one country in the Asia-Pacific Region was going to initiate educational reforms, other regional competitors also conduct their reforms and initiate more changes in their education systems. As part of globalization influence, most competitors would follow the emerging international trends of educational reforms (e.g. education accountability, quality assurance review, school-based management, marketization, etc.) as soon as possible. This was the reason why many countries and areas in the world shared similar patterns or trends in educational reforms (Cheng 2005a, Ch. 7).

There appeared some key features of an educational *reform syndrome* across the region: (1) the educational reforms have been mutually influenced or infected among countries and areas in the region, sharing some common patterns of reform behaviours; (2) they were often eager to achieve the reform targets in a very short time and implement many initiatives in parallel; (3) they often ignored their own cultural and contextual conditions in implementation of educational reforms; (4) they worried losing their country competitiveness if they did not reform as fast as possible; and (5) then there resulted in too many parallel reforms with chaos and painful failures to the education sector (Cheng 2008).

Unfortunately, there is emerging evidence of negative impacts of this syndrome with so many concurrent reforms on the education system and teachers in some areas, with Hong Kong as a salient example. The over competitions from marketization, the close control from accountability measures, the increasing workload from numerous initiatives, the de-professionalization from over management and monitoring and the high pressure from uncertainties and ambiguities in education environment are some typical problems that potentially damage teachers'

well-being and working conditions including being burnt-out and overburdened with unnecessary busy works, declining status of the teaching profession, losing competent teachers and deteriorating quality of teaching and learning (Cheng 2007).

5 Bottle-Neck Effect in Educational Reforms

The educational reform syndrome in Hong Kong can be further illustrated by the phenomenon of *bottle-neck effect* in the reform process (Cheng 2004b, 29 March–5 April). The effect is the situation that any new educational initiatives with good will and sufficient training support to teachers can become additional burdens and limitations on teachers and schools and the initiatives themselves also jam or block at the “bottle-neck” and hinder the implementation of other new coming reforms, as illustrated in Fig. 1. The more reforms initiated, the more hindrance jammed at the “bottle-neck” and the more pressure on teachers and schools. Why did such “bottle-neck effect” happen in the Hong Kong educational reforms?

The structural reasons for formation of such “bottle-neck” in Hong Kong education can be explained as below:

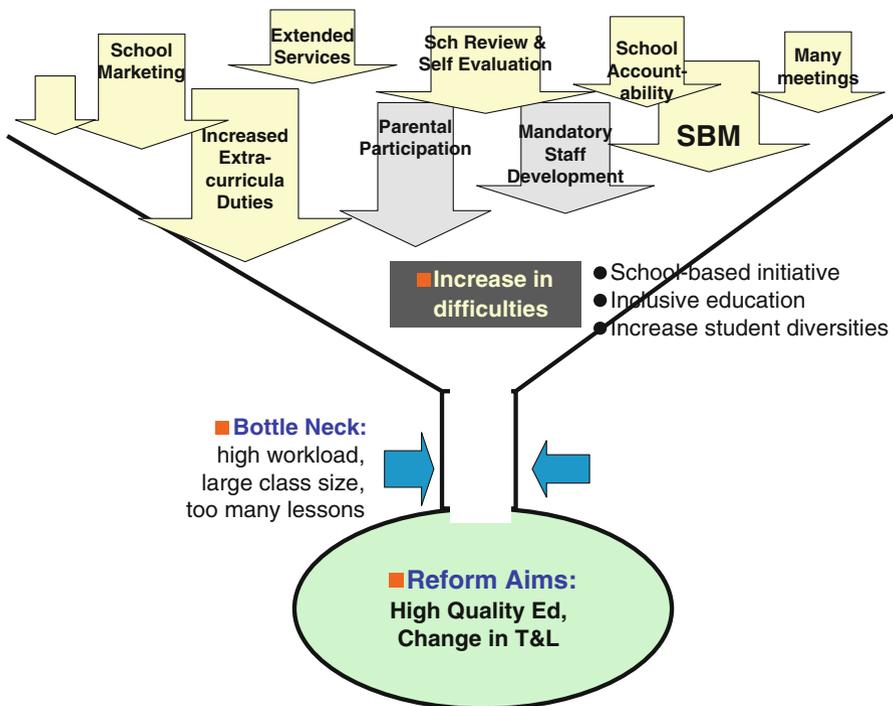


Fig. 1 Reform syndrome in Hong Kong: bottle-neck effect

5.1 High Workload and Large Class Size

Before the second wave of educational reforms, the workload of Hong Kong teachers was already very high, more than 30 lessons (normally 40 min each) each week. Also, the number of students in each normal class was often in a range of 35–40. Compared with those teachers in Europe, North America and Australia, the teachers in Asia are in general higher. But, the Hong Kong teachers had nearly double teaching load and took care of more 20–30 % students than those teachers in Beijing, Shanghai and Taipei (Ng and Koa 2003). Such high workload and large class size set a very tight constraint on Hong Kong teachers' teaching approaches and strategies that tended to be teacher-centred and direct teaching and have no time to take care of students' individual differences and needs in learning. Unfortunately, the initiated educational reforms had paid no attention to this structural constraint on teachers even though they emphasized the changes in teaching and learning from teacher-centred methods towards student-centred approaches as well as the provision of all-round quality education to students in the reforms. In other words, the existing high workload and large class size became the structural part of the "bottleneck" hindering the change of teaching and learning towards high-quality education.

5.2 Drastically Increased Structural Difficulties in Education

As mentioned in the previous section, the educational reforms converted the students banding from five bands to three bands such that the individual differences were drastically increased within the school and within the class in a very short period. Inevitably, this structural change largely increased the difficulties in teachers' teaching and taking care of students' development as well as the management cost of provision of educational services.

During the educational reforms, the implementation of inclusive education without corresponding sufficient support package also immediately and largely increased the individual differences and related difficulties on teachers' work. This structural change also further requested more efforts, time and energy from teachers.

The educational reforms strongly implemented school-based management, school-based curriculum, school-based innovations and integrated curriculum that requested nearly all teachers to give up their familiar teaching materials, methods, curriculum and styles and start from the beginning to prepare new teaching curriculum and materials according to the new curriculum framework and school-based needs. The challenges, difficulties and work pressure were inevitably increased very much beyond teachers' capacity.

With the existence of "bottle-neck" in school education, many new initiatives with very good intention had become heavy burdens to teachers and schools. For example, educational reforms involved not only technical changes but also cultural

changes and additional professional training for teachers and principals were necessary. Since there were so many parallel initiatives, teachers and principals had to take many kinds of training workshops and programmes in order to meet the mandatory requirements of these reforms, including language proficiency benchmarks, curriculum development training, information technology training, middle management training, subject training, degree qualifications in subject area, new concepts and skills of teaching and assessment, etc. When teachers were suffering from the “bottle-neck” of superhigh workload and drastically increased difficulties, this kind of mandatory professional training and development inevitably became additional large hindrance and pressure to them. They had to use up more and more their after-school time or personal time on Sunday and holidays to attend. Unfortunately, this also wasted a lot of their time and effort that should be put to take care of students.

Similarly, the other parallel initiatives with good will also experienced the “bottle-neck” effect and became serious burdens with high pressure on teachers and schools. As shown in Fig. 1, they included school self-evaluation, external school review, parental involvement in school management, school marketing in the local community, extended professional services to parents and the community, more responsibilities of cocurricular activities, various types of quality assurance measures and reporting and teacher participation in school-based management and development. It should be noted that most of these initiatives were not directly related to the core business of their teaching and students’ learning, but teachers had to spend a lot of time and effort to deal with them.

6 Complicated with Class Reduction and School Closure

In the past few years, the educational reforms were also complicated with the reduction in school-age population. The primary school enrolment dropped from 445,607 in 2000 to 366,531 in 2006, and the drop was 79,076 students, nearly 21.6 % primary student population. With this substantial reduction in student population, many schools and classes were closed due to insufficient numbers of enrolled students.

In such a declining context, school survival and competition for student intake were key concerns among teachers and principals particularly in those areas of fast dropping school-age population. They had to struggle very hard in school marketing for their survival. They were very sensitive to the initiatives of educational reforms and often exhausted all their energy and time with serious anxiety and tension to do them, particularly those related to their survival, such as extended services, school reporting, school self-evaluation, external review, school publicity and community promotion. In other words, the school closure and class reduction were making a frightening effect on many schools and their teachers in implementing the educational reforms and strongly reinforced the “bottle-neck effect”, creating further high pressure and anxiety on teachers and exhausting their energy and time but unfortunately not so much on enhancing teaching and learning.

7 Impacts of Bottle-Neck Effect on Teachers

The bottle-neck effect of educational reforms had wide and negative impacts on teachers and the whole teaching profession since 2000. In 2004, when the implementation of educational reforms was at the high peak, there were emerging evidences of negative impacts documented by five different sources including (Cheng 2004a, 24 Nov–1 Dec):

1. Report on Hong Kong Teachers' Mood by the Hong Kong Mood Disorder Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (30 June 2004)
2. Survey Report on the Health of Primary School Teachers by the Hong Kong Cosmo Physiotherapy Centre (7 May 2004)
3. Report on Teachers' Work Pressure by the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (9 June 2004)
4. Survey Report on Teachers' Work Pressure by the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (3 November 2003)
5. Research Report on Teachers in Four Cities by K.C. Ng and W. Y. Koa (2003)

Even though these research reports were conducted by different professional bodies or scholars from different perspectives in different time frameworks, their findings consistently revealed a big picture of teachers' physical, psychological and working conditions in crisis due to educational reforms.

7.1 *Mood Disorders and Suicide Tendency*

The Hong Kong Mood Disorders Centre (2004) reported that nearly 25.2 % of Hong Kong teachers tended to have mood disorders. Among them, 19.7 % had symptom of suppression, 13.8 % with frequent anxiety and 8.3 % with both. But for the general city citizens of Hong Kong, the percentage of frequent anxiety was only 4.1 %. According to the estimation of this report, there might be nearly 12,000 out of 50,000 teachers in Hong Kong with mood disorders. Both this report and the report from the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (2004) found out with different methods, that around 2000–2500 teachers (4–5.2 %) had the tendency of suicide. The teachers and school education were in a very serious situation.

7.2 *Over High Pressure and Resignation*

The symptom of mood disorders so widely existing among Hong Kong teachers was closely related to the continuously increasing work pressure from the bottle-neck effect of so many parallel educational reforms and the frightening effect of school closure. The reports from the Hong Kong Cosmo Physiotherapy Centre

(2004), Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (2004) and Hong Kong Professional Teachers Union (2003) consistently found out that around 50–52 % primary and secondary teachers felt their work out of control and they were suffering from over high work pressure. The symptom of insomnia (50.9 %), losing temper (48.6 %) and being physically comfortless (46.6 %) was very common among teachers.

The teachers' morale was very low. The reports of Hong Kong Mood Disorders Centre (2004), Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (2004) and Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (2003) pointed out that around 37–56 % of Hong Kong teachers consider resignation. Why did the whole teaching profession fall in such a collapsing crisis?

7.3 *Superhigh Workload*

Nearly all reports consistently found out that the workload of Hong Kong teachers was superhigh in the period of educational reforms. The daily workload was around 11–14 h, in a total of around 67 h per week, that was much higher than those teachers in Taipei (50 h), Shanghai (55 h), Beijing (63 h) and Macau (63 h). According to the findings in UK, the weekly workload of more than 54 h was the main reason for resignation of many teachers (Ng and Koa 2003).

The reports of Hong Kong Mood Disorders Centre, Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers and Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union also revealed that implementation of educational reforms (88–97 %), school administrative work (65–96 %) and additional requirements of professional training (62–90 %) were the major sources of spiritual pressure and work pressure on teachers.

The above findings provided important evidences of the wide negative impacts of reform syndrome in terms of the bottle-neck effect on the sustainability of Hong Kong education system and the professional well-being of teachers.

8 Evaluation

From the above analysis of the reform syndrome particularly the bottle-neck effect, there should be seven key aspects for policymakers, educators and stakeholders in Hong Kong to address the emergent key issues in educational reforms and work for the further developments of their education system in the coming few years, as suggested in Cheng (2006d).

1. *To release the conditions of school closure policy*: The school closure policy has produced a large frightening effect on teachers and has worsened the negative impacts of the bottle-neck effect of educational reforms on the whole system. It is suggested that there should be clear short-, middle- and long-term school

policies and planning that can provide a clear and stable prospect of educational developments and release the conditions and associated severe pressure of school closure and class reduction on teachers and schools. This will be helpful for schools, teachers and students to have an appropriate environment for quality education and implementation of educational changes.

2. *To break through the bottle-neck:* The large class size of students and heavy workload of teachers are two key structural factors of the “bottle-neck” limiting the educational change from the teacher-centred approach towards the student-centred approach. Taking the opportunity of resources saved from the school-age population reduction in these years, there should be an explicit policy and planning to implement small class teaching and reduce teachers’ heavy workload such that the core mission of educational reforms with focus on students’ new learning and all-round development can be realized in classrooms.
3. *To reduce the structural difficulties:* Different measures should be adopted to reduce the individual differences and diversities within school and within class such that teachers and students can have a comparatively reasonable and manageable environment to teach and learn. The review and adjustment of inclusive education implemented in the mainstream schools with aims at reducing the internal structural difficulties will be helpful. Even though school-based initiatives and innovations have their own advantages, that too many schools and teachers have to “discover” their own wheels or scratch from the beginning will certainly waste a lot of their time and energy but ignore the core tasks to closely facilitate students’ learning. There is really a strong need for a high level central platform that can provide the necessary professional and technical support to teaching and curriculum development instead of piecemeal school-based initiatives.
4. *To review the implementation and impacts of ongoing educational initiatives:* Educational reforms have been implemented nearly 10 years. It should be the right time to have a comprehensive review of the progress and consequences of ongoing educational reforms, and if necessary, there should be some modifications or adjustments on the overall implementation or individual initiatives. In particular, the coming academic restructuring of senior secondary education is so comprehensive including fundamental changes in its structure, curriculum and assessment, and therefore, a review of its scope and pace with reference to the existing conditions of teachers will be helpful to its success in implementation in 2009.
5. *To rebuild the image and confidence of teaching profession:* The professional status, image and confidence of teaching profession had suffered a lot from the process of educational reforms in the past 10 years. There will be long-term negative impacts on the effectiveness and quality of school education as well as the teaching profession. The Government, school sectors and teachers organizations should immediately work together and develop some short- and long-term measures to rebuild the self-confidence and public professional image of the teaching profession.

6. *To re-establish the alliances for education:* The traditional partnership and trust between the Government and various school sponsoring bodies and education organizations were the important assets of Hong Kong educational development. They have been damaged by the struggles and conflicts during the 10 years of educational reforms. The Government should take the initiative to rebuild the mutual trust relationships, redevelop the alliances with various stakeholders and recreate a collaborative and harmony environment for further development of Hong Kong education.
7. *To restrengthen the knowledge base for leadership and policy:* The contemporary educational reforms are very complicated, involving not only changes in technology, structure, quantity and resource but also ecological transformation in educational paradigms, professional beliefs and social culture. Their policy formulation and implementation need not only the general leadership competence and administrative skills but also the whole spectrum of professional knowledge and systemic wisdom. The reform syndrome and the bottle-neck effect were in fact due to the ignorance of the ecology of education system in policy making and implementation. Therefore, the leadership and policy making for educational reforms should require the support of a comprehensive knowledge base including the necessary empirical pilot studies, full range of advisory expertise, and wide consultations and debates at different levels to build up the legitimacy, validity and feasibility of the policies.

After the protest of over 10,000 teachers at the beginning of 2006, the Government began to understand the serious negative impacts of educational reforms on teachers and schools and immediately announced nine measures in a total of 1.8 billion HK dollars to address the issues of high work pressure on teachers. Also a committee on studying the work pressure on teachers was established to investigate the details of problems and recommend the solutions. At the end of 2006 and in mid-2007, the Government replaced the Permanent Secretary for Education and the Secretary for Education, respectively. In his policy address on 1 July 2007, the Chief Executive of Special Administrative Region Government promised some measures to redress the issues related to the teachers' professional situation and their working conditions.

Since his appointment, the new Secretary for Education conducted numerous consultations with various stakeholders in education and started some initiatives to adjust the ongoing educational reforms and improve the working conditions for teachers and students in 2008. The initiatives included implementing small class teaching policy, lowering the standards for school closure, tuning down the pace and scope of implementing school-based assessment, adjusting the ongoing policies such as Medium of Instruction (MOI) policy, recovering the communication with the major school bodies and education organizations, enhancing the salary of beginning teachers, increasing graduate teacher ratios in both primary and secondary schools and establishing the vice-principal posts at primary schools.

To a great extent, these initiatives by the New Secretary for Education were in line with the above seven key aspects, receiving good responses from schools and

teachers in Hong Kong. The atmosphere of Hong Kong education circle was becoming positive and encouraging in response to these new developments.

9 Conclusion

In facing up the challenges of globalization, Hong Kong and people in other countries had shown their strong commitments to education reforms for enhancing social and economic developments in the new century. The international reform syndrome across the Asia-Pacific region and the case of Hong Kong bottle-neck effect in educational reforms in the past more than 10 years can really provide a very painful lesson for those interested to pursue educational development and improvement through a series of educational reforms. Many reforms with good will can become a nightmare or disaster to teachers, schools and the whole community if they are organized and implemented forcefully with ignorance.

It is hoped that the case of Hong Kong including the ongoing education experiments, reform experiences, improvement practices and related analyses will benefit the Hong Kong people and contribute to the international communities in their education reforms for the future.

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The Impact of Globalisation on the Mission of the University

M'hammed Sabour

1 Introduction

Taking the analysis of the Finnish case of public higher education as its starting point, this chapter discusses the following issues: the change in the mission of the university from being a knowledge-oriented to a pragmatically 'utilitarian' institution; the university as an institution situated between its academic mission and its entrepreneurial function; the impact of the policy of market competition and accountability on the quality, production and creativity of academic knowledge; the impact of globalisation on the natural sciences and the humanities in academia; and the new power equation involved in the relationships that exist between the faculties and administration.

2 The Historical Mission of the University

2.1 *The Medieval University*

In the course of its long history, the university has undergone significant changes and transformations. From the Middle Ages, the period of its real inception, until now, its function and mission have reflected the position and status of learning and knowledge in society over a very specific epoch. Depending on the prevailing forms of political, spiritual and economic power, patronage and sponsorship, the custody of the university has to a large extent been conducted by the Church, the State or the

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corporation. For numerous cultural, social and national reasons, the historical evolution of countries in Europe has followed a variety of routes, and this evolution has passed through four main successive stages which reflect the intellectual and cultural mind of its times: the medieval, the Enlightenment, modernity and late modernity. The idea of the university is largely embedded in the past, it has also been reconstituted, reshaped and metamorphosed in accordance with the particular needs and expectations of its times.

In fact, all assessments of the function and mission of the university are obliged to take into consideration the dimensions of diachronicity (historical evolution and change) and synchronicity (contextual boundedness in space and culture). Hence, although the functions of Western universities contain many similarities, they remain relatively rooted in their national specificities and temporal determinedness (e.g. the German, French or Nordic universities). In this chapter, however, it is my intention to emphasise mainly their convergent aspects and traits.

The medieval university was pre-eminently a place of instruction rather than of teaching or research. Moreover, adds Delanty (2001, p. 28), 'the modes of knowledge that prevailed ranged from the doctrinal to the hermeneutical rather than a critical project'. Based on the Aristotelian perception, the medieval conception of knowledge was relatively free of hierarchy. As a field, the university long maintained a relatively autonomous position vis-a-vis political power and the religious orders. Delanty points out that '... isolated in the academy, knowledge was detached from social struggles and made its peace with the State by offering to its cadres its degrees of distinction and accreditation' (Delanty 2001, p. 29). The rise in the autonomous power and prestige of the university was due to two factors: a decline in the moral and political power of the Church and the, as yet, non-existence or only embryonic existence of the State (e.g. the University of Paris in the thirteenth century).

In contrast to those who consider that the kind of knowledge and training provided by the medieval universities was '... divorced from the practical needs of society', Cobban (1975) contends that its position was relatively more pivotal and society oriented.

Depending on their contexts and circumstances, the universities were '... socially useful, providing a range of intellectual skills that were germane to a community functioning'. These skills covered both the secular and the ecclesiastical domains. In others words, the universities functionally 'fitted graduates both for specialised professional work and as useful members of the community':

they formed an aristocracy of labour in medieval society. They were the opinion-makers, the indispensable propos of those who directed the energies of society. Medieval graduates furnished the trained minds which influenced political argument and shaped ecclesiastical policy.

Thus, one of the functions of the medieval university was the provision of education in the learned professions (law, medicine and theology) and scientific disciplines. Moreover, as Altbach (2001) describes the universities, they were '... independent and sometimes critical institutions, [which] preserved and interpreted, and sometimes expanded, the history and culture of society' (Altbach 2001, p. 1).

By the seventeenth century, the universal ideology gradually shifted from Christianity to the modern experimental sciences and their rationalising logic. This was endorsed by the scientific revolution and the Reformation, which changed the function of the sciences. The corporate order of the university (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*) as a guild gave it the character of a ‘republic of letters’ or a ‘republic of science’. With the emergence and reinforcement of the nation-state and the loosening of the hold of the Church on the university, the latter began to form an alliance with the former in its modernisation project but also moved simultaneously de facto under its protection, custody and authority.

2.2 *The Cultural University*

Based on the idealist philosophy, the role of the German universities became centred on the progress of culture through the articulation of the various branches of the sciences as a ‘unified’ totality. The disciplines also underwent a systematic rationalisation. In other words, the university implied a gathering of diverse and multiple elements within a single unity. German idealism did not conceive of the university as a corporation of scholars and students (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*) but as a meeting point of knowledge (*universitas scientiarum*) (Renaut 1995), a systematic gathering of the various fields of knowledge and of the sciences that corresponded to them.¹

The unity of knowledge was promoted as an intellectual preoccupation. The German interpretation, whose aim was the achievement of a final rupture with the notion of the medieval university, represented an important step in the modernisation of the university, from the university as a corporation to the university as an institution of elevated and autonomous knowledge. It meant the substitution of reason for authority and tradition as the rationale for the university organisation.

Humboldt (1979), one of the leading intellectual and spiritual founders of this concept of the university, considered that it should not be thought of as a specialised school. In contrast to Leibniz’s perception, *theoria cum praxi*, the function of the university as an elevated scientific institution, according to Humboldt, consisted of the practice of science per se in all its purity, with no consideration of its utility.

In the same vein, Schelling (1979) contended that ‘the university finds its mission in its capacity for practising science effectively, because science loses its mission when it is not pursued for its own sake’ but for other ends. At the same time, the autonomous practice of knowledge, according to Humboldt, allowed the university to contribute to the moral education of the nation. Humboldt subsequently defended the autonomy of the scholar against any constraint or the imposition from outside of any specific goal on his activity. The university should provide the scholar with a climate of ‘solitude and liberty for exercising research’. The solitude was seen by

¹The founding fathers of the German universities were mainly philosophers, a fact that becomes obvious when we read about the mission of this university.

Humboldt as a guarantee of the ‘scholar’s academic freedom within which he/she obeys only his own will in discovering the Truth’ (Renaut 1995, p. 130).

Thus, the Humboldtian conception of the university represented the ideal form of academic institution where the scholar could enjoy an autonomous status, freedom of intellectual activity and the prestige of being a bearer and practitioner of knowledge. While the scholar’s activity has an implicit impact on culture and the intellect, he/she is not at the same time required to provide an explicit service to society nor is he/she tied by any controls imposed by the State. To some extent, this model exemplifies the ivory-tower institution that is mainly concerned with knowledge for its own sake, as glorified to a large extent by Newman. This is what causes Delanty (2001) to state that ‘... the university was not just the cradle of autonomous knowledge but also the custodian of the cognitive structure of the nation’. From this perspective, the German professors were seen as the ‘guardians of civilisation ... [and] culture’ (Delanty 2001, p. 34).

The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution created a need for the empirical sciences and stimulated the emergence of new political processes. In this regard, ‘knowledge in the form of the academic disciplines that have been a common feature of modernity was taught in new universities established by State and civil authorities’ (Jarvis 2001, p. 4). Revealed knowledge previously dominated by theology was replaced by empirical scientific knowledge. This became the cornerstone for all scientific investigations: research that was primarily concerned with nature and society. The State with its project of modernity needed the university to educate ‘... the professionals, [who] took their place with the professions in advising governments’ (Jarvis 2001, p. 4). In other words, according to Altbach (2001), for much of this period, universities were understood not only as institutions that provided education in the practical fields of knowledge but also as central cultural institutions in society. In the nineteenth century, science and research were added to the academic mission:

Universities were recognised as special institutions by society precisely because their goals went beyond everyday commerce. (Altbach 2001, p. 2)

2.3 *The Modern University*

Both institutionally and intellectually, the contemporary university, as has already been mentioned, has its roots in the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment. However, as far as its practice of interpreting and applying culture and knowledge is concerned, this is largely swallowed up in the flow of the project of modernity. In other words, the production and elaboration of knowledge was seen as a means of achieving social progress and the well-being of society, and the university became the epicentre and dominant field for the production and channelling of this knowledge.

As a repository of national culture the university lost much of its cosmopolitanism. It was only the formation of a national elite that was significant. The university also responded to the

formation of bourgeois society and the need for cultural and educational institutions for the nascent middle class. As the university gradually became open to the middle class as the result of secularisation, industrialization, and rationalization, its nationally specific character intensified, since the middle class was the social basis of much of cultural nationalism and the rising urban professional society. (Delanty 2001, p. 35)

The international situation created by the ideological division of the world after the Second World War, along with the arms race and the associated political conflicts, has emphasised the importance of the university in a variety of fields. In many Western countries, the university became the critical centre par excellence involved directly in questioning the current political paradigm and sometimes even the very foundation of the State. Moreover, the university adopted positions that lay well beyond its academic function (e.g. teaching, research and learning) by intervening in the political sphere and by articulating, defending and disseminating ideas, ideologies and cultures which were not only not related to religious or intellectual matters but were overwhelmingly sociopolitical in nature.

The function of the university shifted away from its principle mission of acquiring knowledge and searching for the 'Truth' to a new position where it sought to defend political convictions and social rights. In other words, the university became highly political and politicised (Touraine 1971). Protected by the academic autonomy and freedom of speech it enjoyed, the university made use of its symbolic power to demand and even to provoke social change. There can scarcely exist any university whose charter incites its members to activities such as these, but as a result of increasing sensitivity towards and awareness of the principles of social equality, these activities have become an implicit *va-de-soi* of the university. In another and very different political context (Eastern Europe), the university played precisely the opposite role. There it became a domesticated institution of indoctrination, engaged in organically endorsing the official paradigm. From either conviction or obligation, most universities in Eastern Europe played the role of watchdog and torchbearer for the official ideology and policy of the State.

In the field of the natural sciences, the university was courted and pampered by the State by means of all kinds of rewards and material benefits to maintain its creativity and knowledge in the domains of the sciences and technologies which were involved in industrial and armament benefits and developments. As a result of national and international circumstances such as these, some universities gained tremendous influence and power, but at the same time their close involvement in business and armaments caused them to sell their souls to the devil. Unlike many American universities, which maintain close ties with corporations, European universities have had only limited sponsor-based cooperation with the private sector, which has also constrained their dependence (Grit 1997): most universities are still state-financed institutions. This does not exclude the fact that there is a growing temptation to adopt the American model. The large increase in the student population, the economic pressures set up by the downsizing of state funding and the demand for more cost effectiveness have already pushed many European universities into adopting a policy of what Jarvis calls 'the corporate ethos'. I will return to this topic later.

3 The End of the Modern University

The endogenous and exogenous structural, political and ideological factors that disturbed universities throughout the 1960s and 1970s placed it under a new spotlight and opened it up to questions concerned with its very social, cultural and scientific mission. By the same token, a major crisis concerning its intellectual function erupted. This can be exemplified by the vast number of reports, studies and articles devoted to the topic of academia and *homo academicus* published during this period. This mass of studies represented various trends, ranging from the ‘apologetic’ to the ‘apocalyptic’ and from the sceptical to the critical. These trends did indeed have a common denominator, the view that the modern university had entered into a *cul-de-sac*.

Some critics suggested that the Humboldtian cultural university was dead (Lyotard), and some talked of the degradation of academic dogma (Nisbet), while others deplored the supposed collapse of academia (Wilshire). The university was in ruins, concluded Readings (1996). In fact, the sacrosanct character of the university, if it has ever been such, had merely lost part of its charisma and authority. All of the policies of the last four decades that have emphasised the professionalisation of the curriculum, the commodification of knowledge, emphasising managerialism, and the logic of excellence have reinforced this tendency.

Nisbet (1971) blames this state of affairs partly on the university itself, while he/she defines the academic agenda in nostalgic tones. For him, the role of the university is intrinsic, or the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake:

... the heart of the academic dogma is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and the processes of coming to know are good in themselves, and the university, above all institutions, is - or used to be - devoted to them. To investigate, to find out, to organise and contemplate knowledge, these are what the university is about ... (Nisbet 1971, p. vi)

To a certain extent, Nisbet’s notion recalls Cardinal Newman’s idea of the practice of knowledge in universities (1971). For Newman, the pursuit of knowledge had to be for its own sake. This notion of articulating knowledge is seen by many as an aspect of bygone days, of the ‘academic paradise’ offered by the medieval university (Fourastié 1971; Scott 1984; Readings 1996). Present realities demand a different approach.

The university has become a central institution in society in the twentieth century. Its intellectual, social and scientific function has imbued it with an enormous importance and a relative indispensability, and in consequence it has also provided it with tremendous prestige, affluence and power. But, as an institution whose existence, function and activities have been increasingly linked together with the ongoing changes in society, the university has been constantly expected to redefine its position and mission reflexively in the light of the current expectations and aspirations of the political paradigm, the cultural domain, the labour market and the growing mass demand for its services. This influence and power and polyvalent function, according to Nisbet (1971), has ‘proved to be its undoing’. He adds that

[t]he greater the university became, the less noble it proved to be in both purpose and bearing. The greater its external power, the smaller its internal authority. The wealthier in land,

buildings, and income, the more impoverished in those spiritual and intellectual resources that had made the university perhaps the West's most cherished institution by the beginning of the twentieth century. A giant in self-esteem by the middle of this century, the university was already on its way to becoming a pygmy in fact; and, before long, the object of contempt, derision and hatred.² (Nisbet 1971, p. 240)

This kind of assessment has caused Bauman (1997, pp. 47–54) to suggest that ‘the ontology of the university is faced with many challenges as a result of changes in society’; it faces, in point of fact, numerous crises. However, in contrast to Nisbet, who argues that the university is a victim of its own self-inflicted ‘dread disease of mind’ and pretentious ‘overweening pride’, Bauman contends that its missional problems are ‘only partly, if at all, of their own making’. Whatever is the case, as has been rightly underlined by Jarvis (2001, p. 2), during the last decades the ‘universities have been more exposed to the substructural pressures of society to change. Universities have become much more like corporations and are being forced to rethink their mission, or their function, in this changing society’. His claim is further elaborated as follows:

Universities do need to know what they are, or at least what their mission is, so that they can respond to these external pressures in an appropriate manner, but mission Statements differ from institution to institution – which actually implies that each university recognizes its own distinctive character and that we might really be discussing divergent rather than convergent forms of university. (Jarvis 2001, p. 141)

In the course of the last three decades, the universities have been more exposed to the substructural pressures of society both to undertake and to undergo change. Universities have indeed become more like corporations and are being forced to rethink their function in this changing world. According to Jarvis (2001), ‘the university has all too often manoeuvred itself into a defence of the status quo, a carping posture in relation to the cultural and political mainstream, and a bunker mentality’ (Jarvis 2001, p. 141). He adds that ‘universities do need to know what they are, or at least what their mission is, so that they can respond to these external pressures in an appropriate manner’ (p. 141). However, the biggest challenge for the mission of the university is emerging from the growing process of globalisation and neoliberalism.

4 The University in Late Modernity

The impact of globalisation on the university is multidimensional. In the fields of culture and science, the role of the university has become more important than ever. As a centre whose mission is to defend universal values and ideals and to create knowledge for the needs of not only a national but also an international audience,

²This scathing critique, which is mainly directed at American universities, may also find some echoes on the campuses of European universities.

globalisation provides the empowerment necessary for its function in society. Technical developments in the domain of communications have provided new opportunities and channels for spreading the influence and echoing the knowledge created in the university. In other words, if its localisation has remained within national boundaries, the dimensions and impact of its activities have reached international dimensions. The new horizons opened up through the phenomenon of globalisation have brought with them fresh challenges and requirements in the content and aims of the articulation of knowledge (Green, p. 1997). The receivers and consumers of knowledge, in contrast to previous times, come from a wide variety of social and cultural backgrounds. Thanks to the new possibilities offered by technological globalisation, academic agents (e.g. teachers, researchers, students) are able to gain access to new resources and to exchange information and knowledge interactively. Moreover, these innovations have to some extent broken the monopoly controlling the access to knowledge, which prevailed prior to the globalisation of communications and cyber technology. By the same token, a business opportunity for the university to commercialise its knowledge has also become available.³ Jarvis (2001, p. 36) claims that the fact that

... academics are now able to play a relevant role in a knowledge-based workforce also indicates that universities have lost their largely monopolistic role as producers and disseminators of knowledge, but it also indicates that they do have a major place in the global economy. Globalisation and the competitive market have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and on the universities themselves. (Jarvis 2001, p. 36)

In this process the university is expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. In other words, it must act as an entrepreneurial institution. Such an orientation was seen in the past as antithetical to the ethos of the university. Delanty (2002) observes, as a result of globalisation, universities today 'with business schools and techno science on the rise' and with the emphasis on entrepreneurial values are enjoying a 'new legitimacy', which is likely to stifle their critical voice of the university.

It can also be claimed that globalisation may also have a negative impact on the university as such. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university will be pressed to embrace the corporate ethos and, in the process, be rendered powerless to resist the temptations offered by the neoliberal tendency. Jarvis (2001) argues that if the universities 'get too sucked into the global systems that are emerging ... they will no longer be free to be a potent force for democracy in a global economic market system that is certainly not democratic' (Jarvis 2001, p. 117). Gilbert (2000), in contrast, argues that 'the greatest threats to academic freedom and the institutional autonomy of universities in the twentieth century actually came from governments, not private patrons.[...] The devil is not in being private, or partially private; the devil is in the failure of any university, however resourced, to be scrupulous in

³For example, the recruitment of international students is having a significant impact on the economy of many universities (e.g. in the United Kingdom).

preserving its core values'. How can the *homo academicus* adapt the values of the *homo mercantilis* in the era of globalisation?

The intellectual and economic autonomy of the university is at the heart of all philosophies and policies concerning its ontology and mission. Evaluating the autonomy of the institution also involves tackling the question of the relation of the university to the State and to the corporation. In the past, the evolution of the university navigated a difficult route towards autonomy in the face of political and religious powers. Nevertheless, as argued by Renault (1995, pp. 104–105), when we defend the principle of the autonomy of the university from the State, we should also remember to determine the extent to which this process is situated in the social domain. In distinguishing between society and the State, we express in general a differentiation between the spheres of particular and public interests. Thus, the question is rather complex.

The university, in showing reluctance to accept subservience to the State, which has been legitimately very strong historically, has become a sector of society like any other. In Renault's assessment, this has two implications: (i) if the university is a part of the public sector like any other, this will mean that it cannot give expression to any particular private interests; (ii) if the university is handed over completely to the sphere of particular interests, the (liberal) State cannot be obliged to develop any policies regulating the university. In other words, if the liberal model of the university is completely autonomous vis-à-vis the State, it will find itself existing under new exigencies of the market, and therefore, its autonomy will be undermined both in the field of teaching and in its research (Keast 1995; Hartley 1995). But unless the State provides the necessary funding, the university will be propelled by its mission or by its obligations into embracing and relying on the global market. This, in turn, will allow the 'values of the marketplace to intrude onto the campus' (Altbach 2001, p. 2).

Moreover, there are many who see a sign of excellence in this cooperation with the private sector. In its annual evaluation the university rewards the faculties and departments that have succeeded in commercialising their expertise and knowledge. In other words, those who are able to sell their know-how and competence and attract external sponsors are regarded as 'academic heroes and knights' of excellence. Their fame and respectability in the academic field and among their peers and in the eyes of the administration (which gets its own share of the 'loot' in form of financial overheads) rise accordingly. Their acquisition of funding is also proudly proclaimed in the media since it boosts the image of the institution (see the historical outline in Table 1).

As a result of economic constraints, the prestige and power of the university is facing constant challenges and pressures. This state of affairs is considered by some to be a sign of decay, while by others it is hailed and welcomed as a positive historical outcome. From this perspective many postmodernists consider that this change has been both desirable and inevitable since it has terminated the hegemonic position of the modern university.

Table 1 The number of students in Finnish higher education, 1900–1999

Year	Students in universities	Students in polytechnics	All students
1900	2,300	–	2,300
1910	3,100	–	3,100
1920	3,500	–	3,500
1930	6,900	–	6,900
1940	9,500	–	9,500
1950	15,000	–	15,000
1960	25,300	–	25,300
1970	60,700	–	60,700
1980	84,200	–	84,200
1990	110,700	–	110,700
1999	151,900	96,500	248,400

Sources: Nevala 1991, KOTA database, AMKOTA database

Derrida (1983), too, evaluates as positive the postmodern alternative to the hegemonic tendency inherent in the modernity project (and the university as part of it). According to him, this project is ‘...striving for the power that accompanies its scientific-philosophical quest and its pretensions to universal truth and objectivity, which find their supreme realisation in technology’ Derrida (1983, pp. 3–20).

Liotard (1984), one of the leading prophets of postmodernism, argues that the university is reaching a point which ‘...may be its end, while the institution may just be beginning’ (Liotard 1984, p. xxv). Inspired by this school of thought, Readings (1996) claims that the modern university has served its time and its ideals can no longer survive in the present bureaucratically oriented and market-enlaved world of academia. He speaks about a ‘posthistorical’ university existing within an unobtrusive nation-state.

In this connection, Gur-Ze’ev (1997) has argued that ‘the institutionalisation of the postmodern academic alternative to its modern Humboldtian [sic] model might be understood also as an improved modern project; a project in which the mission of the violent overtaking of the modernistic arrogance about the truth (or the legitimate way to realise the quest for truth or “objective findings of research” and so on) is in a fascinating dialectical confrontation with the Humboldtian pretension to truth and transcendence from everyday social power struggles in the Humboldtian model of modern university as an institutionalisation of the scientific-philosophical pretension to real knowledge’.

If the postmodernists are right in describing this worrying decline in the ‘academic dogma’ and the alienation of the mission of the university, their exaggerated view reflects a cynical and pessimistic perception of the position of the nation-state. In contrast, my own position coincides with that held by Green (1997) and Taylor et al. (2002), to the effect that the nation-state, despite the changes and erosion in its role, remains a solid basis for contemporary society. Bearing this in mind, it is worth considering briefly the case of the Finnish university.

5 The Finnish University

The University of Uppsala was founded in 1477 mainly to provide training for the priesthood (Dällenbach et al. 1986). In the eighteenth century the military and economic expansion of Sweden required professionally trained administrators, clerks, diplomats and other servants of the State, and the mission of the University of Uppsala changed in response to this new demand. In the same spirit, the University of Turku (the Royal Academy) was founded in Finland in the seventeenth century by order of the King of Sweden to prepare ‘...civil servants to administer the kingdom and clergymen to serve the Lutheran Church’. In other words, the societal function of the university was to educate and socialise individuals into the role of being members of the civil society.

Nevertheless, one of the important roles of the Finnish university has also undoubtedly been its contribution to the development of a Finnish national identity and of the Finnish nation-state as a relatively independent entity separate from both Swedish and Russian cultural and political hegemony. Despite its initial close attachment to the Church and servitude to the State, the Finnish university was largely imbued with Humboldtian ideals and values, which placed their emphasis on academic freedom and the moral education of the student (Klinge 1987). In this process, the Finnish university produced many leading cultural, intellectual and political figures who played a striking role in the formation and crystallisation of the young nation. For most of the twentieth century, the university’s position was strengthened along with the fact of nation-building, the development of the welfare State and the consolidation of cultural identity.

As a consequence of the social, economic and technical transformation that occurred in the post-Second World War period, like the other European universities, the Finnish university faced a massive demand for the training and knowledge that it could provide, and also for the resultant social mobility and status (see Table 2). Although the Finnish university was not rebellious, radical or conflict sensitive, as was the case in France, like many other academic institutions, it experienced a variety of upheavals and crises in the 1960s and 1970s. Since it relied to a considerable degree on funding from the State, the university (both the academics and the students) frequently found itself in a state of conflict with the State. Because of the

Table 2 University teachers and other staff in Finnish universities, 1981–1999

	1981	1985	1990	1995	1999
University teachers on budget funds ^a	6.500	7.200	7.800	7.600	7.300
Other staff on budget funds ^b	–	6.700	8.000	9.000	10.200
Other staff on external funding ^c	–	4.700	5.200	7.500	9.600

Sources: KOTA database, Välimaa (2001a, b)

^aProfessors, associate professors, lectures, senior assistants and assistants

^bResearchers (14 % in 1999) and other, mainly administrative personnel

^cProject researchers and administrative and assisting personnel

existence of political plurality and the representative basis of its students and faculties, however, the university has always found a consensus and compromise enabling it to balance its intellectual mission with its functional activity. In consequence, it has been able to preserve a credible space for manoeuvre and academic autonomy (Ahola 1995).

The rapid expansion of the educational system has caused the Ministry of Education to initiate a considerable number of structural and administrative reforms in higher education in the 1970s and 1980s. One of these has been a degree reform, which has provoked widespread protest in the academic community: 'It was seen as a threat to the Humboldtian idea of the university. On the other hand, it was criticised for endangering the academic process and for making the university more school-like as institutions'.

The Humboldtian notion of the university was held in high regard in Finnish academia until well into the mid-1980s, when another reform named the 'strategy of self-regulation' was introduced (Hölttä 1995). The main argument of this reform was that academic institutions 'are innovative only as long as they have autonomy to act on their initiative'. This variety of thinking, inspired largely by neoliberalism, faced difficulties during the economic recession that badly affected Finland at the start of the 1990s.

Three changes were introduced: (i) the establishment of polytechnic institutions, (ii) a reform of doctoral education and (iii) the 'national steering system was developed in the direction of practices which would increase competition between and within universities'. These reforms called for a major change in the funding structures of the Finnish universities, and it is in this area that the impact of economic globalisation has become crucial.

In order to improve the performance of the businesses and companies that it owned either entirely or partly, the Finnish government was obliged to undertake their privatisation.⁴ By the same token, the State has lost an important source of continuous revenue that would have been used to cover its expenditure, and in the process a part of the State's economy has been placed at the mercy of fluctuations in the world market. Since a significant part of Finland's economy is closely linked with this market, the government found itself facing a large budget deficit and international debt. This state of affairs has placed a constraint on the State's economy and has obliged it to cut its budget and downsize the funding that it supplies to the welfare State and to education in particular. According to expenditure on higher education, rather than increasing as planned, fell by 4.9 % between 1991 and

⁴A small country like Finland is very sensitive to the positive and negative impacts of globalisation. This has provided tremendous opportunities for it to export its high-tech know-how, contributing considerably to its prosperity and welfare. However, the more the Finnish economy is tied to the international capitalist market and its avatars, the more the funding of its institutions is exposed to fluctuations in the market. Hence, the university, as an institution financed by the State whose financial room for manoeuvre has been reduced under the impact of economic globalisation, finds itself more vulnerable than ever.

Table 3 The financing of Finnish universities (×1,000 FIM mill.)

	1990	1995	1999
Direct budget financing	3,227 (84 %)	4,547 (71 %)	5,815 (65 %)
Outside financing	612 (16 %)	1,879 (29 %)	3,101 (35 %)

Source: KOTA database

1994: ‘The proportion of public funding of higher education by the Ministry of Education decreased by 19 % between 1990 and 1999 (from 84 to 65 %), while external funding from both private and public sources has grown fivefold’ (see Table 3). The working conditions of the academic staff have also been affected by this situation. Between 1990 and 1999 the total number of permanent academic staff (professors and lecturers) has decreased by 6 %, and the number of other staff (e.g. researchers and part-time teachers) on external financing has almost doubled.

As far as decision-making is concerned, however, the universities have gained greater power and autonomy in managing their own budgets, appointing their staff and formulating policies. In fact, ‘the present decision-making structures of Finnish universities are a combination of academic guild traditions, collegial practices and democratic structures’. However, the constraint on budgets has necessitated the introduction of a system of evaluation and self-evaluation of academic management by result (research and teaching), inspired by, and ‘analogical’ to, the logic of the market economy. This, in turn, has placed the activities and performance of the university under constant ‘scrutiny and supervision’. This system has been described by Aittola (2001) in the following terms:

Management by results implies that the members of an academic community, from the top administrators to the individual student, should be constantly reflected in the products and results of their activities. Moreover, the products must be defined so that they can be assessed in academic terms and measured in administrative terms. The goal is to make the products of academic activities in every university and in every discipline and field of study somehow commensurable. (Aittola 2001, p. 112)

This new policy of public management has been adopted in the reorganisation of the function of the Finnish public sector and its funding. The rationale underlying this new management is based on eight elements (‘commandments’). The elements, according to Pollit (1995), ‘... comprise a shopping basket for those who wish to modernise the public sectors of Western industrialised societies ...’, including:

- Cost-cutting
- Capping budgets and seeking greater transparency in resource allocation
- Disaggregating traditional bureaucratic organisations into separate agencies
- Decentralising management authority within public agencies
- Separating the purchaser and provider functions

- Introduction of market and quasi-market-type mechanisms
- Requiring staff to work to performance targets, indicators and output objectives
- Shifting the basis of public employment from permanency and standard national pay and conditions towards term contracts, performance-related pay and an emphasis on service ‘quality’, standard setting and ‘customer responsiveness’

As a consequence of this policy of marketising university knowledge, an implicit and explicit climate of competition within and between departments, within and between faculties and within and between universities has been introduced and institutionalised. The teaching staff find themselves split between three obligations: teaching, conducting their own research and the supervision of students’ research. In all these duties the staff have to meet the negotiated targets set with the faculty and to be efficient, productive, excellent and flexible in the light of the national and international standards. In consequence, the activities of the teaching staff under such circumstances are characterised by a high degree of stress and uncertainty. A large part of their time is spent in writing financing applications and ‘begging’ for sponsorship from external sources. Given this system of evaluation, obtaining external sponsorship is rated as a sign of recognition of intellectual excellence and praiseworthy academic performance, which are therefore rewarded with material bonuses. Quantitatively speaking, this performance-related system of reward also requires the production of prescribed numbers of Masters and PhD theses per year. All of the indicators show that, in order to meet the negotiated target, some departments have sometimes been obliged to relax their norms related to quality. If the number of Masters and PhD theses has increased significantly in recent years, there are serious grounds for questioning the actual quality of all of this bulk of research (Roos 2003).

6 Conclusion

The present Finnish university has no cause to be jealous of the idea of the Humboldtian university in terms of autonomy and intellectual freedom. On the other hand, it does have many reasons to be concerned about its current function, which, consciously or unconsciously, is now deviating from its historical mission of raising the intellectual tone of society and cultivating its critical mind. As a result of the technophile orientation of present-day society and the business-oriented utilitarian conception that prevails in the assessment of knowledge and science, the spirit of the Finnish university is coming increasingly to resemble that of a national company such as Nokia or Finnair, rather than that of an institution of high learning.⁵ It is undeniable that in the field of the natu-

⁵As elsewhere in Europe there is in the Finnish university, as stated by Taylor et al. (2002, p. 118), ‘... a plethora of Business School chairs in traditional, research-led universities, in the now seemingly respectable areas of Marketing, Accountancy – even Credit Management. Appointments such as the latter, if not the former, would have been academically and intellectually unthinkable twenty

ral sciences the Finnish university has produced important achievements in research and in social applications of technology. The human and social sciences, however, which are dependent mainly on the support and sponsorship of the public institutions, are being forced to adopt a market-inspired route that, in the long run, will jeopardise and alienate their very meaning and mission in academia and in society.

The Finnish university has not yet sold its soul to the corporation like many of its American counterparts but the present trend has many features that resemble this process. This is a process based on the logic of how to provide the population with higher learning at a lower cost, with greater efficiency and with excellent output. On the face of it, this equation would appear to be logical, but it should be achievable without incurring major human and social disadvantages. From a temporal and an idealistic perspective, we are remote from the Humboldtian notion of the university. Even though some features have, in principle, remained intact, what has changed is the meaning of the scholar's autonomy, his/her intellectual craft and the quest to accumulate and articulate knowledge. *Homo academicus* is now housed precariously in the 'iron cage' of rationalisation. He/she is expected to think fast, to publish abundantly, to supervise flexibly, to produce profitably and to enrich science and culture.⁶ This polyvalent excellence can rarely be achieved without trivialising the very mission of intellectual activity.

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years earlier. At a more general level, the phenomenon of the global, corporate university located entirely within the private sector and usually with a strong emphasis on IT delivery and a virtual existence, is increasingly common...’.

⁶Polyvalence is becoming one of the magic formulas in academia. Mittelstrass (1994, p. 49) outlines three forms of modernity, which are represented by three heroes: (i) the space of Christopher Columbus (Kolumbus-Welt) (in this space man is seen as discoverer of the world), (ii) the space of G.W. Leibniz (Leibniz-Welt) where there is an endeavour to make the real intelligible and where man is the interpreter of the world and (iii) the space of Leonardo da Vinci (Leonardo-Welt) where man tries to be an artisan and creator of a world that corresponds to his needs. Mittelstrass argues that the contemporary society is in need of a ‘Leonardian university’ (Leonardo-Universität). In the spirit of Leonardo da Vinci (architect, engineer, artist, scholar) this university has to be a multidisciplinary polyvalent institution (see Renaut 1995, p. 147).

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Part III
Globalisation, Education Policy
and Change

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Globalization, the Brain Drain, and Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa

Kingsley Banya and Joseph Zajda

1 Global Poverty

In the past 20 years or so, there has been a renewed emphasis on reducing global poverty and marginality, especially in developing countries (United Nations 2013; UNEP 2014). Concerted efforts have included the eight “Millennium Development Goals” (MDGs) agreed to in 2000 by the United Nations. Poverty in SSA, defined as those living on less than \$1 per day, increased from 70 million to 290 million in 1998 – over 46 % of the total world population. Africa’s share of the world’s poor rose from just below 20 % to closer to a quarter. Recent World Bank estimates substantially revise upwards the number of poor worldwide, as measured by a poverty line of \$1.25 per day at 2005 purchasing power parity (PPP), supposedly equivalent to \$1 per day in 1996 US dollars (Chen and Ravallion 2008; Foster et al. 2013. See also World Bank 2011, 2013a, b).

The World Bank gives a figure of almost 1,400 million people living in poverty in 2005, 384 million which were in the SSA, or more than half of that region’s population. This is the highest percentage in the world for any region, and it is also the region with the greatest increase in the number of poor people both numerically and proportionally. According to earlier World Bank figures, the number of poor people in the developing world decreased slightly from 1,179 million in 1987 to 1,120 million

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in 1998 (Chen and Ravallion 2008; World Bank 2000). Meanwhile, the number of poor in SSA rose from 217 million in 1987 to 291 million in 1998, averaging around 46 % of the SSA population over the period (World Bank 2001b). The proportion of the population with less than US\$1 a day in the least developed African countries was still higher and rising, increasing from an average of 55.8 % in 1965–1969 to 64.9 % in 1995–1999 (UNCTAD 2002). According to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2003), close to half of the African population lives on less than a dollar per day.

Recent data from the World Bank indicates that in developing regions, the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day fell “from 47 % in 1990 to 22 % in 2010. Some 700 million fewer people lived in conditions of extreme poverty in 2010 than in 1990” (*The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013*; see also Edward and Sumner 2013; World Bank 2012a, b, c).

This chapter is divided into three main sections: (1) what constitutes poverty and why measure it, (2) the nexus of brain drain and poverty, and (3) who benefits from the brain drain, in particular the issues of remittance from the diasporas.

1.1 A Word of Caution

Data on poverty and other social indicators are often incomplete and at times inconsistent as reporting standards vary from source to source. The chapter relies primarily on data drawn from official sources and on live databases available at the time of press. These data are reported by major bilateral and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the UN and its numerous affiliates, African Development Bank (ADB), ECA, OECD, and others. National governments also provide data; however, these data are at times incomplete due to various reasons including funding and lack of technical expertise. Most countries do not classify highly skilled migrants separately from all the others. Most governments also do not seem able to answer the question of who is going where to work on what.

Reports by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) provided a good overall view of migrant flows and of the changes in policy of its 34 countries to manage their foreign labor force. Two 2012 reports – “International Migration Outlook” and “Connecting with Diasporas” – were major sources about where in the world migrating populations from different countries were going. However, finding data specifically about highly skilled professionals who migrate to work proved difficult, even in the OECD’s database. According to the head of the OECD’s international migration division, Jean-Christophe Dumont (2013), several groups have been trying to develop comprehensive datasets about the migration of professionals, with no success so far. The main difficulty lies in the differences between the systems each country uses to manage migration flows. The lack of comparable indicators, metrics, and data complicates measure of poverty and migration.

2 Who Are the Poor?

Poor people live on low-income budget, live in poor housing and public services, and use the vulnerable environment to survive. Not only this situation increases these people to be exposed to contaminate and vulnerable environment, but it also triggers natural disasters like floods, droughts, and landslides to happen. As a result, in the long term this condition undermines sustainable development and increases migration and unemployment. For example, Africa has the youngest population in the world, and some 60 % of Africa's unemployment are reported to be between the ages of 15 and 24 (see Table 1).

According to the World Bank, poverty is “pronounced deprivation in well-being.” The conventional view links well-being primarily to command over commodities, so the poor are those who do not have enough income or consumption to put them above some adequate minimum threshold. This view sees poverty largely in monetary terms. Poverty can also be tied to a specific type of consumption; for example, people could be house poor or food poor or health poor. These dimensions of poverty often can be measured directly, for instance, by measuring malnutrition or literacy. The broadest approach to well-being (and poverty) focuses on the capability of the individual to function in society. Poor people often lack key capabilities; they may have inadequate income or education, or be in poor health, or feel powerless, or lack political freedoms (World Bank 2000).

Another widely accepted definition of poverty is that the poor are those who cannot secure enough nutrition to perform adequately (UNDP 2002). People who are undernourished are more vulnerable to disease, tend to develop anthropometric deficiencies, may become brain damaged and lethargic, and, in general, are less able to lead a healthy life with sufficient energy to carry out productive tasks (i.e., labor market, domestic, or educational activities) in satisfactory manner (Chambers 1983; Deininger and Olinto 2000). In this sense, extreme poverty is absolute and, in principle, individual specific, as the nutritional needs of individuals change with age, sex, and

Table 1 Youth unemployment at select African countries

Youth unemployment at select African countries		
Algeria	10.2 %	(2012 est.)
Botswana	17.8 %	(2009)
Kenya	40 %	(2008)
Namibia	51.2 %	(2008)
Nigeria	23.9 %	(2011)
Sierra Leone	45.9 %	(2012)
Sudan	20 %	(2012)
Senegal	48 %	(2007)
Tunisia	18.8 %	(2012)

Source: CIA World Fact Book (2010)

life conditions. The measurement of extreme poverty is best done through indicators of nutritional status, such as the incidence of nutritional illness (e.g., marasmus), chronic malnutrition (e.g., stunting), or low birth weights.

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that cannot easily be reduced to a few quantitative indicators (Alemayehu 2002). Debates on poverty tend to be conducted in terms of material deprivation, as measured by income, consumption, or expenditure. Such measures have the advantage of enabling comparison between individuals and households, but poverty as experienced in poor rural and urban individuals and household, and communities, is not simply a matter of low incomes and expenditures. For example, Chambers' model of the "deprivation trap" distinguishes five clusters of disadvantage: physical weakness, isolation, poverty (in the narrower sense of consumption levels), vulnerability, and powerlessness (Ajayi 1997; Alemayehu 2002; Bhagwati and Srinivasan 2002; Chambers 1983; Shimeles 2004; Srinivasan and Wallack 2003; UNCTAD 2004, 2010; UNDP 2002).

The main focus is on whether households or individuals have enough resources to meet their needs. Typically, poverty is then measured by comparing individuals' income or consumption with some defined threshold below which they are considered to be poor. This is the most conventional view – poverty is seen largely in monetary terms – and is the starting point for most analyses of poverty (Alemayehu 2006; Shimeles 2004; UNCTAD 2006; UNDP 2002).

Another view about well-being (and hence poverty) is to ask whether people are able to obtain a *specific* type of consumption good: Do they have enough food? Or shelter? Or healthcare? Or education? Or sustainable access to safe drinking water? In this view, the analyst goes beyond the more traditional monetary measure of poverty: Nutritional poverty might be measured by examining whether children are stunted or wasted; and educational poverty might be measured by asking whether people are literate or how much formal schooling they have received (UNDP 2007). The relationship between poverty and education is particularly important because of the key role played by education in raising economic growth and reducing poverty. The better educated have higher incomes and thus are much less likely to be poor and can therefore migrate more readily (UNDP 2006; UNESCO 2008; World Bank 2001a, b).

Yet another way to measure poverty is the availability of safe water service. The Millennium Development Goal (MDG) for environmental sustainability, agreed by the United Nations, includes the target to halve by the year 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water (Annan 2000).

The UN Water reported in 2005 that water-related hazards endanger the lives of millions of people and the environment and might hinder social economy activities. The MDGs emphasize the importance of the link between risk reduction and sustainable development. Access to water and sanitation are fundamental precursors in the fight to alleviate poverty around the globe. Research conducted by the UK-based nonprofit organization WaterAid showed that there is a significant connection between access to water and poverty reduction. Improved water and sanitation increases productivity, which then improves the country's economy.

Freshwater resources around the world are dwindling, and inadequate access to water is especially severe in the developing world, which lacks the infrastructure and coping mechanisms of industrialized nations. Worldwide, 1.1 billion people lack access to safe water, and 2.6 billion people lack basic sanitation. Every 15 s, a child dies of a preventable waterborne disease, amounting to two million children annually. The World Bank has estimated that by 2035, three billion people who currently live in severe-water-scarcity areas – especially in Africa, the Middle East, or South Asia – will have no access to safe water, period. This is a staggering prognosis (UNDP 2011).

The ADB and the Poverty Environment Partnership (PEP), an informal network of development agencies from UNDP and UNEP, have worked together to create the Water and Poverty Initiative, which has set up a framework to understand the relationship. There are four elements of poverty reduction in the PEP framework: enhanced livelihood security through the use of water for income-producing activity, reduce health risks and mortality rates through improved sanitation, reduced vulnerability to water-related environment hazards and disasters, and pro-poor economic growth through the active participation of all stakeholders.

Increasingly, experts, including those at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), have emphasized that improving water supply and sanitation is key to reducing many aspects of poverty. The African Development Bank (ADB) also sees water management as a vital component to eradicating poverty and sustaining economic growth. According to UNEP, “Without adequate clean water, there can be no escape from poverty”.

The fact that 53 % of people in rural SSA lacked access to safe water in 2000 as opposed to only 17 % of their urban counterparts (UNICEF/WHO 2000) illustrates the disparity between urban and rural areas where the majority of the poor live and have the need for safe drinking water for all. A more comprehensive approach to well-being is the one articulated by Sen (1987), who argues that well-being comes from a capability to function in society. Thus, poverty arises when people lack key capabilities and so have inadequate income or education, or poor health due to lack of safe water and sanitation, or insecurity, or low self-confidence, or a sense of powerlessness, or the absence of rights such as freedom of speech. Viewed in this way, poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and less amenable to simple solutions. For instance, while higher average incomes will certainly help reduce poverty, these may need to be accompanied by measures to empower the poor, or insure them against risks, or to address specific weaknesses such as inadequate availability of schools or a corrupt health service (UNDP 2006).

A brief example from two African countries illustrates the vital link between safe water supply and health and poverty. In Uganda, the government is struggling to alleviate poverty through improved sanitation and the eradication of waterborne diseases. The government spends US\$20 million per year to overcome the problem; the Water and Sanitation Program Africa Region (WSP-AF) reported that 440 children in Uganda die every week of waterborne disease. Some 40,000,000 workdays are lost annually due to sanitation-related illnesses. WSP-AF has also reported that 90 % of wastewater in Africa is untreated, further degrading the environment and endangering people’s lives.

Poor sanitation and hygiene is also a national crisis in Sierra Leone. Currently, only 15.1 % of the country's population has access to water, and only 10 % has access to basic sanitation. As a result, 250 children die from water-related disease annually. In 2012, there was a major outbreak of cholera because of lack of safe water supply and sanitation. Foreign donors, including the UK government, had to donate close to 3 million US dollars to stem the death of nearly 150,000 people a week.

3 Why Measure the Poor?

In order to help the poor, there should be target interventions that, among other things, ensure that it is poor who are getting the help, not others. For the various interventions to work, one needs to know who the poor are. When properly done, poverty profile can provide useful data that examine patterns of poverty by geography (region, urban/rural, mountain/plain), by community characteristics (white/black, school/lack of schools, medical facilities/lack of harvest), and by household characteristics (educated head of household, size of household, single or coupled, income middle class, or working).

One of the major reasons for discussing poverty is to ensure that poor countries can reasonably plan the various ways to alleviate poverty. In order to appear on the political, economic, and social agenda, poverty issues need to be investigated. The poor need a voice in the deliberative council of governments where major decisions are made that affect their lives. As Ravallion (1998) argues, “[A] credible measure of poverty can be a powerful instrument for focusing the attention of policy makers on the living conditions of the poor.” This makes it difficult to ignore the issue of poverty.

Poverty profiles can help in targeting development resources toward poorer areas. Because development resources are finite, prioritizing who gets what and in what region can best be answered by a poverty profile. For example, most survey data (like the socioeconomic survey of several countries in SSA) are aggregated to show the largest area of poverty in a country. In the case of SSA, poverty is comparatively lower in urban areas with the capital versus the rural regions. Similarly, a well-done poverty profile can help with employment targeting. The ability for households to escape poverty depends on their earnings from employment. Those households headed by someone working in the government are least likely to be poor. By contrast, these households headed by farmers tend to be poorer (Ravallion 1992; United Nations 2000; UNDP 2006; World Bank 2006).

Targeting is also important at an international level. Institutions, including the World Bank and aid agencies, have limited resources and would like to know how best to deploy those resources to combat poverty. They need to know where in the world poor people are located, and this in turn requires viable information on poverty in every country. All developed countries and about two-thirds of developing countries have undertaken nationally representative household surveys to collect

information on consumption and/or income; in many cases, these surveys have been repeated over time – as noted earlier (Apodaca 2011; UNDP 2006; World Bank 2000). This survey is done through the World Bank’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). First introduced for Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) in 1999, this approach begins with a country-driven policy paper setting out a long-term strategy for fighting poverty and rooted in the latest available data and analysis.

Successful efforts to target policies and programs to help poor people also require an understanding of why they are poor. It is integral to the process of finding workable solutions and managing trade-offs. For instance, does a tax on rice exports help the poor? Anecdotal evidence indicates that such policy will favor urban residents who eat rice and will hurt rice farmers, but more information is needed before concluding that the policy would help poor people. Or will providing sewers in slums help the poor residents, or might it worsen their lot as higher rents force them to move and provide a windfall to landowners? Questions such as these cannot be answered adequately without viable information that measures poverty (ECA 1989; Ravallion 1998; UNCTAD 2004; World Bank 1945).

4 The Brain Drain and Poverty

Globalization and internationalization have hastened the spread of new values and approaches into every aspect of life including education and the “brain drain.” The nomenclature “brain drain” was first coined by the Royal Society to describe the emigration of “scientist and technologists” to North America from postwar Europe (<http://www.orcdoobserver.org/new/fullstory.php/aid673>).

Highly skilled workers in developing countries leave their homeland to work in one of the rich nations. It is perhaps best known in relation to healthcare professionals, but it also applies to many other groups, including computer software experts and a range of engineering specialists. The numbers are large. Some 214 million people are international migrants, living in a different country from the one in which they were born. They are a very diverse group, with a very wide range of skill levels. There are millions of people with high-level skills who end up working for at least part of their careers outside their home country. Some take work they are overqualified for, because it still pays better than what is available at home. But others do not use their skills.

The strengthened international ties and the persistent cross-national inequalities together explain cross-national variations in professional migration to advanced countries. International ties further promote Western value system, as relationship is often asymmetrical with developing countries. Both money and other technological know-how tend to come from the West and thus have controlling influence in any agreement between developed and developing countries.

Migration is the result of individuals and households weighing the utility that is attainable under different migration regimes with the utility from not migrating; a migration regime is defined as a combination of place (the village of origin in the

case of non-migration, internal migrant destinations, or foreign destinations) and sector of employment. Migration entails a discrete, dichotomous, or polychotomous choice. A reduced-form approach, in which income or expected income is replaced by a vector of exogenous (i.e., human and household capital) variables.

The developing countries that lose talents to developed countries view it as having an adverse effect on their socioeconomic and political development, as it is often the young/adult that leaves with the knowledge, skills, and sometimes entrepreneurial acumen, resources in short supply in source countries. This increases poverty in developing countries. Most often the emigrant is trained at the expense of the state, in terms of scholarships and grants. The overarching purpose of the host countries in encouraging immigration is to better improve the human resources as their population ages. As the population ages in host countries, there is a scramble to supplement them with highly educated young adults from source countries. The fact that most migrants already have a skill and sometimes a college degree from source countries makes them especially attractive as the host country does not have to spend large sums of money to educate them.

There are several trends that lead to brain drain. In this chapter, we examine broadly five that cut across family and countries, namely, economic interdependency, internationalization of higher education, cultural exchange, linkage, and fellowship/scholarship.

4.1 Economic Interdependency

Economic interdependency has created basic conditions for the flow of professionals from developing countries of the South to the developed West. Since World War II, economic restructuring has occurred several times. Restructuring is characterized by two interconnected, complementary developments in both developed and developing countries. Modern technology advancement has generated rapid economic development and transition from an industrial (secondary) economy to a service economy (e.g., administration of capitalist, information knowledge management, and services), which has together induced a large demand for the highly trained: This demand has exceeded the supply of professionals that advanced continues can effectively produce.

The availability of a sizable group of highly trained professionals becomes a necessary condition of the countries' development of capitalism. Economic growth and investment in infrastructures have generated a favorable research environment. These conditions have, in turn, produced better working conditions and relatively higher earnings. As a result, the high demand for professionals has led to the adoption of an immigration policy favorable to the admission of immigrant, for example, the American J visa, the HIB visa program, and the Canadian point system. Excellent research, working, and living conditions have attracted a large number of foreign professionals to seek employment in advanced countries.

Technological advances and economic growth in advanced countries have resulted in the outflows of capital (in the form of investment, loans, etc.) and technologies (e.g., machinery, equipment, and technological patents) into the South in search of greater profits. Since the 1980s, a genuine world economy has been emerging. Direct investment in the South from Western countries has been on the rise because labor costs in developing countries are cheaper. Improvements in industrial techniques have drastically shortened the turnover time of fixed capital. In short, the business environment has improved in the past couple of years. A large part of industrial manufacturing and processing has moved to relatively less developed countries. With a more sophisticated labor force, high-level technologies have moved to the South, for example, South Africa.

The flow of capital and resources to developing countries has contributed to the formation of a pool of potential professional emigrants and to the emergence of emigrations as an actual opinion. Foreign direct investment in LDCs creates opportunities for local professionals to be employed by transnational corporations as middle-level or higher-level staff in order to maintain the smooth functioning of business. These professionals often receive short-term training in advanced countries, which facilitates their understanding of the differences between the advanced host country and their home country. Frequent contacts with foreign colleagues expose them to life/work styles, norms, and values of advanced Western countries and gradually nurture their ideological and objective associations with those countries (“Westernization”). In addition, these professionals receive salaries much higher than their peer’s employer outside foreign firms. Experiences in foreign firms have also made these professionals employable in advanced countries. Thus, installing a different value system may be at odds with traditional ones.

Thus, economic interdependency between developing and developed countries heightens local professionals’ awareness of international disparities and promotes their material and cultural aspirations. The opportunities of networking grant them easy access to information and prepare them for the international labor market.

4.2 Push and Pull Factors

Many economic and noneconomic factors are likely to explain migrants’ decisions. The empirical literature puts forward that emigration rates depend on many push factors at origin, pull factors at destination, cultural and geographic distance, and immigration policies. The differences in development reflect standard push and pull factors. From the receiving countries’ point of view, they represent pull factors, while from the sending countries’ prospective, they can be considered push factors.

Push and pull factors intertwine and mingle through the process of globalization. Global interactions in higher education and economic arenas create the necessary conditions for professional migration, but they along are not sufficient to generate the brain drain. It is unequal development across countries that motivates profes-

sionals of sending countries to emigrate. Global inequality in development is by no means a new phenomenon. However, in the past several decades, the gap between poor and rich countries has widened. According to the World Bank, in 1950 the average GNP per capita of low-income countries was \$164, while that of industrialized countries averaged \$3,841, or 23 times higher. By 1990 GNP per capita of low-income countries rose to an average of only \$350, as compared to \$19,590 of industrialized countries – approximately 60 times higher.

Although the poor did not become poorer, the rich did get substantially richer. The globalization process has benefited developed countries more than developing countries because developed countries are in an advantageous position to utilize and maximize worldwide resources including labor, raw materials, and unequal exchanges. Several dimensions of global inequality bear most directly on professionals' decisions to emigrate and the size of a country's brain drain. Some of the dimensions of inequality are the following:

- A. *Differences in living conditions.* Living conditions include standards of living and quality of life. Differences in living condition provide incentives for emigration. The larger the difference between a sending country and the West, the more likely the professionals of that country are to migrate to the West. For example, according to the Human Development Index, the average life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa is 45 years, compared to the United States 80 (United Nations 2009). There is the usual inverted-U relationship between migration and GDP per capita in source countries. This result has been found in literature (e.g., Rotte and Vogler 2000; Mayda 2006). At low levels, income has a positive impact on the migration rate since it alleviates liquidity constraints. As income increases further, the income difference with the destination countries falls, which reduces the incentive to migrate.
- B. *Differences in work and research conditions.* In terms of education, work and research conditions encompass funds for research and development, research equipment and related facilities, libraries, books and periodicals, competent technicians and other supporting personnel, etc. Excellent research conditions in the West attract talented human resources, while poorer conditions in the home country encourage professionals to leave and discourage those studying in the West from returning. Hence, differences in work and research conditions between a sending country and the West should be positively associated with the level of professional migration.
- C. *Educational opportunities for children.* One of the important motivations for professional migration is the perceived educational opportunities for the next generation. Professionals consider not only their own lives and careers but also their children's social mobility. Less favorable educational opportunities in the home country stimulate emigration to countries where better opportunities abound. African states tend to have more generous education policies and/or benefit from the outsourcing of education given their geographical and linguistic proximity with large and rich developed countries. Skilled migration prospects raise the return to education and result in a brain gain, i.e., in additional investment in education (Beine et al. 2007a, b). Estimates by Beine et al. (2007a, b) suggest

that the brain gain is equal to about half the brain drain in small developing states, so that the actual (net) loss of human capital is equal to only half the brain drain level. This means that the proportion of educated would be 20–30 % higher in small states in the absence of the brain drain. Thus, as far as developing countries are concerned, three out of four skilled Caribbean individuals live outside their country of origin, two out of four in East Asia and the Pacific, and two out of five in sub-Saharan Africa. Though sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest brain drain among these three regions, its schooling gap is more than double that in East Asia and the Pacific and over three times that in Latin America and the Caribbean. Sub-Saharan high schooling gap is due mainly to the wider income gap with developed countries and the smaller share of skilled individuals in the population. Moreover, the brain drain for all developing countries (7.4 %) is over twice that of high-income countries (3.5 %), and the schooling gap is close to four times as high (4.9 % vs. 1.3 %).

- D. *Sociopolitical conditions*. These act as a push factor using indicators and governance. “Political stability” and “absence of violence” and “government effectiveness” can all contribute to migration of skilled workers. The first indicator measures “perceptions of the likelihood that the government in power will be destabilized or overthrown by possibly unconstitutional and/or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism.” The second indicator measures “quality of public service provision, the quality of the bureaucracy and their competence”. Political conditions influence professionals’ decisions to emigrate as evidenced by the large-scale emigration of the highly trained in times of political instability and persecution. For example, Nigeria in the early 1970s lost a large number of highly qualified professionals because of the civil war. Thousands from the breakaway East never returned on a permanent basis to live in the country. Zimbabwe provides a classical example. Recently, a UNESCO-sponsored initiative to stem the academic brain drain collapsed, as lecturers left the country. At the University of Technology at Chinhoyi, academic staff trained in grid computing left the institution for safer pastures. A report by the parliamentary portfolio committee indicated that because of brain drain, Zimbabwe has a vacancy rate of 63 % for medical school lecturers; 62 % for nursing tutors; over 50 % for pharmacy, radiology, and laboratory personnel; and 80 % for midwives. A lecturer shortage crisis at the University of Zimbabwe was revealed by the parliamentary education committee in February. It is reported that the university’s departments of animal science, community medicine, metallurgy, and clinical pharmacology required 20, 18, 13, and 11 lecturers, respectively – but had nobody in post. Computer science and veterinary sciences both needed 13 lecturers. Psychiatry, geo-informatics, and mining engineering also had one lecturer each but needed 16, 10, and 8, respectively. The department of medicine had eight lecturers but needs 26, while anesthetic, statistics, anatomy, and hematology each had two lecturers instead of 16, 11, 10, and 8 (Mashinings 2010). An atmosphere of intellectual freedom lures the highly skilled, while severe restrictions of expression considered vital for scholarship and scientific research preclude staying in the home country.

4.3 Professional Employment Opportunities

The problem of structural imbalance often vexes some countries, especially developing ones. On the one hand, there are very few professionals, and yet some of the professionals cannot find suitable employment – the so-called graduate underemployment. This may be caused by “educational surplus,” poor planning, monopolization of senior positions, ineffective demand for foreign trained professionals, or a combination of the foregoing factors. A lack of employment opportunities in the home country therefore compels professionals to leave for countries with brighter employment prospects.

4.4 Internationalization of Higher Education

The growing articulation in higher education between developed and developing countries has helped propel the brain drain. Theoretically, the articulation of higher education is bidirectional, involving mutual exchange and influence between sending and receiving countries. In practice, however, the impact of advanced countries’ higher education systems on developed countries has been predominant due to advantages of accumulated scientific knowledge, an advanced technological base, and requisite economic and social infrastructures. This serves the political, economic, and social interest of the West.

The most direct form of articulation of higher education is the presence of foreign students. Before World War II, foreign students were concentrated in renowned European universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, and the University of London. Well-known American universities such as Harvard, Yale, and MIT also received some foreign students. After World War II, the United States emerged as the largest recipient country of international students. For example, in the past three decades, the number of international students enrolled in US institutions has increased substantially from 48,486 in 1960 to 134,959 in 1970, 286,343 in 1980, 386,851 in 1990, and 419,585 in 1992, and it is estimated today at over half a million yearly (there was a significant dip because of 9/11, but the situation has stabilized). China alone contributed about 128,609 students (Institute of International Education, 2002; *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 11, 2011). The presence of large foreign students enhances the prospect of the brain drain. For example, in the medical and education fields, a fairly large number of trainees do not return to their country of origin. The developed countries benefit from such talent through various schemes, like temporary work permits.

4.5 Cultural Exchange

The training in advanced countries facilitates students and scholars from developed countries in mastering the English language, technical terminology, a shared body of scientific knowledge, common research methods, and a style of thinking. These

separations make the “students” employable in advanced countries. The training also weakens their traditional and nationalist values. By contrast, Western values associated with “progress” and “modernity” are facilitated. Although family and social ties with the home country may remain for these professional migrants, political and national commitments tend to attenuate. Once other conditions come into play, these professionals will seek permanent employment in advanced countries. Because of their Western education and values, their interests are often consonant with the needs of the advanced countries, which tend to devise immigration policies to actively recruit them.

In the case of the United States, foreign-born professionals could become immigrants via adjustment to permanent resident status after procurement of employment (J-1 and J-2 Visas). Many professionals of sending countries have become immigrants through this channel. Here there is a conflict between the interest of the countries sending the students and the host institutions. Once Western values have been inculcated, it becomes difficult for students to go back home. Once individuals migrate, there are sometimes serious cultural difficulties in fully integrating into the system. It is a well-known factor that several highly qualified and skillful immigrants end up doing jobs below their qualifications, especially in large urban centers. It is not unknown for advanced degree holders to be employed driving taxis in cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., etc. Thus, integration to the host country is often difficult and painful.

4.6 Linkage

Even in cases where students and scholar do not return to their home countries after training in advanced countries, their influential positions in education and research institutions as well as government enable them to contribute to the brain drain sometimes indirectly. These returnees have a tendency to use textbooks, teaching methods, and evaluation standards of advanced countries, with which they are familiar. They also tend to favor the curriculum and management systems of the countries where they were trained. All of these have an impact on the systems of higher education in their home countries. Many institutions of higher education in developing countries have been heavily influenced by Western curricula. In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, former colonial powers such as Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, etc. have had major influence on their curricula. This is not surprising because many who played a major role in planning and modernizing these institutions as well as earlier political leaders were trained in Western universities. Colonial links tend to lower the cultural distance between host countries and their former colonies, including superior knowledge and information on the destination country, resulting in lower migration costs. In addition, because of returnees’ experiences and connections in advanced countries, they continue to recommend or arrange to send their outstanding students to study in countries of their former training. This process reproduces a large number of students abroad, their subsequent emigration, and their continuing influences on home country development if and when they choose to return. This again enhances the value system of the host country.

4.7 Fellowship/Scholarships

These are other forms of educational exchange in addition to studying abroad. For instance, Western countries establish schools or programs overseas modeling their own educational systems, especially in the former colonies (perpetuating the hegemony of the West). Indeed, partnership between North and South institutions has become a major means of brain drain (Banya 2010). They send teachers to the South to teach English to other courses. The West influences higher education in developing countries through its foreign aid grants and interuniversity programs sponsored by Western universities or funded by private foundations such as Fulbright Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller, etc. While it is true that the articulation of higher education primarily reflects the dependency of the South on Western countries for training high-level manpower, Western countries also send their students to study language, culture, history, art, and folk medicine or to conduct academic research in the South.

These exchanges increase ties between researchers, teachers, and students of the North and those of the South. Through frequent interactions with Western teachers (such as the American Peace Corps, the British VSO, and the Canadian USO), students, and researchers, professionals or potential professionals in the South acquire working English and other skills, which may be in demand in the West. Extensive interaction with Western culture establishes personal and institutional networks, which increase the probability of emigrations to the West. Linguistic proximity favors the exchange of labor between countries. Skills acquired prior to migration are not equally transferable to all potential host countries. The return to foreign human capital is higher in countries sharing the same language or having the same education system, for example, migration from Anglophone and Francophone countries in Africa to English- and French-speaking host countries. The literature on migrants' assimilation reveals that migrants obtain a substantial return for their language capacity, especially skilled migrants. Chiswick et al. (2002) and Chiswick and Miller (2004) found a strong correlation between language skills and immigrants' earnings.

5 Who Benefits from the Brain Drain?

More than 215 million people (about 3% of the world populations) live outside their countries of birth. International migration – the movement of people across international boundaries – has enormous implications for growth and welfare in both origin and destination countries. According to the United Nations, over 700 million migrate within their countries. In the coming decades, demographic forces, globalization, and climate change will increase migration pressure both within and across borders.

Such movement of people across international borders has enormous economic, social, and cultural implications for both origin and destination countries. The brain

drain directly impacts income and poverty levels in the countries of origins. By moving to areas where workers are more productive and valued, migration leads to direct increase in global output and income. Remittances to developing countries are estimated to reach \$372 billion in 2011. The overall economic gains from international migration for sending countries, receiving countries, and the migrants themselves are substantial (WB Migrants and Remittance, 2013). By allowing workers to move to where they are more productive, migration results in an increase in aggregate output and income.

Remittances to developing countries are estimated to have reached \$372 billion in 2011, an increase of 12 % over the previous year, according to figures contained in the latest issue of the World Bank's Migration and Development Brief. Global remittance flows, including those to high-income countries, were an estimated \$501 billion in 2011. The top recipients of officially recorded remittances in 2011 were India (\$64 billion), China (\$62 billion), Mexico (\$24 billion), and the Philippines (\$23 billion). Other large recipients included Egypt, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria, Vietnam, and Lebanon. However, as a share of GDP, remittances are largest in smaller and lower-income countries. For example, during the 10 years of war in Sierra Leone, the lifeblood of the country depended on diaspora remittance, as there was hardly any functioning government. More than 15 years later, the country still depended heavily on remittance.

5.1 Advantages of Remittance

Remittances sent home by migrants to developing countries are three times the size of official development assistance and can have profound implications for development and human welfare. They can provide an important lifeline for millions of poor households. Remittances can contribute to lower poverty and to the building up of human and financial capital for the poor. Despite the current global economic weakness, remittance flows are expected to continue growing, with global remittances expected to reach \$615 billion by 2014, of which \$467 billion will flow to developing countries. Although remittance costs have fallen steadily in recent years, they remain high, especially in Africa and in small nations where remittances provide a lifeline to the poor.

Reducing the cost of remittance transfers produces significant benefits to migrants and their families and to receiving countries more broadly as the steady stream of foreign currency improves a country's creditworthiness for external borrowing. Existing evidence of remittance in a variety of countries is somewhat mixed. Among the more reliable and convincing studies are those based on household surveys. For example, the 2003 Mexico National Rural Household Survey suggests that (a) both internal and international remittances have an equalizing effect on incomes in high-migration areas but not in low-migration ones, (b) international remittances reduce rural poverty more than internal remittances, and (c) the

larger the share of households with migrants in a region, the more favorable the effect of increases in remittances on rural poverty (Mora and Taylor 2007).

Although such a study has not been done in the sub-Saharan African country, anecdotal evidence points to similar results. Remittances lead to enhanced human capital accumulation and entrepreneurship in origin households. This results in less child labor, greater schooling, start-up businesses, self-employment, and a higher rate of entry into capital-intensive enterprise. Individual, family, and human capital characteristics may affect remittance behavior, migrants' wages, and migrants' willingness to share their earning with the household through remittances. Finally, individual, family, and community variables may influence migration costs, as well as the ability to finance these costs. Wealth and migration networks may place a particularly important role in this regard (Lopez and Schiff 1998).

Remittances generally reduce the level and severity of poverty and frequently lead to higher human capital accumulation; larger health and education expenditures; greater access to information and communication technologies; improved formal financial sector access, small business investment, and entrepreneurship; reduced child labor; and households' preparedness for adverse shocks such as droughts, earthquakes, and cyclones. Diasporas can be an important source of trade, capital, technology, and knowledge for origin countries. Diaspora bonds can mobilize diaspora savings to finance specific public and private sector project and help improve the debt profile of the destination country. Most importantly, some of those skilled workers do ultimately return home (the *Economist*, 2011; World Bank 2012a, b, c). The establishment of the "Silicon Valley of India" is an example of returnees opening their own enterprises, after initially draining India's resources of computer experts.

5.2 *Disadvantages of Remittance*

Brain drain is an economic cost, since emigrants usually take with them the fraction of value of their training sponsored by the government or other organizations. It is parallel to capital flight, which refers to the same movement of financial capital out of the country. Brain drain is often associated with de-skilling of emigrants in their country of destination, while their country of emigration experiences the draining of skilled individuals. Endogenous growth theory indicates that human capital (especially education and health) generates positive externalities (Lucas 1988). Things that are lost with the emigration of educated workers are (a) the positive effects on the productivity of colleagues, employees, and other workers; (b) the provision of key public services with positive externalities, such as education and health, particularly for transmissible diseases; (c) the fiscal externalities associated with the fact that the taxes they pay are larger than the value of the public services they consume and the public funds invested in their education; and (d) their contribution to the debate on important social issues and their impact on policy and institutions (World Bank 2001a, b, 2012a, b, c).

The fact that highly skilled migrants are more in demand than others points to the skill level recipient countries like to attract; for example, it is estimated that in the United Kingdom, 38 % of immigrants have a degree-level qualification compared to the 18 % of the UK-born population.

5.3 *Sub-Saharan Africa*

Being the least developed continent, Africa suffers far greater from the brain drain than any other continent. It has been estimated that although the share of skilled workers in the total labor force in the region is only 4 %, it comprises more than 40 % of all migrants.

Thus, as much as 20 % of all skilled workers have emigrated out of sub-Saharan Africa especially from Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and Ethiopia (<http://www.theafricamonitor.com/news/ethiopian/april2007>).

It has been estimated that Africa lost an estimated 80,000 middle- and high-level managers between 1990 and 1995 and about 23,000 qualified academic professionals emigrate each year in search of better working conditions. It is estimated that the brain drain costs the continent as a whole over \$20 billion in the employment of 250,000 plus expatriate professionals annually (Pollution Research Essay, 2001). The highest migration rates, in terms of the proportion of the total educated force, are from Africa, followed by the Caribbean and Central America. The example of South Africa illustrates the problem. A member of BRICS (India, China, Russia, and Brazil), South Africa is closely integrated into all aspects of globalization, from culture, economics, political, and social. It is therefore easier for skilled South Africans to emigrate to the West, which seems to have insatiable desire for trained professionals, especially in the health sciences than in any other country in the region.

The past 20 years has witnessed a steady departure of professionals in the healthcare area, resulting in detrimental effect on the fight to deal with HIV/AIDS pandemic (<http://www.equinetofafrica.org/bibl/docs/healthpersonnel.pdf>).

The nation losses skills that could have instead contributed to developing the local economy or health services, and it appears that the investment in educating them has been wasted. Because of the legacy of apartheid, most of the medical professors leaving the country follow racial contours, i.e., white South Africans move to Western countries. For example, in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, one out of five of the provinces' 1,530 doctors – 17 % – earned their first medical degree in South Africa (C.M.A.J. 2001). The 260 physicians represent the equivalent of 5 years' output from the University of Saskatchewan's Medical School. About 54 % of the provinces' doctors were trained outside Canada. According to South Africa's High Commissioner to Canada, close to 1,510 South African physicians live in Canada, in addition to nurses, oncologists, radiologists, pharmacists, and other specialists (http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/chapters/PMC_807401)- CMAJ Chapter, 2001. The poaching of South African talents is not limited to the health field only but includes teachers as well and other professionals who leave in search of better working conditions.

The problems of brain drain and its effect on the economic, social, and political aspects of the region have warranted the active involvement of leading African politicians; for example, former South African President Thabo Mbeki in his 1998 “African Renaissance” speech stated that

In our world in which the generation of new knowledge and its application to change the human condition is the engine which moves human society further away from barbarism, do we not have need to recall Africa’s hundreds of thousands of intellectuals back from their places of emigration in Western Europe and North America, to rejoin those who remain still within our shores! I dream of the day when these, the African mathematicians and computer specialists in Washington and New York, the African physicists, engineers, doctors, business managers and economists, will return from London and Manchester and Paris and Brussels to add to the African pool of brain power, to enquire into and find solutions to Africa’s problems and challenges, to open the African door to the world of knowledge to elevate Africa’s place within the universe of research the information of new knowledge, education and information. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/ni/African/1605242stm>)

As a former minister of education remarked, “apart from the financial losses the region’s economic growth is at stake, as highly skilled individuals depart for the west...”¹ Another frequently made comment was that “...we have sizable number of our professionals, such as engineers, doctors, university professors in the rich North. No one wants to return home after their studies abroad”.²

The lack of reliable data on migration and remittance flows makes it difficult to be definitive about remittance costs. A World Bank coordinated work group “Global Remittances Working Group” (GWRG) has a goal of reducing the cost of remittances by five percentage points in 5 years. Remittance cost can be very expensive by unit, for example, for every 100 US dollars remitted through the banking system costs up to ten and more on the black market. The fact that the received countries have different commission fees adds to the difficulties in the analysis of remittances development impact. Some countries charge nominal fees, whereas others may charge substantially more in the same part of the world, for example, Sierra Leone and Ghana in the same region. The integrity of money transfer systems – currently there are 200 major remittance corridors – is sometimes questionable.

Although there is a lot of resilience among migrant workers in remittance amounts, even when they are adversely affected by the slow growth in the global economy, the sacrifice they make has not yet been fully studied. They make savings through cut in consumption and savings on rent in order to continue to remit money home. Thus, they lower their living standards to help relatives/friends back home, at a steep cost to themselves. Closely related to their sacrifices immigrants make for those back home, is the strong dependence that is created, where by requests are constantly been made for more help from home.

There have been several reported cases whereby relatives have been accused of fraud because of misunderstanding and outright lies between the receiving and sending partners. The prevailing area of concern seems to be the construction of houses, where reliability of partners has often been questioned. Anecdotal evidence among several immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa points to the issue of “trust” that contributes to blunt the favorable image of remittances.

An important part of the brain drain phenomenon that needs close attention is “brain waste.” There are some evidences that not all migrants are employed in high-pay, professional positions. There are several examples of professionals leaving their home countries who are “underemployed” because their host countries do not accept their initial qualification or training. Many times, the immigrants are expected to retake professional exams and do apprenticeship all over again. For example, in the United States, Cubans who may be highly qualified in medicine are expected to pass exams but, because of barriers of the English language, could not pass even after several trials. Sometimes in frustration, many work as nurse’s aide and porters in hospitals and clinics, which is clearly an example of brain waste. Similarly, there are hundreds of Africans who studied in the host countries but cannot get professional jobs for one reason or the other, including lack of human capital and their accent. Many end up as cab drivers in major cities in Europe and North America.

6 Evaluation

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the brain drain is not a purely academic problem in sub-Saharan Africa. The advent of market economy and globalization has brought nations even closer resulting in relatively easy migration to where standards of living are higher. Apart from the financial losses, the region’s economic growth is at stake, as highly skilled individuals depart for the West. The skilled people whom the regions can least afford – medical personals and teachers – are the ones moving out and being replaced by expatriates from the West at a far higher cost. The irony of the situation is that in certain fields, medicine in particular, there are far more doctors from developing countries living in the West than in their home countries in Africa. Efforts to reverse this trend such as African recruit (NEPAD and the Commonwealth Business Council) and a UNESCO-sponsored initiative to stem the academic brain drain in five African countries have met only with limited success. It seems that as long as great inequalities exist in living standards and the West’s insatiable appetite for skilled human resources continues, the problem of brain drain is here to stay.

Recent policy changes on immigration have made it clear that the developed world is using every available resource to poach the brains of individuals from the less developed world. This has become a worldwide trend that now involves countries in Asia, including South Korea, and Australia. This is what Australia says on an official website about the point system that it uses in assessing would-be immigrants: “The point rest is a transparent and objective method of selecting skilled migrants with the skills and attributes needed in Australia.” There is a pass mark you need to achieve for certain visa types, and that pass mark “is subject to change in response to Australian labor market needs.” Australia’s strategy gives a clue as to why countries are so keen to attract migrants with the skills that are needed. If the set of skills required change, it is much harder to keep up if you want to rely on those who have been trained domestically. It takes time – often years – to

train people to take on jobs in highly skilled occupations. The Australian clickable guide is an example of what the developed countries have done to encourage highly skilled migrants.

The major disadvantage is that the sending countries can ill affect their medical and other professionals to migrate. Because of poverty and lack of capacity, developing countries spend far more to train a professional than developed ones. Institutions of higher education are extremely limited, and opportunities to do graduate work severely limited. When developing countries have to resort to large-scale importation of expatriates at exorbitant prices to perform the task, their own citizens could have done at a cheaper rate than them; globalization becomes skewed in favor of the West. There should be a mechanism whereby compensation is paid for the brain drain from developing countries. A cooperative arrangement between source countries and their principal destination countries, including agreements on return, and possible circular migration should be considered.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) approximated that a quarter of the people in many African countries are chronically poor, with up to 60 % of the population transitioning in and out of poverty. Their findings underscored the importance of reducing vulnerability as an antipoverty strategy. Understanding Africa's growth tragedy requires not only an accounting of the relationship between slow growth and unfavorable country characteristics but also an understanding why country characteristics were so unfavorable. Africa's poor growth – and resulting low income – is associated with low schooling, political instability, underdeveloped financial systems, distorted foreign exchange markets, high government deficits, insufficient infrastructure, and clientele politics.

In this chapter, we discussed aspects of infrastructure that can help alleviate poverty and provide safe water supply. The UN World Health Organization (WHO) emphasizes that improvement in water supply and sanitation sector would also increase the likelihood of achieving the rest of the MDGs. Improved water provision improves health especially in poor communities. Hours that are spent trekking to the water source could be invested in other activities that lift people out of poverty. They can use their time to study or pursue income-generating activities, which would enable them to eat better and live a healthier life. WHO added that improvement in sanitation will also help eliminate the health risk from a contaminated environment. The agricultural sector will also benefit from improved water supply. Irrigation schemes will increase agricultural harvests and the income of the rural poor. Investment in the water sector would also pay dividends in terms of gender, equality, and education, as women and girls have more time and energy to attend school, enabling them to eventually earn money to support their families.

Improving water supply and sanitation to reduce poverty clearly requires a commitment from governments and investors in water sector. Reforming water management, infrastructure, investment, and governance are considered by experts to be essential aspects in reducing poverty. It is estimated that the MDG target number 10 – safe water supply and sanitation – will cost as low as US\$6 billion annually.

7 Conclusion

Both employment and productivity in SSA countries are limited by access to factors that take a long time to develop: physical capital (factories, tools, computers, road, etc.), human capital (knowledge, competence), and dominant ideologies in education and training and technology; institutions also play a key role (see Zajda 2010, 2014). One key factor, human capital, is what the brain drain seeks to perpetually deprive SSA. The lack of a critical mass that will constitute the middle class in their countries is the bane of SSA development. They provide the framework that enables other factors to work together in a productive way. SSA countries lack physical and human capital, technology, and functioning institutions. These four deficiencies lead to low productivity for the individual worker and often lead to abject poverty.

Various strategies to alleviate poverty have failed at the implementation stage despite good intentions, for example, PRSP documentation of poverty by the World Bank. The lack of reliable and detailed information on the characteristics, incidence, and dynamics of poverty as well as data on remittance and their impact also hinders the fight against poverty. A multifaceted effort is needed to successfully alleviate poverty in the SSA and reduced brain drain. This requires a strong and focused emphasis on the aspects of economic growth, increased access to social services, and adequate infrastructure targets and a mechanism to limit the brain drain or at least compensate countries of origin in developing countries. Governments need to better understand the link between social services, such as water and poverty, hence migration.

Finally, there should be improvement in data collection to comprehensively measure poverty, the brain drain, and remittance. A data revolution using advantages of new technology such as crowdsourcing improve connectivity to empower people with information to participate in their own development. The lack of uniformity in comparable indicators, and metrics, impacts the true measure of poverty and the brain drain. Similar problem exists with the issue of remittance from host country to source country.

Notes

1. Interview with former Deputy Minister of Education, Freetown, May 10, 2011.
2. Interview with Education Officer, Kenema, June 3, 2011.

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Globalisation and the Future of Education in Africa

MacLeans A. Geo-JaJa and Joseph Zajda

1 Introduction

This chapter situates the process of globalisation, not in the narrow context of economics, but rather in its wider guises: sociocultural and political culture, as well as all other processes aimed at enlarging all human capabilities for nation-building. Also, in this chapter, globalisation is argued to be a discursively constructed myth, or grand narrative.

This chapter first presents the opportunities and challenges that globalisation offers to Africa and examines how public expenditure has been impacted by one aspect of globalisation – the tidal force of finance-driven reform. We then review the way the process of globalisation, associated with neoconservativist ideology is bound to reduce the ability of nations to collaborate and foster a human economic development partnership in national development (Zajda 2014c). The chapter suggests regulating globalisation in ways that minimise its impact on education through the use of safety nets of market creation. The concluding remarks show that globalisation has the potential to positively affect wealth creation and bring about social justice in education, but its current design has not allowed the achievement of these noble goals.

The grand narrative of economic globalisation, as a dominant ideology is a form of economic neoconservativism, an absolutist closed ideological discourse that valorises ‘the market’ into an international capitalist marketplace of trade liberalisation,

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unfettered by national regulation. It is this economic rational that becomes the paramount organising principle to which all societies and education must become subject. Market forces are one source of the impetus of globalisation that is driven by transnational companies (TNCs) through their competitive search for profit internationally. The dramatic globalisation of social and economic activities that intensified during the mid-1980s is characterised by a powerful confluence of economic rationalism that is a threat to the values of democracy, social justice, and public education systems (Zajda 2014a, b).

Education policy was no longer a separate domain with policy determined according to educational principles, because education was no longer acknowledged as a unique social activity. The authors are sceptical about the gains that can be made by moving education closer to the market and question the social efficacy ruling the global economy only by the exigencies of market forces. Many nations in Africa have failed to share in the gains of globalisation (Zajda and Geo-JaJa 2010). Their exports have remained confined to a narrow range of primary commodities. Some researchers argue that poor policies and infrastructure, weak institutions, and corrupt governance have marginalised these countries. Another school of thought argues that geographical and climatic disadvantages have locked some countries out of global growth (Dollar 2004). Global inequality between the richest and poorest countries has increased, doubling between the top 20 and bottom 20 nations between 1960 and 2000 (The World Bank 2000). The gaps between rich and poor countries, and rich and poor people within countries, have grown. The richest quarter of the world's population saw its per capita GDP increase nearly sixfold during the century, while the poorest quarter experienced less than a threefold increase. Income inequality has clearly increased (The World Bank 2012).

The economic inequality between and within countries globally continues to grow. Milanovic (2011) argues that 'the gap between UK and India in 2009 is in excess of 10 to 1 while it was only 5 to 1 in the mid-19th century' (Milanovic 2011, p. 12). According to his data, 'more than 80 % of global income differences are due to large gaps in mean incomes between countries, and unskilled workers' wages in rich and poor countries often differ by a factor of 10 to 1' (Milanovic 2011).

According to Milanovic (2007), inequality not only has increased over the last two decades, but the economic inequality between people is very pronounced:

Over the past two decades inequality within countries has increased, and the inequality between the world's individuals is staggering. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the richest 5 per cent of people receive one-third of total global income, as much as the poorest 80 per cent. While a few poor countries are catching up with the rich world, the differences between the richest and poorest individuals around the globe are huge and likely growing. (Milanovic 2007)

Many countries in sub-Saharan Africa had small economies with high import barriers:

They were trying to develop a full range of industries in economies that did not offer sufficient degree of efficiency. The results in terms of growth and poverty reduction were not impressive. People in Africa were struggling for new models because they felt that the old model had failed. (Dollar 2004)

Globalisation will have a significant impact on African nations, their economies and societies during the next decade. Some scholars have argued that African countries, in order to compete more effectively and efficiently in economic markets increasingly dictated by globalisation, will need to develop policy strategies based on the new knowledge and skills defined by global markets (Geo-Jaja and Mangum 2002; Banya 2010). These new knowledge and skills taxonomies need to be internalised by both individuals and enterprises.

Zajda (2014b), on the other hand, in his macrosociological analysis, very convincingly linked globalisation with a neo-liberal ideology, decentralisation, marketisation, and privatisation of education, as characterised by the commodification of knowledge, skills, and learning activities. This economic impact of globalisation on education systems has also been examined by Zajda and Gamage (2009) and Zajda (2010). The neoliberal ideology of globalisation does not only marketise education programs that were once provided by government and supported by taxes, but it also agitates trade liberalisation to the benefits of transnational corporations' penetration of local markets (Zajda 2014a). Under this socio-economic restructuring, nation-states have become increasingly internationalised, in the sense that they have withdrawn from their social responsibility to provide and administer public resources to promote social justice.

These new values, as reflected in the neoliberal agendas promote less state intervention in public policy and greater dependence on the market. Similarly, Arnoe (1999) puts neoliberal agendas into perspective and argues that economic restructuring is primarily concerned with transforming the educational systems, with the dual goals of producing financial savings as well as the thorough refocusing of epistemological bases, methods, and procedures of schooling. We believe that, in the short and long terms, quasi-market mechanisms expose the social fissures between those with the education and those who are *not* able to acquire education and allow those social fissures to flourish in an unfettered world market.

In essence, like supranational organisations imposed structural adjustment programs (SAP), this phenomenon is the free market ideology of economics and international politics repackaged into language appropriate to trade and education development of the twenty-first century. Globalisation wraps much old thinking in the guise of new ideas of equitable wealth creation. We question the policy of or belief in bringing education closer to the marketplace as translated into deregulation, privatisation, and commercialisation of education activities. Therefore, in response to the changing economic demands of globalisation is the establishment of a knowledge-based, 'magnet' economy and a 'learning nation'. Thus, education has become increasingly conceived of as an instrument of economic policy. Those prepared to take a closer look will find the pervasive elements of neoconservatives or global capitalists' educational thinking and practices. Indeed, it is the coexistence of these apparently contradictory strands that in our view constitutes much of what is distinctive about current education reform and development in developing countries.

It is for the above reasons that the authors argue that globalisation has resulted in increased wealth with widening social and economic gaps between and within

nations. In the education sector, it negates quality and equality between nations. As a result, key stakeholders are no longer the teachers, parents, and governments but rather private institutions and international organisations (Ilon 2002a, b). Thus, the politics of education or economic reform is no longer the dictate of the legislatures, nor is it the dictates of its most legitimate stakeholders (the people) which is shaping it.

2 What Is Globalisation?

The world economy has been moving steadily towards more global trade integration between countries, which has led to the birth of a large interdependent global village. In the new global village, education reform debates are infused with the imagery of globalisation. Whether debating efficacy or efficiency, such pedagogical phrases as ‘internationalisation’, ‘decentralisation’ and ‘harmonisation’ and an increasing global competition dominate the discussions between different operators (Zajda 2005, 2010). These operators or policy ideologues inform the language of education reform movements. Whatever is the language, globalisation seems not to be friendly to the rights of individuals or governments, or to those who support government action on behalf of social justice.

Globalisation – the international integration of communication and economics – has become a cliché. This phenomenon that is driven by significant technological advancement is underpinned by ‘instrumental economism’ – the ideology of the convergence of education reform. The conservatives’ definition of globalisation as the turning of the world economy into a single market, and in terms of education its marketisation, constant cost-cutting and facilitating closer links between it and the economy, threatens the ability of many communities and nation-states to localise quality education or increase GDP through tax revenues and trade regulations.

In commenting specifically on the policy implications of globalisation on developing nations, Robertson (1992) observed that, while affecting values, institutions, and futures, globalisation moves nations towards homogeneity and promotes education reforms guided by market forces. In evaluating the presumed convergent consequences of globalisation, Giddens (2000, pp. 30–31) accepts the premise that globalisation processes are indeed unprecedented, such that governments and societies across the globe have to adjust to a world in which there is no longer a clear distinction between international and domestic, external and internal affairs. Reflecting further, in his book titled, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Giddens (1994) points out that:

Globalisation is really about the transformation of space and time; I would define it as action at distance, and relate its growth over recent years to the development of means of instantaneous global communication and mass transportation. (Giddens 1994, p. 22)

According to Martin Carnoy, the primary motivating force behind globalisation is still its desire to ‘shape the world’s education’ in ways that would be most

beneficial to the business interest of its own transnational companies. Carnoy (1995) also concluded that while actual provision of education is increasingly being marketised, globalisation also has continued to play a major role in curriculum development, in teacher training, and in the certification and the definition of standards. The reality is as a result of its major impact on education through financial terms. In fact, marketisation of education and the commodification of knowledge have been associated with a deepening of education quality – an accentuation of inequalities by breaking communities into small units that are virtually powerless. As can be seen, despite a general trend in increasing wealth and flow of foreign direct investment (FDIs), not all countries have been able to provide adequate funding for quality and equitable education (Oxfam 2001, p. 15). In this vein, globalisation has brought the free market into education but with serious negative ramifications and significant social and economic costs.

By linking local practices to the global, globalisation culminates in an inequitable distribution of education with enormous human costs. As can be seen, the impact of globalisation is not just limited to trade; it also impacts social culture, overwhelming indigenous educational systems with a commodified and homogenised transnational education. Giddens (1999) illustrates the discourse on this simplistic finance-driven model that drags education along as a casual outcome and not as an integral part of society:

... a complex set of process, not a single one. And these operate in a contradictory or oppositional fashion. Most people think of it as simply ‘pulling away’ power from the local communities and nations into global arena. And indeed this is one of its consequences, Nations do lose some of the economic power they once had. However, it also has an opposite effect. Globalisation not only pulls upwards, it pushes downward, creating new pressures for the local economy. (Giddens 1999, p. 3)

The rhetoric in the above quotation leaves no room for positive outcomes from the perspective of social justice and democratic development. King and McRath (2002) in evaluating globalisation, enterprise and knowledge confronting nations in Africa, provide a very useful research tool for the understanding of the development of learning enterprises in Africa – which, like other regions, is experiencing, in different ways, and in different places, the cumulative effects of post-Fordism, the knowledge economy, and globalisation. They argue that in the global culture, ‘learning-led competitiveness’ should be the goal of education for all:

at the core of the globalisation message is the argument that pockets of activity isolated from global market are rapidly diminishing. It is essential, therefore, that policy interventions and projects that seek to help the poor survive better are closer intertwined with policies for competitiveness. (King and McRath 2002, p. 11)

King and McRath bring skilfully together three major areas: debates about the impact of globalisation on development in Africa, sectoral responses to globalisation in education and enterprise, and national experiences related to globalisation, education, and training in three case-study countries – South Africa, Ghana, and Kenya. The authors point out to the continuing centrality of international development cooperation in African development and educational outcomes, as reflected in

broader policy positions and discourses at the sectoral and intersectoral level (pp. 66–7), as well as the ‘the shifting balance’ between growth, structural adjustment, and poverty in globalisation and development policies. They also stress that ‘learning-led competitiveness’ can ensure that the African cultural Renaissance has real economic significance.

3 Neoliberal Globalisation in Africa: Convergence or Divergence

We are now in the midst of a fourth stage of outside penetration of Africa by forces that have overwhelmed Africa’s integral development. The era of integration through trade and financial flows has maximum development consequences on the region. This most repressive approach to development is fuelled by ‘global liberalisation’, with its most distinctive feature being the linking of people’s lives more deeply, more intensely, and more immediately than ever before with market forces (UNDP, *Human Development Report 1997*, p. 83, 1999, p. 1). The first stage of the penetration of Africa was the period of slavery; the second stage was the era of colonialism; the third stage, termed ‘neocolonialism’ by Pope Paul VI, was marked by structural conditionalities and cold war antics of micro-interventions. Altogether, the picture that emerges is that of a new global economy of post-colonialism, which has resemblance to political subjugation. It is designed not to favour Africa, but primarily to benefit the North. As a result, the world is witnessing the emergence of a new form of ‘global capitalism’, qualitatively different from the nineteenth-century laissez-faire capitalism and the twentieth-century managed capitalism. The 2011 *Human Development Report* offers important new contributions to the global dialogue demonstrating the necessary nexus between globalisation, sustainability, and equity, or ‘fairness and social justice and of greater access to a better quality of life’. The report also stresses that ‘Understanding the links between environmental sustainability and equity is critical’ if we are to retain and institutionalise human freedoms for current and future generations (UNDP, *Human Development Report 2011*, p. ii).

4 Trade Term Equalisation or Marginalisation

This section reviews the region’s trade growth under the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UN-NADAF) in the 1990s. Asymmetries and distortions in the global trading system constitute serious impediments to global wealth creation and distribution and the underdevelopment of Africa. For example, in agriculture UNCTAD reports that while 30 countries in the region experienced declines in per capita output between 1990 and 2000, in 10 countries there was less than 1 % per year increase, and in 12 countries increases exceeding

1 % per year was registered. There can be no doubt that this unbalanced growth can be associated with worsening terms of trade, which also play a major role in the overall growth process.

In Parkins' (1996, p. 62) interpretation, the integration of African economies into the world system is a form of 'global apartheid'. In his interpretation, there has been a net transfer of wealth from the South to the North, equivalent to six 'Marshall Plans'. For instance, the levels of terms of trade at the end of the 1990s were 26 % below that which was attained in the 1970s. It has been estimated that for each dollar of net capital transfer to the region, some 65 % has been 'ripped off' as capital transfers by way of interest payments, profit remittances, and more especially from debt servicing and terms of trade losses. This process of wealth accumulating at the top while risk is being allocated to the bottom has been endemic and is related to what the authors see as the direct negatives of globalisation on the region's education budget. That such technical development is obviously socially influenced supports the notion that the process of globalisation exemplifies the erosion of local and national capacity, and capabilities for peace and nation-building.

For example, Africa's trade that averaged 1.1 % annual growth from 1975 to 1984 drastically fell to -6.8 % during the period 1985-1989 and then slightly recovered to an annual average growth of -0.4 in 1990s. Manufactured goods export, which stood at 32.5 % in 1980, drastically fell to -2.7 % in 1997 (UNDP 1997, p. 82; UNCTAD 2001a, b, p. 47). The foregoing analyses as well as the Zedillo Report commissioned by UNCTAD, clearly indicate that Africa has yet to draw any significant benefits from increased openness and participation in the global village as suggested by international organisations such as WTO, the World Bank, and others.

5 Dehumanisation Effect of Globalisation in Africa

The impact of globalisation in nation-states may come from various sectors. It may come from international pressures to liberalise trade or to introduce uniform standards in education. The effect of these trade agreements or loan conditionalities on the economy of the region has been marked by deterioration in the rate of real growth. Regardless of the phenomenal increases in global trade, human economic development gaps across subregions and countries and also within countries have widened. Stuningly, the gap in per capita income between the rich and the poor countries grew fivefold between 1980 and 1990 (Pritchett 1997). What else can be deduced from the globalisation effect when a region with about 14.5 % of the world population and with an annual average population growth of almost 4 % carried only 1.5 % of world trade and controlled only 1.3 % of the world's wealth?

The negative impact of policy on indigenous population groups is such, that it fails to recognise the contribution made by indigenous education. As a result

those recent changes may threaten local communities and their efforts to adjust to these changes.

Recent national educational policies do not recognise the contribution which indigenous education continues to make. The analysis also shows, however, that a too rapid implementation of these new policies would place excessive and unrealistic demands on the schools and threaten the ability of non-school educational efforts to adjust to these changes.

6 Economic Consequences

According to the *World Development Report, 2000/2001*, of the 64 countries ranked as 'low-income countries', 38 were in Africa (World Bank 2001). For most African countries, economic growth fell from 4.0 % yearly from 1996 to 1973, to -0.7 % yearly from 1985 to 1990, and to -0.9 from 1991 to 1994 (World Bank 1996a, b, p. 18). Average income per head was lower in 2000 than it was in 1980; unemployment increased from 7.7 % in 1978 to 22.8 % in 1990 and subsequently reached 30 % in 2000 (ILO/JASPA 1993). By 1990, public sector wages had declined by not less than 90 % of what they were in 1974.

Other related outcomes of globalisation are exemplified in deepening income distribution inequality, mounting debts, and deepening poverty that threatens the very existence of the region. All these trends are not the inevitable consequences of global economic integration, which have seen considerable erosion after decades of emphasis on weak small states (UNDP HDR 1999, p. 3). This unbalanced growth situation is better illustrated by a quote from an African leader speaking at a G-15 meeting held on June 19, 2000:

Our societies are overwhelmed by the strident consequences of globalisation and the phenomenon of trade liberation. (African Perspective 2000)

He went on to suggest that the only option opened to them has narrowed as their increasingly shrinking world imposes on them a choice of integration or the severe conditions of marginalisation and stagnation.

7 Education and Policy Effect

In *Educational Planning in a Developing Country: The Sudan*, Akrawi (1960) considers some administrative changes in policy related to the financing of education and the community role in governing schools. In Sudan, for instance, there was a five-year plan in 1960 for educational reorganisation, including an increase in educational spending:

The first category involves economies in the present methods of expenditure and changes of policy which would result in such economies... Among the new measures may be cited an

increased share for education in the national budget. This share is now 13.5 per cent and it should be possible to raise it to 15, 18, or even 20 per cent. A second measure might be sharing to a greater extent than at present the responsibility for primary education with the local councils and municipalities....

In Uganda, many primary schools were found in rural areas, and both the location of schools and poor quality of teaching were the two significant factors which made it difficult to achieve compulsory primary education:

...The immediate policy is 'to ensure a minimum of four years schooling within walking distance of the home of every child who wishes to go to school'. This aim, too, has yet to be achieved.

The crisis of basic education in Africa and a new basic education policy that furthers the term *nonformal education* in providing education relevant to local needs.

Psacharopoulos (1989) in analysing the discrepancy between educational policy goals and outcomes argued that the reason why reforms fail is that the 'intended policy was never implemented' and that policies were based on 'good will' rather than on '*research-proven cause-effect relationships*':

The reason most educational policies are not implemented is that they are vaguely stated and that the financing implications are not always worked out ... in order to avoid past pitfalls, the following conditions should be met in formulating educational policies. A policy statement should be concrete and feasible in terms of objectives (pp. 179–193)

By analysing further the link between basic education, globalisation, and learning-based competitiveness, especially a 'curriculum for competitiveness' and personal empowerment that are likely to address globalisation imperatives (King and McRath 2002; Zajda 2014a), the authors show that the notion of education for global competitiveness has reached African policymakers more recently. Despite the globalisation rhetoric affecting policy, the authors stress the need for the main actors and practitioners to address the ways enterprise development and education is implemented and how it is articulated in policy and in the classroom. In short, effective and quality-driven education policy and practice necessitates a much deeper understanding of 'macroeconomic challenges, sectoral trends and micro-level opportunities' (p. 113). It is here that the real challenge of unmasking the façade of globalisation as the force for widening rich-poor gap and domination by the elite strata in some African states must be taken up by the political and educational policymakers. One also needs to take into consideration the double-edge sword of globalisation – potential benefits for some and increased hardship for others, in 'already weak economies and societies' (p. 206).

One of the problems associated with the school-industry partnership in African nations is 'the historical absence of MSEs' (micro and small enterprises) from national strategies in Africa (p. 161). More importantly, King and McRath (2002) believe that globalisation combined with post-Fordism forces policymakers to 'fundamentally reorient the way that we need to understand economic development, both North and South' (p. 192).

It has been suggested that MSEs can be seen as potential engines of development and poverty reduction and for resolving the tensions between globalisation, development, power, class, wealth and equity issues. The key policy message is that ‘development policies need to be reconceptualised in the light of the notion of learning-led competitiveness’ (p. 202).

One of the most serious issues in globalisation and education policy nexus is the role of language in the new knowledge-driven and outcome-based education in Africa (Brock-Utne 2003, p. 386). She refers to the 1980 UNESCO-UNICEF publication *African Thoughts on the Prospects of Education for All*, where the African educationist Babs Fafunwa wrote:

We impart knowledge and skills almost exclusively in foreign languages, while the majority of people, farmers, and craftsmen perform their daily tasks in Yoruba, Hausa, Wolof, Ga, Igbo, Bambara, Kiswaili, etc....the question is: Why not help them to improve their social, economic, and political activities via their mother tongue (quoted in Brock-Utne, p. 386)

Why do we ignore the cognitive and affective role of the mother tongue in schooling and why do we insist that students in Africa should learn English or French first before information technology and globalisation-driven knowledge of ‘learning-led competitiveness’ is introduced to them?

8 Social Consequences

The prognosis in this section and previous sections is that both state and market have failed Africa. Many changes have taken place in the social and economic scene in the 1990s. This section identifies the following five social manifestations of change:

- Individualisation of social formation
- Flexibilisation of family for flexible workers
- Individualisation of labour in the labour process
- Transformation of close-knit societies of yore to virtual, cyber-societies
- Dehumanisation of education and dislocated local citizens

Globalisation’s approach, characterised by a free market ideology that exalts internal efficiency of inputs above human welfare, and the urgency of an acceleration of education privatisation and standardisations make the search for more effective ways for education development an inescapable imperative (see Zajda 2014a). According to Apple (2000), the sociocultural consequence of globalisation as part of the doxa of neoconservatism is the compression of symbolic universes, or what Giddens (1994) identified as the process of reflexivity and de-traditionalisation. Representing the changing nature of the international labour market, Martin Carnoy (2000) mapped out a picture of conflict in the marketplace by asserting that:

What results is a serious social contradiction: the new workplace requires even more investment in knowledge than the past, and the family are crucial to such knowledge formation [...] The new workplace created by globalization, however, contributes to greater instability in the child-centered nuclear family, degrading the very institution crucial to further economic development. (Carnoy 2000, p. 110)

Furthermore, with the dismantling of the post-globalisation close-knit family coupled with the dehumanisation effect of globalisation policies, it becomes more difficult and more costly to sustain minimal levels of social protection (Geo-Jaja and Mangum 2002). These consequences, while increasing homogenisation of education, also have the effect of making the universality of education and improvement in quality impossible.

In this section, through supportive evidence, we show that, indeed, trade reform regimes in developing countries have led to lower government revenue as trade taxes are reduced or eliminated in an effort to maintain macroeconomic stability. These facts suggest that globalisation has brought about 'divergence' rather than the promised 'convergence' in wealth. They also demonstrate that almost without exception, globalisation requires states to reduce public spending, minimise welfare provision, and privatise as much as possible the welfare state, particularly education provision. From the above section analysis, it can be said that globalisation lifts capitalism to another 'highest stage' of economic and social dislocations through: (1) public expenditure priorities on sectors with high economic returns, (2) tax reforms and trade liberalisation, and (3) most importantly, the privatisation of state enterprises.

9 Dominance of Instrumental Economism in Education Reform in Africa

Several empirical studies reveal that since the 1980s, the ideology of instrumental economism – the influence of strong market forces – has significantly dictated education reform and development in many regions, particularly in Africa (Jones 1998; IJED 2002). The shift from a state control model to a state supervision model of education management has led to the reduction in government expenditures and marketised programs that were previously government and tax supported. Depending on how it is implemented, such policies could result in the flight from the public school system by good teachers and exacerbate differences in provision of educational opportunity, based purely on ability to pay. The principal shortcoming of this model is the imminent equity risks, together with other dangers. Instrumental economism also demands that market forces determine how education is delivered, who has access to education, and make it consistent that what happens to schools is relevant to the labour process.

In assessing the contemporary global influence of international agencies and the power of market forces, one could argue that the curriculum for weak nations will also take on a global flavour as job skills became similar and basic needs and problems became globalised. In a nutshell, education is made subject to the prescription of economism in all aspects. As a result of the subordination of the social and liberal purposes of education, a broad strand of research seeking to balance neoliberal and marketisation agendas on the masses and weak states in terms of education control has sprang up (Watson 1996; Jones 1998; IJED 2002; Ilon 2002a, b).

As instrumental economism in education reform calls for cost sharing, it produces more inequality in society as it places more burdens on families, particularly in poor households. Clearly, user fees have undesirable attributes: they are regressive, and they exclude children from educational opportunities where compulsory attendance is not enforced. The social benefits from education and the entitlements of children to an education suggest that, ideally, governments should provide quality educational opportunities for all in free access schools financed through general taxation. This is important since no country has achieved adequate human development for sustained economic development without substantial investment in people. No country has remained competitive without substantial allocation or resources to education, most importantly primary education.

Contrary to the dictates of instrumental economism and the trend of cutting social expenditures justified by the requirements of global competitiveness, Chu et al. (1995), and Tanzi and Chu (1998) show that strong participation of government in education funding improves economic growth and promotes a range of social and cultural objectives. They also illustrated the significant importance of locative efficiency of education budgets to achieving distributional justice. In the perspective of Gupta and Verhoeven (2001), both size and efficiency of public expenditure on education are important determinants in improving socio-economic indicators and for human economic development. Hanushek (1996) and Bosworth and Collins (1996) illustrate that expansion in skills, knowledge, and capacities of individuals built by the 'right kind of education' is critical for human economic development. However, despite the realisation of short- and long-term gains of education to human and institutional capacity building, priority assigned to education expenditure in recent decades as shares of both GDP and total government spending over the years has been low stagnant, or drastically declining, or in some cases negative.

Demonstrated, thus far, is that when education becomes privatised and brought closer to the market, social and cultural concerns take a back seat to economic concerns. On the other hand, the impact of public expenditure cuts in education on the supply of different labour skills, and its macroeconomic and distributional consequences are huge, particularly in a competitive world economy. As Morris (1996) points out, the call for weak governments in any country has an important effect that results in education performing poorly when no well-functioning safety net mechanism that will assist groups negatively affected by any type of finance-driven reforms is set in motion. Ball (1999) in calling this the paradigm convergence of education reform refers to it as 'Invocation of policies with common underlying principles, similar operational mechanism and similar first and second order effects. These first and second order effects are registered in terms of their impact on practitioners and institutional procedures, and effect on access, opportunity and outcome respectively'. Morrow and Torres (2000) refer to such reform policy as commodification; Apple (2002) and Ball (1999) term it neoliberalism-neoconservatism and economism, respectively. Although there might be long-term benefits to such policy, in the short-term distributional and social justice comes into conflict with Ball's identified first- and second-order effects as education designed to develop

culturally valued knowledge abilities or skills may require a different consideration of efficacy. In other words, schools are becoming increasingly subject to the 'normative assumptions and prescriptions of economism'.

10 How Is Economism Carried Out in School Reforms?

As we question the demand for quality assurance, we look at how it is made possible. Globalisation turns education into a commodity and reworks knowledge in terms of skills and dispositions required by the global labour market. Globalisation also has an impact in other areas of education, ranging from teacher certification, union wage structure, to the procurement of teaching resources. Yet, there is no mechanism for intervention on behalf of the needs of either society or of students' deserving of or entitled to a greater share of social goods. In a nutshell, globalisation enters the education sector on an ideological horse and its effects on education are largely a product of financially driven reform (Carnoy 1995, p. 59). The reader must also not forget that mentioned earlier were trade terms and agreements, and international organisations that tend to identify global problems and impose global solutions through conditionalities (see previous sections). The consistency of economism with instrumental rationality leads to standardisation, normalisation, and output-driven evaluative indicators. These manifestations could be attributed to such complications in internal efficiency, and the affordability of education. These bottlenecks point to a number of observations about the effect of globalisation, which is consistent with an ideology of neoconservatism in education and human economic development (Zajda 2014a).

11 Globalisation and Standardisation Tendencies as Educational Indicators

The standardisation of education reform is predicated on a human capital theory that has failed to take into consideration the important fact that education cannot be treated as a sector that can deliver the right type and adequate human economic development without acknowledging that the state has a social responsibility to see that people are well educated. As was clearly articulated by Morris (1996), education is:

One of the social structures which needs to be provided as a basis for development or it can be perceived as a vehicle for transmitting those values and attitude supportive of development. (Morris 1996, p. 99)

These statements are motifs that are visible in the argument against the neoliberal focus on education as a commodity. They are also reasons why the determination of curriculum content, skill requirements, and management of pedagogy in school by

forces of globalisation and the new ways of technology delivery of knowledge are troubling. As was posited earlier, the unfettered capitalistic globalisation, coupled with the influence of its prime movers (international organisations) on education agendas, has led to the marginalisation of local knowledge and local initiatives, as it rewards no new thinking about education's role in acquiring knowledge for local integration. It is also argued that World Bank *Education Sector Strategy* was formulated to satisfy the labour and provide a stock basic of education, skills, and attitudes required by transnational companies whose capital and technology were well matched with lower production costs in the region (Hickling-Hudson 2002). This World Bank document does not lend support to institution and local capacity building that is a necessary and sufficient condition if weak nation-states are to take advantage of their competitive edge in world trade in a globalised economy. The above rationale supports the thesis that education policies for globalisation promote global inequalities and are becoming increasingly problematic as the pace and scope of marketisation in education intensifies.

12 Neoliberal Globalisation and Performative Measurements in Schools

Since 2010, the future of Africa is said to lie in its people and its education strategy. Basic education that is the key to making Africa competitive remains far from being universal and of low quality. For instance, Africa is the only region where primary enrolment rates were lower in 2000 (75 %) than in 1980 (81.7 %), despite its high private and social returns. While enrolment rates rose during the 1990s, the progress of the 1980s has not been attained, and the prospect for faster progress in the decades ahead is uncertain (UNESCO 1998a, b). This greater stock of education without obvious increase in education expenditure suggests large-scale changes in the production function such as lowered quality and access, excessive repetition, and low completion rates. For instance, such internal efficiency indicators like repeaters as percentage of total enrolment, percentage of cohorts reaching final grade, and public expenditure as percentage of GDP per capita were far below those of any other region. Substantial increases in enrolment are evident except for Africa where enrolment ratios either stagnated or declined. The gross enrolment rate for primary schools, which stood at 81 % in 1980, was estimated at 76.8 % in 1997. Other indicators that could be relevant to the measurement of progress towards the goal of globalisation are less readily available for the region. These facts illustrate the vulnerability of household education demand as the policy of instrumental economism leads to the replacement of intrinsic/substantive value of education with the extrinsic/instrumental value of competitiveness. The singular focus of neoliberals on performativity, rather than on social efficacy, is troubling and deceptive.

The pattern of expenditure can be examined with reference to the ratio of government expenditure on education to gross domestic product or to total government spending. Educational expenditure as a share of the GDP has been lower than then

and still remained at the bottom compared to any other region. Education expenditure that averaged 5.3 % of the GDP in 1980 dropped to an annual average of 2.8 % between 1992 and 1994. Estimated public expenditure per pupil in Africa declined from 15 % of the GNP in 1990 to 10 % in 1997, compared to steady growth of 13.8 and 23 % in Latin America and OECD, respectively, in the same year. The lower per pupil expenditure is not the result of higher enrolments but is the consequence of a sharp reduction in total spending on education. Evidence provided in UNESCO's *World Education Report*, based on the analysis of 26 African countries, shows an overall decline of 33 % in central government expenditure per pupil, in the period 1980–1988 (UNESCO 1991, p. 37). This is substantially lower than the average in any other region in the world. This international comparison reinforces the conclusion that education has not been a priority for countries in the region.

Even countries like Botswana that have managed to maintain, though not increase, their level of education expenditures have seen per pupil expenditures decline drastically. Such a steep disinvestment in education and the introduction of user payments at an early stage of privatisation and development suggests that the growth process in the region is highly fragile or tenuous. Therefore, under such conditions, achieving sustained development depends on the provision of outside support, not only to compensate for the resource drain through terms of trade losses but also to supplement a lost social safety net. The current situation has once again become precarious, particularly for human economic development and nation-building as the education contribution to them is lowly prioritised. Thus, this trend coupled with the increase in self-financed students might also demonstrate that education is being treated as a 'luxury good'.

In sum, as a result of the finance-driven reform, standards are inadequate, infrastructures are either inadequate or overcrowded, and materials are lacking. Budgetary cutbacks combined with privatisation and state disengagement, particularly at the primary levels, are affecting education practices and indicators. The gains in enrolment have been subjected to erosion due to the fact that a substantial proportion of students either dropout or repeat classes. The incidence of poor quality at the primary level not only reflects poor educational inputs on the supply side, but it also results in low internal efficiency indicators. They are also influenced on the demand side by the opportunity costs to families.

13 Country Case Studies

According to data provided by the World Bank, by the start of the 1980s, and the 1990s, a number of countries within the region were at the verge of reaching universal primary education. The subsequent decades saw sharp reversals. As will be articulated in the following country case examples, one obvious reason for poor quality education is the limited tax base of regional governments, while the bulk of households cannot afford introduced user payments. In Zambia, the 1990s saw the education sector beset with a myriad of problems: underfunding of the education sector, poor

quality outcomes, and stagnating enrolment rates. In 1994, education spending declined by more than 25 %. With government support in implementation of the *Basic Education Sub-sector Investment Program* in 1996, gross enrolment ratios are planned to increase from 84 % in 1994 to 99 % in 2000. In Malawi, the sharp increases in primary education enrolment rates since 1994/1995 led to a rise in the student-teacher ratio and a concomitant decline in the quality of education, all as a result of a declining national budget for education. In Ghana, and Cote d'Ivoire, primary enrolment declined after the introduction of user payment. Primary enrolment reversed course at the abolition of user payments in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, and Tanzania (World Bank 1995; Oxfam 2002).

In Ethiopia, the education sector is characterised at all levels by extremely low overall participation rates (30 % at primary, 13 % at secondary, and less than 1 % at the tertiary level). Poor quality, as a result of high dropout rates, is expected due to serious underfunding of the sector. In contrast to Ethiopia's minimal government financing involvement, Gambia in 1990 increased public expenditure in education in real terms. This led to an increase in gross primary enrolment from 64 to 77 % and in the transition rate from 35 to 70 % in the 1990s. Saddled with high poverty rates and poor quality education, Tanzania has continued to spend four times as much in debt repayments than the total investment in basic education. The enrolment rate has gone down from 99 % in 1981 to below 66 % in 1999. Dropout rates increased from 28 % in 1984 to 42 % in 1990. These outcomes are because of the national government's transition from a welfare state to a market-oriented economic policy (1996). The withdrawal of government as a key actor in education reduced resources available to education bringing the sector under severe pressures, thus affecting the incentive to invest in education. As this policy was implemented when real income was declining drastically, it made education more expensive than ever before. But with the abolition of user payments in 2001, public education systems experienced difficulties of coping with the large increase in education demand (African Recovery 2003).

In the Cameroon, about a third of school-aged children were failing to complete even 4 years of primary education, because they either dropped out of school or they never enrolled in school. According to UNESCO, primary education was on the decline during the 1990s. The number of students dropped by 2.3 % per year and the internal efficiency of the education system was poor, because of a limited tax base to finance the educational system (UNESCO 1995). As in the case Tanzania, with the abolition of user payments in 2001, the public education system is experiencing difficulties in coping with the large increase in demand (World Bank 1999).

In sum, access to basic education has either stagnated or declined due to the cost shifting from government to households. As these countries experienced drastic reductions in government revenues, spending on education has decreased, and user payments have been introduced. As a result, the quality of education, once generally high, seems to have declined, and inequality seems to be emerging, particularly for poor households.

We expect this uphill battle to continue until supranational organisations begin to support and respect home-grown initiatives or localised education action plans that

are consistent with ‘paradigm convergence’ reforms. Clearly, the neoliberal ideological overdetermination of globalisation that imposes performativity measurements, while valorising economic reform has a profound effect on education indicators and on education performance at many levels. These needs for reforms are manifest in the commodification, privatisation, and the introduction of user payments, since increasing numbers of Africans are being squeezed out of an education and into the underground economy and into poverty by globalisation. It is for these reasons that the authors question the advantage of bringing education closer to market forces. Therefore, we suggest that to shape the competitive capabilities of Africa, countries in the region would need to invest more, and more effectively, in human economic development that is anchored in broader and higher quality formal and informal localised education. With this understanding, education must continue to be a social responsibility, encompassing government, communities, and families that require the participation and commitment of all stakeholders.

14 New Policy Directions for Equity in Globalisation

It is true that globalisation and markets have a logic of their own, which leads to ‘social inclusion’ for some and ‘social exclusion’ for others, as well as affluence for some and poverty for others. It is equally true, however, that globalisation can be, and should be, reconstructed, so as to ensure that weak nation-states get a fair share and a fair opportunity in the new global economy. Whether globalisation could have ‘a human face’ or not will depend largely on the willingness and sincerity of key players to ‘place human economic development above the pursuit of corporate self-interest and economic advantage’. To further generate discussion, we submit the following concrete correctives and interventions. The objective of these measures is only to foster inclusion where markets exist and to create markets with inclusion where they do not exist. The inclusion of people in the process of globalisation demands the following:

- A basic change in mind-sets is vital for massive investment in human economic development.
- Increased access to education, massive investment in basic social services and building capabilities that will produce social equity and promote programs that consider human rights, education for peace and democratic values, and rights between all citizens.
- The creation of effective institutions to mediate or counterbalance neoconservatism in education nationally and worldwide.
- The development of economic and social infrastructures, which will facilitate capacity-building and economic and political empowerment to the masses. This requires reinventing strong states that have been long suppressed by the globalisation practices. Contrary to suggestions by the contemporary predominant paradigm, the role of an effective strong state is extremely vital, particularly in creating efficient markets and the subsidising of social activities.

- The opening by rich countries of their markets to exports from developing countries by reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers and removal of domestic subsidies will enable developing countries to get the full benefits of the global trading system. The objectives of these interventions are to limit the adverse effect of social exclusion and to provide some mutual checks and balances in the sharing of the benefits of globalisation. Without these correctives and interventions, globalisation would continue to be less relevant for growth with development, especially in weak nation-states.

In the face of the misdirected approach of globalisation, the challenge is not to stop the expansion of global markets but to find the rules and the reinstatement of stronger governance to preserve and share the advantages of the global village. This is to ensure that globalisation works for people, not just for profits. The error is not the existence of globalisation but its ideological underpinnings and misuse thereof of its application. At the heart of our chapter is a twofold conclusion: firstly, an understanding of the impact of misused globalisation and, secondly, a response to this understanding in ways that will advance the positive potentials of globalisation on education and training. Globalisation as currently misapplied has altered education by squeezing power from governments and redistributing power to market forces. The common trends of decentralisation, denationalisation, marketisation, and economisation are determined to have played a significant part in shaping education policy in developing countries, especially in Africa.

This chapter reveals that though African countries seem to follow similar global trends of bringing education closer to the market, they have not tried to align their knowledge and skill needs with their development objectives. This has led to the serious marginalisation of Africa in trade terms and growth terms, thus affecting the ability of governments to generate revenue. In almost all cases, citizens have continued to undergo disintegration in their traditional lifestyles, as well as suffering from social, political, and economic regression.

The authors suggest that the philosophy of extrinsic/instrumental value of global competitiveness should give way to the philosophy of effective intrinsic/substantive value of education in Africa and that the concern for efficiency must be balanced with the concern for social justice, and equity, just as the concern for economic progress must be balanced with a concern for social progress that ensures legitimacy and contributes to 'education for all'.

These considerations the chapter show point to a number of aberrations about the effects of bringing education into the market system. First, the effects are much more complicated than the simple prediction of supply-side economics and depend on a number of key variables, including the level of government participation in the economy, the level of knowledge commodification, and the degree of the supply of labour in markets where Africans subsist. Second, user payments introduce a dilemma in the choice between efficiency and efficacy. Clearly user fees were determined to be a socially inferior means of financing education in comparison to public expenditure financed by taxation. Such benefits lead the authors to argue for strong government involvement in providing quality education opportunities, particularly

in regions where globalisation has indeed contributed to increasing inequity in wealth creation. Globalisation as it is now applied is a threat to these values of social equity and national sovereignty and to public education systems that reflect and support democratic values.

15 Conclusion

As the above demonstrates, education and policy reforms in Africa confront at least two enormous challenges. The first is to fulfil the knowledge and training tasks of the twenty-first century, offering universal basic education and secondary coverage. The second is to improve the quality of learning outcomes, social equity and cultural integration. Attainment of these new tasks depends on competition between paradigm convergence of education reforms and simple convergence of education reforms. The latter, as a process of reflexivity and a process of de-traditionalisation, is indifferent to national borders. Consequently, the identified measures propounded by neoliberal policymakers are very much alike in terminology and intentions across countries. The new educational consensus are not being shaped by its most legitimate parties, but have become more commercialised and more driven by the needs of quick short-term profit maximisation policies and practices.

The lesson is clear. For Africa, the philosophy of neoconservatism is fraught with danger, as educational outcomes are now increasingly judged and measured in terms of costs and returns to investment, and international competitiveness, at the expense of more humanistic criteria. We end this work with a call for international solidarity and the invisible heart of human economic development, not the cold hand of the market forces and its dominant neoliberal ideology. In sum, we opt for a social economy where community and human priorities take precedence over those of the market. We demand and offer a friendly alternative vision that would challenge the dehumanising aspects of education and global markets.

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The Globalisation of Low-Fee Private Schools

Geoffrey Walford

1 Introduction

In *Schoolhouse in the Clouds*, Sir Edmund Hillary (1964, p. 2), who was the first person to climb Mount Everest, records a conversation that he had with a group of Sherpa guides on a return visit to Mount Everest in 1960. In answer to a question about how the climbers could help their village, Sherpa Urkien replies:

We would like our children to go to school, sahib! Of all the things you have, learning is the one we most desire for our children. With all respect, sahib, we know you have little to teach us in strength and toughness. We do not envy you your restless spirit – perhaps we are happier and more content than you are? But knowledge for our children – that is what we would like to see!

In the following year, the climbers returned to build the first of several schools at Khumjung at 13,000 ft. The knowledge and learning that the villagers wanted was that which could be transmitted by people called teachers in institutions called schools. More recently, Greg Mortenson's account of building schools in the desolate, and now highly political, border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan became a number one US bestseller. In *Three Cups of Tea* and its sequel (Mortenson and Relin 2006; Mortenson 2009), Mortenson explains how a mountain climber became a builder of schools. In July 1992, Mortenson's sister died from a massive seizure after a lifelong struggle with epilepsy. The next year, to honour his sister's memory, he climbed Pakistan's K2, the world's second highest mountain in the Karakoram Range. He failed to reach the top, got lost and found himself being nursed back to health in a village called Korphe. The Pakistan government had not provided a school or teacher for the village, so Mortenson made a rash promise to build a school for them in return for their help to him.

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The account is something of an adventure story of overcoming immense difficulties to build first one school, then many more, as successive villages asked him to help them provide schools for their children. In 1996, he survived an 8-day armed kidnapping by the Taliban in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province tribal areas. He has been the target of fatwehs from enraged Islamic mullahs, undergone CIA investigations, and also received threats from fellow Americans after 9/11 for helping Muslim children with education. However, he gained the trust of Islamic leaders, military commanders, government officials and tribal chiefs and has become a champion for schools, especially for girls. By 2009, Mortenson had established 131 schools in rural and often volatile regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan, which provide for over 58,000 children, including 44,000 girls, where few opportunities existed before.¹

The two examples of Sir Edmund Hillary and Greg Mortenson are extremes, yet the desire that the world's poor have for schooling their children is like an avalanche. Where government are unable or unwilling to provide schools, the poor have turned to any other means to try to ensure that if not themselves, then their children will overcome poverty. And schools are seen as the way to do this.

The result has been that over the last decade or more, there has been a considerable increase in private schooling in many developing countries. Countries as diverse as India, Nigeria, Uganda, Mongolia, China and Vietnam have all seen a dramatic growth in the private sector of schooling – particularly at the primary level, but also at secondary. The schools themselves are very diverse in nature. Some are very expensive and elitist schools for the very wealthy or for ex-patriots living within these countries, but the major part of the growth of private schools has been those designed for the local, often poor, families. These charge much lower fees than the elite schools and have correspondingly poorer facilities.

In the more economically advantaged world, much of the academic discussion about private schooling has long been linked to their supposed privilege and elitism (Walford 1990, 2003). In practice, this association has always been misleading, for in most countries, the sector is very diverse; while the leading schools may well be highly selective, expensive and likely to lead to high status universities, there are many that are far more modest. This diversity is similarly very evident in developing countries. While most countries still have a highly privileged and exclusive private sector that provides for the children of the middle and upper classes, there is also a wide diversity of other private schools that serves a much broader range of children.

This diversity of private providers raises the immediate question of what is meant by the terms 'private', 'low-fee' and even 'school'. What is the cut-off point for the fee to still be considered low? What is a private school? When does private tutoring become a school? Religious organisations, of course, have been centrally involved in private provision in many countries for decades. In many countries, they have become so much a part of the educational landscape that they receive substantial financial support from the state. This means that the distinction between private and state schools is often blurred, with some well-established private schools benefiting from a range of tax incentives and direct financial support from government.

This chapter focuses on schools that have become known as ‘low-fee’ or ‘low-cost’ private schools and the extent to which they may be considered as part of the phenomenon of globalisation. These schools are aimed at a target market of some of the poorest families in each of the countries, providing schooling for children whose families are only able to spend a small sum on their children’s schooling. Where there has been a demand for private schooling, a range of individuals, small groups and nongovernmental organisations have stepped in to provide schooling for those who cannot afford the high fees of the elite schools, but are able and prepared to spend a significant proportion of their income on lower-fee schools.

The state also imposes a range of controls over all schools whether they are run by the government or private agents, and private schools are usually required to obtain recognition from the government at some stage in their development. However, one of the fascinating aspects of private schooling in less economically developed countries is the large number of unrecognised schools, such that governments may have only a limited idea of the full scale of private provision in their own countries.

In his edited study of India, Nigeria and Uganda for the Commonwealth Secretariat, Phillipson (2008, p. 1) adopts a very narrow definition of low-fee private schools that is described by what he does not consider to be encompassed by the category as much as what is to be included. He states:

It is not a school run by a non-governmental organisation for charitable or developmental purposes. It is not a school run by a religious organisation for the furtherance of a particular set of moral values and beliefs. It is not a school offering an educational advantage to its pupils and charging a high price for the privilege of gaining access to it. Finally, it is not a school set up by the local community until the government agrees to take over ownership. In contrast to these distinctions, the low cost private school is a school that has been set up and is owned by an individual or individuals for the purpose of making a profit. (Phillipson 2008, p. 1)

I find this definition unhelpful, and it is not even consistently applied within the book itself. Not only are these distinctions not clear, in that there may well be multiple reasons for starting and continuing to run a school for the poor, the exclusion of nongovernmental organisations (especially small, local NGOs), religious organisations and those who might eventually wish to obtain some state funding omits from consideration a huge part of the growth in low-fee private schooling. It also restricts our understanding of why such schools might be started and how the schools themselves, and the motivations for their continued existence, may change in nature over a period of time. Even the idea that they must ‘make a profit’ collapses within the complexity of individuals and groups paying themselves salaries, or establishing schools so that they might gain employment. The vast majority of these new private schools are not the result of shareholders investing money in schools because they see that as the way to obtain the highest financial return. The reasons for starting and continuing with the schools are much more complex, and there is thus the need to consider the whole range of nongovernmental sector schools with low fees that are designed to serve some of the poorest families in each society.

There has now been considerable research on low-fee private schools in the developing world. There has been a particular concentration on India where many separate studies have been conducted. This includes work by Baird (2009), Härmä (2009), Tooley and Dixon (2006, 2007b), Tooley et al. (2007), Kingdon (2007, 2009), Srivastava (2007a, b), Shukla and Joshi (2008) and Muralidharan and Kremer (2009). But there has also been considerable work conducted in other developing countries such as Nigeria (Umar 2008; Rose and Adelabu 2007), Ghana (Akyeampong 2009), Uganda (Kisira 2008) and Malawi (Chimombo 2009). Obviously, the details of low-fee private schooling differ according to the local context, but what is clear from all of these studies is the recent expansion of low-fee private schools.

The study of such schools is particularly important as it has been argued that low-fee private schools actually may be playing an important part in achieving *Education for All* targets and the Millennium Development Goals. For example, Tooley and Dixon (2007a; Tooley et al. 2007) suggest that the many low-fee private schools that are practically unknown to the governments of, for example, Nigeria, Ghana, Pakistan and India are making a substantial contribution towards meeting those targets. In contrast, others such as Lewin (2007) argue that the contribution that private schools make to the achievement of *Education for All* is small. But the work of such critics often relies on government statistics and interviews with high-ranking administrators neither of which, as Tooley (2009) so well describes, usually know very much about the existence or nature of low-fee private schools in their own countries. One of the themes throughout Tooley's book is the way that government officials, university academics, development advisors and educationalists continually deny the existence of such schools in their countries yet; by going into the slums and poor districts of so many developing countries, Tooley was able to locate very many such schools. Many parents have rejected the schools provided by the government (where they are provided) and decided to devote a large proportion of their incomes (but a small actual sum) to the fees for local private schools. Most of these schools were entrepreneurial schools in the sense that they had to make enough money for the owner (who was usually also the Principal) to survive, yet there was usually more to the establishment of such schools than simple profit making or earning a living.

Tooley (2009) gives many examples where wishing to help the local community was as much a part of the motivation for starting a school as increasing personal income, and this is shown by the free or subsidised places that are sometimes given to orphans or families without any means to pay. The very poor sometimes subsidise the even poorer. He also describes the way that an initial plan to run a kindergarten gradually expands into a full primary school as parents encourage the owner to extend the age coverage year by year as their children get older. Owners respond not only because they see the chance to increase their income but because they see a need in their local community that they feel they can meet. This same sort of mixture of motives was found by Srivastava (2007a, 2008) in her study of low-fee private schools in Uttar Pradesh.

2 Factors Leading to Low-Fee Private Schools

Some of the most important factors leading to this expansion have been identified by Phillipson (2008, p. 16) as an oversupply of teachers, poor performance of the public sector, high hidden costs of government schooling, private tuition costs and language of instruction. While each of these may not apply in all cases, most can be seen to be present in developing countries where expansion of low-fee private schools is occurring.

2.1 Oversupply of Teachers

Initially, it might seem strange that various developing countries have an oversupply of teachers. Yet, in countries such as India, teaching is seen as a relatively well-paid and secure job which is also one that is 'respectable' for women. In most parts of India, the oversupply is not in terms of trained teachers, but simply of graduates who are deemed to be suitable to teach simply because they have a degree. In other parts, and in some other countries, there are many more trained teachers than places available due to poor planning and the desire of many to teach.

This means that low-fee private schools are able to employ teachers at very low cost, often at a fraction of the salaries that teachers can obtain in the government schools. Teachers are prepared to tolerate these low salaries for a short period while adding to their experience of teaching and waiting for a job in a government school. Muralidharan and Kremer (2009), for example, estimate that teachers in rural low-fee private schools in India earn at most one-fifth of the salaries of government school teachers. They are on average 10 years younger and twice as likely to come from the same village where the school is situated. They explain that not only does this poorly paid teaching give them further teaching experience, it also gives them time for further study via distance education or local colleges so that they become better placed in the labour market for a future job.

2.2 Poor Performance of the Public Sector

The failure of the government sector can be simply that schools are not available for all children, or not within what the parents regard as a reasonable distance from their homes. This is the case in many rural parts of India, Nigeria, Uganda and so on. It can also be that the schools available do not offer the type of schooling that parents desire, in particular with regard to religion or nature of the curriculum. Interestingly, this can apply as much in developed countries as in developing ones where schools for religious minorities are often not available and these groups feel forced to provide their own private schools.

But the most significant way in which government schools are thought to have failed is in terms of academic success and factor linked to this. The reduced salaries paid to teachers in low-fee private schools allow them to employ proportionally more teachers than in government schools. In Muralidharan and Kremer's (2009) study, for example, they found that the pupil-teacher ratio for the private schools of 19.2 was less than half the ratio of 43.4 in government schools. The private schools were more likely to have electricity and to have a teacher toilet available, but less likely to have a library. But, perhaps most importantly, teachers in private schools are often perceived as having a greater commitment to the school and to the pupils than teachers in government schools. This is seen in terms of the number of absences by teachers (which many studies have shown is lower in low-fee private schools), the amount of time spent teaching by teachers when they are present, and by the fact that teachers in low fee are more likely to be local to the school and thus 'understand' the children better and be more accountable to parents.

It has long been known that there are problems with many schooling systems in the developing world. For example, an important *Public Report on Basic Education* (PROBE 1999) in four northern Indian states showed many problems associated with the quality of schooling. When researchers called unannounced on a large random sample of government schools, only half were engaged in any teaching activity. In a third, the principal was absent. Examples were given of teachers being drunk, sleeping on the job, getting children to do their domestic chores for them and keeping schools closed for weeks at a time. The report concluded that, generally, teaching activity in these government schools had been reduced to a minimum, in terms of both time and effort. More importantly, they claimed that 'this pattern is not confined to a minority of irresponsible teachers – it has become a way of life in the profession'. Similar conclusions have been drawn by many research studies.

There is something of an irony in that while there are such clear problems in the government sector, for many educationists, it is the quality of the schooling provided in the private sector that is a key concern. But these are reasonable concerns given that the fees of such schools are low mainly because the teachers are not paid salaries anywhere near those of government school teachers. Moreover, many teachers in these low-fee schools are not trained or qualified teachers and the schools themselves often lack basic teaching and other facilities. It is important that parents are not being exploited and part of their very limited incomes being wasted. Yet, Tooley et al. (2007) found, in an extensive census and survey of private and government schools in the notified slums of Hyderabad, that on a variety of measures (including pupil-teacher ratio, teaching activity, teacher absenteeism and classroom facilities), private unaided schools (including the unrecognised ones) were actually superior to the comparable government schools. In later studies of academic performance in India, Nigeria and Ghana, Tooley and his colleagues (Tooley 2009, ch 9) gave standardised tests to thousands of children and showed that the children in private schools in general scored higher on these tests in key curriculum areas than children in government schools. This was true even when the results were controlled for several background variables to try to account for the differences between the

children's backgrounds. They also showed that class sizes were smaller and teachers' commitment was higher as indicated by more teaching taking place when the researchers called unannounced.

2.3 Private Tuition Costs

Even in most developing countries, at least primary schooling is nominally free. In practice, there are still costs to be met for school uniforms, books, stationary and 'voluntary' gifts to teachers and to the school for specific activities. But if schools are not performing effectively, many parents also pay for supplementary private tutoring – sometimes given by the very same teachers who should have been teaching their children during the school day.

Private supplementary tutoring has boomed during recent decades. Mark Bray (2006, 2009) has documented some of this growth in a wide range of countries from Canada and France to Cambodia, Bangladesh, Kenya and Egypt. Gathering together results from several surveys, he shows, for example, that about two-thirds of Kenyan grade 6 pupils and about a third of students from Bangladesh and Namibia receive supplementary tutoring. Many of these families using private tuition will be more affluent than those using the low-fee private schools, but if the child is attending a 'free' government school, it might be cheaper to move the child to a private school that actually teaches well instead. Low-fee private schools can be seen to be partly in competition with what parents can obtain by employing private tutors. Indeed, as children in low-fee private schools are sometimes enrolled in government schools in addition to the low-fee school (to obtain free lunches or books or to ensure that they can enter national examinations), the low-fee schools might be seen as a developed version of supplementary tuition.

2.4 Language of Instruction

The last of Phillipson's (2008) four factors that are liable to lead to a growth in low-fee private schools is the common demand amongst the world's poor for a particular language of instruction. Sometimes it is minorities who wish their children to be taught in the language of the home rather than an official language, but it is also often that parents believe their child will have an advantage in life if English is learned from a young age. English is seen as an international language that will provide access to future jobs, and parents often wish to use schools that start English at an earlier age than the government schools. In Nepal, for example, many low-fee private schools advertise themselves as 'English boarding' or 'EB' schools. In this case, the word 'boarding' has been transformed into a signifier of prestige, linguistically associating the schools to the major private boarding schools of Britain,

in whose army the Gurkhas still serve. The word 'English' reinforces this high status and also indicates that the language of instruction is supposedly English for the main subjects. Whether or not this is correct is a matter of individual investigation. It is also highly debatable whether using English as the language of instruction at an early age actually helps children learn either English or the other subject.

3 The Globalisation of Low-Fee Private Schools

Some time ago, I used the term 'reluctant private sector' to describe a group of low-fee private schools (Walford 1991). The term 'reluctant' did not catch on and is clearly an elastic term. It is only those who seek exclusivity or separation from others who would prefer to use the private sector if they believed that the state-maintained sector provided the quality and nature of schooling that they wanted. The 'reluctant' users of private schools are probably quite a large group.

However, the term does capture something that is important about low-fee private schools. The parents who use them have no ideological commitment to the private sector. Most of the people who teach in these schools and started these schools also have no ideological commitment to the private sector. It is simply that the alternatives available in the state-maintained sector did not meet the parents' requirements and local people and groups stepped in to provide schools more in line with these requirements.

When Egypt and Yemen decided to introduce English language teaching at an earlier age, the number of students in private schools declined as this had been one of the reasons for their choice of the private sector. When there is change in the state-maintained sector such that parents are able to find schools that are closer to their desires, parents move into government schools. One would expect that change in the state-maintained sector such that these schools become more desirable would lead to a fall in the number of low-fee private schools. Changes in the government sector in the developing world – such that teachers regularly turned up and taught the children, for example – would mean that low-fee private schools would not be seen as so desirable.

Some may think that this is obvious, but if it is, then we must question the extent to which the growth of low-fee private schools should be seen as part of the globalisation of privatisation. It is certainly correct that privatisation of education and many other public services has been an important globalised phenomenon over recent decades, but it is far from clear that low-fee private schools should be seen as part of this ideological process. By way of example, it is useful to question Tooley's interpretation of his own data. There is, of course, considerable diversity in the schools that Tooley writes about. Some are clearly the result of local entrepreneurs who have responded to the profit motive, and Tooley (2009) stresses the entrepreneurial aspects of starting and running low-fee private schools in developing countries. But his data actually show that many of these low-fee schools in the developing world are simply the result of local people who saw the need for a local school and

had the initiative and confidence to be able to start a school. They usually started on a very small scale at first and often gradually grew as the children aged.

Their motives for starting schools were mixed but were certainly not simply investing in schools to make the greatest return for investment. Similarly, the motives of parents for choosing these low-fee private schools were not any desire to encourage privatisation of schooling as such. As Härmä (2009, p. 163) makes clear in her study of parents in Uttar Pradesh: ‘the evidence is unequivocal that advocacy for privatised education is not supported by parents. What parents in this study actually want is well-functioning, well-staffed government schools, inspected regularly and sincerely to ensure accountability.’

Tooley’s (2009, pp. 35–44) book actually supports this for he writes, for example, about a low-fee private school that he found in one of the poorest districts of Lagos, Nigeria. Leaving his taxi as there were no passable roads in the slum, following a flooded path by rickety wooden planks, then by canoe, Tooley found a pink plastered building containing one room divided by wooden partitions into three classes and another class in a separate building. This building was actually one of three used by the Ken Ade Private School to house about 200 children. Most paid about US\$4 per month, but about 25 orphans attended free. Tooley writes: ‘His motives for setting up the school seemed to be a mixture of philanthropy and commerce – yes, he needed work and saw there was a demand for private schooling on the part of parents disillusioned with the state schools. But his heart also went out to children in his community and from his church – how could he help them better themselves?’

While some of the low-fee private schools that Tooley describes are part of chains of schools designed to make a profit for the owners, there are also very many schools in India, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and even China that are like Ken Ade Private School that are simply the result of someone seeing a need for a school (either because there were no government schools nearby or because the schools that were available were not acceptable to the parents), and being able and willing to help meet that need.

These school owners do not adhere to an ideology that believes that the private is always better than the public or that progress can only be made through privatisation of services. This local, bottom-up movement is far from the ideological underpinnings of most government-initiated privatisation policies and far from the globalisation of ideas that support privatisation. This is no private finance initiative or public-private partnerships – it is simply local people trying to do the best they can for their own children and the children in their community.

Tooley and Dixon (2006) wish to distinguish three forms of privatisation – that involving demand-side financing, that involving reforms to the educational supply side and, this type, ‘*de facto*’ privatisation. I remain unconvinced that such a designation is actually helpful. The growth of these low-fee schools has little in common with macro, top-down policies where governments have tried to free themselves of the financial and other responsibilities of providing schooling.

There is a spectrum of reasons why low-fee private schools have been established in developing countries, but emphasising the entrepreneurial profit making part of that spectrum leads to particular proposals that aim to support and extend

such provision. Tooley (2009) suggests that funding should be made available to entrepreneurs to extend existing low-fee private schools and to enable them to build further schools thus developing chains of brand-name schools. However, an emphasis on the reluctant nature of the commitment of parents and proprietors to private provision might lead to a rather different solution.

The obvious, but quite unrealistic, answer is that less economically developed countries should improve their government schools. It is unrealistic simply because most of these countries have corruption so well embedded that a great deal of funding simply does not reach the schools and much of what does is misused. Many developing countries also seem to have entrenched teacher unions that not only protect their member's interests (which is wholly legitimate) but also actually act against the interests of the children who should be being taught. Inspection and accountability are feeble, and bribes are a common feature of authority relationships. Cultures do not change fast – certainly not fast enough for these countries to meet their millennium goals.

Simple solutions are not possible – which means that there is a need to study these low-fee private schools for what they are, and try to understand how less economically developed countries might, or might not, be able to use these schools in their attempts to reach their millennium goals. Tooley's solution is to encourage the growth of such schools by exploiting the profit motive, yet there is good evidence that much might be gained by encouraging local and community groups and individuals to act more altruistically and start their own schools. Just as most of the people involved in these schools are not ideologically committed to the private sector, it would be foolish for researchers and aid agencies to be ideologically committed to just one way forward.

Treating the phenomenon of low-fee private schools as part of the globalisation of privatisation limits our understanding of how these schools have been established and how they fit within their local educational systems. What has been globalised is not low-fee private schools, for there is rarely any great support for the private sector as such. What has been globalised is the parents' desires to have children attend schools. It is this desire for standardised schooling, and (although rarely made explicit) to have their children take and be successful in standardised high-stakes tests, that has become globalised. From the Sherpa families on the slopes of Mount Everest to those in the rural outposts of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the villages of Malawi, families have put their faith and dreams in schools as a way out of poverty for their children. They are not concerned with who provides these schools, but just that they are provided.

Note

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Globalization and Global Relief Education

Carine Allaf

1 Global Monitoring Report

On March 1, 2011, the Education for All Global Monitoring Report's *The Hidden Crises: Armed Conflict and Education* was released. This report highlighted the stark reality of the state of education in our world today:

- From 1998 to 2008, 35 countries experienced armed conflict.
- In conflict-affected countries, 28 million children of primary school age are out of school.
- Children in these countries are twice as likely to die before their 5th birthday as children in other poor countries.
- 79 % of young people in these countries are literate – compare this with 93 % in other poor countries.
- Over 43 million people are reported to have been displaced due to armed conflict.

Armed conflict, however, is not the only cause of emergency and crisis – consider natural disasters. According to a 2007 Oxfam report, natural disasters have quadrupled over the last two decades from an average of 120 per year in the early 1980s to as many as 500 today. The number of people affected by all disasters has risen from an average of 174 million a year between 1985 and 1994 to 254 million a year between 1995 and 2004. Of the approximately 1.2 billion students enrolled in primary and secondary school, 875 million school children live in high seismic risk zones, and hundreds of millions more face regular flood, landslide, extreme wind, and fire hazards. The numbers are clear – people all over the world are affected by both man-made and natural disasters daily.

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The impact of conflict on children was brought to the forefront of the development discourse by Garca Machel's landmark study *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* commissioned by UNICEF in 1996. Unfortunately, now 15 years later, the report's findings still ring very true, although much has also changed. The United Nations has established a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) to identify grave violations against children,¹ several UN resolutions have been passed to protect children against the atrocities of war and conflict, and humanitarian aid is taking notice of the effects of emergencies on children (UNESCO 2011). The impact of conflict is similar to the impact of natural disasters – infrastructure is destroyed, daily lives (including schooling) are interrupted, and vulnerabilities are further exposed and increased. Many times natural disasters occur in the midst of conflict, and other times they result in a breakdown of security. Nonetheless, the “hidden costs and lasting legacies of violence” also persist (UNESCO 2011, p. 131). Many children living in emergency and chronic crisis depend on humanitarian aid to gain access to education (Save the Children 2009).

Stiglitz (2003) argues that globalization, by closely integrating the world and its people, has led to renewed attention to and is also driven by international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization. He writes, “Many, perhaps most, of these aspects of globalization have been welcome everywhere” (p. 10), and as such the proliferation of international organizations is deemed as the positive side of globalization, whereas the “economic” aspects of globalization are more highly criticized and controversial.² Calhoun (2008) echoes this idea that delivering humanitarian assistance “has become one of the characteristic modalities of globalisation” (p. 86). Stiglitz (2003) defines globalization as “Fundamentally, it is the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders” (p. 9). As the world is more interconnected and linked due to globalization, the presence and importance, along with accountability, of international organizations has increased. As such, humanitarian organizations are inexplicably linked with globalization.

As we live in a more globalized world, humanitarian aid has been influenced and as such so has the provision of education in emergency settings. No discussion of globalization and education in emergency settings is complete without addressing

¹The MRM covers six grave violations against children: (1) killing or maiming; (2) recruitment and use of children; (3) attacks on schools and hospitals; (4) rape and grave sexual violence; (5) abduction of children; (6) denial of humanitarian access. The MRM is not used in all countries, and there are various issues in the training of individuals and in the reporting of violations, especially in highly insecure countries. Full of Promise: How the UN's Monitoring & Reporting Mechanism Can Better Protect Children. Humanitarian Practice Network. Paper #62.

²See Stiglitz (2003) for more on these negative economic aspects of globalization.

the role of humanitarianism, as that is one of the key mechanisms for the delivery of education in emergency-stricken and post-conflict settings.³

I begin this paper by briefly addressing the various historical periods of humanitarianism along with the changing nature of conflict and how that has impacted the humanitarian world. This overview will then follow with an in-depth discussion of how education in emergencies is viewed in the humanitarian world because education can be viewed as a form of aid – life sustaining and improving quality – but also as a part of a conflict, perpetuating ethnic divides or further marginalizing vulnerable groups. I will conclude by addressing the question, what does this mean for policy and research dealing with education?

2 Humanitarianism

According to the World Health Organization, the twentieth century was the most violent period in human history (WHO 2002) and as such has resulted in an increased presence of humanitarian organizations. Barnett and Weiss (2008) classify the existence of humanitarianism into three distinct periods: early nineteenth century through World War II, from 1945 until the end of the cold war, and from 1990 until today. They explain that humanitarianism is consistently shaped by the world in which it exists. The state of the society then impacts the nature of humanitarianism, further illustrating the effect of globalization on this field.

In the first period, industrialization, urbanization, and market expansion in the nineteenth century were perceived to break down society and increase moral ills and due to this humanitarianism first emerged in movements dealing with anti-slavery, women's suffrage, child labor, and even mass education primarily by intellectuals, politicians, jurists, religious leaders, and missionaries (Barnett and Weiss 2008). Also during this period was the advent of war-related international humanitarianism, which could be credited to Henri Dunant. Dunant traveled to Solferino in 1859 to visit Napoleon to discuss his corn-growing and trading company that operated in foreign colonies. However, he happened to arrive to the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino where thousands of wounded or dead were lying on the battlefield with little to no care. As a result, Dunant took initiative and started organizing to help the victims, conveying the importance of helping the wounded regardless of the side of the conflict they were on. Dunant wrote a book about his experience and circulated it throughout Europe. As a result of this book, Dunant and four other men convened for the first time in 1863, and this historic meeting is now considered the founding date of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

From this, the First Geneva Convention, for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded Armies in the Field, one of four treaties, was signed, and the ICRC took charge of enforcing the articles in these treaties. Next came the two world wars,

³ Education can take various forms – formal in the school settings; informal via the home and community; and non-formal in out-of-school settings such as after-school activities.

and during this time, many of the more well-known current day international organizations emerged as a response to and a way to mitigate existing suffering.⁴ This included the creation of the League of Nations at the end of World War I, which subsequently became the United Nations at the end of World War II.

The cold war period between 1946 and the early 1990s included a series of conflicts and tensions, while efforts to rebuild and provide relief to the survivors of the world wars continued.⁵ The UN Security Council was founded during this period, in 1947, with its main charter being to maintain international peace and security with the power to authorize military intervention.

In the post-cold war era to post-9/11 to the present day, conflict and security and as a result emergencies, which are ever present, have shifted in nature.⁶ This shift includes a change in the actors involved in war resulting in an increase in forms of intervention by a great variety of actors all in the name of humanitarianism (Barnett and Snyder 2008). Traditional concepts of war include interstate warfare and militaries. However, contemporary warfare includes a blurring of the line between civilians and combatants in addition to a change in tactics (UNESCO 2011). Today, non-State actors and intrastate wars are increasingly present and considered the norm (UNICEF 2009). Interstate wars (conflicts involving two or more states) are continuing to decrease, while intrastate conflicts (within a state's borders) are slowly on the rise (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, 2011). With intrastate wars comes an increase in the use of paramilitary and proxy forces such as insurgents, resistance movements, separatists, opposition forces, militias, or even rebels. The availability of small arms, light weapons, and ammunitions that are easily found and are cheap contribute to most of the conflict-related deaths today and have been blamed as one of the main reasons why wars persist and cultures of violence remain and are sustained. Furthermore, such light weapons make it even easier to involve children in active warfare (UNICEF 2009).

Humanitarianism, prior to the 1990s, was grounded in the notion of an altruistic desire to save lives, adhere to the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence set forth by the ICRC, and to ultimately do more good than harm (Barnett and Weiss 2008). Although debates over what is deemed a humanitarian organization continue, the 1990s found aid agencies contemplating the impact and outcomes of their actions. Within the humanitarian sector, there are a variety of

⁴Interestingly, Rotary International was started in 1917 as an endowment fund to do good in the world. Save the Children was founded in 1919 by Eglantyne Jebb in England to assist children in central Europe and Albert Einstein's suggestion to help German victims under Hitler led to the birth of the International Rescue Committee in 1933. CARE International began its operations in 1945 sending CARE Packages to survivors of World War II.

⁵For example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was supposed to be a temporary agency to assist European refugees.

⁶One indication of this is the Security Council's redefinition of peace and security due to the emerging "new wars" which resulted from "a recalculation of the relationship between interests and the potential impacts of humanitarian disasters in an increasingly connected world" (Calhoun 2008, p. 25).

agencies with a plethora of foci, mandates, missions, visions, etc. At times seen only as bringing relief, aid agencies are perceived to be welfare workers providing basic services to citizens whose own states fail to do so. Barnett and Weiss (2008) describe globalization as shaping “the professionalization, bureaucratization, and rationalization of the humanitarian ‘firm’” (p. 17). Western governments also hold the purse strings for aid, and although the amount of funding for aid nearly tripled in the 1990s, competition amongst humanitarian actors also increased, and this resulted in changes to organization’s principles, priorities, and policies ‘to be better aligned with those of their funders’ (Barnett and Weiss 2008).

3 Education in the Humanitarian World

Education has historically been viewed as a long-term development and not part of relief efforts.⁷ But with average conflicts lasting 10 years, families living in refugee or internally displaced person (IDP) camps for an average of 17 years, and more than half of the 75 million out-of-school children living in conflict-affected states with millions more affected by natural disasters, education truly cannot wait. Funding for humanitarian aid prioritizes lifesaving assistance and “medium to long term restoration of livelihoods, economic development, education, and psychosocial wellbeing” (Martone 2010, p. 91), which is where education is historically placed, are not prioritized. Martone (2010) writes, “The field of humanitarian assistance is compartmentalized in such a way that our attention is focused on immediate lifesaving measures and readily quantifiable indices like morbidity and mortality rates” (p. 94). This distinction between humanitarian and developmental work is an old one, and this dualism implies that humanitarian and development work are inherently different, working toward different outcomes – humanitarianism toward immediate relief and development for more long-term and sustainable programming (Slim 2000). But with much of the world in some sort of crises, many that are chronic and exacerbated by poverty, education is starting to take the front seat in humanitarian work. Less people are dying as mortality thresholds that qualify as complex humanitarian emergencies are not necessarily being reached, and as such, attention must be directed toward how people are living (Martone 2010).⁸

Due in part to the efforts of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), which is celebrating its tenth anniversary this year, in addition to the expansion of Central Emergency Response Funds (CERF), the inclusion of education in country-level pooled funds, such as the Common Humanitarian Funds (CHF) and the Emergency Response Funds (ERF), and finally the formation of

⁷Education is viewed as one of the most important tools for human development and elimination of poverty – this is evident in the Education for All and Millennium Development Goals.

⁸One death per 10,000 people per day is the threshold used to determine a complex humanitarian emergency.

the Education Cluster (Save the Children 2009) aiding allocations to education have indeed doubled since 2006, yet education accounts for a mere two percent of all humanitarian aid (UNESCO 2011)⁹. However, progress toward acknowledging the importance of education in emergencies is being made and is becoming more evident. In October 2008, the Sphere Project announced a companionship with the INEE recognizing the quality and recommending the use of the INEE *Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery* as a companion to the Sphere handbook¹⁰. On July 9, 2010, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution A/64/L.58 titled, *The Right to Education in Emergency Settings*, emphasizing education in all stages of humanitarian response, safe and protective educational environments, reconstruction and post-emergency situations, and the importance of political will and financing of education efforts.¹¹ And most recently in February 2011, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) released their 2011–2015 Education Strategy with the third goal being “Increased equitable access to education in crisis and conflict environments for 15 million learners by 2015” (USAID 2011, 1). It appears that the humanitarian world is finally taking notice of what aid recipients have long been voicing: education and schooling are paramount for survival (Martone 2010).

In today’s globalized world, no country is safe from conflict or crisis – be it natural or man-made. As such and with education creeping higher on the humanitarian agenda, it is important to investigate the role and consequences of education in emergencies. Note however that education in emergencies does not take the responsibility of education away from a state, but rather it should provide a space for the international community to help where the government is unable or in some cases unwilling to provide education (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003).

Measuring the impact of emergencies on children is messy and difficult. But the need for education in emergencies is obvious and great: education is a right; it protects, and it’s essential to a child’s development; and it can promote peace, prosperity, and stability (Save the Children 2008). In the following section, I will discuss each of these rationales for education in emergencies.

⁹Education is 1 of 11 clusters designated by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) with the goal of strengthening humanitarian responses in emergencies. The other clusters are camp coordination and camp management; early recovery; emergency shelter; emergency telecommunications; food security; health; logistics; nutrition; protection; and water, sanitation, and hygiene. For more information on the Cluster Approach, see <http://onerresponse.info/Coordination/ClusterApproach/Pages/Cluster%20Approach.aspx>.

¹⁰The Sphere Project was launched in 1997 by a group of humanitarian NGOs, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movements. It has produced the Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response handbook with the newest edition released in early 2011. For more information, see <http://www.sphereproject.org/>.

¹¹See the General Assembly’s press release: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2010/ga10964.doc.htm>

3.1 *Education Is a Right*

The impact of emergencies whether natural or man-made can vary depending on a situation and context. Yet, whatever the impact is, there is sure to be an interruption, degradation, or destruction of education and educational systems, robbing children from their right to an education (Sinclair 2002). An essential framework from which education in emergencies operates is that education is a fundamental human right. The 1990 Jomtien Declaration, the 2000 World Education Forum Framework for Action promoting Education for All, and the 2000 Millennium Development Goals, all not legally binding, have endorsed the right to education, especially to the most vulnerable populations in crises situations (INEE 2010). In addition to these, the right to education is included in the principles and provisions of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, and refugee law (INEE 2010).¹² The right to education outlined in these agreements becomes even more essential in times of emergencies because it “gives a lifeline of hope” (Sinclair 2002, p. 34). Yet, many states are either not signatories to these conventions or have not ratified them. For example, the United States and Somalia are the only two parties that have not ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and Myanmar and Jordan are examples of two countries with high numbers of refugees that have not ratified the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Even when states have signed onto such conventions, there is no accountability of their actions, and a large gap remains between the rhetoric of the international community and its action and funding priorities (Munoz 2010).

When an emergency strikes, affected communities often call for nutrition, health, and shelter, in addition to education. In the wake of the 2010 Haiti earthquake, 1,300 camps were set up to host 1.3 million displaced people. In one of these camps, the International Organization for Migration set up suggestion boxes that resulted in 700 letters in just the first 3 days and numerous letters echoed the same sentiment: the need for education. A 33-year-old woman wrote, “We don’t want to die of hunger and also we want to send our children to school. I give glory to God that I am still alive – but I would like to stay that way” and another shared, “Living under a tent is not favorable neither to me nor to my children. We would appreciate your assistance in obtaining a future as one does not appear to be on our horizon” (Sontag 2010). Youth in Iraq collectively shared, “Often during armed conflicts, schools and other education institutions are closed for one reason or another.

¹²The *INEE Minimum Standards Handbook* (2010) offers a concise list of the international legal instruments that discuss education as a right (p. 6): Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Fourth Geneva Convention and Additional Protocol II; Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; Convention on the Rights of the Child; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement; and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

This has a negative impact on children and young people’s state of mind” (UNICEF 2009, p. 10). A 15-year-old boy who fled with his younger brother from the Democratic Republic of Congo in hopes of accessing education recalled, “To pay for school I had to sell some of the food we received from the World Food Program, even though it wasn’t enough to survive” (as cited in Martone 2010, p. 97).

As such and from a rights-based framework, education is a fundamental human right that every child is entitled to, no matter where he/she lives. This rights-based approach is used to strategically advocate for education in emergencies on the national and international levels (Smith and Vaux 2003). Unfortunately, the realization of the right to education is not the reality as many children living in poverty are faced with a variety of obstacles. Armed conflict or a natural disaster then exacerbates such situations and puts children in more dire states which increase the importance of access to their right to education. However, Kagawa (2005) warns that using this rights-based approach is controversial because of the prioritization of one right over another. As such, it is important to not advocate for education over another right but rather to include education in a holistic and comprehensive response to emergencies.

New wars are decreasing, yet old ones linger and recur. One thing that does not change however is that emergency-stricken communities consistently prioritize education along with water, health, nutrition, and security. As such, it is important that education is not only viewed as a basic right in war or time of emergency but also during times of peace.

3.2 Education Protects and Is Important to Child Development

The aims of education as outlined in the UNCRC move beyond traditional notions of access to formal education, “embracing a broad range of life experiences and learning processes that enable children, individually and collectively, to develop their personalities, talents, and abilities and live a full and satisfying life within society” (Munoz 2010, p. 14). Children are especially vulnerable in times of crisis, due in part to their dependency on adult care.¹³ Displacement can easily increase their vulnerability to threats of separation from the family, abduction or recruitment for combat, or exposure to targeted violence or mines. At the same time, threats that existed before the crisis, such as sexual violence, child labor, malnutrition, or disease, can then intensify (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003).

Education can play a protective role for children in emergency situations by offering physical, psychosocial, and cognitive protection. Wargo (2010) breaks down the role of education in terms of protection into three distinct categories: (1) education as an alert and as a bridge to response, (2) education and protection

¹³The UNCRC defines a child as being below the age of 18 years old. However, the definition of child is contextual and could also be cultural: it could be based solely on age but also on responsibilities and behavior.

from recruitment, and (3) education and rehabilitation and reintegration. In this vein, the scope of the term education is broad, encompassing access to school buildings and national curriculum and using them as a place to notice and address children's behaviors but also includes activities and learning outside of the formal classroom (Sinclair 2002). Examples of such activities include mine and unexploded ordnance education/awareness, recreational programs, sports, HIV/AIDS prevention, vocational skills training, human rights and peace education, and even psychosocial and mental health care. Education and structured activities give children a sense of normalcy that has a beneficial effect on the mental health of children.

Schools and school buildings are usually viewed as safe arenas in which other services could be provided – such as child protection, psychosocial care, health, nutrition, etc. But schools as zones of safety must not be taken for granted. Many times, schools themselves are where violence and crime takes place and are used as recruiting grounds for child soldiers. There have been reports of children being voluntarily or forcibly recruited from school or on their way to or from school between 2006 and 2008 in the following countries: Afghanistan, Burundi, Chad, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Palestine Autonomous Territories, the Philippines, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, and Zimbabwe (O'Malley 2010). Depending on the context, this is something that must be considered and taken into account when planning education in emergency situations.

Also, schools are not safe from attack, and in fact, an increase in attacks on schools and school personnel has been documented, especially in the past 3 years (Sommers 2002; O'Malley 2010). O'Malley (2010) lists numerous examples of such, some include: In Colombia, 90 teachers were murdered between 2006 and 2008 and at least five buildings were attacked; During Israeli military operations in Gaza in 2008–2009, kindergartens and schools were targeted resulting in 265 students and teachers dead and close to 300 school buildings and infrastructure damaged or destroyed; Approximately 127 nursery schools, schools, and universities were destructed in Georgia in August 2008; In Afghanistan, the number of attacks on schools and school personnel increased from 242 in 2007 to 670 in 2008; and in India, close to 300 schools were reportedly blown up by Maoist rebels between 2006 and 2009.¹⁴

The compromising of school buildings is not specific to armed conflict. Many times when natural disasters strike, schools are immediately used as shelters for displaced populations and refugees. While providing shelter for people, education is quietly sidelined. It is important that, when possible, shelters are set up in places other than schools. Buildings that can be used as shelters should be identified and considered in all disaster risk reduction and contingency planning efforts that governments and states take part in, especially those that are more prone to natural disasters.

¹⁴ For more information on attacks against education, see the newly launched (June 2011) the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack: <http://protectingeducation.org> and O'Malley (2010).

When schools are not available, child-friendly spaces (CFS), safe designated areas, can be an important tool in the immediate aftermath of a crisis. UNICEF recognizes CFS as a key child protection strategy and first used this concept in 1999 in the Kosovar refugee camps in Albania and Macedonia. Since then CFS are used by many agencies both in temporary and permanent settings to provide structured activities in a safe environment. While children are in safe spaces such as these, Sinclair (2001) notes “mothers are able to concentrate on their tasks, such as queuing for food and water...without having to worry that their young children will get lost... or come to harm” (p. 9).

Barriers to children attending schools are indicative of larger protection issues such as discrimination, security, poverty, or geographic isolation (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003). All educational activities need to take into consideration the context and the obstacles to access. One successful example of this took place in Afghanistan where girls’ education is difficult due to a lack of safety and security, long distances to school, a lack of infrastructure, and a shortage of qualified female teachers. The Partnership for Advancing Community Education in Afghanistan (PACE-A), a consortium of four NGOs,¹⁵ working closely with the Afghani Ministry of Education and funded by USAID, formalized community-based schools throughout various communities increasing access to education to females all over Afghanistan.¹⁶ This was successful because it was localized to the context of Afghanistan, making it acceptable and sustainable by the community.

In addition the physical space and aspect of schools being safe and protective, the activities and content can be protective. Mine risk education (MRE) aims to reduce the risk from land mines and unexploded ordinances (UXO) through educational activities and community awareness. One example of the importance of the MRE is a story of two students, in Sudan in January 2011 that entered their secondary school carrying a live grenade they found on their way to school. They handed it to their teacher who not knowing what to do with it placed the grenade in the corner of the classroom with a rock on top of it. Luckily the school then immediately called the Mines Advisory Group (MAG) who sent a team to evacuate the school while they removed the grenade from the school. Then, a community liaison officer offered MRE to the students of the school on how to identify land mines and UXO and what to do if they are around them.¹⁷

Another example includes HIV/AIDS education. Everyday around 1,000 children under the age of 15 become infected with HIV, and the majority contracts the virus during pregnancy or delivery or when breast-fed by HIV-positive mothers (UNESCO 2011). Increased education of HIV and AIDS transmission mechanisms

¹⁵These include the International Rescue Committee (IRC), Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Aga Khan Development Network, and CARE.

¹⁶For more on the impact of the PACE-A project, see Burde and Linden (2010). *The Effect of Village-Based Schools: Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial in Afghanistan*.

¹⁷For more information, see the Mines Advisory Group website: <http://www.maginternational.org/MAG/en/news/sudan-protecting-schoolchildren-in-kassala/>.

could significantly decrease infection rates. In this situation, community knowledge, and more specifically maternal education, can protect children from HIV and AIDS.

Child protection must be continually reassessed and reevaluated for any associated threats or unintended harm or consequences (Nicolai and Triplehorn 2003) and must reflect the needs of the community. For example, child soldier rehabilitation and reintegration will look differently in Mozambique versus the Democratic Republic of Congo versus Colombia.

Education moves beyond what takes place within the four walls of a classroom. It is critical to realize the role that education, both as a tangible safe space and as knowledge creation and sharing, can play in the protection and development of children and youth, before, during, and after crises situations.

3.3 Education Can Promote Peace, Prosperity, and Stability

Armed conflicts and natural disasters are not necessarily predictable. However, many things can be done to mitigate conflict and to reduce the risk of disasters before a crisis happens, and then education can also be used to respond to a crisis. Furthermore, education or lack of education can also perpetuate conflict. So, education can actually possess “two faces” (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). As such, education can be used to promote peace and stability in a country before, during, and after a crisis, or it can aggravate a crisis.

In order to understand these two faces of education, the nature of conflict must be understood. The antecedents to conflict are many: economic, class, relations, gender relations, religion, nationalism, resources, etc. (Juergensmeyer 1993; Brown 1997; Collier 2000; Le Billon 2001; Davies 2005). It is also rare that governments will admit their susceptibility to armed conflict and the deeper structural causes of divisions within their societies. However, initiatives can be put in place to ensure that peace is promoted and conflict is limited as much as possible. Peace education, education for peace and citizenship, and peace building movements, just to name a few, abound. Such initiatives address different causes of violence and take various approaches to combatting and dealing with violence (see Galtung 1969; Fountain 1997, 1999; Johannessen 2000; Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Reardon 2000; Barash 2009; Bajaj and Acosta 2009). The underlying goal of all these programs is the attainment of life skills related to peace education, conflict minimization, tolerance, and prevention to reach refugee and returnee children, youth, and the wider community.

An overlooked aspect of education, however, is its “negative face.” In this way, education can actually enflame a conflict or even spark one. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) discuss this in societies that are prone to conflicts along ethnic lines. It may occur through unequal access to and/or quality of educational resources, segregation, declaration of one ethnic group’s superiority over another, the enforcement of a certain language, the negative stereotyping of certain ethnic groups, and the presentation of history that favors a certain group, or curricula and methods that

discourage a sense of self-worth. One example of such an occurrence includes Kurds in Eastern Turkey not being allowed to use their language in schools and having teachers fired for allowing Kurdish to be spoken in schools. Another example is when Israel forced schools of Palestinian children in the occupied territories to close during the first Intifada.

Further looking at how education can actually harm societies, Davies (2005) writes on complexity theory. Although she addresses peace education, Davies spends considerable time on the notion of “war education.” She states that such education takes place in four different ways: (1) the direct preparation of children for conflict including gun practice and how to lay mines; (2) violent schools that include corporal punishment as the norm; (3) the curriculum, especially history textbooks; and (4) the importance placed on examinations and the fear they produce. Davies pushes for the inclusion of critical pedagogy and active citizenship, encouraging children and youth to challenge the norm in what she has termed “interruptive democracy” (p. 370).

When discussing natural disasters, disaster risk reduction (DRR) is necessary and could reduce the negative impact of a natural disaster. According to the INEE (2010), DRR is the concept and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic efforts to analyze and manage the causal factors of disasters, including through reduced exposure to hazards, lessened vulnerability of people and property, wise management of land and the environment, and improved preparedness for adverse events. In 2005, 168 governments adopted the 10-year Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) for building the resilience of communities and nations to disasters. The HFA included five main priority areas: (1) governance; (2) risk assessment, monitoring, and warning; (3) knowledge and education; (4) underlying risk factors; and (5) preparedness and response. Based on priority number three, the World Disaster Reduction Campaign 2006–2007 was launched in Paris in June 2006 by UN International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) Secretariat and UNESCO with support from the French Government. The theme was “Disaster Risk Reduction Begins at School.”

Plan International and World Vision (2009) along with the Global Network for DRR recently published a report, *Views from the Frontline*, on children and young people’s engagement and efforts in DRR. This survey shows the benefits of engaging children and communities in DRR. One instance of successful programming took place in the village of Santa Paz in Southern Leyte, Philippines, which is prone to floods and landslides. The school is situated in a particularly dangerous area and could easily be swept away by a landslide following a tropical storm. Plan and World Vision’s Disaster Risk Reduction program assessed the school and initially built a trench and concrete barrier to protect it. However, it was decided that in order to best protect the community, the school needed to be moved. The headmaster decided to allow a community-wide referendum to decide on whether or not to move the school. The students were included in the vote. But the parents were against moving the school because they were concerned about their children having to travel further to school and the loss of local livelihoods associated with a school relocation (moving the school would result in a loss of lunch clientele

for local shops). However, student organizations conducted campaigns to educate the community about the effects of landslides. When the vote was finally cast, the students' actions led them to win the vote, 101 to 49.

Schools and schooling promoting peace, prosperity, and stability are not new phenomena but have been hijacked for various interests, straying away from the overarching goal of positive citizenship and peace building. In order to mitigate the "negative face" of education, states and governments must be more accountable and transparent, with pressure from the international community to ensure that *all* children and youth are accessing quality education. Putting children and youth in control of their own learning and knowledge dissemination is one way to ensure long-lasting learning and understanding of critical real-life issues.

4 Conclusion

This paper has not addressed any new issues specific to the field of education in emergencies but has provided a comprehensive review of the state of education in emergencies in today's globalized world and has made it clear that education in emergencies must be viewed as a core part of both humanitarian and development work. It cannot remain as an afterthought. Emergencies take place in phases, and education must be considered not only in the immediate aftermath/response but also even before the emergency takes place in the form of DRR and conflict mitigation. So, what does this mean for policy and research dealing with education?

Although the field of education in emergencies in the formal sense has been around for the past 10 or so years, the notion of education in emergency situations is not new and, I would argue, is now becoming the norm rather than the exception. With the breakdown of global security, an increase in natural disasters, and a change in the nature of armed conflict, most communities are exposed and vulnerable to some sort of hazard that could easily become a disaster if not managed or mitigated. As such, education in emergencies should not be an isolated reaction but rather an ever-present preemptive action.

Education in emergencies must also take place from the bottom up, with support from the international community. Many times the capacity of the community itself is overlooked, and many valuable resources are lost. Rather than looking directly to the international community for assistance, we should look within the affected community and work with those that are directly affected by the crisis and who will long remain once the crisis is over. Working like this will undoubtedly increase sustainability. However, an international presence is essential for funding, accountability, and at times some technical expertise. But it is essential that those that are most in need have much to offer each other and their own communities.

When education is solidly placed on the humanitarian and development agenda, funding will increase, making more efforts possible. Peace building, health, water, and sanitation (and other sectors) will greatly benefit from the prioritization of education in emergencies. With that said, education must not replace other sectors

nor must it be talked about it in isolation. For research and policies to make the most sustainable impact of great quality on education in whatever capacity, they must be holistic and comprehensive. For this to happen, advocacy and awareness must take place not only at the government and state level but also at the UN, donor, and NGO levels.

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The Globalism of an Empirical Mutual Identity: Culture and Thinking in Comparative Education

Niranjan Casinader

1 Introduction

In the history of comparative education, the concept of thinking and culture as a mutually interdependent duality has been largely a minor figure in the research landscape, more identified by its anonymity and absence than any deliberate rational eradication. It is only in the last decade that the possibility of educational connections between the two ideas in terms of curriculum, pedagogy and educational achievement has been more openly canvassed. In that emergence, however, the space between the work of comparativist researchers and organisational practitioners has become more acute, creating tensions within a culture-thinking identity that is polarised between, on the one hand, social orientationism and, on the other, what can be termed a form of neo-liberal acknowledgement through negation.

In contemporary education, where intercultural understanding has become a more overt or implicit principle of educational systems internationally, it might be expected that such presumptions would be more challenged in the reality of comparative education, and not just be confined to its theoretical aspects. However, the very reverse is true. In concert with, or as part of, the neo-liberal atmosphere that has increasingly subsumed global society since the modern phase of globalisation began in the 1990s, both spatially and intellectually, the concept of culture-thinking in comparative education has been increasingly diminished to the point of empirical non-existence in the search for 'valid' bases of international educational comparability. The voices of dissent, those who decry such diminution as an ideological extremity that ignores the heterogeneous reality of human society, have been marginalised, at least, for the time being.

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2 Culture and Thinking as Individual Notions in Comparative Education

2.1 Culture

When considered as individual entities, reflection on culture has been more long-standing and widespread than that of thinking amongst comparative researchers. As many have highlighted (Alexander 2001; Apple 2001; Broadfoot 2000; Crossley 2000; Crossley and Broadfoot 1992), comparative education, as a discipline, incorporated the essentiality of cultural influences on education right from its early years through the work of Michael Sadler, whose essential credo was that education is inevitably and inextricably connected to the cultural milieu(x) in which it takes place: ‘we must also go outside into the streets and into the homes of the people, and try to find out what is the intangible, impalpable, spiritual force...the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside...and govern and interpret the things inside...’ (Sadler 1979, p. 49).

This centrality aside, the way in which culture has been treated within comparative education has changed with the evolving notion of the meaning of the term through broad intellectual exploration and how educationalists have interpreted that idea. Until towards the end of the twentieth century, an anthropological view of culture dominated the approach taken by educational researchers, including the comparativists. Writers such as Johnson and Christensen, who saw culture as ‘...the shared attitudes, values, norms, practices, patterns of interaction, perspectives, and language of a group of people...’ (Johnson and Christensen 2004, p. 147), were in line with Edward Said (1993), who argued that the idea represented ‘...all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure...’ (1993, p. xii), and thereby conforming to a view that culture was the embodiment of the outward vestiges of human action, such as language, behaviour, beliefs and artefacts.

Such a defined set of parameters led to culture being treated in what can now be viewed, in hindsight, to be a very outcome-oriented perspective, but it suited the framework of comparative education established by Sadler at the start of the twentieth century, in which systems of education in different countries were studied with a view to improving one’s own, which Sadler saw as reflecting ‘...deepened [national] character as well as ...sharpened intellect’ (Sadler 1979, p. 49). This emphasis on the connection between education and culture as a mutual reinforcement of national unity was one that in tune with the anthropological perspective on culture, and in that sense, is a perspective that persists. The continuing development of national curricula in myriad countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, Malaysia and South African in the first part of the twenty-first century reflects the persistence of such concerns.

The priorities of national development and the search for national unity in newly formed states during the period of post-war decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s

saw the growth of ‘international education’, which can be seen as a ‘Sadlerian’ perspective on comparative education. Within this, the drive for a unifying ‘cultural’ identity was seen to lie in the establishment of systems of mass universal education:

Universal basic education has ... helped Australian citizens to share in the social consciousness of their country. It has also been a powerful force in the new nations of East Asia, nations born out of former colonies, out of pan nationalism and revolution, and currently in great need of a unifying force to bring their various ethnic, religious and language groups together. (Ruby 1999, p. 72)

Thus, the main arena for the study of any links between culture and education within comparative education followed this narrative and tended to have a highly localised focus. Research typically comprised a case study of the implementation of a specific curriculum programme within a particular country or region in the ‘developing world’, for example, Armer and Youtz (1971), Bray (1992), Ayres (2000) and Coe (2005). In the broader comparative education field, however, researchers’ concerns about the process in the internationalisation of education were very much part of the post-colonial discourse, challenging the precepts of development assistance founded on the export of educational conceptions derived in the Euro-American sphere.

The post-colonial development programmes, which incorporated internationalist educational initiatives, resulted in an export of ‘Western’ cultural values and ideas that were being transplanted into a new milieu, a process that became accelerated from the 1990s with the onset of modern globalisation. A mass educational system, itself derived from the needs of industrialising Europe in the nineteenth century and therefore based on the educational, intellectual, cultural principles and artefacts of the Euro-American world, was inevitably part of that model:

Hierarchies of knowledge and theories which had developed to account for the discoveries of the New World were legitimated at the centre. School simply reproduced domesticated versions of that knowledge for uncritical consumption. Although colonial universities saw themselves as being part of an international community and inheritors of a legacy of Western knowledge, they were also part of the historical processes of imperialism. (Tuhiwai Smith 2006, p. 561)

As highlighted by O’Rourke (2000), the movement of educational ideas has been essentially one way, from the ‘globaliser’ to the ‘globalised’, a movement in learning and knowledge that has been reciprocated within countries themselves. Once again, the principles of what ‘culture’ meant was not challenged in educational circles, even if the principle of cultural relevance in the export of education into different countries was a matter of debate in comparative education:

Traditionally, there is little learning taking place in a country between the central and local level, particularly rural, indigenous groups. Also, traditionally, there is little learning taking place between any external partners and countries. We need to change knowledge flows, so that learning is two-way and reciprocal. (p. 39)

Nonetheless, it would be disingenuous to ignore the willing complicity of the globalised in being drawn into the neocolonial web of this educational replication.

The newly formed sovereign states, despite the acknowledged need to relate education to local circumstances, were often inclined to follow the model of national development that had given the ‘globaliser’ the economic standard of living to which developing nations aspired. They saw that the states of the Global ‘North’ provided ‘...a common framework of understanding, enhancing the process of modernization’ (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 30).

The process of educational, and therefore cultural, transplantation continued during, and, arguably, was even heightened by, the phase of modern globalisation that began in the 1980s and 1990s. Facilitated by factors such as the policies of sovereign states such as China, India and South Korea choosing to promote their own ‘modernisation’ through an aping of the experience of the Euro-American ‘centre’, as well as the communications and technological revolution, and, in particular, the access to ideas and knowledge afforded by the internet, the amplified diffusion of educational ideas, policies and programmes signalled an increasingly global concern for the impact of such change on local cultures and ways of life. The place of comparative educationalists within this shift was exemplified in the publication of a special issue of *Comparative Education* in 2000, as part of which the future of the discipline was reassessed.

Within this review, common themes such as reiterating the focus of the discipline on the practice of education (e.g. Broadfoot 2000) were accompanied by the incorporation of two other transitions, both of which have guided a readjustment of the culture-thinking paradigm in comparative education. The first, in line with Said’s expression of the inevitability and essentiality of cultures adapting to new influences – that is, it is not an ‘...inert’ entity (1993, p. 14) – was an acceptance that cultural (and, therefore, educational) change was inevitable. To expect total insulation for local societies was unrealistic, regardless of the perceived immorality of the ‘West’ imposing its view of the world on others:

Cultural borrowing happens; it has always happened. Few countries remain hermetically sealed in the development of their educational systems.... (Alexander 2001, p. 508)

The second was a concordance with the global intellectual shift in the conception of ‘culture’, through which the anthropological framework was being challenged by a more mind-centred, holistic premise that had been developed over the two decades of the twentieth century. Cultures were more seen as being ‘...composed of myriad belief complexes and habitual patterns of social interaction that repeatedly shape patterns of perception and cognition...’ (Letendre 2006, p. 48) or defined as being principally concerned with the interpretation of the ‘...webs of significance...’ (Geertz 1973, p. 5) that had been created by people within a way of life. Similarly, culture is comprised of ‘...interdependent, self-organizing social systems that form part of the symbiotic web of life...’ (Spariosu 2006, p. 33). Combined with this was an emerging sense that issues related to culture were not so much significant in their diversity, a perspective that underpinned the anthropological definition of culture, but in their points of difference:

... the problem of cultural interaction emerges only at the signficatory boundaries of cultures, when meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated. Culture only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning

in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations. (Bhabha 1994, p. 50)

Within this cognitive flux was a reiteration by comparative educationalists that culture and education were inextricably linked and that social context and culture were fundamental to the essential conception of comparative education: ‘Culture in comparative analysis and understanding, and certainly in national systems of education, is all’ (Alexander 2000, p. 30). It was argued that, at the time of the New Millennium, it was time for comparative education needs to embrace a new focus on the learning process and how this was affected by the cultural perspective – ‘...a much more explicit recognition of education as a cultural, not a scientific project...’ (Broadfoot 2000, p. 368) – if it was to maintain its future relevance as an academic discipline. It was also at this time that Alexander published his landmark comparative study, *Culture and Pedagogy* (2000), which exemplified the directness of this retrieval of the comparative education field.

Of course, this revised formulation of culture and its intellectual impact was not confined to education. It can be argued that the principles behind its formulation were to be reflected in international developments in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including such agreements as the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations 2008), which recognised the moral and legal integrity of individual cultures and their fundamental right to be acknowledged in the formulation, conduct and actualisation of local, national, regional and global societies. Researchers in other fields, such as Anghie (2005), have also commented on the relationship between such acknowledgements of cultural difference and sovereignty; the shift away from a universal conception of international law based on purely ‘Western’ principles to one that was more inclusive of the interests of the ‘new states’ – ‘...new iterations of sovereignty doctrine...’ (p. 199) – a transition that came with the rising power of the “developing world” within international forums such as the United Nations, enabling:

... a universal standard that Third World could play a role in creating. The new field of human rights law offered one such possibility, as it was a law that develop the same time as the emergence of the new states. As such, it could not be subjected to the criticism that the new states had played no role in formulating the law by which they were being bound. (Anghie 2005, p. 210)

For comparative educationalists, these shifts in cultural thought were to open up a new possibility in the study of links between culture, thinking and education, a development that will be addressed in Sect. 1.3.

2.2 *Thinking*

Given the acceptance of Euro-American economic and cultural principles by both sides of the post-colonial development exchange, it was inevitable that the views held by educationalists in the ‘Western’ sphere as to the nature of thinking held sway. In this arc, thinking in education was, and remains, viewed as a hierarchical set of

attributes composed of three essential components: critical thinking, creative thinking and problem-solving, or a ‘triarchic theory of intelligence’ (Swerling and Spear-Swerling 1996). Similar structures have been put forward by a number of researchers, including Pogonowski (1987), Edwards (2002), Lipman (2003) and Dillon (2006). Culture was not seen to have an influence on the nature of analytical thinking – ‘...[t]o say that thinking skills are social constructs is not necessarily to take the relativist view that what counts as a good argument or approach to a problem is defined within one or other academic discipline or culture...’ (Slade 1995, p. 40) – as it was seen as being independent of human differences and inherently linked with ‘Western’ culture. As Peters (2007) summarised the argument, ‘There is no more central issue to education than thinking. Certainly, such an emphasis chimes with the rationalist and cognitive deep structure of the Western educational tradition’ (Peters 2007, p. 350).

In the same vein other proponents of a ‘cultureless’ notion of thinking could be found. For example, E. Paul Torrance, a leading Euro-American researcher in thinking and gifted education during the last quarter of the twentieth century, made little reference of the influence of culture. It was only in the latter stages of his career that some acknowledgement of the possibility was made:

...[i]nterest in multicultural influences accelerated as we approached the 21st century. In fact, the 21st century may be known in history as the multicultural century. It certainly promises to be such insofar as developments regarding creativity is concerned. Interest in these multicultural influences on creativity has been slow to develop. (Torrance 2003, p. 10)

The paradox of this belief that there could be no cultural difference on how analytical thinking was perceived because only one culture was able to facilitate it was not acknowledged at the time, and remnants of what might be considered ancestral vestiges of neocolonialism can still be seen in more recent comments of comparative educationalists, even amongst those who are committed to the importance of cross-cultural issues in education. For instance, Dahl (2010) puts forward the contention that rational problem-solving in ‘Western’ culture was inevitable because the ‘...legacy of individual accountability...’ that accompanied the diffusion of Greek-Roman culture across Europe, accompanied by its belief in universal, natural laws, and then into North America, attended by the system of order and thought embodied in the ‘...higher laws of God...’ and the practice of Christianity, was fundamental in creating the ‘... independent spirit that is part of Western society [which] lends itself very well to problem-solving and creative innovation’ (2010, p. 19).

In part, this persistent disavowal of the relationship between culture and thinking, at least within the Euro-American sphere, can be attributed to the rapid changes instituted by the modern phase of globalisation from the 1990s onwards. The process merely served to accentuate and reinforce the validity of the cognitive foundations of ‘Western’ educational thought, for it generated not only a reiteration of the value of Euro-American capitalist economic and social principles in national development but also created a new global appreciation for the necessary power of thinking skills as part of an education that would prepare young people for life in this new world society of increasingly fundamental connections:

Globalization’s increasing complexity necessitates a new paradigm for learning and teaching. The mastery and mechanical regurgitation of rules and facts should give way to a paradigm

in which cognitive flexibility and agility win the day. ... An education for globalization should therefore nurture the higher-order cognitive and interpersonal skills required for problem finding, problem solving, articulating arguments, and deploying verifiable facts or artefacts to substantiate claims. (Suárez-Orozco and Baolian Qin-Hilliard 2004a, pp. 5–6)

Ironically, the cogency of this new drive for globalised learning led to a more positive approach to the culture-thinking dialectic being addressed more prominently in the late 1990s and early 2000s by economics and business researchers such as Hofstede (2001) and Gannon (2008) than comparative educationalists, the economic imperative for cultural understanding being driven by economic globalisation that necessitated successful transnational corporations to employ people who knew how to conduct business in an international cross-cultural context.

3 Mutual Interdependence: The Intersection of Two Realities

3.1 *Changing Perceptions*

The relative failure of the comparative education field prior to the early 2000s to confront the possible relationship between culture, thinking and education can be seen as an effective statement of negation in respect of that relationship. However, the early part of the twenty-first century has seen a research shift in the direction of this point of debate, one that has been contemporaneous with the diffusion of neo-liberalist thought that has ironically steered measurements of comparative education in practice into a standardised numerical entity in which ‘cultureless’ principles are more prized than ‘culture-full’ ideas.

A significant factor in this change of perception has been the evolution of a new mind-centred conception of ‘culture’ (see Sect. 1.2):

During most of the twentieth century, anthropologists defined culture as a shared set of beliefs, customs, and ideas that held people together in recognizable, self-identified groups. Starting in the mid-1970s and culminating in the 1990s, however, scholars in many disciplines challenged the notion of cultural coherence as it became evident that members of close-knit groups held radically different visions of the social worlds. Culture is no longer perceived as a preprogrammed mental library—a knowledge system inherited from ancestors. Contemporary anthropologists, sociologists, and media specialists treat culture (if they use the term at all) as a set of ideas, attributes, and expectations that is constantly changing as people react to changing circumstances. This intellectual development reflects social life at the turn of the 21st-century.... (Watson 2004, p. 144)

This has created a foundation for a renewed or transformed mode of comparative education, which encourages people to have more agency in determining the ways in which they, and, thus, their culture(s), react to the introduction of new ideas, including those in respect of education:

Any definition of culture as making meaning, whether focused on the meanings or on how they are made, implies that culture does not act. Culture does not do things to people; rather, people do things, and one important thing they do is make meaning. (Anderson-Levitt 2012, p. 444)

The restatement of the basis of the discipline, and its inherent relationship to culture, has continued to be made into the early 2000s and made even more explicit:

They are also clearly visible in the influence of post-modern and post-colonial perspectives that recognise the significance of culture, context and difference in all aspects of educational research and development. (Crossley and Jarvis 2000, p. 262)

In terms of the relationship between culture, thinking and education, the reformulation of culture as the collective ‘mind’ of a body of people can be seen to have also encouraged and facilitated greater consideration of and research into thinking, as a mind-based activity, being linked or influenced by the mental conceptions of culture possessed by people.

Perhaps influenced by the opportunities presented by such conceptual interpretation, it was also at this time that researchers in comparative education from outside or, at least on the margins of, the Euro-American tradition of comparative research began to investigate and contest the traditional views on the nature and relationship between culture and thinking within education. It is only in the twenty-first century, as educational writers who reflect the views of ‘other’ entered the comparative educational debate, that prior assumptions of ‘Western’ intellectual dominance began to be challenged. Several began to question the previously held view that culture was not a variable in the expression and act of thinking. For example, writers such as Michael-Bandeled (1998) and Abdi (2002, 2006) have argued strongly that the differences in the basis of African society, with its primary focus on communal life and ways of thinking, are diametrically opposed to the individualistic conceptions of the basis of Euro-American culture and that therefore local systems of education needed to be based on an acknowledgement of such differences. In doing so, they reiterated the mind-based view of culture:

...culture is simply the world of everyday life where one learns, reacts, and responds to the physical and human environment that surrounds him or her...[it] is not biologically inherited but socially learned. (Abdi 2002, p. 71)

The difference between the African and Western value of the individual is that the point of individual attainment within the Western context ends with the individual. (Michael-Bandeled 1998, p. 81)

The communal aspects of traditional African life create a collective form of thinking that is in direct opposition to the primacy of individual identity in ‘Western’ society, emphasising the ‘...discrepancies between the...[two] positions vis-à-vis the traditional notion of property ownership, emphasis on individualism, and the legitimized competitive nature of one person gaining at the expense of another...’ (Abdi 2006, p. 66). The difference in attitude to thinking represented by seeing ‘...the competitive individual [being] isolated from his or her community [versus] the co-operative individual enriched by the community...’ (Dei 2000, p. 76).

3.2 *Emergence: Time of Change*

Although it is arguable that only researchers outside the paradigm were able to perceive such contradictions, the shifts in the culture-thinking dialectic were not totally confined to researchers outside the old paradigms. For example, the work of Richard Nisbett (2003) was another signpost in the journey to an acceptance of the culture-thinking interrelationship, in which a comparative study of Americans and East Asians demonstrated the former's preference for linear and independent thinking and the latter's inclination towards holistic, interdependent thought:

The decontextualization and object emphasis favored by Westerners, and the integration and focus on relationships by Easterners, result in very different ways of making inferences. (2003, p. 163) In this context of transition, Robin Alexander's *Culture and Pedagogy* (2000) can be viewed as being one of the more comprehensive and landmark studies of its time in this area, principally because of its underscoring of the role of culture in education in ways that both demanded and required investigation because '...schools and classrooms are both cultural channels or cultural interfaces and microcultures in their own right' (Alexander 2000, p. 164).

However, even in this case, a comparative study of education in different countries based on cultural difference did not incorporate the notion of thinking as a discrete entity. The work of Alexander is, therefore, more accurately seen as being reflective of the renewed prevalence on culture in comparative education research. In this, and in other related works as Gannon (2008), Lavia and Mahlomaholo (2012) and Suárez-Orozco and Baolian Qin-Hilliard (2004b), the notion of thinking as a distinct educational entity beyond its general encompassment within the wide web of culture was not evident, perhaps no better demonstrated by the absence of terms such as 'thinking', 'thought' or even 'problem-solving' from their respective indices.

In addition to these transitions in the conceptualisation of culture, there were simultaneous signs of a shift or, at least, widening in the Euro-American traditional notion of thinking. Richard Nisbett, his colleagues and others had also further developed the initial research (Nisbett 2003) into an exploration of how the differing social orientations of cultures influenced the way in which people formulated and communicated ideas:

Cultures also differ in their social orientations... Cultures that endorse and afford independent social orientation tend to emphasize self-direction, autonomy, and self-expression. Cultures that endorse and afford interdependent social orientation tend to emphasise harmony, relatedness, and connection. Independently oriented cultures tend to view the self as bounded and separate from social others, where is independently oriented cultures tend to view the self as interconnected and is encompassing important relationships. (Varnum et al. 2010, p. 9)

and reflected on the possible educational consequences of that possible incompatibility:

Individuals in different cultures may think about concepts and problems in different ways. The result is that teachers of one culture teaching students of another culture may not understand how their students think about concepts and problems. (Varnum et al. 2010, p. 8)

Sternberg (2007) using intelligence as a measuring point of thinking was also acknowledging the work of this group of researchers in opening up the debate:

... some cultures, especially Asian ones, tend to be more dialectical in their thinking, whereas other cultures, such as European and North American ones, tend to be more linear. And individuals in different cultures may construct concepts in quite different ways, rendering results of concept-formation or identification studies in a single culture suspect. (Sternberg 2007, p. 8)

Other comparative educationalists were also beginning to reflect upon the possible disjuncture between Western modes of thought in societies and cultures that followed a different paradigm: ‘... western modes of formal schooling, and understandings of intelligence and ability, may not necessarily be applicable to all cultures...’ (Elliott and Grigorenko 2007, p. 1).

Some old parameters still held strong, however, as if comparative educationalists were still ultimately attached to the umbilical cord of ‘Western’ civilisation. For instance, Sternberg, whilst beginning to promote the links between culture and thinking, was paradoxically still defining ‘intelligence’ in the traditional, tripartite Euro-American mode of linear analytical thinking:

I use the term successful intelligence to refer to the skills and knowledge needed for success in life, according to one’s own definition of success, within one’s social cultural context. One requires and utilizes these skills and this knowledge by capitalizing on strengths and by correcting or compensating for weaknesses; by adapting to, shaping, or selecting environments; through a balance of *analytical, creative, and practical abilities*. (author emphasis) (Sternberg 2007, p. 6)

Similarly, Grigorenko (2007), whilst accepting that ‘Western’ notions of intelligence were not necessarily compatible with all cultures and societies, argued that there was no need to compare different societies and cultures in terms of education because no real variation existed: ‘...there are no real grounds for comparison between the western and eastern educational systems, because the Western educational paradigms has successfully spread to Asian and Middle Eastern countries and was adapted by them to meet their specific cultural needs...’ (2007, p. 166).

The possibility that the adaptations may not have been effective as well as might have been hoped or that the modifications themselves might highlight some key points of difference in the cultures seemed to have escaped scrutiny.

3.3 *The Dual Reality of Now*

In spite of this partial shift of the position of comparative educationalists in terms of culture-thinking dialectic, the second decade of the twenty-first century has seen the discipline fall into a form of polarised reality between research and practice in respect of the relationship between culture, thinking and education. The educational

manifestation of the climate of neo-liberalism that has currently enveloped global society increasingly demands that international compatibility of educational phenomena be based on 'valid' criteria (Zajda 2014). Given that the process of globalisation is inherently celebrated as an economic and societal intellectual framework that praises the inevitable primacy of 'Western'-style socio-economic development, itself founded on rational logic and the concept of evidence, it is inevitable that quantitative measurements have been established as the only 'valid' base for international comparison. In the words of Arjun Appadurai (2006), the result of globalisation driven by Western principles has led to the rise in the 'fear of small numbers', where the value or importance of any societal condition (which must include education) can be determined by symbolic attribution. As Broadfoot (2000) commented in the early stages of the neo-liberal shift:

In a climate of increasingly intense global economic competition and a growing belief in the key role of education as the source of marginal advantage, governments have become increasingly obsessed with the international rankings of measured educational outcomes.... (2000, p. 360)

Educational imbalance can be resolved by applying '...multiple fractions of capital [that] are committed to neo-liberal marketised solutions to educational problems...' (Apple 2001, p. 410). However the narrowness of such new vision assumes a rational logic and boundaries to education that simply does not exist in reality:

In today's increasingly globalised, fluid and fragmented world, the pressure for education to provide the international (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013) currency which will form the basis for trade in the knowledge society becomes daily more explicit. As a result, those aspects of educational activity that do not lend themselves to explicit and quantifiable measurement, are increasingly difficult to sustain. Both individuals and institutions, and even whole systems of educational provision, are necessarily becoming increasingly focused on achieving those measures which are the key to survival in the international educational competition. (Broadfoot 2000, p. 359)

In this age of neo-liberalism, the response of comparative education to studies of the connections between culture, education and thinking, both in organisational practice and its related research, has been to effectively disaffirm the existence of culture, by removing it, at least in Euro-American terms, from the field of comparisons and assessments. In the phraseology of Helms-Lorenz et al. (2003), cultural difference is accepted as a factor, but the solution adopted in such measurements is that researchers have to 'purify' (p. 27) culture out of the quantitative instruments being used. The multiple presumptions in such an approach, including the accepted probability of making an instrument culturally 'neutral' or the methodological validity of eradicating a factor that is accepted as having some potential influence on outcomes, leave the rationale for such a strategy in question.

One of the more apposite examples of this 'negation by absence' in comparative education practice and research can be found in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which was established in 1997 by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as part of a '...commitment by governments to monitor the outcomes of education systems by measuring student achievement on a regular basis and within an internationally agreed common framework' (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 13).

The PISA assessments now include over 30 non-member states and economies and address the measurement of thinking ability as part of its measurement of literacy, which is interpreted broadly, in order to ‘...determine the extent to which 15-year-old students can activate various cognitive processes that would enable them to make effective use of the reading, mathematical and scientific knowledge and skills they have acquired throughout their schooling and related learning experiences up to that point’ (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2003, pp. 13–14). However, despite the stated intention to use ‘...measures to achieve cultural and linguistic breadth in the assessment materials, particularly through countries’ participation in the development and revision processes for the production of the items...’ (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 14), the nature of the instruments indicates that the reverse is the case.

In the most recent PISA comparative assessment that incorporated judgements of thinking ability (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013), the underpinning conceptual framework bears little resemblance to the issues being identified by contemporary comparative educational researchers, with cultural difference having to defer to the practicalities and perceived objectivity of the instrument being used. Instead, the PISA methodology is designed to cater for cultural breadth through cultural neutrality (as communicated to the author by Professor Barry McGaw, formerly Director for Education at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), during a conversation on April 19, 2007), exemplifying control through ‘...the disciplining of culture and the body...’ (Apple 2001, p. 410) or, in other words, acknowledgement through perceived eradication. Indeed, far from being culturally neutral, it is arguable that the PISA assessments are very culturally specific, but only in one particular direction.

In a mirror of the ‘Western’ triarchic concept of thinking, the PISA measurement of thinking ability focuses upon ‘...individual problem-solving competency...’ (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 119), which is defined as incorporating ‘...the mobilisation of cognitive and practical skills, creative abilities and other psychosocial resources such as attitudes, motivation and values’ (2013, p. 122). In 2003, in the first PISA assessment of problem-solving or thinking capabilities, the cognitive concept had reflected the tripartite structure even more explicitly, with ‘...the act of problem solving [being an] amalgam of mainly different cognitive processes...’ (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2003, p. 59), the core of which were four types of reasoning: analytic, quantitative, analogical and combinatorial (2003, p. 58).

In 2012, the assessment instrument was computer-based – thereby eliminating the possibility of students in cultures or societies with less familiarity with such resources, knowledge or skills being able to participate equitably in the assessment – with questions that revolved around the use of culturally specific objects such as mobile phones, computers and social media. The PISA 2012 assessment declared that no expert knowledge was required for any question, apparently ignoring the prevailing educational belief that knowledge is a social construct, arising from the culture within which it is formed and the nature of power relationships

within that culture (Apple 2004; Ewing 2010). It was yet another example of a cultural disconnect that had long been discredited by comparative educational researchers:

The alienating hazards of a socioculturally detached, text-based curriculum are accentuated...by the remoteness of the factitious exercises and formal texts of the academy from the cultural practices of everyday life. (Serpell 2007, p. 25)

Similar criticisms can be applied to the work of other comparative educational organisations, such as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA):

The critique draws attention to the importance of contextual and cultural factors in cross-national research, and to the dilemmas, long recognised by comparativists, associated with the uncritical international transfer of educational policy and practice. (Crossley 2000, p. 320)

It can thus be argued that, in the modern context, the organisational practitioners of comparative education, along with the quantitatively focused research community who have been the beneficiaries of educational neo-liberalism, have remained trapped in the moral trap of the supposed ascendancy of Euro-American concepts of education, assuming that just because one country adopted the educational practices of another, the transplant would be automatically successful and appropriate to the needs of the recipient:

...there are no real grounds for comparison between the western and eastern educational systems, because the Western educational paradigms has successfully spread to Asian and Middle Eastern countries and was adapted by them to meet their specific cultural needs.... (Grigorenko 2007, p. 166)

In direct opposition to the principle of cultural integrity that can be seen in the United Nations agreements on human progress, such as the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights (United Nations 2008), these exclusions of the possibility of cultural difference, by paradoxically attempting to eradicate it from the field of possibility, convey a vision of comparative education as a field that deals with the skeleton and infrastructure of education in different countries, but not its substance or reality in the learning environment. The perspective of such a conceptualisation ignores the fundamental reality that education, no matter how it is approached, is concerned with the advancement of people in their psychological and physical lives, regardless of the motives involved. Schooling and education do not take place in a vacuum; they are a reflection of the society from which they come, as societies do not exist without human beings to create it.

4 Concluding Comments

Within the current global condition, it has fallen to the newer generation of comparative educationalists to continue to highlight the fundamental importance of recognising the synergy between culture, thinking and education, drawing upon these mutual interdependencies to reiterate its relevance at the local scale through the

design of culturally appropriately relevant curriculum and pedagogy. Kim and Kim (2013) have highlighted that ‘...Asian audiences have seen enough distortions in the discourses ‘modern’ education, which in fact means Western education.

By equating modern with Western, authors implicitly treat non-Western education is not worthy of the name of civilised education’ (p. 17). The earlier work of Nisbett (2003) has been the impetus for researchers such as Casinader (2012), Singh (2013) and Kumar (2013) to develop a branch of the comparative education discourse that not only originates largely from outside the more traditional Euro-American sources of the discipline but also moves the study of comparative education in ‘... cultural concepts of intelligence ...[beyond] Asian societies and the US or Canada...’ (Harkness et al. 2007, p. 115) to regions such as South Africa, Malaysia and Singapore. Thus Kumar is exploring ‘... the ranking and branding of education and the use of the English language in the context of Singapore...’ (2013, p. 85); Singh is investigating Indian ‘...educational practice in terms of the division between indigenous culture of learning on the one hand, and the formal culture of learning and knowledge systems inherited from colonial times on the other...’ (2013, p. 88); and Casinader (2012) has proposed a five-part model of ‘cultural dispositions of thinking’ as a means of expressing the differences within which approaches to thinking varies with culture.

The ultimate impact that such research will have on reversing the globalism of a culturally neutered conception of thinking in the practice of comparative education remains, however, a distant hope, subject to the prospect that the forces of neo-liberal education might consciously and deliberately ‘...recognise the significance of culture, context and difference in all aspects of educational research and development’ (Crossley and Jarvis 2000, p. 262).

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Globalization and the Business of Educational Reform

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1 The World as We Know It

Both education and educational reform manifest the characteristics of commodities—bought and sold, and marketed and exchanged internationally. Some educational reforms are conceived and promoted solely or primarily with the intent of enriching the originator and promoter, with causal disregard for the effects such schemes might have on children and their teachers. Our purpose in this chapter is to examine educational reform within international global contexts. To facilitate a critical examination of the relevant topics, we will make mention of and apply ideas related to nationalism, corporatism, and competition.

The world can be thought of as comprised or influenced by myriad dynamic forces. Waite et al. (2007) have enumerated a number of these forces, especially those best conceived of as the major societal forces of commerce, the state, and religion, and have offered a model to help explain how these forces act and interact to affect education and schooling. What these authors did not anticipate was the prevalence, indeed the ubiquity of wireless and computer-mediated communication technologies (e.g., WiFi, smartphones, electronic books or readers). Coupled with the existing and evolving Internet, these technologies have greatly increased the density of human connections mentioned above. The enormity of the usage of such services as Google™ and Facebook™ (e.g., YouTube™ now gets two *billion* hits per day) and the mountains of data generated—data measured not just in megabytes but in terabytes (1,024 gigabytes), petabytes (1,024 terabytes), and exabytes (1,024

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terabytes)—have forever altered information and information technology, research, human knowledge and knowledge production and even theories of science, and, as a result, training, preparation, and education in these fields (Anderson 2008).

The world today is thick with bonds of interconnectivity. Bonds such as these likely existed from time immemorial, but over time they have grown more numerous and more dense, so that today there is scarcely a man, woman, or child who is not somehow connected—through commerce or through some social network—with countless, sometimes disembodied and faceless, people across the globe. Nearly every part of the globe is accessible through travel, telecommunications, or Internet connectivity. For many, it's simply a matter of affordability. But some can afford the latest technologies, giving them an advantage over those who cannot or do not—advantages, often, in commerce, war, information, and knowledge and in the benefits associated with being networked.

1.1 Opening Up Access and Participation Through Technology

The political uses of smartphones and the Internet in, for instance, organizing opposition to political regimes or simply governmental policy (Indonesia, Iran, Thailand, Tibet, and Western China, as recent examples) and the governments' or regimes' reaction—which often, as in the case of China, involves shutting down the Internet entirely in certain regions and/or heavily monitoring and censoring its usage, as in Myanmar (Burma) and Pakistan.

A case in point is that of Indonesia (Onishi 2010). According to observers, the introduction of \$100 (USD) smartphones to the Indonesian market and the opening up of that society, especially as regards democratic participation and press freedoms, has catapulted Indonesia into the third largest population of Facebook™ users, with approximately 22.7 million (Onishi 2010), trailing only the USA (with 118 million) and the UK (with 24 million).

Facebook™ and other social networks are employed by bloggers, political activists, and others to inform, mobilize, and counter national, regional, and local governmental legislation, policies, and practices, including everything from the perceived politically motivated jailing of the leaders of the country's main anticorruption agency, who, “in a long-running feud against the national police and attorney general's office, had apparently been set up and arrested on false charges” (p. A6). Protest on social networking sites generated enough heat to cause the country's president to intercede and have the charges dropped. The other extreme is represented by local, individual cases which become the focus of emerging democratic popular pressure in Indonesia, such as one pressuring Jakarta city officials to remove a statute depicting a 10-year-old Barack Obama from a city park (the popular sentiment being that the park should be reserved for honoring Indonesians).

At all levels many religious leaders are pushing back, seeking to limit freedom of expression. The press is in the vanguard of the movement to open electronic freedom of expression. Likely, though the outcome of this struggle is not yet in sight,

there will be a compromise between those who seek open, unfettered freedom of expression and those who seek to censor such expression and access.

1.2 Technology and the Business Incursion into Education

Though initially resistant, those positioned as gatekeepers in the field of education, at least in the USA, have begrudgingly come to accept the presence, if not the legitimacy, of online educational concerns. Online universities such as Nova and Capella have increased in size, and numbers of diplomas have been granted and have become more recognizable to the general public and more accepted. Internet entrepreneurs have founded free Internet universities (e.g., <http://www.uopeople.org> and <http://www.freeuniv.com>). Rare is the university, even among those that are the most conventional, that doesn't offer some type of program or course exclusively over the Internet, though the most common form of course delivery is still most likely a hybrid type of course design, with some use of Internet-based resources.

Some public schools in the USA are reluctant to embrace the capabilities afforded by the Internet and other technologies, principally due to issues of control: control over what students access and teacher/governmental/state control over official knowledge. However, some schools and districts exert control over student web access in school through heavy-handed filtering or by locking classroom computers and syncing them to that of the instructor so that students must follow the instructor's lead and cannot surf the net freely nor compose and answer email while in class. Instructors are developing and incorporating pedagogical moves to encourage students to pay attention during lectures despite the temptations to text, surf the web, and check email (Fang 2009).

Elsewhere, instances of heavy-handed school control of students and student access to electronic media have resulted in public outrage, embarrassment, and possible criminal actions against school officials, when, for instance, a school in Pennsylvania activated the webcams on school-issued laptops to spy on students in their homes (<http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/02/20/laptop.suit/index.html>).

1.3 Neoliberalism and the New Public Management Affecting Educational Reform

Social scientists concur that a neoliberal ideology and its companion, New Public Management, have taken root worldwide (Dempster et al. 2001; Gronn 2003; Sleeter 2007; Zajda 2014a). Such an ideology, while affecting the polity, is markedly apparent in the business realm and in the interfaces among business, the state, and other social institutions (Waite et al. 2007). This way of thinking wedds major corporations, banks, and governments. It privileges, according to Sleeter, markets,

free choice, entrepreneurial competition, and individual initiative in addressing social needs. According to Sleeter's analysis, neoliberalism positions education as a resource for global competition and private wealth accumulation, for-profit generation, and as an arena for business.¹

This "economic neo-Darwinism of neoliberalism" places an emphasis on a market-driven pedagogy that is devoid of ethical considerations (Giroux 2010; Waite et al. 2005; Waite 2010; Zajda 2014b). Hallmarks of New Public Management include more stringent "accountability" and increased consumerism, that is, where corporations and other institutions, including schools and universities, market "services" to the consumer (Zajda 2014a). Schools come to be seen as service providers and the public, citizens, as clientele or customers. This seismic paradigmatic shift in our conceptualizations of school and of education fundamentally alters the place of education in society: No longer is education seen as a bulwark of democracy and as a gateway to participation in public life, but it becomes simply a means to an economic end.

Increasingly, especially in the USA, teacher ranks are being filled with immigrant labor, sometimes incidentally and sometimes specifically contacted and contracted abroad to fill so-called critical needs areas. Teachers and their teaching practices are part and parcel of the globalization phenomenon: They migrate in large numbers around the globe. For example, US teachers teach abroad—in US Department of Defense schools associated with US military bases and embassies, in international schools, and in state schools in other countries—teaching, especially, English, but also tutoring privately and otherwise working off the books.

At both the secondary and tertiary levels, US educational institutions hire instructors from other countries, most notably in language classes and mathematics and sciences. A recent report (Dillon 2010) describes a program by the (mainland) Chinese government whereby the government subsidizes the salaries of 325 guest teachers placed in sometimes out-of-the-way US schools. These teachers are hired by rural districts to teach Chinese to high school students. The report noted how "a parallel effort has sent about 2,000 American school administrators to visit China at Beijing's expense" (p. A1). The superintendent of an Oklahoma school district participating in the program said "part of them coming here is us indoctrinating them about our great country and our freedoms.... We've seen them go to church and to family reunions, country music concerts, rodeos. So it's interesting to see them soak up our culture" (p. A14).

America is only one of a number of countries recruiting and receiving immigrant teacher labor. In Africa, Kenyan teachers have been encouraged to seek teaching positions in other East African Community (EAC) member states, nations that themselves need trained teachers in order to develop their own education system. An agreement was crafted by the EAC to allow teachers free movement among the EAC member states and other countries that request teachers from Kenya (Omondi 2009). This deal was struck in an effort to level regional imbalances that, for

¹Note how, in Sleeter's (2007) analysis, competition and individualism play prominent roles in this ideology or way of thinking.

example, find Kenya with a surplus of over 40,000 trained but unemployed teachers, while other EAC member states experience acute teacher shortages.

Omondi (2009) noted that, of the countries that have requested trained teachers from Kenya, South Africa requested about 400 such teachers specializing in computers, science, and mathematics. Uganda seeks to recruit university administrators, lecturers, college principals, and vocational and primary school teachers from Kenya. Tanzania needs to import Kenyan-trained math, physics, biology, and foreign language teachers for their schools. Burundi seeks university professors. Rwanda looks to hire teachers for their high schools and technical colleges and emphasizes the hiring of special education teachers.

Some education policy experts have reservations about this free movement of teachers facilitated by the launch of the common market in the EAC (Omondi 2009). Kenya has the largest economy in the Eastern Africa region. This transmigration of teachers from, in this instance, Kenya to other countries in Africa may cause problems both for sending and receiving countries and, sooner or later, for the teachers themselves. The selective nature of the recruiting done by other countries, such as South Africa, raises the fear that Kenya might be exporting the very talent she needs to develop her own capacities. The lack of uniform curriculum has also been discussed as an impediment. In addition, the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) bristles at the idea that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), charged with the management of the teaching force in Kenya, is exporting teachers while there is a glaring shortage of primary school teachers occasioned by the introduction, in 2003, of free primary education.

2 Economics and Financing as Drivers of Educational Reform

Other global work trends are likely to affect teachers, education, and educational reforms as well. The USA is currently in the midst of a so-called jobless recovery from the recent worldwide financial recession—the deepest, most protracted since the Great Depression. Though US economic productivity is up, hiring rates haven't kept pace: Companies, which some say are reluctant to hire at the present time until the economy strengthens considerably, are squeezing more productivity out of their workers and hiring temporary workers as a stop-gap measure. Financial difficulties have brought considerable budget shortfalls, sometimes in the billions of dollars, to state governments. (Recall that in the USA, as a federated system, states have the primary responsibility for educating their students—both in public primary and secondary schools and in institutions of higher education.) Most, if not all states, are cutting their teaching ranks, laying off hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of teachers.

On the heels of a major educational initiative by the federal government called Race to the Top, state, county, and local district administrators are exploring ways to cull their teaching force by implementing assessment programs that rate teachers

based on unproven and untried (unreliable) metrics. One aspect of the Race to the Top federal education reform initiative requires districts to establish evaluation procedures for their teachers based on student performance on high-stakes tests. Race to the Top offers a prefabricated critique of teachers and principals, and it imposes competition and incentives into education without taking into consideration the underlying complexities associated with public schools (Ravitch 2010).

If the interested school and district administrators have their way, these same metrics could be used to assess teachers and determine who will lose their jobs and who will be kept on. This is in contrast to past practices (admittedly not perhaps the best practices) of a “last hired, first to go” system of seniority, where more experienced, senior teachers were retained and the more recently hired were let go first. Teachers unions in the USA are actively fighting the new initiatives, seeking to protect their members and the seniority system. Such evaluation systems and the policies that drive them are yet other indications of the infiltration of neoliberal thinking in, here, education policy, along with its tendency to seek to measure, assess, and control.

Also in line with global work trends, schools seem to be hiring more temporary workers. Anderson (2010) reported that in New York City, Kelly Temporary Services (a temp agency) is the largest supplier of substitute teachers for the city system. (The New York City school system, the nation’s largest, has over one million students.) These hiring practices mirror those in other parts of the world.

As a case in point, the issue of hiring teachers on contract has been a contentious one in Kenya for a long time. There are cases where qualified teachers have worked for years on meager salaries as contract workers in some schools. Teachers on contract employment are managed by the various schools’ board of governors and not the TSC (Kenya’s Teachers Service Commission). The TSC only manages the recruitment of teachers on permanent and pensionable terms. As a result of this responsibility, the TSC declined to take up the recruitment and management of contract teachers which was provided for by the 2009 national budgetary allocations. In the June 2009 budgetary allocations, the minister, for finance, Uhuru Kenyatta, directed that 1.3 billion shillings be set aside to recruit 10,500 primary school teachers who would earn 7,000 Kenyan shillings a month (approximately 87 USD or 67 euro). A further 353 billion would be utilized to recruit 2,100 secondary school teachers at a salary of 13,000 Kenyan shillings a month. This budgetary provision was occasioned by the felt shortage of 65,000 teachers in Kenyan schools. The success of this teacher recruitment exercise would have meant that the TSC would manage two cadres of teachers in the country, a responsibility the TSC management felt they could not competently juggle. There was fear that having equally qualified teachers earning on two contrasting pay grade systems would bring disharmony to the school staff rooms (Otieno 2009). The TSC, being the managers of the teaching force in Kenya, would have to handle any and all of the resultant teacher discipline cases.

These proposed salary scales are less than half those earned by qualified teachers employed and managed by the TSC on permanent and pensionable terms. While primary school teachers on contract would earn 7,000 Kenyan shillings, the lowest

paid primary school teacher on TSC pay grade P2 will earn 13,795 Kenyan shillings. On contract terms, secondary school teachers would earn 13,000 Kenyan shillings but their lowest paid counterparts on TSC pay grade H will earn 19,747 Kenyan shillings in the new pay scales to be in effect in July 2010.

2.1 *School Improvement Grants*

The US Department of Education provided 3.5 billion USD in Title I School Improvement Grants to “turn around” the lowest achieving public schools in the USA (2009). States and their school districts may compete for these funds, with awards made according to certain criteria and formulas. As they compete for the funds, school districts must identify the schools they want to change and then determine which of the four school improvement models (below) they intend to implement. If a school has begun implementation of one of these four models or components of one of these models within the last 2 years, it may apply to use school improvement grant funds to pursue implementation of the full model. The models deemed acceptable by the US Department of Education are:

- *The Turnaround Model:* Features replacing the principal and rehiring no more than 50 % of the staff and granting the new principal sufficient operational flexibility (including in staffing, setting calendars/time, and budgeting) to implement fully a comprehensive approach to substantially improve student outcomes.
- *The Restart Model:* Features converting a school or closing and reopening it under a charter school operator, a charter management organization, or an education management organization that has been selected through a rigorous review process.
- *The School Closure Model:* Involves closing the school and enrolling the students who attended that school in other schools in the school district that are deemed to be higher achieving.
- *The Transformation Model:* Consists of implementing each of the following strategies: (1) replacing the principal and taking steps to increase teacher and school leader “effectiveness,” (2) instituting comprehensive instructional reforms, (3) increasing learning time and creating community-oriented schools, and (4) providing operational flexibility and sustained support (US Department of Education 2010).

The fact is that these competition-driven school improvement models offered by the US Department of Education do not allow for tailored, effective school reform programs based on the local contexts and conditions of schools and districts. A case in point is that of a Burlington, Vermont district and one of its highly regarded school principals (Winerip 2010). Joyce Irvine was the principal of Wheeler Elementary School in Burlington, Vermont, a school that is considered “high poverty” (a 97 % poverty rate) and with a large number of refugees. Because of the school’s low test scores, and despite the fact that all concerned praised Ms. Irvine

(her evaluations cited her as “a leader among her colleagues” [p. A11] and “a very good principal”), when faced with the choice of keeping the principal or possibly qualifying for up to three million USD in federal stimulus and Race to the Top money for the district’s schools, the superintendent removed her. Ms. Irvine herself is quoted as saying that “Joyce Irvine versus millions You can buy a lot of help for children with that money.” The US Senator for the state, Bernie Sanders, was quoted as saying “She should not have been removed.” Senator Sanders further commented that “while the staff should be lauded for working at one of Vermont’s most challenging schools, it has been stigmatized” (p. A11): “I applaud the Obama people for paying attention to low-income kids and caring But to label the school as failing and humiliate the principal and teachers is grossly unfair.” In short, the principal was sacrificed for a chance at federal grant dollars.

2.2 *Race to the Top*

In the USA, and likely in many other countries around the globe, as corporatism, neoliberalism, and New Public Management have taken hold, they inform, perhaps even dictate, educational reform agendas. Even a cursory reading of the language and intent of the most recent US federal initiative, the Race to the Top, exhibits these influences. The framers of this policy enumerate what they term the four pillars of the initiative; ostensibly, these are teacher effectiveness, higher standards and rigorous assessments, effective school turnaround, and better use of data.

Fundamentally, the Race to the Top, as the name implies, is a federal grant competition, favoring those states (and the grant application must be submitted on behalf of each applying state) that meet the criteria set forth in the policy document. In short, the federal government is leveraging relatively little real money for monumental change (the US Secretary of Education claims that the four billion USD program total represents just one percent of education expenditures (Duncan 2010)).

In these difficult financial times, states are scrambling for relatively few dollars. The assertion that this is a competition is not overstated. To date, after the first round of awards, where 48 of the 50 US states submitted funding applications, only two won any money at all: the tiny state of Delaware was awarded \$100 million and Tennessee was awarded \$500 million. Two states, Nevada and Texas, refused to participate, citing the inordinate number of hours required to research and compile the data and to write and submit the application and, in the case of Texas, the governor’s aversion to what he saw as heavy-handed federal intrusion in that state’s educational programs.

Within the Race to the Top policy statement, there is language that requires states to embrace and, in many cases, enact certain, narrowly defined and contentious reform initiatives. According to an analysis by Deschryver (2009), the legislative liaison for the education law firm of Brusteine & Manasevit:

There are two critical eligibility requirements that will certainly receive many comments.

The first is that states must have no legal, statutory, or regulatory barriers to linking data about student achievement or growth to teachers for the purpose of teacher and principal evaluation (para. 9).

The other controversial requirement of this policy is that those states applying for this substantial funding must enact “a charter school law ... and that law must not prohibit or effectively inhibit increasing the number of charter schools in the state or otherwise restrict student enrollment in charter schools” (para. 17). All the states that applied for these federal funds enacted such legislation, effectively instituting federal educational reform by fiat. Previously, numerous professional organizations, teachers unions, and concerned members of the public were able to block or limit wholesale adoption of charter school legislation in their states, out of concern that such schools would siphon scarce public resources for private, for-profit education providers. Charter schools were positioned as fostering private gain at public risk. A Stanford University study of 2,403 charter schools in 16 states found that only 17 % of charter schools created better educational outcomes for students than regular public schools would have, while 37 % produced outcomes below that of regular public schools (CREDO 2009).

Evidence of the private, for-profit conquest of the public domain, one that attests to the ascendancy of the ideology of neoliberalism and New Public Management, is further had by consideration of the fact that the legislature of the State of New York recently has revamped that state’s laws governing schools and universities, for the first time permitting for-profit business concerns to issue diplomas, teaching certificates, and degrees (Foderaro 2010). Also bolstering this argument is the fact that multinational CEOs and US billionaires are throwing their considerable weight behind the charter school movement. A New York Times article titled “Big Hedge Fund Leaders Come to Support of Charter Schools” (Gabriel and Medina 2010) noted how:

The financial titans, who tend to send their children to private schools, would not seem to be a natural champion of charter schools, which are principally aimed at poor, minority students.

But the money managers are drawn to the businesslike way in which many charter schools are run; their focus on results, primarily measured by test scores; and, not least, their union-free work environments, which give administrators flexibility to require longer days and a longer academic year. (p. A17)

3 Market Forces

Market forces affect education and educational reform. This should come as no surprise to anyone. However, the persistence and extent of this recent intrusion into education (i.e., of the federal business-centric educational reform initiatives) should give us pause. The recent global economic “crisis” has only exacerbated this phenomenon. Besides the stand-alone initiatives mentioned above having to do with the

establishment of whole universities in the online environment, businesses have made inroads into the territories and domains formerly held exclusively by educationists.² The Internet and hybrid arrangements of texts, courses, other trainings, and whole programs of study—both for public school and university students—offered online have provided a boon for those businesses seeking to make inroads into the financially lucrative field of education.

The result is now only being felt somewhat sporadically and haphazardly across the educational terrain. E-books are being touted as representing a financial savings for states and schools. Students don't need to purchase the books, so the initial costs can be lower, purchasing agents are told. Another selling point publishing houses and those who represent them claim for e-books is that they can be updated much more rapidly than can hard copy texts in order to better keep pace with the changes in various fields. Also, for both parties to the transaction—the seller and the “buyer”—e-books are thought to address issues having to do with warehousing large numbers of texts, multiple texts for each individual student.

Commercial concerns have benefited from, perhaps contributed to, the political pressure brought to bear on schools, colleges, and universities (Gabriel and Medina 2010). The evolution of the conservatives' continuing and mounting pressure on public education and teaching (Waite et al. 2001)—sometimes framed as an ongoing culture war—has morphed from simple teacher bashing to criticisms of administrators and, more recently, to heavy-handed demagogic criticism of colleges of education. Colleges of education—in the USA at least and perhaps elsewhere as well—are facing ever-mounting threats to their autonomy (and that of the professors who work in these colleges) wrought by the application of neoliberal ideologies and policies.³ Most recently, the New York State Board of Regents (as noted above) has approved a pilot program that allows educational groups such as Teach for America to create their own master's degree programs, thereby circumventing the need for the teaching of educational theory; a long-standing tradition in colleges of education (Foderaro 2010). The neoliberal criticisms that the traditional colleges of education are too heavily focused on theory and not enough on the craft of teaching have gained traction in the state of New York and elsewhere.

Accountability regimes are being transplanted from the sphere of the public school to the public university. Likely there have always been forms of, if not accountability, at least assessment and evaluation practiced at both the program and the individual level in higher education (course evaluations, program evaluations, and the like). However, the newer forms of assessment, and what makes them into forms of “accountability,” have increasingly high-stakes ramifications.

²True, the status of these online universities is still questionable, as several states, including ours of Texas, have to date refused to grant, for example, teaching or administrative certificates to those who graduate such programs, denying such programs full accreditation.

³Other pressures on university professors that also heavily impinge upon their time, and hence their academic freedom, are occasioned by their having to chase grant money (and then, if successful, run the grant). More and more university positions are being created in which the candidate is expected to make up all, or a large portion, of his/her salary through grant money recapture, a type of bring-your-own-salary scheme.

Some policy makers and legislators in the USA are seeking to tie assessments of colleges of education and their teacher preparation programs to children's achievement on state high-stakes academic achievement tests (with concomitant rewards, punishments, and sanctions for the identified college or program attached); this, despite the fact that there have been found no direct links, or ways of linking, on the one end, achievement test scores of public school students and, at the other end, the teaching (as opposed to the learning) taking place in colleges of education. In the neoliberal policy imaginary, there is a clear evidentiary or causal link thought to run from colleges of education through to children's high-stakes test scores, despite there being innumerable factors affecting whatever outcomes accrue at whatever level—from the university professor/university student teaching/learning relationship to the particulars of any given school and so on ad infinitum.

Yet such is the force and oppressive nature of both conservative and neoliberal ideologies that regimes of measurement and control will be forced onto dynamic systems despite the violently oppressive nature of that imposition. One casualty of this assault on education is the death of creativity, and this at a time when, according to many, there is an increased need for creativity in the workplace and in the resolution of social and environmental ills (Bronson and Merryman 2010).⁴

As Waite et al. (2007) suggest, the major social institutional forces of the state, business, and the church (religion) are always and everywhere in dynamic interaction. Sometimes the interests of these institutions or forces are aligned, perhaps indistinguishable. Sometimes the interests of these forces are opposed. Often their interests are different enough to engender a dynamic between and among them and their agents. This usually occasions a negotiated process whereby, for example, resolution of an issue (in this case having to do with education) or establishment of a policy, initiative, or direction is wrung through a give and take of interests by agents representing or embodying the stances of these institutional social forces. In the model mentioned above, the different social institutional forces act as counterbalances to the hegemony or supremacy of any of the others, though, as Waite et al. demonstrate, each epoch is characterized by the predominance of one or another of these social institutional forces.

We suggest that, as regards the vibrancy or strength of the social institutional forces laid out in the Waite et al. (2007) model, the current period manifests a relatively weak state or government (particularly in the USA and perhaps in other "western" countries as well) relative to the strength of commerce and business. In the USA, we perceive the church to likewise be in a relatively weak position compared to business. This balance and counterbalance, as the model proposes, likely varies according to locale and its conditions across the globe, though the major players—business/commerce, the state, and the church/religion—remain the same. The portrait that emerges is one of a relatively weak state and church: These two social forces present little counterweight to the power and hegemony of business.

⁴It amazes us how even the most progressive lawmakers and policy makers can be so conservative, almost reactionary, when it comes to education and educational policy, President Obama and his education rhetoric being a case in point.

Business, business motives, and business ontologies dominate the lifeworld. It should be noted, however, that the model suggests that the strength of these other social forces is never zero: They are always and everywhere operant to a certain degree. Even if or when one or another of these social institutional forces might not predominate on the international or national stage, still, its effects might be felt more strongly at the regional, state, or local level. The model is not predictive, only descriptive, and, hence, local actors need apply it and apply it anew for each case in question in order to wring from it its explanatory power. Also, as the weight of each social institutional force is never zero, the major institutional forces Waite et al. discuss often team together, one sometimes traveling on the back of another. So it is, for instance, that business may advance its agendas by attaching itself to, or even manipulating, state means, such as the state's military, as with systematic corruption (see Waite and Waite (2009) for a fuller discussion of corruption and its effects on democracy and education). Figure 1 below captures the perception of the leaders of a leading Turkish teachers union as to how US corporations are parasitical upon the US military.

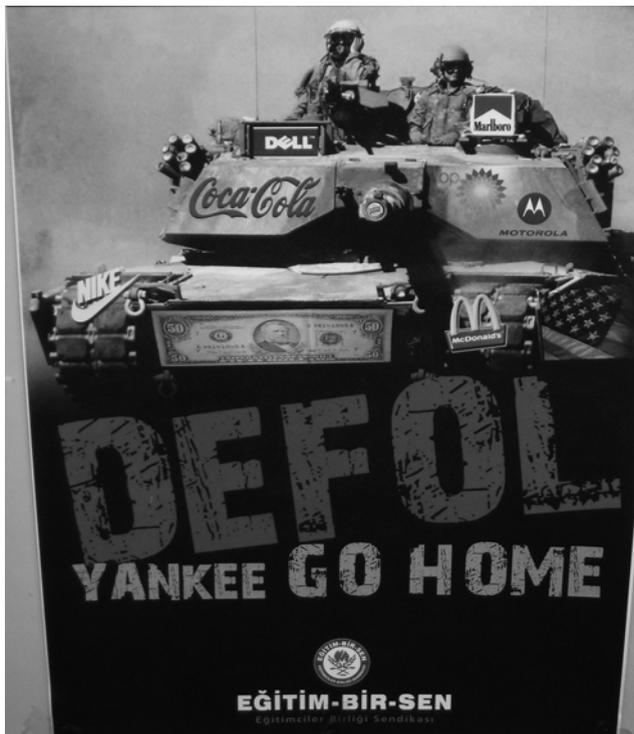


Fig. 1 Poster produced by one of Turkey's leading teachers unions, Eğitim-Bir-Sen, showing US business and military complicity (that the poster includes the logo for BP, British Petroleum, may be an innocent mistake or may be intended to depict the insidious relations of international corporations)

It is our opinion based on our observations of global and particular trends and our interpretation of them that we are in the early stages of a period of unbridled corporatism. If this is the case, what implications might this have for education and educational reform?

3.1 The Market of/for Educational Reform

One of the foundational assumptions of the model presented by Waite et al. (2007) is that educators at whatever level and in whatever capacity (e.g., teacher, school board member, policy maker, university professor, and administrator) never act in isolation: They always everywhere affect and are affected by other social forces. We would be naïve to think otherwise. The loftiest educational goals, translated into policy and disseminated to, in this instance, local superintendents and by them to school principals or heads and the teachers who work at these schools, are affected by social forces all along the route—from their inception to their implementation. At each stage they are modified, interpreted, and changed. Sometimes the educational goals aren't so lofty but banal, even punitive or controlling. These, too, are subject to change and modification as they travel.

One of the advantages that corporate educational reforms have is that they are not bound by borders. That is, as business becomes increasingly globalized, its educational reform packages are likewise globalized and/or can piggyback on other business initiatives and colonize other countries' educational reform initiatives without regard to national, state, or provincial boundaries.⁵ Take, for example, the case of the USA: Ostensibly, the USA is a federal republic; there is one central government, the federal government, but all 50 states enjoy some autonomy and rights that the federal government cannot, in theory, encroach upon.

In education, there is a US Department of Education (currently the US Secretary of Education is Arne Duncan), which sets federal policy and controls the dispersal of federal monies. Similarly, each state and within them the districts or local municipalities (depending upon the state's particular model) also raise and distribute revenue for education, often through taxes—property, sales, and income taxes—and sometimes through the imposition of fees for licenses or state services and often through state-run lotteries (games of chance based on weekly drawings with cash prizes) or other forms of gambling, such as fees collected by the state from those permitted to run gambling casinos within state boundaries.

So, in the USA (and we'd suggest that this description explains, to a degree, commerce and intercourse among nations), there is a patchwork of state and local

⁵We have it on good authority, for example, that the international media mogul and billionaire, Rupert Murdoch, an Australian, made a devil's bargain with the Obama election team that, in exchange for helping get him elected US president, Murdoch and his associates would have control over the education agenda in the USA. There is every indication that he was similarly behind the UK's Every Child Matters education policy initiative.

education districts within them loosely (ostensibly) controlled by the federal government. Businesses (e.g., the Educational Testing Service [ETS], KIPP [Knowledge is Power Program] schools, Teach for America, Imagine Schools, The College Board, Sylvan Learning, the University of Phoenix, etc.) transverse state and federal boundaries with ease (owing, in part, to globalized business models and an environment that is conducive to “business” and “doing business” in this way). That the current policy environment is so eminently business-friendly is evidenced by the fact that many for-profit institutions of higher education (technical schools and for-profit universities such as the University of Phoenix) garner up to three quarters of their revenue from the federal grants and loans (Lewin 2010). The University of Phoenix, for example, took in nearly 90 % of its substantial revenue from the US federal government, by way of federal aid to students, who then pay the for-profit university.⁶ One source contends that the University of Phoenix got nearly a billion dollars in federal Pell grants last year (Lewin). It is estimated that over the next decade, students at for-profit colleges will default on nearly 275 billion USD in loans.

Current models do not consider, let alone permit, say, local educational reform initiatives being transplanted and projected and taking root in distant locales; for example, from a school district in Michigan to a school in Utah. Within current contexts, the principal way that educational reforms travel is by the business model. (We say principal because educators around the world are today connected through the Internet and networked in this way, networks being a strong and extra-governmental social force.)

Another means of dissemination of educational reforms is by the individual educational entrepreneur or scholar who hawks his/her wares (including ideas) through trade shows, professional associations, and their exhibits. Sometimes these are original ideas; often they are syntheses of others’ ideas. Such “intellectual entrepreneurs,” purveyors of others’ ideas—whether on the international lecture circuit or cloistered just down the hall—lapse into what the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson (1837) termed a “degenerate state” in relation to scholarship and the life of the intellect: “in the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he [the scholar] tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men’s thinking” (para. 7).

Unlike goods, products, and services (the stuff of business), ideas cannot easily be transported, replicated, and mass-produced. Where the matériel produced by businesses are most times concrete, the ideas of reformers are theory-laden, to a greater or lesser extent (Waite 2009), and as theory and thinking tend to be divergent, transportation and implementation of educational reform in this way is most difficult. (True, there are theories, ideas, and creative endeavors associated with many businesses, but this is not the end goal for business, which is always and everywhere the pursuit of profit, and this, in and of itself, flavors the methods/processes employed toward those ends (Simmel 1978); it cannot be otherwise. In plainer terms, the pursuit of profit corrupts education.)

⁶Statement of disclosure: Duncan Waite, the first author of this chapter, sits on the editorial board of a journal owned by the University of Phoenix, *The Journal of Leadership Studies*.

Herein lies a paradox, a liability, if you will, inherent in the business model, generally, and in the business model of educational reform specifically. This, perhaps, is why educational reformers have such difficulty, in their jargon, of scaling up their proposed reforms. The tension is this: Business, like bureaucracy, is premised in standardization. (This is true, especially, for globalized business enterprises, say, like McDonald's, IBM, IKEA, Nokia, and the like.) Education, above all else, is best when tailored to the individual student's needs.

This is why standardized tests grafted onto standardized curricula produce such startling "achievement gaps" where, in the USA, there are noticeable differences between, in the aggregate, White, Latino, and African-American test scores and why so-called dropout rates approximate 33 %, with the highest dropout rates among, again, Latino and African-American youth. Though there are legitimate criticisms of the cultural reproduction theory and its wholesale application, these conditions appear to lend support to Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) notion of cultural reproduction—wherein societies and their schools, in the weak version of the argument, contribute to (as opposed to cause—which is the strong version) disparities across generations in, for example, financial wealth and other forms of cultural capital; that is, schools are complicit in reproducing social inequality generation after generation. One reason for this, according to Bourdieu and Passeron, is that schools both stem from and reinforce a particular habitus—a largely unconscious way of being in the world. Those coming with a different habitus are disenfranchised by schools that largely reflect middle-class sensibilities.

3.2 Corporatism, Inequality, Status, and Hierarchy

Corporatism is built upon certain foundational assumptions, some of which have to do with the nature of relationships—relationships with internal members/workers (employees and colleagues) and those with external entities/individuals/groups. Internally, relationships within corporations (except in those rare exceptions) are built upon hierarchy and status and the signs of status. This is why CEOs get the big salaries and the corner office on the top floor and why, on a lesser scale, deans of colleges of education get reserved parking spaces (viewed through a sociology of knowledge lens, this also speaks to the relative value of the work each does—the CEO and the education dean). And this is why, in some corporations in the USA, CEO pay exceeds *four hundred times* that of the average wage earner in the same company. Relative salaries affect work in educational organizations too—both the hiring and the motivation of teachers and other staff.

Corporate relationships with external agents are consumer-centered. Support for the point raised above that the current epoch can be characterized by the dominance of business over the other two major social institutional forces (the church and government) can be found in the way in which corporate, commercial, and consumerist discourses and their associated ontologies have thoroughly infiltrated the lifeworld. This is especially apparent in education and in certain educational reform initiatives.

For instance, rather than national/international discourse being concerned with good teaching, good teachers, and good schools, the jargon is of *effective* teachers and *effective* schools (or the opposite, failing schools, in which, aside from the fact that such language anthropomorphizes the school, it obscures processes, privileges outcomes over inputs, and absolves the wider society—the local district, state, or federal governmental policies and practices—from any responsibility whatsoever in the conditions that adhere in a particular school for particular teachers and children).

Education is sold to the public for the competitive advantage it promises, both individually and collectively. Americans, and perhaps others, are warned of the dangers of becoming a second-rate economic power because of the schools and education system, while the means of production and the distribution of wealth are left unexamined, undiscussed, and indiscussable in the public dialogue.

3.3 Charter Schools

As noted above, evidence that corporatism has taken over the public sphere is to be found in the recent rise of the so-called charter school movement, especially in the USA. One might say that charter schools and the charter school movement represent the “Wild West” of school reform (i.e., nearly totally untempered, untried, untested, and unregulated).⁷ (Throughout this discussion, however, we are advised to keep in mind, as Anderson (2010) pointed out, that there is great variation in for-profit enterprises and/or reforms, charter schools being just one type, but an illustrative one for all that.) Anderson laid out a typology of those either advocating for or, in some cases, providing for-profit primary and secondary education—those he termed “new policy entrepreneurs.”

In doing so, one of the characteristics Anderson examined was the relation that the business concern (e.g., owner or corporation) had with the other various stakeholders (parents, administrators, teachers, students, the state, etc.). Among the new policy entrepreneurs discussed—those currently with some presence in the US educational sphere (and likely elsewhere)—were alternative certification providers; venture philanthropy concerns; school effectiveness experts; the education industry itself; those of the choice/charter school movement; public/private partnerships; university schools of business; corporate interest groups; the security industry; and, finally, think tanks.⁸

⁷As evidence of the financial attractiveness of charter schools, and the pecuniary tilt of education broadly, the Texas board of education recently voted to invest 100 million USD from the Permanent School Fund it oversees to develop and lease charter schools to private companies (Alexander 2010), expecting a hefty return on its investment. Fortunately, and for the time being, the plan has been put on hold.

⁸Likely each country has its sociohistorical landscape of private/parochial/public school issues with which to contend and which flavor the national debate. For instance, in both Ireland and Denmark, the government funds both public and parochial schools: in Ireland, because the Catholic Church is so strong, culturally as well as politically, and in Denmark, because the number of religious, parochial schools is small relative to the overall size of the Danish system.

Just as there is variation among types of for-profit advocates and providers, so, too, there is variability among the types of charter schools, as noted by DiMartino (2010). Many if not most charter schools are hybrids; relatively few are of a pure type.

But charter schools are not without their problems and their critics (e.g., Sarason 1998). Some of these problems stem from basing school decisions on business considerations. As noted above, competition and profit are two of the characteristics of neoliberal ideology and these affect charter schools as an educational reform. For example, charter schools have been introduced in New York City with the rationale that they can profitably utilize what is deemed “unused space” in some New York City schools. In such schools, public school classes run alongside those of the charter school enterprise (Medina 2009). This proximity creates tension: Public school students see the new desks and bright classrooms of the charter school, items their publicly funded school might not be able to afford. If the perception of the public school is poor, students may abandon it for the charter school housed in the same building, further weakening the public school. As these charter schools succeed, they may usurp space from the public school, sometimes amicably, many times not. Such competition creates friction.

Also, charter schools enjoy lax oversight. A colleague who works for the state education agency in charge of working with schools struggling to meet No Child Left Behind’s annual yearly progress requirement has confided to us that if a school manifests corruption, it’s likely a charter school. In New York and elsewhere, charter school administrators have been known to spend thousands of dollars on airline tickets, restaurants, and alcohol and hundreds of thousands on no-bid consulting contracts (Confessore and Medina 2010), hiring friends and relatives in many cases. Reporters from the New York Times found, in one particular instance: “in the Bronx, the Family Life Charter School pays \$400,000 annually to rent classroom space from the Latino Pastoral Action Center, a ‘Christ-centered holistic ministry’ led by the Rev. Raymond Rivera. Mr. Rivera also happens to be the school’s founder” (Confessore and Medina, para. 3). Conflicts of interest surround an undue number of charter schools and their management, in addition to questionable expenditures, contracts and payouts, salaries, and payrolls.

One of the greatest areas of concern and dissatisfaction with charter schools has to do with control: Who controls what in such schools? Who controls budgets? Who controls the contracting of additional services and how is such contracting done? Who controls the hiring and firing of personnel? Who controls curriculum? Who controls working conditions and so on? DiMartino (2010) found there to be a continuum of control among charter schools, from affiliation (where the company or commercial concern assists) to “thin management” (where the company influences decisions and decision making) to comprehensive management (where the charter company controls nearly every aspect of the school). DiMartino noted that the trend is toward ever more control, never less.

Generally, “as public money is used” to fund charter schools, “most states grant charters to run such schools only to nonprofit groups with the expectation that they will exercise the same oversight that public school boards do. Some are run locally. Some bring in nonprofit management chains. And a number use commercial

management companies like Imagine”. Problems and criticism have hounded the Imagine Schools company, founded by one of “the nation’s new crop of education entrepreneurs” (p. A1). The company has contracts with 71 schools in 11 states, making Imagine “the largest commercial manager of charter schools in the country.”

However, almost since its inception, issues of finance and control have troubled the company and the educators involved. Though teachers, administrators, and board members may believe they have or desire to have control over, at minimum, pedagogical decisions, the charter school management company often has other ideas. For example, the owner and CEO of Imagine sent an email to his company’s executives cautioning against them giving educators the idea that the educators themselves “are responsible for making decisions about budget matters, school policies, hiring of principals and dozens of other matters” (p. A10); rather, he wrote, “it is our school, our money and our risk, not theirs.”

A District of Columbia [Washington, D. C.] official with experience in such matters is quoted by the New York Times as saying: “It’s not just Imagine, though Imagine is the one that probably has given us the most concern... We find it is very hard for schools that hire management companies to maintain their independence, and charter schools are supposed to be independent”. The business model is ill-suited for education and educational reform.

3.4 Other Problems Associated with the Business Model in Education

In policy makers’ wholesale rush to impose a business model on schools and schooling, much is lost and little gained. Part of the problem is the fact that many, if not most of us, fail to see the deception, the misappropriation of education and educational aims by a business ontology or mind-set (i.e., neoliberalism). The intrusion, the takeover of education by business and businesslike thinking, is gradual and insidious, partly because it plays to our basic mental programming (i.e., that schools would benefit were they to be run like a business). But the deception and the irrationality of such thinking can, and should, be unmasked, revealed, and countered. Even the economic behaviorist Dan Ariely (2008), himself an observer from outside the field of education, noticed the mismatch between business and education. He wrote:

My feeling so far is that standardized testing and performance-based salaries are likely to push education from social norms to market norms.... As we learned from our experiments, cash will take you only so far—social norms are the forces that make a difference in the long run. Instead of focusing the attention of teachers, parents, and kids on test scores, salaries, and competition, it might be better to instill in all of us a sense of purpose, mission, and pride in education. To do this we certainly can’t take the path of market norms. (Ariely 2008, p. 85)

And later, he wrote that “money, as it turns out, is very often the most expensive way to motivate people. Social norms are not only cheaper, but often more effective as well” (p. 86). Dewey (1916) wondered whether we could really trust the state to educate the individual; yet he could scarcely have imagined the oppressive nature of corporatism today and its effect on education. And as business and business interests eclipse the state, and as utilitarian ends supplant an interest in growth and self-actualization, schools become less and less emancipatory, less concerned with developing the individual and his/her potentialities.

A strikingly similar concern was voiced by the US poet Ralph Waldo Emerson when speaking of the American scholar to a national scholastic honor society. Emerson (1837) cautioned the assembled that:

Yet hence arises a grave mischief. The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation,--the act of thought,--is transferred to the record. The poet chanting, was felt to be a divine man: henceforth the chant is divine also. The writer was a just and wise spirit: henceforth it is settled, the book is perfect; as love of the hero corrupts into worship of his statue. Instantly, the book becomes noxious: the guide is a tyrant.... Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking; by men of talent, that is, who start wrong, who set out from accepted dogmas, not from their own sight of principles. Meek young men [and women] grow up in libraries [and schools], believing it their duty to accept the views, which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon, have given, forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries, when they wrote these books. (para. 15)

He continued:

Thought and knowledge are natures in which apparatus and pretension avail nothing. Gowns, and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance, whilst they grow richer every year. (para. 24)

As the French philosopher Jacques Rancière noted, individual education (for him, intellectual emancipation) differed qualitatively from collective education (which he saw as stultifying). Rancière made the distinction between the man (and the woman) and the citizen. He noted how:

...there is no equality except between men, that is to say, between individuals who regard each other only as reasonable being. The citizen, on the contrary, the inhabitant of the political fiction, is man fallen into the land of inequality. Reasonable man knows, therefore, that there is no political science, no politics of truth. Truth settles no conflict in the public place.

Elsewhere, Rancière elaborated on this point:

There is no language of reason. There is only a control of reason over the intention to speak.... Rhetoric is perverted poetry. This means that it too falls in the class of fiction. Metaphor is bound up with the original resignation of reason. The body politic is a fiction, but a fiction is not a figurative expression to which an exact definition of the social group could be opposed. There is really a logic of bodies from which no one, *as a political subject*, can withdraw. Man [woman] can be reasonable, the citizen cannot. There is no reasonable rhetoric, no reasonable political discourse.

4 Summary and Conclusion

Is it possible for an educator, a teacher, to love teaching and learning but hate school? Somehow, that feels treasonous. But the tensions between education and business and between education as socialization and education as emancipation and self-actualization are difficult to reconcile. We readily accept that there are business components of educational organizations but heartily protest that business impulses and interests should never overshadow pedagogical ones. But in our ignorance; in our societal, global blindness; and in our laziness, we have allowed our vigilance to lapse. We have permitted business and business interests to encroach upon education and to overstep its bounds. One educational reform worth pursuing at this historical moment is that of putting corporatism back in its rightful place, exorcizing it from schools and from education.

Other reforms are likely more of a priority in other socio-geographical contexts—for instance, the education of girls is of vital importance in still too many countries. But if schools are a reflection of the wider society, even as they contribute to the social construction/reproduction of that society, dialogue concerning the malfeasance of corporations and putting them in their rightful place in regard to education must take place throughout each society and across the globe at the same time. Teachers cannot do this work themselves, but we are a vital part of this conversation.

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Reconstructing Education and Knowledge: Scientific Management, Educational Efficiency, Outcomes-Based Education, and the Culture of Performativity

Howard Lee and Gregory Lee

1 The Evolution of the Social Efficiency Movement

Recent initiatives in the West to reform state (public) education systems by identifying and describing in considerable detail the expected outcomes of education, and then holding teachers and administrators accountable for the quality of students' work, in fact mirror closely the 'scientific management' and social efficiency movement ideals of the early twentieth century. The brainchild of Frederick Winslow Taylor, these ideals originated in the USA in 1911 and flourished until the early 1930s, only to be reborn in the UK, Australia, and New Zealand during the late 1980s.

Following the publication of his seminal work, *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), in which he outlined his views on industrial efficiency, Taylor became a highly sought after management consultant to numerous American industrialists who struggled to find ways to extract maximum efficiency and profit from their factories and workers. The fundamental key to understanding scientific management, Taylor reasoned, lay in managers devising the most efficient ways for workers to be able to undertake and complete assigned tasks. This meant gathering all information available about the work that managers supervised, adopting a rigorous time-and-motion analysis of every movement of expert workers, breaking complex tasks down into their most basic components, describing the exact specifications of each task to be

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performed, and then ordering the precise elements of those tasks systematically in order to raise all workers' levels of performance to the required standard though the elimination of all unnecessary activity or 'wasted motion' (Taylor 1911).

Educators soon recognised definite synergies between Taylor's industrial 'scientific management' principles and their potential to reshape the governance of America's public schools radically. Taylor's penchant for certainty, high-level specificity, precision, sequence, and regulation in American industrial reform provided school administrators with a readymade, ostensibly 'scientific', method for introducing much needed efficiencies into schools. Politicians and conservative educationists quickly embraced the principles, metaphors, procedures, and performance standards of the scientific management movement and then set about applying these to the administration of American schools (Noble 1977; Ravitch 1983; Tyack 1974).

2 Educational Efficiency and the Birth of the 'Scientific Curriculum'

Three leading figures—Joseph Rice, Franklin Bobbitt, and Ellwood Cubberly—championed the introduction of the educational efficiency doctrine into American schools. Rice, formerly a medical doctor, became highly regarded for his pioneering survey-based research into students' reading and arithmetic achievements during the 1890s (Engelhart and Thomas 1966). Increasingly disgruntled over what he claimed was a lack of academic rigour and an absence of standards and efficiency in the school curriculum, Rice published a scathing critique of the status of American education in 1912 entitled, significantly, *Scientific Management in Education*, wherein he argued that young people needed to know only what was useful immediately to prepare them specifically for their future vocational roles in society. American schooling, Rice declared, was in such an abysmal state because administrators knew almost nothing about what was occurring inside the nation's classrooms and because both the quality and performance of its teachers was poor. Rice's solution was simple: introduce a 'scientific system of pedagogical management' (Rice 1912, p. xiv) wherein classroom achievement standards were specified in advance with teachers' competence (efficiency) measured in relation to the number of students who met those clearly defined standards. The advantage of this approach, Rice concluded confidently, was that the results of one school could then be compared with others to establish an index of relative school efficiency.

Writing at about the same time as Rice, Franklin Bobbitt, from the University of Chicago's Department of Education, was also a disciple of the newly emerging educational efficiency movement and identified readily with its overarching goal of tackling social turmoil, cementing social division, and promoting greater cohesion and stability in American society. Bobbitt soon came to be acknowledged widely as the key spokesperson for the new breed of efficiency-minded educators when he identified curricular reform as being the most potent instrument for achieving the desired social and economic efficiency.

Outlining his factory-school metaphor in *The Elimination of Waste in Education*, published in 1912, Bobbitt argued that the schools' main task was to 'work up the raw material into that finished product ... [and] educate the individual according to his capabilities' (Bobbitt 1912, p. 269). Educational inefficiency and wastage, he reasoned, would be eliminated rapidly through a carefully selected and differentiated curriculum—Bobbitt deemed it unwise and inefficient to train males and females along identical lines—with each 'class of individuals' taught only that which was useful immediately for their future social and vocational destinations (p. 269). The following year Bobbitt outlined what he regarded as being the key strength of scientific curriculum reform: by insisting upon definitive outputs (standards) for teachers, school administrators could then 'tell at a glance which teachers are strong and which ones are weak ... (and) enable the management to instantly overcome one of its most troublesome problems in schools—that of getting rid of inefficient teachers' (Callahan 1962, p. 79).

Bobbitt's utilitarian curriculum model was welcomed by leading American industrialists who believed that it would not only better prepare school leavers for the workforce but also address the serious shortage of skilled labour caused by the nation's participation in World War I and the halting of immigration between 1915 and 1920 (Callahan 1962; Cremin 1962; Katz 1968). American schools, from this point on, were now positioned as the principal incubators for major economic, industrial, occupational, and social transformation.

Capitalising upon America's infatuation with curriculum theory as the means to enhance social efficiency, Bobbitt published his state-of-the-art text, *The Curriculum*, in 1918. The appeal of Bobbitt's theory was that it likened curriculum planning to a series of discrete steps, each of which entailed specifying 'numerous, definite, and particularised' curricular objectives and outcomes (Bobbitt 1918, p. 42). Echoing Taylor's scientific management analysis of efficient factory workers, Bobbitt was unswerving in his belief that scientific analysis alone would disclose what society wanted (or needed) from its schools, thus enabling schools to concentrate only on what was relevant directly to the immediate needs of modern American industry.

However, instead of considering the actual *content* of the curriculum to be offered in schools, Bobbitt remained fixated with *objectives* and 'scientific' processes—that is, with further enhancing factory-like efficiencies in education. In what was perhaps his clearest explanation of this process Bobbitt (1920, cited in Au 2011) observed that:

It is the objectives and the objectives alone ... that dictate the pupil-experiences that make up the curriculum. It is then these in their turn that dictate the specific methods to be employed by the teachers and specific material helps and appliances and opportunities to be provided. These in their turn dictate the supervision, the nature of the supervisory organization, the quantity of finance, and the various other functions involved in attaining the desired results. And, finally, it is the specific objectives that provide standards to be employed in the measurement of results (Bobbitt 1920, p. 142, cited in Au 2011, pp. 26–27).

Rice and Bobbitt found a powerful and persuasive ally in Elwood Cubberly, Stanford University's Foundation Dean of Education. Having been employed by numerous school boards to undertake detailed cost-benefit analyses of the overall

quality of education, Cubberly (1916) was adamant that American schools essentially were:

factories in which raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet various demands in life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of the twentieth century civilisation, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialised machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to specifications, [and] the elimination of waste in manufacture.... (Cubberly, pp. 337–338, quoted in Callahan 1962, p. 97)

Cubberly's understanding of social efficiency theory was underpinned by the need for specificity and predictability in curriculum design and delivery—that is, by the central cannon of the scientific curriculum makers. Specifying precise and definitive curricular objectives in advance of actual classroom instruction, and then insisting that the nation's teachers deliver that curriculum to all students, allowed a standardised teacher-proof curriculum to emerge, one that had immense appeal to school administrators who had long sought evidence about the relative efficiency of American teachers.

The price to be paid for embracing the scientific curriculum-making model so unequivocally was that teachers were destined to become little more than rule-bound and results-driven technicians. With scientific curriculum making embedded so hegemonically in contemporary educational theory and practice, no consideration was given to inviting teachers to collaborate in framing and revising the very curriculum they were responsible for implementing. It would be some time before school administrators were prepared to concede that teachers' knowledge and their classroom experiences needed to be incorporated into ongoing curriculum planning and reform.

3 The Rise of Social Reconstructionism

The prospect of never-ending economic and social prosperity for America had all but vanished by the late 1920s with the sudden and spectacular collapse of the Wall Street stock market and the impact of the worsening global economic depression. Not surprisingly, public support for the social efficiency movement evaporated quickly in line with the rapidly eroding economic, educational, and social benefits that had been promised by its devotees. Conditions, it seems, were ripe for the now obsolete social efficiency doctrine to be replaced by a new movement—*social reconstructionism*.

In stark contrast to the social efficiency and scientific management theorists, the social reconstructionists, led by George Counts from the University of Chicago, argued that the school curriculum could and should not be constructed simply from a scientific analysis of pupils' (and teachers') activities nor could standards be derived and determined objectively (Counts 1930). Singling out the 'machine culture' of American schools and the 'orgy of testing' for special

attention, Counts also criticised the resultant curriculum fragmentation, the dominant non-inclusive and antidemocratic values and interests of middle-class American society (pp. 126, 137–138, 147), and the omission of important core values such as social justice and social reform from the social efficiency education doctrine (Counts 1932a).

Having tapped a raw nerve with the nation's disillusioned educators, Counts identified and evaluated the critical economic and social problems then confronting America in his book, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, published in 1932 (Counts 1932b). Adamant that the time was opportune for reorienting the school curriculum so as to encourage students and teachers to become informed social critics, Counts' central thesis—that the nation's schools provided the key site for the reconstruction of American life—captured the imagination immediately of educators and politicians alike. The fact that President Roosevelt's 1933 'New Deal' domestic social rejuvenation programme resonated with Counts' educational vision (Callahan 1962) allowed teachers to break with tradition and to introduce students to the realities of American society and the significant events and factors that had influenced its development.

4 World War II and 'Life Adjustment Education'

It was one thing to advocate for the reformation of the school curriculum along social reconstructionist lines but quite another for American teachers and school administrators to translate these proposals into successful classroom practices. Moreover, as Americans became preoccupied increasingly with the prospect of world conflict, any mention of a new social order was all but squashed by the rising tide of patriotism. When America entered into World War II finally on 8 December 1941, its educational leaders were unanimous that the schools' key purpose now was to protect and promote the core values of a modern democratic society (Cremin 1962; Ravitch 1983; Tyack 1974). As the conflict continued American educators became aware that high school enrolments had declined sharply from 1940—American school leavers had either enlisted for the armed forces or had sought work in the rapidly expanding military industries—and turned their attention towards post-war schooling reforms that sought to reorient the high school curriculum along more functional and work-oriented lines.

Consistent with the doctrine of its social efficiency predecessor, the new *life adjustment education* model required that each high school student's particular strengths be identified and then matched carefully with a curriculum geared specifically to fostering worthwhile work habits and skills relevant to each school leaver's future occupational role (Callahan 1962; Cremin 1962). The great advantage of aligning the curriculum along strictly vocational lines, the life adjustment educators claimed, was that it forced the traditional academic high schools to broaden their curricular offerings to cater for adolescents of varying abilities (Cremin 1962).

5 Towards General Education and a Common Core Curriculum

Whilst the claims made in support of life adjustment education appealed to state-level school administrators who could now reassure federal education authorities that the nation's high schools could in fact become a potent force in American economic life (Callahan 1962), the distinguished Harvard (University) Committee, having scrutinised them carefully, was less optimistic. In their comprehensive report, *General Education in a Free Society* (1945), the Committee urged the introduction of a *general education* curriculum wherein every American high school student, irrespective of his or her academic abilities and vocational ambitions, studied a common core comprising four subjects (English, mathematics, science, and social studies) for at least half of the time each was in school. In the time that remained, students would enrol in other electives (subjects) that interested them (Harvard Committee 1945).

Bobbitt, now an elder statesman in the curriculum world, viewed the matter very differently and reiterated his earlier view (echoing that of the life adjustment educators) that the needs of the majority of high school students would best be met when the curriculum included specific skills and competencies and when school administrators stipulated that all students be taught how to perform these efficiently (Bobbitt 1946; Callahan 1962).

6 The 'Anti-intellectual' Crisis

In the immediate post-war years, many American academics began to question the direction in which public schooling was heading. Mortimer Smith's book, *And Madly Teach*, published in 1949, foreshadowed the critiques to come. Although sympathetic to the need to accommodate a new intake of less academically inclined students, and aware that the high school curriculum needed to be broadened in line with the different economic and social roles that school leavers would be required to perform, Smith concluded that America's education leaders had done nothing to nurture the intellectual development of academically inclined youth. Other academic critics of American education, such as Harry Fuller and Arthur Bestor, soon joined in the debate, united in their view that life adjustment courses were wholly responsible for the marginal status of conventional curriculum subjects (Fuller 1951; Bestor 1954). Such criticism proved remarkably effective in further cementing the pivotal status of the academic curriculum as the best route to maximise America's future economic, industrial, and social prosperity, if not its national security.

The level of anxiety over the state of American education reached a zenith when the Soviet Union successfully launched Sputnik 1, the first earth-orbiting satellite, on 4 October 1957. Senior military personnel, assisted by the mass media's insatiable

appetite for news about the Soviet's technological advances, were quick to identify the Cold War threat to America's military power and security (Rickover 1959). Americans now feared that they had lost their engineering, scientific, and technological advantage because their schools had become intellectually soft compared with the rigorous academic Soviet and European education systems. Congressional legislators responded in September 1958 by passing the National Defence Education Act that authorised additional and specific government funding, on a scale never witnessed before, to restructure the foreign languages, mathematics, and the physical sciences curriculum in the interests of national security (Connell 1980; Cremin 1962). Unlike 1911, when Taylor had envisaged skilled workers being the key to America's economic and industrial prosperity, by the late 1950s the Congress fully supported an education system that valued the intellectual capital and contribution of American engineers, mathematicians, scientists, and technologists.

7 Tyler's Objective Model of Curriculum Development and the Rise of Behavioural Psychology

The immediate problem confronting politicians in general and educationists in particular was how to devise and define educational outcomes with such precision that any ambiguity about what the student was learning—specifically, whether or not the student had actually *achieved* those goals—would be eliminated. Ralph Tyler's objectives model (also known as the 'behavioural', 'rational', 'sequential', or 'means-end' model of curriculum planning), outlined in his landmark text entitled *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949), appeared to solve this difficulty.

Heavily influenced by Rice, Bobbitt, and Cubberly's writings—in particular, their advocacy of specific curricular objectives based on 'scientific' methods—Tyler outlined his four-step framework for constructing a logical, sequential, and systematic school curriculum. These steps involved setting clear and precise objectives (to be derived from systematic studies of what students needed to know, what 'society' wanted students to be taught, and what subject specialists agreed were the most important outcomes to be gained from learning that subject), developing teaching strategies and selecting content, organising effective educational experiences, and assessing and evaluating the extent to which these objectives were achieved (Tyler 1949).

The particular appeal of Tyler's model was that he viewed schooling as an orderly process (and schools as a site) designed specifically to produce and promote desirable learning outcomes for *all* students, irrespective of their different abilities and areas of interest (Brady and Kennedy 1999). For Tyler the single most important factor in curriculum planning was the efficiency and effectiveness of the learning-teaching nexus required to accomplish the desired *ends* (i.e. learning outcomes) of education (Posner 1998). Whilst Tyler was adamant that curriculum planning was essentially a technical, value-free, apolitical process, his rationale nevertheless was

underpinned by particular theoretical assumptions regarding the ideal educational experiences for students and teachers, the nature of the curriculum to be delivered, and the fundamental purposes of education (Eisner 1979, 1991; Kliebard 1995, 2004).

The movement to define educational outcomes with even greater precision gathered momentum in the years immediately following the publication of Tyler's influential text. The emergence of behavioural psychology, wherein all human activity could be analysed ostensibly in purely objective terms and then modified in line with the needs of the learner, now provided educators with a scientific technique that not only quantified students' performance objectively alongside predetermined (and measurable) outcomes but also provided a means of modifying students' learning experiences to ensure compliance with those outcomes. American educators and researchers became so enamoured with the behavioural objectives movement that hundreds of books were published from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, each urging its wholesale adoption in curriculum planning (Callahan 1962; Kliebard 1995; Stenhouse 1973, 1978; Tyack 1974). The hegemony of behaviourism became so powerful that remarkably little criticism of its limitations emerged until the mid-1970s (Apple 1995a, 1996; Stenhouse 1973, 1978).

8 Towards Scientific Certainty: Behavioural Objectives and Learning Outcomes

Outlined for the first time in Benjamin Bloom's seminal work, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (1956), the general thrust of the behaviourist approach involved classifying student behaviour according to six educational objectives—knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Bloom stipulated further that each behavioural objective had to be expressed as a form of *behaviour* that could be both *taught* and *learned* (Bloom 1956).

The behaviourist cause was strengthened further by the publication in 1962 of Robert Mager's book, *Preparing Objectives for Programmed Instruction*, that insisted on even greater operational specificity in terms of the criterion level that had to be achieved in order to demonstrate competency in achieving that objective (Eisner 1979). This orientation required the identification of each behavioural objective, the precise description of the conditions under which each would be exhibited, and the measurement (usually through testing) of the desired behavioural outcome against each predetermined criterion (Mager 1962). Teachers who attempted to implement Mager's programme quickly became overwhelmed by the requirement to construct dozens of specific behaviourally defined instructional objectives. However, these implementation problems were ignored conveniently in the ongoing quest for scientific certainty in education.

Criticism of the quality of American education continued to escalate during the 1960s, to such an extent that the federal government launched numerous reform programmes to establish minimum competency tests for high school graduation

(Ravitch 1983; Tyack 1974). These tests were designed to ‘raise academic standards and increase educational achievement ... [and] prevent schools from passing incompetent students through the grades simply on the basis of ‘social promotion’ (Haney and Madaus 1978, p. 463). Now, for the first time, outcomes-based education (and assessment) held considerable promise as an objective means to ‘raise standards’ by setting clear performance targets for state schools and then holding teachers accountable for their students’ achievements.

9 Teacher Accountability, Competence, and Performance-Based Assessment

Growing unease concerning educational standards, declining Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, and poor-quality teacher education led federal policy makers in the 1960s to explore ways to minimise, if not eliminate, teacher incompetence by ‘teacher-proofing’ classroom instruction (Conant 1963; Eisner 1991; Koerner 1963; Ravitch 1983, 2001). The solution, justified on the grounds of public accountability and the need for greater transparency in monitoring what teachers and students should know and be able to demonstrate, was simple: formulate and implement performance-based standards for teacher certification, for the curriculum, and for teaching outcomes (Carnoy et al. 2003; Ravitch 1983; Shepard and Kreitzer 1987; Winter 1982). Perhaps not surprisingly, the research evidence revealed that the competency-based approach failed to live up to the bold claims and aspirations of its proponents because it was the *political context* surrounding the test, rather than any absolute definition of competence per se, that defined the real level of teacher competence. Competency, in other words, became what the test designers defined it as being—and nothing more (Shepard and Kreitzer 1987; Winter 1982).

10 The ‘New Basics’ Curriculum and the Search for ‘Education Standards’

Between 1975 and 1985 the American high school curriculum became increasingly politicised as school administrators and teachers found themselves at the centre of protracted and often heated debates over quality and the failure of education to boost national economic productivity and competitiveness. Conservative politicians grasped the importance of ‘education standards’ quickly and made this a central feature of their neoliberal ‘back-to-the-basics’ (eliminate the ‘frills’) curriculum. Finally, the education standards mantra was sanctioned officially in April 1983 when the Department of Education’s National Commission on Excellence in Education released its damning report on the state of American education, entitled aptly *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983).

Having declared earlier that ‘if an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war’ (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983, p. 5), *A Nation at Risk* investigated the standard of American education and concluded that it had in fact deteriorated when measured in terms of high school student performance in the USA and in comparison with other countries. Accordingly, it recommended that high school graduation requirements be strengthened and that colleges and universities introduce more rigorous and measurable standards and expectations for students’ academic performance. The controlling authorities of 4-year colleges and universities, in particular, were urged to raise their admission requirements. *A Nation at Risk* also sought to embed the twin notions of competency and excellence as the new policy drivers of the 1980s by advocating a ‘New Basics’ academic curriculum (comprising English, mathematics, science, social studies, computer science, and foreign languages) as the antidote to the ‘cafeteria-style’ (or ‘smorgasbord’) curriculum being offered then in American high schools.

With the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, the pressure for reform came not only from business and lobby groups who were gravely concerned about the faltering American economy and the growing threat of international competition but also from state governors who were held accountable, by employers and the public, for improving educational outcomes. Notwithstanding the growing realisation by the late 1980s that educational standards could not be raised simply by political decree or by mandating more stringent assessment practices and tests (Carnoy et al. 2003; Madaus 1988; Pascoe 1995; Ravitch 2001, 2010), President George W. Bush’s *America 2000* and Bill Clinton’s *Goals 2000* continued to advocate prescribing what teachers could and could not teach, establishing learning outcomes (or standards) for each grade, implementing state-wide tests of attainment to assess these learning outcomes, toughening high school graduation standards, and strengthening teacher certification and training further (Ravitch 2001, 2010).

11 Leaving No Child Behind: Rhetoric and Reality

In 2002 the Bush government went further by sponsoring the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, making each state legally responsible for developing content and performance standards, measuring improvement and implementing and administering annual state-wide standardised tests in reading and mathematics (including testing students with limited English language proficiency), reporting these assessment data, and applying financial sanctions for not meeting stated performance goals (Ravitch 2010; United States Department of Education 2002). Although the NCLB Act did not specify a national achievement standard—standards were set by each individual state—school authorities nevertheless were required to ensure that almost all their students met the minimum mandated skill levels (set by each state) in reading, writing, and mathematics (Ravitch 2010). The results, albeit in a very narrow

range of subjects, have been used to evaluate the worth of individual teachers and to ascertain the success or failure of schools (Ravitch 2010). Such is the faith in the capacity of standardised testing to raise educational achievement that President Obama's *Race to the Top* (2009) policy initiative allocated \$4.35 billion of contestable funds to those states that evaluated teachers using their students' scores on annual multiple-choice tests (Ravitch 2010).

Conservative educational practices such as these, however, have significant consequences for classroom teachers and students. As Apple (1995a, b, 1996), Carnoy et al. (2003), Eisner (1979, 1991), and Ravitch (2010) have observed, America's current obsession with the dual mantras of standards and accountability (and the concomitant pursuit of higher and higher test scores) dissuades teachers and learners from undertaking those creative, challenging, and risk-taking activities that lie outside the confines of certainty.

12 Outcomes-Based Education: International Trends and Context

One key feature of the global demand for a more rigorous monitoring of educational 'standards' and increased educational accountability has been the introduction of an outcomes-based approach to school curriculum and to assessment reform (Burke 1995; Kliebard 2004; Lee 2003; Lee and Lee 2000a, b, 2009, 2012). By the early 1990s the quest for quantifiable educational outcomes was so powerful that it came to dominate educational policy and practice and to redefine what counted as 'worthwhile knowledge', in Australia, Britain, New Zealand, and the USA (Lee 2003; Lee and Lee 2000a, b, 2012).

Levin (1998) has argued that the speed and spread of 'reform movements' within and across western state education systems during the 1980s and 1990s were nothing short of a 'policy epidemic'. More recently, Ball's (2000, 2003) research has highlighted the 'unstable, uneven but apparently unstoppable flood of closely inter-related reform ideas permeating and reorienting education systems in diverse social and policy locations which have very different histories' (2003, p. 215). He observed further that:

This epidemic is 'carried' by powerful agents, like the World Bank and the OECD; it appeals to politicians of diverse persuasions; and is becoming embedded in the 'assumptive worlds' of many academic educators. The novelty of this epidemic of reform is that it does not simply change what people, as educators, scholars and researchers do, it changes who they are (p. 215).

Having 'migrated' to countries such as Australia, England, Scotland, and New Zealand, these global economic and educational concerns and pressures became embedded hegemonically as universal best practice ('one-size-fits-all') policies and practices in each of these countries (Ball 1994, 1997; Dale 1999; Edwards et al. 1999; Gerwitz et al. 1995; Gordon and Whitty 1997; Green 1999; Olssen and Peters 2005).

Moreover, the curriculum and assessment frameworks introduced and implemented in these countries since the late 1980s are remarkably similar structurally (i.e. they employ sequential levels, essential learning areas, and outcomes), semantically (i.e. the adoption of attainment targets and strands), and economically (i.e. education is linked with national economic success and prosperity) (Lee 2003; Lee and Lee 2012).

12.1 Decentralisation and the Changing Discourse of ‘Worthwhile Knowledge’

Decentralisation, or ‘governing at a distance’ (Smyth and Shacklock 1998, p. 16), provided a rationale for governments to exercise further control and surveillance over education by demanding greater accountability, publishing clearly specified performance targets and outputs, and requiring teachers not only to measure and test students but also to report ‘results’ using mandated standards and frameworks (Burnard and White 2008; Husbands 2001; Sahlberg 2006, 2010, 2011). Such state control and surveillance, Codd (1997b) argued, raises important questions about the very nature of knowledge:

The ideology of instrumentalism emphasises knowledge as product, knowledge as performance, [and] knowledge as commodity. What is diminished, as a consequence, is knowledge as insight, knowledge as appreciation, [and] knowledge as understanding. Thus what we have is the replacement of a personal developmental or socially transformative view of education by a narrow instrumentalist view. (Codd 1997b, p. 134)

What is at stake here is a radical shift in terms of what counts as knowledge, the complex ways by which it is constructed and organised, who is authorised to teach it, and the various mechanisms used to assess and evaluate students’ acquisition of knowledge. As Young (1971) has demonstrated, these factors determine the nature, scope, organisation, and content of what is taught and learned in the nation’s classrooms, and therefore, they raise important questions about the inclusion and exclusion of certain kinds of knowledge and ways of knowing.

12.2 Performativity and School Effectiveness

The global shift since the late 1980s towards outcomes-based education, competitive performance indicators, monitoring and surveillance, and the compilation of information and documentation regarding students achievements can best be understood in terms of Lyotard’s (1984) concept of performativity—where ‘experience is nothing but productivity is everything’ (Ball 2012, p. 19) and where efficiency and effectiveness are measured in terms of a simple input/output ratio. According to

Ball (2003) the force, logic, and technology of performativity has become so insidious and sophisticated that it is now impossible to circumvent:

[Performativity] is a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as a means of incentive, control, attrition and change—based on rewards and sanctions.... The performance (of individual subjects or organisations) serve as measures of productivity or output, of display of ‘quality’ ... As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organisation within a field of judgement. The issue of who controls the field of judgement is crucial.... Who is it that determines what is to count as valuable, effective or satisfactory performance and what measures or indicators are considered valid? (p. 216)

The emphasis on performativity has given rise also to the publication of comparative school performance (‘league tables’) data, underpinned by the seemingly unshakeable faith that by accumulating such data significant and quantifiable improvements in students’ achievements and overall school effectiveness must follow logically (Broadfoot 2001, 2007; Carnoy et al. 2003; Darling Hammond 1994; Sahlberg 2010; Torrance 1995, 1997). Inevitably what emerges is a common ‘outputs’ currency that ostensibly gauges the relative worth, efficiency, and quality of individual schools, one that is focused narrowly on a comparative, competitive, and allegedly objective ranking of schools rather than an orientation that seeks to identify underlying factors that might provide a plausible explanation for different levels of school (and student) achievement.

The educational consequences of labelling schools as either successful (and effective) or failing (and ineffective), on the basis of their students’ relative examination performance, have proved catastrophic: parents removed their children promptly from ‘losing’ schools and enrolled them in ‘winning’ state (or private) schools (Ball 1997; Gordon 1994; Gordon and Whitty 1997; Lauder et al. 1999; Reich 1991; Thrupp 1998, 1999).

Moreover, the parallel discourse of school success (and failure) raises important questions about how school effectiveness can (and should) be defined and measured, given the limitations in adopting a performance-based framework for evaluating not only school and teacher effectiveness but also student learning and achievement. The research work of Black (1994, 1998), Broadfoot (1996, 2001, 2007), Cresswell (2000), Gipps and Murphy (1994), Murphy and Broadfoot (1995), Nuttall (1986), Torrance (1995, 1997), and Wolf (1995), for example, demonstrates that students’ test and examination scores seldom provide statistically meaningful evidence of overall schooling efficiency and in practice do nothing to raise educational standards per se. Consequently, attempts to link schooling effectiveness with educational standards and students’ scholastic performance become especially problematic in light of the robust sociological evidence regarding the highly complex and contested interrelationship between family values, practices, resources, and differential levels of educational and social achievement (Alexander 2012; Darling Hammond 1994; Lauder et al. 1999; Lupton 2004, 2005; Nash 1993, 1999, 2001; Nash and Harker 1997, 2005; Reay 2006; Reich 1991; Thrupp 2007). However, with political pressure for accountability likely to escalate in the foreseeable future, coupled with the public’s insatiable appetite for schools’ league table rankings to be compiled and

published, the most readily accessible measures of schooling outcomes (and, some commentators would claim, schooling efficiency) will continue to be those derived from assessing and monitoring students' academic achievements.

12.3 The (Mis)management of Educational Trust and Teachers' Professional Autonomy

The introduction of the New Public Management ideology, wherein organisational change is achieved through the allegedly more efficient market-oriented delivery of public services, has altered radically, if not reconstructed totally, the daily working lives of school teachers who are now expected to 'take responsibility for (but not [have] power over) the achievement of pre-specified organisational goals' (Helsby 1999, p. 30). Apple (1990, 1995a, 1996) argued similarly that, rather than becoming active professional developers of their own curricula, teachers now are deprofessionalised by virtue of being reduced to proletarianised technicians delivering predetermined, externally set, teacher-proof curricula. This subordination, Codd (1999) explained, culminated in a shift from an internal (high trust) to an external (low trust) model of professional accountability within which teachers' involvement and voice in educational matters became marginalised increasingly. Administrators, at least for the time being, appear to have wrestled control from teachers and now (micro)manage state education systems, all the whilst reminding teachers that they constitute a workforce to be controlled rather than being a self-regulating and autonomous body of professionals (Codd 1999; Green 1999; Halsey et al. 1997).

Whilst the incorporation of managerialist and performativity principles into the organisation and operation of education undoubtedly has reconfigured teachers' work, it should also be acknowledged that teachers do have agency and are quite capable of challenging their increasingly marginalised status and 'voice' (Elliott 1998; Smyth and Shacklock 1998). Nevertheless, as Codd (1999) has explained, such contestation by teachers requires a fundamental reconceptualisation of the nature of teacher professionalism, where teachers are encouraged to interrogate their own knowledge and roles and to engage in genuinely reflexive and democratic debate with their communities and politicians about the purposes of education and their contribution to students' learning. Moreover, because teachers' work is so often construed by politicians as being essential to the education and training of those who will enter the 'knowledge economy', one might imagine that greater emphasis should be given to encouraging high levels of trust and autonomy in the teaching profession. Not to do so consigns teachers invariably to a servant-like status rather than being empowered professionals, thereby threatening the very essence, if not viability, of achieving the highly prized, highly skilled, highly qualified, and highly paid workforce deemed so vital to the knowledge-based economy and society (Avis 2000, 2001, 2003).

13 Outcomes-Based Education: The New Zealand Experience

Thus far we have discussed the complex ways whereby school curriculum and assessment systems have been captured and modified successfully in response to pressure from governments and their associated education agencies for greater surveillance and accountability of teachers and students in publicly funded schools to be exercised. However, the aforementioned fascination with ‘educational standards’ in general, and outcomes-based education in particular, was not confined to the USA. New Zealanders, for example, had long been accustomed to a nationwide outcomes-based primary (since 1878) and postprimary (since 1946) school curriculum. Furthermore, from 1878 to 1937, New Zealand experimented with annual national primary school standards examinations and abandoned them eventually when it became obvious that they had failed to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the nation’s classrooms (Lee 2003; Lee and Lee 1992, 2000b, 2009; Openshaw et al. 1993).

13.1 Curriculum Reform

The abolition of the Standard 6 (Form 2/Year 8) Proficiency Examination, along with the Standards 1 to 5 examinations, in 1937 meant that the primary schools were no longer ‘mere machines’ for processing pupils for examination purposes (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates [NZPD] 1936, p. 247). Freed from the constraints imposed by examinations, these schools could now experiment with broader curricular programmes adapted to the varying capacities of individual pupils (Lee and Lee 1992, 2000b, 2009). From 1943 the Department of Education, in line with progressivist thinking on curriculum development, embarked upon a programme of ‘rolling revision’ wherein each of the primary school subjects was revised in consultation with the teachers rather than maintaining the former practice of overhauling the entire primary school curriculum periodically, as was the case in 1904, 1919, and 1929 (Ewing 1970, pp. 164–165; Lee and Lee 1992, p. 30).

13.2 Surveying ‘Standards’: The 1962 Currie Commission

After World War II allegations about ‘low standards’ of school achievement persisted to such an extent that they could no longer be ignored (‘Annual meeting’, 1950, p. 4). With public feeling running so high, the Minister of Education, Philip Skoglund, resigned himself to the inevitability of appointing an independent Commission on Education specifically to ‘take stock of the educational situation’ (Commission on Education in New Zealand 1962, p. 3).

Appointed in February 1960, and chaired by Sir George Currie (Vice Chancellor of The University of New Zealand), the 11-person commission explored the controversies associated with ‘modern education methods’. The Commissioners concluded that there was no longer a place in New Zealand primary schools for those teachers who rejected the ‘cardinal ideas of variation in ability and attainment’ and who ‘narrowed all achievements to success in the three R’s’ by deliberately withholding students from progressing through the system ‘until they had reached each year some fixed level or standard of attainment’ (pp. 27–28).

In answering the allegation that ‘standards had declined’ in the nation’s primary school classrooms, the Commissioners recommended that the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) be contracted to prepare and administer national standardised tests in the form of ‘checkpoints of attainment’ in the basic subjects at 5 yearly intervals, ‘to allow valid comparisons of achievement to be made at particular points [Standards 1, 4, and Form 2] in the primary school curriculum’ (pp. 37, 372). The Commissioners emphasised further that these ‘checkpoints’ should *supplement* the estimates of class teachers who were placed uniquely to understand and take account of various factors affecting the ability and performance of pupils (pp. 37, 258–263, 372).

13.3 Education Standards Post-Currie

Following the publication of the Currie Commission’s report in 1962, Arthur Kinsella, the Minister of Education, in 1965 formally invited the NZCER to construct ‘standardised group tests of attainment in basic school subjects’, based on the New Zealand syllabuses for all classes (Elley 1967, pp. 63). Four years later, the first standardised tests were published by the NZCER and distributed to all primary schools (Ewing 1970, p. 270).

In the decades that followed, several committees of inquiry and working parties explored ways to evaluate the achievement levels of New Zealand primary school students. Three of these—Learning and Teaching (1974), the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988), and the Reports of the Ministerial Working Party on Assessment for Better Learning (1989–1990)—investigated the merits of national monitoring of educational attainment. National monitoring of different areas of the primary school curriculum was occurring already owing to New Zealand’s participation in comparative surveys of educational achievement undertaken by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). These international surveys analysed and compared the achievements of New Zealand school children relative to learners from other countries and provided some indication of the performance of pupils in the New Zealand schooling system. Other achievement information, albeit covering selected areas of the New Zealand primary school curriculum, came from the standardised Progressive Achievement Tests (PATs), developed and re-normed by the NZCER periodically.

13.4 Towards Market-Driven Education: The 1980s and Beyond

Following the resounding defeat of Robert Muldoon's National Government (1976–1984) in the 1984 general election, the newly installed David Lange-led Labour Government (1984–1990) embarked immediately upon unprecedented, rapid, and widespread economic restructuring that was underwritten heavily by the New Zealand Treasury's economic briefing papers of 1984 and 1987 (Lauder 1987, 1990, 1994; Lauder et al. 1999; New Zealand Treasury 1984, 1987). Having abandoned rapidly the egalitarian ideals of access and opportunity that had underpinned the Keynesian welfare state in New Zealand since 1935, Labour instead pursued a market-based model that espoused the virtues of choice, efficiency, competition, and outcomes. Education reform became central to Labour's economic restructuring agenda and involved radical change in three key areas: educational administration (*Administering for Excellence*, 1988a; *Tomorrow's Schools*, 1988b), school curriculum (*Curriculum Review*, 1987), and senior secondary school qualifications and assessment (*Learning and Achieving*, 1985–1986). Despite Labour's defeat in the 1990 general election, the political impetus for change did not diminish. State control, surveillance, and accountability in New Zealand education was now seen as inevitable and thus unstoppable, given similar developments in Australia, England, and Wales.

13.5 The National Curriculum Framework (1991)

Having borrowed heavily from the UK's 1988 National Curriculum model, Lockwood Smith, Minister of Education in the newly elected Jim Bolger-led National Government (1990–1999), announced his intention to 'overhaul' the New Zealand curriculum, assessment, and qualifications systems along virtually identical lines in 1991. The way forward, he declared, lay in implementing a fully outcomes-based National Curriculum Framework (1991) and National Qualifications Framework (1991) that, together, would strengthen New Zealand's overall skills base and boost its economic efficiency, output, and international competitiveness. Two years later, the new Curriculum and National Qualifications Frameworks that incorporated a wholly outcomes-based approach to student learning and achievement were cemented firmly in place.

Highlighting the interplay of economic, educational, political, and social factors in his Foreword to *The National Curriculum of New Zealand* (1991), the Minister of Education declared that 'essential knowledge, understanding and skills' (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1991, p. i) and statements of the explicit outcomes to be achieved (pp. 18–20) were essential to 'achieving the standards which, as a small trading nation, [New Zealand] needs in order to prosper alongside other nations in the international marketplace' (p. i). Following a period of public consultation, the government released *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* in

1993 that identified a series of tightly specified learning outcomes ('achievement objectives') and described in detail what Year 1–13 students 'should know and be able to do' as they progressed through each of the eight curriculum levels (New Zealand Ministry of Education 1993, pp. 4–9, 22–23).

The gap between curriculum design and implementation became problematic immediately because the political pressure and haste to launch the new curriculum meant there was little opportunity to trial it in schools. Not surprisingly teachers soon complained that they had no time to familiarise themselves with the new curriculum, that vital classroom resources were not available, that there was an over-emphasis on assessing learning outcomes, and that there was insufficient classroom time to cover the wide range of topics in the curriculum statements (Lee and Hill 1996). The National Government ignored these concerns and instead pursued its non-negotiable, outcomes-based, education reform agenda, an agenda that removed professional educators deliberately from meaningful input into the curriculum and assessment processes (Lauder et al. 1999; Marshall 2000; McKenzie 1997, 1999; Philips 1993, 2000; Snook 1997).

13.6 The National Qualifications Framework (1991)

Overlapping the New Zealand Curriculum Framework was the modular National Qualifications Framework (NQF), designed and administered by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), that allowed qualifications from both the academic and vocational sectors to be credited and registered on the framework (NZQA 1990, 1991a, b, c, 1993). The essential 'building blocks' of the NQF were the competency-based 'unit standards' (comprising learning outcomes and performance criteria) by which students' learning was evaluated against clearly defined behavioural outcomes.

In marked contrast with the Scottish Vocational Educational Council's (SCOTVEC) modularised competency-based National Certificate launched in the 1980s, the New Zealand NQF abandoned the 'discredited distinction between academic and vocational' on the grounds that 'both are equal in their worth' (New Zealand Qualifications Authority 1991b, p. 32; Priestly 1996/1997; Wolf 1995). Such a view, however, ignores the historical reality that academic education in New Zealand postprimary schools has long been regarded as 'superior' to a 'practical', 'technical', and 'vocational' education (McKenzie 1992, 1997; McKenzie et al. 1990; Openshaw et al. 1993). Accordingly, any attempt to bridge the academic-vocational divide will succeed when, and only when, they are perceived as not threatening the opportunities of ambitious youth and when they enjoy strong support from schools, teachers, parents, and employers. McKenzie (1992) made this point persuasively when he argued that:

Governments do not have the power, which they sometimes imagine they do, to decree qualification status. Those who in the name of the State declare that all distinctions between *academic* and *vocational* qualifications are discredited, speak in voices which are often impotent. The real message, which is not to be confused with the rhetoric, is that curriculum issues are political issues that lie deeply embedded in our social structure; a social structure that reformers ignore at their peril. (McKenzie 1992, p. 29)

13.7 *Critiquing the Framework*

With its absolute insistence that all academic and vocational qualifications in the post-compulsory sectors be included under a single-unit standards-based National Qualifications Framework (NQF), the NZQA should not have been surprised when critics began to explore the theoretical underpinnings of the NQF and to expose serious weaknesses therein (Codd 1996, 1997a, b; Elley 1995; Irwin 1994; Peddie and Tuck 1995). What some of these critics also discovered was the framework's wholly behaviourist orientation, an orientation that had its origins in the social efficiency movement of the early twentieth century.

These same critics challenged the NZQA to produce robust research evidence to demonstrate that competency (outcomes)-based assessment was in fact the most *valid* method of assessment (Codd et al. 1991; Codd 1997a, b; Irwin 1994, 1997). They censured the NQF further, citing four key conceptual weaknesses. In the first place, the framework was seen to embody a reductionist and atomistic philosophy where all knowledge and skill domains were translated into predetermined sets of assessable learning outcomes. Second, as Irwin (1994, 1997) has noted, the framework's 'all-or-nothing' unit standards concept, where learners either 'pass' or 'fail', assumed that transparent 'standards' could be predefined in fact for all academic and vocational courses. Third, by adopting a 'can do' view of assessment—that is, students who could 'do' particular tasks were believed to have acquired the relevant skills, knowledge, and understandings—important assessment considerations regarding how much knowledge had been acquired, how thoroughly the concepts were understood, and the extent to which originality was evident were ignored (Irwin 1994, 1997; Smithers 1997).

In other words, rather like the factory workers in Taylor's scientific management scheme, students might not actually know or understand what they 'can do'; they simply 'do' it by virtue of having rote learned the required task(s). The final, and perhaps most damning, criticism was that the Curriculum and Qualifications Frameworks separated the development of specific curricular *objectives* from the process of setting and monitoring standards-based assessment *outcomes* (Codd 1997a, b; NZQA 1993, p. 9; Smithers 1997, 2000). Having rejected the academic-vocational 'divide' in favour of a unified National Qualifications Framework, the NZQA apparently saw no contradiction in their unequivocal advocacy of a curriculum-assessment 'divide'.

14 Outcomes-Based Education: International Critiques

Outcomes-based models have also been blamed for exacerbating existing social and cultural inequalities by ranking students (and teachers) for life in an unequal and socially stratified society (Apple 1990, 1995a, 1996; Darling Hammond 1994). Drawing on the experience with outcomes-based curriculum and assessment in England and Wales in the 1990s, Edwards (1995) noted that whilst the National Curriculum was designed ostensibly to treat all children and schools alike, the SAT (Standards Assessment Tasks) results reflected not only the quality of school and

teachers performance but also the entry abilities of children, with no allowance made for the socioeconomic and cultural status of the school's community. A similar pattern has emerged in the USA where, according to Popham (1987, 2007), the tests used currently as the 'centrepiece of test-based accountability' are deeply flawed because they '[assess] what the students brought to the schools' rather than what the teachers taught their students (2007, pp. 166–167).

Perhaps the most damning observation concerning outcomes-based education is the overwhelming absence of a theoretically rigorous research base regarding the supposed benefits to students and teachers of arranging the curriculum in terms of sequential outcome statements (i.e. profiles) and achievement levels (Broadfoot 1996; Collins 1994a, b, 1995; Gipps and Murphy 1994; Goldstein and Lewis 1996; Holt 1994; Hyland 1994; Lum 1999; Murphy and Broadfoot 1995; Towers 1992, 1994; Wills and Kissane 1997; Wolf 1995). Elley (1995, 1996) has made similar observations about the questionable assumptions underlying the organisation of knowledge and learning in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework. He doubted that the 'sequencing of knowledge and skills constituted a clear progression' because students' knowledge growth is 'individual and idiosyncratic, consisting of an infinity of particulars, not of logically organised packages—mastered in all-or-nothing fashion' (1996, p. 12).

Notwithstanding sophisticated and sustained theoretical critique, outcomes-based education and assessment practices have managed to dominate almost every aspect of contemporary educational discourse in the USA, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand since the late 1980s. In fact, it appears these ideas might actually flourish when a nation's economy is perceived to be underperforming and when the state deems certain kinds of 'relevant' knowledge, understandings, and skills to be mandatory in the school curriculum in order to transform the economy (Marshall 2000; Sahlberg 2006, 2010, 2011). What is even more remarkable is that whilst the failings of outcomes-based education and assessment are acknowledged widely, its advocates thus far have demonstrated a blatant disregard for the formidable theoretical critique and persist instead in drawing attention to the more pragmatic concerns of how to state, in minute detail, the exact outcomes required (Evans 1994; Holt 1994; Lum 1999; McKenzie 1997; Spady 1994; Spady and Marshall 1991; Towers 1992, 1994; Wills and Kissane 1997). Despite these failings the language of educational outcomes, standards, and accountability remains interwoven inextricably in western education systems' policies and practices.

15 Rethinking Outcomes-Based Education: Some Caveats, Challenges, and Possibilities

The particular risk with using outcomes-based education to pursue higher standards is that politicians and administrators fail to notice that these outcomes become reduced quickly to measurable objectives that are *external* to the process of teaching and learning. Thus, the set of tools devised to measure education 'outputs' (e.g. tests and examinations) invariably have an impact upon the education system as a whole (Broadfoot 2007; Jones et al. 2003; Nichols and Berliner 2007; Sahlberg 2006, 2010, 2011).

The rhetoric of educational outcomes in the USA, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand has accompanied the increasingly global mantras of the ‘knowledge society’ and ‘knowledge economy’, both of which are underpinned by a seemingly unshakable faith that education reforms will deliver the hoped-for growth in national economic prosperity and international competitiveness deemed essential for successful life in a modern capitalist world (Kenway et al. 1993; Sahlberg 2006, 2010, 2011). The reification of the nexus between outcomes-focused education systems and internationally competitive economies has heightened pressures for improved student achievement (i.e. higher test and examination scores and more favourable placements in school league tables) and for enhanced educational accountability, efficiency, productivity, and quality.

These outcomes, it is believed widely, correlate positively with the economic and educational success of individual nations (Goldstein 1997; Kenway et al. 1993; Mourshed et al. 2010; OECD 2010a, b, 2011) and therefore attract the attention of policymakers keen to dispense miracle cures to ‘underperforming’ countries (Alexander 2001, 2012; Sahlberg 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011). Whilst this concern is laudable, Sahlberg (2006, 2010, 2011) warns that there is no single formula for success because high-performing education systems—for example, Finland, Hong Kong, Japan, Shanghai, and Singapore—are each strikingly different in terms of their economic, historical, political, and social context.

In light of the wide (and widening) gaps in educational achievement, health and wellbeing, and income in many western countries, it is timely to seek explanations that lie *outside* the education system’s sphere of influence. For example, Wilkinson and Pickett’s (2010) comprehensive epidemiological research, published in their book *The Spirit Level*, provides unequivocal evidence of the statistical interrelationship between unequal societies, unequal education systems, and unequal education outcomes. The key to greater equality and improving the wellbeing of the whole population, Wilkinson and Pickett claim, lies in addressing ‘the underlying inequality which creates a steeper social gradient in educational achievement’ (pp. 29–30). Much as they seek to avoid this reality, this is the challenge that confronts politicians now.

16 Final Thoughts and Reflections

The key point, forgotten all too often in the headlong pursuit of educational and economic outcomes, is that there are no universal, permanent, or perfect solutions to complex educational problems, despite the best efforts of those who continually seek instant (and simplistic) solutions to complex educational problems and/or who wish to copy other education systems slavishly. The hope is that if educationists and politicians are willing to confront these issues and to engage in genuinely open and constructive dialogue, then there is at least some chance of improving the educational experiences and achievements of students significantly whilst also raising the all-important morale of the teaching profession. These are the very issues that need to be explored urgently in the twenty-first century.

Finally, it is vitally important to not only resist the temptation to expect certainty and predictability in our education systems and pedagogical methods but to also reject any explanations of educational progress and achievement that focus solely on measurable outcomes. We must never lose sight of the reality that the intellectual process and voyage can be at least as stimulating and worthwhile as the final destination and, furthermore, that an essential part of this journey should involve the use of robust research evidence to embed high-quality curricular and assessment decisions in our education policies and practices. Teachers, of course, are central to this process because excluding them risks alienating the very people entrusted with delivering schooling formally to and for our nation's youth. Teachers, students, and the public should expect—and, indeed, deserve—nothing less from our education administrators and politicians.

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Globalisation, Governance and Policy Reform in a Challenging World

Paul Carlin and Helga Neidhart

We are living through a transformation that will re-arrange the politics and economics of the coming century. There will be no national products or technologies, no national corporations, no national industries. ... Each nation's primary political task will be to cope with the centrifugal forces of the global economy, which tear at the ties binding citizens together – bestowing ever-greater wealth on the most skilled and insightful, while consigning the less skilled to a declining standard of living. (Reich 1991, p. 4)

1 Introduction

This prediction was made nearly 20 years ago and is now well on the way to fulfilment. In the last 20 years, the world has experienced major events and challenges: the 9/11 bombing of the twin towers in New York, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the recent global financial crisis and the deepening impact of globalisation. As a consequence, the political process in the western world is under increasing stress. An increase in the frequency and scale of natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, the terrifying tsunami in Indonesia in October this year and the bushfires in Greece in Victoria Australia are challenging the capacity of governments to restore order and stability. Governance, which is part of political theory (Peters and Pierre 1998), is often described as an ordered and rational way of doing things:

... governance is understood as a type of power which both acts *on and through* the agency and subjectivity of individuals as ethically free and rational subjects ...

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But because the pace and scale of change has intensified, the policy process has become more complex and dynamic. Various elements of policy priorities and implementation strategies often involve considerable degrees of contestation and negotiation within various stakeholders: the governing party, other political parties and independent members and powerful lobby groups such as business councils and unions.

An important element of policy reform and implementation are the differences between the various policy sectors, including economics, defence, foreign policy, trade, health, education, agriculture and the environment. A factor that has significant impact on policy development and approval is whether the government of the day has a majority in both houses of the parliament. Finally, there can be tension between a preferred timetable for effective policy reform and the electoral timetable. In his review of the renewal of social democracy, Giddens (1998, pp. 27–28) listed five major dilemmas that need to be addressed in any formation of policy. They are globalisation, individualism, left and right ideologies, political agency and ecological issues.

This chapter will focus on education policy as the vehicle for exploring how the national and global context impacts on policy reform and implementation in America, the UK and Australia.

2 The Challenging Global Context

The world continues to undergo significant economic, political, cultural and technological change, brought about by acceleration in the reach of globalisation (Carlin and Neidhart 2005).

According to Hutton and Giddens (2000, p. vii):

What gives contemporary change its power and momentum is the economic, political and cultural change summed up in the term ‘globalization’.

The rapid increase in the use and power of technology has enabled instant conduct of communication and business transactions across almost all countries.

Not all these changes have been beneficial to all nations. In some cases, they have contributed to a redefinition of citizens and democracy. The capacity of nation states to defend their boundaries and maintain a preferred balance between growth and equity of opportunity and achievement is being continually diminished:

Nowadays, states can defend their borders with weapons if need be but they are no longer able to arrest the flow of capital. As a result a person or a group of people with no political legitimacy whatsoever can decide whether or not to transfer their capital elsewhere and with the click of a mouse plunge a country into unemployment. (Todorov 2009, p. 51)

In the 1980s, globalisation was adopted by business and industry. It provided opportunities for entrepreneurs to expand their business internationally. Using new technology, the emphasis was on increasing productivity:

The ability to source capital, raw materials, finished goods and sometimes talent from an ever-global pool has put enormous pressure on companies to become more efficient.

In the 1990s, the impact of globalisation began to put pressure on public sector management in the areas of education, health and welfare across much of the western world. This led to major structural reform of public policy as governments realised that current structures were no longer capable of responding adequately to the increased speed and complexity the new world. Thus, 'public sector management' became a reality. Whereas governance fitted into the framework of political theory, new public policy reform was an integral component of organisational theory (Ewalt 2001). However, devolution was just one part of the new educational reform. Within the global context, the public policy framework sets a number of rigorous benchmarks for schools and their leaders:

Devolution and competition, alongside increasing central prescription and performativity demands, have become global trends in education policy over the past twenty years, even though the particular balance of policies has varied from place to place. (Whitty 2006, p. 1)

This redefined significantly the role of head teachers as managing directors. With this, came increased responsibility and accountability at the local level: financial, educational and political. The key purpose was to drive implementation and push for the achievement of priority outcomes. With the promotion of parent choice, parents were advised to direct all concerns and complaints to school leaders rather than to the local education authority or the department. The workload of school leaders increased and became more challenging.

As well as these significant policy changes, the threat of terrorism at the international level was causing concern. The connection between terrorism and globalisation has been investigated by a number of writers (Karacasulu 2006; Porter 2004; Cocker 2002). According to Cocker (2002), '...globalization is encouraging religious fundamentalism (p. 3) and, ...it is also producing new network-centred terrorist organizations' (p. 4). Porter argues that:

Terrorism is connected to the principles of globalization and the principles of anti-globalization. Coming to grips with what those connections are and what they mean is crucial to people on both sides of the globalization debate. (2004, p. 1)

Whilst terrorism has existed for many years, a number of the more frightening events have occurred in the last decade: the World Trade Center bombing in New York in September 2001, the Bali bombings in 2002 and those in London in July 2005. All have been attributed to Al Qaeda, a complex international Islamist terrorist network. Its mission is described as the violent expulsion of Westerners from Muslims countries. This is a new ideological battleground with three key bases: religious, military and economic power. A more disturbing recent development has been the emergence of terrorist cells within the national borders of America, Britain and Australia (Scott Carpenter and Levitt 2010).

Since the beginning of the new century, the global financial crisis has caused additional threat to the quality of life and employment security of many millions throughout the world, thereby giving rise to deeper levels of unrest and suspicion.

Greece and Ireland are current examples of this. Thus, the global society is in a fragile state. However, economic policy is not the only policy area that continues to challenge governments nationally. Policies related to population and immigration management and infrastructure, as well as climate change are proving to be hotly contested because of their impact on the economy, employment and stability.

3 An Overview of Policy Reform and Implementation

As society grows more complex, the process of governance becomes more challenging and the pressure on governments continues to increase. In addition to wars, terrorism and natural disasters such as the recent floods in Pakistan and the global financial crisis have severely impacted most people's quality of life. Overall this has created a widespread perception that the capacity of individuals to influence policy decisions is declining rapidly. At the same time, their confidence in the power and will of their government to manage these pressures and restore stability has been severely shaken. As a consequence:

...while elections and the activity of political leaders have meaning and significance in their own right, their importance rests on what (governments) achieve for the public. (John 1998, p. 1)

People tend to assess their government's capacity and legitimacy on the ability to provide access to a quality education, a strong public health system and a stable economy, which provides and protects employment. In other words, it is the core policy sectors that underpin the nation's quality of life, both now and in the future, which are the yardstick. Good policy leadership can never be purely evidence based, conducted in some philosophical vacuum. It must be disciplined by values and guided by aspirations of a good society (Dyrenfurth and Soutphommasane 2010, p. 3). Protecting the priority of values and equity requires strong courageous leadership (Neidhart and Carlin 2009; Mackay 1999), but the increasing secularisation and complexity of the global society and the rise of powerful lobby groups have diminished the importance the average citizen gives to core values, whether democratic or religious. Furthermore, the political imperative of winning elections and retaining power tends to relegate values to a much lower priority. Since the 1970s, governments in America, Britain and Australia have largely abandoned social democracy with its emphasis on redistribution and social justice and have promoted neoliberalism.

In the middle of the twentieth century, the philosophy of social democracy, with its provision for the welfare state, was dominant in many western countries. However, in the late 1960s, the push for neoliberalist ideologies began to emerge. One of its strongest advocates was Friedrich von Hayek, who was a committed promoter of the supremacy of free markets. The oil crisis of the early 1970s and its threats to key elements of the world economy provided further impetus to the advance of capitalism and the free market. Continental Europe was a clear exception

(Giddens 1998). Thatcher in the UK in 1979 followed by Regan in USA in 1981, leaders of the world's most powerful economies, were the primary advocates of the resurgence of the 'neoliberal' philosophy. As a consequence, the social democracy movement was under serious challenge, as capitalism and the free market gained momentum. In 1983 the Australian government took the decision to float the Australian dollar in order to enhance the ability to participate in emerging bilateral and multilateral trade, in an attempt to enlarge and secure increased market share. The values of the world were changing and people were increasingly redefined as consumers and investors and less as citizens with the power of agency:

Yet despite the satisfaction they feel as consumers and investors, many are frustrated in their capacities as citizens. Their democracies, too, are finding it more and more difficult to articulate and act upon the common good. (Reich 2008, p. 9)

As a result of this frustration of feeling powerless, large numbers of people from different but related groups, such as environmentalists, the unemployed, refugees, the homeless, and others, have organised disruptive rallies at finance ministers' meetings of the G 20 countries to express anger at their exclusion. These rallies often became quite violent and captured the attention of the international media, thus sending a powerful message to many countries. A recent example of this was the huge demonstration of 'red shirt' protestors in Thailand. Citizens are now demanding a voice and are willing to take very dramatic and public means to express their views. The key elements involved in policy analysis have been mapped by many writers (Lall 2007; Bridgman and Davis 2000; John 1998; Giddens 1998). With reference to a rational process of policy analysis, Bridgman and Davis have listed the following:

1. problem is identified and defined
2. the values, goals and objectives ...are made explicit and ranked in priority order
3. all options that can achieve the goal are identified
4. the costs and benefits of each option are made explicit
5. costs and benefits for each option are then compared
6. with information about costs and benefits the decision maker can choose the option that best achieves his or her values, goals and objectives (2000, p. 48)

However, given the pressures and complexities of the policy process, such a text-book model is at best a working guide. Policy reviews should identify the strengths of current policies so that these can be incorporated into the new policy and so avoid change for change sake as well as to maintain continuity as far as possible. Policies are not simply written documents. They also include interpretation and how they are integrated into government infrastructure and regulations. Such strategies help to ensure effective implementation and attainment of priority outcomes. The pathways from policy formation, passage through the parliament, embedding in state programs and implementation through multiple agencies into diverse urban, regional and rural settings can be very problematic. All of these elements require consideration in any policy review or formation. In considering these issues, key questions need to be asked. One is whether the catalyst for a new or revised policy is part of a government's electoral program or whether it is a response to criticism by groups

such as the Opposition and/or major stakeholders. Alternatively, it could also result from an unexpected international crisis. In such cases, government ministers and their advisers will often consult major stakeholders, such as business and industry leaders, unions, employers, or treasury officials to begin the process of drafting a revised policy for wider consultation. This is done to identify key concerns and aspirations to achieve structural congruence with other relevant policies and analyse budget implications to streamline the process. These processes should assist government to identify potential barriers and reframe policy in ways that limit opposition from the parliament, state governments or other lobby groups. A second question is: what level of access and priority do policy makers provide to enable citizens' views and concerns to be heard and incorporated? The globalised world has eroded the capacity of the average citizen to influence the policy process, whilst the power of major lobby groups continues to expand. This is the case particularly in USA, but increasingly also in other countries:

A similar tide of corporate lobbying has engulfed other global capitals in recent years, as supercapitalism has spread around the world. By 2005, Brussels – which houses the European Commission and other European administrative offices – was inhabited by some ten thousand lobbyists, mostly representing large global companies and industry groups. (Reich 2008, 136)

Consequently, many people feel they are being treated more as instrumental commodities than as citizens in countries that espouse democratic values. Such conditions are fertile ground for unrest and revolt, as evidenced by recent events in Europe. An increasing number of people are objecting to their entitlements and agency being eroded by market capitalism.

4 Education Policy Reform in America, the UK and Australia

Using the key elements of public policy cited by Bridgman and Davis (2000) earlier in the chapter, we will explore the processes of policy reform in school education across America, UK and Australia since 1980 and also some of the contextual factors that shaped them. In America, the 1970s was a decade of major transition and scandal: in 1973 there was the major oil crisis which highlighted America's vulnerability to the Middle East with regard to energy; in 1975 the Vietnam War officially ended and in the same year the Watergate scandal erupted, leading to the resignation of President Nixon in August 1974. He was the only US President ever to resign. Consequently trust in the system of government was under severe pressure. The American people were looking for change and the reassurance that America, the world's most powerful nation, could restore its economic and political superiority. In 1981, Ronald Reagan was sworn in as the nation's new President. He was quick and decisive to endorse the ideology of market forces and the power of the individual, resulting in a smaller role for government:

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people (p. 1) and if we look to the answer as to why ... we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here in this land, we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. (1981, Reagan, Presidential Inaugural Address, p. 1)

Using his gift of oratory, Reagan led a passionate call for renewal and restoration of the great nation. Education was an essential building block of the total reform process. In April 1983, the National Commission for Excellence prepared a report for the nation and the Secretary of Education titled *A Nation at Risk: the Imperative for Educational Reform*. The scale and scope of the risk was considerable. Other nations such as South Korea, Germany and Japan were becoming serious competitors in some fields, and America's capacity to retain its top position was at risk:

It is also that these developments signify a redistribution of trained capability throughout the globe. Knowledge, learning, information and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce. (*A Nation at Risk*, 1983, p. 2)

This shift in the priority focus of school and college education was towards vocational and international competition goals and away from liberal education. This trend was occurring across an increasing number of western nations including the UK and Australia.

However, from a policy perspective, the five key recommendations of *A Nation at Risk* were broad and general. They limited the capacity of state education departments and teachers to translate them into consistent strategies and programs to effectively achieve the recommended outcomes. The following two recommendations of the report are a good example. The second recommendation stated that 'with regard to Standards and Expectations:

Schools, colleges and universities must adopt more rigorous standards and have higher expectations for academic performance and student conduct'. (Edwards and Allred 1993, p. 86)

Similarly, with regard to time, the third recommendation stated that:

Significantly more time should be spent on the New Basics, requiring more effective use of the existing school day, or a lengthened school year. (Edwards and Allred 1993, p. 86)

Given that education is a state responsibility in America, as it is in Australia, this recommendation lacked the explicit guidelines necessary to ensure consistent implementation across all states. Questions about the appropriateness and effectiveness of current programs and strategies for particular student abilities and needs did not appear to be addressed. The later reform policy, *No Child left Behind Act* (NCLB) of 2001, which was introduced by President Bush, attempted to address some of these limitations by being much more explicit:

The NCLB Act is designed to help all students meet high academic standards by requiring that states create annual assessments that measure what children know and can do in reading and math in grades 3 through 8. These tests based on challenging state standards, will allow parents, educators, administrators, policymakers, and the general public to track the performance of every school in the nation. (U.S. Department of Education 2002, p. 9)

A study of NCLB by RAND (2010) found that it had been successful in providing a national school and teacher accountability infrastructure with a priority focus on student outcomes and improving school improvement in disadvantaged schools. However, the study also identified some areas of concern:

... *NCLB's* narrow focus on these two academic areas (reading and mathematics) and the states' reliance on similarly narrow student tests have resulted in unintended outcomes, such as the narrowing of the schools' curricula, encouraging teachers to focus on some students at the expense of others, and discouraging the development of higher-thinking and problem-solving schools. (RAND 2010, pp. 1–2)

Given limited resources such as time, funding and personnel, the focus of the implementation and the data collection was restricted. In November 2009, a new President was elected and possibly further policy reform. When principals and teachers feel they are treated as subjects, rather than as professional participants in the reform process, their ownership of, and enthusiasm for, the new policies will be limited. This makes implementation in diverse settings even more challenging.

In the UK, the 1970s was also a turbulent decade. As well as the economic and energy challenges presented by the oil crisis of 1973, there were the difficult negotiations regarding Britain's participation in the European Economic Community (EEC). This resulted in the conservative Prime Minister, Edward Heath, taking the decision to lead Britain into the EEC in 1973. However, the economic difficulties that began in the 1960s were seriously exacerbated by the oil crisis. Strike action by militant trade unionists led to a 3-day week in 1973 and 1974, which resulted in the loss of nine million days of work. The consequent rising inflation and serious unemployment placed the British economy in a near-hopeless situation. Again, these were fertile conditions for another change of government and in 1979, Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the Conservative Party, was elected as Prime Minister. Her policy platform was built around privatisation and deregulation, competition policy. She made it clear that she would not tolerate any disruption from the trade unions.

Clearly these policies had implications for significant reform in the UK. In Britain education policy is the responsibility of the national government. One of the intentions of the 1988 Education Reform Act was to remove much of the bureaucratic power of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs), especially the powerful Inner London LEA, and locate it in the centre:

... the Thatcher and later the Major governments set about trying to break the LEA monopoly of schooling, which they regard as having been captured by the educational establishment, who had brought a dull uniformity to the system and a leveling down of standards. (Whitty 2000, p. 1)

This was both a power battle and an ideological one. In the eyes of the government, the LEAs represented the major obstacle to the government, reasserting its authority and being able to implement more effectively the key reforms of deregulation, competition and parent choice.

The Education Reform Act of 1988 was the beginning of a methodical and rigorous program of implementation, assessment and reporting. The mechanisms included National Curriculum (1988), National Assessment (1988), Office for

Standards in Education (OFSTED) (1992) and Local Management of Schools (1998). There were more of these, and all of them became the foundation of a legislated program of education in England. The breadth and depth of these changes could almost be described as the nationalisation of education:

... these reforms have sought to introduce new forms of accountability which: redistribute power in the policy domain from local representative government towards central government and its agencies and newly constituted governing bodies of institutions; disempower the service (professional) domain within institutions in favour of a reconstituted management domain; and empower 'consumers' directly through marketization and, in the schools sector, enhanced 'voice' within governing bodies. (Simkins 2000, p. 320)

This was a classic example of policy authority and regulated implementation and reform. It is important to note that the Thatcher Government had a majority in both houses of parliament and was thus able to legitimise these reforms as part of the legislature.

However, as with all policy reforms, some groups seemed to gain more than others. The election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister in 2007 with the theme 'New Labour' built on, but also sought to moderate, the policy directions of Thatcher and Major. This was given the label of the 'Third Way' and was an attempt to keep the gains of the conservative reforms, but with greater recognition of the needs of the disadvantaged. However, this had only limited success:

In England, the New Labour government has recently admitted that its own research demonstrates this failure: it shows that, although educational standards had risen overall during its term of office, the relative performance of children from poorer economic backgrounds had not improved.

Despite genuine efforts, the ability of school education systems to achieve and sustain improvements in the educational outcomes of learners from deprived backgrounds is fraught with difficulty. In Australia, the 1970s and 1980s were described as the 'Age of Redefinition' (Mackay 1993):

Since the early 1970s, there is hardly an institution or a convention of Australian life which has not been subject either to serious challenge or to radical change. (p. 17)

Another commentator described the 1970s as a turning point in Australia's development, for it was a decade in which Australia was seen to have reached a stage of maturity, '... reciprocal maturity of the individual and the nation' (Hazzard 1985, p. 47). But the maturing nation was certainly going to be tested by some of the events of this decade. In 1970, thousands of Australians across all capital cities marched in protest against the country's participation in the Vietnam War. Then in 1972, a charismatic Gough Whitlam led the Australian Labour Party into government after 23 years of conservative government. The change of government had strong majority support and new life was temporarily injected into Australian politics. However, it was to be short lived because on November 11, 1975, the Governor-General Sir John Kerr, an unelected viceregal, removed from office a party which commanded a majority in the lower house. This split the nation down the middle. The leader of the conservative liberal party, Malcolm Fraser, was installed as caretaker Prime Minister and had a resounding win in the subsequent general election.

During the 1970s and 1980s, major educational reforms occurred. Under the Whitlam Government, the Karmel Report (1973) was presented and set up the basis for the Commonwealth provision of education using the principle of ‘need’:

The Karmel Report was underpinned by a commitment to promoting equality of outcomes in schooling by making the overall circumstances of children’s education as nearly equal as possible. (p. 139)

Here is a classic example of policy being used to redistribute resources in the pursuit of improving the learning outcomes of all students, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances. Whilst education still remained as the responsibility of the state governments, the Commonwealth Government was starting to play a larger role. However, with the re-election of the conservative government of Malcolm Fraser in the late 1970s, different policy directions began to emerge. One was the Williams Report (1979) into postsecondary education with a focus on education, training and employment. With the development of globalisation and international competition, the human capital dimension of education became a new priority. Another important change occurred in the later 1970s, when both state and federal governments emphasised increased efficiency and effectiveness, doing more with less and prioritising outcomes over inputs (Lingard et al. 2002). Then in 1985 this policy direction was reinforced in the report of the *Quality of Education Review Committee* (QERC Report):

The QERC Report (1985) stated that outcomes were to be defined in terms of ‘competencies’ all students should acquire, encompassing the ability to use knowledge and skills effectively to achieve a range of purposes. (Welsh 1999, p. 3)

This change of focus from inputs to outcomes was driven by the conservative government’s priority on effectiveness and efficiency, and outcomes were identified as a better measurement for achieving this goal. The Williams Report (1979), the QERC Report (1985) and a subsequent report by the Commonwealth Schools Commission, *In the National Interest* (1987), became the foundation for a move towards a co-operative approach to a national education system between the states, territories and the Commonwealth:

A national approach would provide for ‘national goals and national reporting of progress’ and promote national cohesion by concentrating on ‘essential areas of the curriculum’ and a ‘secondary education credential with national currency’. (Welsh 1999, p. 4)

The new public sector management procedures, which were part of the policy reforms in America and Britain, were also part of the new policy directions in Australia. The schools and their districts now had major responsibility for achieving national benchmarks and being accountable for effective use of the nation’s resources:

The centre now concentrates on policy, strategy and desired outcomes with the local sites on service provision (schools) responsible for the achievement of these desired outcomes ... (Lingard et al. 2002, p. 10)

The first attempt at a national curriculum framework was initiated in the late 1980s by the Hawke Labour Government. Unfortunately, after several years of planning and negotiation, it collapsed, due mainly to opposition from liberal state governments, who were concerned this was merely another attempt by the Commonwealth Government to increase power at the expense of the states. Under the current Federal Labour Government, another attempt is being made to define a national curriculum. The body responsible for the development of the Australian curriculum from kindergarten to year 12 is the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, whilst the basis for the new curriculum is the [2008 Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for young Australians](#). This is the point that has been reached after 20 years of negotiations and disputes and has involved several changes of state and federal governments. For the more complex and hotly disputed issues, the pathway from policy intention, to text, to initial implementation and, hopefully, consolidation, can take decades.

5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that the process of education policy reform and implementation is complex and often tortuous. The critical elements identified in policy reform include both national and international contexts, the prevailing level of economic and political stability and the confidence and hope citizens have in the capacity and good will of their governments. There is evidence to suggest that governments and citizens alike find terrorism and the rapid rate and increasing scale of economic and political change the most challenging and unsettling factors. In the three nations, which are the focus of this study, the USA, the UK and Australia, not one has a majority in both houses of parliament, which makes the task of governing much more contested and difficult. The context in the 1970s, both international and national, was a very significant factor that shaped both the ideologies and policy reforms attempted by national leaders in the next 20 years. It should be noted that the leaders of the three countries reviewed all adopted the neoliberal ideology of small government, the priority of the market, consumer choice, individualism and new public sector management practices.

Thus, the capacity of minority governments to formulate and gain support for their preferred policies has become more and more difficult and time consuming, but the length of the electoral terms remain largely unchanged. When policy reforms in their negotiated format are finally agreed to and legislated, the resources available for implementation in schools that are already struggling with their own programs and timelines are spread very thinly. Principals and teachers, who continue to struggle to do more with less and still attempt to achieve expected outcomes, are increasingly stressed. This often results in unacceptable levels of staff turnover and absenteeism, especially in more difficult and disadvantaged schools. Thus, the capacity and good will of staff to implement and embed new programs under such conditions are likely to be limited and fragile. Yet governments are themselves

under economic and performance pressures and, thus, have little capacity to break the cycle of physical and emotional overload:

The gap between policy intention and execution in complex societies is usually far *wider* than anticipated, the contradictory tendencies more stubborn, and the unintended consequences more unpredictable and perverse. (Burchell 2010, p. 13)

Finally, such intense timelines crowd out space and capability for careful evaluation of new reform programs, thereby limiting the ability to identify what has worked well and the reasons for this. Both teachers and principals have been forced to learn how to manage the waves of policy and procedural change and, at the same time, to attempt to continue nurturing a love and curiosity for learning among a diverse range of students.

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Part IV
**Education Policy Issues: Gender, Equity,
Minorities and Human Right**

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Entitlement to Education: Fairness Analysis

Iris BenDavid-Hadar

1 Introduction

Education is a fundamental human right; it promotes individual freedom and empowerment and yields important development benefits. Yet, the question underling this important right is the question of entitlement to education. The governmental entitlement to education is universal—for every child in the society. The objective of the universal entitlement to education (as opposed to targeted entitlement) is equality of opportunity. The economic literature states that equal opportunity is not achieved when market choices allow supplements to government entitlements.

This paper investigates *fairness* in the supplements—local entitlement to education—using Israel as a case study. Fairness is defined in this paper as the extent of equity in both the input side and the output side of the educational process (BenDavid-Hadar and Ziderman 2011). Measuring equity at the input side is done using measurements of the extent of wealth neutrality, horizontal equity, and vertical equity. Measuring equity at the output side is done using measurements of the extent of equality of educational opportunity. The Israeli example is interesting, given the societal and ethnic diversity of Israel's population, the majority-minority balance of power, and its recent school finance policy (SFP) reform (enact on 2009).

Israel has advocated equity throughout its 64 years of existence. However, Israeli students' academic achievement distribution in international and national examinations is characterized by wide gaps (BenDavid-Hadar 2013). In fact, at the PISA examinations (2006, 2009) the achievement gap of Israeli students was the highest among the OECD. This gap was the motivation for this study and leads to the following

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question: To what extent, if at all, are the supplemental local entitlements to education equitably allocated? And, to what extent, if at all, are the educational attainments equitably achieved?

These questions were obtained using fairness analyses on the years 2006 and 2011 before and after the elections of 2009 to the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) and the SFP policy reform (enact in 2009). The analyses were done by measuring several statistical measurements that were developed in the literature.

Before addressing the research question, the Israeli background is introduced to the international reader (Sect. 2). The social and economic background on Israel is provided (Sect. 2.1), followed by some background on the Israel SFP (Sect. 2.2). Section 3 reviews alternative concepts related to fairness and analyses them with a focus on their enactment in the Israeli context. This analysis leads to a conceptualization of an alternative principle of resource allocation, namely, *Progress* (Sect. 3.5). Section 4 uses empirical measurements to analyze the fairness of the Israel SFP on 2006 and on 2011. Section 5 highlights the need for reform in the design of the Israel school finance policy (ISFP), suggesting an outline for the practical application of a *progress* in the Israeli context. Section 6 concludes with implications.

2 Background

2.1 *The Social and Economic Context of the ISFP*

Characteristics of Israel's Population

Israel is a small country (less than eight million residents) with a diverse population. About six million of its permanent residents are Jews, most of them immigrants or descendants thereof (from Western and Central Europe, North Africa, and other Middle Eastern countries). The rest of the population is comprised of ethnic minorities, mainly Arab (164,000, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics).

Income inequality in Israel is high and increasing. The Gini coefficient of income inequality (0.392) increased between 2000 and 2011 (in comparison to, e.g., 0.408 in the USA). Over this time period, the average income of the highest decile increased, while the average income of the lowest decile was on the decline. The average standard of living increased, yet 24 % of permanent residents are poor, as are 34 % of Israeli children (National Insurance Publication 2013).

Student Characteristics

From 1996 to 2008, two major trends occurred that have implications regarding Israeli students' characteristics. First, the minority (Arab) segment of the students showed a 69.9 % growth rate in all schooling levels (from 231,000 to 391,000),

which is higher than a quadruple of the Jewish students' growth rate of 14.7 % (from 942,000 to 1,081,000)¹ (Ministry of Education 2009).

Second, the rate of poverty among Israeli children has increased by almost 50 %, from 25.2 % in 2000 to 35.9 % in 2006. In comparison to the rest of the Western world, this is a high rate of child poverty. For example, in the USA, 27.6 % of the children are poor, in the Netherlands 9.8 %, in France 11.5 %, and in Germany 17.5 % (National Insurance Publication 2008). Therefore, when comparing Israel's national spending on education with that of other developed countries, the effect of this high poverty rate should be taken into consideration.

School Structure

The Israeli school system is primarily public and comprises primary, lower secondary (middle), and upper secondary (high) schools. Pluralism is a central feature of the system. There is a public education system, comprised of schools where the curriculum is taught in Hebrew and schools where the curriculum is taught in Arabic. In addition, there is an independent, separate system of ultraorthodox Jewish religious schools, which have different curricula and personnel, yet enjoy financial support from the State.

Achievement Distribution

Israeli students' achievements in international examinations are low, and the achievement gap between low- and high-achieving students in Israel is wider than that of any member country of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD 2006, 2009b).

Specifically, in international comparative examinations on mathematics and science, according to Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the Israeli students' level of achievement was lower than average (in mathematics, e.g., it was ranked 28th out of 38 countries participating in the test) (Mullis et al. 2000). It is important to note that only Jewish students took part in the examinations; if minority students had been included, it is likely that the Israeli achievement level would have been even lower.

Similar trends were made evident by the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), an international comparative study on science, literacy, and mathematics among 15-year-old students; Israeli students were ranked in the 40th place out of 57 countries. Some 20 % of Israeli students achieved below the minimum required level of achievement in the PISA tests, in comparison to the OECD average of 5 % (OECD 2006).

Moreover, the achievement gap between the high and low achievers in Israel is high compared with that of countries in the OECD, as was evident in both the 2006 and 2009 PISA examinations. Specifically, the achievement gap of Israeli

¹ Figures represent absolute numbers.

students, measured by the 95:5 achievement ratio, is higher than that of Chile or Jordan (2.3, 1.9, 2.1, respectively) (OECD 2006, 2009b).

2.2 School Finance in Israel

Educational Investment

Between the years 2000 and 2007, Israel increased its educational investment per student by 4 %. This increment is rather modest compared with the average 38 % increment in the countries of the OECD during that period. This gap is even larger when compared to other Western states that, like Israel, have significantly diverse student populations in terms of ethnicity (e.g., the UK, which increased its educational investment by 55.9 %).

Furthermore, although Israeli national investment in education increased between the years 2000 and 2008, the proportion of national spending on education as part of the GDP decreased during that period from 9.2 to 7.3 %.

Although the national education investment as a share of the GDP is high (7.3) compared with the OECD average (6.1), the average investment per student is rather low, since Israel's population includes a high percentage of school-age children. From an international comparative perspective, Israel's per-student investment is some 30 % lower than that of the OECD countries, and this gap grows wider as the schooling level rises (i.e., primary, secondary). Specifically, at primary school level, the average per-student investment is \$5,060, compared with the OECD average of \$6,741 (in PPP terms in 2008). This gap is even wider when compared to the investment per student in countries that resemble Israel's diverse student population (e.g., the UK, \$8,222). On the secondary school level, there is a wider gap, as in Israel the investment per student is \$5,741, while the OECD average is \$8,267. Using per-student investment as a percent of the GDP per capita as a measure of comparison, it is evident that Israel's investment is located at the bottom of the distribution (12 %, 17 %, and 17 % at the primary school level in Israel, the UK, and the Netherlands, respectively; 20 %, 22 %, and 27 % at the secondary level in Israel, the UK, and the Netherlands, respectively) (OECD 2009a).

Globalization has created a different era for education, as nations compete globally based on the quality of their educational systems. Thus, education can no longer be examined only at the national-state level and should also be considered at the international comparative level. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the widening gap in allocation between Israel and the OECD countries.

The Structure of School Finance in Israel

The national investment in education in Israel is mostly governmental (68.8 %). However, additional nongovernmental funds from local authorities (9 %) and households (22.2 %) are a meaningful factor in creating disparities in access to resources,

as they are strongly and positively correlated with SES (ICBS 2013a, b; Golan 2005). Further analysis of the detrimental effects of nongovernmental funds on equity in Israel can be found in Sect. 4.

Prior to this analysis, the following section introduces several relevant concepts of fairness within the school finance literature and their Israeli enactment and develops a new concept of fairness combining compensation for low background characteristics with rewards for improvement, entitled *progress*.

3 Fairness Within School Finance

The notion of fairness in SFP literature is addressing different principles of allocation both at the input and output sides of the educational process. Each principle is derived from a different viewpoint as to how to achieve fairness. In this section, some principles are reviewed and further discussed in the Israeli context. This is followed by the introduction of a new SFP concept, that of *progress*.

3.1 *Neutrality*

Fiscal neutrality as a school finance equity concept specifies that no connection should exist between the education of children and the property wealth (or any other fiscal capacity) that supports the public funding of that education (Coons et al. 1970; Berne and Stiefel 1999).

Within this mindset, the varying starting points of students are addressed by ensuring equal overall funds. However, the issue of needy students who may require more educational dollars is not explicitly addressed. Yet, the strength of the concept of neutrality is in putting forward the need for a sufficient condition to allow for the advancement of *equality of opportunities*, so that no correlation exists between the wealth characteristics of the students' community and the budget allocated to them. In the Israeli context, it is important to pay attention to wealth neutrality, as the total per-student funding is positively correlated with wealth features (BenDavid- Hadar 2013).

3.2 *Horizontal Equity (HE)*

The principle of *horizontal equity* (HE) is derived from the idea that fairness requires students who are alike to be treated the same way (Downes and Stiefel 2008; Odden and Picus 2000; Berne and Stiefel 1999). Berne and Stiefel (1999) state that, when analyzing inputs, researchers have usually treated general education, at-risk (or educationally disadvantaged), and special education students as separate groups.

In the Israeli context, the *HE* of inputs can be regressive (i.e., it widens the achievement gap), because all “regular” schools in primary education (i.e., those that are not designated for “special education”) receive the same amount of resources per student from the state, regardless of the academic starting points of the student body.

3.3 *Vertical Equity (VE)*

Vertical equity conceptualizes fairness as the idea that differently situated children should be treated differently (Berne and Stiefel 1999) or as “*unequal treatment of unequals*” (Odden and Picus 2000). This concept raises a question: Unequal in what? What is the element (or elements) in the starting points of the students according to which one should differentiate treatment?

In the Israeli context, determining which group is entitled to a larger share of the public resources is a political question, which—given Israel’s large minority/majority ratio—may reinforce the instability of the political system as multiple, minority groups struggle for a greater share of resources.

One extension of the *VE* is the *Needs-Based* concept, striving for fairness through per-student differential compensation for initial deficits (Ross and Levacic 1999). According to this principle, high weights are assigned to factors that explain a low level of outcomes in the funding formula.

To exemplify, England’s and the Netherlands’ SFPs allocate resource using a *needs-based* principle of allocation. In England, the principle compensates for poverty (e.g., a student is entitled to a free meal at school) (Adnett et al. 2002). Similarly, the principle of allocation used in the Netherlands compensates for disadvantaged backgrounds as well as non-Dutch ethnicity, so that a larger compensation is allocated to non-Dutch students from a disadvantaged background than to Dutch students from a disadvantaged background (Ritzen et al. 1997; Canton and Webbink 2002).

Israeli governmental allocation (at the primary school level) also compensates needy students (though only to a small extent, as pointed out in Sect. 5). Both San Francisco and Florida, who resemble the Israeli case in their level of ethnic diversity, use dichotomous compensatory allocation. In contrast, in Israel the extent of compensation was positively correlated with the depth of the students’ needs (Shoshani Committee 2001).

The abovementioned principles deal with equity on the input side, whereas the following principle shifts toward equity on the output side:

3.4 *Equality of Opportunity*

From the input perspective, equality of opportunity is defined by Berne and Stiefel (1999) as what is typically called fiscal neutrality (as was introduced previously). However, equal opportunity can also be viewed, from the outcome perspective, as

normalizing the academic achievement distribution across students' various starting points. Since students' abilities are normally distributed, it is to be expected that the EAD would also be normal. Any other type of academic achievement distributions would therefore reflect unfair access to resources or a situation of unequal opportunities (Roemer 1998).

One example of striving for *equality of educational opportunity* is Florida's school finance policy, which allocates larger compensatory funds dichotomously, according to student background variables, such as whether English is their second language (ESL) and their eligibility for hot meals (Owens and Maiden 1999). Similarly, the resources of the city of San Francisco are distributed dichotomously, according to the specific needs of each student, such as special education, ESL, and socioeconomic status (Shambaugh et al. 2008).²

The SFP literature has developed empirical measures of the theoretical concepts reviewed above, which provide us with alternative measurements for the extent of fairness in the ISFP. Before analyzing the ISFP for its extent of fairness, I turn to conceptualize progress.

3.5 *Conceptualizing Progress*

It is common to address the question of how to allocate money fairly from either the input perspective or the outcome perspective, and this has been widely discussed in the SFP literature. Usually, this question spans two sub-questions: How should the various "starting points" of the students—in terms of their background characteristics and abilities—be taken into account in the design of SFP? What outcome, i.e., the academic achievement distribution, would be considered as desirable, given these starting points?

I argue that there is a need to combine both the input perspective and the outcome perspective. Furthermore, rather than focusing on outcome in absolute terms, I propose to take into account the rate of *improvement* that was gained over a specific period of time.

In line with the first part of my argument, more attention has recently been paid to allocating funds based on outcomes. Although the measures used for outcomes are typically absolute, in the sense that they do not take into account students' different starting points, allocating funds based on improved performance has a unique potential (Hanushek 1996; Lavy 2002; Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2009). It also appears that it may be of more benefit to low-performing students or students with low background characteristics than to high-performing students or students with higher background characteristics (Angrist et al. 2009; Lavy 2004; McEwan and Carnoy 2000).

²The situation in these countries resembles Israel's societal diversity, and they also include sizeable ethnic minorities.

I argue that reforming an SFP to be “relatively” fairer is comprised of more than the design of a more equitable allocation. It also needs to advance progress in the academic achievement distribution. I therefore conceptualize progress as a fusion of both improvement-based and needs-based elements. This conceptualization focuses on rewarding the relative improvement rate in outcomes and on compensating students with a low level of background characteristics. This concept is further developed and operationally outlined in Sect. 5, as a suggested new principle for the ISFP, given its potential to reduce gap as well as raise achievement levels.

4 Analyzing the ISFP

This section analyzes fairness within the ISFP using empirical measurements of equity from both the input side and the output side of the educational production process. The analysis compares 2 years, that of 2006 and that of 2011 (the latest years that the data is available). These years represent the policy before and after the elections to the Israeli parliament (on 2009) and the reform of the ISFP enacted on 2009.

4.1 Data

The data analyzed in this research were obtained from a publication on local authorities in Israel by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (2007, 2011) and from reports of the Israeli Ministry of Education. The data are comprised of local sources of per-student investment, the per-student local tax revenue, SES level, the percentage of minority residents out of the total within each locality, and the matriculation certificate eligibility rate within each locality. The 2 years, 2006 and 2011, were selected as indicators for the change (before and after the elections of the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) that took place on 2009). The 2011 data is currently the most updated data and was published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics on 2013.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the 197 local authorities on 2006 and of 201 local authorities of 2011 data. From Table 1 it is evident that *the local tax revenue per student* ranged from 78 NIS at the lowest SES to more than 71,000 NIS at the highest SES on 2006, and this range was even wider on 2011. In addition, *the per-student local investment* ranged from 669 NIS at the lowest SES to more than 25,000 NIS at highest SES; on 2006 however, this range was reduced on 2011. Moreover, the median *per-student local investment* has increased from some 2,900 NIS per student on 2006 to 3,900 NIS per student on 2011. This indicates that per-student local allocation has increased from 2006 to 2011.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics: mean (median) and standard deviation

Variables	2006				2011			
	N	Range	Mean (median)	S.D.	N	Range	Mean (median)	S.D.
SES (0=lowest, 10=highest)	197	1–10	4.7 (4)	2.3	201	0–10	4.5 (4)	2.3
Minority status (in percent)	197	0–100	40.1 (10)	48.3	201	0–100	44.4 (10.7)	46.6
Local tax revenue per student (in NIS)	193	78–71,159	8,260.1 (5,507.0)	9,412.8	198	0–83,044	10,358.1 (7,090.9)	1,136.3
Per-student local investment (in NIS)	193	669–25,164	3,765.9 (2,917.0)	3,250.7	198	0–21,477	4,679.5 (3,906.4)	3,442.3
Eligibility (in percent)	197	0–93	47.2 (50.7)	20.6	201	0–96	43.8 (44.7)	20.8

4.2 Method

The extent of equity, both from the input side and the output side of the educational production process, is measured. Equity of the input side was measured using empirical measurements of fiscal neutrality, HE, and VE. Equity of the output side was measured using equality of education opportunity. The statistics measurements were developed in the SFP literature.

Specifically, the empirical analysis of *fiscal neutrality* is comprised of regression analyses using per-student funding as the dependent variable and tax revenue as one of the independent variables. Since “pure” *neutrality* specifies that *no* connection should exist between the wealth of school community and the overall per-student funding (Coons et al. 1970; Berne and Stiefel 1999), the statistically significant coefficients found in the regression analysis indicate the extent of *fiscal neutrality* (e.g., high positive coefficients indicate low *fiscal neutrality*).

This analysis is followed by an analysis of HE that is comprised of four measures: range, standard deviation, 95:5 ratio, and the McLoone index.³ The use of these statistics is based on Berne and Stiefel (1999), who found that 11 relevant statistics could be grouped into four categories based on pattern similarities to measure HE. According to Downes and Stiefel (2008), analysts who wish to provide a comprehensive picture of the equity of a school finance system should choose only one

³The McLoone index compares the sum of actual spending in all districts that spend less per pupil than the median district to what total spending would be in these districts if their spending was brought up to the median. The index range is between 0 and 1, with 1 representing perfect equality.

measure from each group. Therefore, the abovementioned four measures (one from each category) are used.

VE is calculated by measuring correlations between different sources of per-student funds, SES, and the percentage of minority students residing at a locality. Since VE means low-SES students should be allocated larger funds (Berne and Stiefel 1999), the strength of these correlations indicates the extent of VE (e.g., a high positive correlation between SES and overall per-student funds indicates a low level of VE).

Finally, an empirical analysis of *equality of educational opportunity* via calculation of correlations between the eligibility rate (as the dependent variable) and per-student funds as one of the independent variables and other student background variables (i.e., SES and ethnicity) is done. Since “pure” *equality of opportunity* means normalizing the academic achievement distribution (e.g., across SES or across per-student funds) (Berne and Stiefel 1999), the statistically significant correlations indicate the extent of *equality of opportunity* (e.g., high positive correlations indicate a low extent of *equality of opportunity*).

4.3 Results

The Input Side: Fiscal Neutrality

The regression analysis conducted explains some 50 % of the variation in local per-student funds, both in 2006 and in 2011. This analysis reveals a positive statistically significant beta coefficient ($\beta=0.9^{**}$, sig=0.00, on 2006, and $\beta=1.2^{**}$, sig=0.00, on 2011, Table 2) of the per-student local tax revenue. This finding indicates that a high revenue local tax-base is translated to high per-student funds.

The 2006 analysis reveals that solely the local per-student tax explains the variation of per-student local investment. However, in 2011, it was also explained by SES ($\beta=0.16^*$, sig=0.04, Table 2), and by the interaction between SES and minority status ($\beta=-0.16^{**}$, sig=0.00, Table 2), and by the interaction between SES and local tax revenue per student ($\beta=-0.7^{**}$, sig=0.00, Table 2).

The Input Side: Horizontal Equity (HE)

Table 3 summarizes four measures of HE in per-student funds by source of funding. Although the range of per-student local investment was reduced (as mentioned before), the extent of HE measured by the 95:5 ratio remains high. Specifically, the upper 95 % receive resources which are greater (times 9.8, Table 3) than the lower 5 %, both in 2006 and in 2011.

Israel’s local funding indicates a lower level of HE compared to North Carolina (Rolle et al. 2008) and Texas (Rolle and Wood 2012). Specifically, North Carolina’s local spending 95:5 ratio was lower than that of Israel (2.435 and 9.8, respectively, in 2006).

Table 2 OLS regression coefficients for per-student local investment

Explanatory variables	2006		2011	
	B (SE)	Beta (sig)	B (SE)	Beta (sig)
SES	–	NS	225.6 (110.0)	0.16* (0.04)
Minority status	–	NS	–	NS
Local tax revenue per student	0.3 (0.1)	0.9** (0.00)	0.38 (0.06)	1.2** (0.00)
Interaction between SES and minority status	–	NS	–4.2 (1.46)	–0.16** (0.00)
Interaction between SES and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–0.03 (0.01)	–0.70** (0.00)
Interaction between minority status and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–	NS
Interaction between SES, minority status, and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–	NS
Adjusted R ²		0.50		0.54

* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 3 Horizontal equity statistics^a

Source of funding	2006	2011
Range	24,495	21,477
SD	3,250.7	3,442.3
95:5	9.8	9.8
McLoone	0.62	0.58

^aPer-student local investment by SES (2006, 2011)

Moreover, by focusing solely on the bottom of the distribution of per-student investment using the McLoone index, a low degree of HE is evident. The McLoone index was 0.62 in 2006 and indicates a low level of HE, and it was even reduced in 2011 (McLoone index = 0.58, Table 3). In comparison to Rolle, Houck, and McColl’s results from North Carolina, Israel’s results in terms of the McLoone index represent lower level of HE.

The Input Side: Vertical Equity (VE)

Analyzing the extent of vertical equity (VE) in the Israeli school finance⁴ reveals a low level of VE and an incremental trend in the years examined. Students at high-SES levels thus receive larger local resources than those in low-SES levels. There is

⁴Measured by correlations among per-student local funds and differential dimensions (such as SES).

Table 4 Correlations between eligibility rate and other variables^a

Correlations	Local investment per student	SES	Minority status
<i>Eligibility rate (2006)</i>	$r=0.15^*$ ($n=179$)	NS	NS
<i>Eligibility rate (2011)</i>	$r=0.24^{**}$ ($n=198$)	$r=0.66^{**}$ ($n=201$)	$r=-0.35^{**}$ ($n=201$)

^aAt the local level

* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$

a high and positive correlation between SES and local funds per student, and it is on an incremental trend ($r=0.43^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=193$, in 2006; $r=0.49^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=197$, in 2011).

Using the minority students' percentage in the locality as a differentiation dimension provides a similar view on VE. Localities with a smaller percentage of minority residents allocate larger per-student funds ($r=-0.44^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=193$, in 2006; $r=-0.55^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=197$, in 2013).

It is important to clarify that the partial correlation between these two variables controlling for SES is also negative, statistically significant, and also exhibits an incremental trend ($r=-0.22^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=190$, in 2006; $r=-0.31^{**}$, sig=0.00, $n=195$, in 2011).

However, from a regression analysis in which the per-student local funds are explained by the SES, the local tax revenue per student, and the interaction between these variables, it appears that the minority percentage was not found to be statistically significant in explaining variation in per-student local investment.⁵

Until now, equity of the input side was measured. The following subsection presents equity of the output side of the education process.

The Output Side: Equality of Opportunity

Table 4 reveals a similar phenomenon represented in the positive and statistically significant correlation between students' academic attainment and per-student local funds ($r=0.15^{**}$ and $r=0.24^{**}$, on 2006 and 2011, respectively, Table 4).

The positive correlations between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and the local funds per student mean that the extent of equal opportunity is low, and is decreasing, as this correlation is growing larger in the researched years ($r=0.15^{**}$ and $r=0.24^{**}$, in 2006 and 2011, respectively, Table 4).

⁵Though these two variables, SES and minority percentage, are both highly correlated with per-student local expenditure, they are also correlated with each other, and, therefore, integrating them into the regression analysis and allowing for interaction yield the understanding that SES is the differential dimension that explains, together with the per-student tax revenue, the variation in per-student investment.

Similarly, the low extent of *equality of opportunity* is also evident in the positive and statistically significant correlation between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and SES ($r=0.66^{**}$, in 2011, Table 4) and from the high *negative* correlation between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and the percentage of minority students within the local student body ($r=-0.35^{**}$, in 2011, Table 4). These findings indicate that students from high-SES localities perform better than students from low-SES localities and that the performance of minority students is lower, compared to other students.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between local funding and SES across ethnicity.

From Fig. 1 it is evident that there is a linear positive relationship between SES and local funding per student. Specifically, larger supplemental resources are allocated to students in high-SES localities. Additionally, this trend of larger supplemental local resources is less dominant at the Arab education.

Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between eligibility rate for high school matriculation diploma and SES across ethnicity.

From Fig. 2 it is evident that there is a linear positive relationship between SES and eligibility rate of high school matriculation diploma. The higher the SES, the larger the eligibility rate.

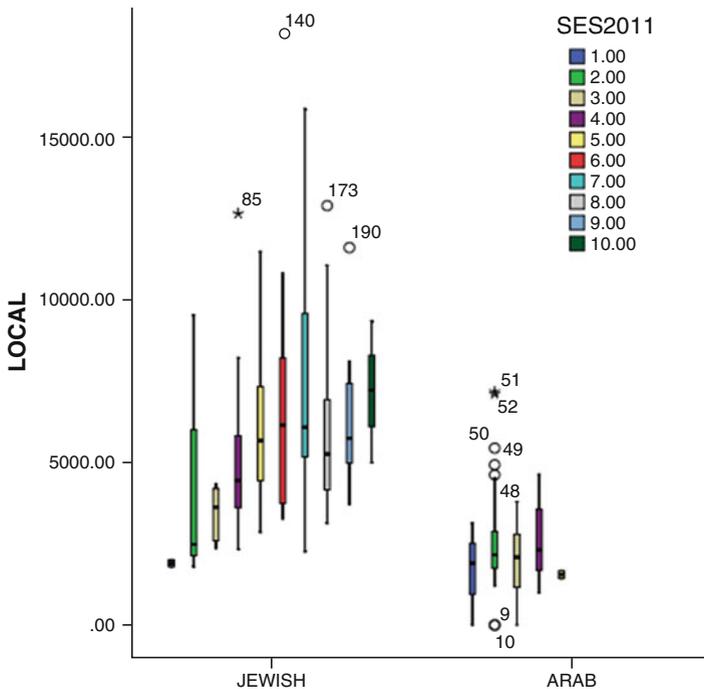


Fig. 1 Box plot of local funding across SES

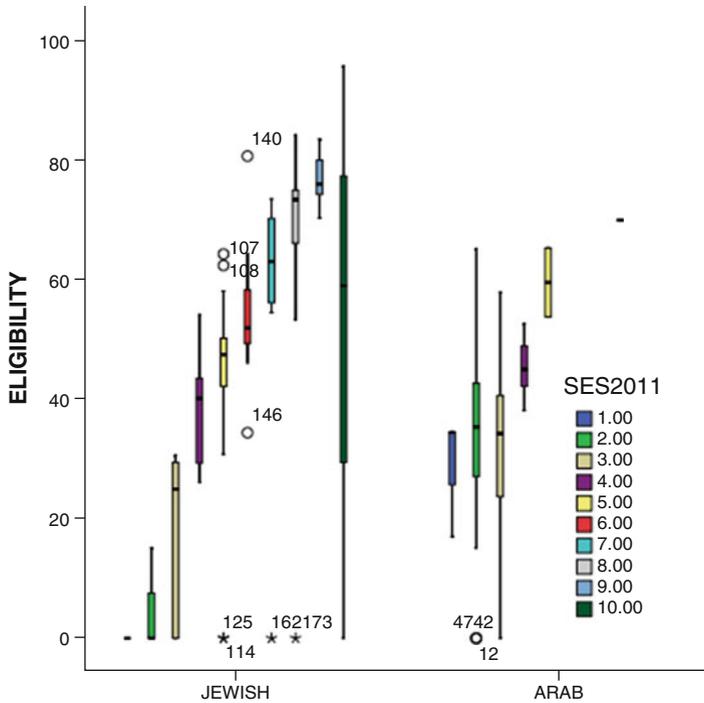


Fig. 2 Box plot of eligibility rate across SES

Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between eligibility rate and local funding across SES quintiles.

From Fig. 3 it is evident that the higher the level of local funding, the higher the eligibility rate at each SES quintile.

5 Discussion

Education is an important human right. It provides the ability to flourish in the global society. Funding entitlement of education is of major importance when addressing this human right. Funding entitlement of education, traditionally via governmental funding, is currently supplemented by other actors, such as the local authorities. These supplemental resources might create inequity and inequality in allocation of resources to education that might violate the entitlement of education and by doing that challenges education as a human right.

The extent of fairness across localities in Israel was analyzed in this paper. Measures of equity on the input side of the educational process (i.e., fiscal neutrality and horizontal and vertical equity), as well as measures of equity on the output side of the process (i.e., equality of opportunity), indicate a low extent of fairness and a

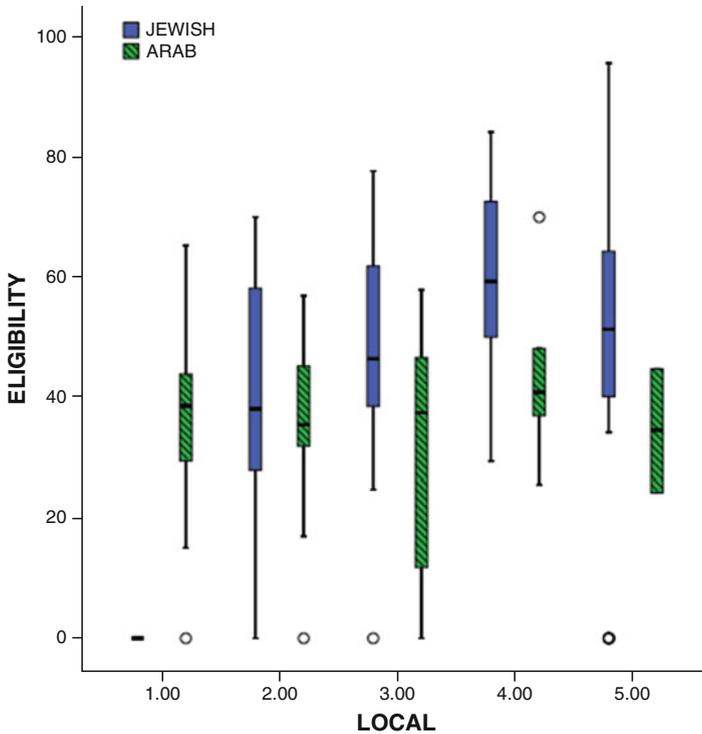


Fig. 3 Box plot of eligibility rate across local fund levels (in quintiles)

declining trend in the ISFP. Therefore, it appears that Israel’s actual SFP in the years examined (2006, 2011) did not promote its declared goal of equity and is in need of reform.

Indeed, a reform was launched quite recently, in 2009–2010, aiming to make Israel’s SPF more effective in achieving its goals. However, while the current declared policy remains focused on equity, a careful analysis of the changes made to the allocation mechanism and funding formula reveals that the *new* ISFP has two major shortcomings. First, its potential to achieve equity and narrow the achievement gap is limited, because (a) its design allows for unlimited additional nongovernmental resources, which means that high-SES students receive larger overall resources compared with low-SES students (as demonstrated in Sect. 4), and (b) of the recent school finance reform, which reduced governmental compensation to needy students (from 13 % of the total budget to solely 5 %). The implications are important in terms of achieving and maintaining social cohesion in Israel, which is essential for its existence in the troublesome region.

The second shortcoming in the current ISFP design lies in its lack of rewards for improvement. There is no incentive for increasing the level of achievement and creating a competitive advantage for Israel in today’s global economy.

One could argue that Israel's fiscal constraints limit its ability to conduct a fairer SFP while maintaining such an advantage. Given the challenges Israel faces—the high and increasing poverty rate, the widening socioeconomic gaps, and the high percentage of minorities (Sect. 2)—this does not seem like a far-fetched argument. However, as Stiglitz (2012) claims, “critics of redistribution sometimes suggest that the cost of redistribution is too high...The reality is just the opposite...We are, in fact, paying a high price for our growing and outsize inequality” (p. xxii). SFP designers must rethink ways of implementing the notion of fairness while addressing the need for developing quality human capital and maintaining social cohesiveness.

One SFP concept with the potential to achieve this is that of *progress*, a new concept suggested in Sect. 3.5. This alternative principle of allocation promotes equity via the fusion of a *needs-based* element aimed at narrowing achievement gaps while striving for increased achievement via an *improvement-based* element that aims at raising the average of the academic achievement distribution.

From the *operational perspective*, I define progress as a research-based funding formula. The formula's elements and their weights would be defined based on an empirical analysis of the relations among student background characteristics, their academic achievement distribution, and the improvement gained in this distribution over time.

To elaborate, each element in the formula would be derived from an empirical analysis of its contribution to the explained variation in student achievement. Moreover, each element's weight would be calculated based on the extent of its relative contribution to the explained variance. The additional, improvement-based element would reward schools with additional funds according to the relative improvement gained in their students' outcomes. Moreover, in addition to needs-based funding compensating for low starting points, it would reward⁶ schools that improved their AED.

Furthermore, improvement would be defined as a two-component vector: the first component being the level of achievement and the second component the achievement gap between high-performing students and low-performing students within a school. The rewards would be allocated for improvement gained relative to the school's initial level of achievement. Since students with low background characteristics have a greater potential improvement rate (as grades have an upper limit), this principle is related to the concept of equity and has the potential of reducing the achievement gap. The inputs would be allocated not with a uniform standardized or sufficient outcome in mind, but rather from a relative perspective, which, in turn, might encourage improvement in the overall Israeli academic achievement distribution.

Consider, for example, a school whose achievement distribution is located at the bottom of the national distribution (i.e., characterized by a low level of achievement and a narrow achievement gap). It would be awarded extra funds for improvement based on the extent to which it raises the level of both components.

⁶Rewards are determined here as allocating larger funds for making improvements in the EAD. Yet, no punishment is defined for not making an improvement.

On the other hand, a school characterized by an average level of achievement and a large achievement gap, or by a high level of achievement and a narrow achievement gap, would be rewarded based on the extent to which it increases its level of achievement while narrowing its achievement gap.

Finally, although the current study focused on the Israeli SFP, it has potential value for other multicultural states advocating pluralism. These states face the challenge of promoting fairness while at the same time repositioning themselves in the global market through their intended SPF. The suggested SFP concept of progress may be suitable for such countries, as it would theoretically contribute both to increasing the overall level of achievement and to narrowing the achievement gap.

Nevertheless, in order to ensure the desired results, simply adopting an SFP based on progress is not enough. One must pay special attention to the balance of power of different actors participating in the process of policy implementation so as to make sure there are no incongruities between the declared and de facto SFP, such as those demonstrated in this paper for the ISFP.

Moreover, it should be noted that money is not the only thing that matters when improving the academic achievement distribution. Other issues need to be addressed as well, such as school effectiveness, management style, and so forth. As Baker and Welner (2011, p. 4) conclude, “funding alone works no magic.”

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Minorities and Education Policies Reform in Central Asia

Joseph Zajda

1 Race and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Introduction

Comparative education research on race and ethnicity in Central Asia deals with the constructivist nature of culture-making and nation-building. It focuses more on conceptual aspects of ethnicity and national identity, the borders issues, interethnic conflict, cultural stereotypes, discrimination and inequality. Current research attempts to solve the political, cultural and moral dilemmas of ethnic/national identity, nation-building and citizenship. In all of this, there exists the ambivalence between the desire to rediscover and construct “authentic” nations, using, among other things, consensus-building cultural, political and religious slogans and texts in Central Asia (that would satisfy both local and political agendas) and embrace the imperatives of globalisation and modernity, particularly the continuation of the Enlightenment Project of the triumph of reason, science and progress, and the construction of a Western paradigm of the civil society. Recently, Van den Bosch (2013) examined the overall complexity of the dynamics of nation-building in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Very little of educational research on race and ethnicity deals with the Western-driven models of globalisation, marketisation and information technology. The Internet, which is “both global and local in its reach”, can be a powerful tool of empowerment of marginalised and disadvantaged minorities (Ciolek 2002, p. 1). In contrast, Mitter (1993) finds that in many countries the notion of “democracy” has eroded, leading to “nationalism, ethnocentrism and racism” (pp. 464–465). There is a need for a radical policy shift to address ethnic/racial conflict – a growing global problem.

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One of the moral and political dilemmas with the representation and treatment of minorities and indigenous groups in education in transitional economies of the Central Asian states is the dichotomy between the emancipatory logic of egalitarianism (the continuation of the Enlightenment Project) and the rhetoric of globalisation and its logic of neocapitalism. How does one build a democratic, empowering and culturally pluralistic post-Soviet society, which is already characterised by a growing social differentiation, income inequality, inequitable access to education, greed, exploitation and poverty? This is the question that can be asked of any nation in Central Asia and in the Asia Pacific region as a whole.

The other dilemma deals with the construct of a *nation-state* and its implications for cultural pluralism and ethnic languages. In a political sense, in a heterogeneous nation-state like Great Britain or the United States, minority groups are encouraged to accept the dominant culture and its language as “normative” (Prazauskas 1998, p. 51).

In 2012, there was a wave of celebration of the 20th anniversary of independence in all Central Asian states. It celebrated the nation-building process and the national identity.

However, as Fedorenko (2012) notes that while the ideology of nation-building is making its mark, the process is still developing and may well generate more pronounced divisions along the dimensions of race, ethnicity, religion and languages:

...yet their nation building process is not complete and the perception of the national identity is still distorted. By its nature national identity should bring people together and unite them around common values and goals, in Central Asian states, however; national identity, conceived on ethnic basis, is a divisive force fragmenting people along the lines of ethnicity, religion, language, birth place, and social status. (Fedorenko 2012, p. 6)

In the case of Central Asia, we need to consider the historical role of cultural fragmentation and its implications for reinventing national cultures. If we accept the ethno-political relevance of cultural fragmentation to the nation-building process, then we need to ask ourselves whether it is possible under such conditions to develop national cultures, based on normative consensus. For some their identity is defined and shaped by their local folk culture, which is “markedly different” from officially defined national culture.

2 Ethnicity and Social Identity

The Central Asian subregion of the former USSR consists of the following five nations – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Fagerlind and Kanaev (2000) argue for the importance of citizenship education in the Central Asian countries undergoing a traumatic social and economic transformation. They explain that the process of building a new independent nation requires “new approaches to the study of national history, culture, and national identity, which form the core of civic education” (p. 95).

The heritage that the Central Asian nations have received from the former USSR includes patterns of standard institutions, such as political and educational structures.

Furthermore, the Russian language continues to be used “extensively in all the countries of the region”. The multi-ethnic character of each country, their common USSR heritage and the historical importance of Russian as the language of communication in the region made Russian the lingua franca of the region (Fagerlind and Kanaev 2000, p. 102).

Now, in all the Central Asian nations, the fostering of their national identities is “considered as a priority in the social sciences” (p. 108). One of the advantages of the common heritage legacy of the Central Asian countries is that it allows for the educational transformation “to be comparable across the region” (p. 105). All five countries have highly comparable education systems (general education almost identical).

The Central Asian nations and the ethnic groups on which they are based is a post-colonial creation. As Edgar (2001) explains:

They are creation of the twentieth century. One hundred years ago, there was no Kyrgyzstan or Turkmenistan ... Central Asia was long home to a rich and complex mix of peoples, languages and cultures...Our notion that an ethnic group brings together language, territory, and descent in a single package did not apply in Central Asia. (p. 1)

Both the linguistic and cultural boundaries applicable to traditional ethnic groups are difficult to apply to some nations in Central Asia. For instance, the linguistic boundary between Uzbeks and Tajiks, even though they do speak two different languages, is not sufficient to define the two distinct ethnic groups. Edgar argues that some nations are more defined by their cultural heritage relating to “history, genealogy and way of life”. His example refers to some ex-Soviet citizens now in the new Central Asian subregion:

Sometimes siblings within a single family would claim different ethnic identities. To this day, there are people living in Uzbekistan who declare themselves to be Uzbeks, yet speak Tajik as their first language. (p. 3)

Is it the case of blurring boundaries and multiple levels of identity within and between minorities and indigenous groups? It can be argued that the current transitional period in the ex-Soviet Central Asian republics is a Hegelian dialectic in reverse – the rejection of the multifaceted *Homo Sovieticus* as an ideological synthesis and the reclaiming of the lost traditional heritage of the past. Sarfaroz Niyozov (2001) calls it a “dialectical negation”, where beneath the rhetoric of social transformation and modernisation we find the seeds of feudalism and traditionalism:

... at the surface things appear to have progressively changed, but in essence these countries have reverted to where they were before Russia’s annexation of Central Asia at the end of the 19th century. (p. 2)

3 Indigenous Groups

“Indigenous people” (*korennyye narody*) is a relatively new idea in the Russian discourse concerning minorities and indigenous groups. Sokolovski (2002) believes the usage of the term was prompted by the influence of international legislation, especially ILO *Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in*

Independent Countries. The term refers to small minorities in various parts of the former USSR, including the Far East and Central Asia. Prior to 1993 the concept *korennyye narody* (indigenous people) appeared only twice in official documents (Sokolovski 2002, p. 11). The 60-year-long taboo for using the term “indigenous people” and its replacement with the term “small-numbered” nationalities was deliberate. The official Soviet line was that the term “indigenous people” was only valid in a colonial context. Since the USSR had no colonies, it had no “indigenous people”.

Historically, Russia’s Far Eastern and Central Asian regions were places of exile and mass deportations (e.g. deportation of the Poles to the Kazakhstan, etc.). There is no “official list” of Russia’s indigenous ethnic groups. Prior to 1993, the state defined 26 ethnic groups as minorities. In 1999, for the first time, in the last decade, the state, in support of the indigenous population in Siberia allocated 1.5 billion roubles (\$52.6 million) to help some 30 ethnic minorities, totalling 200,000 people.

4 Minorities, Indigenous Groups and Inequality

The new economic transformation from the state to private enterprise has produced a new inequality, unemployment and violence. This is confirmed by Niyozov (2001) who believes that the new socio-economic transition has “provided access to unimaginable wealth for the few” and poverty for the majority, resulting in a serious “inequitable access to schooling” (p. 3). The dominant approaches to the education reform “remained mainly top-down, bureaucratic and largely rhetorical” and lacking in research and empirical data (pp. 3–4).

Extreme poverty is one of the key factors in the rising educational inequality in Central Asia. As Eshanova (2002) observes, education has become the privilege of the rich:

Parents and children in Uzbekistan used to look forward to the start of the school year ... Today ... the start of the new year is bringing little joy to parents and children in Uzbekistan, or elsewhere in Central Asia. Although primary and secondary education remains free, preparing children for the start of school places a heavy burden on the majority of families ... Today, elite schools with modern computer facilities exist in the capitals of Central Asia. But these schools are only for the children of government officials and wealthy businessman (p. 1)

Similar signs of educational inequality can be seen in Tajikistan, where 80 % of the population lives in rural areas. In addition to urban and rural inequality, we now have the divided schools syndrome – school for the rich and school for the poor.

Parents are forced to open fee-paying schools and classes (Niyozov 2001, p. 4).

There are serious equity and equality problems in Tajikistan, which are relevant to the Central Asian region as a whole. The economic collapse in Central Asia, partly triggered of by the collapse of the USSR and its trading partners within the Soviet bloc, resulted in unforeseen social, political and economic problems – poverty for the majority of ethnic groups in the Central Asian region, interethnic

conflict, civil wars, unemployment and isolation. For many ethnic and indigenous groups in the region, the unfavourable economic and political climate brought for them extreme poverty and degradation. Confronted with these monumental economic and social problems, how does one build a democratic and post-Soviet multi-ethnic Tajik society? Tajikistan, like other nations in Central Asia, has inherited a sociopolitical and economic infrastructure that is “unsustainable, ineffective and riddled with continuing tensions” (p. 3).

5 Values Education: Ambivalent Legacies and New Challenges

Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Province (MBAP) of Tajikistan, which is located in the high Pamir Mountain Range and culturally is a homeland of six small ethnic groups, represents a very useful case study of the influence of schooling on such a culturally diverse region. Apart from the six ethnic groups, there are Turkic Kyrgyz and Iranian Tajiks, who had lived there for centuries. It is the only place in the world where Ismaili Shi'ite followers constitute a majority of the population.

The post-Soviet transitional period (1992–2002) has resulted in the revival of the Badakhshani multi-ethnic community – cultural and linguistic identities, nationalism and globalism. The current situation of post-Soviet Badakhshan, Tajikistan and Central Asia is one of ethnic transformation and dislocation. One way of preventing the process of ethnic fragmentation, which brings conflict, violence and ethnocentrism, is to teach the values of equality, tolerance and peace in the classroom.

Values education and the continuity of ethical authority of the teacher play a significant part in the teaching/learning process. The values of the “good society”, found in the writings of progressivist and humanistic thinkers – equality, justice, peace, tolerance, cooperation and friendship – seem to provide a global bridge between modernity and tradition, where the values of Allah, prophet Muhammad, and the imam intersect with the values and the promise of modernity. A history teacher in the region explains the similarity between the emancipatory spirit of Islam and the egalitarian logic of communism:

I was a bit disturbed by the excess of talk about Islam, but then I realised that the major principles of the “code of the constructor of communism” are similar to those of “*javonmardi*” (chivalry) in Islam. The problem is how to apply them in practice. (p. 13)

Values education, particularly teaching peace and tolerance, is referred to by a school principal in the Kursk region, who believes that the most crucial role of the school is to teach various ethnic groups to live in peace:

The new reality and the new school’s task is to teach tolerance to the Russians, Armenians, Tajiks, Tatars, Moldavians and others. (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 3 September 2002, p. 6)

The Muslim elite’s representation of Islam during its reconstruction process used the idea that religion was an essential core of ethnic and national identity. In the process of the construction of ethnic identity among the former Soviet Muslim population, one needs to focus on the transformation of the social consciousness.

In the former USSR, the process of education of ethnic minorities and indigenous groups was facilitated by the imposition of “standardised institutional structures” on local traditions (including the various Islamic traditions) and cultures.

Mark Saroyan (1997) argued that the Uzbek Muslim elite, which became the driving force for the homogenisation of Islam in the USSR, was forced by the Soviet authorities to impose a unitary definition of Islam, based on a uniform interpretation of “religious ritual and ideology” (Saroyan 1997, p. 18; Zajda 2014).

6 The Role of Lingua Franca

Russian had a special role as the language of ethnic and indigenous group homogenisation in education. As Saroyan explains:

...just as Russian has a “special” role as the language of internationality, communication and “friendship” among Soviet peoples, Uzbek – the language of “science and culture” – may play a similar role. (Saroyan 1997, p. 19)

6.1 *Ethnicity and the Language Policy*

One of the key problems for the multi-ethnic state engaged in promoting and practising pluralist democracy is reconciling the notion of genuine cultural diversity (and linguistic diversity) and political unity. Consequently, one of the central policy issues in some multi-ethnic nations in Central Asia is the status and position of the official state language(s) in relation to the languages of the minorities in the school curriculum and society. So far, the state language dilemma has not been resolved to the satisfaction of minorities groups, notably the better-educated and socially mobile ethnic Russians, who have been migrating back to Russia in such large numbers as to cause the phenomenon of “the Russian exodus” from the Central Asian region. After the 1991 break-up of the Soviet Union, the ethnic Russians in Central Asia numbered 9.5 million or 19.5 % of the total population. By 1994, Russian population of Kyrgyzstan dropped to 18 % (from 21.5 in 1989). In 1996 alone, some one million immigrants arrived in Russia; the majority of them were the refugees from Central Asia (Partridge 2002, p. 2).

6.2 *Language as the Medium of Instruction: Constitutional and Legal Position*

There is no greater problem about the legal and political status of minorities than the medium of instruction in the school. It is at the school level that the genuine linguistic diversity is put to test. In Central Asia, particularly in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan,

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan (former Soviet republics), the language of choice is the mother tongue for the dominant groups. However, some small groups in Central Asia use Tajik, some use Turkmen, and others use Kazakh as their regional lingua franca.

The Central Asian languages have another aetiological problem. Some groups had no written language prior to the 1917 Revolution. They had to adopt the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet as a basis for mass literacy. During the 1970s in Kazakhstan, the preference for Russian was growing, even among the Kazakhs, who used it as a vehicle for upward social mobility. Educated Kazakhs became bilinguals, and Kazakhs, after the Tatars, had the highest proportion of fluent Russian speakers (59.5 % in urban areas) of the entire Turkic people (Grant 1981, pp. 76–80).

When comparing ethnicity, indigenous culture and academic achievement among the major Central Asian nationalities in 1980, it became evident that the Bashkirs, Chuvash, Tajiks, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz had more individuals completing higher education (all had ratios of above 120 as a percentage of increase over a 5-year period) than the Russians, with their figure of 107.

In contrast, some 20 years later, modern Kazakh society was characterised by an interethnic conflict and by “deep ethnic contradictions”, arising from an increased competition between the Kazakhs and the ethnic Russians for power, privilege, high status and well-paid jobs, as well as the language problem (Kurganskaia 2000, p. 3).

Increasingly, the nonindigenous groups, especially the Russians, feel like the “second-class citizens” in the land where they were born and grew up. In Kazakhstan, for instance, where there is a large Russian minority group and where Russian was the lingua franca of the region, there are moves to downgrade the strategic and political importance of Russian, much to the annoyance of the Russians residing in Kazakhstan (who had enjoyed the dominant status for decades), and enforce universal and compulsory literacy for all Kazakh citizens. As part of the Russian exodus from Central Asia, some 250,000 Russian left Kazakhstan in 1994 (Partridge 2002, p. 1). The exodus was prompted by the following three reasons: the economic downturn in Central Asia due to collapse of the USSR, the loss of privileged status enjoyed by the Russians and the initiation of “cultural nationalisation” by the indigenous elite.

The Language Law now defines and reaffirms the political and cultural significance of the state language. Article 4 of the Law states: “It is the duty of every citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan to master the state language”. The dominance of the state language was reinforced by the 1998 government decree *On the Use of the State Language in State Institutions*.

The problem is that some Kazakhs themselves prefer to communicate in Russian, and 14 % of them have a “problem performing their official duties” due to a poor command of the state language. Recently, a republic-wide opinion poll showed that 71.1 % of the respondents, including 54.1 % of Kazakhs, supported the idea of introducing the second state language (Kurganskaia 2000, p. 7).

In Uzbekistan, where Russians, as a minority, comprise 8 % of the population, language policy, first passed as the *Language Law* in the Uzbek Supreme Soviet in 1989, declaring Uzbek as the state language (but accepting Russian as the “language of interethnic communication”) and mandating that Uzbek be “the sole method

of official communication”, has contributed to a growing ethnocentrism against minorities, resulting in the massive exodus of the Russians during the 1990s. By 1992, some 800,000 individuals, “mostly Russians”, have left Uzbekistan (Soros 2002, p. 1). The Russians, as a minority, when forced to learn the state language, as a condition for employment and future career prospects, felt being discriminated against and nicknamed the language law “a language of emigration”. The new citizenship law of 1992 also required all minorities to become Uzbek citizens by 1993 or be denied access to health and education and other privileges accorded to citizens. Uzbek President Islam Karimov denies the existence of discrimination or the interethnic tensions. This is difficult to reconcile with the annual migration figures to Russia, where the number of emigrants to Russia had increased from 27,400 in 1996 to 33,000 in 1997 (Soros 2002, pp. 1–3). Even if the rhetoric of the new laws on citizenship and language appears to be non-discriminatory and offers the non-indigenous population an opportunity of becoming “nationalised citizens”, for those already residing in the country, the ethnic Russians feel “marginalised” and there were outbreaks of ethnic conflict and violence (Partridge 2002, p. 1).

The closure of the Russian television channel, newspapers and private publishing houses meant total control of the media by the government. This could have serious implications for the education of the Russian-speaking minorities. Furthermore, to distance themselves even more for the former Soviet/Russian dominance in education, Uzbekistan is planning to replace its Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin one in 2005. As many textbooks are published in the Cyrillic alphabet, it would mean a complete transformation of the textbook industry.

What are the political, social and ethnic aspects of integration in Kyrgyzstan? Toktomyshev (2002), Vice Chancellor of the Kyrgyz State National University and Member of Parliament, believes that Kyrgyzstan inherited some of the ambivalent legacies from the Soviet past, when the Bolsheviks created separate “ethnic” republics and artificial borders (especially across the multi-ethnic Fergana Valley (the Osh and Jalal-Abad regions, with the three largest Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Russian minorities), which was the local “Babylon of Central Asia”). This was done in a completely arbitrary manner, displacing large minorities outside their “own” republic. Some parts of the Fergana Valley have much in common with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. President Askar Akaev claims that “Kyrgyzia inherited the burning fuse of the Osh (region) conflict and intra-republican confrontation between North and South” (Toktomyshev 2002, p. 2).

The most obvious signs of education and policy change are the current moves to blend cultural and historical achievements of both the Fergana Valley and the Kyrgyz North. The official policy is to ensure equality and access of educational opportunities for all minorities in the Fergana Valley and throughout Kyrgyzstan. This has been achieved by the opening up of the National Academy of Sciences in the South, the establishment of research institutions, a number of new higher education institutions and various other education centres, designed to promote the development of “the intellectual potential of all ethnic groups” (Toktomyshev 2002, p. 4). A very promising case study of nation-building of multi-ethnic communities is the Republic of Bashkortostan, near the Urals, which represents some 100 minorities,

with the three major ethnic groups – the Bashkirs, Tatars and Russians. As a result of the Soviet-inspired border policy, and demographic processes, Bashkirs are now in the minority. Here, the official policy of multicultural education affirms that all languages are equal and “deserve equal protection and development under the law” (Graney 2002, p. 2). The Ministry of Education has been promoting the language policy, based on the concept of the “cult of the indigenous language” (Graney 2002, p. 2).

7 Gender and Education in Central Asia

Gender inequality in access to education is increasing in the Central Asian region. Within Central Asia the availability of educational opportunities for women is “exceedingly limited” (Ismagilova 2002, p. 1). In a recent survey dealing with the violation of women’s rights, the majority of the respondents indicated that they could not study as they were not “allowed to leave home”, they “had no money for education” or they “had no time”. The least educated females had also the highest rates of physical abuse:

the least educated women have the highest percentage of the various forms of violence in their community: 96 % of women with no high or primary education experienced physical violence. (Ismagilova 2002, p. 2)

8 Conclusion

In evaluating ethnicity and indigenous cultures, the focus of comparative education research has been on language policies, citizenship interethnic inequality and discrimination. Problems in interethnic conflict and ethnic identity in Central Asia have been attributed to political (the contesting nature of the interstate boundaries), economic (the problem of transitional economies) and social (temporary decline in welfare and other provisions). The Western canon of science, technology and progress is very much at odds with the competing ideologies at the local level, where the Western paradigm of globalisation and development has been conveniently misinterpreted as “Americanisation”, and some people will go to any length to oppose it. At the local arena, we are confronted with a serious challenge from the new and self-made “overlords” of the “feudal” kind, who use religion, nationalism, ethnicity, race and politics (as it was done for thousands of years before) as a powerful tool of conflict – manipulating and playing on people’s emotions and feelings and breeding discontent, animosity and hatred towards other people and other nations.

One of the unresolved issues in educational research on race and ethnicity in Central Asia is a growing ethnic polarisation, differentiation, discrimination and inequality. The role of the state, in confronting and addressing social and psychological origins of

prejudice and discrimination, has been one of adopting effective and multicultural in nature educational policies that focus on finding solutions to ethnic discrimination and attempted regulation of subethnic, supraethnic, transnational and multinational identities in Central Asia.

The other issue is a growing alienation and false consciousness among people officially categorised as belonging to the “correct” nationality in the region and being forced to resist alternative identities promoted by education, social change and migration, by the competing pressure groups and the new power elite. It is not only the growing social inequality and conflict in the region but the abuse and manipulation of power, religion and values by some local power lords (LPL) who suffer from both the nostalgia for the past and the illusions of grandeur that contributes to the ongoing ethnic polarisation and fragmentation.

It could be argued that while ethnic identities such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek, formerly citizens of the USSR, do have meaning with reference to regional/kinship-based and supraethnic/subethnic dimensions of national and religious identities, and that an overarching dimension of Muslim supra-identity exists, the question of identity politics needs to reflect competing interests groups in the region, in order to understand and critique the “myriad interests and identities of Central Asians” (Edgar 2001, p. 6).

We also need to ground our cultural analysis of race and ethnicity in Central Asia within the discourse of post-colonialism and critical theory, focusing on competing hegemonies (be they religious, territorial and/or feudal), power, control and domination, where traditional and new hybrids of pressure groups, in challenging modernity and democracy, attempt to destabilise democratic processes within the region and elsewhere.

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Globalisation and Islamic Education

Holger Daun and Reza Arjmand

1 Introduction

Islamic educational arrangements show some similarities and some differences throughout the approximately 40 countries where Muslims traditionally form majorities or important minorities. The similarities have to do with the features inherent in Islam: the idea of the Muslim community (*'umma*), *Sharia* law and the widespread desire among Muslims to have their children trained in Islamic moral values and norms. The differences between the Muslim countries are related mainly to colonial experiences, the relative power of Muslim interests in each country, the type of state and public education system and the type and degree of involvement in globalisation processes.

2 Background

In order to understand contemporary Islamic higher education arrangements, it is necessary to know the principal features of Islam, its view of knowledge and Islamic educational arrangements at elementary and intermediate levels. Theoretically and symbolically, all Muslims belong to the *'umma*, but throughout history a series of divisions and distinctions have taken place within Islam: the division into two

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branches (*Sunnism* and *Shi'ism*), the emergence of different schools of law (*Madhahib*) and the appearance of different brotherhoods within the two principal branches. Different degrees of secularisation followed from variations in the degree of modernisation in a particular location. The schools of law “combine two characteristics that rarely go together: massive affiliation of lay men and women alongside an elaborate legal doctrine that is understood by experts alone” (Hurvitz 2000, p. 37), which resulted in the emergence of a new class of religious learned men (*ulama*). “The triumph of traditionalism after the failure of the rationalist-inspired Inquisition, signalled the direction soon to be taken by Islam’s educational institutions”, which came to embody the ideals of traditionalist Islam, foremost among which was the primacy of the law (Makdisi 1981, p. 980).

Today, Muslims are in a majority or form important minorities of the population in some 40 countries; conversion to Islam takes place in many places in the world (Haynes 1999; van Bruissen 1995), but often Islam is assimilated into the pre-existing religions (An-Náim 1999; Eickelman 1989; Gregorian 2001; Masquelier 1999). This means it is articulated in ways different from those found in, for instance, the geographical area of Islam’s origin. The majority of Muslims are Sunnis, while Shi’ites are in the majority in Iraq, Azerbaijan and Iran and form minorities in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Lebanon.

The adherence to *Sharia*, the Islamic law in a broad sense, is an important feature that Muslims have in common. *Sharia* includes the Islamic doctrine and social practice of the law which regulates all aspects of Muslim life and covers rituals as well as political and legal rules. It differs from secular law, mainly in that it covers all spheres of private and social life. The classical doctrine of *Sharia* is based on a number of primary sources or principles: (1) the Quran, (2) *Sunna*, (3) consensus (*ijma*) and (4) analogy (*qiyas*). The ability to reason (*‘aql*) is seen by some Islamic scholars as one additional feature. To study these principles, *usul al-fih* (literally: principles of jurisprudence) is a discipline required of every student in Islamic jurisprudence. The Islamic science of ascertaining the precise terms of the *Sharia* is known as *fiqh* (literally: understanding), which is used in opposition to knowledge (*ilm*) and applied to the “independent exercise of the intelligence, the decision of legal points by one’s own judgment in the absence or ignorance of a traditional ruling bearing on the case in question” (Goldziher and Schacht 2002, p. 232). During the colonial period, Muslims and those in other colonised countries experienced two different colonial strategies, direct and assimilationist (by the French, Italians and Portuguese) and indirect and integrationist (by the British), that had different implications for Islamic education. The education system in the former strategy was based mainly on the *encyclopaedist* principles of *rationalism*, *universality* and *utility*, while empiricism was the principal educational feature in the second strategy (Holmes and McLean 1989; Mallison 1980). However, all colonial powers implemented education systems of the type existing in the home countries, while religious issues and family laws were, in practice, left to the local populations (Warnock 1995). Although Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey never were colonised, their educational institutions went through a similar development of the modern Western type of education.

At independence (or at a certain stage in non-colonised countries), the Islamic educational institutions were either integrated into the secular state-sponsored schools which offered some Islamic matters or continued as before as privately sponsored religious schools which survived only through the adoption of Western educational disciplines. The traditional *madrasa* (literally: study place) as the main Islamic higher education institution survived due to the *waqf* (religious endowment) while specialising solely in religious education.

The independent state's position vis-à-vis Islam and, consequently, the place of Islamic education in society came to differ in the way the states dealt with Islamic interests (*ulama* influence). Some states avoided an alliance with these interests, while others made Islam a state religion. A third category of countries has periodically established an Islamic state, following *Sharia* law (Badie 1986; Haynes 1999; Kramer 1997; Nyang 1993). Also, due to waves of Islamic revival, different ideological and religious orientations have emerged among Muslims.

3 Globalisation

Globalisation has come to challenge beliefs, ideologies and institutions that previously seemed to be valid and to include Islamic elements. Forces resulting in what today is seen as “globalisation” have a long history, but they started to accelerate with the economic liberalisations in the 1970s, cheaper transports and ICT (information and communication technology). Globalisation refers principally to economic and cultural processes, which occur rather independently from single country actions and frontiers (Zajda 2010, 2014). Some countries are highly involved in global processes while others are not, and some aspects in one and the same country are highly globalised, while others are not (Hirst and Thompson 1996; McGrew 1992; Waters 1995). Among Muslim countries, those who produce oil are involved economically, while other countries such as Pakistan and Iran contribute to the global spread of Islamic messages and certain Muslim interests. Saudi Arabia, for instance, is highly involved in the global flows due to oil production, while sections of its population are marginalised from these processes (Ayubi 1999; Kramer 1997).

Economic actions and processes are the leading globalising forces, and they consist of more than international exchange of goods and services and interaction of separate domestic economies (Bretherton 1996). People are encouraged or compelled to enter into commodified, monetised and priced exchanges as producers and consumers. The forces mentioned include the market ideas as well as the idea that modernisation is to make individuals' behaviour “consistent with liberal norms of modernity” (Duffield 2002, p. 91), and they result in economic and ideological competition as well as economic marginalisation. Predominantly Muslim countries belong to both the highly globalised category (principally oil-producing countries) and the marginalised category.

Nowadays, states have to handle at least two principal forces: (1) globalised world models and (2) governance through market forces and mechanisms. World

models have emerged, not as physical bodies or institutions but as a complex of cultural expectations and “tacit understandings”, cognitive and ontological models of reality that specify the nature and purposes of nation-states and other actors (Meyer et al. 1997, p. 144). They include “explicit recommendations”, “stored” in and deriving from international organisations (such as the World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, etc.). Modern culture is oriented towards individual achievement, instrumental rationality, competition and individualism. These world models embody the Western worldview. Elements of world models emerged after the Second World War and argued for state-centred development strategies, while the models emerging since the beginning of the 1980s include features as diverse as, for instance, human rights, children rights (emphasising individual autonomy), neo-liberal views (the self-interested and utility-maximising man), consumer ideals and so on (Robertson 1991; Wilson 1997). Also, the international pressure on the nation-state to change its legal system to correspond to the requirements of the global market forces affects many laws (and even constitutions) and not only those applying to the economic domain. There is a universal commodification of life and political and social relationships (Giddens 1994) as well as extension of pricing to more and more services and activities (Saul 1997). Education tends to be seen as a good or commodity, while moral issues and moral training are neglected. The “universalised” aspects of cultures challenge and question local cultures and taken-for-granted aspects, and traditions are being problematised (Giddens 1994). Individuals can no longer trust the immediate and experienced past and present (Robertson 1992; Waters 1995). All this increases risk and uncertainty (Reich 1997).

With increasing and intensifying flows of capital, messages and people across countries, Islam is spreading but is also challenged by the Western world view and lifestyle (liberal, pluralist and market-oriented) (Ahmed 1992; Massialas and Jarrar 1991; Wilson 1997). ICT and mass media are “exposing the everyday world of Islam to the competition of pluralistic consumption and the pluralisation of life worlds” (Ahmed 1992, p. 177). However, globalisation brings de-secularisation as well. Certain streams within Islam exemplify this trend (Beeley 1992; Berger 1999; Haynes 1999; Turner 1991). This religion is spreading geographically and Islamic movements are being extended to new areas. In fact, Islam and certain branches within Protestantism have been the most expansive – in terms of new adherents – during the past two decades, Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia and Protestantism in Latin America and Asia (An-Náim 1999; Berger 1999; Martin 1999).

Since the Second World War, several international organisations have been established for the spread of Islam. For instance, during the 1970s, the *Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* was founded with the aim to establish Arabo-Islamic culture as a uniting worldwide force (ISESCO 1985) and to create a front against what was perceived as Western cultural imperialism. This organisation supports educational projects everywhere in the world, including adult education, teacher training in the Arabic language, support to Arabic schools and similar activities.

More than ever before, the world religions compete and challenge one another; each of them claims to possess “exclusive and largely absolute truths or values”

(Turner 1991, p. 173). For instance, in many areas of the former Soviet Union, Christian, Islamic and secular Western NGOs compete to install their ideologies (Niyozov 2003). Furthermore, a large number of Muslims have lived for generations in the North. However, Islam seems to adapt to and be coloured by the local context in which it appears; therefore, Samuel Huntington's (1997) predictions on the "clash of civilisations" is not supported.

For the majority of Muslims, Islamic moral training is important, whether it takes place in the public education system or in non-formal or informal socialisation arrangements. If Muslims feel that Islam does not have a proper place in the state-run schools, they enrol their children in non-formal and civil sphere arrangements (Quranic schools) for complementary moral training (Euro-Islam 1995).

4 Knowledge and Education

The underlying philosophy of Islamic education is that knowledge comes from the development of the whole person, the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual dimensions of the person. In the Islamic conceptualisation of knowledge, a distinction is made between acquired knowledge and revealed (intrinsic) knowledge. Education is the acquisition of external knowledge (that improves faith) and the internal realisation of intrinsic meaning. The former type of knowledge consists either of transmitted traditions or rational knowledge, achieved through reason (Talbani 1996). Intrinsic knowledge is sacred, and it is believed that only a few adherents have the ability to experience the highest stage of such knowledge (Ali 1987; Ashraf 1987). Throughout the dichotomy of "revealed" and "acquired" knowledge, a *faqih* who has practised the acquired knowledge will be able to translate the Quran – revealed knowledge – into the legal and practical doctrines. The primacy of formalised and juridical education over the development of Islamic character resulted in curricular and instructional differentiation between class and gender, "Islamic" and "non-Islamic" knowledge and ideals and practices in Muslim education (Barazangi 1995, p. 1228).

5 Levels and Types of Islamic Education

Islamic education consists of three levels: elementary education (Quranic schools), intermediate or secondary education (post-Quranic schools) and higher education (Islamic colleges and universities). Elementary and intermediate education may be divided into three different categories: (1) traditional Islamic elementary education (Quranic school), (2) traditional Islamic intermediate education (Medresh, madrasa) and (3) modernised intermediate Islamic education (Medresh, madrasa, Arabic school) – see Table 1.

Table 1 Types of elementary, intermediate and higher Islamic education

“Preschool” level		Elementary school	Intermediate school	Higher education
1		Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab, mosque school</i>)	Traditional Medresh (madrasa, mosque school) or modern madrasa (“ <i>école arabe</i> ”, “Arabic school”)	
2	Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab, mosque school</i>)			Islamic university
3	Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab, mosque school</i>)	Traditional Medresh (madrasa, mosque school) Modern madrasa (“ <i>école arabe</i> ” and “Arabic school”)	See the two varieties above	

Makdisi (1981) argues that due to the centrality of *madrasa* in Islamic education, the educational institutions could be divided into pre-*madrasa* and post-*madrasa* institutions. The first and foremost institution of education in Islam was the mosque (*masjid*) in which the teaching after the prayer (*Majlis*) took place. The professor usually was the leader of the prayer and expert in religious issues and lectured on *Sharia* along with other Islamic subjects. Congregational mosques (*Jami*’) were another institution in which study circles (*halqa*) were established to deliver scientific discussions around legal issues.

Also, students can enter Islamic higher education via modern primary and secondary education of the Western type.

5.1 Elementary Education

Quranic education and madrasa education have tended to adapt to the rate of expansion of primary and secondary education of the Western type. In some areas in Asia and several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa where enrolment in modern primary education is comparatively low, Quranic education is still seen by the population as an alternative or complement to primary education (see type 1 in the table). After elementary education, the students may enter one or the other type of madrasa and then continue to the Islamic university. In other areas, Quranic schools recruit primarily students at the ages of 3–9 years, and Quranic education has become a pre-school education which students attend for a couple of years (see type 2 in the table). In countries or places where there has been a massive enrolment in primary schools, Quranic education has adapted to this fact and has relegated to the role of preschool (serving children 3–6 years old) or complementary/supplementary schools attended during periods not scheduled for primary schools (type 3 in the table). Since all countries have the Western type of schools, traditional or modern madrasa exists in parallel with such schools in many places in North Africa and the Middle East.

The goal of elementary (and higher levels of) Islamic education is to equip the pupils with knowledge about and for this world and the next and to lead “each individual and society as a whole, to the Ultimate Truth” (Ali 1987, p. 36). The Quran contains the core content of basic Islamic education (Talbani 1996). The pupils should learn Arabic letters, the Arabic alphabet, Quranic *suras* (verses), the five pillars of Islam, skills in reading and writing, manual work and civics by heart and at their own rate, and they must recite the Quran according to an accepted recitational style and show good manners and habits. Questioning of, or critical reasoning in relation to, Islamic principles is not allowed in all Islamic sects (Talbani 1996). There are no formal grades, forms or stages in these schools. Anyone is free to start and to finish whenever he or she wants.

Quranic schools do not depend on the state or any other formal specific administration and institution for their operation but are often organised by teachers or other members of the local community or the *ulama*. The local community, parents, or other stakeholders support teachers in different ways: students work for teachers (in trade or farming) or parents pay in cash or produce (Keynan 1993; Nicolas 1981). The role of the Quranic school is not easily described since it is not seen by parents and communities to be limited to strictly religious instruction. In some places, Quranic education is also seen as a good preparation for primary schooling (William and Amer 1988).

5.2 *Intermediate Education*

The establishment of *madrasa* in the tenth century is regarded as a crucial point in the history of Islamic education. The *madrasa* is the product of three stages in the development of college in Islam: the mosque, the *masjid-khan* complex in which *khan* or hostelry served as lodging for out-of-town students and the *madrasa* proper, in which *masjid* and *khan* were combined in an institution based on a single *waqf* deed (Pederson and Makdisi 2002, p. 1235). They all had Arabic as a language of instruction and curricula composed of Islamic classic components. The goals of the traditional *madrasas* are to create “experts” who are perceived to have perfect knowledge in the domain of their specialisation. In some countries education is taught in theological seminaries following a curriculum designed for the formation of religious experts. Islamic education at the *madrasa* level includes subjects such as: *Lughah* (the Arabic language), *Fiqh* (legal theory of Islam; is the Islamic law), *Hadith* (the traditions – the sayings of the Prophet himself about problems and events in everyday life – which after the Quran are the most important source concerning Sharia), *Tawhid* (unity of God; theology at its most abstract level), *Tafsir* (Quranic exegesis; the content of the Quran is explained and commented upon by the teacher), *Sira* (the biography of Mohammed) and *Riyadiyat* (arithmetic). In higher Islamic education, these subjects are taught more in-depth (Nasr 1975; Yahia 1966).

Ijaza (permission) is considered as the only traditional form of evaluation of the students’ educational achievements in *madrasa* education whereby the professor

gives the graduated pupil the authorisation to transmit the knowledge received. *Ijaza* was issued in a specific branch of knowledge by the professor specialist in that knowledge, who in turn had received authorisation through his master. As the accuracy of religious narrations is of vital importance, the chain of transmission is followed throughout the different generations of authorised narrators. The phenomenon known as *Tawator* (frequency) is considered as one of the deciding factors in the accuracy of transmitted knowledge. *Ijazas* also were certificates for teaching certain subjects or to issue new religious verdicts.

The modern madrasa (often called Arabic schools) have established curricula, syllabuses, time tables and classes in the same way as modern Western schools. This means that they teach secular subjects as well as a large proportion of Islamic matters. Arabic countries and Turkey support such Arabic schools. In Sub-Saharan Africa and some places in Asia, such schools started to expand in the 1970s with the support from Middle East countries or Unicef (via Muslim NGOs) in the 1990s (Coloquio Internacional 1993; Okuma-Nyström 2003; UNESCO 1993). One or the other type of madrasa is run in parallel with state schools or as protected and subsidised by the state in countries such as Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan.

Many places do not have the intermediate type of Islamic education, while in other places (such as Afghanistan and countries in Sub-Saharan Africa) a modernised type of madrasa has been established, especially since the 1970s. The development of the madrasa has in many places followed the same pattern as elementary Islamic education. Quranic schools have different names in different countries (*kuttabs*, *maktab*, *daara*, etc.). When Quranic education takes places in mosques, this is called mosque schools. The difference in terminology applies also the education at the intermediate level.

According to some authors, Islamic education is mostly appropriate for the religious and teaching professions (Eickelman 1989). Recent case studies, however, indicate that such an education is not only for religious purposes and for insulated niches of Muslims but is also an important instrument for jobs in the informal sector. These jobs have been rapidly growing in many low-income countries (Daun 2002; Oni 1988; William and Amer 1988).

5.3 Higher Education

Two main trends can be traced among Muslim education scholars on the impact of *madrasa* on the modern higher education institutions thereafter. Tibawi (1979, p. 1253) is most prominent in the group who believe that the Western universities, pioneered by Bologna University (Founded 1088 A.D.), were inspired by Islamic higher education institutions such as Al-Azhar of Cairo (970 A.D.) and Nezamieh (1067 A.D.). Another group of scholars like Makdisi (1980–1981) acknowledge the overall influence of Islamic culture on pre-Renaissance European culture but argue that the Western universities have not adopted their nature from Islamic higher education institutions, as they serve different objectives which require a different

structure. *Madrasa* and other Islamic educational institutions lost their function as excellent research centres, partly due to the specialisation in religious education based on *Olum-e Naqli* (narrative knowledge) and partly to the marginalisation resulting from modernisation in Islamic countries.

Modern higher education institutions, namely, universities and colleges, arrived in Islamic countries as a result of modernisation. In some cases (like Turkey and former USSR Republics) the old traditional *madrasa* was abolished and all its educational tasks were submitted to the universities. In some other countries (Iran, Afghanistan and Egypt) the state took over the *madrasa* together with some other institutions such as *Waqf*. A small body of *madrasa* education grew out of the state framework. In all countries, however, modern higher education institutions were established and grew with time. The first Western type of universities in Muslim countries was founded in the early twentieth century – for instance, in Turkey in 1900, in Egypt in 1925 and in Iran in 1934. In the mid-1990s, Indonesia had 60 universities, Pakistan 23 and Turkey 69 (World of Learning 2003, p. 1248).

6 State, Islam and Public Education

The picture of Islamic education in the Muslim countries is not complete unless we also take the state and its educational arrangements into account. All countries with a Muslim presence have Quranic or Madrasa schools organised by and in the civil sphere of society. Countries differ in (a) the extent to which public state schools include Islamic matters and (b) the extent to which educational arrangements in the civil sphere are recognised, regulated and subsidised by the state. In countries where Islam traditionally has been strong or the dominating religion (in the Middle East, in North Africa and some countries of Asia), Islamic matters constitute an important part in primary and lower secondary education, while in Sub-Saharan Africa and several Asian countries, the public schools are purely secular. Most villages in the Middle East, in some parts of Asia and in Central and West Africa and Africa's Horn have at least one Quranic school, and some have a madrasa, organised by civil forces (Daun and Arjmand 2002; UNESCO 1993).

In the Gulf states the school curricula contain a larger proportion of religious subjects than in other parts of the world (Ben Jallah 1994; Hussein 1994; Morsi 1991). Despite this large proportion of Islamic matters in primary school, there are, in most Muslim countries, Quranic schools that function as a complement to modern primary schools (Eickelman 1989). In some countries, the state maintained a parallel system with the public schools and Islamic schools; in Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan, elementary and intermediate levels of Islamic education are given in schools that are under the “state umbrella” in that they are subsidised and are allowed to certify their students.

State schools in Indonesia and Lebanon do not include Islamic matters, but there are a few Islamic schools supported and monitored by the state (Moegiadi and Jiyono 1998; Zouain 1998). Malaysia seems to be a special case. There are some

private schools, which teach religious matters and have subsidies from the state and accept regulation, and state schools can also teach religious matters, if this is demanded by the local community (Aziz and Maimunah 1998). Islamic educational arrangements in the civil sphere are comparatively frequent in Islamised countries, where the state is secular and state-run schools do not teach Islamic matters. On the other hand, in highly Islamised but comparatively modernised countries, where state schools teach Islamic matters, Islamic educational institutions have been forced into a position where they function as a complement or supplement to the state-run schools.

7 Conclusion

The permanent presence of Islam in Europe, North America and Australia has become a reality today. The difference between the Islamic values and identity, on the one hand, and the predominant cultures and value systems of the host societies, on the other hand, has made governments in the North attempt to keep a balance between integration and preservation of culture of origin. In practically all these countries, Quranic or other types of Islamic education are organised by civil sphere actors. Among these countries, some principal patterns emerge along the following dimensions: (a) whether Islamic schools are recognised by the government or not; (b) if recognised, whether they are subsidised/controlled or not; and (c) whether they have to teach a curriculum established by the government or not. In England and the USA, for instance, private Islamic schools are allowed. In Sweden and France, on the other hand, schools, which do not follow the national curriculum, are not allowed to function as primary or secondary schools. A similar pattern exists when it comes to higher education.

It seems to be wise and to correspond with a human rights perspective to allow minority schools (Muslim and others) in non-Muslim countries, but it also seems necessary to make certain that such schools support a human-rights and children-rights perspective. Recently, in Sweden, several examples of severe deviations from certain central components (democracy, tolerance, children rights, etc.) of the national curriculum were reported from some Christian and Muslim schools. These deviations were not discovered through the general state authority mechanisms for monitoring and supervision of such schools but by teachers and pupils who had inside experience from such schools.

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The Transformative Potential of Global Gender and Education Policy

Karen Monkman and Kate L. Webster

1 Introduction

As globalization has realigned individual, community, national, and international interactions within economic, political, and cultural spheres, so too has it influenced educational policy. What will education look like in this new global day and age? Will it increase our human capital in the global labor market, produce a more informed citizenry, or provide cross-border understandings and ways of life? Regardless of the direction it is taking, gender in this global educational setting is conditioned by new global and changed local contexts. This chapter will discuss globalization as a contextual influence on the field of gender and education policy and begins, therefore, with a brief historical overview of girls' and women's education as connected to an earlier development discourse. Current policies of international organizations, strategies, and gender frameworks will be examined along with current topics and calls for action. This chapter speaks primarily to gender and education policy in low-income countries. This field prioritizes girls' education, speaks to the importance of women's literacy, is beginning to examine boys' educational experiences, and has been called on to address more complex notions of gender that shape education at all levels. Before addressing gender in this evolving educational setting, a clear conceptualization of the complex and contested notion of globalization is needed.

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1.1 *Globalization Defined*

Most of the writing on globalization positions its economic dimensions front and center, particularly in education policy. It is important, however, to view it more holistically. “[G]lobalization remains an inexact term for the strong, and perhaps irreversible, changes in the economy, labor force, technologies, communication, cultural patterns, and political alliances” that impact every nation and, therefore, education globally (Stromquist and Monkman 2000, p. 3). Any analysis of gender and education needs to be multidimensional.

The increasingly global nature of the economy makes it easier for global actors to engage in multiple settings far from home. We have seen a variety of new actors in recent decades (e.g., NAFTA, the EU, a proliferation of multinational corporations, global philanthropists), while others have taken on new roles (e.g., the WTO relative to education). Because many of these entities are powerful and because the influence of the economy relative to the nation state has increased, their influence is felt far beyond the economic realm and in particular in the educational sector. We see the increasing presence of global philanthropic endeavors such as those promoted by Oprah Winfrey with her school for girls in South Africa or Greg Mortenson’s (*Three Cups of Tea*) schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan. At the same time, many communities, hard hit by the global economic downturn, continue to feel the effects of lack of educational funding in the recent past and find it hard to participate in the global economic labor market let alone educational opportunities. Gender implications of poverty are well known: women are disproportionately disadvantaged, and that marginalization affects the whole of society.

Politically, with the World Bank now being the largest source of funding for education in the “developing” world (World Bank 2009a), it has a major influence on education policy globally. Large global organizations of this sort are well situated to influence the setting of agendas and framing of issues at the global, national, and local levels and within other organizations who receive their funding and support, namely, NGOs and development agencies. Alongside the increasing role of the World Bank in setting education policy, we have seen an increase in partnerships that intend to minimize duplication and coordinate and strengthen efforts. For the last 40 years or so, we have seen more coordination in promoting educational agendas that increasingly attend to gender concerns. Various UN organizations come together through the United Nations Girls’ Education Initiative (UNGEI), and a variety of organizations are members of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE). We see an increase in the global nature of the discourse on education not only involving the World Bank, UN organizations, and international NGOs but also through the bilateral donor agencies, consulting agencies, and the individual people who work for these entities, and/or do research internationally, and talk with each other at conferences, in the field, and through the Internet. Through this global discourse, certain ways of thinking about both gender and education become more central, thus exerting power over the ways in which education happens and the

assumptions about the relevance of gender to education. The ability to frame issues discursively is a political process as it exerts power over the agenda and sets the stage for what can and cannot happen in an educational context.

Culturally, we see the proliferation of the media and new forms of technology used in areas that had previously been denied access. Cell phones, for example, are being used for educational purposes (Davis 2010). Beyond cultural artifacts, however, we see new values and beliefs being shared and spread globally through the media and also through educational conduits, namely, the curriculum and policy. These kinds of cultural forces influence people's roles, identities, and experiences (Cvetkovich and Kellner 1997), all of which have gendered dimensions. Trends toward homogenization are not alone; however, there is also evidence that local communities engage in and react to globalization in ways that are locally conditioned. And, the "globalization from below" movement has garnered attention for a coordinated movement to resist the neoliberal economic policies (see, e.g., the participatory school budgeting processes in Porto Alegre, Brazil (Gandin and Apple 2002), and Wangari Maathai's Green Belt Movement in Kenya (Maathai 1985)). The first challenges globalization policy's centralized control of schooling, and the second reflects a gendered approach to controlling one's local and the global environment (see also Marshall and Arnot 2008; Zajda and Freeman 2009).

Cultural changes influenced by globalization also involve gender. The social construction of masculinities and femininities, for example, is now influenced by more global images and values than before. Traditional cultures are not left alone in determining whether girls should be educated or whether boys should consider non-traditional occupations or be encouraged to share childcare. Traditional beliefs and values are challenged by global discourse, while global discourse is also resisted or transformed at local levels.

Another cultural dimension of globalization relates to knowledge. The social construction of knowledge is conditioned by education and development policy and by the promotion of certain types of curricula and how they are implemented locally. This becomes an important issue in the gender and education sphere because forms of emancipatory knowledge like sexuality, gendered legal and human rights, and other "sensitive" issues are often avoided in educational policy and curricula. Determining what is worth knowing for girls and for boys, for men and for women, is conditioned by local traditional beliefs, national interests, and global discursive orientations, yet controversial issues are often avoided or given lip service in policy and curricula. Conversely, however, some of the more progressive NGOs have also engaged in a global conversation that supports more proactive engagement in critical issues such as violence in schools. In 2000 Stromquist and Monkman challenged us:

Today more than ever, there is a need to ask, Education for what will prevail in the globalization age? Will it be only to make us more productive and increase our ability to produce and consume, or will it be able to instill in all of us a democratic spirit with values of solidarity? This solidarity will have to recognize the different interests among men and women and among the dominant groups and disadvantaged groups. (2000, pp. 21–22)

Have we made progress? This chapter will provide first a historical overview of how gender and education have evolved in policy arenas. Subsequent sections will then present strategies evident in policy discourses and examine ways of framing globalization, gender, and education policy. The chapter will end with a few current priorities and challenges.

1.2 Historical Overview of Gender, Development, and Education Policy

While the current wave of globalization has allowed women in developing countries to enter the global market economy, gain independence, and control their own income, globalization has also dramatically increased women's vulnerability and economic dependence, further relegating them to the periphery of society. In particular, most women in developing countries remain greatly disadvantaged as compared to men in areas such as education, employment, health, and human rights (Webster 2010). Beginning with the First World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975, the formation of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, and the more recent creation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, international conferences have sought to remedy the gender gaps in these areas. A key focus of these conferences has been on gender equality in educational participation, access, and achievement, which is built largely on research that asserts that improving girls' and women's education is inextricably linked to economic development and social progress. So much so, the World Bank has prioritized the education of girls as an integral part of their strategy to achieve Education for All (EFA) (World Bank 2009b) and to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN 2010). Of the six EFA goals, three have a gender focus in which they strive to:

- Ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, those in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free, and compulsory primary education of good quality.
- Achieve a 50 % improvement in adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
- Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

(World Bank 2009c. Education for All (EFA). World Bank website. <http://go.worldbank.org/I41DLBA8C0>)

Similarly, of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the third goal explicitly focuses on gender, and the second goal makes gender parity a priority in its target (see Table 1).

Since the inception of the MDGs, there has been little doubt of the important and integral role that women play in national development policies and in the current

Table 1 MDGs related to gender and education

Goals	Targets
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	Target: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	Target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015

Source: United Nations (2010)

role and successes of globalization in our societies today. However, this focus on women's role wasn't always the case as women were relatively invisible in early development policy and projects. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, following the independence of many countries, women continued to be disproportionately hindered by neocolonialist policies that placed women further on the periphery of the economy. Most women lived in the rural areas and participated in low-paying and low-status unremunerated forms of work that were often unaccounted for in national GNP measures (Boserup 1990; ILO 1984). Development policies and educational training projects tended to target men, while women remained further ensconced in the traditional agricultural sector. Most development agencies have since created women and development units or gender mainstreaming policies that assess the gendered implications of development and education projects to ensure that women and girls are not disenfranchised.

With the growing awareness in the 1980s and 1990s of women's pivotal role in the development and globalization process, international organizations realized the concomitant role of education in women's lives. Through the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and the 2000 MDGs, substantial links were shown between women's education and not only her family's well-being but also the country's standard of living and general well-being. The focus of these international organizations and mandates has been on improving girls' access to education, particularly primary education, and women's literacy rates. And, in fact, there has been rapid progress toward gender parity at this first level of schooling in many developing nations—in 2008 there were 96 girls for every 100 boys at the primary level (UN 2010). Concerns remain, however, as girls represent about 55 % of the 75 million children who are not enrolled in primary school worldwide (UNESCO 2009), and women's literacy rates, although having improved worldwide, remain lower than men's in many regions, particularly in South Asia and much of sub-Saharan Africa.

Although, in our globalized market economy, higher levels of secondary and postsecondary education and training have been required, access has remained unattainable for a higher proportion of girls than boys, and they find it harder to remain in school once there. In addition, while it has been important to promote access, participation, and literacy at all levels of education, research has shown that social and cultural barriers negatively impact girls' schooling more so than it does boys'

(King and Hill 1993; Webster 2010). Effective educational policies at the global level must move away from its sole universal focus on increased enrollments and include a more equitable framework that highlights and is sensitive to the various aspects of women's nationhood, race, colonial experience, and social realities.

We move now to discuss the strategies typically used to address gender inequities in education. Because most educational policy that speaks to gender concerns remains focused on access and parity (counting the numbers of girls relative to boys in school), most strategies aim to increase access and parity.

2 Strategies

Strategies depend on how one conceptualizes the problem to be addressed. While access and parity have been primary concerns of global gender and education policy, we are seeing increased attention to the issue of quality. Strategies include providing incentives; improving facilities materials, curriculum, and programs; and structuring school differently to attract more girls to school (see Kane 2004; Herz and Sperling 2004; Miske Witt & Associates 2007; Monkman 2010). In addition, however, there are some notable strategies that seek to get at the social dynamics that create inequities, typically thought to be the discriminatory stereotypes, social structures, and cultural belief systems about gender and gender relations.

2.1 Incentives

Where girls (or other marginalized populations such as the rural poor or minority groups) are thought to not attend school due to excessive direct costs or opportunity costs,¹ governments and development agencies often provide stipends, scholarships, or in-kind provisions (rice or other staples). Most of these programs provide these incentives directly to the girls and encourage them to retain control of the resources so that the money is spent on the girls' needs, offsetting the burden on the family and increasing their agency in decision-making processes within the family. Abolishing school fees is another important strategy that reduces the financial obligation of families. Grants paid to school to ensure spaces for girls is another strategy, often tied to expectations of regular attendance.

Offering supplemental programs such as sibling day care and preschool programs can alleviate girls' responsibilities for caring for their siblings or, for adolescent girls, their own children during the school day, thus enabling them to attend

¹Opportunity costs refer to the income or labor that is lost when children are in school and not contributing to the family income, subsistence agriculture, or other contribution to a family's well-being. Direct costs can include enrollment fees, materials, uniforms, and the like, for which families are responsible.

school while ensuring care for young children. When a secondary school education fails to enhance earning capacity, income-generation incentives can be useful. These must take into account the local sexual division of labor so that opportunities can be realized or include attention to engaging the community in a process to redefine new norms for nontraditional work for girls. Many income-generating programs stop short of this social transformation goal and prepare women and girls for engaging in economic endeavors that are traditionally female, which can perpetuate marginalization.

2.2 Facilities and Materials

School facilities and classroom materials are often inadequate for enabling a quality educational experience for all children, and for girls in particular. Several gender-related issues are key. With increases in universal primary education (UPE), many countries experience shortages of spaces of secondary schools, thus increasing the competition and often disadvantaging girls. A shortage of available teachers also restricts the availability of education. This disproportionately affects girls in regions where social conventions prevent girls from sharing social space with males; this can include schools. There can be concerns for girls' safety when there are insufficient female adults present in schools. In addition, girls are more often placed in lower quality schools than boys and, thus, are more likely to have to contend with inadequate and low-quality school facilities and resources (Webster 2010).

Where school spaces do exist, there are often other impediments. For example, where privacy and toilets are not available, adolescent girls will stay away from school, particularly during their menses (Kirk and Sommer 2006). Where facilities fail to ensure the safety of girls, their enrollment declines.

Materials—quantity and quality—can also act as incentives or disincentives. Negative stereotypes in books/materials should be eliminated. In Obura's (1991) research on Kenya's textbooks, for example, she argues that textbooks in Africa are a prime agent of socialization and a key ingredient in sustaining traditional gender roles—images of women in subordinate positions to men and erroneous depictions of women's roles negatively impact girls' educational aspirations and later labor market participation. When materials and the curriculum address issues of concern to girls and their families, enrollment is more likely.

2.3 Curriculum and Pedagogy

Recent trends in curriculum and programmatic approaches that benefit girls and women include a focus on skills development, girl-friendly schools, life skills education, and programs that focus on empowerment or transformation. Girl-friendly schools "ensure that girls have equal access to education, school calendars and

schedules [that] accommodate girls' household responsibilities, [as well as] teaching materials [that] promote gender equity, and the like" (Wellesley and DTS 2003, p. 25). Program policies should enable pregnant teens or young mothers to continue their education; this often means eliminating expulsion policies that target pregnant girls and/or creating reentry policies.

Curricular content and an engaging pedagogy can not only increase educational involvement but can also challenge the underlying causes of gender discrimination. Programs that reflect this more transformative orientation are more evident for women but are also becoming more integrated into schooling for girls. A recent important focus of life skills education is increased attention to sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Thorpe's (2005) study in Mozambique and South Africa secondary schools, for example, shows how Augusto Boal's drama/empowerment approach that relies on discussion (not didactic instruction) can develop a safe space within which to explore sexuality, gender, and power.

Programs for women more often include flexible scheduling, a relevant curriculum, and a community change-oriented intention. In addition, several studies have shown that nonformal education programs often unwittingly provide a social space where women can come together in ways that support their empowerment (Monkman 1998; Stromquist 1997).

2.4 Alternative Educational Structures

Traditional school structures can be less than conducive to girl students, and some countries have found that alternative structures can meet their needs more adequately. These include nonformal education, community schools, boarding and mobile schools, single-sex schools, and the use of technology and distance education.

Nonformal education, for example, can improve access, retention, and achievement. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) programs are well known (BRAC 2010). Their nonformal primary education program is for all children, although the majority must be girls in order to address the lack of parity in Bangladeshi schools. The school day is shorter, thus accommodating family and labor responsibility, and there is a bias toward female teachers due to cultural concerns about girls in male spaces and to provide role models to the girls. Achievement has been so good in BRAC's nonformal primary education that students can test back into the formal system and are thus able to continue their educations. BRAC also has some newer programs for adolescents.

Community school programs seek to increase involvement of local communities in schools so parents are more likely to understand the school setting (DeStefano 2006). This is important particularly where parents have not attended school themselves. Many such programs include structures to offset gender disparities by requiring that at least 50 % of the students be female. Boarding schools or mobile schools provide opportunities for pastoral communities or in areas where there are insufficient school spaces

(Oxfam 2005; UNICEF 2005). While these benefit both boys and girls, sensitivity to gender will enable full opportunity for girls. Safety must be ensured. When safety cannot be ensured in traditional or boarding schools, distance education can increase access for girls, if the technology is available.

Single-sex schooling is talked about globally, but we see a wide variety of assumptions underlying arguments for and against it. Oprah's Leadership Academy for Girls is promoted as a girl-only space where they are not constrained by gender stereotypes, similar to the arguments for women's secondary charter schools and colleges in the USA. We also see an increase in African-American male academies in the USA in order to provide an education that speaks specifically to the lived realities of this population. At the same time, single-sex schooling is the norm in some countries where cultural conventions prevent mixing of the sexes; Afghanistan is one example of many. Whether single-sex educational spaces empower or disempower students depends on a wide range of complex issues ranging from sociocultural context, availability of quality schooling in other contexts, concerns about safety, etc. Research to date is largely anecdotal and inconclusive.

2.5 Moving Our Focus from Sex to Gender

While the discourse within the international gender and education policy arena continues to be primarily focused on access, participation, and parity (and therefore concerned with numbers of girls and boys in school), there is increasing attention on gender as a social dynamic that acknowledges the social construction of gender and the importance of gender relations (as opposed to sex categories). Stromquist and Fischman (2009) have pushed our thinking to focus more intently on "undoing gender" in education as a strategy to dismantle social inequities in gender relations. While there is attention in policy and reforms to eliminate gender stereotypes, we argue that a much deeper understanding of gender as a social dynamic is required if we truly want education to be transformative in a gender equitable manner. This work is much more difficult and complicated than evaluating textbooks for stereotypes or assessing the safety of girls in schools. It encourages us to question how it is that safety *is* a concern (what deeper notions of society make spaces where girls are not safe?) and what it is in a society's belief system that enables stereotypes to emerge unchallenged.

Tostan, an NGO based in Senegal, is one example (Monkman et al. 2007). Their community empowerment program has been adapted to other settings across Africa. While it began as a women's literacy program, it has transformed into a program that focuses on community hygiene, women's health, human rights, and social change processes. Apart from these curricular modules, the NGO encourages committees to be formed in which participants identify social issues they'd like to change. The fourth module provides an approach to identifying issues, planning strategies, and engaging in social change efforts. At the time when these committees are fully functioning, the NGO is no longer in the communities; change is promoted

from the grassroots. While the program does not mandate any particular focus for change activities, many communities have addressed concerns about the social convention of female genital cutting (FGC). The curriculum provides information about women's health but does not take a stand either for or against the FGC practice. It is only when the committees mobilize and engage in conversations with the broader community that they have decided that they wanted to change the practice, that there are other ways to address the purposes that gave rise to the practice (e.g., make girls attractive to marriage partners).

In Africa, FAWE, the Forum for African Women Educationalists, has instituted the TUSEME program (Let us Speak Out) that uses innovative theater-for-development techniques to teach girls how to speak out and break free of traditional gender constraints. The program has been utilized in over ten East and South African countries and has led to higher self-esteem, more positive teacher-student interactions, and lower incidents of sexual harassment (FAWE 2004).

What these kinds of educational programs have in common is a focus on acknowledging and exploring social and cultural processes, an interest in power in society, and in examining how patriarchal assumptions are embedded in social conventions. In short, they are based in a more complex notion of gender than programs that are limited to easily measurable variables such as access and parity. While the 1970s call for disaggregated data enabled us to recognize the gender disparities in educational access, participation, and parity, it is now time to move toward a more nuanced examination of the bases of the inequities. To do so we need to examine the ways we frame the issues.

3 Gender and Education Policy Frameworks

How one perceives issues related to globalization, gender, and education is conditioned by the theoretical lenses and frameworks used. Frameworks are important to examine, because they frame the way an issue is conceptualized, thus determining what is worth talking about and what is beyond the scope of the framing. As globalization has become more prominent in policy discourse and research, the ways that gender and education are framed has also changed. Furthermore, these gender and education frameworks relate to other frameworks, typically those used in the areas of development generally, or gender and development. Unterhalter identifies a variety of frameworks used since the 1970s, each of which conceptualizes gender, development, and education differently (see Table 2).

The WID lens called for increasing the inclusion of women in development and girls in education; as discussed above, this remains an important and continuing policy imperative in education globally. GAD shifted our attention beyond counting girls and women to the importance of understanding gender relations and gendered power structures in society and schooling. It recognizes material and structural bases of inequities and gave rise to empowerment models for gender and education. Post-structuralism and postcolonial theory challenges us to problematize universal assumptions and to critically examine and ameliorate the marginalization of

Table 2 Gender, education, and development: contrasting frameworks

Framework	Linked theories	Understandings of gender	Understandings of development	Understandings of education	Understandings of equality
Women in development (WID): from 1970s to the present	Modernization; human-capital theory	Gender = women, girls	Growth, efficiency, good governance, social cohesion	Schooling	Equality of resources. Sometimes termed <i>parity</i>
Gender and development (GAD): from 1980s to the present	Structuralism; Marxism	Constructed social relations, power	Challenging inequity and oppression	Conscientization	Redistribution of power. Sometimes termed <i>equity</i>
Post-structuralism (from 1990s to the present)	Postcolonial theory	Shifting identities	Struggling with the past in the present to shape multifaceted identities and new narratives	Deconstructive	Stress on difference
Human development (from 1990s to the present)	The capability approach	Inequality and capability denial	Development as freedom	A basic capability	Equality of rights and capabilities

Source: Unterhalter (2005, Chapter 1, p. 16)

nonmainstream identities. The capabilities approach is Unterhalter's primary example in the human development frame; it is a right-based framework that will be discussed later (see Unterhalter 2005, 2007). Unterhalter's table is useful for focusing our attention to how gender can be framed in the development context. However, policies and research don't usually label their work in these same ways. The frameworks mentioned above are broad frameworks; within them, other, more specific frameworks speak to education more directly. We will turn now to a description of some of the more commonly used gender and education frameworks.

3.1 Empowerment Frameworks

Empowerment is a concept that has grown out of critical and transformative educational perspectives and feminist work in development. Although there are many empowerment models, some pertaining to development agencies, some to communities, and some to individuals, we will discuss those most evident in the gender and education global discourse. Stromquist (1993) suggests a model of empowerment that has four dimensions—economic, political, cognitive, and personal—that occur on an individual and a collective level. Economic empowerment relates to women's ability to earn and control financial resources. Political empowerment relates to participation in social processes such as familial, community, and other forms of decision-making, community change processes, and the like; it relates to how much power one has in engaging on equal terms with others. Personal empowerment reflects self-esteem and the confidence one has to participate in life beyond the confines dictated by traditional gender conventions. Cognitive empowerment refers to the knowledge that is emancipatory. "Forms of emancipatory knowledge can include, among others, legal, human, and women's rights; sexuality; fluency in high status language (e.g., official languages, colonial languages, languages of commerce); and an active examination, analysis, and critique of gendered social and cultural structures and norms that restrict equality, equity, and empowerment" (Miske Witt & Associates 2007, p 18). This and other similar empowerment models, then, support this multidimensional development in girls and women individually and collectively with the goal of supporting the development of agency in challenging gender-biased social structures. There are several empowerment frameworks used in the gender and education field to evaluate progress.

UNICEF's Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF) focuses on empowerment at five increasingly important levels: welfare, access to resources, awareness raising, participation in decision-making, and control over resources and developments in the social, economic, and political spheres (UNICEF 1994).

USAID's Gender Equality Framework uses a framework that "demonstrates interrelationships among the concepts of gender parity, gender equity, and gender equality" (Equate Project 2008, p. 1). Equality has four dimensions—equality of access, equality in the learning process, equality of educational outcomes, and equality of external results—and is understood "within the wider context of social

exclusion” (p. 1) in order to address injustices resulting from gender bias. Equity-related strategies try to even the playing field for girls and boys. A “continuum of approaches” model helps to identify whether programs aggravate gender inequalities, accommodate existing gender roles, or transform gender relations. The framework is intended to enable “a practical application of these concepts by analyzing the interventions that have the greatest impact on transforming gender relations and achieving gender equality” (p. 8).

CARE’s empowerment framework, which applies primarily to women, was adapted from Kabeer (1999) and Narayan-Parker (2005) and includes three interactive dimensions—agency, structures, and strategic relations (CARE 2006; CARE and Martinez 2006). The Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative, through CARE, developed the Common Indicators Frameworks to use in education; it includes four key constructs: educational attainment, quality, equality, and girls’ empowerment (Miske et al. 2010, p. 448).

3.2 Capabilities as a Framework

The capabilities approach, an evaluative framework, is garnering attention in gender and education circles. Sen’s (1999) capabilities approach to development has been integrated with work in gender (Nussbaum 2003) and gender and education (Unterhalter 2005, 2007). Influenced by the concept of justice, it is interested in “a person’s capability to lead the kind of life she values” by taking into account “the process of choice . . . , in particular the other alternatives that she could also choose, within her actual ability to do so” (Sen 2009, p. 230). Unterhalter (2005) explains, “The capability approach considers that the evaluation of equality . . . needs to be based on an understanding of human capabilities—that is, what it is that each individual has reason to value. While human-capital theory has little to say about injustices and inequality in the household, the workplace, or the state, the capability approach is centrally concerned with these, but relies not on outlining the structures of inequality . . . , but on positing a strategy based on an ethical notion of valuing freedoms and affirming rights as ethical obligations of each person to another” (p. 28).

While space prohibits a full analysis of the various frameworks, we introduced a few to demonstrate the range and commonalities in how gender and education are conceptualized (see Miske et al. 2010 for an analysis of frameworks).

4 Current Trends in Gender and Education Global Policy

The final section of this chapter will discuss a few relatively new areas of interest. These, although not exhaustively listed, reflect new directions in global gender and education policy.

4.1 *Quality*

Historically, we have made significant strides in increasing the numbers of children, particularly girls, who enroll in and attend school (particularly primary school), and the level of attainment has also increased in most regions of the world. EFA has been instrumental in these gains. As quantitative gains are made, however, the call for attention to quality in educational settings has become more consistent. Generally the focus is on efforts to improve teacher education and therefore pedagogical practices and books and materials used in the classroom. While improving pedagogy, curriculum, and materials benefits all children, there are gender-specific considerations that are inconsistently applied.

Teacher training initiatives that have particularly benefited girls must be context specific. In areas where sex segregation is the norm for cultural reasons, recruiting local women teachers is a priority as they can serve as role models and are less likely to move away, and, with women teachers, more families will send girls to schools (see, e.g., Kirk 2008).

Pedagogical practices and classroom materials must be free of gender stereotyping and present positive images of, and experiences for, both girls and boys. Page and Jha's edited book, *Exploring the Bias: Gender and Stereotyping in Secondary Schools*, reports on a coordinated research project across 30 schools in seven countries to see "whether education processes and opportunities reproduce or challenge unequal gender stereotypes" (2009, p. 6). They found that "attitudes, environments, curriculum and materials, and teaching, learning and classroom processes" are the avenues through which stereotypes are perpetuated or challenged (2009, p. 18). The comparative case studies reveal that understanding and working within the local context is critical, since these broader elements are interpreted in particular ways in different settings. Stereotypes are a reflection of underlying social attitudes and beliefs, which are enacted by educators, families, students, and others in educational and other social institutional settings through curriculum and policy, so these attitudes and beliefs should be of concern.

4.2 *Gender-Based Violence*

Throughout the literature on girls' education in a global context, research has shown that gender-biased messages from teachers and the formal curriculum negatively impact girls' attitudes and educational aspirations and encourage girls to leave school early. In addition, the informal curriculum has revealed that the intersection of cultural values and beliefs that support gender-specific roles can lead girls to believe they are second class citizens and are not expected to perform as well as boys. One aspect of the informal curriculum that has begun to be assessed is the problem of gender-based violence at all levels of girls' schooling. Gender-based violence consists primarily of discipline, bullying, harassment, and sexual

exploitation in a gender-biased context. In addition, outside of the school setting, gender-based violence is one of several reasons why parents are more reluctant to send girls, rather than boys, to schools (Webster 2005).

Consequences of this gender-based violence negatively impact girls' ability to complete school, enter the global labor market, and participate in national development efforts. In research conducted in schools in Kenya, Webster (2010) found that sexual harassment was not confined to just low-quality schools as previously reported but prolific at all types of schools investigated. Sexual harassment in schools, she found, reflected the deeply entrenched gender-based discrimination that girls face on a day-to-day basis, which may, in turn, lead to a casual acceptance of this type of gender-based violence against school girls (Webster 2010).

4.3 Gender, Globalization, and Citizenship Education

Recent scholarly work on citizenship education from a feminist perspective is interested in “the relationship between male power and the construction of the modern citizen in schools” and how feminism is or can be implicated in influencing “educational concepts and curricular practices such as citizenship and citizenship education” (Arnot and Dillabough 2000, p. 1). Much of the work in this area is interested in the how notions of citizenship are challenged when the global competes with the national as a context that defines contexts of belonging: should schools produce citizens of nation states or global citizens? Complicating this is how the notion of citizenship is gendered, that is, whether and how women are conceptualized as citizens on the same level as men in particular societies and how education is implicated in the processes of producing citizens that represent a male norm.

Much of the interest in these issues is with academics and has not yet explicitly reached the policy arena. While there are some curricular initiatives to promote global citizenship, gender perspectives in curriculum are not yet very evident. Important to this debate is how the inclusion of women in development since the 1970s has created more involvement by women in civil society, yet the relationship of gender to democracy (including civil society) in the development education community has been all but silent until recently. Other important trends are the melding of health and education particularly as pertains to HIV/AIDS and attention to sexuality. While not a complete characterization of current trends, these are some of the more prominent.

5 Conclusion

We have critiqued the intersection of feminist scholarship, development theories, gender and development research, and educational policy for almost 50 years. It is time to better infuse transnational feminist knowledge with education policy. While

contextualizing women as a homogenous group harkens back to a 1980s and 1990s western feminist discourse with its assumptions of a universal global sisterhood, feminist research and praxis in the 2000s—global or transnational feminism—has moved beyond this limited interpretation of universal gender equality and argues instead for a broader look at women’s oppression in a global context, one that must include the varying placement of geography, history, and culture (Mohanty 2006). Mohanty asserts that for the most part, Western feminist scholarship falls prey to creating a “cross-culturally singular, monolithic notion of patriarchy or male dominance” (p. 19). This practice in turn “leads to the construction of a similarly reductive and homogenous notion of what [she] calls the “Third World difference”” (p. 19). In particular her arguments are “not against generalization as much as they are for careful, historically specific generalizations responsive to complex realities” (p. 37). As connected to education, transnational feminist research challenges us to include intersections of colonial and neocolonial history and discourses on cultural beliefs and provide a foundation for improving girls’ and women’s education globally (Blackmore 2005). This has the potential to reach far beyond increasing numbers of girls in school. Education that is informed by a transnational feminist lens would position girls, women, and other marginalized groups as central agents of their own lives and would address the most critical issues in society that are reflected in gender-based inequities.

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Gender Inequality and Education: Changing Local/Global Relations in a ‘Post-Colonial’ World and the Implications for Feminist Research

Jill Blackmore

1 Gender Matters in the Global Flows of High-Risk, Low-Trust Societies

Gender inequalities are embedded in a multidimensional structure of relationship between men and women, such as the modern sociology of gender shows, operates at every level of human experience, from economic arrangements, culture and the state to interpersonal relationships and individual emotions. (Connell 2005, p. 1801)

Globalisation for the last decades of the twentieth century was the social imaginary framing future possibilities in education for the twenty-first century, simultaneously shaping the context, form and effect of the ongoing transformation of the social relations of gender. This global imaginary has been produced by the media, demographic and environmental change, information and communication technologies, and rapid and uneven flows of goods, people, ideas, images, products and money (Appadurai 1996). It has heightened the sense of interdependence, shared risk and economic and social insecurity (e.g. global warming, terrorism, recession) (Beck 1992). In so doing this sense of instability has reduced trust in some institutions (e.g. churches and government) and raised expectations of others (e.g. education). This chapter will elaborate on how particular educational discourses such as lifelong learning, emerging out of period of transition produced by ‘fast capitalism’ and emergent knowledge economies in the late twentieth century, have had material and social effects through their uptake in policy and practice.

There are two dominant educational discourses arising from a globalised context. One is a promising one about new economies and opportunities in which education, as a key site of social change, individual and collective mobility, mediates

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and magnifies the tensions within and between postmodernity and the social relations of gender (Connell 2005). The unitary developmental subject of modernist educational discourses is being supplanted by forms of identity or subjectivity that are fluid and hybrid for some, in a constant state of being and becoming in an ongoing production through biography inflected by race, class, gender, culture and sexuality (McLeod and Yates 2006). In these 'unstable, fragmentary social conditions', where all experience increased risk, individuals experience a complexity of choice in which they are expected to 'manage short-term relations and oneself', 'develop new skills, mine potentials, and develop a sustained sense of self' while most 'crave certainty and familiarity' (Sennett 2005, pp. 3–5). Gender is integral to shifting cultural and structural relations in and through education, as gender is performed through a spectrum of historically generated social practices. This optimistic discourse emerges out of social imaginaries about a networked world mediated by information and communication technologies that democratise social and political relations. This imaginary is echoed in policy discourses about lifelong learning and theories of cosmopolitanism. This modernisation aspirational discourse appeals to the notion of education as a human right and argues that nation states will be unable to compete globally and secure political stability unless women and girls participate fully in, and gain the rewards of, education (World Bank 2001), as encapsulated in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1989), the Beijing Women's Declaration (1995) stating all women had a full right to participate and have access to power and the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 that mentioned gender and schooling in two of the eight targets and explicitly referred to the empowerment of women (United Nations 2005).

The other less optimistic discourse focuses on sedimented and enduring patterns that foreground gender and racial inequality (Teese et al. 2007). This realist discourse charts how contemporary globalisation and the neoliberal policies justified by globalisation have produced in many instances greater inequality and widened existing polarities between the rich and poor in deindustrialising developed countries such as the USA and Australia as well as economically developing countries such as South America and Africa. The proportion of the rich (males) owning larger percentages of national wealth has increased while prior educational and social disadvantage has in many instances been exacerbated (Teese et al. 2007). Risk, this discourse argues, is unequally distributed, with women and children constituting the majority of the poor in both developed and developing nation states, subjected to greater not less violence in both domestic and conflict-ridden contexts, and with young girls forced into marriage or to undergo clitorrectomy (UNIFEM 2009).

While participation rates in education have increased overall, the gender gap persists and indeed worsened during the 1990s in Africa due to IMF- and World Bank-imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes that reduced government expenditure in education, health and welfare. In some countries, the girls have been enrolled more than boys (Chile, Columbia and Nicaragua) and others (Afghanistan) boys more than girls. Generally, while girls' participation in primary schooling has risen from an extremely low base, in 2005, UNESCO estimated of the 100 million children still out of school, 55 % were girls and of 771 million illiterate adults, 88 % were

women (totalling 20 % of world's population). Women's literacy rates are as low as 60 % in some instances (Akman and Unterhalter 2005). The growing gender gap in terms of school participation led to the Education for All Movement in 1990, a coalition of disparate actors seeking increased provision of schooling. Thus women are united as a social category not by their biology but by this ongoing oppression (Mohanty 2003). But there are debates over whether education is a human right because it raises the question of who is obligated to provide education.

Both discourses agree that education and the economic independence of women and girls are necessary preconditions for national economic growth as well as individual human rights. While most often girls' exclusion from education is a result of poverty and not parental lack of desire to educate their girls, it is also due to government policies and a lack of provision of free schooling (Unterhalter 2006). Girls are more often than boys withdrawn to support families where parents have been lost to AIDS/HIV or sold as a commodity in the sex trade in some nations, while their access and mobility is restricted because of cultural norms under sometimes repressive regimes such as the Taliban in Afghanistan in others (Unterhalter 2006 pp. 6–7; Bulbeck 1998). Cultural attitudes about girl's 'lack' of ability can also infuse teaching and reduce girls' opportunities to continue to secondary schooling in most cultures. Even in Western industrialised nations, girls continue to be concentrated in more traditional occupations reproducing gender-segmented labour markets where women are concentrated in increasingly casualised and lower-paid jobs.

Drawing on both discursive legacies about the intransigence of culture, tradition and nation and the imaginaries of social change, nationality and global citizenship, these educational discourses articulate with differential impact within specific contexts on the opportunities of women and girls (Mohanty 2003). Hoogvelt (2001, pp. 11–12) argues that 'ideas that have become institutionalised may hang on long after the material forces that gave rise to them have been transformed, and well after the hegemonic power that institutionalised and universalised them has demised'. There is an ongoing struggle over ascendancy of emergent equity-driven and hegemonic neoliberal ideals fuelled by rapid economic, social and political change, while old patriarchal practices, sedimented gender relations, and economic, organisational and political structures resist change.

Feminists view gender from different perspectives: as a descriptor of gender difference in terms of patterns of educational access, participation, success and outcomes, as constituting the relationships of power between different femininities and masculinities within specific historical constructions of gender relations, and as a process of gender identity formation through being and becoming masculine and feminine, in which gender is performed through multiple social practices. Feminists—Western, Asian, Black and Arabic—increasingly refer to the 'embodied intersectionalities' of difference and the situated dynamics of how gender, race, class, ethnicity and religion interact to produce differential educational experiences and outcomes (Mirza 2009). The social relations of gender are impacted, in many developing nation states in Africa and the Middle East, for example, because of the material conditions of poverty, social fragmentation through conflict and war and religious orthodoxies, together with political insecurity, all factors determining who gets educated.

In many rapidly expanding economies, for example, in the UAE, Singapore, Hong Kong, China and India, educating women is a major policy imperative, fed by the desire to be economically competitive globally. Women make up a majority of students in the UAE and Iran, but then enter gender-segmented workplaces in which their femininity is 'protected' in ways that ensure male privilege and control. At the same time, all nation states face skill shortages and see women as the new pool of talent. So women are accessing education and work in educational and other workplaces facilitating the global positioning of nation states within constantly shifting political relations. But women are located within an international gender division of labour that intensifies the pressure on women at a time when employment is more precarious, markets more volatile and education more costly to also balance paid and domestic labour.

Empowering women and girls educationally and then economically through paid work does produce social transformations that challenge culture and tradition and therefore what are predominantly unequal social relations of gender. In turn this leads to resistance to protect male advantage (Narayan 1997). Maintaining the 'gender order', in many instances, is equated variously to protecting tradition, culture and religion, which inevitably means protecting male dominance, particularly in more traditional religious societies (Bulbeck 1998). In Western nation states seeking to gain the benefits of knowledge economies, education promises the capacity to mobilise individual advantage as class, race and gender are less likely to automatically do so, thus creating generalised anxiety within aspirant parents and their children increasingly faced with more competitive education markets.

In all instances, educational organisations as well as individual subjects face multiple challenges: the 'new' work order of fast capitalism; the changing social relations of gender; the multiple patterns of familial life (sole parent, same sex, heterosexual, extended families); changing demographic and socio-spatial patterns with increased disparity between global cities and rural regions; cultural and linguistic diversity due to migration, transnational workforces and international education; and fast-travelling education policies promoting devolution, knowledge economies and lifelong learning. In response, neoliberal orthodoxy in global education policy has meant education has been restructured in many nation states through processes of corporatisation, privatisation and commodification in order to meet what are perceived to be the needs of the twenty-first-century global citizen-worker. And as with all social, political and economic change, these processes of educational restructuring are gendered.

2 Restructuring and Re-gendering Education Globally

New modes of governance and work organisation in conjunction with, and in response to, the above globalising pressures have significantly altered relationships between the individual, work, the state, family and education in most nation states (Blackmore and Sachs 2007). The role of the nation state has not been diminished

by globalisation, but has altered its relationship to its citizens and other states, mediating rather than protecting citizens from global and local markets. National identity, sovereignty and citizenship are now challenged by supranational bodies and regionalisation such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, North American Free Trade Agreement and the European Union; borders are more porous due to flows of workers, students, tourists and refugees; and citizenship does not necessarily coincide with national borders.

Clearly evident in the 1990s was the hegemony of neoliberal policies as well as the growing influence of global education policy communities (e.g. OECD, World Bank, IMF) on national policy (Henry et al. 2001). Neoliberal reforms that travelled rapidly transnationally in education were characterised by:

devolving management authority, a focus on results, a service quality orientation, adapting organisational structures, effective leadership and crucially a strengthening of steering functions of the centre to drive reforms strategically and promote policy coherence on cross-cutting issues in the face of complex policy problems and a more devolved public sector environment. (OECD 1997, pp. 86–7)

Whereas neoliberal restructuring of education was largely self-imposed in Western nation states, it was mandated in vulnerable nation states in return for loans by the World Bank and IMF during the 1980s and 1990s. These Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) enforced reduced public expenditure on education health and welfare, paying back international loans, balancing budgets and deregulating labour and financial markets. The IMF and World Bank now recognise that SAPs impacted most of women and girls, given that they were most likely to be withdrawn from education to support families with a decline in the Gender Equality in Education Index from the 1990s in Africa, with any rise linked to democracies (Akman and Unterhalter 2005, p. 69). Structural restructuring in all countries resulted from the dual strategies of managerialism and marketisation (Blackmore and Sachs 2007) as governments devolved risk and responsibility for the daily work of schools, universities and colleges through rule, down to self-managing organisations, a governance mode replicated internally within large institutions. These units were steered from a distance through strong policy and financial frameworks and feedback loops of standardised assessment and performance indicators. Individual units then competed for students as they were funded per capita. Risk and responsibility for educational choices and failures have thus been downloaded onto individual students and families, schools and universities, in marketised systems premised increasingly on choice and efficiency (getting more for less). Blunt measures of success or failure are now disseminated on websites and through media school rankings in the UK and Australia. Governments claim such transparency equates to accountability and will improve quality, despite the lack of little evidence. Devolved governance effectively links social democratic notions of ownership, partnership and community to contractualist market principles of competition and choice, effectively capturing the anxiety of the aspirational classes experiencing greater job insecurity. But only the few have the social, economic and cultural capital necessary to make 'informed' choices.

Such reforms are gendered in their assumptions, processes and effects. Twentieth-century educational expansion in Western nation states (Australia, New Zealand, UK, Canada, USA, Western Europe and Scandinavia), usually managed through central bureaucracies, operated within a social democratic frame that provided some local discretionary agency through the inclusion of previously marginalised groups (Sennett 2005). This was evident with the emergence of gender equity policies as a result of the women's movement of the 1970s putting pressure on the state. In the Nordic and Australian states (Australia and New Zealand), specialist equity units located within state bureaucracies initiated equal opportunity, affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation (Bacchi 2001; Salisbury and Riddell 2000).

Gender equality it was assumed would eventuate through the meritocratic principle, neglecting to recognise that merit itself is a construct emerging out of the rise of middle-class and hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005). Devolved governance also saw women moving into middle management as principals, heads of department and even vice-chancellors in universities, where they were now managing the stress and distress of systems undergoing serial crises. Responsibility for equity was devolved to self-managing units and individual managers and mainstreamed, as in the European Union, diluting, some argue, both specialist expertise and the commitment to gender equity (Bacchi 2001). Devolution also saw the reassertion of executive power (usually male) in the Anglophone nation states. Evidence suggests women's progress into executive positions in developed nations such as Australia and Denmark has stalled (EOAW 2008; Staunes and Sondergaard 2008). Despite this, the presence of a few women in executive positions symbolises the 'success' of equity policies.

At the same time, devolution focuses attention on performance outcomes measured by narrow indicators of success with little regard to context or how educational institutions 'added value' to their students. While these outcomes focus triggered alarms about boys' educational underachievement, international evidence now indicates that in most Western nation states, devolution and choice policies have perpetuated if not exacerbated educational inequality based on other factors: SES, rurality and race (Teese et al. 2007; Lamb 2007; Thrupp and Lupton 2006 and Power et al. 2003 in the UK). Choice interacts with residential location and wealth, facilitating the creaming of talent by private schools and community ownership in ways that can exclude as well as include (Mitchell 2001). The issue is which boys and which girls experience failure.

In economically developing nation states such as Chile, China and India (Hsieh and Urquiola 2007; Liu and Volkoff 2007; Kamat 2007), existing gender inequalities have grown marked by a clear rural-urban divide. In China, not only has the one-child policy encouraged aborting female foetuses and deaths of female babies due to a cultural preference for males, but girls' participation in kindergartens and primary schools declined from 1994 to 2004. In India, the literacy rate was only 59 % in 2006, yet paradoxically, the expansion of higher education for the elite and the ICT boom has generated rapid national economic growth. Inequality therefore arises from combinations of gender, caste and rural-urban inequalities, with India doing worse than Thailand, Sri Lanka and Malaysia, in reducing inequality (over

90 % of Indian women are illiterate) (Kamat 2007, p. 233). Wider and entrenched social inequality is now a major policy issue. In order to increase retention in primary school, governments have employed paraprofessionals and unqualified teachers, further undermining a feminised profession's status. In contrast, in the Asian economies, student learning outcomes have improved, in part because of the higher status of teachers (Mingat 1998). At the secondary level of education, the gender gap is wide in sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Asia and Western Asia, with only 79 % girls enrolled per 100 boys in Asia compared to 46 in sub-Saharan Africa and Western and Southern Asia (United Nations 2005).

In all countries and regions, the expansion of, and improvement in, education is now seen in a competitive global economy to be critical to economic growth *and* social cohesion, although the economic rationale is emphasised more in Australia and the UK, whereas social integration is of equal value in the European Union and Singapore. The connection between neoliberal policies and increased inequality with GDP lower in 80 countries was recognised by the UN Development Programme Report (1999). Women's education in most global polity policies (UN, OECD, World Bank) is now linked to population reduction, increased health and well-being of families, and increased political participation. But rapid economic development and educational massification from primary to university level is increasingly reliant in developing nation states on privatised provision leading to rising costs within deregulated education markets. These trends encourage segregation and inequality based on gender, class, race, ethnicity and religion and undermine in many instances teacher professionalism and quality.

For education, therefore, on the one hand, marketisation, managerialisation and privatisation have thus shifted the locus of power upwards to executive power; outwards from education to the field of politics, economics and the media; and from the national to the transnational arena as global policy communities are becoming more influential on national and local agendas. These tendencies are fed by international ranking mechanisms such as PISA standardised tests, university rankings and professional standards movements (Lingard et al. 2005). The emerging global architecture of educational governance premised around standards, ranking and reputation is tightly linked to education capitalism in ways that reposition both new and old masculinities favourably, disadvantaging women who lack the career mobility and flexibility to work in transnational networks dominated by entrepreneurial masculinities (Connell 2005). Women continue to do the domestic labour, but now at the national context (Metcalf and Slaughter 2008).

On the other hand, and because of the above, equity often requires significant political will exerted by executives and governments. Major global issues (population and economic growth) are closely linked to girls' and women's education. Global polities such as UN, UNIFEM, the World Bank, IMF and OECD are increasingly able, and perhaps increasingly willing, to exert pressure on individual nation states to invest in girls' and women's education in ways that support the ground swell of activities of local social movements and NGOs (Unterhalter 2006).

2.1 Teacher De-professionalisation and Gender Division of Labour

Educational capitalism and global restructuring of educational governance have also produced re-gendering of educational labour. Devolved governance and market-responsive institutions require institutional flexibility that is reliant on flexible workers. Teachers' and academics' work has been increasingly feminised, de-professionalised and casualised (Acker and Dillabough 2007). Research in the UK and Australia indicates that this new contractualism leads to greater compliance and reduces many teachers' sense of professional autonomy (Gleeson and Husbands 2001; Blackmore and Sachs 2007). And women make up the larger proportion of casual and part-time staff—whether in schools, colleges or universities (Blackmore 2009). At the same time, the dispersal down of managerial and market work onto teachers has led to the intensification of educational labour under conditions of reduced funding and raised expectations of performance.

This intensification of labour articulates with a gendered global division of labour and is exacerbated by two interrelated global trends: the quality assurance movement and the internationalisation of education. At the global level, nation states now seek to direct teachers' and academics' work towards national interests and to raise the skill base, thus increasing economic productivity and social cohesion. The professional standards movement within and across nation states is encouraging a form of technical professionalism where teachers and academics merely implement plans and meet standards set by the new professional managerial class (predominantly male) and actors (also male) in global policy arenas. In the academy, the discourse of innovation and user orientation means academics have less scope to define the value of the knowledge they produce as measures of value are determined externally (Blackmore et al. 2010).

Overall, the corporatisation of education has seen a tighter alignment of individuals to organisational and national objectives: trapped between upwardly oriented managerial accountabilities and outwardly oriented market accountabilities to consumers at the very time that the field of education is becoming numerically feminised (Ozga and Deem 2000). This trend has been driven by a discourse of quality and excellence, one difficult to reject, with a focus on processes and procedures to ensure quality assurance as well as ongoing improvement of outcomes. Workers' continually search for self-improvement as they measure up against externally imposed performance management technologies (performance management, indicators, standardised assessments, student satisfaction and industry surveys), becoming reluctantly complicit in reducing their own professional autonomy. Whereas emotions were previously seen to be a 'feminine weakness' inappropriate in organisational life, now the passion of educators for success and to do well for their students is now appropriated by, and aligned with, management (Blackmore and Sachs 2007).

These corporate processes cannot be separated out from the processes of internationalisation of education globally. For rapidly developing economies in Asia

and the Middle East, with their expanding aspirational middle classes, international education and privatisation of educational provision are immediate solutions. Likewise, poor African nation states and India lack the public funds to massify elementary education (Kamat 2007). Gaining Western credentials through international education is seen to be high status and a sound family investment for their children to access local and global labour markets. For Western education systems seeking to widen participation in higher education to enhance the skilled workforce, international students have become a major source of export income (but paradoxically not domestic labour).

With English as the lingua franca, the flows are towards Anglophone nation states from which flows of teachers, curriculum and assessment packages, and policies emanate to dominate the global education market. Quality *and* 'being international' are now the markers of distinction for nation states, organisations and individuals. Again, these phenomena are situated within a wider reconfiguration of a global gender division of labour. Accessing the growing international education market in India and China is again contingent on teachers' flexibility and mobility and therefore less likely for women with familial responsibilities. At the same time, within the domestic market, privatisation and language policies interact in gendered ways as cultural values are foregrounded. For example, in China more males attend subsidised private English medium schools, with upper-class males reading in English 22:1 and for females 15:1 (Liu and Volkoff 2007, pp. 188–9).

Meanwhile Western school systems confront issues about how to attract and retain the next generation of teachers and academics, particularly males, with policy ambivalence evident in the discourses of panic and anxiety about abusive masculinity on the one hand and the need for males as role models due to boys' educational underachievement on the other (Mills et al. 2004). For women in Western nation states, the issue is about gaining family-friendly work conditions as educational work is losing its comparative advantage relative to other professions. Across nation states, while the norm is that of the caring female teacher, teaching is seen to be appropriate for women in most cultures, although often a means for advancement for men in many developing countries where highly educated women continue to be paid only 80 % on average of their male equivalent's salary (Unterhalter 2006, pp. 10–11). The growth of a paraprofessional class of teachers has long-term implications for the profession and emergence of 'second-class' education systems (Akman and Unterhalter 2005, p. 50).

2.2 *Vocationalisation*

With post-industrial post-colonial global discourses about knowledge-based economies and lifelong learning, education has become a 'global positioning device'. Governments, industry and educational organisations now seek to control the processes of production, dissemination and application of knowledge in order to compete internationally. In general, neoliberal education reforms were user

driven. Education is now treated as a positional rather than a public good, a means for individuals, institutions and governments to gain comparative advantage over others in rankings.

There are multiple gendered trajectories around these themes of knowledge, lifelong learning and opportunity (Brine 1999). Vocationalisation has led to a short-term focus on work-related skills and outcomes rather than long-term benefits in the form of participation and citizenship, with implications for adult women's access to education in order to be able to fully participate in society (Leathwood and Francis 2006). Teacher-proof competency-based approaches developed in vocational education have permeated into the tertiary and school sectors with a focus on graduate attributes and outcomes. These have undermined both the emancipatory capacities of feminist pedagogies around building literacy as an aspect of community capacity building in both Western developed nation states and third-world, diasporic and indigenous communities (Mehran 1999; Heward and Bunwaree 1999). Antisexist and anti-racist pedagogies in classrooms in developed nation states are rejected in 'consumer satisfaction surveys' by students as they lead to discomfort and resistance, discouraging activist teachers.

Ironically, despite the discourse of interdisciplinarity of new knowledge work, vocationalisation has reinvented, not collapsed, the vocational/liberal tensions of twentieth-century education, maintaining its gendered stratification with women being channelled into the lower-paid jobs in the service sector (Brine 1999). While girls overachieve in education, masculinity is still rewarded more in the workplace (Collins et al. 2001). The gender gap in pay (18 % between average male and female wage in Australia) in even the most developed nation states has not reduced by 2010 as women make up the majority of workers. Educational credentials as cultural capital are enhanced by the gender capital of masculinity.

While discourses of lifelong learning promise to recognise multiple forms of experiential and informal learning that could benefit women and girls and marginalised populations, they assume 'gender-neutral' economic models of life pathways derived from human capital theory that both ignore women's life experiences and discourage working-class aspirations (Leathwood and Francis 2006). The privatisation of educational costs and individual responsibility for educational choice, together with deregulated workplaces, assume individuals have equal resources and life conditions that enable them to make viable and informed choices. Women are entering the workplace in greater numbers at a time when lifelong learning is increasingly 'unprotected' for, and self-funded by, families and individuals as the nation state is either not able or not willing to provide universal education and training.

3 Policy and Politics Reframing Gender Equity Reform

With the shift to devolved governance, policy has taken on a new power to steer from a distance institutions and individuals. Within the global education policy community, major drivers for gender equity in education have been the Beijing

Conference Declaration of 1995 and the Millennium Development Goals of 2000. At the same time, fundamental shifts have occurred within the field of gender equity policy in different global arenas, with paradoxical effects, as indicated in the following.

In the Anglophone states, equity policy in the 2000s is framed by the 1990s politicisation of education mobilised through media discourses of shame and blame heaped on schools, teachers and universities for educational failure. Linked to this discourse was a social conservatism marked by the backlash against affirmative action, multiculturalism, feminism and reconciliation with indigenous peoples. Neoliberal policies, in assuming the gender-neutral subject on the one hand and mobilising discourses of crisis in education on the other, facilitated the 're-masculinisation of the political rhetoric' (Connell 2005, p. 1816). In particular, the identification in universal standardised outcomes of boys' underachievement in literacy provided a ready justification for 'recuperative masculinities' to refocus policy and resources towards boys that positioned men as victims of feminism (Lingard 2003). In reinvigorating the 'gender wars', this essentialising discourse privileged *all* boys' academic and social well-being and men's welfare while ignoring the structural and cultural advantages that came from just being male without regard for class, ethnic, racial and linguistic difference. This regressive policy move ignored the conceptual frameworks informing gender equity for girls around intersecting differences (race, gender and class) and the social relations of gender. Feminist educators and researchers were positioned as resistant and thus excluded from informing what became an ideologically driven equity policy (Francis and Skelton 2005).

This media-generated conservative discourse of masculinity in crisis not only took away responsibility of all men for equity in general, as recommended in the 1995 Beijing Conference Declaration (Connell 2005), but distracted attention from the real policy problem indicated in achievement results in the West: that socioeconomic background, rurality and indigeneity not gender are the *key* predictors of educational underachievement (Skelton and Francis 2004). Educational underperformance is linked to locational disadvantage in communities characterised by poverty, isolation, poor health and well-being produced by an intergenerational legacy of social and economic exclusion. But gender *is* the best predictor in the workplace (Collins et al. 2001).

Second, in the West, the focus of corporate governance moved towards monitoring rather than proactive professional development and policy production in equity. Responsibility for implementation of equity policies was devolved to individual managers often without the knowledge or commitment. Without pressure from above to change, managerialist approaches to decision-making sidelined both equity experts and practitioners (Bacchi 2001). This 'embedding' of EO policies symbolised not just women's success but also their advantage, even though 30 years of equity policies indicates women continue to be underrepresented cross-nationally (Sobehart 2009). Overt discrimination in leadership selection panels (Lumby 2009) and covert discrimination around long hours of work, mobility and flexibility continue to favour incumbent senior male managers, promotion structures rely more on continuous careers, and performative cultures position women with

familial responsibilities as not having the ambition or time for leadership (Blackmore and Sachs 2007). In Middle Eastern, Asian and African societies, the tension is between societal pressures to preserve traditional gender roles, while economic growth in often conflict-ridden societies requires women to be leaders, but with significant personal and professional constraints as well as dangers (Optlaka and Hertz-Lazarowitz 2006). Women educators still do not feel that the workplace is more equitable, yet men feel threatened by a loss of their 'naturalised' advantage (Lyman et al. 2009).

Third, with 'gender mainstreaming', particularly in the EU, there has been a policy 'language' shift (Macha and Handschuh-Heiss 2009). More powerful notions of equity, equal opportunity and social justice that signified structural and cultural group disadvantage have been supplanted by the notion of diversity (Ahmed 2007; Staunes and Sondergaard 2008). While diversity promises recognition of multiple forms of difference (class, race, linguistic, cultural, religious), it is conceptually slippery and readily reduced to a matter of individual preference (e.g. learning styles, psychology) or symbolic cultural representations (e.g. food fairs) (Coleman and Cardno 2006). The diversity discourse fits well with other neoliberal discourses about the individualisation of responsibility, productive diversity in management, parental choice and personalised learning pathways for lifelong learning, market and managerially oriented education systems (Staunes and Sondergaard 2008). While parental choice policies may recognise the rights-based claims of different class, cultural or faith groups for schools for 'people like us', equity in learning outcomes and lifelong opportunities often does not eventuate without some resource redistribution based on consideration as to the differential education offered to boys and girls (Gewirtz 1998). Similarly, the New Labour notions of social inclusion lack legal clout and assume assimilation within 'the dominant'.

Finally, both neoliberal and New Labour governments in the Anglophone states have thus marginalised the women's movement and educators in education policy-making, ironically at a time when women have become key policy actors in many developing nation states and global policy forums (Stromquist and Monkman 2000). This has led feminist policy activists to bypass the nation state by linking with grassroots movements and creating strategic alliances in global forums that can then exert pressure upon individual nation states (World Bank, IMF and UNESCO) (Blackmore 2005). The rationale for gender equality is that global security, environmental sustainability and reduced poverty are contingent on the education of women and girls (Akman and Unterhalter 2005). Nation states seeking access to the new regional polities such as the European Union can then be pressured to adhere, at least symbolically, to equity policies (Heward and Bunwaree 1999). Thus at the global level, performance indicators (e.g. Gender-Related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure) have strategic value as they indicate cross-national disparities which can justify policies such as the new Millennium Development Goal promoting the education of girls (Unterhalter 2006).

The above examples indicate first that successful equity policies require multiple levels of action, bottom-up and top-down activism as well as political will. Executive advocated equity must work in synergy with policy makers, researchers, equity practitioners and communities to legitimise localised activity. Second, emergent

policy discourses such as globalisation or knowledge-based economies can supplant, appropriate or marginalise equity discourses. For example, the contemporary policy equation of science to innovation has again privileged 'scientific' over social research (e.g. No Child Left Behind, quantitative systemic reviews for evidence-based policy, innovation, research assessment, etc). Outdated and gendered binaries between the humanities and science again trouble definitions of what counts as valuable research and knowledge, and the complexity of equity policy, its contradictions and internal tensions, is often not realised.

Finally, Giddens (1994) refers to the simultaneous processes of de-traditionalisation and re-traditionalisation in and through education due to the contradictory imperatives of cultural and economic globalisation. De-traditionalisation is in part driven by neoliberalism that treats markets and Western curriculum and organisation as gender and culturally neutral, in part demographics and in part globalisation from below (e.g. NGOs) and from above (e.g. OECD). Re-traditionalisation emerges from the rise of religious fundamentalism and social conservatism, often together with resistance to Western cultural imperialism, thus reaffirming traditional familial gender roles in both developed and developing nation states. Educational reformers need to realise that schools and universities have become sites of contestation between sociocultural and market values in the production of culturally hybrid and gendered identities.

4 Forward Thinking About Gender Equity

Analysing the scope and effects of gender equity work requires addressing relations at and between multiple levels—global, international, national, local and institutional—and how these articulate through education within specific cultural contexts. Strategically with regard to policy, this may require using multiple leverages around issues of educational inequality. These include exploiting moves in educational governance towards 'joined up' governance, interagency collaboration and community capacity building (formal and informal education) to broaden notions of lifelong learning to be not just about work but also social capital formation (Mehran 1999). It calls for supporting professional and non-government organisational networks to sustain effective equity reforms. It means recognising the need for localised strategies as similar policies can have differential effects. Thus performance indicators that chart trends and offer comparisons of gender inequality such as the Gender Development Index that monitors girls' and women's progress are important for developing nation states as benchmarks. At the same time, prescriptive and standardising international and national ranking mechanisms claimed to offer accountability and comparability can also thwart equity policies advocating authentic curriculum and assessment that address difference at the local level in Western nations (Thrupp and Lupton 2006). Whereas private schooling can provide access for girls and women to education in developing nations, the same policies of choice can residualise public sector schools in Western nation states, reducing access to education for working class and refugee girls.

How gender equity is achieved requires various approaches. Despite Western ‘cognitive imperialism’ in the field of educational leadership (Battiste 2005), secular, Christian, indigenous and Islamic feminist scholars are identifying the basis for cross-cultural dialogue between respective cultural belief systems around shared discourses of community, collaboration, moral or servant leadership. This highlights how leadership is aligned with institutional authority of individuals in secular societies, with community in indigenous societies and with religious position in religious societies (Ah Nee-Benham 2002; Shah 2006). Thus any organisational analyses of gender change at the micro-level need to be linked to macro-critical analyses of the role of education (Optlaka and Hertz-Lazarowitz 2006). As explicated here, educational inequality requires us to confront cultural belief systems around gender, race, class and ethnicity.

5 Conclusion

The struggle for social justice in education is bound up in wider political debates around the structure of work, cultural identity and competing human rights principles of universalism and particularism, recognition and redistribution, citizenship rights and responsibilities, and global and national imaginaries. Feminists struggle over how to recognise and respect difference (gender, racial, cultural and sexual) but also advocate basic human rights and access to equal education without the imposition of universalisms. Should gender justice be a universal principle overriding other value systems through cross-national and national government interventions, or should only certain aspects of gender equity be required (e.g. access to education), imparting weight to local values, tradition and culture as reform relies on localised support for gender equity (Blackmore 2005). The compromise may be for strong interventions in establishing regulative principles that would focus on equal worth, dignity and accountability, but with some provision for local differences, while still seeking to impart agency through education and enable life choices for all driven by local initiatives (Akman and Unterhalter 2005).

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Globalisation, Cultural Diversity and Multiculturalism: Australia

Margaret Secombe and Jerzy Smolicz

1 Introduction

The chapter examines the conflicting forces of homogenisation and division generated by globalisation and, in particular, their effect in weakening the traditional powers of the nation-state. One of these forces is the rise of various indigenous and ethnic minorities, demanding greater recognition and support for their cultural identities as well as greater autonomy. Indigenous minorities draw on indigenous knowledge to promote a strong sense of community. Its roots lie deep in indigenous culture which represents ‘a wonderful asset to be protected and shared’ (Longchar 2007, p. 8).

The other force is represented by massive migration movements across cultural and political boundaries and the state’s countermeasures to protect its territorial integrity and, ultimately, its demographic composition. Among the range of state responses to the resulting diversity, Australia’s multicultural approach is singled out as the one most likely to satisfy the minorities’ cultural concerns, while ensuring the stability of the state through the evolution of an overarching framework of shared values derived from majority and minority groups alike. The inroads of ‘illegal immigrants’, most recently boat people arriving from Indonesia, and successive terrorist attacks since 2001 have both involved people mainly from non-European and non-Christian backgrounds. Such events have unfavourably affected the earlier generally positive image of cultural diversity, arousing fears of its negative deconstruction by the more xenophobic elements of society. In spite of recent setbacks, it is suggested that Australian multiculturalism could provide a pattern for cross-civilisational dialogue in which cultural diversity is positively acknowledged within

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a shared framework of integrated human rights – civic, economic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic – recognised as rooted in all civilisations.

Following World War II, there was a general expectation among the Western victors that the era of peace would usher in an increasing convergence of cultures, to underpin the emergence of a modern progressive world, based upon Western concepts of governance, economic development and democracy. Other cultures, which were often labelled as backward and undemocratic, were regarded as unsuitable for scientific and technological development and hence a hindrance to progress and modernisation. According to Barca and Arenas (2010), for indigenous cultures to survive in the global culture, they need to adapt and reinvent themselves:

If indigenous education is to be successful, it must continuously reinvent itself to ensure that it honours the basic cultural tenets of the ethnic groups it serves, recognises the hybrid nature of many indigenous practices, and uses learning as a springboard to foster social and environmental integrity (Barca and Arenas 2010).

The convergence of cultures envisaged was therefore unashamedly based upon a Western model. Those advocating this approach had little patience with either Asian cultures or with internal ethnic diversity in their own societies, which, in their view, were destined to be assimilated out of existence (Vente 1980). The prediction of convergence, made by sociologists such as Alex Inkeles, remained, however, unfulfilled. The ‘cold’ war, the ‘loss’ of China and the decolonisation of the European empires in Asia and Africa generated divergent forces, which discounted the convergence hypothesis. Moreover, by the 1970s, and even more emphatically over the next two decades, Asian countries rediscovered the worth of their own cultures, as they came to the realisation that their own cultural traditions were at least as capable of catalysing technological progress and industrial development as those of their Western mentors (Dube 1988; Tjiptoheriyanto 1988a, b).

In practice, it became apparent that modernisation did not require the substitution of Asian cultures by innovations based on Western ways. Thus the world remained what it has always been – culturally diverse. Singapore, with a leader who ‘reincarnated’ himself from Harry Lee to Lee Kuan Yew and came to champion Mandarin language and Asian values, became emblematic of this change. Mohammed Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia, became its most forthright spokesperson, pointing to the self-interested motives of the former colonial powers, which were now pursuing their own cultural and economic interests with an energy that equalled their former political dominance. Both these leaders enunciated their own notions of progress, democracy and human rights in terms of what they regarded as the specific characteristics of Asian values.

2 Globalisation and Nation-States

By the end of the millennium, the hopes of cultural convergence on the Western model received new impetus from the rapidly gathering momentum of globalisation. The economic, political, technological, mass communication, cultural and

educational forces released in this process were expected to render the whole world more culturally homogenous. Regional variations would be obliterated or at least so greatly attenuated as to represent no viable alternative cultural patterns for the younger generation, wherever they might find themselves living in the world.

The very momentum for world domination generated by globalisation produced forces that counteracted and mitigated its homogenising effects. One major effect of the globalisation process was the way it impinged upon the formerly unchallenged prerogatives of the nation-state. In particular, it unleashed transnational capital flows and population mobility, which no one state could easily control. The loss of these traditional powers of nation-states eroded their charisma, while the intervention of a growing number of international organisations, such as UN, EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, APEC and ANZUS, placed further restrictions upon the freedom of states to control their citizens. Increasingly, individuals moved across political boundaries, many of them holding multiple citizenships and being offered jobs in multinational corporations that straddled states and continents (Sassen 1998; Castles and Miller 2000).

Two particular effects, stemming from the weakening authority of states, which helped to counteract global homogenisation will be discussed in this chapter. One is the rise of 'local' forces within states; the other is the perceived threat to their sovereignty from external factors such as massive immigration movements across political and cultural boundaries and the threat of terrorism.

3 Ethnic Renaissance

The first of these effects is the growing confidence of regional, indigenous and other ethnic minorities, including the long suppressed 'stateless nations', and their rising demands for the recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights (Conversi 2002). Provided that their aspirations to maintain and develop their national and ethnic identities were satisfied, many of them considered that their cultural integrity was adequately catered for within the framework of the existing states. Hence a search for local roots need not be regarded as invariably divisive or separatist nor anti-modern (Safran 1995). For some groups, however, the grievances were so deeply seated that the demand for full autonomy, or even total independence, appeared as the only alternative to subjugation and cultural loss. It would seem that relative tolerance of diversity has encouraged attempts at accommodation, while past or present periods of cultural, linguistic and political oppression have led minorities to engage in open rebellion, as witnessed by the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Basques in Spain and France, Irish Republicans in Northern Ireland, the Karens of Burma and the Kurds across five states in the Middle East (Conversi 1997; McGarry 1995).

Although globalisation has contributed to the phasing out of political boundaries (as in Western Europe), the resurgence of a great variety of cultural diversities has accentuated boundaries *within* countries, as well as between them (Dogan 2000). In this way the cultural map of the world has become more complex, with the political and cultural boundaries overlapping, rather than coincidental.

4 Nation-State Response to Diversity

Different countries have responded in different ways to this ethnic challenge, with the fate of minorities' aspirations to have their linguistic and cultural rights respected and valued depending to a large extent on the historically enshrined ethos and current legal and political practices adopted by dominant groups in their countries. While most countries of the world are multiethnic and multilingual, not every state recognises the cultural diversity within its own borders (Conversi 1997, 2002; Grant 1997; Dogan 2000). Some have long tried to deny its existence (as used to be the case of Kurds in Turkey). Some prefer to consider their plurality to be temporary (as has been the case of guest workers and their descendents in Germany). In still other cases every effort has been made to assimilate the minorities out of existence (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 1996, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The policy of assimilation may be applied to historic regional language groups, as well as to new immigrant minorities. France is by no means the only country which upholds the 'republican ideal' that equality can best be achieved in a linguistically homogenous society in which there is no 'space' for any cultural or linguistic alternatives.

As the American political scientist, William Safran (1995, p. 2) has asserted, in the world today, most states 'cannot cope "neatly" with [such ethnic diversity and its consequences], short of disposing of it by expulsion, extermination, ghettoisation, forcible assimilation and other methods now widely considered to be oppressive, undemocratic, or at least "inelegant"'. Safran maintains that there is a consensus about the existence of ethnic pluralist dilemmas as virtually a permanent feature of many states – with little consensus about its outcomes. Wohling (2009) critiques the reinvention of ethnic identity in the global culture, in order to be perceived as protectors of a 'pure' and 'true' cultural or ecological tradition, as it may lead to ethnic stereotypes (Wohling 2009). Ultimately, promoting ethnicity as a marker of identity that is static and immutable, with ethnicity viewed as the only significant identity characteristic, reduces individuals to fixed stereotypes and narrows the expectations others have of their potential for personal and social growth (Barca and Arenas 2010).

5 The Cultural Foundations of Ethnic Identity

From the pluralist perspective, which opposes any application of pressure for cultural homogenisation, the maintenance and development of a group's ethnic identity presuppose support for its language and culture. Particularly vital is the survival of the central cultural elements, or 'core values', because of their essential role in each culture's integrity and creative force (Smolicz 1988; Smolicz and Secombe 1989). Many ethnic groups are strongly language centred, so that the existence of each as a distinct cultural and social entity depends on the maintenance and development of its ethno-specific tongue. For such groups, the loss of their language means that

their culture becomes residual, losing its powers of creativity and development. In the case of other groups, there may be debate about which particular aspect of their culture is of prime core value significance. Indeed, a number of cultural factors, such as a specific religion, family structure or the group's 'visibility' markers, may assume comparable significance to that of language. Some groups are fortunate in having a *multiple set of core values*, for example, an ethno-specific language, religion and a supporting collectivist family structure to maintain their identity (Smolicz et al. 2001).

A variety of approaches to cultural pluralism as a state policy have been adopted by different countries, such as Canada and India (Ooman 1997; Richmond 1988) with Australia evolving into a society that espouses its own special brand of multiculturalism. The present-day Australian nation-state is very different from both the 'closed', descent-based and the 'open' – yet assimilative – alternative solutions. Nevertheless, these terms do describe positions that Australia has adopted at different stages in the past over the relatively brief period of its European-dominated history.

The ideology of the newly emerging federal state in 1901 was somewhat like that of Germany, in the assumption of its homogenous British character based on descent. In fact, 'real' Australians regarded themselves as some kind of regional Britons with the assumed purity of the ancestral stock preserved (not always successfully) by a discriminatory migration policy. After the Second World War came the massive immigration of continental Europeans, followed two decades later by Lebanese, Vietnamese, South Americans and still later by Bosnians and Timorese and many other groups (Jupp 2001). Under the impact of such an inflow of diverse peoples, it became impossible to regard the Australian population as originating solely from British stock.

Initially, this multitude of peoples was expected to conform to the country's assimilation policy. If all individuals could not be of British stock, then they should at least behave like British-Australians. This supposition was built on the idea that all cultures, other than British, were to be abandoned. People of other backgrounds would have their former cultures thoroughly washed out of them (Clyne 1991; Smolicz 1997). Such cultural assimilation did not necessarily herald structural assimilation, since the individual's loss of native culture did not guarantee social or occupational acceptance, certainly not in the case of Aboriginal people, and often not of other 'New Australians' either.

The policy of assimilation did not prove a great success. Some people did not wish to assimilate and clung tenaciously to their cultures and languages while learning English and successfully integrating into a variety of occupations and other social structures. Others could not assimilate because they were unable to 'disappear' and sink into oblivion within the 'mainstream'. They possessed various physical, linguistic and cultural markers that prevented their total absorption. Although many of the cultural groups began to shrink under the impact of the assimilationist pressures that devalued other languages and cultures (Clyne 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1997), there was also a growing resistance to assimilation and refusal to disappear into the Anglo-dominated mainstream (Smolicz and Secombe 1989; Smolicz 1999).

6 Emergence of Australian Multiculturalism

Under assimilation, Australian policy resembled that of present-day France, in that it upheld the principles of a *political* democracy for all those granted permanent residence, encouraging the new arrivals to gain full civic equity, by applying for citizenship. Advance towards *cultural* equity began over the 1970s with the gradual adoption of the policy of multiculturalism that eventually came to include Aboriginal Australians and, from 1972, substantial numbers of Asian immigrants, mainly Vietnamese, whose arrival finally broke the ‘White Australia policy’. The Australian conceptualisation of multiculturalism has assumed the existence of an overarching framework of shared values within which different cultures coexisted and interacted with one another. The various ethnic groups were permitted, even encouraged, to activate their own core cultural values, provided they were within the framework of the shared values, such as political democracy, rule of law, market economy and English as a common language.

Debate still persists, however, about the degree of change that the framework can sustain. Interpretations have varied according to the degree of multiculturalism that the people concerned have been prepared to accept. Some have perceived the shared cultural framework to be essentially dynamic in its capacity to adjust to existing, as well as future, complexities in the population. ‘Multicultural sceptics’, afraid of fragmentation, have argued for a much more limited notion of plurality and have preferred the framework to be grounded almost totally in Anglo-Celtic core values (Bullivant 1981; Blainey 1984). Minority cultures were then expected to contribute only peripherally, chiefly in relation to food and the celebration of colourful customs and festivals.

In spite of such doubts, and some electoral successes of the xenophobic ‘One Nation’ Party, the multicultural model has been sustained and officially affirmed by formal resolutions passed in the Houses of Parliament, by statements of the former Governor-General of Australia (Deane 1997) and by the multicultural policy document of the Gillard Labour government (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2011). In its current form, multiculturalism recognises the reality of cultural differences, exemplified by the fact that Australians are not all of one ancestry or all of the same religion. While people of British descent are still in a clear majority (70 %), there is a growing recognition of the presence of the indigenous inhabitants and the increasing proportion of Australians of non-British, and particularly Asian, backgrounds (Trewin 2001).

7 Constructive Diversity in a Multicultural Nation-State

Rejecting both the German- and French-type monistic nation-state models, Australia has instead embraced the ideal of *constructive diversity involving* both political and cultural coexistence, whereby people are accepted from different

backgrounds *on their own cultural terms*. A useful indicator of the *sustainability* of Australian multiculturalism has been the extent to which Australian citizens can retain much of their non-British cultural heritage and descent and be accepted as fully Australian, i.e. as authentic members of the Australian nation and state.

One issue, which has been causing some concern, is the fact that there are certain British 'markers' which have been almost invariably accepted as simply 'normal', whereas markers from other origins have tended to be used as labels that single out and differentiate minorities. An obvious one is that of physical appearance. There have been many instances of Australians of Aboriginal or Asian origin, for example, being subject to racial labelling and institutional and social discrimination.

Other forms of discrimination are not based on physical appearance but may exist on the grounds of difference in culture, language, religion, family structure, the clothes worn or the food eaten. Many personal case histories of immigrants or their children recall discrimination experienced in schools, and, although those are stories from the past assimilationist era, there still lingers a degree of sensitivity about 'labelling' on the grounds of culture, which can be referred to as *cultural racism, ethnicism or linguism*.

The danger of such pitfalls has become more widely understood in Australia, with the education system devising programmes that help students to understand that, in order to survive and develop as a nation along multicultural lines, the country needs more than the common political machinery of the democratic state. It has become increasingly clear that to succeed on its multicultural pathway, Australia also requires the cultivation and sustained growth of cultural values that extend beyond political structures and not only reflect the majority group's values but also take account of the minority groups' aspirations to maintain their *cultural identity*, as exemplified in what we have termed their *core values* (Smolicz et al. 1998).

Recognition of the significance of cultural core values for various groups does not imply a tendency to promote separatism within the state (Smolicz 1998). On the contrary, the maintenance of core values is essential for the multicultural principle of constructive diversity, which is based upon cultural interaction and sharing among the various groups. If this is to be a genuine exchange process, rather than simply a one-way traffic favouring a particular group, usually the majority, to the detriment of others, the minorities must be able to transmit their core values and hence sustain their culture as authentic. As a dynamic process, cultural interaction proceeds through a degree of *cultural synthesis, diffusion and coexistence*, all taking place *within the framework of the shared overarching values, to which all groups are entitled to make their particular contribution* (Smolicz 1999). Minority groups have then no need to fear the loss of their essential cultural elements. In this way one of the insidious forces that may drive minorities towards separatism can be eliminated, since the groups concerned see no reason to favour isolationism and fragmentation.

The mutual confidence developed within a sustainable multicultural structure can lead to increased trust and cooperation not only between the majority group and the minorities but also among the various minority groups themselves. In certain instances, the multicultural Australian context has succeeded in removing the 'sting'

from among peoples and their descendents, who in their original homelands were known to dwell in a state of mutual animosity or open conflict. A number of the mutually antagonistic neighbouring peoples in Europe, Asia and Africa, such as Poles and Germans, Greeks and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, Vietnamese and Chinese and Eritreans and Ethiopians, have succeeded in interacting within Australian ethnic and multicultural councils and federations and in cooperating across ethnic divisions. One of the factors working for this accommodation lies in the security, respect and equality provided to all groups within the framework of shared Australian values, sharpened by the common aim of lobbying governments to provide adequate support for their particular language and culture maintenance and to ensure equity of access to mainstream-Australian institutions and structures.

From a comparative perspective, the achievement of Australia can be judged best on the extent to which it has been able to engage in a process of reshaping itself. The increasing recognition of its own plurality through demonstrating the benefits of diversity and introducing pluralist policies in languages and culture education has proved a better guarantee of stability than enforced rapid assimilation to one dominant language and culture (Arenas et al. 2007).

The idealised multicultural model, to which Australia aspires, is free from the divisions that are most difficult to bridge, as when one particular religion is made mandatory or when racial or ancestral characteristics are regarded as exclusion markers that set the limits of nationhood. In order to reinforce these multicultural goals, Australia has established an array of *anti-discriminatory state and federal legislation*, with an active role assigned to ombudsmen. Such structures have been augmented by sustained educational efforts to propagate *school curriculum* that officially condemns all forms of racism, whether based upon appearance, language, customs or religion. Australian states have developed programmes of ‘countering racism through developing cultural understanding’, which demonstrate that it will never be possible for all Australians to look alike, practise the same religion, live in the same type of family household or relish the same kind of food. The diversity found in all these practices needs to be understood and accepted as compatible with the Australian nationhood, requiring the same respect and protection, provided that the cultural practices concerned are carried out within the dynamic overarching framework of shared values, which includes the Australian constitution and legal system. Although successive governments have affirmed this principle, Australian multicultural achievements have recently been overshadowed by an unfortunate sequence of policies, which have emanated from the two external consequences of globalisation discussed in the next section of this chapter.

8 Migration and Terrorism and the Sovereignty of the State

Among the external factors contributing to the increasing diversity has been the massive migration movement of peoples, under the impact of new economic opportunities and necessities, as well as political upheavals – paradoxically, many of them

are the outcomes of the homogenising effects of globalisation and the consequent weakening power of nation-states to control their boundaries.

Even a country such as Australia, which was formerly proud of its ability to control immigration inflow, has suddenly found itself in the forefront of debate on how to deal with asylum seekers who have arrived without official papers by boat, by air or inside cargo containers. The 'illegal' migration flow has become a major problem, with controversial 'solutions' ranging from compulsory detention, the 'Pacific' solution (involving quarantining people in tiny Pacific island states – made friendly by the infusion of funds) and the excision of the Australian islands north of the main continent from the immigration zone – a bizarre exercise devised to deny the 'boat people' any legal rights to which they may have aspired as political refugees landing upon Australian territory. The Liberal Coalition government elected in 2013 adopted an even tougher policy of stopping the boats by way of a military style operation which has forcibly returned them to Indonesia and by denying any refugee arriving by boat the possibility of resettlement in Australia.

The mass arrival of 'illegal immigrants' placed the state in the dilemma of balancing humanitarian concerns against the discharge of what it perceived as its function of regulatory authority in upholding its sovereignty. The Australian Prime Minister, John Howard (2001a, p. 11, 2001b, p. 1) quickly moved to assert 'our absolute right to decide who comes to this country', subsequently claiming that 'it was in the national interest that we have the power to prevent, beyond any argument, people infringing the sovereignty of this country'. Under the call for 'state sovereignty' and 'border protection', as well as the appeal to fear of intrusion from unauthorised aliens, the 'humanitarian' v 'sovereignty' balance has tilted strongly against refugees in general, as the authorities accused them of being guilty of such 'un-Australian' practices as trying to gain entry into the country by throwing their children into the sea (a rumour subsequently found to be false) or even of possibly being terrorists.

The clamour surrounding the refugee saga and the government's posing as the protector of the state's boundaries and of its endangered sovereignty has had the unfortunate effect of activating the more ethnocentric sections among the general public and undermining the generally positive image that 'cultural diversity' had come to acquire. In the opinion of Malcolm Fraser (2011), the Prime Minister whose government welcomed the Vietnamese boat people in the 1970s, such border protection policies appealed to the same anti-migration fears which led the Australian Parliament at the time of Federation to introduce the Immigration Restriction Act. Incidents such as the 'illegal' refugee issue hold far reaching and dangerous implications for the future development of the generally successful Australian experiment of building a multicultural society and nation-state. One obvious fact is that the 'illegals' have been almost exclusively non-Europeans, mainly of Middle East origin and Islamic religion. These facts have created new opportunities for the xenophobic elements, which are present to some degree in any society, to question the foundation of Australia's multiculturalism and its continued non-discriminatory migration policy. Despite the Australian government's vehement denials of any racial or religious bias in its treatment of refugees and its

continued acceptance of business immigrants from selected parts of Asia (such as Hong Kong), the mood of the country has been changing to the extent that it is less welcoming to new arrivals and less widespread in its support of multiculturalism, with special danger of hostility developing against Australians of Islamic faith.

This could lead to a new attitude towards diversity based upon cultural, linguistic and religious criteria. Since Australia's acceptance of the policy of multiculturalism, the previous negative connotation accorded to diversity under the assimilationist policies, as politically divisive, socially disrupting and pedagogically confusing for the children of migrants, has given way to a much more positive image. Under multiculturalism diversity has officially been supported as culturally enriching, encouraging individuals to cross the boundaries of their own cultures to acquire a new vision of the world, and enabling communities to change their group values through an interaction process that encompasses possibilities of cultural coexistence and synthesis. It is this culturally creative approach to multicultural-nation building that is in danger of being re-evaluated.

The change from a constructive to a potentially destructive connotation of diversity could result in cultural differences being labelled as alien, unwholesome or even revolting, as in the case of such selectively provocative items as female circumcision, polygamy or the eating of 'dog flesh'. Arousing fears of encroaching 'otherness' have opened up chasms between cultures, leaving little chance for homogenisation. Any attempt to bridge the gap and to achieve uniformity by brute force is unlikely to last, with further divisions as the virtually inevitable outcome.

Divisive forces arising out of other outcomes of the globalisation process have exacerbated this negative deconstruction of diversity. The Australian refugee dilemma is but a relatively minor counterpart of the shattering events in New York and Washington, which have intensified the cultural and ideological divisions in the world. The sovereignty of the most powerful country in the world has been tested and dramatically shaken by the terrorist activities directed against it on September 11. The American doctrine arising out of this tragedy has been succinctly stated by William Safire (2002, p. 8) who wrote that

The emergence of terrorism as a global threat has forced nation-states to adopt a new view of sovereignty. If a governing body cannot stop terrorists who are victimizing others from its territory, then governments of the victims will reach across the borders to do the necessary stopping. [According to] George Schulz, former Secretary of State, ... 'we reserve, within the framework of our right to self-defence, the right to pre-empt terrorist threats within a state's borders'.

It may appear quite ironical that the terrorist attack upon the American nation-state and its sovereignty has been accepted as justification for the pre-emptive right to violate the integrity of other nation-states, which are accused of being unable or unwilling to control and disarm terrorists within their own domain. In this way 'stateless' terrorism against one nation-state is being used to justify the use of force by the aggrieved party, an act, which the country being invaded, referred to as unwarranted aggression – and even 'state terrorism'!

As in the Australian response of rejecting, confining or returning refugees, the American pre-emption doctrine is being directed at governments and peoples of mainly non-European and non-Christian cultures. This approach casts shadows of doubt on the possibility of cultural homogenisation and democratisation being freely embraced by peoples of the so-called rogue states – even after they have been cleansed, pacified and reformed.

9 A Multicultural Basis for Cross-Civilisational Dialogue

This chapter suggests that cross-civilisational dialogue can help to resolve the complex issues that face each country and the whole world order. What are the cultural and structural bases for such a dialogue? The Australian case can, and does, provide some useful insights for other ethnically plural states and even for helping to resolve global dilemmas, which have arisen from the conflicting forces set in motion by globalisation. Over the past decades, Australia has had a measure of success in constructing the basis for a harmonious multicultural society – an achievement that has even been acknowledged by its former critics. The Australian example shows the need to develop an accommodation between diverse ethnic identities and their supporting core values within a consensual overarching framework over shared values that remain inclusive for each particular nation-state and for its wider civilisational configuration.

It is increasingly recognised that, even under the most favourable conditions of Australia being a prosperous country and the sole occupant of the whole island continent, interaction between cultures is unlikely to result in convergence to a single system of group values.

Chris Bowen (2011), the then labour Minister for Immigration, claimed that ‘if Australia is to be free and equal, then it will be multicultural; but if it is to be multicultural it must remain free and equal’.

For all its apparent success and its possible value as a model for intercultural dialogue in other culturally heterogeneous contexts, questions have been raised about the possible existence of ‘essential contradictions’ within multiculturalism in general and whether its Australian version in fact has succeeded in resolving them within its particular configuration. The difficulties in reconciling cultural diversity with good governance might, for example, arise out of the paradox of a democratic state generating a respect for cultural diversity, while upholding policies that assume the universality of certain fundamental values. The balance between these two facets of a multicultural society must take into account differences in ethnicity, religion and other aspects of culture, which coexist within its legal and constitutional structures, based on a belief in the universality and indivisibility of ‘common’ human rights. This is a dilemma, which extends well beyond the borders of Australia, up to the seeming contradiction between the universality of individual human rights and the resilient and persistent diversity of cultures and civilisations.

10 Human Rights as an Overarching Framework Across Civilisations

A suggestion by one of the most eminent Australian jurists, Michael Kirby (1998), could help towards the resolution of some of these issues. He has argued that civic human rights are only a segment of the whole continuum of interdependent political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic rights. He has also pointed out that Western perceptions of human rights have changed over time. For example, the notion of political suffrage in Western countries did not extend to women or to some ethnic and racial minorities until quite recently. What is more, many minority groups throughout the world, particularly those of indigenous origin or alternative sexuality, are still denied access to the full range of human rights. Kirby concluded that in the matter of human rights, 'the Voyage of Discovery, which the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1950) initiated is far from complete'.

For example, the fact that, since 1967, all citizens of Australia, including the indigenous inhabitants, can exercise full political and legal rights does not, on its own, make adequate recompense for the past, nor provide any acknowledgement of the Aboriginal people's unique cultural heritage. Only over recent years, and in the climate of globalisation and world-wide concern with indigenous rights on the part of international organisations, has Australia become actively involved in the process of 'reconciliation' with Aboriginal Australians. There has been a rising consciousness of the need to make amends for the past appropriation of the land and destruction of so many aspects of indigenous culture.

Central to the reconciliation process has been the recognition that human rights for Aboriginal Australians cannot be achieved without full appreciation of indigenous cultural heritage and tradition. In this sense, 'reconciliation' with any long-deprived minority is intimately linked with the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The acknowledgement by the Asia-Pacific NGO for World Conference on Human Rights (1992) that 'universal human rights standards are rooted in many cultures' makes it possible to develop a model of human rights that is applicable to all countries and provides the basis for an intercultural dialogue that acknowledges their different cultural heritages. Civic and political rights occupy a central role in this model as the indivisible and universal aspects of democratic governance.

Other cultural rights are derived from this civic foundation and include linguistic and spiritual human rights, which, in turn, may be linked to the rights of land as in the case of Aboriginal Australians whose beliefs are closely tied to their ancestral territory. Social and economic rights need also be taken into consideration, as rights to food and shelter, so often taken for granted in the West, often represent a primary value for people in many other parts of the world. Other human rights that need protection are those of the family, especially in the case of those cultures, which uphold the three-generation extended family structure.

The same type of framework may be applied to most culturally plural countries as they strive to harmonise their cultural diversity with a stable and resilient nation-state

that adheres to the principles of universal human rights. This particular approach to human rights has been labelled elsewhere as the ‘tree model’, where those rights deemed as indispensable in a democratic state, namely, civic and political rights, are indicated by the ‘trunk’ of the ‘tree’. The other cultural rights, which are then viewed as ‘branches’, need not conform to a single pattern, since the ‘crown’ of the tree can assume different configurations, depending on the cultural traditions of the groups that make the nation and their members’ current aspirations. Successful multicultural achievement would be indicated when the various cultural branches grow freely, while ensuring that no single one crowds out the others and that their development occurs harmoniously within a unifying and flexible framework underpinned by the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

11 Conclusion

While the Australian pathway to multiculturalism has been halting, and the ultimate outcome is still uncertain, it does point to certain lines of development that may be needed not only for a particular country but also in the international arena. Rapid globalisation needs to be moderated by measures, which safeguard the political and cultural rights of all groups, while fostering their economic and social advancement through the increased interaction and interchange of goods, people and ideas. Such a multicultural human rights model could well act as a useful guide for a dialogue among civilisations, as they cooperate with one another, without surrendering their cultural uniqueness and specific accommodation to their human and natural environments.

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Globalisation and National Policy Initiatives in Human Rights Education in Schools

Yvette Lapayese

1 Introduction

As the ubiquitous force of globalisation further erodes the nation-state and political activity increasingly focuses on global issues, there is a renewed attention to models of global education. As a result, discussions surrounding education and what students should be learning in the classroom become more complex. Osler and Vincent (2002) define global education as encompassing the ‘strategies, policies and plans that prepare young people and adults for living together in an interdependent world. It is based on the principles of cooperation, non-violence, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, democracy and tolerance. It is characterised by pedagogical approaches based on human rights and a concern for social justice that encourage critical thinking and responsible participation. Learners are encouraged to make links between local, regional, and world-wide issues and to address inequality’ (p. 2).

Within this global context, human rights education emerges as a response to the demands of global education. The magnitude of human rights violations and anti-democratic practices propels human rights education to encompass a social justice theme intended to raise students’ consciousness and foster social activism. Discourse surrounding racial, social, and economic inequities is a standard component of human rights education. Conceptually, human rights education transforms classrooms into political spaces where educators and students develop an awareness of inequity and oppression and act accordingly.

One of the main objectives of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995–2004) is the building and strengthening of programmes and capacities for human rights education at the national and local levels. As the decade

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draws to a close, it becomes timely to explore how national governments across the globe have implemented appropriate educational policy reforms.¹ In this chapter, I present an overview of human rights education and the policy guidelines for national plans of action developed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). Further, there is a focus on comprehensive national initiatives within the decade that are being undertaken in Japan, Austria, and the United States, with particular attention to the implementation of human rights education in formal secondary school settings.

2 An Overview of Human Rights Education

Before exploring the evolution of human rights education in both international and national settings, I will first present an overview of its development. Human rights norms themselves – in particular the Universal Declaration, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action – define the objective of all education as the full development of the human personality and potential. The pedagogy required for such a process involves a wide variety of methods and approaches that reflect and are guided by the principles that are basic to the movement. Flowers (2000, p. 5) summarises these principles:

- Full respect for all people regardless of class, caste, sexual preference, race, gender, religion, income, ability, age, or other conditions
- Participation of students in their own education and sharing in the decision-making process
- The celebration of human experience as an expression of diversity and uniqueness as well as an important source of knowledge and wisdom
- The vital importance of social responsibility

The content of human rights education necessarily varies with the learning environment. Among the elements that are frequently pertinent include the following: its historical development and a critical understanding of the history of the struggle for human rights; the nature and extent of human rights violations, locally, regionally, nationally, as well as in the schools; the international instruments protecting peoples' rights, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women; and a critical understanding of related concepts such as justice, freedom, democracy, and peace and the experiences with the realities of human rights concerns of students and others (Flowers 2000).

3 The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education

The Draft Plan of Action for the United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education (1995–2004) became the first explicit effort to bring this issue to the centre of attention. Although human rights education had been explored through other United Nations documents, specifically the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation concerning human rights education, the 1993 UNESCO World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, and the specific articles in the Vienna Declaration, the Draft Plan of Action for the United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education animated efforts to building a universal culture related to the rights of people through education (Baxi 1997, para. 2). The Plan outlined the following objectives:

- The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
- The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity
- The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality, and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples, and racial, national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups
- The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society
- The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace

In proclaiming the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995–2004) in December 1994, the General Assembly defined it as a lifelong process by which people at all levels of development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies: ‘Human rights education contributes to a concept of development consistent with the dignity of women and men of all ages that takes into account the diverse segments of society such as children, indigenous peoples, minorities and disabled persons. ... Each woman, man and child, to realise their full human potential, must be made aware of all their human rights...’ (United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education 1994).

The Assembly called upon governments, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, professional associations, and all other sectors of civil society to concentrate their efforts on promoting a universal culture of human rights through education. Despite international endorsements, human rights education is in its beginning stages and has yet to be widely implemented. With some exceptions, there remains a lack of commitment on the part of many governments to keep their promises to promote the rights of people through education (Claude 1997, p. 394).

4 International Efforts

At the international level, an important area of work has been the support to national and local institutions for human rights education. The OHCHR and other United Nations agencies have implemented technical cooperation projects and public

information material. For instance, the Office develops training material for specific target groups, namely, the police, prison officials, primary and secondary school-teachers, judges and lawyers, national and local non-governmental organisations, journalists, human rights monitors, and parliamentarians.

The Office also publishes human rights information and reference materials. Notable publications include *The Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995), a booklet compiled from the texts of the international plan of action for the decade and of the guidelines for national plans of action related to education; *Human Rights Education and Human Rights Treaties* (1996), a study that includes an assessment of the information relating to appropriate education contained in state party reports and suggestions for action; *The Right to Human Rights Education* (1994), a compilation of full texts and excerpts from international instruments; and *Human Rights Education Programming* (1999), a paper which includes ideas and suggestions for the implementation of programmes targeting public awareness, the schooling sector, and other priority groups and a resource guide to assist in programme implementation.

In addition, the Office has developed a database of existing programmes, materials, and organisations for human rights education. The development of the OHCHR website (www.unhchr.ch) is an important tool for the quick dissemination of comprehensive human rights information. Databases are being integrated into this website, enhancing its usefulness. For instance, one can access and download the existing Treaty Bodies Database, as well as Human Rights News Database and Human Rights Documents Database. In addition, links have been made with other relevant United Nations websites.

5 National Efforts

At the national level, the plan of action provides for the establishment of a national committee for human rights education. The Committee should include a broad coalition of governmental and non-governmental actors and should be responsible for developing and implementing a national plan, with the support of regional and international organisations. The establishment of a publicly accessible national resource and training centre for human rights education or the strengthening of existing centres, in support of the work of the national committee, is also considered a priority issue (UN Doc. A/52/469/Add.1).

In order to support national efforts, in January 1997, the OHCHR convened in Geneva a meeting of experts to develop guidelines for national plans of action for human rights education. The guidelines, which were published in October 1997, have been disseminated to all governments and other interested institutions and organisations. The guidelines include a set of principles and a strategy to develop comprehensive, effective, and sustainable national plans of action (UN Doc. A/52/469/Add.1).

The 'Guidelines for National Plans of Action for Human Rights Education' include:

- Establishing a national committee for human rights education, a coalition of representatives of appropriate governmental agencies, independent human rights national institutions, human rights institutes, and non-governmental organisations with experience in human rights and human rights education or with the potential to develop such programmes
- Conducting a baseline needs assessment study on the state of human rights education in the country, including the areas where human rights challenges are greatest, the available level of support, and the extent to which the basic elements of a national strategy are already in place
- Setting priorities and identifying groups in need of human rights education on the basis of the findings of the baseline study
- Developing the national plan including a comprehensive set of objectives, strategies, and programmes for human rights education (networking support, institutional/organisational support, integration of human rights education into all levels of formal education, education of groups in need, a public awareness campaign, translation/production/revision of material, research and evaluation, legislative reform, etc.) and evaluation mechanisms
- Implementing the national plan
- Reviewing and revising the national plan, ideally involving self-evaluation and independent evaluations, to ensure effective responses to the needs identified by the baseline study (OHCHR, GLO/00/AH/20, 1999)

Currently, comprehensive legislative and policy initiatives within the decade are being undertaken in various countries.² In 2000, the OHCHR conducted a midterm global evaluation of the progress made in the first 5 years of the decade towards the achievement of its objectives. The Office launched a worldwide survey on human rights education by addressing two questionnaires to heads of government and other principal actors. The purpose of the survey was to take stock of human rights education programmes, materials, and organisations developed and active since the launching of the decade and to request the principal actors to highlight human rights education needs, accomplishments and obstacles, and recommendations for the remainder of the decade.

In the following section, I will explore the way some national governments are operationalising the decade's commitment to human rights education. One of the central objectives of the national plan of action is its implementation in national curriculum. To explore the infusion of human rights education policy globally, I will focus on Japan, Austria, and the United States. I focus attention on policy for formal secondary school settings.

6 Japan

According to the UN midterm evaluation report of the Decade for Human Rights Education, Japan represents one of few countries to submit a national plan. In addition, Japan is involved in several Asia-Pacific regional activities aimed at

developing human rights education programmes. In the following sections, I will present an overview of both regional and national activities and consequent policies.

6.1 Regional Activities

Japan has led the way in developing human rights education initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region. For instance, in September 1997, HURIGHTS OSAKA in cooperation with Child Rights Asianet and ARRC organised an Asian regional meeting on human rights education attended by representatives of NGOs, schools, and the three national human rights institutions in Asia to strengthen human rights education in the formal education system. The meeting expressed the necessity of supporting the activities under the aegis of the UN Decade. Subsequent workshops organised by HURIGHTS OSAKA for Southeast and Northeast Asia, respectively, held in May and August 1998, mention the importance of the UN Decade in pursuing the development of programmes in schools.

More recently, HURIGHTS OSAKA held a South Asian training workshop on human rights education in schools in Bangkok in 2000. The workshop comprised the following objectives in schools: (1) develop a shared understanding of developing curriculum for human rights education and (2) develop plans for the creation of national and regional networks for human rights education in schools. Curriculum developers, teachers, teacher trainers, and education ministry officials from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka attended the workshop (HURIGHTS OSAKA 2001).

Japan also participates in the UN-sponsored human rights education programmes. In coordination with the UN, a subregional training workshop in Northeast Asia was held in the Republic of Korea in 1999. The participants in the workshop included education policymakers, officers responsible for teacher-training institutions and for education faculties of universities, materials and curriculum developers, and members of NGOs and other national institutions/organisations active in the area of human rights education in schools from China, Japan, Mongolia, and the Republic of Korea.

6.2 National Efforts

At the national level, the Japanese government created an office for the promotion of the UN Decade in December 1995 to ensure close coordination and cooperation among relevant administrative agencies and to promote comprehensive and effective measures for the UN Decade. A national plan of action was issued in July 1997. The plan aims to disseminate the concept of human rights and thereby create a universal culture of human rights as envisaged by the UN Decade. The plan

provides for education, training, public information, and information activities for schools and teachers. Plans are also provided on issues relating to women, children, elderly, Dowa, AINU people, foreigners, people with HIV and other infectious diseases, and people who have been released from prison.

Some 15 local governments in Japan have adopted their own plans for the UN Decade along the lines of the national action plan. There is also a parallel NGO initiative in support of the UN Decade. This initiative takes the form of a channel for transmitting ideas on how to implement the national action plan. Japanese NGOs set up the 'Liaison Committee for the Promotion of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education'. The major supporters of this committee are the Buraku Liberation League, the Japan Teachers' Union, and the National DOWA Educators Association. This committee was created before the government established its own 'Headquarters for the Promotion of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education' in December 1995.

In addition, major efforts are being undertaken at the prefectural level; 35 prefectures have established local task forces to pursue the decade's objectives, and 26 have developed a local plan for human rights education. Municipal governments are also taking similar action (OHCHR 1999).

6.3 Human Rights Education in the Schools

In 1997, the government announced its National Plan of Action for the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. It requires all secondary schools to incorporate comprehensive programmes into the curriculum. The national standard curriculum, the latest revision announced in 1998–1999, was implemented in 2002. Human rights issues are integrated into the social studies curriculum at several grade levels. It is important to note, however, that systematic programmes are not designated either as a subject, course, or extracurricular subject (Nabeshima et al. 2001).

More localised efforts in introducing human rights education in schools are evident. The Ministry of Education funds and supervises local boards of education in promoting human rights education as 'Dowa education'. The major concern of Dowa education according to this law is to eliminate discrimination against *Burakumin* children (Akuzawa 1999).

In their analysis of Japanese schools, Nabeshima et al. (2001) conclude that the 'implementation of human rights education programs is left to local governments, schools, or teachers. But their limited power and resources have resulted in few human rights education programs. Most of the few high quality programs are implemented only in schools where Burakumin children are enrolled' (p. 7). Further, the authors argue that human rights education is evident in school curriculum, materials, and textbooks, but basically in the form of exposing students to the various UN conventions. They also point to extracurricular programmes provided by the local boards of education. Activities include poster/essay contests on human rights; lectures on human rights by activists, lawyers, and community workers; and plays,

songs, and presentations on human rights issues performed by children at school and community festivals.

In regard to teacher education programmes, there is no national programme or legislation for human rights education teacher training. The Teacher's License Law prescribes pre-service training but does not require universities or colleges to have special teacher-training programmes. Some universities and colleges, however, have their own Dowa education or human rights education programme in the teacher education course in response to the petitions of the Buraku liberation movement and other human rights-related social movements (Akuzawa 1999).

6.4 Opportunities and Obstacles

Innovative changes in the field of education, specifically in regard to pedagogy and curriculum, may provide a more conducive space for human rights education in the classroom. National curriculum revisions, implemented in 2002, have resulted in a new education field called synthetic learning (*sogo-gakushu*). 'Synthetic learning aims to develop children's ability to engage in independent task finding, learning, thinking, decision-making and problem solving through activities the children themselves find interesting. Classroom teachers are fully responsible for designing curriculum and developing materials for synthetic learning. The Ministry of Education allotted 10 % of school hours to exploring this new area, which may benefit human rights education and decongest the curriculum' (Nabeshima et al. 2001).

The key obstacle to human rights education in the school system is the emphasis on school entrance exams. 'Schools that incorporate human rights education into their curriculum often encounter strong reactions from parents who claim that the subject distracts students from other academic work. Another obstacle is teachers' low motivation to promote human rights education, as the curriculum is overloaded, teaching efforts are not evaluated, and payment is based on seniority. Teachers become bureaucratic and hesitate to take on tasks such as human rights education, which is not fully authorised' (Nabeshima et al. 2001).

In sum, Japan has made concerted efforts; regional and national initiatives highlight the importance of human rights education in schools. Educational policy makes clear that secondary schools are to incorporate comprehensive human rights education programmes into the curriculum. Nonetheless, the realities of schools, namely, strict academic structures and lack of teacher training and support continue to impede the realisation of the process in Japanese schools.

7 Austria

In 2002, Austria submitted an update on its national report on the progress of human rights education to the UN. The Austrian government has committed itself to participating at both the international and regional levels in the area of human rights

education. Moreover, at the educational policy level, human rights education is a formal component of the national curriculum. Implementation, however, remains scattered as there is no formal structure for human rights education in the school system. In the following sections, I will explore both regional and national initiatives undertaken by the Austrian government and NGOs and their consequent implementation in the schools.

7.1 Regional Activities

The Austrian government is working together with a wide range of actors in the field of human rights education. The government promotes human rights education in the framework of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, the Human Security Network, and bilateral development cooperation projects. In 1999, the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs launched an international initiative aiming at strengthening human security through human rights education. During the Austrian Presidency of the Human Security Network, human rights education has been declared as a priority item; in this context, the manual 'Understanding Human Rights' is being developed, and a governmental declaration on the strengthening of human rights education will be adopted in Graz in 2003. In addition, human rights education activities are part of various development cooperation programmes carried out with various countries.

It is important to contextualise the efforts of Austria as a member state of the European Union. The European Union represents a unique example of initiatives taken up by a regional organisation composed of national governments. The Council of Europe has taken significant steps in planning and implementing human rights education. This has resulted in sophisticated and far-reaching programmes throughout the member states. For instance, human rights education is a formal component of national curricular programmes for both primary and secondary schools. Joint planning sessions and conferences have led to effective programmes like 'On Teaching and Learning About Human Rights in Schools' which offers specific goals and objectives regarding curriculum and teacher training (Council of Europe 1995).

One of the main reasons for the increase of human rights education initiatives adopted by the European Union is the growing number of immigrants and refugees who have turned most Western European countries into multicultural societies. In order to check the spread of xenophobia and racial conflicts, human rights education has been utilised as a tool to foster tolerance and peaceful coexistence (Jacobsen 1999). The European Union, including Austria, has also assumed an important role in the spread of human rights education in Eastern and Central Europe. Some new democratic governments in Eastern and Central Europe have made explicit efforts to forge partnerships with NGOs (primarily based in Western Europe) interested in implementing human rights education in schools. Several NGOs sponsor activities in countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Albania, and Slovakia (Tibbitts 2000).

7.2 National Efforts

In 1997, the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture, and the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights jointly established the Service Centre for Human Rights Education, Austria's leading institution for the development of human rights education in schools and for advice and assistance to teachers. The Service Centre focuses on the introduction of human rights education in Austrian schools, a programme supported by the Department of Civic Education. Among the various activities undertaken, workshops and training of teachers are organised, and appropriate materials such as UNESCO publications are disseminated. The Service Centre has also developed networking and information tools such as a website and an electronic newsletter, as well as educational and training programmes (teacher training, peer training) and materials.

The Service Centre for Human Rights Education continues to cooperate with the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and other relevant ministries and government agencies, including school authorities at all levels. On a financial note, in 1998, the federal government provided five million ATS to support human rights projects proposed by Austrian NGOs, several of which were projects in the area of human rights education.

7.3 Human Rights Education in the Schools

Human rights education is incorporated into national legislation concerning the formal education system. In secondary schools, human rights are included in subjects such as civic education, legal education, history, and philosophy, and specific anti-discrimination and anti-racism educational programmes are carried out. The Ministry for Education, Science and Culture regularly encourages provincial educational authorities and teachers to develop programmes and celebrate specific occasions, such as the Anniversary of the Adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Human Rights Day.

So far, no formal structure for human rights education is incorporated into the Austrian school system. Crucial issues are only referred to at certain points in some curricula. While there is no human rights education at the preschool and primary school levels, they are taught in some types of secondary school institutions. Until now, it is only one part of the subject 'civic education' and appears to be dealt with only rudimentarily, for example, within the study of the Austrian political system.

7.4 Opportunities and Obstacles

In the last few years, various workshops, seminars, and conferences have been carried out for different educational groups. Still there is a need for a systematic approach that guarantees sustainable and practical implementation of human rights

education. The Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and Interkulturelles Zentrum cooperate in order to contribute to worldwide activities. One such effort is the School Network on Human Rights.

The School Network on Human Rights represents a concrete effort by Austria to implement human rights education in schools. In the School Network on Human Rights, students study human rights from their own perspectives and backgrounds. A network of schools from across the world allows the active sharing of experiences throughout the project. Presently 41 partners from Austria, Argentina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, India, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Palestine, Russia, Sweden, Uganda, Ukraine, and Uruguay are members of the network.

Interestingly, in 2000, an international seminar in Austria enabled 26 teachers from all over the world to get together to meet project partners personally, to share experiences in human rights education, and to obtain basic assistance in planning concrete projects to be carried out in schools.

8 United States

Human rights education is still in its early stages in the United States. Broad national initiatives have not taken place; in fact, the United States failed to submit a state report to the OHCHR. Likewise, the United States does not participate in regional activities. In fact, it can be argued that most of the activities related to human rights education in the United States originate through the efforts of NGOs (Pitts 2002). In the following sections, I will present a brief chronology of human rights education activity in the United States and an analysis of the status of human rights education in schools.

8.1 National Efforts

Several NGOs and respective programmes have participated in introducing human rights education into the classroom. In *The Human Rights Education Handbook* (2000), Nancy Flowers provides an excellent overview in the United States. I will refer to her chronology to briefly highlight some of the central developments in the United States.

In 1985, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) brought human rights education to national attention with the periodical *Social Education* committed to the topic of human rights. Articles stressed the human rights dimension of long-established social studies topics like the civil rights movement, the Holocaust, and the Emancipation Movement. In an article, 'Human Rights: An Essential Part of the Social Studies Curriculum', Carole L. Hahn, then national president of the NCSS, made a case for the global perspective and democratic attitudes fostered by human rights education.

In the same year, Amnesty International USA organised its Human Rights Educators' Network and in 1989 began producing *Human Rights Education: The 4th R*, the first US periodical in this new field. In 1993, David Shiman published the first human rights curriculum in the United States, *Teaching Human Rights*, which has been followed by a steady stream of new resources in the field, notably Betty Reardon's *Educating for Human Dignity* (1995) and the creation of the University of Minnesota Human Rights Education Series in 1998.

In 1992, educators came together for a seminal meeting sponsored by the Columbia University Centre for the Study of Human Rights with the support of the Organizing Committee of the People's Decade of Human Rights. Many US human rights educators met for the first time at this meeting and created working alliances that have resulted in significant projects in the United States: a partnership of Amnesty International USA, the Centre for Human Rights Education, the University of Minnesota Human Rights Center, and Street Law, Inc. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the Human Rights USA sought to raise awareness and celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1998.

Human rights education organisations are the driving force to implement human rights education in schools. As a result of their efforts, human rights education has been integrated into state-wide mandates, standards, and/or frameworks for K-12 instruction. Dennis Banks' study (2000) on the state of human rights education in K-12 schools in the United States resulted in the following conclusions: 40 % of the states studied indicate that human rights education is within the state-mandated curriculum, and 14 of these states (Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, and Vermont) indicate that it is part of their state standards; Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York specify that it is referred to in legislative mandates or resolutions; and those states with the most comprehensive human rights education within state curricula include Minnesota, Georgia, Kansas, Maryland, New Mexico, Ohio, and Vermont. In addition, the most frequently cited curriculum topics were the Holocaust, Irish Famine, genocide, slavery, and current issues.

In his conclusion, Banks declares, 'Through this initial survey, it is possible to determine that while progress has been made, there is still a long road ahead'. He argues that the United States is resistant to the formal inclusion of human rights education. Although many state governments have plunged ahead in creating programmes and institutions, the United States is very much behind. His study demonstrates that NGOs are the primary vehicles facilitating the inclusion of human rights education in schools.

8.2 *Opportunities and Obstacles*

Overall, there has been progress in the human rights education movement. Several state legislatures have begun to address the issue by enacting mandates for various levels of human rights education within their schools. For instance, the New York

State Legislature in 1995 amended its education law with regard to instruction on violations, genocide, slavery, the Holocaust, and the mass starvation in Ireland. Further, Banks' (2000) review of programmes at recent Annual Meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies indicates a growing number of presentations.

The continuing work of NGOs is crucial to the inclusion of human rights education in schools. The Human Rights Resource Center at the University of Minnesota represents a force in developing and disseminating materials and curricula to educators across the United States. The Resource Center has been instrumental in providing teachers with innovative teaching packets.

But as stated previously, systematic inclusion of human rights education policy is not evident. Also, the United States has failed to participate in regional and international fora concerning the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. The fact remains that the United States fails to submit reports on the status and realisation of human rights education in classrooms across the nation.

9 General Trends

As a general trend, it is worth noting that even if various activities have been undertaken up to now at the national level within the framework of the decade, they vary considerably in scope. Comprehensive national plans of action for human rights education targeting secondary schools remain at the policy level. Full implementation of human rights education in classrooms remains to be seen.

In regard to policy implications, it is apparent that national legislation and state legislation provide a basis for human rights education. However, the legislation lacks specific details to systematically implement programmes in schools. The integration of human rights education in schools occurs at some levels, mostly secondary school settings, and is rarely imparted during every year of secondary schooling, but is targeted at specific age groups.

In addition, there appears to be little guidance at formal policy level in relation to human rights education in initial teacher training. The professional development of teachers in this area has been largely neglected. There appears to be no mandatory requirements in any of the countries surveyed.

It is important to note that the relationship between teachers and human rights education remains vague. Teachers and students are expected to challenge dominant ideologies, disassemble hierarchies of power, and question curricula and pedagogy. Teachers may need to rethink the entire curriculum, integrate subjects to focus on sustainable futures, and encourage students to reflect and act on, for example, the indeterminate nature of the economy, knowledge, culture, and identity. But educating students and teachers as mediators of knowledge and cultural critics is far removed from the realities of schools. As in the case of Japan and the United States, the focus on standardised testing seems to contradict the main objectives of human rights education as a vehicle for social transformation.

Another significant trend is the role of NGOs in the development of human rights education in schools across the globe. Simply put, NGOs share the primary task of implementing human rights education due to inadequate government financial allocation and decentralised systems of education. The UN report (2000) on the mid-term evaluation of the progress made during the decade, states, 'Both the United Nations and Member States have repeatedly recognised the invaluable contribution of non-governmental organisations to human rights education. The present review reconfirms that non-governmental organisations are key actors in that field, and that the decade is slowly but increasingly proving to be a catalyst and an umbrella for their efforts'. The report also refers to the fact that there is a growing need for increased collaboration and coordination between government bodies and NGOs.

In sum, the full implementation of the international plan of action for the decade at the national level will require a stronger commitment to human rights education on the part of all member states. It remains at the policy level and its implementation in the classroom is weak. In addition, human rights education requires a strengthening of the partnership between governmental and non-governmental actors, particularly since much many of the initiatives have been made possible because of the cooperation between national human rights institutions or regular government agencies and the NGO and academic sectors.

10 Next Steps

The UN midterm evaluation report on the status of human rights education alluded to some promising actions on behalf of national governments. The incorporation of human rights education in the national curriculum is evident in several countries across the globe. In sum, for many countries, human rights education is a cross-curricular theme in secondary schools (Cambodia, Ecuador, Peru, Philippines) or is part of curricular guidelines (Hungary, Switzerland). In other countries, human rights themes are incorporated in the civics curriculum (Austria, Burkina Faso, Czech Republic, Poland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom). In Burkina Faso and Kenya, for example, human rights organisations are lobbying the Ministry of Education to incorporate human rights education into the secondary school curriculum. In Cambodia, a huge effort is underway to train all secondary teachers how to best teach human rights, either as a module within approved syllabuses or integrated into other subjects.

Despite these promising efforts, it is also evident that human rights education is in its beginning stages for several member states. Neither national committees for human rights education nor national plans of action exist in Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belgium, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Hungary, Kenya, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Russia, Rwanda, Slovenia, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Most mentioned barriers for setting up national committees or national plans are the absence of commitment and support by governments and federal government systems, the lack of coordination among

NGOs, and the absence of leadership by organisations with a human rights education mandate. It seems that in countries where there exists a strong tradition of citizenship education (e.g. France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States), there is less fertile ground for human rights education in general.

This brings us to the question of what lies ahead. The Commission on Human Rights held its 59th annual session from March 17 to April 25, 2003, in Costa Rica. According to a report submitted by K. Fujii (2003) on the 59th session, several conclusions were drawn in respect to the decade.

On the one hand, some governments did make efforts to promote human rights education through national sociolegal infrastructures and cooperated with NGOs that proactively took steps to implement the plan of action for human rights education at national and regional levels. On the other hand, however, the fact remains that, due to lack of a proper monitoring mechanism within the UN system, the decade is coming to an end without sufficient achievement of its objectives which include, among others, the exchange of information and good practices for all through the UN system and regional networks, as well as ensuring necessary human and financial resources for human rights education, at national regional and international levels.

Discussions as to whether or not there will be a second decade loom large. The Commission articulated a positive message in regard to the possibility of a second decade for human rights education: 'Further requests the Office of the High Commissioner jointly with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to consult with Member States on the achievements and shortcomings of the current United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995–2004), taking into consideration the views of the international community ... and to report to the Commission at its next session'. It should be noted that the views of the international community clearly support the idea of a second decade. The 'Study on the follow-up to the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education' explicitly reports on a 'second decade ... as a useful anchor/umbrella and catalyst mechanism for human rights education' and reports that 'the input received by the Office has strongly affirmed the importance to continue the decade framework, considering that human rights education is a long-term process' (UN Doc. E/CN.4/2003/101).

11 Conclusion

Human rights education ultimately presents an alternative approach to traditional schooling through both its social justice content and pedagogy. Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, states, 'Human rights education is a learning and participatory process by which we understand together our common responsibility to make human rights a reality in our lives and in our communities. Its fundamental role is to empower individuals to defend their own rights and those of others. It is education for action, not only about human rights but also for human rights'.³ Now the difficult, yet exciting, work lies ahead in making real the objectives of human rights education for students across the globe.

Notes

1. Although examining human rights education at the policy level provides a good introduction into the efforts of national governments, an analysis of the implementation of human rights education at the micro-level is also necessary. This research study is limited in that it focuses on the state and policy level, missing a weighty part of the equation – the experiences of teachers and students engaging in human rights education. Clearly, although human rights education seems alluring for educators interested in emancipatory education, further research on how human rights education plays out in the school setting is imperative [See Y. Lapayese (2002), *The Work of Human Rights Educators: Critical Pedagogy in Action*, Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.]
2. For a detailed account of all national initiatives, see OHCHR report, 1999, National initiatives undertaken within the Decade for Human Rights Education, www.unhchr.ch
3. Message from Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, First State Conference on Human Rights Education in Schools ‘Human Rights Education: – A Shared Responsibility’ 31 January 2000, Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India.

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Human Rights Education in Australia

Sev Ozdowski

1 The Evolution of Human Rights Education in Australia

Modern Australia is a vibrant social democracy with one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse societies in the world. Historically the majority of migrants came from the United Kingdom and Europe with significant Asian and African minorities emerging in recent years. Australia's cultural heritage includes over 300 ancestries as separately identified in the 2011 census. The most commonly reported were English (36 %) and Australian (35 %). A further six of the leading ten ancestries reflected the European heritage in Australia with the two remaining ancestries being Chinese (4 %) and Indian (2 %). Australia's indigenous population is growing though figures are still small making 2.5 % of the total population.

Today, more than 200 languages are spoken in Australia – this includes some 40 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. Apart from English, the most commonly used languages are Chinese (largely Mandarin and Cantonese), Italian, Greek, Arabic and Vietnamese languages. There is also enormous religious diversity with some 61 % reporting affiliation to Christianity in 2011 census and 7.2 % reporting an affiliation to non-Christian religions and 22 % reporting *No Religion*.¹

The evolution of Australia from a homogenous, predominantly Anglo-Celtic nation that imposed restrictive immigration policies for non-white migrants, to the modern cosmopolitan representation of a global community is largely the result of the growing diversity brought about by the post-World War II changes in the nation's immigration programmes and policies. This diversity and the need to respond to the growth in the wealth and political influence of non-British settlers resulted in successive governments applying multicultural approaches to population management. Essentially bipartisan policies sought to support new migrants in their transition

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to an Australian way of life and values, emphasizing our egalitarian ethos and enabling cultural, linguistic and religious differences to exist within democratic structures.

Human rights are closely related to Australian values such as justice, equality, a fair go and democracy and play an important role in the management of diversity. In fact, any culturally diverse society needs standards that determine working relationships between different groups and empower individuals especially in the current context when collective protections are weakened by global tension and the power of technology. This is because human rights provide an internationally recognized set of secular values that apply to all peoples regardless of their culture, religion or ethnicity. Human rights frameworks could be seen as providing the agreed minimum standards of human decency. Therefore, the promotion of a culture of rights through human rights education programmes is of particular importance in a diverse society.

2 Human Rights Education Internationally

Human rights education aims to build an understanding and appreciation for learning about rights and learning through rights.² Australian human rights education is strongly anchored in the international human rights system. Indeed, Australia was a leading protagonist in designing the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It was steered through the United Nations (UN) General Assembly by Dr. H. V. Evatt, eminent lawyer and labour politician, as the president of the General Assembly at that time.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights continues to be a key plank for education in schools and elsewhere with other key conventions (*viz.* the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Rights of the Child). They also encouraged practical platforms for the legal enforcement of rights and for the engagement of individuals and communities in discussions of topical rights-based issues.

The UN Decade on Human Rights Education (1995–2004) provided a global framework through its plan of action for nations to implement education on human rights. However, the lack of necessary reporting or monitoring mechanisms lessened its impact. In Australia, its impact was limited with the establishment of the National Committee for Human Rights Education being the most significant and long-lasting achievement.

The implementation by the UN of the World Human Rights Education Programme since 2004 had a greater impact. The 1st phase (2005–2009) of the Programme emphasized the primary and secondary school curricula and formal education, while the 2nd phase (2010–2014) focuses on those who further mentor tomorrow's citizens and leaders, e.g. higher education institutions, government officials and the

military. The 3rd phase (2015–2019) is currently being developed with initial focus on media professionals and journalists and an emphasis on education and training in equality and non-discrimination.

One important result of this emphasis on human rights education was the formulation of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2011. The Declaration asserts that everyone has the right to know, seek and receive information about their human rights and fundamental freedoms and recognizes that human rights education and training is a lifelong process that includes all parts of society. This nonbinding Declaration also defines human rights education and training as comprising ‘all education, training, information, awareness raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms’ and calls on all to intensify efforts to promote the universal respect and understanding of human rights education and training (United Nations General Assembly Resolution, A/RES/66/137, 19 December 2011).

3 The Need for Human Rights Education in Australia

The issue of human rights and education about our civic responsibilities and our rights as citizens has been in debate in Australia for decades. Australia is one of the few democratic countries that do not have a human rights framework embedded in its constitution or in its legislation. Research illustrates that Australians, on the whole, have a poor knowledge of their human rights. Neither have human rights been solidly embedded in the school curriculum (Civics Expert Group 1994; NHRCC Report 2009).

The Australian legal system does not avail itself easily to human rights education purposes. Unlike other western democracies, Australia does not have a Bill of Rights, either constitutional or in a form of an act of parliament. In fact the human rights protected by the Australian Constitution are limited to the right to vote (Section 41); the right to a trial by jury in the state where the alleged federal offence took place (Section 80); the denial of federal legislative power with respect to religion (Section 116); and the prohibition against discrimination on the basis of State of residency (Section 117). There are also two ‘economic rights’. Section 92 guarantees freedom of interstate trade; and Section 51 mandates payment on just terms for property acquired by the Commonwealth. In addition, the High Court established some implied rights, e.g. parliament cannot pass laws that adjudge a person to be guilty of a crime or restrict freedom of discussion in the context of an election.

But the constitution is silent on the fundamental freedoms such as the freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of thought, belief and opinion, freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to a fair trial or due process and equality of all persons in Australia before the law.

The lack of a national Bill of Rights in Australia is particularly relevant in light of evidence showing that the introduction of a Bill of Rights in the United Kingdom (UK) resulted in massive gains in human rights education, especially within the UK civil service. Similar educational value has been shown through the Australian Capital Territory and State of Victoria's Human Rights Charters that have been introduced as ordinary acts of parliament.

The importance of human rights education in Australia has an added relevance in the context of the declining importance of common law and the erosion of habeas corpus. For example, during the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Case (1998) exchange between Justice Kirby and the commonwealth solicitor general, Justice Kirby asked, whether 'Under the "race" power of our Constitution, Nuremberg-style race laws or South African apartheid laws, if enacted by our federal parliament, would be binding?' The solicitor general responded 'Yes'. In other words, the federal parliament is free to legislate in a morally ambiguous way, so long as it stays within the constitution's head of power.

4 Australian Governments and Human Rights Education

Australia is a federal state with a national commonwealth or federal government and state governments having responsibilities for human rights enforcement and education. In this paper we concentrate on the human rights education initiatives at the federal level.

Most federal educational activities are associated with international human rights treaty obligations and with the domestic implementation of anti-discrimination legislation such as *Age Discrimination Act 2004*, *Disability Discrimination Act 1992*,³ *Equal Employment Opportunity (Commonwealth Authorities) Act 1987*, *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999*, *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, *Racial Hatred Act 1995* and *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*. For example, when lodging with the United Nations Australia's combined 6th and 7th report on the implementation of the UN Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in December 2008, the government launched in Australia an education pack entitled Women's Human Rights. The pack provides information on human rights treaties, CEDAW and the Optional Protocol and is publicly available through the Office of Status of Women website. Another example would be the formulation of disability standards by the federal attorney general under the Disability Discrimination Act 1992. The standards regulate access by people with disabilities to premises, public transport and education and are well known across Australia. To implement the World Programme for Human Rights Education, federal Department of Education introduced human rights themes into 'civics and citizenship' and 'values' educational programmes.

A particular mention is warranted for the 2009 National Consultations on Human Rights initiated by the federal government and chaired by the well-known lawyer and Jesuit priest, Fr. Frank Brennan. These massive public consultations consisted

of 66 community round tables and 3 days of public hearings and received some 35,000 submissions and commissioned research, including a phone survey. In addition to the educational value of the consultations, a formal report was produced with 31 recommendations. The report on the Consultations was transmitted to the attorney general on 30 September 2009.

The report recommended a range of measures to improve human rights education in Australia. Critically, recommendations 1 and 2 named education about human rights as the highest priority for cultivating a human rights culture and ultimately improving the human rights situation in Australia. Other recommendations were also of direct relevance to human rights education. For example, recommendation 4 called for a human rights audit of all federal legislation, policies and practices; recommendation 6 called for a parliamentary statement of human rights compatibility to be required for all bills; recommendation 7 called for the establishment of a new parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights to review all bills; recommendation 8 sought the development of a whole-of-government human rights framework; and recommendation 18 called upon the federal government to adopt a federal Human Rights Act. Here it is interesting to note that 27,888 submissions were in favour of the establishment of an Australian Bill of Rights, while 4,203 were opposed (NHRCC 2009).

5 Australia's Human Rights Framework

In response to the Brennan report and Australia's international human rights obligations, the federal government established an *Australian Human Rights Framework* that outlines a range of key measures for the further protection and promotion of human rights. The framework is based on five key principles and focuses on:

- Reaffirming a commitment to our human rights obligations
- The importance of human rights education
- Enhancing our domestic and international engagement on human rights issues
- Improving human rights protections including greater parliamentary scrutiny
- Achieving greater respect for human rights principles within the community

Specifically, the Australian Human Rights Framework put in place a number of practical measures requiring more than 18 million Australian dollars for the implementation of government responses to the report over 4 years. This included an allocation of almost seven million Australian dollars to the Australian Human Rights Commission to increase its educational activities to promote a greater understanding of human rights across the community. In addition, a new Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights was established in 2012 to provide greater scrutiny of legislation for compliance with our international human rights obligations. One outcome of this was the provision enabling each new bill introduced into the federal parliament to be accompanied by a statement of compatibility with our international human rights obligations. The government decided against the

establishment of the Human Rights Charter because it proclaimed that such a charter would be divisive in the society and it did not proceed with the bill to consolidate the federal anti-discriminations law.⁴

6 National Action Plan on Human Rights

The federal government also adopted in 2012 the 3rd National Human Rights Action Plan to outline what the Australian Government will do to improve human rights situations in Australia. It is worth noting that the concerns reflected during the National Human Rights Consultations and the outcomes of Australia's first Universal Periodic Review before the UN's Human Rights Council in 2011 provided an extensive evidence base for adoption of the Plan.

The Action Plan's key priority areas included establishing a National Disability Insurance Scheme; creating a new official position of National Children's Commissioner at the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC); ratifying the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture; strengthening the protection of rights of people with a mental illness in the justice system; reviewing Australia's reservations under the international human rights treaties; introducing the *Living Longer Living Better* aged care reform; acknowledging the unique and special place of Australia's First Peoples; and implementing the National Anti-Racism Strategy. These priorities form the basis of activities in the human rights field at the moment.

7 Australian Human Rights Commission Public Inquiries

The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) is a statutory authority created by the federal parliament. One of its responsibilities is to provide human rights education and in fact the AHRC engages in various education projects to target a range of contemporary issues. The AHRC website contains a range of educational resources targeting school teachers, but it is also available to the wider public. The resources focus more on equality and anti-discrimination but could be improved in the area of civil liberties and freedoms.

The AHRC also conducts public inquiries into topical human rights issues and the outcomes of these provide one of the best human rights education vehicles in Australia. Looking back, it is important to acknowledge the important educational role of such inquiries as the 1997 *Bringing them home* Report, known as the Report of the *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*; the 1993 *The National Inquiry on Human Rights of People with Mental Illness*; and the 2005 follow up report *Not For Service – Experiences of Injustice and Despair in Mental Health Care in Australia*. All of these inquiries brought major human rights issues into the public domain enabling major government reform and the allocation of resources to address the problems they identified.

A particularly good example of the human rights education value of these AHRC inquiries was the national inquiry into the children in immigration detention that was conducted by the then Australian Human Rights Commissioner, Dr. Sev Ozdowski, between 2001 and 2004. It resulted in a detailed report entitled *A Last Resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention*.⁵ The report was tabled in parliament on Budget Day 2004 and found that the mandatory immigration detention of children was fundamentally inconsistent with Australia's international human rights obligations and that detention for long periods created a high risk of serious mental harm.

This inquiry took over 2 years. Its methodology was very comprehensive and included visits to all immigration detention centres, written and oral submissions, public hearings, subpoenas of Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) documents and focus group discussions. What is of particular importance is that it was conducted in the public domain to alert Australians to the fate of children in long-term detention, to win their hearts and minds and secure the children's release. With the explanation of the extent of the mental health damage suffered by children in immigration detention, Australians changed their minds and stopped supporting government policy of indefinite mandatory detention of children. In fact, public opinion shifted dramatically during the inquiry from about 65 % of Australians supporting government mandatory detention policies to 65 % opposing children being kept in immigration detention because of human rights violations. Following the tabling of the report, the Howard Government released the approximately 100 children who were still being detained in June 2004.

It should be noted, however, that the Australian Human Rights Commission has recently announced a further inquiry into children being kept in immigration detention as a result of recent changes in immigration policies.

8 Human Rights Education in Australian Schools

Human rights education in school is an effective means to assist children to incorporate human rights values into their attitudes and behaviours. In December 2008, federal and state ministers for education released the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians which aimed to provide a direction for Australian schooling for the next 10 years. This declaration followed the Adelaide Declaration of 1999 and was developed in collaboration of the Catholic and independent school sectors. The Melbourne Declaration stated that active and informed citizens:

- Act with moral and ethical integrity
- Appreciate Australia's social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and have an understanding of Australia's system of government, history and culture
- Understand and acknowledge the value of Indigenous cultures and possess the knowledge, skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from, reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians

- Are committed to national values of democracy, equality and justice and participate in Australia's civic life
- Are able to relate and communicate across cultures, especially the cultures and countries of Asia
- Work for the common good, in particular sustaining and improving natural and social environments
- Are responsible global and local citizens

Statements of learning, agreed to by all Australian ministers for education, recognized that civics and citizenship aspects of school curricula will seek to provide students with the opportunity to develop, inter alia, 'an appreciation of the local, state, national, regional and global rights and responsibilities of citizenship and civic life'. However, studies of the implementation of human rights education in Australian schools indicate that Australia has still not achieved a systematic and integrated approach to human rights education. The transformative potential of human rights education to challenge existing systems and pedagogical practices remains largely untapped in the school environment of Australia. The issue of children's rights remains contentious. In the absence of an effective integration of human rights education into the new national curriculum, Australian schools are likely to continue to find it difficult to prioritize human rights issues to the extent necessary to have a sustained impact on student learning.⁶

The first national study of the place of human rights in the Australian school curriculum was undertaken by Associate Professor Nina Burridge and a group of researchers from the Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre, at the University of Technology, Sydney, during the 2012–2013 period. The final report was launched in November 2013.⁷ The report, *Human Rights Education in the School Curriculum*, is the outcome of a review of curriculum documents in each Australian state and territory, as well as the new national curriculum which is currently being developed and progressively implemented. Round-table discussions were also held with key stakeholders in each state and territory.⁸

The report found that current opportunities to learn about human rights issues are fragmented and that the implementation of human rights education initiatives is largely dependent on the interest of individual teachers.

The report's authors noted that '[S]tudents are missing out on the opportunity to discuss what having the right to vote or the right to freedom of speech means and understand that we all have the right to live with dignity in our community'. Furthermore, '[T]eaching about human rights allows students to see that ... showing respect for all peoples – whether we are rich or poor, old or young or whether of differing cultural and religious backgrounds is part of being a good global citizen'.

The research confirmed that the obvious humanities-based subjects of history, geography and legal studies in the senior secondary years and civics-based subjects in the lower secondary years have explicit references to human rights in the curriculum. However, for many other subjects, including important subjects such as English, while there is the perception that human rights exists explicitly within the curriculum, more often this is not the case. There is an implicit assumption that

it would fit in the section on, but this is not backed up by explicit directions or descriptions in the syllabus content.

Therefore the overwhelming evidence is that there is a relatively narrow base of subjects in the curriculum spectrum across Australia that specifically offer rights and freedoms based learning opportunities for students. There exist opportunities for students to have related learning experiences in a more generalized sense about fairness and respect, but these are not couched in terms of rights issues, and they are often localized to the individual committed teacher.

The report found that in the absence of an effective integration of human rights education into the new national curriculum, Australian schools are likely to continue to find it difficult to prioritize human rights issues to the extent necessary to have a sustained impact on student learning. It is of particular importance not to miss opportunities to embed a human rights culture in our education systems. The report suggested a number of ways to help school educators move towards the inclusion of a human rights discourse in school curriculums and in teacher professional development.

8.1 Embed a Rights/Freedoms Framework in the School Curriculum

Education systems need to take the lead in implementing curriculum reform to teach about the history of human rights and the evolution of democratic systems; to explore what constitutes human rights and freedoms for the ordinary citizens; and to discuss human rights violations both in a historical context and in the current context, nationally and internationally. For this to happen, a new mindset is needed among policy makers to ensure that new syllabus documents embed human rights education in the curriculum.

Given the current review commissioned by the federal government on the national curriculum, there is a timely opportunity to expand curriculum documents to embed human rights education perspectives in key subject areas. It is also possible to work with the Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (ACARA) to integrate human rights language and principles in the descriptions of the *general capabilities* and *cross-curriculum priorities* that currently exist in the national curriculum and explore the potential of including a specific capability related to understanding human rights and freedoms.

8.2 Professional Teacher Development

Another way of achieving these ends is through a programme of professional teacher development that provides teachers with opportunities to work together in exploring ways and strategies for teaching particular elements of our history and our democratic institutions as well as what developing a human rights culture really means.

8.3 *Improved Use of Technologies*

Providing schools with the resources for improved communication using Internet technologies can enable students and teachers to create national and international connections to assist schools to reach out beyond their own classrooms. In today's classrooms modern technology such as social media pages, interactive whiteboards, 'Google Earth' and the latest Web 2, technology exposes children and young people to the myriad of cultures that comprise the global village. Schools should be well equipped and teachers well trained to access these resources so that students from a very young age are able to engage in discussions on global issues.

8.4 *Schools as Learning Communities*

Strategies for teaching about human rights should include closer collaborations between schools and civic bodies as learning communities. Schools could connect with elderly and other groups in their local community, as well as local community agencies, in other key government agencies and in some cases local businesses, to provide students with a more holistic education. For example, bringing 'seniors' into schools as mentors for children and young people who do not have extended family connections often provides opportunities for very positive interactions for both groups. In these ways schools can more effectively promote universal values, intercultural dialogue and democratic citizenship. They will be able to develop processes where peoples live more safely and with more dignity in their communities.

Recently, the federal Minister for Education, the Hon Christopher Pyne, announced a further review of the Australian school curriculum. The minister has rightly noted in an article in the *Canberra Times* that:⁹

[T]his nation's curriculum policy must not be captured by any fad, by any vested interest group, or by those pursuing political or narrow agendas. ... It must be balanced, ensuring students are exposed to a full array of ideas; up-to-date, relevant and help students develop the appropriate critical skills so they can make their own choices about what they want to believe or support.

In fact, one of the key purposes of education, within Australian contemporary society, is to develop in our children as they grow to become citizens of a democratic state the critical thinking skills that will allow them to weigh up evidence to make valid judgments about issues that affect them in their everyday lives.

Let us hope that the review of school curriculum will acknowledge that understanding of democratic processes is a vital aspect of our education system. This includes knowing the history and evolution of our robust democratic systems from the signing of the Magna Carta, through to the various social and political upheavals of the last three centuries, to the complexities of living in a globalized world. In this context it is our belief that students must have an understanding of our rights and freedoms. Dr Ozdowski noted in his online opinion article that '[C]ivil liberties and

freedoms, and in particular freedom of speech, play a very important role in modern society, adding to innovation, eliminating costly mistakes and giving modern societies their competitive edge'¹⁰ (Ozdowski 2013).

9 Other Players

Federal and state anti-discrimination laws that we have outlined earlier prohibit discrimination and harassment in employment, education and service delivery based on an extensive list of grounds such as race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, ethno-religious background, sex, marital status and pregnancy. They apply to a range of other players, in both the public and private sectors that contribute significantly to Australian human rights education efforts. A brief discussion of their focus and activities are noted below.

9.1 *Public Employers: The Federal Public Service Commission (PSC)*

The Federal Public Service Commission has the responsibility of maintaining '[T]he principles of good public administration, [that] ...lie at the heart of the democratic process and the confidence the public has in the way public servants exercise authority when meeting government objectives'.¹¹

The recommendations of the National Human Rights Consultations Report¹² included human rights education in the public sector, such as the introduction of human rights action plans and the incorporation of language consistent with human rights values into the Australian Public Service (APS) values structure.¹³ The Australian Human Rights Commission, as part of the funding received from the federal government, has undertaken human rights education training of staff within the public service. As part of this process, it introduced the Australian Human Rights Network for APS staff and produced resources for public servants such as *Human Rights at your Fingertips* (2012).¹⁴ The attorney general's office has also produced an e-learning model titled *Human Rights in your Hands*.¹⁵

Although this paper deals mainly with federal matters, it is important to note that some states and territories are pursuing their own human rights act or charter in the absence of national legislation. For example, the Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act of 2006 came into full effect in January 2008.¹⁶

The Victorian Charter stipulates that all public authorities and their employees must respect and promote the human rights set out in the Charter and as an employment principle. This means that human rights must be upheld in an employee's daily work (Victoria Department of Justice).

9.2 Private Employers

The Australian government has rigorous legislative processes related to private employers' responsibilities for the implementation of anti-discrimination provisions in places of employment. The occasional breaches in employment of any discrimination or occupational health and safety provisions result in court cases and associated publicity that contributes to public knowledge about human rights.

Furthermore, increasingly, good corporate governance is seen as an important aspect of a large private corporation's social responsibility. For example, some large mining companies such as BHP Billiton Iron Ore or Rio Tinto Alcan Weipa have indigenous mining and employment agreements and offer indigenous traineeship programmes. Such programmes are also well known and given as examples of good practice.¹⁷

9.3 The Higher Education Sector

The university sector has a strong human rights governance focus, and most higher education institutions are model employers when it comes to upholding human rights laws. Equity and diversity principles are an integral part of a university's character. Most universities have a department or unit dedicated to ensuring that the university complies with equity and diversity principles and supports these with programmes and resources that promote workplaces that are socially just and accessible to all. These units provide specialist advice and support to all areas of the university on diversity policy development, programme implementation and equity-related grievance resolution (Burridge and Walker 2010).

In addition to these standard activities, many universities provide specialist programmes, scholarships, affirmative action strategies and assistance to socially disadvantaged groups in the community. For example, scholarship assistance or special entry provisions are provided to certain university faculties for students from rural and remote communities. Similarly, many universities have designated policies following Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA)¹⁸ principles and are the employers of choice for women (EOWA: <https://www.wgea.gov.au/>).

In terms of research and teaching, many universities have human rights law centres as part of their faculties of law. Some, such as the Centre for Human Rights Education at Curtin University or the Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney, teach human rights education courses as part of humanities.

9.4 Human Rights Education and Non-governmental Organizations

Finally, it should be remembered that Australia has a well-established civil society with a large number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in human rights. Many, such as Amnesty International and Save the Children, have well-developed

human rights education programmes, and many church-based organizations have social justice or human rights groups like Caritas Australia. There are asylum seekers resource centres and migrant organizations, law societies, disability organizations, gender and sexuality NGOs, trade unions and employee organizations concerned with unlawful workplace discrimination, bullying, work condition and charities, to name only a few.

10 The Australian Council of Human Rights Education (ACHRE)¹⁹

The ACHRE, formerly known as the National Committee for Human Rights Education, was established in 1999 by a group of committed and dedicated teachers, academics and community members to actively pursue human rights education in Australia in response to the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. It focuses exclusively on the promotion of human rights education in Australia and internationally. Her Excellency Ms Quentin Bryce AC, CVO Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, is patron-in-chief of ACHRE. Its members have extensive human rights education expertise, including academic research and project management, resource development, professional development and training and online learning.

Despite its limited budget as a small independent NGO, the ACHRE has undertaken a range of important activities to promote human rights education in academia, in primary and secondary schools and in the wider community. For example, in 2003 it was an important player in establishing the Centre for Human Rights Education at Curtin University, Western Australia, with the generous donation by a Japanese philanthropist, Dr. Haruhisa Handa. In 2007, ACHRE established the National Centre for Human Rights Education at RMIT University in Melbourne. In addition, ACHRE participates in international human rights education initiatives such as provision of human rights training in developing countries and participation in international forums and conferences.

ACHRE maintains a clearinghouse of online human rights educational materials for primary and secondary school teachers and community organizations as well as for government representatives and officials. In 2002 it launched the Australia-wide Citizen for Humanity Project at the Parliament House, Canberra. This project is focused on teaching about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to school children. ACHRE awards 'Citizens for Humanity' certificates to schools that participate in educational activities based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ACHRE also collaborates with the federal and state governments and their various government departments and human rights bodies on the promotion of specific human rights programmes or issues. It is an active lobbyist for human rights education and makes numerous submissions to federal, state and territory governments on human rights education in Australia.

Most importantly, ACHRE has initiated and co-sponsored a range of national and international conferences, seminars and workshops bringing together academic scholars, teachers, students and human rights practitioners from around the globe to engage in debates and discussions about human rights and the importance of promoting human rights not just within our local communities but within the most vulnerable states. For example, it has been the leading organizer of International Conferences on Human Rights Education (ICHRE) held so far in Sydney, Australia (2010)²⁰; Durban, South Africa (2011); Cracow, Poland (2012)²¹; and Taipei, Taiwan (2013).²² The fifth ICHRE will be held at the American University in Washington DC in November 2014.

11 The Way Forward: Opportunities for Human Rights Education in Australia

We can conclude on an optimistic note. Although Australia is the only modern democracy without significant formal constitutional protections of civil liberties (which, as some would argue, might be provided by a statutory Bill of Rights to impede the capacity of the parliament to pass discriminatory laws), it has a well-founded culture of human rights and has made significant progress in developing and improving Australians' knowledge of such rights. Nevertheless, there is room for improvement in a modern-day multicultural Australia, and further effort must be made to advance human rights education, with special focus on civil liberties and freedoms, and social justice for all.

Of enormous benefit to the advancement of human rights education would be the establishment of an Australian Bill of Rights that would define Australian human rights standards, provide for better 'checks and balances' for interactions between individual citizens and their governments and assist in the development of our own jurisprudence. To achieve this, Australians need to be persuaded that such a bill is about the reassertion of their individual liberties. Given that an Australian Bill of Rights is unlikely to emerge in the foreseeable future, we need to concentrate on other facets of the human rights discourse as outlined by the recommendations of the National Human Rights Consultation Committee that gave human rights education a major focus.

Therefore, in conclusion, we would make a strong argument for giving a higher priority to human rights education in our schools. While the humanities-based subjects of history, geography and legal studies in the senior secondary years and civics-based subjects in the lower secondary years have clear references to human rights in the curriculum (as noted earlier the discussion of Human Rights Education in the School Curriculum Report), for many other subjects, including such important subjects as English, the focus is more diffuse. Therefore, the overwhelming evidence is that there is a relatively narrow base of subjects in the curriculum spectrum across Australia that specifically offers human rights-based learning opportunities for students (Burridge et al. 2013, p. 65).

And while rights-based NGOs do work in schools, much of their work is project based, requiring committed teachers, and is not sustained in curriculum documents. In addition, teachers are not well trained to work with human rights issues and some of the controversies that surround them. For sustained change and to ensure quality pedagogical practices in the teaching of human rights issues, teachers need professional development support and access to quality innovative resources that enable global perspectives and linkages that highlight human rights issues.

We are now embarking on the third phase of the UN World Programme on Human Rights Education, and there is a clear opportunity for governments at all levels in Australia to encourage educational institutions through policy development and resources provision to embed human rights education within our national curriculum and our everyday practices in our schools and communities.

Notes

1. For more information about Australian multiculturalism and its history, see Ozdowski, S. (2013). *Australian Multiculturalism: The Roots of its Success*. In K. Mazur, P. Musiewicz & B. Szlachta (Eds.), *Promoting Changes in Times of Transition and Crisis: Reflections on Human Rights Education*. Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka. Available at www.akademicka.pl
2. Julie McLeod and Ruth Reynolds use the term ‘peaceful pedagogy’ to describe a model for learning about, through and for human rights. McLeod, J. & R. Reynolds (2010). *Peaceful Pedagogy: Teaching Human Rights through the curriculum*. Similar language is used in the UN General Assembly, *Draft Plan of Action for the First Phase (2005–2007)* of the World Programme for Human Rights Education, UN GAOR, 59th session, UN Doc A/59/525/Rev 1, 2 March 2005 which sees ‘three task fields of human rights education: learning over, by and for human rights’.
3. For a paper dealing with access and inclusive pedagogy for students with disabilities, see Zajda, J. (2011). Trends in education policy and pedagogy for students with disabilities in Australia. In K. Mazurek & M. Winzer (Eds.), *Special education in an international perspective*. Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
4. For more information, visit the Australian Human Rights Commission, <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/parliamentary-joint-committee-human-rights>
5. A last resort? Report of the National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention. HREOC, Sydney, May 2004, http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/human_rights/children_detention_report/report/PDF/alr_complete.pdf. See also: An Absence of Human Rights: Children in Detention. *Political Crossroads*, Vol. 16(2), pp. 39–72, 2009. <http://sevozowski.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/An-absence-of-human-rights-Children-in-Detention-2009.pdf>

6. For a useful contribution to the development of a national school curriculum, see Australian Human Rights Commission 'Human rights education in the national school Curriculum': Position Paper of the Australian Human Rights Commission (2011).
7. Burrige, N., Chodkiewicz, A., Payne, AM, Oguro, S., Varnham, S., *Human Rights Education in the Schools Curriculum Report* (UTS Printing Service, 2013). The full report can be downloaded at <http://cfsites1.uts.edu.au/ccs/news/details.cfm?ItemId=35498>
8. Burrige et al. 2013 'Human Rights Education in the Australian School Curriculum', This paper contains short excerpts from this report's Executive summary pp. 5–12.
9. Pyne, C., 'Politics have no place in curriculum review: Christopher Pyne'. *Canberra Times*, 20 January 2014. <http://www.canberratimes.com.au/comment/politics-have-no-place-in-curriculum-review-christopher-pyne-20140119-312p8.html#ixzz2sbTRUFQb>
10. Ozdowski, S., Appointment of Mr. Tim Wilson as Human Rights Commissioner Online Opinion, 23 December 2013, <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=15858>
11. Australian Public Service Employment Principles and Code of Conduct, www.apsc.gov.au/aps-employment-policy-and-advice/aps-values-and-code-of-conduct
12. For the full report, see Attorney General's Department, <http://www.ag.gov.au/RightsAndProtections/HumanRights/TreatyBodyReporting/Pages/HumanRightsconsultationreport.aspx>. The 2009 National Human Rights Consultation Report has the following relevant recommendations on pages 31–32: Recommendation 8 The Committee recommends as follows:
13. The 2009 National Human Rights Consultation Report has the following relevant recommendations on pages 31–32: Recommendation 8 The Committee recommends as follows:
 - That the Federal Government develop a whole-of-government framework for ensuring that human rights based either on Australia's international obligations or on a federal Human Rights Act or both are better integrated into public sector policy and legislative development, decision making, service delivery, and practice more generally
 - That the Federal Government nominate a Minister responsible for implementation and oversight of the framework and for annual reporting to parliament on the operation of the framework

Recommendation 9

The Committee recommends that the Federal Government incorporate human rights compliance in the Australian Public Service Values and Code of Conduct. Recommendation 10

The Committee recommends that the Federal Government require federal departments and agencies to develop human rights action plans and report on human rights compliance in their annual reports.

14. This pocket guide for public sector officials is available at Australian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/human-rights-your-fingertips-2012>
15. See Australian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/education/aps-human-rights-network>.
16. For the full text of the Charter, visit the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrightscscommission.vic.gov.au/index.php/the-charter>
17. See, for example, the pioneering ‘Rio Tinto Human Rights Guidance’ document published in April 2001. This document has been produced to guide operations in implementing Rio Tinto human rights policy and to show how it can be applied in complex local situations. It codifies existing human rights standards, was written in consultation with managers across the company and focuses on building good relations with local communities and company employees.
18. The Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency was renamed the Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) under the Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012 (WGE Act). See <http://www.wgea.gov.au/about-wgea/our-vision-values-and-functions>
19. Australian Council for Human Rights Education, <http://humanrightseducation-australia.com/about.php>.
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Part V

Education, Policy and Curricula Issues

Section Editors: *Joseph Zajda* (Australian Catholic University) and *Rea Zajda*
(James Nicholas Publishers)

Education in the Global Order

Crain Soudien

1 Introduction

Only a very few social observers and commentators continue to argue for the delinking of the economically less-developed parts of the world from those perceived to make up the rich and the developed. Almost everyone else has come to accept the idea that we have reached a point in history where the globe has become, irreversibly and irretrievably, a single social space. Talking about the cultural dimensions of this experience, key social theorist Stuart Hall (1991, p. 27) argues that ‘a new form of global mass culture’ has arisen, ‘dominated by the modern means of cultural production’. These cultural means of production have come to overlay, rearticulate and, in many cases, overdetermine the character of everyday life in every part of the world. Even countries and those parts of the world that have sought to present themselves as ‘enemies’ of this process are themselves articulated and implicated, in complex ways, in it.

Critical as this point is, one can underplay the extent to which this experience is felt *differently* around the world. Inexorably, every recess and corner of the globe has found itself drawn into the great drama of modernity, with its attendant compulsions around how trade, governance and behaviour ought to be managed. I argue in this chapter that globalisation is being experienced as a discriminatory and even oppressive force in many places and that this condition has come to constitute what I call a ‘puzzle’ for many families, communities and countries having to make decisions about the kind of education their young ought to have. The question that is posed in many countries, by no means of course a new question but one that is facing us so much more starkly than ever before, is that, if one cannot operate outside of the ambit of this domination, does one yield to it entirely? Is it a simple

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matter of acceptance or rejection? What educational decisions, for example, ought a Zulu-speaking family in South Africa make about their 6-year-old son who has been brought up on a diet of American television? What decisions ought a devout Hindu community in Calcutta, India, make about the educational future of their children? How should the state government of Rivers State in Nigeria respond to the demands of subsistence farmers for English schools for their children? Should the children of these old civilisations be schooled in the practices and ways of their pasts? If they aren't, and if modern schooling is to be their lot, as is likely to be the case, what attitudes to their pasts will they develop?¹

I want to suggest that we are beset by immense confusion, in many parts of the world, as we confront these questions. This confusion is about how much or how little of that which we imagine to be distinctly ours, whatever that might be, we wish to have at the core of the education our children ought to receive or, alternately, how strongly we wish them to be assimilated into that which has become the dominant culture. We know not how to deal with what the poet William Wordsworth wrote presciently, namely:

The world is too much with us,
Late and soon, getting and spending,
We lay waste our powers,
Little we see in nature that is ours.

Living in a world that is 'too much with us', we are deeply ambivalent about the loss of cultural practices, habits, ways and values that are, almost everywhere, giving way to 'universalised' standards spawned in the 'cultural' capitals of the world. The chapter will look critically at the attendant processes of assimilation and appropriation that are inherent in globalisation and modernity and will argue that education has now, more than ever before, the responsibility of making the politics of knowledge, culture and social practice in the broadest sense of these terms, the core of the learning experience.

While the question of the role of education in the economically less-developed parts of the world, a grouping that is often referred to as 'the South', has been worked over many times and over an extended period (see Ahmed and Coombs 1975; Altbach and Kelly 1978; Carnoy 1974; Watson 1982, 1984; Dore 1976; Mangan 1993; Tikly 1999; Carnoy and Samoff 1990; Bray 1993; Freire 1972, 1978; Brock and Lawlor 1985; Nasson and Samuel 1990; Fuller 1991; Foster 1977; Brock-Utne 2000), importantly, the approaches of many in the field have been informed, as Tikly (1999, p. 617) has trenchantly pointed out, by the normative examples of the economically developed world. The literature on globalisation and education, for example, has tended to present the education systems and experiences of the economically developing world as derivatives of those in the economically developed world (or 'the North'). As a result, education in the South is only *understandable* and *interpretable* in relation to the economically dominant North. The systems of the South are bearers of meaning in so far as they fulfil the criteria for adding educational value – such as excellence and achievement – framed by the North. Outside these criteria, they either have no meaning or present themselves as something 'other' than education. Tikly (1999) says that these 'other' forms are described as 'deviants' and 'aberrants'.

In responding to this situation, and in terms of looking for a way of talking about education in the South which does not fall prey to the ‘othering’ inclinations manifested in mainstream educational discourse, it is necessary to have an approach which is alert to the complexity of the educational experience in the economically less-developed world and to the educational choices that families, communities and nations can make. While such an approach must begin with an acknowledgement of the intense relationships, and often dependencies, that exist between educational systems in the South and those in the North (see, e.g., Nekhwevha’s (1999) critique of South Africa and Namibia’s recent policy borrowings from agencies such as the World Bank), one also needs to consider what internal forces and influences give a country its educational character. Education in the South needs to be understood within the combined and related circumstances of its internal and external relationships. This is necessary if we are to understand what is at stake when making a decision about a country’s educational future. How would one go about doing this?

What such a discussion would of necessity seek to provide is an exploratory framework for understanding the dynamics of education provision and policy development not either in terms of the global location of the South or simply its own internal dynamics but, instead, in terms of its inward and outward *articulatedness*. An example of the possibilities of this kind of work is suggested by Remi Clignet (1998). In a powerful analysis of the relationship between school and its actors, he argues that there exists a degree of ambivalence about the demand for schooling in Africa and that this ambivalence can only be understood empirically. He suggests that assessments are required of the differences that cultural (local) and structural (global and local) variations make on familial strategies and decisions about schooling. This approach is critical because it suggests clearly that we face specific *kinds* of globalisation around the world. These different kinds of globalisation require educational responses and policies that are distinctly framed for the contexts they serve. I will use this approach to make a general argument for how education in the ‘South’, in a globalising context, may be developed. In order to arrive at this kind of analysis, I am proposing that the debates around globalisation and post-colonialism should be brought into a stronger discursive relationship. The approach that I will use will be to briefly review the globalisation debate and to take those elements of post-colonialism that relate particularly to identity to construct a theoretical framework with which to look at education and education policy.

2 Part One: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding the Global Condition

Towards developing an articulated framework for this chapter, the meta-analysis of globalisation developed by Held et al. (1999) provides an extremely useful point of departure. This analysis orders the globalisation discussion into three major schools of thought, namely, those of the Hyperglobalisers, the Sceptics and the Transformationalists. These groupings are classified in terms of their conceptualisations of globalisation, the

causal dynamics attributed to globalisation, the socio-economic consequences of globalisation, the implications that globalisation has for state power and governance and the historical trajectory of globalisation.

The key contention of the Hyperglobalisers is that globalisation has displaced the nation state as the axis of economic production. Transnational networks of production, trade and finance have created a new borderless order dominated by an impersonal market in which power is articulated around highly mobile economic forces. The role of states, within this order, is reduced to that of providing the mechanisms for managing the new economy. Optimistic Hyperglobalisers see this as the advent of the first truly global civilisation, within which, for the first time, universal standards of economic and political organisation hold sway.

Sceptics, by contrast, argue that global trends in international trade and finance are not new and that what is being seen in the international order is simply an accentuation of existing economic forces. Instead of seeing the erosion of states, Sceptics see the emergence of regional power blocs around the world and point to the stabilisation of the North American, European and Asia-Pacific regions as the real change that has happened in modern times. This change has deepened patterns of inequality and facilitated the coming into being, by way of response, of aggressive fundamentalisms in many marginalised parts of the globe. Globalisation in this view is a Western project – a euphemism for the new form of capitalism that has taken centre stage, unchallenged, after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Transformationalists, working with elements of the arguments of both the Hyperglobalisers and the Sceptics but rejecting the economic essentialisms in both perspectives, argue that globalisation has reconstituted the world economically, politically and socially. As Held et al. (1999, p. 7) say, ‘contemporary processes of globalisation are unprecedented, such that governments and societies across the globe are having to adjust to a world in which there is no longer a clear distinction between international and domestic, external and internal affairs’. This view, argued particularly by Giddens (1996), holds that globalisation has succeeded in ‘shaking out’ societies, their economies and institutions of governance.

Unlike the Hyperglobalisers and the Sceptics, Transformationalists, however, argue that while the whole world has been incorporated into the globalisation process, the nature of this incorporation has been profoundly contradictory. New forms of articulation with power, political, economic and cultural, have produced configurations and stratifications in which some states are increasingly enmeshed while others have been marginalised: ‘... the North-south division rapidly gives way to a new international division of labour such that the ‘familiar pyramid of the core-periphery hierarchy is no longer a geographic but a social division of the world economy’ (Hoogvelt 1997, p. xii). Out of this have emerged new and complex modes of social differentiation. For the Transformationalists, globalisation has had the effect of redefining the nature of inclusion and exclusion both between and within countries. As Held et al. (1999, p. 8) argue, ‘North and South, First World and Third World, are no longer ‘out there’ but nestled together within all the world’s major cities’. What has made these developments possible is the increasing delinking of economic activity from rooted territorial spaces and the concomitant redistribution of political and

economic sovereignty, such as in the European Union, between the international, national and local. States no longer command sole 'command of what transpires within their territorial boundaries' (Held et al. 1999, p. 8).

Held et al.'s elaboration of this discussion is important to describe here because it offers theoretical pathways that both the Hyperglobalisers and the Sceptics are unable to access. Held et al., for example, make the point that despite a proliferation of definitions of globalisation, there is scant evidence of any attempt to specify what is 'global' about globalisation. Most definitions, they say, are 'compatible with far more spatially combined processes such as the spread of national or regional inter-connections' (Held et al. 1999, p. 15). Their contribution to the discussion is to begin with an acknowledgement of the distinctive spatial attributes of globalisation and the way these unfold over time. For them,

(g)lobalisation can be located on a continuum with the local, national and regional. At one end of the continuum lie social and economic relations and networks which are organised on a local and/or national basis; at the other end lie social and economic relations and networks which crystallise on the wider scale of regional and global interactions. Globalisation can be taken to refer to those spatio-temporal processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organisation of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents. Without reference to such expansive spatial connections, there can be no clear or coherent formulation of this term. (Held et al. 1999, p. 15)

This approach implies a *stretching* or an *extension* of the social, the political and the economic across space articulating the world in new ways. Events in one place have significance for individuals and groups in other parts of the world. Because these extensions become routine, there is also a distinct *intensification* in patterns of interaction and movement of goods, ideas and relationships. These, moreover, take place in contexts where a *speeding up* of information, capital and commodity flows becomes a requirement of the economic, political and cultural landscape. The effects of all of these, together, are to achieve a time-space compression that confounds the specificity of what is local and what is global and of what is native and what is foreign.

The two key points to take away from the Transformationalist discussion is that globalisation has effectively reconstituted social processes of inclusion and exclusion and redistributed economic, social and political authority.

2.1 *Globalisation, Race and the State*

Important as these arguments are, and they essentially capture the theoretical trajectory that this chapter seeks to take, they continue, unfortunately, a tendency of minimising those social dynamics that give capital, cultural, commodity and community flows their distinct characters. While they talk, very interestingly, of the process of empire building that defines the character of globalisation (see Held et al., pp. 333–336), they do not address, adequately, the complexity of the *content* of the most important forms of social differentiation and inclusion and exclusion that are now playing themselves out in the world.

At one level, the Held et al. analysis is perfectly capable of explaining the intense levels of poverty that are now the lot of the majority of the world's peoples (see Stiglitz 2002, pp. 5 and 161) and the concomitant urgency of global agencies, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and the dominant economies, such as the United States and the European Union, to preserve their self-interests (see Tibbet 2003). It also accounts for how new modes of production are creating new elites and how post-Fordist approaches are marginalising the less skilled and uneducated everywhere (see Held et al., pp. 262–266), including the economically developed parts of the world. It does not, however, and this is partly a consequence of the inadequate conceptualisation of the state in the discussion, particularly in relationship to the notion of citizenship, deal with the interface of race, the state and globalisation.

What the Held et al. work does not sufficiently take account of, for example, are the racisms and gendered forms of incorporation that have accompanied and indeed characterised the emergence of the modern state.² Talking about the racialised state, Goldberg (2002, p. 4) argues that race has been integral to the emergence, development and transformation of the modern state. He shows the racial nature of the conceits that revolved around rationality, as rationality became the handmaiden of modernity. These are exemplified in the works of some of the major thinkers of the Enlightenment. While Marx, for example, saw the emergence of the modern state in the colonies as an instrument that was, at once, 'actuated by the vilest interest', even he succumbed to the general racialised temper of the times. He argued that modernity would fulfil the mission of 'the annihilation of old Asiatic society' (Goldberg 2002, pp. 51–52). This old Asiatic society, as Marx put it, 'had always been the foundation of Oriental despotism... they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass... enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies' (pp. 51–52). Embedded in these views, and even expressed more extremely by Hegel and Mills, is a profoundly racial sense of rationality (see Appiah 2002). As a consequence of this, race marks and orders the emergence of the nation state.

The point of the argument is that the content of the differentiations that Held et al. (1999) speak of is *under-specified* and has major implications for the particular ways in which the world has become a connected space. The power of Goldberg's (2002) work is in its understanding of the state, even in its compromised form as the no longer 'sole' authority within its own territorial boundaries, as a state of continuing institutions and apparatuses, as most accounts would have it, but also as a state of norms and principles. Goldberg (2002, p. 8) explains, 'It becomes possible in light of this picture to define the state as a more or less coherent and discrete entity in two related ways: as state *projects* (Goldberg's emphasis) underpinned and rationalised by a self-represented history as state memory; and as state *power(s)*'. The connections and networks that are the hallmark of the globalised world are logically and unavoidably imprinted with the images of the state with its own projects, memories and powers. That a state, therefore, is a former colonial power, or a former colony is pertinent to understanding the kinds of differentiations that exist within it and between it and other states.

2.2 *Globalisation and Post-colonialism*

What this discussion leads to is the necessity for bringing globalisation theory and post-colonialism theory into a more coherent relationship (see Ahluwalia 2001; Appadurai 1996; Chatterjee 1997, 1998; Mbembe 2001; Mamdani 1996; Appiah 2002; Prakash 1996). Building on the discussion developed by Goldberg, it is clear that an approach to globalisation needs to be taken that recognises more strongly the ideological modes of incorporation of the diverse parts of the world into the international system. States, as Goldberg makes clear, are not neutral apparatuses shepherding in the experience of 'enlightenment'. They have profoundly imprinted on them the contradictions of enlightenment.

Like globalisation, post-colonialism has, of course, many meanings and is interpreted differently by many. This diversity of opinion is most vividly demonstrated in the text *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (Ashcroft et al. 1995) where sociologists, literary theorists, historians, anthropologists and theorists from a range of other disciplines are brought together to consider the 'post-colonial' condition. What unites the theorists, as Ashcroft et al. (1995, p. 2) say, is an 'attempt to redress a process whereby 'post-colonial theory' may mask and even perpetuate unequal economic and cultural relations'. Clearly, however, as anyone familiar with the broad discussion will know, the field is indeed divided and fractured. The charge, for example, has been made that post-colonialism (see, inter alia, Hutcheon 1994; Ahmad 1992; Dirlik 1994) is, variously, an evasion of the deep realities of the very specific ways in which imperialism and capitalism continue to function in the colonial world, the new terrain of domination for the indigenous intellectual, and of being a marketing strategy for a range of new/not-so-new fashions. Prakash (1996), in response to these criticisms, specifically makes the argument that post-colonialism as a mode of analysis attempts to understand the novel ways in which globalisation articulates difference, inequality and discrimination in the colonial world. He sees it as a direct response to decontextualised readings of globalisation that seek to assimilate and appropriate the colonised world and its experience into the now-universalised structures of differentiation, oppression and exploitation. Drawing from Said, Ahluwalia (2001, p. 6) argues that whereas postmodernism is a counter to modernism, post-colonialism seeks to disrupt the 'cultural hegemony of the Modern West with all its imperial structures of feeling and knowledge...'.

Chatterjee (1997, p. 14) argues that 'the history of our modernity has been intertwined with the history of colonialism' and that the kinds of modernities we have around us are what he calls 'modernit(ies) that (are) national'. 'Ours', he says, 'is the modernity of the once-colonised. The same historical process that has taught us the value of modernity has also made us the victims of modernity. Our attitude to modernity, therefore, cannot but be deeply ambiguous' (Chatterjee 1997, p. 20).

Two points flow from a recognition and acknowledgement of this ambiguity. Firstly, it brings to a conclusion the argument (see Said 1978, 1994) about the strong class, racial and cultural factors that have operated in the making of the connections and networks that define globalisation and the implications of the operation of these

factors. Said (1994, p. 235) says, for example, that ‘the net effect of cultural exchange between partners conscious of inequality is that the people suffer.... In modern times ... thinking about cultural exchange involves thinking about domination and forcible appropriation: someone loses and someone gains’. Invariably those who gain are ‘white’ and ‘European’, and those who lose are people of ‘colour’ and ‘non-European’. Appropriation proceeds on the basis of structures ‘of feeling’ and oppression and exploitation that result in an equation of ‘whiteness’ with ‘self’ and ‘non-whiteness’ with ‘other’.

Secondly, and fortunately, it also allows the discussion to move beyond the binariness, and hence the limitations, inherent in the first point, namely, that globalisation produces political dichotomies – the ‘us’ and ‘them’ and the ‘self’ and ‘other’.³ To be taken away from Chatterjee’s ambivalence and key for post-colonial authors, such as Bhabha (1994), are concepts such as transculturation and hybridity. Ahluwalia (2001, p. 123), providing a way of developing this line of thought, comes to the conclusion that

the experience of colonialism bound disparate societies and peoples together, making the world a closer place; ‘although in the process the separation between Europeans and natives was an insidious and fundamentally unjust one, most of us should now regard the historical experience of empire as a common one’ (quoting from Edward Said’s *Culture and Imperialism*). It is this implication of the commonality between the colonisers and the colonised, the sense of hybridity and transculturation that it invokes, that post-colonialism shares with globalisation discourses.

What we have in the world today is a situation where the local and the global, even though they are asymmetrically positioned, are in a productive dialogue. This dialogue, as several authors have tried to explain (see Appiah 2002; Hall 1996), needs to be understood in terms of the deep entanglements between different times, different spaces and different histories that have come to mark the contemporary. Resonate as this line of thought does with Held et al.’s space-time compression notions, they take them further. Unequal as different parts of the world are, they are bound together in both the symbolic and the physical in a way that makes it impossible to recover originality, authenticity, purity and essence. No part of the world can think of itself as autonomous, free floating, as Hall (1996, p. 252) says ‘self-produced’ and sovereign. The ‘self’ in the privileged world is only understandable in relation to its ‘other’ in the less privileged world. The ‘Other ceased to be’, said Hall (1996), ‘a term fixed in place and time external to the system of identification’. In explaining this process, Ahluwalia (2001, p. 126) argues that globalisation is a dynamic reality: ‘It is consumed not merely as some fetishised commodity but as an appropriated, hybridised feature of everyday life. It thus becomes as much part of the local and particular as the traditional and ‘indigenous’’. Emerging out of this are deeply creolised cultures and identities, or as Hall (1996) put it more carefully, the whole process of differentiation is recast within the ‘universal scope of a single order (the panopticon) of being, so that difference had to be re-cast into the constant *marking* and *re-marking* (my emphasis) of positions...’. Positions, even if they are the subjects of intense surveillance, are constantly shifting and moving. As Ahluwalia (2001) comments, this creolisation is not simply an elite experience. While it is

evident in the ways in which elite groups conduct themselves in every part of the economically developing world, it is the medium in which everyday people live. Fabian's (1998) *Moments of Freedom* describes powerfully, to illustrate, how his Jamaa people in the Shaba province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the former Zaire) live the global everyday of their lives. Critical about this embrace of the global, however, and this is where our discussion of the place of school inserts itself, is its recognition of the modalities of this everyday life. Central to these modalities is one's understanding how survival works. Fabian (1998, p. 69) says

there is more to survival than blocking aggression or subverting domination, both of which popular culture seems capable of. Survival is *staying* (emphasis in the original) alive, and that has something to do with the capacity to establish domains of expression through generic differentiation without allowing genre (whatever it might be) to take on the kind of power that would make it impossible to be *creative* (my emphasis).

A number of lines of thought converge at this point and are brought to a head nicely by the general thrust of Prakash (1996) and Homi Bhabha's (1994) work. Following on Fabian's insight into how creativity works, we might draw on Prakash's argument about the impossibility of 'recovering' the subaltern as a full-blooded subject. Authenticity and originality are chimaeras. All we have, it might be argued, is the continual reinvention of the everyday. Prakash suggests that instead of looking for the identity of the citizen as an otherness that lies outside dominance, to be 'recovered' by the subalternist scholar, we should understand subalternity as a mode of engagement with the problems of the dominant system.

It is at this point that we move to Part Two of this chapter where we look at the possibilities offered by education in the globalised 'South'.

3 Part Two: Education, Globalisation and the Post-colonial Condition

What room does education provide for the subordinate and the world of the economically developing South to move in the context of globalisation? In terms of the trajectory of my argument, I am suggesting that the subordinate – or Prakash's subaltern – has before him or her, or indeed them, the urgency of engaging with the world of the dominant, through acquiring the canon of the dominant, its literature and its science but at the same time of holding that dominant world to account by conducting a conversation, as Appiah (2002) puts it, across 'all the dimensions of difference'. How such a conversation across difference is managed is what I talk about here.

I suggest that there exists the possibility inside of the kinds of mainstream education and educational systems to answer the hard questions of marginalisation and hierarchisation that are the hallmarks of globalisation. To understand how this might come about, a quick review of the engagement of mainstream education with the question of difference is necessary.

3.1 *The Dance of the Self: Globalisation and Multicultural Education*

Interest in the question of difference in relation to human rights only really took off in the seventies. Before that, while there were some cultural activists who fought for the survival of their languages and cultures, and many more who fought for a place for their people in the mainstream, only a handful of people anywhere argued for the indigenisation of education. In a country like South Africa, for example, 'resistance' in education is essentially a resistance against the provision of inferior education. People struggle not for the acknowledgement of their own histories but for their inclusion in the educational universe of the dominant classes. By and large the cultural subordinate exists in a state of 'thralldom' in relation to dominant culture. It was only in the 1970s that a discussion in the mainstream began about cultural difference and about different histories outside of the mainstream and how these histories ought to be accommodated, included or constructed as the centre of an educational discourse.

Significantly, in most parts of the world, this discussion about the inclusion of the subordinate crystallises into a debate about multiculturalism. What passes for multiculturalism, however, and what comes to constitute the dominant approach to difference, as the attempt to deal with this history of difference, are now in many places recognised as some kind of anodyne. The dominant form of multiculturalism that is appropriated around the world is based on a patronising approach framed by a trade in stereotypes – samosas, saris and steelbands (see May 1999).

There are, however, more serious attempts within education to engage with the question of this dominance in education. One such attempt is made by the cultural studies theorist Lawrence Grossberg (1994). In his inaugural lecture to the Waterbury Forum for Education and Cultural Studies at Pennsylvania State University, he talked of four kinds of responses to difference in education, the first three of which he is critical and the last which he offers as a new way to get at what he calls the double articulation between pedagogy and culture (pedagogy as cultural practice and pedagogy of cultural practice). The first assumes that the teacher already understands the truth to be imparted to the student. As Grossberg says, while this approach might achieve emancipatory outcomes, it assumes that the teacher understands the real meanings of texts and the power relations embodied within them and the real interests of the social groups in the classroom and the wider society. The second is what is called the dialogical approach. This approach aims to *allow* the silenced and the subordinate to speak. Its problem, as Grossberg (1994, p. 16) says, is that it assumes that the subordinate is *not* already speaking. Implicit in this, as he suggests, is the *impossibility* of hearing what the subordinate is already saying. The third is what Grossberg calls a praxical pedagogy in terms of which people are offered the skills that would enable them to understand and intervene in their own history. Like the second approach, this approach also assumes that people are *not already* doing this.

Significant about all these three approaches, and they represent what critical pedagogy has to offer in terms of thinking of difference, is, as Grossberg (1994, p. 17) says, their complicity, as radical as they might be, with contemporary forms of power. They remain located within the dominant aesthetic sensibility. They emanate from a dominant sensibility somewhat uncomfortable with itself attempting to invest in pedagogy the possibility of working with and inside the 'other'. They always, however, remain defined by the dominant. Towards reaching to a fourth approach, he talks of pedagogy of 'articulation and risk'. While such pedagogy does not abandon claims to authority, it moves in the direction of Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomatic methods of multiplying connections between things that apparently have nothing to do with each other. Kobeena Mercer (1992, pp. 38–39), writing about this, sees this pedagogy as an attempt to speak to conditions of exile and displacement, homelessness and restlessness, as an attempt that refuses to assume that either theory or politics can be known in advance and as an attempt that neither starts with nor works with a set of texts but 'deals with the formation of the popular, the cartographies of taste, stability and mobility within which students are located' (Grossberg 1994, p. 18).

While I am sympathetic to the positions presented here, including Grossberg's revamped version, I want to suggest that they do not explain what this 'deals' is that is proffered. One does not understand what the process or the content of the experience is. Instead, I suggest, one is offered a combative and, often, polemical appeal. Peter McLaren (1995) exemplifies it in the following way:

one of the most crucial issues for criticalists working in the field of literacy is to rethink the conditions of possibility for the subaltern to speak, to escape the labyrinth of subjugation, to make critical counter-statements against the logic of domination that informs the dominant white supremacist ideology of patriarchal capitalism and to transform the ideological precepts that make up the 'imponderability' of everyday life where social relations of power and privilege are naturalized through the curriculum. (McLaren 1995, p. 158)

How this is to happen or how it does happen is not explained.

3.2 *Part Two: The Dance with the Self*

It seems that in order to see 'possibility', the work that needs to be done is not simply and only to *imagine* what 'possibility' might mean but to actually *show* it. Instead of only invoking it, surely, the point needs to be made; one also has to work with it as it is *already* there. I am arguing in this part of the chapter that this possibility is already there in mainstream education and that what is necessary, politically incorrect in some ways as the proposition may sound, is to ensure that mainstream education is properly introduced and properly engaged with. Possibility arises, in working with the issues of globalisation and building the kinds of citizens that can deal with globalisation's hierarchalising structures of differentiation through the dominant medium that surrounds us. This is one of the few, if not only, ways that Prakash's point about making the position of subordination inside the ether of

globalisation, both epistemologically and ontologically, a position of integrity and critique. It is the way in which the intractability inside that ether is challenged.

I now suggest that in order to show possibility as it is already there, it is necessary to return to the Grossberg analysis for a moment. The critique of Grossberg that I wish to make is that the approach to education and cultural production and reproduction embodied in much of critical pedagogy is limited by a particular sense of its enunciation. Enunciation here refers to who is speaking and to what subject a speaker might address himself or herself. In anticipation, I am not making the argument that only insiders can speak for and interpret what one might call 'the people' or 'the community', whatever those things might mean. But there is a sense in which the voice of engagement with the challenge of difference needs to understand, very clearly, its own politics of enunciation. This is largely about dealing with, as Grossberg himself says, the issues of complicity – one's relationship to the structures, discourses and practices of domination or, put differently, the issues of one's own position (importantly not only physical) in these.

It is here that Homi Bhabha (1994) says some useful things. He makes the comment that 'the linguistic difference that informs any cultural performance [and here it is important to include 'education' too] is dramatised in the common semi-otic account of the disjuncture between the subject of a proposition [the 'you'] and the subject of enunciation [the 'I']'. The drama of the moment, however, is in the act of interpretation where the 'I' *cannot* address its history in its own words and is not conscious – because of the general conditions of language and discourse – of the strategies that are mobilised in the moment of enunciation. This ineffableness is important to grasp. It points to an ambivalence or, better, an instability, deep in the heart of the moment of enunciation. How am I to speak? How might I represent this object? *This* is the moment of possibility. It is at this moment that the enunciator experiences an episode of crisis. What he or she is representing is not a mirror of anything but, as Bhabha (1994, p. 37) says, an 'open, expanding code' framed by the possibility of language. Language, in itself, is never sufficient to encompass or consume the object of representation. It is always grasping. This opens up the way for the enunciator (the educator) to begin to question his or her relationship with the object of his or her enunciation. If he or she cannot find all the words to contain that object, can it ever be fully understood?

Following this incomplete appropriation of the object, Bhabha goes on in his work to then show how talk of inherent originality and inherent purity, and let me add 'integrity' of culture, is untenable. As he says, '[this moment], though unrepresentable in itself, constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation and ensure[s] that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew'. It is here that education reveals its possibility. It is only a sustained process of education (and it is true that different forms of education as Appiah (2002) and Wright (2002), talking of Ashante and Yoruba history, argue can achieve the same effects) that can make this possible.

Critically, however, this is possibility and not inevitability. While the crisis always produces something new, it is *possible* that the attempt to mediate, translate

and interpret the subject 'other' produces 'an assimilation of contraries' which either domesticates the object or ruptures the continuity that bind it to the enunciator.

This assimilation of contraries produces what Bhabha (1994, p. 38) has famously described, quoting Fanon, as 'that occult instability which presages powerful cultural changes'. Said (2002, p. 46), presenting this somewhat differently, for example, talks of the 'critical sense that can only come from a sustained encounter with the actualities of reading and interpretation'.

Significant about this line of thought is its colonial and or post-colonial provenance. What it is suggesting is the need to recognise, as Bhabha (1994) says, not the diversity of cultures nor the exoticism of multiculturalism 'but ...the inscription and articulation of *hybridity*' (1994, p. 38), as opposed to purity and authenticity, right within the heart of the colonial education that is now the dominant global model. The significance of this reading of difference and the instantiation of difference in the process of education is that it moves into a position where the teacher is himself or herself involved in a process of education that is inscribed in ambivalence. Education as a site for cultural production is not, in this sense only a space for working out an idealised opposition to hegemony, outside of the space of hegemony. It does not operate in that binary way. It is, on the other hand, a question of exploring the many factors at work in oneself, including the hegemonic and asking how one might work with these factors in the space of the global. It allows one to begin thinking not about origins or purity but about the internal settlements one is making and asking oneself what these are all about. Culture here [and again read 'education'] is not, as Bhabha might then say, essence handed down but, as he says elsewhere, culture crossed by *différence*.

The significance of this argument is that it is saying that what is required is in fact a deepening of the educational experience, even as it comes dressed in the garb of the colonial world. Needed is not less education but more and an intensification of it. Providing young people with the opportunity to confront and experience Homi Bhabha's crisis of enunciation is the objective. Providing them with superficial versions of this experience is perpetuating the conditions of servitude. Said (2002) says, the 'discipline required by a serious engagement with the order of books is neither an exercise in sipping and tasting, nor an occasion for rote learning, or worse pedantry'. Quoting Maxine Greene, Said (2002) talks about attending authentically to the practice of hearing, seeing 'to offer visions of consonance and dissonance that are unfamiliar and indeed abnormal, to disclose the incomplete profiles of the world'. There are many examples one can cite around the world which demonstrate the ways in which education has been mobilised to achieve a questioning of the 'incomplete profiles of the world'. One, which I have recently been struck by, is provided by the work of Ngwane (2002). He demonstrates how educated young men in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa have invested their traditional Xhosa manhood initiation rituals with the learning of school and modernity. They have replaced the arduousness of surviving in the bush with the arduousness of debate and reasoning, essentially about the problems of modern life, and made the performance of this the centrepiece of their qualification to be men. I am arguing

here with Prakash that this is what even dominant education can provide and this is what makes the argument for adopting and working with, as opposed to rejecting mainstream education, so crucial.

At the same time, I want to acknowledge that the structural conditions for achieving this possibility are not always favourable. In many parts of the world, social circumstances exist and choices are being made that work against the interests of education. The collapse of the Argentinian economy, for example, has over a period of 2 years deepened absolute levels of poverty from 38.3 % of the population in October 2001 to 56 % in 2003 (see International Institute for Education Planning 2003). Spending on education in Argentina has seen support shifted almost entirely to meeting the costs of teachers' salaries. In terms of the curriculum, countries are making choices that prejudice the ability of their children to be able to exploit the opportunity of learning. The Tanzanian government has recently, for instance, announced its intention of *not* introducing Kiswahili as the medium of instruction 'because the community has not dictated so...'. The Minister for Education and Culture, Mr. Joseph Mungai said 'as much as Kiswahili is a national language, English was the 'Kiswahili' of the world of globalisation, thus needed to be known by students' (*Tanzanian Daily News*, 2003, July 18, p. 3). What such decisions produce are barriers to learning. They impede the ability of the children to access modes of argumentation and reasoning that are best mediated through the cognitive routes that mastery of the mother tongue provides.

The problem, particularly with the latter example, is its blindness to the politics inherent in dominant education. While I am making the general argument that dominant education provides opportunity for possibility, I want to emphasise the necessity for enhancing those opportunities within the moment of possibility. Those moments are constricted when the physical and intellectual climates in which people operate are defined economically, chauvinistically and dogmatically. They are enhanced and opened up when the issues of cognitive access are put at the centre of the learning experience. Countries, regions, communities, families and individuals need to be made aware of the politics of their educational choices.

4 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been argued that education has now, more than ever before, the responsibility of making the politics of knowledge, culture and social practice in the broadest sense of these terms, the core of the learning experience. It can be argued that while globalisation, constituted as it is within the discursive parameters of modernity, is circumscribed by particular understandings of 'self' and 'other', modern education has the capacity to speak to and to critique the very conditions that seek to reproduce these inequalities and inequities.

Notes

1. I want to make clear here that the fact that a family, community or country makes a choice about the kind of curriculum it wants is a very different issue to the situation that arises when that decision has to be implemented. The implementation of it is another sociological question.
2. While there is not space to pursue this here, exactly the same argument could be made about gender. The state could be understood as a gendering space in which masculinity and femininity, in different forms, for different periods, are produced.
3. Stuart Hall (1996, p. 244) says that there is a 'certain nostalgia' for the return of 'such a clear cut politics of binary oppositions'.

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Globalization and Pedagogy of Peace

Svi Shapiro

1 A Global Pedagogy of Peace: Introduction

In this chapter, I want to outline, if only briefly, a number of those things that I believe represent essential dimensions of a pedagogy of peace. My concern will be to describe some of those moral, social, and spiritual aspects of human behavior and dispositions that are needed in order to bring about that transformation toward peace in our collective lives. My hope is that these will form the anchor points for a curriculum of peace. I have intentionally drawn on multiple cultural traditions in naming these dimensions of the language of peace. This seems important to me in emphasizing just how universal is the aspiration for, and vision of, a compassionate and peaceful world (Shapiro 2009).

There is much talk about a crisis of education. Yet what is pointed to as the cause of this crisis is confusing at best and misleading at worst. There is, for example, the argument that our economy is in trouble because of poor education. Of course this seems preposterous when compared to the role of the banks in our current economic crisis. Irresponsibility and short-term considerations, lack of governmental regulation, and a culture of greed seem to be much more salient than education might be to this situation. Despite talk of demands for sophisticated skills and more educated workers, predictions are for an economy that will continue to employ high numbers of low- and semiskilled workers. Jobs that used to be done by high school graduates are now increasingly filled by those with college degrees (Hacker 2006). Elsewhere there is much talk about an educational crisis that is the result of kids performing poorly in comparison with students from other countries. This has resulted in the

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calamity of an education system more and more enthralled to a culture of testing which has sapped imagination, creativity, curiosity, and critical intelligence from our classrooms (Shapiro 2006). The crisis of accountability has become the springboard for rigid and mechanical forms of control over the teaching process in our schools.

Yet in all of this talk of crisis, there is little that speaks to the profound moral and spiritual responsibility that is carried—or should be carried—by education. Beyond the usual focus of schooling (grades, test results, graduation rates, etc.) is surely something of far greater significance. Education has the capability and the obligation, I believe, of speaking to the very issue of what it means to be human, of how we as human beings live and relate to one another, and how we relate to, and care for, the natural world that we share with all life-forms. Today these issues rise to the very top of what is important to our very survival as a species. For us, and even more for our children, what needs to concern us is the very quality of human life on our planet. And central to this is the continuing problem of violent conflict and violent behavior among human beings. This, above all else, I have come to believe, is the real crisis of education today.

While we cannot dismiss or belittle the everyday concerns of students and their parents for basic literacy, jobs, and economic security, and an education which can help ensure these things, we need, I believe, to look beyond these to the bigger picture that confronts us and that is destructive to any form of continued human well-being. In its 2009 report, the Institute for Economic and Peace estimates that worldwide violence or the “lost peace” costs \$4.8 trillion a year. Peace, it says, is a significant factor in the creation of wealth. In a world of dwindling resources, increasing population, greater inequalities of wealth, and more powerful technologies of destruction, how can we as a human community develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that will allow us to survive and flourish as a species rather than succumb to a world of accelerating insecurity, fear of the others, and the impulse to destroy those who share our world?

2 Seven Points for a Pedagogy of Peace

2.1 *Ubuntu*

Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu suggests that the African term *Ubuntu* means that one cannot exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks, he says, about our interconnectedness, our belonging to a greater whole (Tutu 1999). You cannot be human by yourself. Contemporary culture teaches us to think of ourselves as just individuals, separated from one another. Schools usually provide a powerful vehicle for this ideology of the separate self. Most of what is defined as success (or failure) is a matter of individual achievement and performance. And, of course, what individuals achieve is always in invidious comparison to the success or failure of others. Likewise consumer culture is always about the promise of improving the quality of our lives or social status through what we *as individuals* own or can purchase.

It is not surprising that this culture produces a world of so much loneliness, disconnection from others, and conflict. It teaches us to see ourselves alone in a sea of other lonely strivers after satisfaction, validation, or success. At its core, it denies the simple reality of the *oneness* of human existence, and with it is the recognition that it is through our connectedness to others that we experience the deepest and richest satisfactions and joys of life (Lerner 2006).

To affirm the concept of *Ubuntu*, and to educate for its radical promise, means a very different focus for what we wish students to learn, morally, socially, and spiritually. In the first place, it means that the school and the classroom move away from the relentless focus on the success and failure of the individual that is inscribed in every aspect of schooling. It means that we come to see our achievements and failures as learners as the *shared* product of our communal efforts, not as something earned and owned by the lone student. The classroom emphasizes the community's achievements over the success of the individual. The "culture of separated desks" in which each student is a lonely runner in the race for success gives way to a classroom ambience of communal support, the sharing of knowledge and information, and mutual respect for each person's contributions.

Beyond this, the message of education must be one that runs counter to the individualistic and competitive message of the consumer culture; human fulfillment is found in how we serve, support, and care for the well-being of other human beings (Eisler 2008). And contrary to our dualist preferences and prejudices, our highest moral and social obligation is to serve humanity undivided by markers of nationality, race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. The educational message of *Ubuntu* is one that resists all those things that separate and isolate human beings from one another—that cause us to see others as disconnected from oneself. It leads us to question the moral environment of the school, the social relationships of the classroom, the messages found in our texts, as well as the broader messages of the culture within which we live. In each case we must ask does what we learn from these things help us to recognize and realize our mutual connectedness and interdependence as human beings? Does it enable us to experience the profound fulfillment and joy that comes from human sociability and interaction? Or does it thwart, undermine, and deny them? And to what extent are we coming to see ourselves as part of a global community in which particular connections to ethnicity, nation, etc. are less important than the ties we have with the *whole* human family? Do our educational experiences nurture and encourage this sense of global human identity?

2.2 *Tikkun Olam*

The search for a life of meaning can never be far from the goal of educating for peace. Education today has lost its most profound purpose—engagement with what it means to live meaningfully and purposefully. Instead schooling has become the soil for an arid and soulless focus of human energy and ambition: better test scores, higher grades, greater student retention, etc. The school becomes like a black box in

which inputs are measured against outputs. Our obsession with numbers, output, and averages has meant we have forgotten our responsibility to a younger generation to provide them with the opportunity for serious reflection on the nature of a purposeful life.

The absence of such opportunity is especially sad given the demonstrable crisis of meaning in our larger culture. It is a crisis that manifests itself in record levels of teenage suicides and emotional disorders; in widespread feelings of despair, loneliness, and emotional emptiness; and in the turn toward self-destructive and violent behavior. None of this can be that surprising given the dehumanizing nature of so much of the wider culture through which young people are expected to discern their life goals and aspirations. It surrounds them with a world in which the most important things are celebrity, fame, wealth, and appearance (West 2004). In such a world, time is reduced to the most immediate experience, episode, or moment. And nothing is more important than the search for the next exhilarating and optimal high. As observers like Zygmunt Bauman have pointed out, it is but a short step from this kind of cultural exposure and socialization to the despair and anxiety that leads to violence and destruction—whether this is inflicted on others or on oneself (Bauman 2007).

Tikkun Olam speaks to the need among human beings for an authentic life of meaning and the responsibility of education to facilitate such a quest. It rests on the mythic Hebrew vision of a world which has overcome division and fragmentation and become whole and united as a single caring community. The struggle for such a world becomes, in this vision, the overriding moral responsibility of human beings in this life. More than this, it is in the act of trying to create a world of compassionate and loving connection in the face of all the divisions, injustices, conflicts, and suffering that beset human beings that we are able to find the most profound sense of meaning in our lives. Obviously the message of *Tikkun Olam* is one that speaks out against the false and distorting “meanings” of the culture. And those who educate in its spirit mince no words in calling into question the dehumanizing, vulgar, overcommercialized values that shape our lives and especially those of the young (De Graaf et al. 2005). They are also clear that everything that separates and fragments our world—war, torture, social injustice, nationalism, tribalism, racism, sexism, homophobia, religious intolerance, and excessive competition—must be called into question and challenged.

Tikkun Olam speaks to “the repair of our world.” And it is through our engagement in this act of repair work that human beings find the meaning that animates a purposeful life. To educate in this spirit means to encourage students to see their lives in terms of the contribution each might make to heal the brokenness of our world and to see how they may act to redress intolerance, indignity, and injustice—all those things that fragment and divide our world. The lesson is powerful but nonspecific. It offers students a counter-vision to the tawdry and self-interested message so relentlessly pounded out by the culture of capitalism and modernity. It suggests a broad moral, social, and spiritual framework for how they may think about the direction of their lives. But exactly how this may be expressed, through one’s studies, work, professional commitments, faith activity, and political engagement, is of course the decision each must make on their own. It asserts only the

wisdom that the most purposeful lives are lived in the struggle to make whole what is broken through frustration, anger, indignity, and selfishness that are the consequences of a fragmented and divided world.

2.3 *Parrhesia*

The quest for *Ubuntu's* interconnected community or *Tikkun's* vision of a world beyond fragmentation is inseparable from the education of a courageously articulate citizenry. Peace education always inhabits that in-between zone where the “what is” encounters the “what might be.” Henry Giroux has referred to this as the voice that speaks in both the language of critique and in the language of possibility (Giroux 2001). Others have referred to it as a “critical utopianism” in which the imagined world of human dignity, justice, and peace is held up against the realities of our torn and divided world. Such critical reflection juxtaposes our hopes and dreams of a better world with the forces and interests that thwart these possibilities and attempt to reduce the social imagination to impotent dreaming. *Parrhesia* is the fearless voice that challenges and questions the world's unnecessary suffering (West 2004).

Few who are concerned with driving policy in public education concern themselves much with *parrhesia* and critical speech. Education today, as I and many other commentators have well noted, is overwhelmingly concerned with things that have little to do with developing voices that can question and challenge what is in our world. Indeed, what we see everywhere is a focus on a one-size-fits-all kind of education that is more about conformity in thinking than anything else. The focus on standardized tests and measures of “performance” in our classrooms has induced a kind of learning where students and teachers can do little else but be concerned with getting the one correct answer on the test sheet. There is precious little opportunity in all this for the kind of unconventional thinking that questions the accepted understanding of how things are. There is little time for those bold and outrageous challenges to the accepted nature of things. The present “regime” in education is one that is all about finding somebody else's idea of the one right answer. This conformity is reinforced not just through the medium of standardized forms of assessment but also through the sterility of what constitutes the learning space. Now this space mostly excludes those very things that are most salient to the direction and quality of young people's lives: sexuality, spiritual and religious faith, the impact of the media and the content of popular culture, war and violence, race and cultural difference, power, and politics. Remove these things and we are left with a classroom that offers no possibility of the kind of passionate engagement that stirs us to find our voices and speak our truth to others who share our world (Hooks 2010).

The exercise of *parrhesia* in the classroom is a practical matter. It means transforming these spaces into ones where the sound of students' voices is heard. This is a classroom that cherishes student expression, student opinion, and student experience. Indeed this is a classroom which embodies those essential dimensions of democratic culture—the capacity to think, question, and challenge what has been

accepted and unquestioned and to bring into the common space the diverse perspectives, beliefs, and understandings of this young and emerging heterogeneous citizenry. In this space, the goal is always that of an education which nurtures the independent mind and the insistent spirit of unfinished inquiry. We have been reminded again in recent times of the importance of a civic culture which refuses to passively accede to voices of authority and expertise—whether in government, media, or business. We face unprecedented dangers and crises as a human race. The times demand an education that equips us with the capacity to speak up and speak out and to question and challenge what, in so many areas of our global community, is a culture of human and environmental destruction, social injustice, violence, and death.

2.4 *Es Muss Sein*

Philosopher Maxine Greene (1988) refers to this German expression meaning “it must be” when she describes how the knowledge that is transmitted in our classrooms often conveys a fatalistic sense of permanence and inevitability. Her argument is that much of the time curriculum is constructed and taught in such a way that there is little understanding of the fact that what we know about the world is only temporary, provisional, and uncertain. How we come to know about the world indicates to the learner whether things can be other than what they appear to be. Knowledge that is understood to represent with certainty how things are invites no second look; it offers a reality that seems fixed and absolute. It suggests a world that is the way it is, demanding only accommodation and acceptance of the social landscape before us. Greene speaks out of the passionate conviction that our understanding of who we are, and the nature of the world we inhabit, is inevitably construction of the human imagination, always open to alternative perspectives and variable interpretations.

To learn about the world in this way, she argues, is the gateway to liberating ourselves from a stultifying consciousness that demands acceptance of only a single right way of understanding—one which is usually guarded and protected, as well often manufactured, by those whose power and privilege depends on it. To educate against the inevitability of war, violence, and brutality means refusing the consciousness that says *things must be this way*.

Sadly our schools do little to liberate the mind from subservience to fixity of thought. Few students are ever invited in to recognize the power of interpretation in making the so-called truth. Instead they are daily bombarded by the message to give “only the facts,” the need for the single correct answer, and the certainty of the text. The larger culture provides strong doses of a “one-dimensional ideology” (Marcuse 1969) that admits of few possibilities that the world and our lives can be radically changed from its consumer-focused, competitive, hierarchical, and earth destroying ways (look at current “reality” TV with its constant emphasis on a world of winners and losers, often vicious criticism and thinly veiled hostility). We might ask what it would mean for our schools to nurture a creative and imaginative consciousness. We might expect to see the expressive and visual arts be given far more importance

in the curriculum (though they must not be turned into another vehicle for measurable competencies and competitive performances!).

In all areas of the curriculum, the emphasis would be on knowledge and meaning that are actively produced out of the experience and reflection of students. Creativity and imagination would not be ghettoized in a few subject areas but the currency of all learning. Likewise, in this education, myth becomes something to be understood not as the relic of primitive civilizations but the way all societies attempt to make meaning out of the initial formlessness of experience. In this sense students are invited to see and examine the myths we currently live by (“men will always act aggressively,” “the earth is nothing but inert matter,” “national self-interest always takes preference over global concerns”). Then the challenge for them is to decide what kind of myths we now need to ensure our survival as a species and as a planet. The Great Educator Paulo Freire showed us what it means when students recognize that the reality we live in and through is only one of several possibilities (Freire 1998). There is nothing absolute and inevitable about a world that hurts and destroys the lives of so many.

2.5 *Hermes (Messenger of the Gods)*

Recognizing that what we know is always an act of interpretation has both liberating and troubling consequences. We have seen above the way that it can free us to re-envision our lives and our world. But much more difficult is the fact that it also gives legitimacy to the conflicting ways we may see things. From this point of view, there is no “God’s eye view” of reality, only the sometimes contradictory understanding that people have of events, situations, and human motives. The decades-old conflict between Palestinians and Jews provides a too vivid example of what I am proposing. In that blood-soaked region, the inhabitants bring their own painful narratives to explain the need to fight and defend what they see as rightfully theirs. For the Jews, it is the tortured history of exclusion, persecution, and genocide and the belief that their state is legitimated by ancient connection to the land and by moral claims rooted in their catastrophic history. For Palestinians, their claims come from the conviction that the Jews, like other colonial invaders, wrongfully expropriated their land and forcefully expelled its inhabitants. We can see in other parts of the world such as Ireland, Sri Lanka, and Kashmir similar kinds of near-intractable conflicts rooted in fundamentally different accounts of history and present realities.

Nothing could be more important to the task of peace education than the capacity to understand something about the way conflict is constructed out of the differing ways we come to see our lives and our world (Hanh 2004) and to learn from this something about the way conflict can be mediated. From a pedagogic standpoint, it means a number of things: (1) the ability and willingness to honestly articulate and communicate to other’s view of things; (2) the development of the capacity for active, nonjudgmental listening to others, even when what is being communicated is painful or threatening to the listener; and (3) the readiness, for each party, to

“walk in the others’ shoes”—to be empathic to the other’s situation even as this requires confronting one’s own fears, resentments, and anger about what is being expressed. The ability to communicate, hear, empathize, and to not be captured by our own need to deny or resist another’s truth is, of course, more than a one semester high school class! Indeed it is the challenge of a lifetime for all of us. It is a task that is always before us in our collective lives as we deal with conflicts and differences of perception around things like race and ethnicity, sexuality, religious belief, and politics. No preparation in school can ever equip us adequately to deal with all of these. Yet we might at least find in our education some insights, recognitions, and skills that will help us to nonviolently negotiate and accommodate the inevitable struggles and challenges in our world as social and political creatures “condemned,” as Camus noted, to make meaning from our disparate experiences.

2.6 *Koyaanisqatsi*

At the entrance to a photographic exhibit in Cape Town, called “The Unbearable Lightness of Seeing,” were these introductory comments: *We are propelled to excel, pushed to compete, to outdo one another. Our icons are Stars, Leaders, The Beautiful, The Powerful—those who have reached the pinnacle of society. Our worth is measured against our heroes, and may the strongest prevail. Bigger, better, faster, stronger, prettier, sexier, smarter...But where is the organic in the constructed collective conscious.* These words express concisely but penetratingly what it is that modern culture has come to value above all else. The word *koyaanisqatsi* from the Hopi Indian language refers to “a world out of balance.”

I believe that no term better captures the harmful effects on life of our present culture than this. In every area of our world, we see how we have become addicted to the culture of winning, competition, and success—sport, entertainment, education, science, jurisprudence, politics, and of course work and the economy. In every field, beating others becomes the driving force of human activity. The goal of almost every area of our lives is to outshine the next person—to succeed or to be ahead of others. Life is increasingly experienced as a race in which only the winners really matter or deserve recognition and appreciation. More and more the marketplace becomes the root metaphor for how we live, with its overwhelming emphasis on competition, self-interest, and self-aggrandizement (Korten 2006).

No place does more to prepare us for this way of life and this consciousness than schooling. Schools are the great initiator for a younger generation of what it means to live in a world in which everything is measured by one’s ability to compete with other human beings. It is here we are introduced into the moral economy of scarcity. We learn that success and achievement for some demands that others be designated failures. To become “somebody,” we learn, means that others must count as “nobodies.” The deep message (the “hidden curriculum” some call it) of schooling is that the only things that count are the things that can be counted because they allow us to be ranked and compared to others on a scale of winning and losing (Purpel 2004).

Here, as elsewhere in a world, our focus is turned so resolutely to the winners that we lose little time in noticing the deeper moral, social, and emotional consequences of our choices. The way, for example, the relentless emphasis on success for some produces a culture with powerful currents of envy, resentment, and suspicion. For everyone this is a culture that cultivates a deep insecurity about our worth as we are constantly being judged and compared to others and where success or achievement is likely to be a momentary phenomenon. It is culture that must certainly breed hostility and aggression.

The human impulse to compete is certainly very deep (though it seems more embedded in males than females) and it brings with it undoubted pleasures. Yet we have produced a world out of balance—a world where getting ahead matters much more than getting along, where competition matters much more than community, and where sorting people out is more important than social solidarity (Judt 2010). Education can make a major contribution to this more balanced way of existence. We can try to make our classrooms or schools places less ruled by competition (admittedly not easy in this time of intense focus on standardized tests). We can articulate and practice a philosophy in which individual grades and test results are not what we value most. We can facilitate more time for group- and peer-supported activity. We can try cultivating a social ambience in our classroom or school in which caring, compassionate, and supportive relationships are important and social divisions are lessened. And we can ensure that our curriculum gives at least equal time to social movements and events that enhance community and solidarity in our nation and globally.

Obviously we cannot as educators eliminate the culture of competition and selfish individualism. But we can enable young people to at least experience what it means to spend time in a community that cares and supports all and emphasizes the importance of cooperative and reciprocal relationships. In this way, education might contribute toward the goal of how we might live, both individually and collectively, more balanced lives.

It is not hard to see how the need to rebalance our society and our world toward an ethic of care and community, and away from competition and self-interest, is inextricably connected to the goal of greater social justice. Sadly we inhabit a world in which exploitation and abuse of human beings is rife, and the lack of basic resources for a decent human life is found in almost every place on our planet (Sachs 2005). It can hardly be surprising that such a situation breeds a world of conflict and war as national and global inequities generate resentment and fury at the way things work. Sometimes such emotions produce movements of change of a genuinely more democratic and equal nature. Elsewhere they are steered into dysfunctional carnage and brutality as groups of those with little or nothing turn their resentment on others similarly dispossessed.

There is, I believe, no more important focus for peace education than to teach for a transformative vision of the world rooted in the quest for greater equity and fairness in social and economic relationships. Without significant change in these relationships, there can be no hope of a more peaceful, less violent world. Alongside students' growing awareness about the corrosive effects of social injustice at home

and around the world, there must also be an alternative vision of a world in which the basic needs of all people are satisfied and where there is a commitment to share and trade earth's precious resources fairly and in an environmentally sustainable manner for the sake of future generations. While for some such an education may seem dangerously radical, I believe there is a growing recognition that this is precisely what it means to educate for a world of greater human dignity, fairness, and peace.

In the end, questions about social justice, a more caring community, and the end of violence can be reduced, I believe, to the need to see the extraordinary and unconditional value of each human life (indeed of all life). To affirm this is to oppose all those things that diminish, degrade, or destroy a life. It is to oppose genocide, killing, mutilation, torture, rape, abuse of children, slavery or any form of economic exploitation, racism, or violence and dehumanization directed against women, gays, or minority groups.

The belief in the inherent worth of each life underpins our notions of democracy, civil rights, and more recently, human rights. In each case, what is asserted is the conviction that societies and institutions must exist for the sake of the realization and fulfillment of an individual's potentialities and capabilities; they must ensure conditions that honor the integrity and inviolability of each person.

Our work as teachers, as well parents, must be to emphasize our shared humanity and the preciousness of every life while honestly and forthrightly pointing to the ways we think and act that contradict and conflict with this conviction. The institution of school itself provides a powerful space for highlighting such conflict with its pervasive hierarchical ranking, competitive individualism, tracking and the differentiation of individual worth, social cliques and social status, bullying, and demeaning of those who might not fit the cultural or gender norms. What would it mean, we may ask, for us to act in ways that ensures that the worth and dignity of every person in our school is recognized and respected? What would it mean for us to do that with every life on earth?

2.7 *Hope*

I have no doubt that hope is an essential ingredient of change. There is no automatic, determined process by which human society moves from one stage to another. Change requires not just some understanding or grasp of what ails a culture but also a sense that something else is possible, that things do not have to stay as they are. There has to be a positive energy that says our efforts at changing the way the things are can really bear fruit—the extraordinary could really happen.

Hope seems to combine this sense of unlikely possibility with other things such as courage, imagination, faith, a sense of history, and that elusive quality called grace. Hope cannot be confused with optimism which is the disposition to *expect* things to turn out fine. There is a mysterious quality to hope; hope arises in those seemingly impossible situations as the will to transcend some horror or terrible situation in the belief that something else is really possible. This horror is not our inevitable fate.

Today with war, violence, and abuse of both human beings and nature so pervasive in our world, can we really believe that a radical change is possible? Hope is that unlikely quality that allows us to believe that this suffering is not our necessary destiny or fate. Things can really be otherwise. A different kind of existence can come into being (Welch 2004). This sense seemed to be so powerfully present in the recent events in Tahrir Square in Cairo.

3 Evaluation

The question here for us is can hope be taught? I am encouraged to believe that there is pedagogy of hope. And that certain things can indeed nourish this quality. One of these is knowing something about history—not in the dead and disconnected way we usually teach it in school, but as the living struggle by human beings, often against all odds, to win greater justice, freedom, or opportunity or to stop a war. When history is taught as the memory of these impossible struggles, students are opened to the recognition that people at other times struggled to make change when such change seemed entirely unlikely, when the forces arrayed against them made it seem as if this was a futile quest. In my pedagogy, I attempt to make students see the “present as history,” to see our present struggles for social justice, an end to war, fair trade, a sustainable economy, and climate as unlikely—or as likely—as other previous “impossible” quests.

It is helpful, of course, when our education emphasizes the constructed nature of knowledge. In this sense, we help to break down the “tyranny of facts” which seems to make reality such an unmovable force. To see that the way we know and understand the world is but one possibility among many opens the door to questioning whose “reality” is this and in whose interests is it for us to apprehend the world in this particular way. There is nothing that is fixed and unmovable about the world. We need just the imagination to reconceptualize it. Such thinking nourishes the sense of possibility among students. The invitation to see the world in new ways, the sense that history was about the struggles of men and women to change their world especially if this is accompanied by students’ own involvement in struggles for peace and social justice, can go a long way toward overcoming a sense of fatalism, cynicism, or apathy among young people and encouraging a powerful sense of hope.

4 Conclusion

Any attempt to transform the schools in the direction outlined in the seven points above would undoubtedly meet fierce opposition. The notion that education should be a place for serious exploration of social injustice, the competitive culture, human exploitation and indignity, or an opportunity to develop hope and imagination for a world that is free from violence, nationalism, racism, and sexual oppression

contradicts the prevailing and deeply entrenched ideas of education's role and purpose in society. The belief that the classroom can be a location for open and honest expression of students' fears, concerns, and anxieties about their lives, and their world, is certainly at odds with the current emphasis on what should be taught. And there is little opportunity to understand knowledge as something uncertain, provisional, and functioning in the interests of established interests.

One question to answer is where will this movement come from? Certainly there are teachers out there who yearn for a new paradigm for educating kids away from the deadening regime of endless testing and educational administrators who see the stultifying irrelevancy and unfairness of current policies and practices. There are parents who are aware of how little schooling seems to speak to the real challenges faced by their children in the twenty-first century. And, of course, there are so many students who are dying from the sheer boredom and disconnection of the classroom, who would want nothing more than an opportunity for their education to speak in meaningful ways to their lives. In these troubled times, we must hope that somehow these disparate parties, and others who are clear about the immense human crises that now confront us, can find their voices so as to articulate the need for a new and very different vision for education.

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Globalisation and the New Zealand Numeracy Standards: In Pursuit of Excellence

Vince Wright

1 Education Standards

My lasting memory of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games is from the pool. In the qualifying heats of the men's 100 m freestyle, a wild-card entrant from Equatorial Guinea earned worldwide recognition. The two other competitors in his heat were disqualified due to early starts. Their error left Eric "the eel" Moussambani to swim solo over two lengths of the pool in the unflattering time of 1 min 52.72 s. His last length was excruciating to watch and the time was so slow by world standards that had he raced in the final of that games the gallant Eric would not have completed one length before the winner had finished. Media inquiries revealed that 12 months prior Eric was unable to swim at all.

Having set his sights on an Olympic career, he taught himself to swim in the ocean. It turned out that the experience was also inspirational for Eric who improved his time for the 100 m freestyle to 57 s in an effort to qualify for the Athens Games in 2004. So what does the Eric story have to do with standards in education? The answer is "quite a lot". Olympic standards are aspirational in that they set performance at an elite level. For example, only 0.000013 % of the world population (900 people) competed in swimming at the 2012 London Olympics. Normally Eric's only access to an Olympic swimming competition would be by buying a public ticket to the spectator precinct. In that sense such qualifying standards are like educational standards set to exclude rather than include students, typical of entry requirements for a highly sort-after University course. In contrast to aspirational standards, there is a globalised trend towards creating educational standards at minimal or average levels of competency by grade level. All students regardless

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of circumstance are expected to achieve them; no child is left behind. Issues of exclusion and aspiration still apply to standards, however minimalist they may be.

It is obviously important that standards at the Olympics let athletes throughout the world know what good means in terms of performance. It is not feasible to have seven billion people turning up at the pool. So perhaps average or minimalist standards are good for students? By informing them at an early age, whether or not they are on track for academic or career-related success, maybe they achieve more. After all knowing the standard inspired Eric to do better. Another important parallel is that the measurement of achievement in a physical pursuit like swimming is straightforward. The protocol is simple: standardise the situations that swimmers compete in and measure the time it takes them to swim a given distance. Incidentally an issue at the Sydney games was that hi-tech swimsuits were giving some competitors unfair advantage, thereby threatening that standardisation. Some educational outcomes are easy to measure, such as word recognition or knowledge of multiplication facts. Others such as use of voice in writing or problem solving in mathematics are notoriously difficult to measure.

Eric's story raises two other issues about standards, educational or otherwise, where to set them and how to measure them. In this chapter, I consider the merits of educational standards through my personal experience of writing the numeracy standards for primary (elementary) grade students in my native country, New Zealand. Through the scenario, I aim to contextualise standards within a theory of globalisation and highlight the philosophical and practical tensions that arise in their development and implementation. I also suggest that the same political drivers that contribute to globalised educational reform can both initiate the drive for national standards and contribute to their loss of credibility.

2 Educational Standards in a Globalisation Context

The Olympic movement provides an example of globalisation. The revival of the Olympic Games back in 1896 was based on principles of amateur competition. Until international travel became physically and financially accessible, the Olympic events were not truly open to worldwide competition. Nowadays most athletes are highly paid professionals, not amateurs, and the winners of glamour events, like the 100 m freestyle, become international superstars. Their earnings are a combination of prize money, appearance fees and endorsement deals with multinational companies. Cities vie for the privilege of hosting the games at great cost. Media organisations finance the huge scale of the events and decide how competition is presented as it occurs. The cultural flows are ethical, as cultures are shared, technological, financial and ideological (Appadurai 1990). The greater connectedness between nations, organisations and individuals in a metaphorically "shrinking world" amplifies the potential effect of both established and emerging ideas.

Switch to education. Globalised ideologies, particularly those of market-driven models of delivery, profoundly influence educational policy across nations (Zajda

2009, 2014). Standards-driven reform is the emerging paradigm globally. Education systems are the stage for competing ideologies (Apple 2006). *Neo-liberal* views about the right of individuals to make free choices are evidenced by market-driven initiatives such as self-managing schools, parental choice and voucher systems where student attendance attracts monetary value. *Neoconservative* views about the need to preserve traditional values are reflected in tight controls on schools from central bureaucracies, drives for efficiency, standards for students and teachers and national testing. In New Zealand, schools have been self-managing since 1989 after a reform known as “Tomorrow’s Schools” though the devolution did not include voucher systems and local payment of teachers. The autonomy of schools in New Zealand remains relatively intact despite frequent managerial attempts to make them more accountable to the Ministry of Education.

Typically the setting of national standards for education is created by politicians lamenting data that show the achievement of students in their country is below the standard of students in other countries. Calamitous stories of educational achievement are ideal fuel for election campaigns in Western democracies. Often the surrounding discourse refers to inequity of educational outcomes and to the consequential lack of opportunity for disadvantaged students to fully participate in society. Incoming governments assume a mandate for reform that often includes setting and measuring of educational standards with an assertion that the absence of such standards is the reason for poor performance. Sahlberg (2006) proposed a typology for educational reform that includes standardisation as the most market-orientated form. A key element in this typology is the creation of performance standards for students and teachers, tightly scripted curricula and regular testing of student performance. Hargreaves (2003) added that standards-based reform often includes external inspection to control teacher performance and reward-sanction structures to encourage that performance. Standards-based reforms reflect *neoconservative* goals for centralised control. In New Zealand the inspectorial service was abolished in 1989 under the “Tomorrow’s Schools” reforms and has not been reinstated though recently the Ministry has appointed field staff to assist “at-risk” schools. The absence of on-the-ground policing constitutes a major obstacle to implementing standards in consistent form.

The impact of globalisation is described by some writers as conformity demonstrated by the commonality of educational reforms across nations. De-nationalisation in the face of world order is not accepted by others. In a recent review of the literature, Cullen (2013) cautioned that adaptation of global ideologies is a better metaphor than transportation. She added that implementation of educational policy involves a negotiation between globalised pressures and the localised situations in which the initiatives are enacted (Ozga and Lingard 2007).

3 Rationale for Standards in New Zealand

One of the first legislative acts of the incoming centre-right National Government was passing the National Standards Amendment Act (2008). The act enabled the Minister of Education to set national standards in literacy and numeracy.

The legislation established reporting rules for English-medium schools and allowed for the setting of standards by regulation. A rationale for, and key features of, the intended standards were visible in the National Party's manifesto. Standards were needed to improve achievement and the government was to ensure "primary and intermediate schools regularly assess their students' progress in reading, writing and maths" and that they communicate the information to parents using plain-language reporting. The assumption of improvement through competition was apparent in the establishment a one standard for all schools so that "children's achievement can be compared from one school to another". While the discourse was *neo-liberal*, citing the right of the consumer (parents) to know the product they were receiving, the underlying rationale was *neoconservative*, firmly based in a desire for greater accountability of schools and teachers.

A rationale for reform based on slipping standards of achievement is debatable. Openshaw and Walshaw (2012) show that debate about standards in New Zealand is historically cyclic and that achievement of New Zealand students is not declining despite major changes to the demographic composition of the school-aged population. For example, the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) consistently shows that the average performance of New Zealand 9-year-old students in mathematics is below the OECD mean and improves to be at the mean by age 13 years (Chamberlain and Caygill 2012). In contrast the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) has shown New Zealand 15-year-old students consistently rank in the top half of OECD nations by mean performance in mathematics (Telford and May 2010) though the most recent results suggest some decline over time (May et al. 2013). Either the students in New Zealand mature mathematically with age or the tests are assessing different constructs. I revisit the issue of measurement and educational standards later.

Following the 2008 election, alarm bells went off in the Ministry of Education. In both policy and implementation, the bureaucracy was understandably still dressed in pink pyjamas. Accustomed to serving a Minister in a centre-left government officials were suddenly required to implement a right-wing policy for which they were ill prepared. Some were philosophically opposed. The ink was barely dry on the revised New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007), a document with a 5-year consultative process behind it that encouraged diversity in approach by schools to meet the needs of their communities and students. Standards represented a U-turn in curriculum development and the self-determination of schools. The three key parts of the standards development, writing, assessment and reporting, were allocated to separate teams within the Ministry. In hindsight the separation of these work streams, in the interests of both division of labour and satisfying the competing factions within the Ministry, was the single biggest mistake in the implementation of national standards. There was failure to recognise the close relationships needed between the standards statements, measurement of those standards and reporting formats.

Reaction from the Primary Teachers' Union (NZEI) was naturally sceptical. Comments from its president suggested that the main goal of standards was the creation of league tables to compare schools snuck in through the Trojan horse of raising

achievement. Despite assurances from the Minister of Education from the outset that league tables were not on her agenda, NZEI's prediction proved correct. Using data obtained from the Ministry of Education, the media have established databases by which parents can now compare schools using the self-reported data about student achievement against the standards (see <http://schoolreport.stuff.co.nz/>). Not to be outdone, the Ministry of Education, under direction from the Minister, released the standards data for 2011 and 2012 from nearly all primary and secondary schools (see <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/topics/121981/122072>).

4 Creation the Numeracy Standards

I agreed to write the numeracy standards following my work in coordinating the writing of the mathematics strand of the National Curriculum. Accepting a suggestion from ministry officials that the standards should be a narrow sample of the outcomes of the curriculum, I prepared a draft set of standards for years one to three by December, 2008. These outcomes were narrow and easy to measure and had a heavy emphasis on number as opposed to the other strands, measurement and geometry and statistics and probability. Below is one example of the first iteration of standards:

2b. Use equal additions of 2, 5 and 10 and halving/doubling to solve multiplication and division problems. (Year Two)

The Numeracy Standards Critical Friends Group first met on 4 February and again on 18 March, 2009, to review the initial draft and to establish principles for creation of the standards. It was composed of three representatives from universities, three prominent assessment experts, one representative each from the company running the Mathematics website and the teachers' union (NZEI), and Ministry of Education officials.

In those early days in the creation of the standards, the group was aware of the tensions likely to occur as the policy was implemented. Members rejected the narrow outcomes in the first draft, agreeing that assessment signals what is valued and that teaching to those outcomes would be detrimental and narrow the curriculum. The compromise with "grain size" of outcome between manageability and ease of assessment and maintaining both breadth of curriculum and higher-order thinking was one of many that we discussed. My minutes of the meetings record the group grappling with other tensions such as the difficulty of integrating multiple sources of data with the limitations of using one measurement tool, setting standards that provided challenge for all students but also defined minimal levels of achievement, and the potential negative consequences of labelling with the motivational effect of students knowing what was expected.

Our collective view was that standards were statements of outcomes along with measures of those outcomes. A global approach required global assessment tools. Another requirement of us imposed by Ministry officials was the need to have some

synergy between the literacy and numeracy standards. The literacy standards writing group was already well underway with its task and we inherited their structures for schooling points and, more significantly, the generality of expressing outcomes. While not philosophically opposed to less tightly defined outcomes, I was aware that interpretation for assessment purposes was likely to be problematic. That is why I put considerable effort into creating illustrative examples of student work. Most of these examples never saw the light of day due to publishing restrictions.

So the initial draft was completely rewritten twice. The second rewrite was in response to feedback from the consultation process that teachers preferred a structure organised by the strands of the national curriculum. I created a base document referred to as *The Matrix* to map specific learning outcomes by year level. Defining achievement by year level, as required by the Minister, was a difficult exercise given that the National Curriculum specified 2-year levels of achievement. The matrix represented an integration of National Curriculum outcomes with available assessment data and was the base document used throughout the revision of the standards following the consultation process (Wylie et al. 2009).

I had access to a large volume of data on student achievement in the number domain as measured by interviews during the Numeracy Development Projects (NDP) (Young-Loveridge 2005, 2006, 2007). Some longitudinal work also showed considerably elevated levels of achievement from the students in schools that set ongoing learning goals based on these interview data (Thomas and Tagg 2005, 2007). Data about item difficulty in norm-referenced tests such as AsTTle (Hattie et al. 2004) and Progressive Achievement Tests (PATs) (Darr et al. 2006) informed the writing of the standards for all the strands: number and algebra, statistics and probability and geometry and measurement. This was further supported by findings of the National Education Monitoring Project (Flockton et al. 2006) that provided patterns of item response for years 4–8.

The norms provided by the NDP gave confidence to the setting of the standards; however, there was a trend of plateauing in student achievement in the upper years of primary school that was also noted in reports about student achievement as measured by AsTTle and PAT. According to our data, the Advanced Multiplicative Stage that the year 7–8 standards are set at was achieved by 50–60 % of students after one year of their teachers being on the NDP compared to the approximately 80 % of students for the corresponding stages set for years 1–4. So setting the mathematics standards for years 7 and 8 was the subject of much debate among the mathematics education community and still is.

An often-neglected impact of globalisation is the homogenisation of learning outcomes across nations. Olympic standards inspired Eric to shift his expectations about what was possible. Knowing about outcomes that are achieved in other countries has the same effect in education. Analysis of standards in other countries also impacted on my decision, later supported by Ministry officials, to set the year 7 and 8 standards at a level that 50–60 % of students were achieving at that time. The alternative was to set standards at considerably lower levels than those achieved in high-performing countries. Evidence from overseas indicated that setting ambitious standards was associated with higher levels of achievement. For example, the

Common Core State Standards (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices 2010), now adopted by the majority of states in the USA, sets achievement goals that are considerably more difficult than those in the New Zealand Standards for years 7 and 8 (grade adjusted).

The absence of clear policy at the time about the positioning of the standards was problematic. The inevitable result of setting any standard, assuming that the standard is in any sense ambitious, is that some students will not achieve it. So the issue is only about which proportion of students are likely to be classified as not achieving a given standard. As the writer I received no clear direction as to whether the standards should be set at minimal, average or elite levels of achievement. This policy vacuum opened the door for debate that should have occurred before the writing process began. That debate should have also considered adverse educational consequence of labelling young children as failures, given the stated goal of standards was to improve outcomes for all students.

5 Criticisms of the Standards

Some of the most vocal critics of the standards policy implementation were academics in the assessment community whose work I relied on heavily to develop appropriate standards (Elley 2010; Flockton 2010; Hattie 2009). Hattie (2009), who is well respected internationally for his expertise in assessment, rightly warned of the lessons learned from adoption of standards in overseas countries, particularly in respect of there being no clear evidence that setting standards and testing against them improves achievement. He also reported the distortions to sound educational practice caused by national testing such as more teacher-directed instruction, wasted class time spent on practising test taking and a disproportionate focus on students just below the standard, to the neglect of the others. There is a strong national identity reflected in Hattie's comments. New Zealand should resist the global pressures and not repeat the mistakes of other nations.

Flockton (2010) and Elley (2010) argued that the standards are generalised statements that are hard to interpret and even harder to measure. Ambiguity of interpretation makes consistency of teacher judgments questionable. Both authors neglect the finding that 30 % of teachers working from the 1992 Mathematics Curriculum (Ministry of Education 1992) were judged as partially or not effective in assessing their students' achievement (Education Review Office 2006). Consistency of teachers' judgment was an issue long before the advent of national standards.

Let us return to the Eric scenario briefly. There is a taken-as-shared discourse about freestyle swimming that means the Olympic committee can easily define it, interestingly by negation. Freestyle is not breaststroke, butterfly or backstroke and there are limits to how long the swimmer can stay underwater after their starting dive and at each turn. Establishing achievement for swimming is easy at the Olympics, by time. There is no attempt to describe progression in technique, by age or stage.

Shared discourse about doing mathematics in an age-referenced way is far more elusive. My lengthy discussions with the editor of the standards over words and phrases were testimony to that. He and I came to a shared understanding in the end but anyone else reading the standards was not privileged to our attempts at expressing very complex ideas in “plain English”. Here is one achievement standard for the end of year five (9–10 years of age):

In contexts that require them to solve problems or model situations, students will be able to apply additive and simple multiplicative strategies and knowledge of symmetry to:

- combine or partition whole numbers- find fractions of sets, shapes, and quantities.

Clearly many words and phrases like “additive and simple multiplicative strategies” and “partition” need explanation, and compromises like “combine whole numbers” are made between mathematical correctness and simplicity of language. For global standards statements to be interpreted consistently, there needs to be common understanding of the meaning of the statements and alignment of assessment tools to measure student achievement. I had many discussions with Ministry officials during the writing phase. I was convinced that they understood these issues but were caught up in the politically driven imperative to implement the policy rapidly.

Criticism of the specificity of the standards ignores the reality that there is no easy way to avoid the dilemma of grain size. Standards can be written as narrow outcomes that are very specific, as broad, global outcomes or as shades or mixtures in between. Narrow outcomes are easier to interpret and assess but a lot of them are required or the curriculum is narrowed. A lot of outcomes require a lot of assessment and the connections between concepts are often lost. To compromise on small grain size runs the risk of loss of specificity with no compensatory gain in cohesion. Compromise on large grain size runs risks of losing connection and creating large numbers of outcomes to assess.

There is no doubt that the critics were aware of the practical difficulties associated with specificity of outcomes and measurement. However they chose to play with the tensions as a gambit to gain compromises in the hasty implementation of the policy or to derail it completely.

6 Issues of Measurement

Measurement of standards for mathematics is not as simple as Olympic swimming. Adijage and Pluvinage (2008) helpfully distinguished between competence and competency when assessing learning in mathematics. Competence is successful accomplishment of a task while competency is the understanding of a domain of mathematics. Assessment involves tasks. From a student’s response to tasks, one might infer competency. However, domains in mathematics are complex and involve networks of relationships between syntax, semiotics, models, mathematical objects and phenomena or situations. In short, any assessment samples from the range of tasks a student might attempt to demonstrate competency. From the TIMSS and

PISA data for New Zealand students, it is reasonable to assume that the sampling for these assessments is markedly different. So standards, irrespective of specificity, are open to interpretation that is manifest in task selection.

There is a global agreement in assessment circles about the significance of validity and reliability. Reliability is the consistency with which testing with a given tool produces similar results. It is an important criterion if tools are to be trusted. Olympic officials trust the reliability and precision of their timing devices. It is validity that is the thorny issue, whether the tool measures what it purports to measure. Through the choice of tasks, assessment tool developers signal what they value. Skemp (1976) differentiates between relational understanding, knowledge that is connected and transferable, and instrumental understanding, knowledge that is isolated and lacks rationale. He describes his acceptance, and frustration, that many educationalists did not share his belief in the value of relational understanding. Different beliefs about what it means to understand mathematics are clearly illustrated in the assessment tools that are used. In Australia, my adopted nation, narrow achievement standards prescribed by year (ACARA 2011) mostly reflect instrumental understanding. However national testing (NAPLAN) reflects the importance of both instrumental and relational understanding (ACARA 2013). It is, at present, a happy marriage that makes it very difficult to teach to the test.

A scenario from the standards development in New Zealand illustrates how problematic the difference between competence and competency is and corresponding difficulties of inferring students' understanding of a given concept from performance on tasks. Once the standards were published, the Ministry tried to establish how scores from *Progressive Achievement Tests* (Darr et al. 2006) might be interpreted in relation to the standards (Ministry of Education 2010b). They looked internationally for standard-setting methodologies. First, script scrutiny was used. Members of an "expert" panel were each given several test scripts and asked to make a judgment as to whether or not the given student met or did not meet particular standards. The judgments were used to create statistics for scores on the test scale, PATM. Bands were published that showed the probability that a student with a given score would be judged by panel members as meeting (or not meeting) the standards for each year level.

The results showed that a year 8 student achieving an average score on a *Progressive Achievement Test* had about a 30 % chance of being judged as meeting the standard for year 8. Dismayed at this alarming result, Ministry officials commissioned a second exercise using bookmarking. In bookmarking methodology experts were given a large collection of items arranged in order of difficulty, established by the probability that the item will be answered correctly. The experts worked through the items until they reached a point where they believed a transition has occurred between a standard and the next. As with script scrutiny, the results were reported as the probability that a member of an expert panel would judge that a given score on the PATM scale met the standards for each year. While slightly more palatable than the results of bookmarking, script scrutiny still showed that less than 50 % of experts judged an average score for year 8 students as meeting the year 8 standard. In the end the Ministry position was to average the results of the two methodologies.

Lawes (2011) undertook similar standard-setting exercises with TIMSS test scripts at year 5. He suggested that a combination of methodologies for setting the standards was necessary in order to create a robust measure that was less vulnerable to variation.

To acknowledge the results of the standard-setting exercise, particularly at the upper levels of primary school, Ministry officials invented the phrase “aspirational standards”. Another policy aim of the Ministry was to have all secondary students achieving at level two of the qualifications framework at senior secondary school (NCEA), and the argument was made that higher standards were needed at primary school for this to occur. Claims that the mathematics standards were written to provide an on-track progression to Level Two of NCEA are false. Projections of progress from the end of primary school to the requirements of senior secondary school were never considered when I wrote the numeracy standards. My minutes of the initial Ministry of Education consultation meetings with sector representatives verify this.

Darr (2010) suggested two possible reasons for the mismatch between performance norms of New Zealand students on *Progressive Achievement Tests* and the expectations outlined in the national standards. The experts could have been too “tough” in their application of the standards or the standards were set too high. Both reasons appear valid. I participated as an expert in the bookmarking exercise. The lasting impression I have of the 2 days was the difficulty of anticipating the probability of student success on any particular item by considering the core concept being assessed. Items that could be said to assess a concept, such as multiplication and division with whole numbers, symmetry or interpretation of data displays, varied considerably in their positioning of the item response scale. As a group we conjectured the reasons for the variation. Factors such as context, reading difficulty, credibility of the distractors, inferences or steps required and visual presentations were posited. At an item level, the inference that competence on a task correlates to competency with a domain is untenable.

Norm-referenced standardised tests report a global score that masks the variance that lies beneath. The patterns of correct and incorrect items for students getting similar scores vary considerably. It is no surprise that adopting a mastery mindset to test scripts resulted in experts interpreting the standards at a demanding level. That is not to dismiss the argument that the standards, particularly at the later years of primary school, were set at a high level. At years 7 and 8, I set the standards by domain at a level that 50–60 % of students could achieve based on the best available data. It was my intention, and that of the critical friends group, that a balanced approach to assessment was applied. The strengths and weaknesses of a student were balanced to give an averaged global measure. The script scrutiny exercise applied a criterion of mastery of all domains. Naturally the level of difficulty became much greater.

This scenario illustrates that measurement of standards is problematic. Different methodologies for aligning the results of assessment tools with standards statements give variable results. Broad outcomes offer license for broad interpretations. Narrow outcomes restrict license but narrow the curriculum, create a lot of

assessment points and reduce competency to a specific range of competencies. Small differences in assumptions make large differences in judgment. The Ministry of Education approach was for teachers to use multiple sources of data in making overall judgments (OTJs) about student achievement in relation to the standards (Ministry of Education 2010a). Critics correctly claimed that if small groups of experts are unable to interpret the standards consistently, what hope is there for consistency between teachers in their OTJs, let alone between schools. The variability of teachers setting of OTJs has been noted in evaluations of the standards implementation though there is optimism about improved consistency over time (Ward and Thomas 2013).

7 Discussion: Nationalism Versus Globalisation

Historically New Zealand has looked to Australia, England and the USA for international policies, systems and learning programmes. This association is in part a result of the colonial past, forged through alliances in wartime and through the influence of ancestry, the English language and media. Intermediate schools and new mathematics introduced in the 1950s and 1960s, open-plan classrooms in the 1970s and the process writing approach in the 1980s are examples of “outside-in” initiatives. The three countries that New Zealand identifies most with have national standards and national testing at primary school level. So, why has the globalised policy of national standards been so vehemently opposed?

A compelling reason is that the incoming government required a speed of implementation that was beyond the power of Ministry officials to deliver. Important policy work had not been done so the issues of measurement and reporting were not thought through. This uncertainty combined with the demarcation of responsibilities for writing, assessment and reporting produced inconsistencies in message and provided willing critics like academics and union spokespeople with plentiful ammunition. The same vehicles for globalisation of educational policy such as international travel, information technology and other media that facilitate dialogue between politicians and bureaucrats from different countries also provide facility for open debate. The accessibility of information and ease of communication has been fundamental in building opposition to national standards in New Zealand. For example, Courtney’s (2010) personal opinion was published online and questioned the Minister’s claim that parents are concerned at all about current levels of achievement. Openshaw talked on national radio to explain that debates about standards were not new and that standards were not slipping (Openshaw and Walshaw 2012). The ease with which opinions are shared in modern democracies such as New Zealand means that access to information is readily and rapidly available to almost all citizens. Debates progress rapidly.

As a result Ministry officials found themselves in reactionary positions which resulted in hasty justification. Experimental work aimed at addressing gaps in implementation is difficult in risk-adverse government agencies, especially under

the blowtorch of public scrutiny. The announcement that some standards were aspirational and linked to all students achieving level two of the qualifications framework was damage control, following ill-advised publication of the script-scrutiny exercise.

I show in this chapter that some criticism of the introduction of national standards in New Zealand was simplistic and unfair. Some commentators polarised the tensions around grain size without offering viable solutions. Negative discussion about assessment often implies that achievement in mathematics is as easy to assess as Olympic freestyle swimming. It is not. Reliability and validity in respect of national standards must come from a common discourse about what it means to think and work mathematically. Even assuming shared beliefs, the issue of variability of results from different tool selections and standard-setting methodologies remain. I find it alarming that this variability should be seen as a weakness when it is a natural consequence of different interpretations of broad statements of outcome and different sampling of competency. It is little wonder that national testing with a single tool usually accompanies national standards internationally. The inevitable consequence of one measure is that it becomes the default curriculum.

Poor implementation and criticism of the national standards, fair or unfair, are not the main reason that the policy has been strongly opposed. New Zealand, as a nation, does not routinely align itself with Australia, England and the USA as it once did. It is no longer acceptable to import policies without warrant and the educational community demands rationale for changes. The system of administering schools in New Zealand places considerable power in parents, principals and teachers at a local level. Academics have working relationships with schools, sometimes by acting as members of the Boards of Trustees. These stakeholders are actively involved in schools so policies need to be sold, not just imposed. Thrupp (2013), in his report based on case study methodology, commented on the localised ways in which individual schools interpreted and enacted the national initiative, stating, “Even if schools are now apparently mostly complying with the standards policy, this does not mean it has captured ‘hearts and minds’ amongst principals, teachers and boards (of trustees)” (p. 10).

The public debate, facilitated by information technology and the media, is at a sophisticated level. Articulate papers cite studies of standards policy implementation overseas and report the negative consequences of labelling students, of teaching to the test, of disproportionate focus on literacy and numeracy and of league tables to rank schools. Underpinning the rigour of the arguments is a veiled passion to preserve the *neo-liberal* principles of equity and freedom of choice that is a strong feature of the public education system and to reject increased central control. Elley (2010) was more transparent than most when he commented:

Our children’s education is too precious to allow a wholesale change of culture in a system that is working well for most children. (p. 2)

Cullen’s (2013) assertion that globalised education policy is implemented in localised ways is strongly evident in the New Zealand standards scenario. The political decision, made for legitimate educational reasons, not to develop national

testing alongside the standards was serendipitous for those who opposed the policy altogether. Absence of policy and tools that provided alternative ways to measure student achievement caused uncertainty and mixed messages. The door was opened for criticism, fair or otherwise, that undermined the credibility of the standards.

8 Conclusion

So what lies ahead for national standards in New Zealand? The political imperative to join the globalised community of nations and implement national standards will remain and be resistant to changes of government once in place. The *neoconservative* persuasion of the current centre-right government will probably result in attempts to make assessment in relation to the standards as reliable as measuring Eric's time at the Olympic pool. Standardisation of measures is unlikely to confront the issue of competence versus competency and facilitates a debate about what is valued in thinking and working mathematically. The assumption will be that doing mathematics is just like swimming. In its own way, standardisation will serve to confine task selection. The positive effect may be that students, like Eric, know what is expected and strive to achieve it, albeit in narrow range of competence.

The complexity of standardising multiple measures may make many teachers wish that a national test was available so the rules of competition were as explicit as freestyle swimming and judging the event was less time consuming. If the policy continues, league tables are likely to be published by the media or the Ministry of Education itself, as predicted, and the tables will be used by some parents to make schooling choices. The negative consequences of these choices, particularly on schools in lower socio-economic areas, will possibly be the same as those which occur overseas. Some schools, like Equatorial Guinea, may commit considerable resources and effort to the event and make strong gains in student achievement. Others may go into decline. The big danger is that the same disadvantaged learners that the standards were supposed to serve will withdraw from the event altogether because they are unable to participate successfully.

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Improving Basic Education in Brazil

Abdeljalil Akkari

1 Basic Education in Brazil: What Has Been Done and What Remains to Be Done

In the last few years the question of basic education has taken an important position in educational policies and debates. The notion of basic education incorporates the idea that children need to acquire basic literacy knowledge (reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.) by attending school for several years. Basic education targets both the learning of skills used in daily life and preparing for the possible continuation of schooling in secondary education as well as socializing children in a common setting that transcends sociocultural differences.

On the international level, the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, were not isolated events but underlined the international community's desire to insure education for all the world's children. The most recent UNESCO report on Education for All discussed key developments since 2000. It shows that the number of pupils attending primary school throughout the world increased from 647 million students in 1999 to 688 million in 2005. The largest increase was 36 % in sub-Saharan Africa and 22 % in Southern and Western Asia. Consequently, the number of nonschooled children has decreased, and this decrease has accelerated

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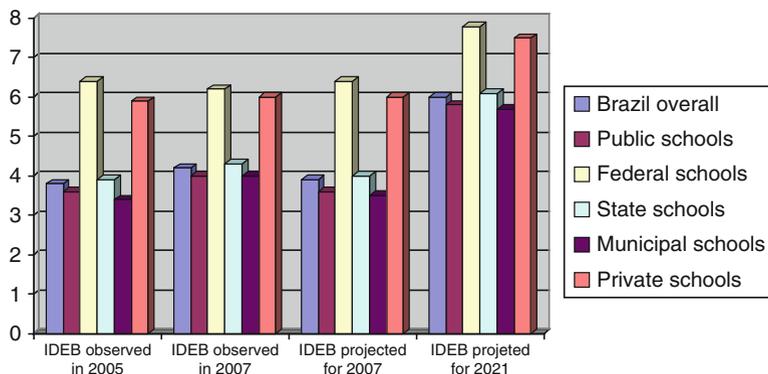


Fig. 1 Observed and projected index of the development of basic education in Brazil 2005–2021 (first four grades of primary school) (Source: INEP 2008)

since 2002. Furthermore, the net school enrollment total has gone from 83 to 87 % from 1999 to 2005, and this was a quicker progression than the one recorded from 1991 to 1999 (UNESCO 2007).

On the national Brazilian level, basic education has shown important progress in the past decades. Teaching in the country is governed by the Law of Directives and Foundations of National Education (LDB).¹ The latest version of this law is from 1996 and stipulates that Brazilian schooling has a compulsory length of 9 years of teaching labeled “fundamental” and has as its objective basic citizen education.

The basic education development index (Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica) (IDEB) was created by the Brazilian Education Minister to measure the progress in basic education of the nation as a whole, of the federate states and of the municipalities. This statistical index combines two parts: (a) indicators of student fluctuation (rates of schooling, of remaining in and dropping out of the school system) and (b) indicators of student results on standardized tests taken throughout their school careers. This index is on a scale from zero to ten, with a six being the level of basic education achieved by developing countries according to international surveys.

Figure 1 shows the observed and projected index for 2005 through 2021 for the first four primary grades (children aged 7–10). A clear improvement can be seen from 2005 to 2007, especially in the municipal schools and those of the federate states. On the other hand, one can see the long road ahead in order to achieve the objectives for 2021. Furthermore, roughly 20 % of the municipal schools failed to achieve the projected IDEB for 2007 (INEP 2008). These schools are concentrated in the poorest regions of the country.

Regional differences can be seen in Table 1. Among the states where we conducted research, three have an IDEB above the national average, Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Goiás, while two are below the national average: Amazonas and Bahia.

¹Lei n° 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996.

Table 1 The evolution of IDEB between 2005 and 2007 in the Brazilian states under study

	IDEB 2005	IDEB 2007
Brazil	3.8	4.2
Paraná	4.6	5.0
São Paulo	4.7	4.9
Minas Gerais	4.7	4.7
Goiás	4.1	4.3
Amazonas	3.1	3.6
Bahia	2.7	3.4

Source: INEP (2008)

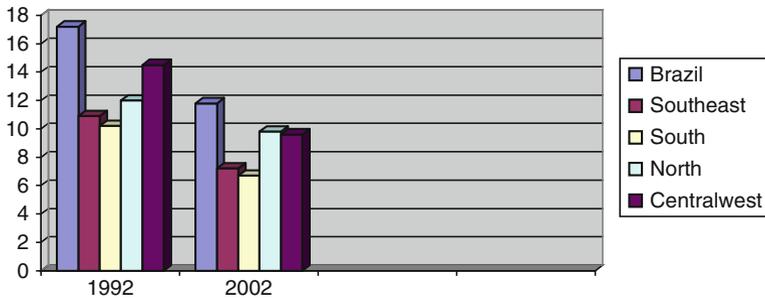


Fig. 2 Illiteracy rates for people 15 and older in Brazil and regions (Source: Araujo and Luzio 2005)

Furthermore, an analysis of illiteracy in Brazil shows how much work remains in order to improve the performance of the education system. Figure 2 shows that the southern and southwestern regions are going in a positive direction. Other regions, particularly the northwest, are lagging behind in terms of basic education results.

With close to 95 % of all children currently enrolled in primary schools, the challenge facing Brazilian education has to do more with quality than quantity (PREAL 2005; UNICEF 2006; UNESCO 2006). It also has to do with having basic education of comparable quality to that of its closest neighbors who are partners in Mercosul or in comparison with emerging countries experiencing similar economic development. Figure 3 shows the Education for All Development Index (EDI) for Brazil in an international comparison. This composite index is used by UNESCO, ranges from 0 to 1, and is based on pertinent indicators which are combined in a straightforward calculation: universal primary schooling, adult literacy, sexual parity, and education quality. The closer the EDI is to one, the better the results in Education for All. We notice that Brazil is the only country where the EDI decreased slightly between 2002 and 2005. Moreover, the Brazilian index is much lower than that of economically comparable countries such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Indonesia.

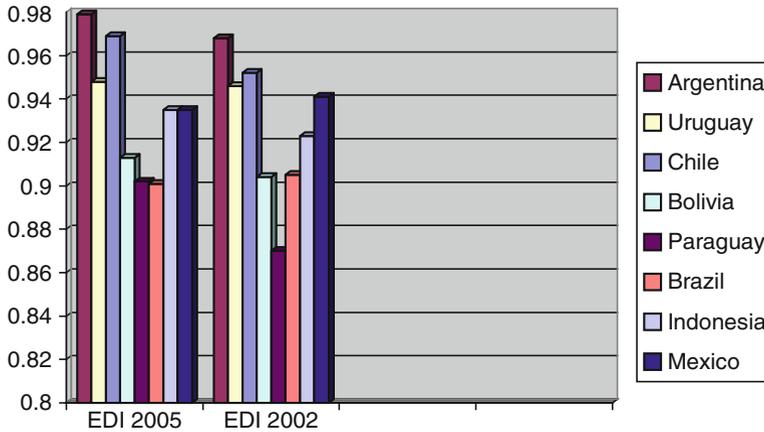


Fig. 3 Brazilian basic education in international comparison (Source: UNESCO 2005, 2007)

Taken as a whole, the data given in the first part of this chapter show that the quantitative development of schooling in Brazil needs to go hand in hand with a concern regarding the quality of the education.

2 What Is Meant by Quality in Basic Education

It would seem important to define the meaning of quality when referring to basic education. Several dimensions can be brought up when defining basic education quality in a given context. First, it is clear that “quantity” precedes “quality” in education. Put differently, all education systems currently recognized for the quality of the education they provide began by greatly increasing access to schooling (i.e., increasing the quantity of individuals who attend school). The history of contemporary formal schooling began, even in Western Europe and North America, with overcrowded classes and an exponential expansion of school enrollment. It is not unrealistic to think that the current quantitative progress being made in Brazil will not turn out to be qualitatively efficient in the near future.

However, a risky international trend has ended up making it that education quality is solely measurable by educational indicators or standards based on quantitative data of the school system and student achievement. At the international level the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) study by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and development) is an example of this problem of measuring quality by exclusive quantitative indicators. Several national evaluations (Prova Brasil 2014, Saeb, Enem) have taken place in the past few years in Brazil. Nevertheless, these studies stop short of documenting the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics that impact the quality of basic education.

At the same time as recognizing the importance of such quantitative indicators in evaluating basic education, it would seem that the quality of basic education is mainly linked to the meaning that students and teachers to learning and of the future perspectives that they open up. Many factors that are not taken into account with quantitative indicators need to be examined in order to better understand how to achieve quality in basic education. First of all it would be necessary to know if the students are gaining knowledge that is seen as useful for their local community and for the continuation of their schooling. It would also be necessary to know if they have an obvious pleasure in attending school or if they feel that while necessary school is mainly a chore.

Another important limitation of international comparative education research is that it homogenizes outcomes for a country sometimes obscuring disparities within a country. For example, it is not necessary to do a great deal of educational research to see that the quality of basic teaching in Brazil is not the same if one compares municipal or state schools to private ones. Similarly, when looking at regional inequalities, the children of the north and the northwest do not receive a quality of education that compares with the one received by children in the south or southwest. Additionally, children belonging to the Afro-Brazilian community and of diverse indigenous communities do not receive an education that can be compared to the national average. Finally, and this is the point that interests us the most for the remainder of the chapter, a quality education is not possible without a motivated, well-paid teaching body that has received an adequate training and is socially recognized for its educational mission.

In the final analysis, basic education is a collection of processes and results which are qualitatively determined. The *quantity* of children attending school is certainly a fundamental but insufficient condition to improve basic education.

3 The Necessity of Listening to Teachers

In this section we report opinions which are rarely taken into account in educational research and in public policy regarding basic education: those of teachers. Our research team carried out over 45 semi-directive interviews lasting 45 min in 4 Brazilian states (Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Goiás) in different types of schools (municipal, state, or private) to collect primary school teachers' opinions regarding the quality of the basic education in their schools, their profession, and their pedagogical efforts. The interviews took place in the schools and were combined with the gathering of diverse data on the schools and their sociocultural environments from the administrations. We also organized a seminar to discuss the results of the research with the teachers. This study is in progress and additional interviews will be conducted. The following paragraphs contain the most salient elements of the analysis of interviews conducted to date.

3.1 Becoming a Primary School Teacher: Between a Vocation and a Lack of Options

One of the key moments of the interviews was a discussion regarding the motives and circumstances of choosing the teaching profession. While the traditional vocation of working with children can be found in certain interviews, a lack of options dominated the discussions, especially for teachers coming from rural zones.

In the first place it was a lack of job opportunities in my home region, where a woman became a teacher or a housewife, I preferred teaching. The school was the only option I had.

Becoming a primary school teacher in Brazil is seen by the teachers themselves as a choice by default, which does little to improve educational quality.

3.2 The Contribution of Initial Training

If there is one element that the majority of the teachers we spoke with agree on, it would be the insubstantial contribution of the initial training for their daily teaching. Two major problems are mentioned. The first concerns the overrepresentation of theory in these classes and the disconnect with real world of teaching. The second touches on the fragmentation of different training elements (classes, seminars, internships...) and the lack of a global coherence. It would be important to note that to become a teacher in Brazil, there are two parallel channels. One channel is the “Magistério,” a secondary-level training which closely resembles the former “normal schools,” which favors the methodological and practical aspects of teaching. The other channel is university level (*curso de pedagogia*), which consists more of theoretical and professional aspects of teaching. The Brazilian government has recently set the goal of all primary school teachers completing a degree in higher education (Minister of Education 2006).

The interviewed teachers were much less critical of the “magistério” than of the university “curso de pedagogia.” Moreover, the teachers who were the least skeptical regarding initial training, in either channel, were those who had worked for several years with no training but who later worked towards a degree. Our research hopes to contribute to the current debate in Brazil regarding the best way to prepare teachers. The university channel of teacher training that is being promoted by the Brazilian government does not seem to have convinced people working in the teaching profession.

3.3 Desperately Seeking Social Recognition

The lack of social recognition is an element present in all of the interviews, even though teachers working in private schools feel slightly more appreciated than those working in state or municipal schools. In their professional and personal lives, our

interview participants feel that their profession stands for suffering, sacrifice, and low salary. In other words it is seen as a “profissôzinha” (a diminutive of profession in Portuguese):

In society teachers really aren't valued. When you're in a group of people having a discussion... No way, you're a teacher? It feels like you're swimming against the current. No way, didn't you have any other job possibilities? Didn't you try to study something else? You must not want any challenges in your life. You didn't try another path but took the easy way, teaching... That's why you took education classes? These classes of looking and waiting for a husband!... I hear this type of talk when I tell people I'm a teacher.

3.4 Pedagogical Project and Teaching Methods

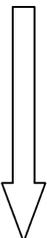
In Brazil there is currently a rather original innovation called “Projeto Político-Pedagógico.” This is a school project generally in the form of a pedagogical orientation text that shows the connection between national or regional educational policies and the life of the school. All of our interview participants underlined the importance of the existence of a pedagogical project in improving the educational quality of a school. However, two major problems have been brought up regarding this innovation. The first has to do with the authorship of the project. The most pertinent projects are those involving the largest number possible of teachers in its drafting. If the project is the solitary creation of a principal or of education managers it will be hard pressed to change very much in an institution or to mobilize a teaching body. The second concerns the operationalization of the “Projeto Político-Pedagógico.” The teachers interviewed said that some projects stay in a drawer in the desk of principals because they are disconnected from the everyday reality of teaching in a classroom.

Regarding the most appropriate teaching methods for quality lessons, the interviewed teachers point to the need of diversifying the pedagogical methods. For many, an efficient method is one that can adapt to various classroom contexts, to diverse situations of students, and to the subject matter:

One possible method consists in the teacher being well-prepared and instructing in a systematic way because often the teacher doesn't really have clear objectives, many teachers don't have a precise method to follow, so we need to fix goals. The appropriate method is to take the traditional and to mix it with the modern, make the student think about what he/she is doing... It's also important to diversify the teaching style.

Findings also reveal the following themes as important improving the quality of basic education in Brazil: higher salaries, school-family relations, and a serious commitment by public authorities in favor of public education. Table 2 looks at the conditions that the interviewed teachers see as necessary for improving basic education.

Table 2 How Brazilian teachers think basic education can be improved

	Profession	School	Class
Current situation 	Lack of social recognition	Distant school-family relations (inexistent) or parents seeing themselves as clients (in private schools)	Solitude of the teacher
	Incomplete training	Political-pedagogical project too far removed from the day to day (top-down)	Many teachers have basically given up (acomodados)
	Insufficient salary	Accountability (cobrança) especially at the administrative level	Social and familial difficulties of the students
Measures that could improve basic education	Commitment of public authorities in favor of education	Political-pedagogical project participative and operational	Improving school infrastructure
	Salary increase will help reducing work overload	Accountability especially at the pedagogical level and giving priority to student learning	Diversification of teaching methods (not a single orientation)

4 Conclusion

The last two decades have seen a public debate in Brazil on the need to improve the quality of basic education. This debate essentially has centered around two points: (1) the legislative measures promoting the reform of the Brazilian education system which resulted in the passing of the LDB (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases) and (2) the reduction of inequalities connected with the financing of public education which took shape in the launching of two federal aid programs for basic education (Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e de Valorização do Magistério – Fundef and Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e de Valorização dos Profissionais da Educação – FUNDEB). These funds aim to redistribute resources from the richest regions to the poorest and to introduce financial incentives intended to improve working conditions for the teaching body. These initiatives, for example, force federate states and municipalities to allocate at least 60 % of their budget to education and 12 % of their total budget to primary education (Neri and Buchmann 2007).

In the indispensable effort to identify ways to improve basic education, our research project has developed along two lines. In the first place, there is a need for a reconceptualization of educational quality as incorporating both quantitative and qualitative aspects. For a country like Brazil, the goal to strive for is to increase the number of students attending school, especially among the poorest population, at the same time as improving the quality of education that schools offer. In the second

place our project has shown the necessity of taking into account structural factors along with the contributions of fundamental participants, especially teachers. In this sense, in spite of the good intentions declared at international conferences and by education ministers, work conditions have continued to deteriorate in many countries. Teachers have been demoralized by their low salaries and poor working conditions. The necessity of investing more in the teaching body is a high priority if we hope to reach the goal of education for all and to improve the quality of basic education. Being a teacher should no longer mean feeling part of a professional category that sees itself as unheard, subordinate, that sees itself as pawns. The role which has currently been passed on to teachers is seen as being more and more spread out and covers not only the individual development of students but also the transformation of the school establishment into a “community of learners” (OECD 2005, 2012).

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Language-in-Education Policies and Practices in Africa with a Special Focus on Tanzania and South Africa

Birgit Brock-Utne

1 Introduction

It has always been felt by African educationists that the African child's major learning problem is linguistic. Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in his immediate environment, a language which neither the learner nor the teacher understands and uses well enough (Obanya 1980, p. 88).

If the African child's major learning problem is linguistic, then all the attention of African policy-makers and aid to the education sector from donors should be devoted to a strengthening of the African languages as languages of instruction, especially in basic education. My own experience after having taught in Africa for 4 years and having visited hundreds of classrooms both in East and West Africa is that Obanya is completely right; the African child's major learning problem *is* linguistic. Children are being branded as unintelligent when they lack knowledge of the language used in instruction, a language they often hardly hear and seldom use outside of the classroom. The concept 'education for all' becomes a completely empty concept if the linguistic environment of the basic learners is not taken into account (Brock-Utne 2000, 2001; Klaus 2001).

Yet there is hardly another sociocultural topic one can begin discussing with Africans that leads to so heated debates and stirs up so many emotions as that of the language of instruction in African schools. It is difficult to discuss this topic as a strictly educational question phrased, for instance, as: 'Through which medium of instruction would children learn subject matter best?' 'If the aim is to master a "world" language, would it be better to have that language as a language of instruction at the earliest time possible or to develop the vernacular or a commonly spoken national language further first?' or 'What does it mean for the learning potential and

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the development of self-respect and identity that the language one normally communicates in does not seem to be deemed fit for a language of instruction in school?’

When it comes to the choice of language of instruction in African schools, socio-cultural politics, economic interests, sociolinguistics and education are so closely interrelated that it is difficult to sort out the arguments. It is an area with strong donor pressure, mostly from the former colonial masters, who wish to retain and strengthen their own languages. There are strong economic interests from publishing companies overseas who see that they will have easier access to the African textbook market when the Euro languages are used. There are also faulty, but widely held, beliefs among lay people when it comes to the language of instruction. In a 5-year research project, LOITASA¹ (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa), which I am conducting together with partners in Tanzania and South Africa, we have come across many of these beliefs.

Last year I was sitting for several hours in the back of a classroom in a secondary school in Tanzania. I observed students who did not understand what the teacher was saying when he spoke English and who had to ask each other what the teacher said and sometimes ask the teacher to express himself in Kiswahili, a language they all spoke very well. When I spoke in Kiswahili to one of these students afterwards and mentioned that I had noticed that he did not understand the language of instruction, he admitted that my observation was correct. He did have great difficulties following the teacher, especially if the teacher did not switch to Kiswahili during the lesson when he saw that the students did not understand. When I asked him if it would have been much better for him had the lesson been given in Kiswahili throughout, he admitted that it certainly would have been much easier. He would then have been able to understand. However, when I then asked him whether he thought the language of instruction should be changed, he said that he did not think so because English was the language of technology and modernisation. English was the global language without which one could not get a good job. He believed that he had to learn English and could not see another way than having it as a language of instruction.

We shall return to this argument. In this chapter I wish to revisit and critically discuss some of the commonly heard arguments against the strengthening of the African languages as languages of instruction. Some of the arguments are promoted by Western donors and Western academics, others by Africans. One argument often heard is that there is such a multitude of languages in Africa that it would be impossible to choose which language to use. It is therefore better to retain the colonial languages. Another argument is that it is too costly to publish textbooks in these languages. Some African parents, school children and lay public claim that children need to study in an ex-colonial language as early as possible in order to get the best possible command of that language. This is supposed to further personal development, the learning potential of the child and the development of his family, society and country. There is a tendency that even in a country like Tanzania, where more than 95 % of the population are fluent in the national language Kiswahili, and where Kiswahili is the official medium of education all through primary school, that the new

private schools in Dar es Salaam advertise that they are English medium primary schools. These are schools where parents who are somewhat better off send their children and where school fees are charged. These schools are better resourced and teachers are better paid. Towards the end of the chapter, I shall discuss the coping strategies African teachers use in their classrooms.

2 The Myth of the Many Languages of Africa

In 2001 I had the pleasure of being invited to a conference held to mark the creation of a centre for African languages in Bamako, Mali. There were only three researchers from outside of Africa, all knowledgeable in African languages. The rest of the participants were sociolinguists and linguists from all over Africa, east and west, north and south. One of the keynote speakers was the renowned sociolinguist and sociologist Kwesi Kwaa Prah. Prah is originally from Ghana but has for many years worked as a professor at the University of Western Cape in South Africa. He is now the Director of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) in Cape Town.

Professor Prah began his keynote speech by quoting some of the Western linguists with their different estimates of the numbers of African languages. While, for instance, David Westley (1992) claims that at least 1,400 languages are spoken in Africa in 51 countries, Barbara Grimes (1992) assesses the number of languages in Africa to be 1995.² He asked: What is this? Don't we know how many languages we have in Africa? Who has classified them? Who has put them into writing, for what purpose? According to what system? To what effect? He went on to say that he would now read aloud a list of African languages and he wanted everybody present to raise their hand if they heard a language mentioned by him that they could communicate comfortably in. This language need not be our first language, but a language we understood well and felt comfortable using. When he had read out a list of 12–15 core languages (a core language is a cluster of mutually intelligible speech forms which in essence constitute dialects of the same language), *all* of the participants in the conference had their hands up. These core languages included Nguni, Sesotho/Setswana, Kiswahili, Dholuo, Eastern Inter-Lacustrine, Runyakitara, Somali/Rendile/Oromo/Borana, Fulful, Mandenkan, Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo and Amharic. He characterised these languages as the first-order languages of prominence. Below these, there may be about six which are not so large, in terms of speakers, but which have significant numbers of users. The work of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) over the past 5 years has revealed that as first, second and third language speakers, about 85 % of Africans speak no more than 12–15 core languages (see, e.g. Prah 2000, 2002). This is actually fewer languages than the number of core languages spoken in the much smaller continent of Europe.

The truth is that the demographics of language and linguistic diversity in Africa are not really different from what obtains in other parts of the world. The myth of

the multitude of languages seems to fit well into a description of Africa as the dark and backward continent. It is also a convenient excuse for donors backed by strong publishing interests in the West to use when they insist that one of the colonial languages has to be used as language of instruction.

What may be different in Africa from other parts of the world is that the identification of linguistic units in Africa tends to be loose. The identification of language communities in Africa has been approached in a way which favours the recognition of practically all dialects and phonological variations as separate languages. When in 1995 I made a study for the Namibian Ministry of Education on the situation of the African languages after independence (Brock-Utne 1995, 1997), to my great surprise I discovered that the two main 'languages' in the north of Namibia, Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama actually are the same language. The reason why there are two written forms of the language has to do with the rivalry between Finnish and German missionaries and later the creation of separate language committees which suited the divide and rule policy of the apartheid government.

Roy-Campbell (1998) describes how faulty transcriptions, some arising from inaccurate associations by missionaries, occurred across the African continent, resulting in a multitude of dialects of the same language and different languages being created from what was one language. The difficulty of putting a definite figure to the number of African languages on the continent can be attributed to this process, as contention has arisen over whether certain language forms are indeed languages or dialects. Sinfree Makoni (2000) likewise writes about the crucial role of missionaries in the specification of speech forms subsequently regarded as African languages. African missionary converts played the role of laboratory assistants. They provided the vocabulary and the missionaries the orthography and the grammar. Makoni claims that the grammar books made did not aid any meaningful communication between English and Shona speakers in Zimbabwe. The phrases for translation and the vocabulary used reflected settler and missionary ideology. The phrases were useful for talking about Africans but not for engaging with them in any egalitarian communication. He further writes about the way in which different missionary stations magnified differences between dialects, obscuring the homogeneity of the real situation. To quote him: 'Missionaries were not sin-free in their creation of African vernaculars' (Makoni 2000, p. 158). He concludes a chapter on the missionary influence on African vernaculars in general and on Shona in particular with these words:

It is generally well known that the spread of "European languages" was one of the consequences of European imperialism. What is less well-known, however, is the effect of the work of missionaries in the construction of African languages. The written African languages which they created were "new" in many respects. (Makoni 2000, p. 164)

In a keynote speech he gave at the opening of the LOITASA project, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003) also spoke of the harm done to African languages through the missionary settlements, as well as missionary rivalry and evangelical zeal. Missionaries lacking a proper understanding of the language transcribed any speech form they heard into a written language resembling the way similar sounds were

transcribed in their own indigenous language. By this approach dialects like Cockney, Tyneside, broad Yorkshire, etc. in Britain could easily be made into languages in themselves. This fragmentation approach is still popular with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a leading group in the work of rendering African languages into script, in order to translate the Bible into African languages. One can agree with Kwesi Kwaa Prah's claim that the rendition of African languages into scripts for purposes of the development of Africa cannot at the same time proceed with the fragmentation of languages as is being conducted by the SIL. In effect, the SIL is building and destroying at the same time. To quote Prah (2002, p. 13):

When one asks why this is the case, the reason that comes easily to the fore is that the object of such endeavours at rendering African languages into script is not in the first instance to help in the development of Africa, but rather simply to translate the Bible into African speech forms and to evangelise and convert Africans into Christians. Unless one assumes that converting Africans to Christianity represents development. All other considerations are for such purposes insignificant.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2002) notes that those who write about the multitude of languages in Africa have, in most instances, never looked at African societies outside the framework of colonial boundaries. It is necessary for African linguists to work across national boundaries because practically all African languages are cross-border speech forms which defy the colonially inherited borders. When the colonial powers divided up Africa between themselves in Berlin in 1884, they never considered the language borders of Africa. Working within the framework of African neocolonial borders creates many more problems than working across borders.

Prah claims that the sentimental glories of neocolonial flags and national anthems maintain the fragmentation process of African languages. For the sake of the flag and so-called national identity, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi refused to accept the reality of the fact that ciNyanja and ciCerwa are the same language. Sometimes these tensions are perceptible in the same country and represent attempts to own and control linguistic turf. In Ghana, 25 years after the harmonisation of Akan to produce a unified Akan orthography, writers still persisted in using the preunification orthography that separated mutually intelligible dialects like Akuapim, Asante, Fanti, Akim and Brong.

The approach of CASAS is to organise the technical work on the harmonisation of orthography and the development of common spelling systems of African languages. When this has been successfully done, workshops are organised so that the new system is being taught to writers and teachers who then produce materials using the new orthographies. Many such workshops have already been organised by CASAS. The target of CASAS in the short run is to complete work within the next few years on the 12–15 core languages. The logic of this work is that once this approach runs its course, it should be possible to produce materials for formal education, adult literacy and everyday media usage for large readerships which on the economies of scale make it possible to produce and work in these languages. According to Prah (2002, p. 15) 'it is the empowerment of Africans with the use of their native languages, which would make the difference between whether Africa develops, or not'.

The argument about the many languages in Africa is often being used to strengthen the ex-colonial languages. The claim is being made that if, for instance, the African majority language of the area were chosen as the language of instruction, it would disadvantage children speaking a minority language; therefore everybody should instead use an ex-colonial language. If one looks closer into this claim, one will often find that children from minority groups will find the African majority language much easier to use as a language of instruction than the ex-colonial language. For instance, a Zambia research carried out by Robert Serpell (2000) showed that children from Bemba-speaking families showed greater communicative competence in Nyanja than in English. Likewise children from Nyanja-speaking families showed greater communicative competence in Bemba than in English.

3 It Is Too Expensive to Publish in African Languages

This is another argument we often hear and which is being used to promote the ex-colonial languages and publishing companies in the West. When it comes to Africa, it certainly would be too expensive to publish textbooks all through primary and secondary school as well as in tertiary and adult education in between thousand and two thousand languages, which is, as mentioned, the number some Western linguists give for the number of languages in Africa. But through inexpensive desktop publishing techniques, it should be possible in Africa, as it has been in Papua New Guinea (Klaus 2001), to have African children study through their mother tongue in the first years of schooling. At the same time they should be taught a regional, cross-border African language which comes close to their mother tongue which they can use as the language of instruction at higher levels of learning. Through the harmonisation process that, e.g. CASAS is working on, it should be possible to concentrate on 12–15 languages that are understood by at least 85 % of the African population and to have these languages being used as languages of instruction at the highest level of teaching. This would also mean an intellectual revival of Africa since it is only when textbooks are published on a large scale that publishing companies have money to publish fictional and especially non-fictional books.

When economists try to figure out how much it will cost to publish textbooks in African languages, they also have to figure out how much it costs to have African children sit year after year in school, often repeating a class without learning anything. The African continent abounds with examples of the low pass rate and high attrition rate in schools. I concur with the sociolinguist Zaline Makini Roy-Campbell (2000, p. 124) who has done extensive work in Tanzania and Zimbabwe when she writes:

What is often ignored is the cost to the nation of the continued use of European languages which contributes to the marginalisation of the majority of the population. One cannot overstate the damage being effected upon the psyche of African children being forced to access knowledge through a language in which they lack adequate proficiency and upon the

nation which produces a majority of semi-literates who are competent neither in their own language nor in the educational language.

The Cameroonian sociolinguist Maurice Tadadjeu (1989) in his well-argued and interesting book *Voie Africaine* argues for a three-language model for Africa whereby everybody first learns to master his/her mother tongue, then learns a regional African language that can be used as a language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education and then learns an international language as a subject, a foreign language.

4 The Ex-colonial Languages as the Languages of Modernisation, of Science and Technology

We shall return to the argument from the secondary school student I interviewed in Tanzania.

He looked at English as a language he had to master to get anywhere in the world. In actual fact there are not many Tanzanians who need English in their daily lives as all communication outside of the classroom is either in vernacular languages or in Kiswahili. Kiswahili is the language spoken in the Parliament, in the lower courts, in the radio and television, in the banks, in the post office and in the Ministries. There are more newspapers in Kiswahili than in English, and they sell much better. But let us assume that this student would belong to those who would need a good command of English in his future career. I shall argue here that it would be better both for his knowledge acquisition in general and for his learning of English if the normal language of instruction would have been Kiswahili and he would have learnt English as a subject, as a foreign language by teachers who were English language teachers, had both a good command of English and of the children's first language, knew the methodology of teaching English and were interested in language acquisition. One of the Tanzanian participants in the LOITASA project group, Dr. Martha Qorro (2002), is herself a Senior Lecturer in English in the Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages at the University of Dar es Salaam. The reason why she is a great promoter of the use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools has to do with the fact that she, as an English teacher, has seen that children neither learn English (they learn bad and incorrect English) nor subject matter. The English language has become a barrier to knowledge.

In the English language newspaper *the Guardian* in Tanzania, the editors started a Kiswahili medium debate in the spring of 2002. In an editorial of 30th April 2002, the editor openly warns Kiswahili medium advocates. On May 29th Martha Qorro gave a substantial answer to the editor based on her own observations and research. Here are some quotes from her answer:

In terms of language use in public secondary schools in Tanzania most students and the majority of teachers do not understand English. For example, the headmaster of one of the

secondary schools once admitted that, of the 45 teachers in his school only 3 understood English well and used it correctly. This in effect means that the other 42 teachers used incorrect English in their teaching. This is not an isolated case. Those who have been working closely with secondary school classroom situations will agree with me that this situation prevails in most public secondary schools in Tanzania.

Dr. Qorro claims that it is the prevailing situation in the secondary schools in Tanzania, where most teachers teach in incorrect English, that forces her to argue for the change of medium of instruction to Kiswahili. She feels confident that students can, in fact, learn English better than is currently the case when it is taught well as a subject and eliminated as the medium of instruction. In her own words:

The use of English as a medium actually defeats the whole purpose of teaching English language. For example, let us suppose that, in the school mentioned above the 3 teachers who use English correctly are the teachers of English language, and the other 42 are teachers of subjects other than English. Is it not the case that the efforts of the 3 teachers of English are likely to be eroded by the 42 teachers who use incorrect English in teaching their subjects? If we want to improve the teaching and learning of English in Tanzania secondary schools, I believe, that has to include the elimination of incorrect English to which students have been exposed from the time they began learning it. (Qorro 2002)

In her article Martha Qorro argues for the elimination of incorrect English by not using it as a medium of instruction. She knows that many people are put off by this suggestion because of the belief that by using it as a medium of instruction, students would master English better. Though she agrees that mastering English is important, she feels that the best way to do this is through improved teaching of English language as a subject and not to the use of English as a medium. And then she adds:

Not everyone who recommends a change of medium of instruction to Kiswahili is a Kiswahili Professor. I for one am *not* a Kiswahili Professor, I have been teaching English for the last 25 years, and to me a change to Kiswahili medium means:

- Eliminating the huge amount of incorrect English to which our secondary school students are exposed.
- Enhancing students' understanding of the contents of their subjects and hence creating grounds on which they can build their learning of English and other languages.
- Eliminating the false dependence on English medium as a way of teaching/learning English, addressing and evaluating the problems of teaching English.
- Impressing on all those concerned that English language teaching is a specialised field just like History, Geography, Physics, Mathematics, etc. It is thus unreasonable and sometimes insulting to teachers of English when it is assumed that teachers of all subjects can assist in the teaching of English.

To the young secondary school student I met in Tanzania, it would be correct to reply yes it is important for you to learn English and learn it well, but there is reason to believe that you will learn the language better if you study it as a foreign language, as a subject. Using Kiswahili as the language of instruction will help you learn science and other subjects better than you do now.

Ferguson (2000) points to several research studies showing that those students who learn in their own language do better in school. He refers to a study by Prophet and Dow (1994) from Botswana. A set of science concepts was taught to an experimental group in Setswana and to a control group in English. They then tested the

understanding of these concepts and found that Form I students taught in Setswana had developed a significantly better understanding of the concepts than those taught in English. A similar study with the same results was recently carried out in Tanzania. Secondary school students taught science concepts in Kiswahili did far better than those who had been taught in English (Mwinsheikhe 2001, 2002).

5 Inside the African Classroom

How do African teachers, who often do not master the language of instruction themselves very well, behave in the classroom? What teaching methods do they use? What coping strategies do they employ? The chorus teaching you often hear in African classrooms owes itself much to the fact that the teacher does not have a vocabulary large enough to employ an interactive teaching method. It is difficult to use an interactive teaching strategy when you do not command the language well. Observations that I have made in Tanzania both in secondary school classrooms and when I have taught university students show that if a teacher attempts to engage her/his students in group work or group discussions, the groups will immediately switch into Kiswahili. Most of the time the teacher will either use what Heller and Martin-Jones (2001, p. 13) have called ‘safe talk’ or will code-mix or code-switch in the classroom.

6 Safe Talk

Heller and Martin-Jones (2001, p. 3) define ‘safe talk’ as:

Classroom talk that allows participation without any risk of loss of face for the teacher and the learners and maintains an appearance of “doing the lesson”, while in fact little learning is actually taking place ... This particular style of interaction arises from teachers’ attempts to cope with the problem of using a former colonial language, which is remote from the learners’ experiences outside school, as the main medium of instruction.

Rubagumya (2003) found in a study he has made of the new English medium primary schools in Tanzania the main manifestation of ‘safe talk’ in an encouragement of chorus answers from pupils, repeating phrases or words after the teacher and copying notes from the blackboard. He found very little encouragement of pupils to freely express their ideas without the teacher’s control.

The two examples below are taken from Rubagumya’s research and illustrate ‘safe talk’ as observed in many classrooms of the sample schools.

T: So you have positive fifty-five plus positive what now?

PP: (chorus) ten

T: Positive ten. What do you get then?

P: (one student answers) Positive sixty-five

T: Sixty-five positive. How many got that? Only one... any question?... no question. Do this exercise

[Maths std. 3 school D2]

In this example, the teacher is going through the exercise he had given pupils earlier. After making the corrections, he asks how many pupils got the right answer. Only one out of a class of 35 pupils had the right answer. The teacher then asks whether pupils have any questions. After a very brief moment (about 2 s) he decides that pupils have understood, and he proceeds to give them another exercise. Here both the teacher and the pupils are practising ‘safe talk’. Since only one pupil got the right answer, we would have expected several pupils to ask some questions. But they hesitate because they do not want to lose face. The teacher on his part waits for only about 2 s and proceeds with the next task. He does not want to encourage pupils to ask questions because either this might expose his lack of fluency in English or because he is trying to cover the syllabus. Either way, this is ‘safe talk’.

T: number twelve... let us go together ... one two three

PP: (chorus) The doctor and his wife has gone out

T: The doctor and his wife *has* gone out ... Kevin?

Kevin: The doctor and his wife *have* gone out

T: The doctor and his wife *have* gone out ... is he correct?

PP: (Chorus) YEES!

(English std 2 school A3)

Here the teacher is trying to correct the pupils when they say ‘the doctor and his wife *has*’. Kevin gets the right answer ‘the doctor and his wife *have*’. Once the other pupils confirm this as correct in a chorus, the teacher does not care to explain why the right form of the verb is *have* and not *has*. There is no way he can find out from the chorus answer whether every pupil understands the difference between *have* and *has*, but accepting the chorus answer is ‘safe’ both for him and for his pupils.

7 Code-Mixing and Code-Switching in the African Classroom

The young student I talked to in Tanzania told about the difficulties he had understanding the lesson if his teacher did not translate the English words for him from time to time. This is what most Tanzanian teachers teaching in secondary schools do. In their classrooms they use strategies we term code-mixing, code-switching or regular translations. When the word *code* is used here, it simply means different languages.

In the research project sponsored by the Norwegian Research Council, my research assistant/collaborator and I have decided to use the following definitions of code-switching and code-mixing:

Code-switching refers to a switch in language that takes place *between* sentences, also called an *intersentential change*, code-mixing refers to a switch in language that takes place *within* the same sentence also called an *intrasentential change*. (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2002)

Code-mixing is generally looked at more negatively than code-switching. Code-mixing often indicates a lack of language competence in either language concerned.

Code-switching does not necessarily indicate a deficiency on the part of the speaker, but may result from complex bilingual skills (Myers-Scotton 1993). Code-switching is a strategy a teacher even with a good command of English (if that is the language of instruction) may use when he/she sees that his/her students do not understand. It is a strategy often used by teachers who are knowledgeable in the first language of students. From observations I have made so far and by analysing observations made by other researchers, it seems to me that the strategy code-mixing is mostly being used by teachers who are not language teachers and do not have a good command of the language of instruction.

8 Examples of Code-Mixing

In the example below the geography teacher mixes in English words in his sentences but lets the important words be said in Kiswahili. The following excerpt is taken from classroom observations made in a Form I geography lesson:

T: These are used for grinding materials. It looks like what?

S: Kinu (pestle)

T: Kinu and what?

S: Mtwangio (mortar)

T: It looks like kinu and mtwangio and it works like kinu and mtwangio.

In this example the teacher is satisfied with the answer from the student which shows that the student has the right concepts. The fact that these concepts are expressed in Kiswahili does not seem to bother the subject matter teacher, who does nothing to expand the vocabulary of the student within the English language. From the excerpt we do not even know whether the teacher knows the correct terms in English. Even if he/she does, he/she does not bother to make his/her students partake of this knowledge. Had the teacher insisted on an answer in English, he/she would most likely have been met by silence.

Observations that Osaki made in science teaching in secondary schools in Tanzania have made him reach the following conclusion:

Students either talk very little in class and copy textual information from the chalkboard, or attempt discussion in a mixed language (i.e., English and Kiswahili) and then copy notes on the chalkboard in English ... teachers who insist on using English only end up talking to themselves with very little student input. (Osaki 1991)

As all educators know, student input is essential for learning. In an experiment one of my doctoral students Halima Mwinsheikhe (2001, 2002) conducted as part of the research on my project, and in connection with her master thesis, she had teachers teach some biology lessons solely through the medium of English and later had the same teachers teach some other biology lessons solely through the medium of Kiswahili. She tells that during the experimental lessons, one could easily see that teachers who taught by using English only were exerting a great effort not to succumb to the temptation of code-mixing or code-switching. They seemed to be

very tense, and their verbal expressions were rather 'dry'. Those who taught in Kiswahili were much more relaxed and confident. Those who taught through the medium of Kiswahili also seemed to enjoy teaching. They found it easy to make the lessons lively by introducing some jokes.

It is not only when teachers are to teach students that the language of communication becomes a problem. Halima Mwinsheikhe (2003) tells that after her study for the master's degree and her return to Tanzania, she felt compelled to probe further into the issue of Kiswahili/English as LOI for science in secondary schools. Whenever she found herself among teachers and/or students, she observed and sought information/opinions regarding this issue. She tells how in May 2002 she co-facilitated a training workshop for science teachers of the SESS (Science Education in Secondary Schools) project together with an American Peace Corps. The main objective was to train the teachers on the use of participatory methods to teach/learn some topics on reproductive health. She relates:

The intention was to conduct the workshop in English. However, it became evident that the low level of participation, and the dull workshop atmosphere prevailing was partly due to teachers' problem with the English language. This is not a very shocking observation considering that some of these teachers were students some four years ago. The workshop co-ordinator and I agreed to use both Kiswahili and English. The problem was immediately solved. Since we started with this mixture, the working atmosphere was good, lively and conducive to learning. The other workshop co-ordinator was well aware of the language problem in secondary classrooms in Tanzania. ...An interesting observation is that my co-facilitator, an American, who had been in Tanzania for only 18 months, used Kiswahili rather well in teaching a science subject intended for secondary schools!

Halima Mwinsheikhe sees the observations made during this particular workshop as a cause for concern because in the final analysis, the language problem of the teachers involved will impact on students during teaching/learning experiences. The implication is that teachers will most likely opt to use Kiswahili to surmount the existing language barrier. And yet at the end of the day, students will be required to write their tests/examinations in English.

9 Examples of Code-Switching

The examples of code-switching and code-mixing reported here will be taken from Tanzania and South Africa, the countries in which my research project is located. The same practice has, however, been observed in classrooms in Uganda, Swaziland, Namibia and Burundi (see, e.g. Ndayipfukamiye 1993). In Tanzania Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction through primary school, while English is supposed to be used as the language of instruction in secondary school and institutions of higher learning (except in some teacher colleges for primary school teachers where the language of instruction is Kiswahili). Despite of what may be regarded as a very progressive language-in-education policy in South Africa, which in principle enables learners or their guardians to choose any of the 11 official languages as the

language of instruction, English is used as the medium of instruction from grade 4 in primary school onwards. The transition to English is only a policy decided by individual schools and reflects the actual 1979 apartheid language policy. When one reads the official government policy carefully, one sees that this policy does *not* state that a change of language of instruction needs to take place in the fourth or fifth grade in primary school or, for that matter, at all. According to this policy the whole of primary school as well as secondary school could be conducted in African languages as the languages of instruction (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003).

In connection with the South African part of my research project, a reading comprehension task was given to 278 students in 6 different classrooms in three schools in Cape Town. The overall results showed that students who received instruction only in isiXhosa and the task in isiXhosa performed far better than those who received the same task in English only. In addition, the isiXhosa group also outperformed the group that was given the task in English, but where instruction was given in both English and isiXhosa, i.e. code-switching method. All sessions were videotaped and are currently being analysed as part of the doctoral thesis written by Holmarsdottir.

Teachers in African classrooms know that they are not allowed to code-mix or code-switch, yet most of them still do. Halima Mwinsheikhe, who has worked as a biology teacher in Tanzanian secondary schools for many years, admits:

I personally was compelled to switch to Kiswahili by a sense of helplessness born of the inability to make students understand the subject matter by using English. (Mwinsheikhe 2001, p. 16)

In the following passage the science teacher changes languages completely as he sees that his students do not understand. His own English is not easy to understand. He expresses himself much clearer and better in Kiswahili. For him the important thing is to get the subject matter across. He is a teacher of science, not of English.

T: When you go home put some water in a jar, leave it direct on sun rays and observe the decrease of the amount of water, have you understood?

Ss: (silence)

T: Nasema, chukua chombo, uweke maji na kiache kwenye jua, maji yatakuaje? (I say take a container with water and leave it out in the sun, what will happen to the water?)

Ss: Yatapungua (it will decrease)

T: Kwa nini? (Why?)

Ss: Yatafyonzwa na mionzi ya jua (it will evaporate by the sun's rays)

In the example above the teacher, after his initial try in English and the following silence from the students, switches completely to Kiswahili.

In South Africa it is also assumed that by using English in all content subjects, students will in turn become more proficient in English. Also here teachers of students from the black majority population generally code-switch or code-mix during most lessons. In this case research shows that although officially the language of instruction is English, the actual language used most in the upper primary school classrooms in the western Cape where we conduct our research is isiXhosa. The following example highlights the use of both English and isiXhosa (code-switching) in a South African classroom.

During a mathematics³ lesson at the grade four level, the teacher was explaining to the students $20 + 19$, which she had written on the board. At first the teacher made an attempt to explain the lesson in English, but quickly switched to isiXhosa after realising that the students were not following along. During the explanation of this lesson, in addition the teacher proceeded as follows⁴:

T⁵: We are now going to do the addition together and I will explain and you will follow along. We are breaking up the numbers. Do you understand?

Ss: (Silence, no one responds).

T: *Siyacalula ngoku, siyawaqhekeza la manani. Sithatha bani phaya* (We are simplifying now, we are breaking these numbers. What do we take from there)?

Ss: Utwo (two).

T: *Sithathe bani phaya* (And what do we take from there)?

Ss: *Uone* (one).

T: *Utwo ujika abe ngubani* (two changes into what number)?

Ss: *Abe ngu-20* (becomes 20).

T: Right, *u-1 lo ujika abe ngubani* (Right, this 1 becomes what)?

Ss: *Abe ngu-10* (Becomes 10).

The entire lesson was carried out in isiXhosa except for the initial attempt to use English only. The teacher switched languages after receiving no response from the students when she initially used English only. The remaining mathematics lesson then continued in isiXhosa with only some minor code-mixing taking place like the insertion of words like 'right', 'okay', 'understand' and so on. The book the teacher was working from was in English.

The mathematics lesson described above is not an isolated case, and in fact many of the lessons observed during the fieldwork in the South African part of the project were conducted mainly through the medium of isiXhosa. However, at the end of the day students are expected to use English for all the writing that is done in the subjects, except for the subject isiXhosa.

They are also expected to answer all exam questions in English.

National examiners working for the National Examination Board of Tanzania have told me of the many times they have seen students answer examination questions correctly, but in Kiswahili. The examiners were instructed to give such students zero points because the answers were supposed to be in English.

10 Conclusion

The situation that African teachers are forced into is tragic. Their own limited command of the language of instruction, as well as the great difficulties their students have understanding what the teacher is saying when he/she expresses him- or herself in the ex-colonial language, forces them to use teaching strategies I have here characterised as safe talk, code-mixing and code-switching. This gives the teachers a bad conscience since they know that they are not supposed to code-switch or code-mix but to use the ex-colonial language throughout the lesson. They also know that at exam day, students who code-switch will be punished.

The ideal situation when it comes to classroom learning in Africa to me seems to be the three-language model so well argued for by Maurice Tadadjeu (1989). As mentioned this language model for Africa would mean that the students first learn to master their mother tongue, then learn a regional African language, that can be used as a language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education; and then learn an international language as a subject, a foreign language. This would mean that the local language would be used as a language of instruction during the first grades while lessons in the regional language would also be given. The regional language would gradually become the language of instruction through secondary and tertiary education. The so-called international language would be taught as a subject from the time the regional language takes over as the language of instruction.

While we are waiting for the ideal situation to happen, teachers must be allowed to code-switch because this speech behaviour is sometimes the only possible communicative resource there is for the management of learning. Learners should be awarded full points for a correct answer on exam questions whether they express themselves in the local, regional or foreign language.

Notes

1. The LOITASA project was planned together with partners in South Africa and Tanzania in Bagamoyo, Tanzania, in January 2000 to be a 5-year project with NUFU (Norwegian University Fund – cooperation between Norwegian universities and universities in developing countries) funding from Norway. This project worked in close cooperation with the Norwegian Research Council-funded project. The LOITASA project, which started on the 1st of January 2002 was completed on 31st of December 2006, contains two different research components apart from a staff development component. The first research component is rather similar to the project sponsored by the Norwegian Research Council. The second research component of LOITASA involves an action component where we plan an experiment where we shall let some Form I and Form II classes in secondary school in Tanzania and fourth, fifth and sixth grade classes in primary school in South Africa be taught in mother tongue or at least in a language that is familiar to them (isiXhosa in the western Cape region of South Africa, Kiswahili in Tanzania) in some subjects for two more years. We have used 2002 to translate material and get the necessary permissions to carry out the experiment. We have just started the experimental phase in South Africa. The NUFU funding was not sufficient for our experimental phase, and we have secured some extra funding from a Norway-South Africa research programme.
2. A number of bibliographies have been published on the subject 'education and language in Africa'. Kaye and Nystrom (1971) have in their extensive bibliography covered the colonial period, while *Sprachpolitik in Africa* by Reh and Bernd (1982) contains a vast bibliography with especially good coverage of the period from independence to 1980. David Westley (1992) has made an updated bibliography on the period 1980–1990.

3. Officially the policy of this particular school states that English is the LOI from grade 4 onwards. Mathematics is therefore supposed to be taught through this language. The reality is, however, far different.
4. The data was collected by Halla Holmarsdottir as part of her Ph.D. research on the project
5. T refers to the teacher and S refers to the students.

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Globalisation and National Curriculum Reform in Australia: The Push for Asia Literacy

Deborah Henderson

1 Introduction

A geographically bounded concept of the nation-state has traditionally informed decision making about national education policy. However, recent literature on the allocation of values in education policy refers to the transnational shift towards a neoliberal values orientation which emphasises human capital formation and new knowledge industries that nation-states require to compete in the global economy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Such shifting economic, political and social contexts for education are prompting education systems across the world to interpret and react to the challenges of globalisation. As with other governments in Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, education policy reform aimed at aligning educational outcomes with the national interest, and delivered through a national curriculum, is one of the strategies by which the Australian government is responding to globalisation and increased regional interaction. It can be argued that this approach to reshaping the goals of schooling is indicative of the OECD model of the knowledge economy society. This chapter explores a particular manifestation of national curriculum reform in Australia which includes an emphasis on Asia as an example of an education policy response to globalisation. For in the knowledge economy discourse in Australia, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of Asia is considered valuable and necessary for national prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012). National education policymaking is complex in Australia, as under the Australian constitution, the states and territories have autonomy over education. Indeed, this autonomy has prevented previous federal (national) governments from succeeding in developing

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and implementing a national curriculum. Despite the complex federalism of Australian education policy, the development of a national curriculum which promotes greater consistency in education matters was endorsed in Australia, with certain qualifications, by state and territory ministers at the meeting of the peak national intergovernment body, the Ministerial Council for Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA) in December 2010. This was a considerable achievement, as no other nation with a federal system of education has a national curriculum (Fensham 2011).

This national education reform agenda, aimed at securing a world-class school system, was formalised in the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians* (MCEETYA 2008), henceforth the *Melbourne Declaration*. As the agreed policy document which informed national and state initiatives for schooling and post-school training in Australia, the *Melbourne Declaration* also informed the national curriculum project – now termed the *Australian Curriculum* (ACARA 2014). In its preamble the *Melbourne Declaration* explicitly foregrounded the impact of globalisation and the new knowledge economy noting that in ‘the twenty-first century Australia’s capacity to provide a high quality of life for all will depend on the ability to compete in the global economy on knowledge and innovation’ (MCEETYA 2008, p. 4). It also made clear that Asia literacy, that is, knowledge and understanding about Asia, was on the agenda for school education and that ‘engaging and building strong relationships with Asia’ (p. 4) was significant for Australia’s future.

2 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores the policy context for the push for a national curriculum and the inclusion of Asia literacy for schooling in Australia in the light of current links between globalisation, education and policy analysis and the notion of the learning/knowledge society of the twenty-first century. It is anticipated that the discussion of the Australian context will be insightful for those other nations concerned with positioning Asia in school curricula, including New Zealand, Canada, the USA and the UK. In doing so, the chapter considers the challenges to the implementation of Asia literacy in Australia with specific reference to current and future teachers for, as with many nations, the teaching profession in Australia is on the cusp of generational change as large numbers of teachers aged in their mid- to late fifties embark on retirement (Teaching Australia 2007). A major challenge in addressing these demographic shifts in Australia lies with meeting the demand for replacement teachers and preparing future teachers (Skilbeck and Connell 2004; McKenzie 2012) with Asia-related knowledge.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, it details the complex environment for education policymaking in Australia. Specific reference is made to the ways in which the idiosyncrasies of a federal system of education have been navigated by national governments in Australia as they responded to globalisation from the early

1980s to 2013. Discussion centres on how high-level and centralised policymaking finally secured agreement for a national curriculum and a focus on teacher professional standards in this country. The second part of the chapter explores the push for Asia literacy and its inclusion in the first national curriculum to be implemented in Australia. Specific reference is made to the challenge of preparing teachers with Asia-related knowledge, understanding and skills in response to the requirements of recently released teacher professional standards. Finally, the chapter posits whether this particular approach to policymaking in response to globalisation has concluded with the election of a new national government in Australia.

3 The Political Context in Australia

The term globalisation is contested and employed in multiple contexts to suggest both positive and negative flows of power, culture and commerce (Ohmae 2000; Rosenberg 2000). Levin (2001) refers to its multidimensional nature noting that whilst globalisation suggests a condition in which the world can be viewed as a single place, it also invokes a process that links localities separated by great distances and intensifies relations between them:

Globalization is also implicitly connected to international economies, as in the concept of a world economy; and to international relations or politics, as in the concept of global politics; and to culture, as in the concept of global culture. (Levin 2001, p. 8)

Quiggan (1999) argues that the concept of globalisation ‘obscures as much as it reveals’ (p. 59) and that it is simply the international manifestation of the swing towards neoliberal policies of market-oriented reform that has taken place throughout the world since 1970. Despite debates about its economic, cultural and political dimensions, globalisation is recognised as a key driver of education policy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This chapter contends that the economic aspects of globalisation are dominant in the discourse of the knowledge economy and that it is manifested differently in nation-states. In Australia, the complexities of federalism mean that the issues of *control* and *legislative power* are central to any discussion about securing national education reforms in response to globalisation. In terms of *control*, since the early 1980s national governments of various political persuasions have responded to the impact of global and regional economic contexts by engaging in and prioritising a knowledge economy discourse (Dale 2005) that emphasises education’s role in national capacity building. As Pang (2005) noted a decade ago, ‘the emerging thinking is that the capacity of a nation to remain competitive globally depends on whether its citizens are educated and sufficiently skilled for work in the future, and not on capital and technology as before’ (p. 161).

In Australia the emergence of the assumption that national education outcomes are directly linked to the nation’s economy can be traced back to the period of federal (or Commonwealth) government under the Prime Ministership of Bob Hawke (1983–1991) and Paul Keating (1991–1996). Under Hawke, the standpoint

that national education was indispensable to economic recovery in an increasingly globalised context and was embedded in education policymaking by the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, John Dawkins. During Dawkins' watch, the policy document *Strengthening Australia's Schools* (Dawkins 1988) stressed the core role of schools in contributing to Australia's economy and society and noted the importance of improving teacher quality in this process. As will be seen later in the chapter, a focus on teacher standards as one of the mechanisms for securing economic and social outcomes continued to intensify in response to global trends in educational governance.

Prime Ministers Hawke and Keating sought national consistency in curricula for Australian schools through the creation of a national curriculum. By way of pursuing this, both Hawke and Keating worked to ensure that education policymaking becomes more centralised at the highest levels of government and restructured government departments accordingly. For example, during a major restructuring of the federal government's departments and bureaucracies under Hawke in 1987, the first iteration of a mega-education department emerged when the Department of Employment, Education and Training was created. Ten years later, Knight and Lingard (1997, p. 37) observed '(t)he processes of ministerialisation and politicisation, supra-ministerialisation and centralised policy prescription have significantly altered the balance of power in educational policymaking so that policy is now steered at an increasingly vast distance from schools.' However, whilst the creation of National Curriculum Statements and Profiles in eight key learnings resulted from this period, schooling and curricula remained largely with the states and territories.

Successive Prime Ministers, namely, John Howard (1996–2007), Kevin Rudd (2007–2010), Julia Gillard (2010–2013) and, following a leadership spill, Rudd for 11 weeks from June–September 2013, have followed this highly centralised approach to framing education policy within national economic policy in an effort to make Australia globally competitive. As noted, this approach was framed in the knowledge economy discourse which redefines educational values 'in largely economic terms' (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 91). In their analysis of this macro-political setting for teacher education, Grimmett et al. (2009, pp. 5–6) emphasise that future teachers need to be 'public intellectuals' capable of engaging with and challenging those neoliberal discourses that seek to govern educators as 'servants of the state' who merely carry out public policy. Of course, this gap between elite, centralised policymaking and the preparation of educators who are expected to implement policy prescription is a transnational occurrence (Ball 2008).

With reference to *legislative power*, as noted earlier, attempts to introduce a national curriculum in Australia have been constrained by the complex nature of Australian federalism, for under the nation's constitution, the responsibility for education resides with the states and territories. However, whilst schooling was not mentioned in Section 51 of the Australian Constitution, which established the federal (or Commonwealth) government's powers, some federal involvement or 'soft power' (Nye 2005) in schooling matters is permitted. This notion of soft power, combined with the fact that the federal government has the greatest revenue raising capacity, has allowed national governments of different political persuasions in

Australia to increase their authority in education policymaking (Piper 1997) without overstepping constitutional constraints. The next part of the chapter explores an aspect of the government's policy regime under Kevin Rudd's first term as Prime Minister as it was under the Rudd government that a national curriculum, which included an emphasis on Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia, was secured. The discussion provides an overview of the origins of a cooperative approach to national policymaking and the implications of global accountability regimes for teacher professional standards and then shifts to the chart the push for a policy prescription for Asia literacy in Australian education to indicate how a balance was sought between global, regional and local needs and interests in designing a new national curriculum.

4 The COAG Policy Environment

Following the federal election that secured its tenure in December 2007, the Rudd government signalled it sought to obtain cooperation for education policy matters with the states and territories through 'cooperative' federalism. The policy mechanism for this soft power approach to education policymaking was the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). COAG had been established by the Keating government in 1992 in response to criticisms of the decision-making processes under Bob Hawke's Special Premiers' Conferences. Keating's rationale for an intergovernmental council rested on an assumption that the national government was better equipped, than meetings of state and territory premiers, to formulate effective policy in response to increasing pressures from the global economy (Keating 1991).

It must be noted that Rudd was quite familiar with the policy mechanisations in negotiating COAG processes to secure education policy outcomes before he became Prime Minister (Henderson 2008). In fact, during the early 1990s, Rudd's dealings with COAG evolved when (then) Premier in the State of Queensland, Wayne Goss, assisted by Rudd, submitted a proposal for a national Asian language and cultural strategy, based on Queensland's Languages Other than English (LOTE) initiative, to the first COAG meeting held in Perth in December 2002. At this time there was increasing awareness that although Australia's national language, English, was growing as an international language, it was not adequate to meet the needs of learners in a multilingual world and the Asian region in particular. For whilst the Hawke and then Keating governments intensified the push to Asia in response to the new global order following the end of the Cold War, and in response to the intensity of the 1990–1992 recession, neither government considered a strategy for the acquisition of Asian language and cultural skills in the education system as a basis for enhancing its broad policy objectives in Asia in response to globalisation and regionalisation. The Queensland argument was that Keating's policy push to Asia required flesh on the bones (Rudd 1998) to secure its objectives through an educational strategy aimed at making Australians Asia literate, that is, knowledgeable about the peoples, cultures and languages of the Asia region (Henderson 1999).

At this first COAG meeting, heads of government from the states and territories debated the need to increase the proficiency of Asian languages and cultural skills in Australia, and by the meeting's conclusion, COAG commissioned a working group, chaired by Rudd, to prepare a report on the then-current level of federal and state commitment towards Asian languages and cultural education in Australia. Rudd presented the report of the working party (Rudd 1994) to the 2004 COAG meeting in Hobart, and following COAG's acceptance, the report's recommendations became the basis of the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) strategy from 1995. What was particularly significant about this COAG process was the agreement that implementation costs should be shared equally between the federal government and the states and territories. This was noted in terms of:

something of a broader agreement across the spectrum of Australian Party politics of the desirable nature of Australia's economic future and the role that education and training are to play in relation to it. (Lingard 1994, p. 6)

Hence, Rudd's experiment with securing education policy through the cooperative federalism of COAG process was initially successful, although the Howard government later reneged on the 50 % federal funding commitment in 2002, effectively scuttling NALSAS. It is necessary to revisit these policy processes for Rudd's instrumental focus on education's purpose in securing national productivity through high-level education policymaking processes in the 1990s re-emerged and underpinned his government's decision to use the COAG process to pursue a national curriculum. It is also worth noting that whilst the NALSAS strategy was welcomed by many, it was strongly critiqued for its unrealistic timelines and lack of qualified LOTE teachers in the priority Asian languages of Japanese, Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian (Bahasa) and Korean (Henderson 1999). In sum, its implementation was compromised.

5 Securing a National Curriculum

Under COAG's auspices during the Rudd government, the machinery for implementing COAG decisions was delegated on 1 July 2009 to the newly established Ministerial Council on Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA). In terms of the reminiscent of the Hawke and Keating eras of high-level centralised policymaking, MCEECDYA took over the roles and responsibilities of two previously existing councils – the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) and the Ministerial Council for Vocational and Technical Education (MCVTE). MCEECDYA membership comprised state, territory, Australian government and New Zealand ministers with responsibility for the portfolios of school education, early childhood development and youth affairs, with Papua New Guinea, Norfolk Island and East Timor having observer status.

In her capacity as the Minister for Education in the first Rudd government, Julia Gillard reiterated John Dawkins' focus on education and human capital from the late 1980s, to align education directly to productivity. In this knowledge economy discourse, education was portrayed as 'a major plank of the historic COAG agreement ... which outlines a productivity and participation agenda that spans early years to adulthood' (Gillard 2008, p. 1). The COAG agreement to develop a national approach to the curriculum, as endorsed by MCEECDYA in December 2010, was also significant in another way. Given that it placed education policymaking in the context of cooperative federalism, a national curriculum had to be secured via negotiation with the states and territories, rather than through coercion and threats to withdraw funding. This meant that whilst agreement has been reached, it continues to remain fragile and the authority of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), the statutory body established by the Commonwealth with the support of the states and territories to manage the development and implementation of the Australian Curriculum, remains tenuous. As one curriculum scholar noted:

The latest national curriculum is only possible now because the states – through COAG and MCEETYA – have agreed to collaborate. At any time, such as with the election of a number of Liberal state governments, that support could be withdrawn. ACARA would be neutered. (Reid 2009, p. 4)

Prior to examining the push for Asia literacy in this policy environment, it is necessary to consider briefly another significant aspect of national and global emphases for education policymaking, namely, the assumption that quality teaching can be linked to the global economy and international competitiveness.

6 Devolution, Managerialism and Professional Standards

Two other significant trends accompanying the shift towards elite centralised education policymaking far removed from schools in Australia can be traced to the period of the Hawke and Keating governments. One was the trend by state and territory governments in Australia to devolve some aspects of decision making, financial management and other related tasks to schools and local districts (Blackmore 1993; Luke 2003; Reid and Johnson 1993). The other trend was characterised by a focus on standards and accountability. Manifested primarily through an initial emphasis on national benchmarking testing in literacy and numeracy, this focus on commensurability has intensified in response to global trends in educational measurement that were influencing other nations. Indeed, Rivzi and Lingard (2010) emphasise the role of international policy organisations such as the OECD; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, amongst others, in this process. The focus is placed on greater school-based management and autonomy, whilst also emphasising increased standards of accountability to meet national

goals and enhance international benchmarking and quality assurance systems (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 121).

In terms of teachers' work and professionalism, a global trend was evident in 'identifying, codifying and applying professional standards of practice to the teaching force' (Goodson and Hargreaves 1996, p. 1). Sachs (2003, p. 3) identified two approaches to professional standards in the literature and policy documents: namely, developmental or regulatory approaches. She argues that 'developmental standards give promise to a revitalised and dynamic teaching profession; on the other hand, regulatory standards regimes can remove professional autonomy, engagement and expertise away from teachers, reduce diversity of practice and opinion and promote "safe" practice'. Sachs (2003) refers to the latter discourse as a form of managerial professionalism in which terms such as accountability and assessment are aligned with teacher quality, teacher standards and educational outcomes linked to human capital productivity agendas. In Australia, this was evident in the introduction of a working document on teacher professional standards, *A National Framework for Professional Standards for Teaching* (MCEETYA 2003), aimed at aligning standards nationally for entry to the teaching profession and to provide standards for teachers and school principals. In the years that followed, the movement for standards was largely uncoordinated and fragmented. State teacher registration authorities maintained their own version of professional standards for graduates from teacher education programmes and also standards for competent professional practice, linked to ongoing registration.

7 A National Partnership Approach

Under the COAG process, a national partnership approach, to underpin national educational reforms, improve teaching quality and accountability for public funding spent on education was instigated (COAG 2008). COAG agreed on a common set of professional standards for teachers and an accreditation process for teachers to be recognised at different levels of achievement. Under the auspices of MCEECDYA, efforts to revise earlier proposed national standards commenced, and the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL), a government funded body, finalised and endorsed the revised standards in 2010 and these were released in February 2011. The professional standards seek to 'guide ongoing professional learning and set a reliable, fair and nationally consistent basis for the accreditation of pre-service teacher education courses and teacher registration' (AITSL 2011a). It has been argued that:

The new Professional Standards in Australia are an example of a collaborative approach with many stakeholders, which combines elements of both regulatory (e.g. a focus on accountability and monitoring of the teaching quality) and developmental approaches (e.g. promoting and supporting a culture of professional learning communities to transform teachers' knowledge and practice). (Halse et al. 2013, p. 11)

As discussed in the following part of the chapter, the *Melbourne Declaration* made clear that attention to the contextual global factors prompting educational change created a context ‘to improve student attainment and ensure [Australia] has a world class system of education’ (AITSL 2011a, p. 1). A considerable body of literature demonstrates a measurable impact of quality teaching on students’ outcomes (Darling-Hammond 2000; Hattie 2003; Laczko-Kerr and Berliner 2002; OECD 2005). This link between quality teaching and student learning together with agreement to implement a national curriculum in Australia, secured through the cooperative policy environment under the COAG process, places pressure on the teaching profession in terms of delivering outcomes. Particular challenges need to be negotiated in terms of how teachers can embed Asia literacy in the curriculum, and the next part of the chapter explores the context for the policy push for knowledge and understanding about Asia in Australian education. As noted earlier, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of Asia is now considered valuable and necessary for Australia’s prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012).

8 The Push for Asia Literacy in Australian Education

Whilst the need for Asia literacy to be included in Australian education was acknowledged in the *Melbourne Declaration* which informed the development of the Australian Curriculum, the policy push to build an Asia-literate nation through schooling in Australia has a long and difficult history. Indeed, Australian scholars and intellectuals have advocated for an increasing emphasis on Asia in Australian education for more than four decades. The report of the Auchmuty Committee, *the teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australia* (Auchmuty 1970), stressed the importance of using schooling to build national expertise in Asian languages, cultures and studies, given the ‘steady growth in the economic, cultural, political and military links between Australia and Asia’ (p. 7). It harnessed the argument that it was in Australia’s national interest to challenge the prevailing Eurocentric traditions which dominated Australian intellectual and cultural life and recommended the study of Asia and Asian languages in schools, investment in training teachers and the development of resources for schools. Chapter two of the report dealt with the rationale for Australian interest in Asia and noted the political, economic, trade, business, cultural and social reasons why Australia needed to reappraise its traditional attitudes towards Asia (see Auchmuty 1970, pp. 11–20). With reference to schooling, the Auchmuty Committee recommended that attention focus on the core studies area for ‘more than half the population can go through secondary school without any systematic study of Asian affairs’ (Auchmuty 1970, p. 89). The report also noted that knowledge about Asia in primary and secondary schools depended upon good teaching and sound teaching materials.

Over subsequent decades, a succession of reports and policy initiatives followed Auchmuty’s lead and stressed the importance of schooling in Australia’s social, cultural and economic integration with Asia (Henderson 2003). By the 1980s, the

economic shifts promoted by globalisation and the emergence of Asia as one of the economic centres of the world that was fundamental to Australia's national interest served to intensify the focus on Asia in Australian education (Commonwealth of Australia 2012). One of the most significant reports in this context was the *Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy Report* (Garnaut 1989) produced for the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The report acknowledged the emergence of Northeast Asia as one of the three main economic centres of the world and that 'the phenomenon of sustained and rapid, internationally oriented economic growth in Northeast Asia' (Garnaut 1989, p. 2) was fundamental to Australia's national interest. Of the five broad conclusions reached in this analysis of global economic change emerging in Northeast Asia and the implications of this for Australia, one conclusion related directly to Asia literacy. Garnaut argued that a new generation of Australians should be educated to be familiar with their regional environment and that the nation should aim at developing professional excellence in the management of relations with Northeast Asia. The report concluded that 'Australia's long-term success in getting the most out of its relationships with Asia depends more than anything else on the scale and quality of its investment in education' (p. 317). Yet despite Garnaut's advocacy, by 2002, the peak body representing Australian scholars of Asia, the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA), warned that Australia's Asia knowledge base was in jeopardy at a time when 'the forces of globalisation will lead Australia to interact increasingly with the countries of Asia' (ASAA 2002, p. xvi).

Most recently, the National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program (NALSSP) aimed to build Asian languages and studies. This was a federal initiative in operation from 2008 to 2009 and 2011 to 2012. As with the NALSAS strategy (1995–2002) discussed earlier in this chapter, NALSSP identified the supply of qualified teachers for Asian languages and studies as a priority. This national policy setting for Asia literacy in Australian schools has continued to evolve in ways that are important for pre-service, postgraduate and continuing teacher education. Meanwhile, the publication of the White Paper on *Australia in the Asian Century* (Asian Century Taskforce 2012) reiterated the importance of the Asia region for Australia's strategic and economic interest in response to globalisation. It outlined the desired future course of economic, political and strategic change in Asia and strategies to enhance Australia's engagement with the nations of the region including appropriate policy settings. In her Foreword to the paper, (then) Prime Minister Gillard referred to the economic opportunities and strategic challenges that will accompany the rise of Asia whilst also noting the social and cultural benefits to be gained from broadening and deepening people-to-people links across the region. The major school objectives identified in the White Paper are to be achieved through the new National Plan for School Improvement (NPSI), developed in cooperation between the federal government and the states and territories. Aimed at lifting school performance, NPSI identified two goals for the Australian school system to achieve by 2025: to rank in the top five countries internationally for student achievement in reading, mathematics and science and to be considered a high-quality and high-equity schooling system by international standards. In this report, quality

teaching was noted in terms of securing ‘the best teachers for every school’ (Commonwealth of Australia 2013, p. 9). Such developments indicate the range of national policy settings that have been reshaping schooling and teacher education in Australia in response to global trends in education policymaking.

9 The Asia Priority

As noted earlier, the *Melbourne Declaration* positioned the study of Asia in Australian education in the context of responding to globalisation and securing a knowledge economy through national curriculum reform. The new Australian curriculum is designed with three components; in addition to foundational knowledge in each of the identified discipline areas from the early years to year 10, three contemporary issues, or cross-curricula priorities, are identified that young Australians need to know about together with a range of seven general capabilities that individuals require and will utilise throughout their lives. ‘Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia’ is one of the three cross-curricula priorities, and the related general capability of intercultural understanding is also to be addressed in all curriculum areas at all year levels. In this way, Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia priority, henceforth the Asia priority, provides a regional context for learning across the curriculum from the early years to year 10. The Asia Education Foundation described Asia literacy in terms of ‘possessing knowledge, skills and understandings of the histories, geographies, arts, cultures and languages of the diverse Asian region’ in its submission to the White Paper and posited that school education is ‘the most effective channel to equip all young Australians with Asia literacy’ (Asia Education Foundation 2012, p. 1).

Questions remain, however, as to whether current and beginning teachers will be able to effectively teach about Asia in the curriculum. Recent Australia-wide research (Halse et al. 2013) provides insight into some of the challenges involved in delivering the Asia priority in the curriculum. Its findings have implications for teacher education and for the professional development of practising teachers in terms of developing an Asia-capable school education workforce. Titled ‘Asia Literacy and the Australian Teaching Workforce’, the study collected responses from 1,471 teachers and 481 principals, making it the largest survey to date of Asia literacy in schools. The findings of the Halse et al. (2013) report also underscore the indispensable role that teacher education needs to play in building Asia-capable teachers and school leaders and/or principals. Sixty percent of teachers surveyed stated that they had completed their undergraduate studies without addressing teaching and learning about Asia. Of the remaining 40 %, only about half of them majored in studies of Asia and/or Asian languages.

Professional development for practising teachers and new emphases in pre-service teacher education will be required to address the concerns of a gap in teacher knowledge and pedagogy for teaching about Asia in the curriculum. The professional learning of teachers and principals as fundamental to securing educa-

tional change in schools is well documented in the international literature (Bransford et al. 2005; Darling-Hammond 2008), and Halse et al. (2013) reiterate the significance of teacher professional learning required to introduce Asia-related knowledge into classrooms. Their study also found that ‘teachers and principals do not view economic returns for the individual or nation as a primary rationale for or benefit of Asia related teaching and learning in schools’ (Halse et al. 2013, p. 117). The report raised the possibility that the disparity in views reflected ‘differences between public policy and educators about schooling as a public or private good, or that teachers and principals working with primary and lower secondary students are less cognisant of and removed from the economic drivers and benefits of Asia related learning’ (p. 117).

Hence, a range of agendas require negotiation in securing an Asia-literate teaching profession to deliver on the promises of the *Melbourne Declaration*. This is especially challenging given the requirements of the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2011a) and the Australian Professional Standards for Principals (AITSL 2011b). Significantly, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2011a) include cultural literacy in Standard 1.3: ‘Knowing students and how they learn’. Halse et al. (2013) suggest a way forward and posit that Asia-literate professional practice and theory concerning curriculum, assessment, pedagogy, professional learning and resource developments need to be aligned with professional standards in order to build an Asia-capable school education workforce. In this way, they suggest that the professional standards could ‘provide the frameworks for determining and nurturing the features and capacities of an Asia literate teaching workforce’ (Halse et al. 2013, p. 2). Considerable funding will be required to secure this approach to skilling current and future Australian teachers so they can prepare their students for regional engagement in the twenty-first century.

10 A New Australian Government

The new Australian government elected on 7 September 2013, led by Prime Minister Tony Abbott, has indicated that it will change the cooperative approach to education policymaking developed under previous national governments. By June 2014, it was announced that a Reform of the Federation White Paper will aim at clarifying the roles and responsibilities for states and territories so that they are as far as possible sovereign in their own sphere under a ‘pragmatic federalism’ which will ‘streamline COAG processes’ (Oakes 2014). Furthermore, earlier that year on 10 January 2014, the federal Education Minister in the Abbott government, Christopher Pyne, announced a review to ‘evaluate the robustness, independence and balance of the Australian Curriculum by looking at both the development process and content’ (Pyne 2014). The outcome of Pyne review will determine the degree to which the Asia priority will continue to be emphasised in the national curriculum.

11 Conclusion

This chapter examined recent efforts in Australia to secure the OECD model of the knowledge economy society with reference to the development of a national curriculum and Asia literacy. In doing so it portrayed the struggle between federal and state governments over national curriculum matters from the early 1980s, as Australian governments of various persuasions responded to globalisation and sought to shape education and schooling in the nation's economic and strategic interest through centralised, high-level policymaking. It argued that such policy-making is indicative of Quiggan's (1999) take on globalisation as the manifestation of neoliberal policies of market-oriented reform and the OECD model of the knowledge economy society. In this context, the chapter argued that a particular form of cooperative federalism and the mechanisms of the COAG process were employed to pursue education policy in response to an increasingly globalised education policy-making environment (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). In this discourse, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of Asia was considered valuable and necessary for the nation's prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012; MCEETYA 2008). Policy prescription aligned educational outcomes with the national interest, and delivered through a national curriculum, was pursued together with a focus on teacher professional standards in Australia. Only time will tell if this approach to reshaping education in Australia will secure a world-class school system and what sort of Asia literacy will be realised to meet the demands of the twenty-first century in response to globalisation.

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Globalization, Teachers and Inclusive Schooling

Kas Mazurek and Margret Winzer

1 Students with Special Needs

In a number of industrialized western nations, the inclusion of students with special needs into neighborhood schools and general classrooms has been at the forefront of the education reform agenda for more than 25 years. So embedded are the notions and ideals in legislation, policy, and the consciousness of educators, parents, and the general public that inclusive schooling is now more a *fait accompli* than a reform. But although the presence of students with disabilities is a norm in many schools, the notion of inclusion still lives in highly contested political territory.

Even the most compelling proposals for reform cannot be achieved without ownership by the teachers who are called upon to implement the changes. Because the possibility and pace of any change rest on teachers' wills and ideological dispositions, the beliefs and attitudes of teachers are a powerful force that either promotes and advances or impedes and obstructs reform. Given their pervasive nature, it is not surprising that studies of teachers' attitudes represent "one of the largest bodies of research investigating the critical area of inclusion" (Cook et al. 2000, p. 116).

Generally, the work is contained within discrete categories – overall attitudes toward inclusion; the relationship between views of special needs and inclusion and demographic variables such as age, sex, grade level taught, and status in the system; acceptance-rejection issues as applied to specific groups of learners; whether knowledge about and experience with individuals with disabilities can change attitudes; and variables related to teachers' subject areas and preferred instructional level. This chapter examines and compares the attitudes of general classroom teachers within this categorical framework. Addressed are four highly industrialized nations that hold to a shared purpose when addressing the education of students with special

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needs – the United States, the United Kingdom (England and Wales), Australia, and Canada.

This chapter is not critical of the inclusive movement or the efforts of frontline teachers: it recognizes the inherent rightness of inclusion and the fundamental importance of teachers in the process of learning, views their role within schools as central, and acknowledges that many attitudes may be a reflection of deep concern. As a comparative study, the aim is to extend understanding of one challenge to reform by evaluating teachers' attitudes within the dynamics of inclusive ideology and classrooms.

While teachers' attitudes form only a single strand in the web of contemporary discussions on inclusive schooling, the ways in which teachers conceptualize and confront disability, the inclusive reform, and their professional responsibilities within inclusive climates are both primary and paramount because attitudes influence teaching practices and classroom interactions and ultimately have a significant impact on students with special needs. Given the subtle nature of attitudes and beliefs, the complex and interactive relationship of teachers' attitudes and their practice, and the accelerating growth of inclusionary practices worldwide, an interrogation of attitudes is viewed as a timely and important topic. If teachers who accept the principles of inclusion are more likely to take steps to implement it, then research can generate important findings that have practical implications for policy makers endeavoring to implement inclusion (Avramidis and Norwich 2002).

The chapter draws on two threads of the authors' work – examinations of teacher attitudes and their transformation and comparative studies that probe the internal dynamics of the inclusive movement (e.g., Winzer and Mazurek 2009, 2010). It aims to complement the two sets by focusing on the challenges inherent in teacher attitudes from an international standpoint.

To set the stage, the inquiry begins with a brief overview of the inclusive agenda in the nations discussed. The conceptual framework highlights the basis and influence of teacher attitudes. The following literature review is selective rather than comprehensive: it does not encompass all facets of the teacher attitude research but focuses on the categories outlined above. The time span extends from 1984 when the term *inclusion* first appeared in the special education literature and over the next two decades during which inclusion moved from an ideal to a decisive conviction.

2 National Perspectives

Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States share much in both their historical development and contemporary practice in the fields of special education and inclusive schooling. In each nation, diversity, equality, and inclusion are critical principles in legislation, as well as in social and educational policy. The individual rights and freedoms of students with disabilities and differences are supported in each educational system, and inclusive schooling is fairly standard practice.

Despite a common philosophical base, the interpretation of inclusive schooling is not framed within a single paradigm. The vibrant and shifting gestalt of societal dynamics influences education development, responses to disability, and the roles of schools to the extent that the real and important sociopolitical and economic idiosyncrasies in the various national milieus have led to the emergence of quite different models and different styles of organization, governance, and financing. For example, although equality in law is one of the most stringent guides to developing inclusive schooling, legislative activity represents an area of wide disparity across the four nations (see Winzer and Mazurek 2010). At the same time, within-nation data show that the legislation is unevenly apprehended, and much variation exists in implementation and progress.

The United States was the first nation to address the equality of educational programming for students with disabilities with the passage of the *Education for All Handicapped Children Act* (PL 94 142) in 1975. The 2004 amendment, the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act* (PL 108 446) (IDIEA), presumes that the first placement option a school system must consider for each student with a disability is the general classroom. About 50 % of students with disabilities spend at least 80 % of their day in general settings; more than 75 % are included for at least 40 % of the day (Office of Special Education 2007). Closely aligned with the IDIEA is the 2001 *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB, PL 107 110) which contains an explicit policy commitment to ensure that all students, including those with disabilities, have a fair and equal opportunity to meet state standards.

Although the actual terms *inclusion* and *inclusive schooling* only appeared in the Australian lexicon in 2001 (replacing *integration*), political and educational discourses have abounded, manifest in a windstorm of commonwealth and state reports and recommendations. Currently, Australian national and state education authorities all advocate the inclusion of children with disabilities within general classrooms, stances firmly entrenched in principles of human rights and social justice and supported by anti-discrimination legislation. Legislative mandates specific to inclusion are not in place; however, the *Disability Standards for Education* (Ruddock 2005) stresses that it is unlawful for any education institution to reject entry based on disability and that reasonable attempts have to be made to assist students with disabilities in their environment, participation, and use of available facilities. Directives do not specify where these students should be educated, although there is an expectation that classroom teachers will be able to meet diverse needs.

In England and Wales, the 1978 Warnock Report contributed to a new Education Act in 1981 that enshrined “special educational needs” in legislation and introduced the concept of equal opportunities for all students (Armstrong et al. 2000). In 1996, the Education Act promoted inclusion in mainstream schools; legislation in 2001, referred to as “the inclusion framework,” dictated that inclusion should be pursued unless parents did not want it.

Policy makers, educators, parents, and researchers in Canada advocate for all children be educated in general classrooms that reflect the diversity of Canadian society and its inclusive values (Lupart and Webber 2002; Porter 2004). As Canada’s

education system is decentralized, complex, and multilevel, all in the absence of a strong national educational presence, many variations of inclusive practice exist. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island opt for full inclusion; the other provinces and territories offer a menu of options for students. In Ontario, for example, almost 80 % of students with disabilities are in general classrooms for at least part of the day (ETFO 2002).

3 Theoretical Approaches to Teacher Attitudes

Beliefs are formed early in life, based on episodes, events, and experience that affect the comprehension of past, present, and even future events (Schechtran 1994). Described by Kagan (1992) as the “piebald of personal knowledge that lies at the very heart of teaching” (p. 85), teachers’ beliefs act as filters on the construction of their personal philosophy. Beliefs are powerful and enduring and tend to persevere even against contradictions revealed by reason, time, schooling, or experience (Pajares 1992). Ajzen (2002) points out that, in theory, attitudes are inferred from accessible belief aggregates and pertain to appraisals of favor or disfavor toward behavioral expectations. Therefore, the broad set of beliefs owned by individual teachers underlie, shape, and direct attitudes – a complex phenomenon that involves the values of the school culture, the nature of the learning environment, and notions about teaching and learning and the students involved.

As attitudes anticipate directions of thinking and action, it follows that they spill over to affect many areas, have a significant impact on students with special needs, and are frequently barriers to equity in schools. As examples, attitudes influence the degree to which teachers resist the integration of students with special needs into their classrooms (Treder et al. 2000). Teachers with positive views about inclusion have more confidence in their ability to support students in inclusive settings and to adapt classroom materials and procedures to accommodate their needs (Campbell et al. 2003); those who hold relatively negative attitudes use effective inclusive instructional strategies less frequently than their colleagues with positive attitudes (Bender et al. 1995).

4 General Attitudes Toward Inclusive Schooling

Teachers’ perspectives on integration/mainstreaming/inclusion have been the focus of scores of investigations over the past 40 years. The swath of studies have examined attitudes toward the philosophy, concepts, and implementation of inclusion and have often included, either directly or by proxy, teachers’ perceptions of, and preferences for, service delivery models.

Across time and across nations, a body of literature indicates that the attitudes and expectations of a percentage of general classroom teachers toward students with

disabilities and their education have been stereotypic, negative, and unsupportive. Moreover, teachers' views have not changed substantially over the years. In a meta-analysis of the literature that included 28 survey reports of 10,560 teachers from the United States, Canada, and Australia from 1958 to 1995, Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) did not find a correlation between positive attitudes toward mainstreaming/inclusion and date of publication.

During the 1980s – the decade in which mainstreaming was mutating into inclusion – a body of work found some teachers to harbor generally unfavorable attitudes. In one study (Knoff 1985) that asked general education teachers whether they would be willing to accept pupils with disabilities if special education was discontinued, 79 % declined. And, while the past two decades has seen growing support for the general principles of inclusion, many teachers still articulate the weaknesses in the shifting propositions, identify critical problems in implementation, and show a persistent uneasiness about the practice.

A survey of teachers in the United States (D'Alonzo et al. 1997) found skepticism and mixed opinion about the potential benefits of inclusion and an overwhelming expectation that problems would be inherent in a unified system of education. When Sharon Vaughn and colleagues (1996) conducted focus group interviews with teachers regarding their views on inclusion, they concluded that the majority of participating teachers had strong, negative views. A 1998 Australian study found that neither regular nor special education teachers were positive about integration (Gow et al. 1988). Later, Australian teachers reaffirmed their difficulties, stress, and problems with inadequate staff training, lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate support services (Forlin et al. 1996, 1999). In a study of British primary teachers (Vlochou and Barton 1994), the participants expressed frustration with the widespread changes in demands made on them and with their increased responsibilities for students with disabilities. More recent research found that teachers in England think that more inclusive education is a good idea (Curtis 2004) but also feel “let down by the practice” (Halpin 2006, p. 2). Canadian educators see social and academic benefits but question inclusion on pragmatic grounds (Bunch et al. 1997; Naylor 2004).

Teachers' attention is tuned to the exigencies of daily teaching. They consistently speak to workload and may interpret inclusion as requiring changes to accustomed practice and increases in their instructional load in terms of program planning and evaluation, and particularly in the delivery of instruction that is different in quality and quantity from that of typical students (Beirne et al. 2000; Edmunds 2000; Heflin and Bullock 1999). Australian teachers find inclusion to increase their workloads and to cause added stress (Bourke and Smith 1994; Chen and Miller 1997; Forlin et al. 1996; Pithers and Doden 1998). Winzer and Chow's (1988) examination of the attitudes of 705 teachers and teacher candidates in Canada found generally positive attitudes to the concepts of inclusion but more cautious about the negative effects on students and on teacher workload.

Nestled within workload is the question of adequate resources for both students and teachers. When Schumm and Vaughn (1995) interviewed teachers in the United States, they found that lack of adequate resources hindered successful inclusion.

A poll of 1,000 teachers undertaken by the Canadian Teachers Federation found that 30 % of respondents cited lack of resources and access to experts as key stumbling blocks to the success of inclusive education (O'Connor 2004). In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Edmunds and colleagues (2000) found that 77 % of the teachers surveyed did not think that they had adequate resources to properly carry out their teaching duties.

For some teachers, inclusion juxtaposes the rights of disabled students with those who are typically developing, an attitude that manifests in concerns around whether, what, and how a teacher should attend to the special needs of the unique child versus serving the group of students. A large majority of British Columbia teachers responding to a survey stated that the inclusion of students with exceptionalities in each class affected their capacity to meet the needs of typical students effectively (Naylor 2004). Teachers in England complain that other pupils lose out as staff devotes excessive time to special needs children (Halpin 2006). In the United States, Simpson and Myles (1991) found that even teachers generally supportive of the philosophy of inclusive schooling agreed that such placements could negatively influence their teaching effectiveness.

At the same time, some general classroom teachers do not want to accept the loss of the safety valve that was special education; they retain a belief in special classes as an optimal placement for students with special needs. Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) reported that only a minority of teachers in their studies agreed that the general classroom was the best environment for students with special needs or that full-time mainstreaming/inclusion would produce social or academic benefits relative to resource room or special class placement. Other surveys concur: some educators favor the pullout model and some teachers agree with the retention of segregated placements (Kauffman and Wong 1991; Semmel et al. 1991). In a British Columbia study, more than four times as many teachers favored nonschool placements in some cases that did those supporting school placements (Naylor 2004). American researchers (D'Alonzo et al. 1997; Heflin and Bullock 1999) reported that the consensus among educators was for partial inclusion.

5 Acceptance-Rejection Issues

A central theme of the inclusionary debate lies in assumptions about disability and difference. The acceptance-rejection issues so prominent in the traditional research assume that individual child characteristics are more telling than general attitudes toward inclusion and that the nature and degree of a child's disability are germane to issues of placement and curriculum.

Overall, teacher support for inclusion and teacher willingness to accept students with disabilities are strongly influenced by the nature and severity of the condition and the amount of additional teacher responsibility required. Consistent findings in Australia (Forlin et al. 1996), England (Avramidis and Norwich 2002; Avramidis et al. 2000), Canada (Edmunds 2000), and the United States (Rainforth 2000;

Scruggs and Mastropieri 1996; Wisniewski and Alper 1994) show that, generally, the more severe the disability, the more negative the teacher attitudes.

A survey of 220 preschool providers in Florida (Eiserman et al. 1995) found moderate agreement toward the general idea of inclusion, but the providers discriminated between different types of special needs and based decisions on where children should be served accordingly. In a study by Heflin and Bullock (1999), teachers stated that the choice of full or partial inclusion should be determined on a case-by-case basis. In Australia, Center and Ward (1987) found teachers in their survey only willing to accept students with mild physical disabilities; they were reluctant about severe physical disabilities and intellectual disabilities. Canadian work indicates that teachers have the most positive attitudes toward the labels of learning disability and mild/moderate developmental disability; the most negative is toward severe disability and emotional disability (Kuester 2000).

Teachers tend to evince more positive attitudes toward students who can learn and who do not inhibit the learning of their peers. One of their great fears is increased behavior problems from special education students in general; particularly, there is considerable resistance among teachers to including students with behavior disorders.

Some general education teachers in the United States are dubious about the placement of students with intellectual disabilities and behavioral or emotional difficulties in the general classroom (Sedbrook 2002; Taylor et al. 1997). In one survey (Heflin and Bullock 1999), teachers responded to accepting students with behavioral disorders with varying degrees of resistance, fear, and skepticism. After studying 18 American junior high school teachers, Nkabinde (2005) found that 72 % held concerns about the inclusion of students with behavior disorders. In Canada, teachers in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia felt that their overall concern about inclusion increased as the degree of educational need of the exceptional child increased, particularly in the case of students with behavior disorders (Edmunds 2000). Many teachers in the United Kingdom rank the needs of children with emotional and behavioral difficulties as being the most difficult to meet, followed by those with learning difficulties (Clough and Lindsay 1991; Garner 2000b). Teachers in England feel that the drive toward inclusion has led to an increase in disciplinary problems as children with intellectual disabilities or behavioral problems are admitted to mainstream schools (Halpin 2006).

6 Teacher Variables

Demographic factors, teacher attitudes, and inclusion have been closely examined. Numerous pieces describe a variety of typical teacher attitudes in relation to variables such as age, sex, status, and grade level taught. Findings are equivocal but lean toward females being more accepting and elementary teachers more willing to implement inclusive practices.

When Aloia and colleagues (1980) examined the attitudes and expectations of high school physical education teachers, they found females to hold more favorable attitudes and higher expectations of students with special needs than male teachers. A study from a single school district in Colorado found that male teachers were significantly more negative about inclusion when compared to females. A further set of gender-related studies (e.g., Garner 2000a; Harvey 1985; Thomas 1985; Winzer 1984a, b) have parallel findings. Other research (e.g., Patrick 1987; Rizzo and Wright 1988) did not reveal significant gender differences.

Younger teachers and those with fewer years of experience appear to be more supportive of integration (Center and Ward 1987; Clough and Lindsay 1991). In Australia, Forlin (1995) found that acceptance of children with physical disabilities was highest among educators with less than 6 years of teaching experience; it declined among those with 6–10 years of teaching. The most experienced educators (those with 11 or more years of teaching) were the least accepting. American studies found that teachers who were themselves educated many years ago tended to hold less positive attitudes toward inclusion (Bennett et al. 1997; Jobe and Rust 1996).

A variety of stakeholders are involved in inclusive education. Enthusiasm seems to increase with distance. Individuals farther removed from direct implementation – university personnel, superintendents, school board officials, and principals – are most likely to be supportive of the practice; classroom teachers typically exhibit the most pessimistic attitudes (Bunch et al. 1997; Garvar-Pinhas and Pedhazur-Schmelkin 1989; Scruggs and Mastropieri 1996; Ward et al. 1994).

7 Knowledge and Skills

Many complaints from teachers are couched in lack of skills and expertise. It follows that a large set of studies from the four nations have investigated whether knowledge about individuals with exceptional conditions, together with the skills needed to intervene effectively, contribute to attitude formation (e.g., Aksamit 1990; Baumgart et al. 1995; Beirne et al. 2000; D'Alonzo et al. 1997; McLeskey and Waldron 2002; Shade and Stewart 2001).

In one study conducted across 45 American states, the respondents reported feeling unprepared to meet the needs of students with disabilities (Lombard et al. 1998). Another survey of American teachers (Futrell et al. 2003) found 80 % of the classroom teachers feeling unprepared to teach diverse learners. In two separate surveys of more than 1,000 teachers in Nova Scotia (Edmunds 2003; Edmunds et al. 2000), 80 % of the respondents felt that they did not have adequate professional training for inclusion. In British Columbia, more than 40 % of respondents to a survey said that they were professionally unprepared to teach students with special needs (Naylor 2004). Pudlas (2003) suggests that “many teachers currently in the public system have not had formal education in working with students with special needs” (p. 43). Reports from Australia claim that young teachers are not trained effectively to work

with students with special needs (Milton and Rohl 1999). In a more recent OECD study, more than 60 % of Australian teachers wanted more development than they received (OECD 2009).

7.1 Experience

A further group of studies has investigated whether experience with individuals with disabilities changes attitudes. Experience encompasses diverse activities – contact with persons with disabilities, classroom situations that involve including students with disabilities, and qualifications dealing with exceptionality, special education, and inclusion. Active experience of inclusion, which entails direct contact with people with disabilities, the dynamic of students' coexistence in schools, and the distinctive demands of working with students with special needs, seems to be consistently linked to teachers' positive attitudes. In the United States, Villa and colleagues (1996) noted that teacher commitment often emerges at the end of the implementation cycle, after the teachers have gained mastery of the professional expertise needed to implement inclusive programs. When Michael Giangreco and his team (1993) studied 19 teachers who had students with severe disabilities in their classrooms, the investigators concluded that 17 of the teachers underwent a transformation from initial negative reactions to the placement of these children to a more positive viewpoint. Stoiber and colleagues (1998) found that teachers with experiences in teaching children with disabilities were more positive than teachers without such experience. Findings in Canada (Bunch et al. 1997; Martin et al. 2003; Pudlas 2003) and England (Avramidis et al. 2000) lean in the same direction.

Whether special education courses and in-service teacher training yield significant differences in attitudes is moot. However, studies conducted in the United States (Buell et al. 1999; Dickens-Smith 1995; Van Reusen et al. 2001), in Australia (Center and Ward 1987), and in the United Kingdom (Avramidis et al. 2000) tend toward the view that special education qualifications acquired from preservice or in-service courses are associated with less resistance to inclusive education. For example, after participating in in-service training on inclusion, Chicago special and general education teachers showed more favorable attitudes, particularly in the need for all teachers and administrators to become involved (Dickens-Smith 1995).

7.2 Teachers' Preferred Level for Instruction

Only a few studies have used academic major as a variable. More research is available regarding teachers' preferred level of instruction and the differences between elementary and secondary personnel. Winzer and Mazurek (2007) assessed the attitudes of Canadian teacher candidates and found small but statistically significant differences related to the chosen academic major. Students pursuing science or math

were less enthusiastic about inclusive practices than were their peers in English and the fine arts. In England, Philip Garner (2000a) used a Likert-type attitude scale in one secondary school. Of the three core subjects – English, science, and math – he found teachers of English to be most positive about integration, teachers of science the least. However, when the Taverner research team (1997) examined the differences among teachers of English and mathematics in the United Kingdom, no significant differences were found among subject disciplines. Rather, the findings suggested that the number of years of service was more important than subject discipline in influencing attitudes toward integration.

Elementary and secondary teachers tend to differ on their views about inclusion. Compared to their peers in elementary classrooms, secondary teachers tend to be less positively disposed, less accepting of students with special needs in their classrooms, more reluctant in regard to the kinds and numbers of accommodations made, and less likely to take extra training (Bunch et al. 1997; Savage and Wienke 1989; Winzer and Rose 1986). Teachers of older students tend to be more concerned about subject matter and less about individual child differences. As an example, teachers in British Columbia felt that when too many students with special needs were placed in classes, it reduced their capacity to meet students' needs and forced changes in pedagogical styles which they considered inappropriate for classes at the secondary level (Naylor 2003).

8 Discussion and Implications

As schools reform to accommodate the diverse needs of all students, the attitudes of general education personnel take on substantial significance. Teachers are not unlikely allies in the shift toward inclusive schooling, and to say that teachers and their attitudes serve as the primary source of tension would be to simplify matters. Nevertheless, much evidence supports the notion that “teachers are the rock on which educational reforms flounder” (Adams and Chen 1992, p. 4). Attitudes toward students with special needs and an acceptance of the principles of inclusion appear to have important correlates with actual classroom practice. It follows that much research has been directed toward the attitudes and beliefs of teachers and their responsibilities for students in inclusive settings.

Despite the intersection of multiple policy and micro-political processes, and different styles of organization, governance, and finance in the four nations under study, this review of the literature found readily apparent parallels in teacher attitudes. In general, teachers' concerns about inclusive schooling transcend national differences based on definitions, identification, eligibility, legislation, teacher training, and so on.

Most teachers today agree with the movement toward inclusion when it is presented as a social and educational ideology or principle; however, the policy is not entirely uncontested. Despite two decades of advocacy for reform, a rich literature addressing the moral and ethical importance and a plethora of work on the

practical value, teachers are often a skeptical audience. In each country, and over time, a proportion of classroom teachers articulate concerns about the tenets of the inclusive movement and see a clear demarcation between inclusion as a philosophy and the inclusive school in which the philosophy is to be realized. Inclusive schooling situates teachers in an uneasy space between the modernist concepts of school reform and the classrooms they experience daily. For some, the essential core of the old and traditional paradigms remains. A number appear to be at a crossroads in terms of the preferred model of service delivery: they dispute the notion that inclusion can be a universal template to provide the one and only solution to the dilemma of difference. Teachers may well be sympathetic to the cultural, social, and political issues that surround inclusive education but practical considerations resonate. Specific concerns include teacher preparedness, increased workloads, added stress, the amount of individualized time children with special needs might require, the learning of typically developing students, resources, and preparation and professional development.

Studies on teacher attitudes related to acceptance-rejection issues are widely criticized because of the data elicited and because of the variability that exists among individuals with the same disability label. Nevertheless, teachers seem to regard students with disabilities in the context of procedural classroom concerns. This makes their attitudes toward the inclusion of different types of special needs an important parameter (Heiman 2001; Soodak et al. 1998). In fact, the disability categories of actual students may represent a more potent and parsimonious predictor of quality education than do opinions regarding the abstract concept of inclusion because student-teacher interactions differentially impact students' educational experiences and opportunities (Cook 2001).

For those who work and advocate for students with behavior disorders, inclusion presents an enormous challenge. Not only are these students rated the least accepted and the most negatively stereotyped of all exceptionalities, but they are often cited as exemplars of the times when inclusion is not appropriate. Then, if students served in general classrooms demonstrate problematic behavior that reduces the effectiveness of a teacher's instruction, teachers are likely to form relatively negative attitudes toward them (Cook et al. 2000). In the United States, Webber and Scheuermann (1997) described a "growing attitude of vengeance" toward children who disrupt the classroom (p. 168). In England, Garner (2000a) observed that, "In looking at the recent history of developments regarding EBD pupils in schools in England it is difficult not to assume an air of resignation and despondency" (p. 2).

Experience in inclusive settings appears to create positive attitudes. This may occur because teachers are forced to resolve practical problems in their everyday teaching practice or because they felt they can make a difference and influence the educational outcomes for children with special needs (Buell et al. 1999; Leatherman and Niemeier 2005; Le Roy and Simpson 1996; Stoiber et al. 1998).

Secondary level teachers tend to be less accepting than others of students with special needs in general classrooms (Savage and Wienke 1989). Secondary personnel are trained as content specialists, and an emphasis on subject matter affiliation is generally assumed to be less compatible with inclusion than is a focus on student

development. Some teachers may feel uncomfortable with adapted curricula; others may feel that the techniques promoting inclusion interfere with the demand for extensive coverage or may view that the presence of students with disabilities in a classroom is a problem from the practical point of managing class activity (Bulgren and Lenz 1996; Clough and Lindsay 1991; Scanlon et al. 1996).

A body of research suggests that practitioners are struggling in their efforts to include students with disabilities. Many teachers seem unprepared to comply with the broad array of requirements, are minimally equipped to provide for those not responding to group instruction, do not possess the breadth of knowledge or the competencies to meet the individual needs of students with disabilities, express feelings of inadequacy in dealing with some children, and feel overwhelmed with the responsibility of teaching students with disabilities. Despite earnest applications, even sensitive and well-committed teachers can claim that the pressures prevailing in modern schools and their lack of preparation preclude the implementation of effective inclusive practice.

It follows that a central concern for teachers is the sense that their work is jeopardized by a lack of professional development realistically geared toward supporting inclusive schooling. Because it is unreasonable to expect teacher behavior to change without the provision of training or professional development, appropriate staff development may be one of the keys to the success of inclusion (Dickens-Smith 1995; Lanier and Lanier 1996). Training not only enhances positive attitudes but promotes a willingness to accept students with disabilities (D'Alonzo et al. 1997; Lanier and Lanier 1996; McLeskey and Waldron 2002; Shade and Stewart 2001).

9 Conclusion

The four nations discussed all subscribe to a common philosophy in the education of students with disabilities. All adhere to the notion of full opportunity which provides all students the chance to develop their potential. However, the interpretation of inclusion varies quite markedly: each nation tailors the philosophy and processes to unique political and educational realities which lead ultimately to the formulation of varied policies, legislation, and other administrative arrangements and practices.

The way in which teachers conceptualize the reform agenda and their attitudes toward students with disabilities has been the subject of intense research interest over the past four decades. This study of teacher attitudes in four western nations pinpoints some of the dissonances between teacher attitudes and the reform movement and implicitly stresses continuing challenges that are critical as policy makers in many nations attempt to recast the functions, content, processes, and structures of schooling.

Over time, the evidence shows a growing acceptance of the underlying principles of inclusive schooling. In general, educators seem to recognize their ethical responsibility to provide all students with the most equitable education. However, even as

teachers ponder the moral question of equal access, they consider it in the frame of their own classrooms. Their attitudes toward inclusion may be mediated by perceptions of the time and effort necessary for implementation and may be linked to what they perceive to be the benefits for students with disabilities and for other students.

Inclusion is not a decisive perspective but a process and a growing reality as schools provide evidence of the capacity for change. General classroom teachers are central to the inclusive enterprise, and their professional attitudes act to facilitate or constrain the implementation of policies. The progress of the reform demands that research detects the factors that influence teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and expectations and that schools continue to discover ways to transform the thinking of all teachers.

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Globalisation and Humanities in Canada

Suzanne Majhanovich

1 Background and Context

As globalisation and attendant neo-liberal policies have taken root around the world, education, particularly at the tertiary level, has become an unwilling instrument of the global agenda and a contributor to the gross national product. Even at lower levels of schooling, bottom-line accountability guides curriculum: schools and students must produce “business” plans outlining steps to fulfilling prescribed goals of education; scores on standardised tests become the standard by which excellence and success are judged. The goal of education is apparently no longer to create well-rounded citizens capable of critical thinking, problem solving and reflection on issues central to human beings and societies; education rather is directed to the instrumental task of producing workers for the global economy. There are numerous examples of this trend from the USA, Australia and more recently from Great Britain where fields of study such as philosophy, humanities and the social sciences in general are losing funding and support in favour of “practical” areas such as engineering, science, business and commerce and technology.

2 Education as a Utilitarian Endeavour

A particularly disturbing outcome of globalisation with regard to educational programmes worldwide has been the growth of instrumentality as the defining feature in what counts in education. It would seem that unless a course or subject supports preparation for work in the global economy, it is not worth promoting.

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The potential of future profit from education is a powerful driver and motivation in course and programme choices. Examples abound. In secondary schools in Ontario, students are routinely counselled to include mathematics and sciences in the final year, even if they plan to take arts, philosophy or other humanities in higher education or hope to work in areas related to those fields. Since in the final year of secondary school in Ontario, students typically take six courses only, once they have selected their compulsory English credit, they have five slots left, and counsellors routinely will suggest three mathematics courses and two sciences, leaving no room for history, foreign languages, arts or other humanities or social sciences courses. Of course, part of the push for the practical over the more aesthetic is related to the notion that education's main task is to provide students with the training that will help them to find jobs. Other humanistic aspirations must take a back seat in the competitive world driven by the business agenda.

At my university, it is recommended that entering students in the arts and humanities faculty include mathematics and science courses in secondary school for favourable consideration for admission, even though they may never take more than a token mathematics or science course, once they enter college. Aside from the required high school credit in English, no other language, history, arts or other humanities course is even mentioned as a prerequisite, let alone a recommended subject even if students are entering those areas for specialisation. Clearly mathematics is the new "gatekeeper" for higher education at my university, a role once played by Latin. The problem is not that subjects like mathematics and science are not valuable for students to experience; clearly these subjects are important and worthwhile, but it is rather the neglect of arts and humanities subjects and implications that they have nothing advantageous to offer prospective students that is extremely troubling. This trend shows how universities are changing their focus and even their mission in education. Some scholars fear that universities as we have understood them no longer exist, and it will be up to some other type of academy to offer students an education that will lead to reflection, questioning and philosophising on humanity.

3 Internationalisation in Universities

At Canadian universities, we are seeing business and IT programmes expanded, while departments of philosophy, history, classics, modern languages and even English are threatened with closure or severe reductions in faculty members and course offerings.

Most major Canadian universities now make reference to internationalisation in their strategic plans. Such plans inevitably cite as advantages of internationalisation that it will help Canadian students to develop global perspectives and intercultural competence. No doubt, internationalisation in universities can have such positive and humane outcomes for students. However, the more cynical among us have noticed that there are far more students from abroad coming to study in Canadian universities than Canadian students interested in gaining a multicultural experience abroad—and when Canadian students do decide to study in another country, the top

choices will be English-speaking countries like the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand where “culture shock” will be less of an issue, followed by the European Union countries, especially the most affluent ones. Most students who go abroad to study seek universities that will offer the commerce, business and economics courses in English, and this is becoming a common feature of universities, particularly private universities worldwide. Canadian universities in their strategic plans use the language of business when outlining incentives for internationalisation: “building strategic alliances and partnerships with other key institutions abroad, promoting innovation in curriculum and diversity in programs and responding to needs in Canada’s labour market” (Weber 2011, citing Tunney and White 2008). It is clear that Canadian universities worship at the temple of the global market.

However, the internationalisation agenda is a relatively new development in Canadian universities. While Australia, New Zealand, the UK and the USA have long been promoting their universities abroad and have set up offshore campuses to attract international students, as well as undertaking heavy publicity campaigns to attract international students to come to their countries for higher education, Canada is a relative newcomer in this club.

Some of the dangers of over-reliance on international students to provide funding for universities have become increasingly obvious, particularly in the case of Australia and New Zealand. As universities became more and more entrepreneurial in attempts to attract foreign students, governments reacted by cutting public funding. As a result universities in that part of the world became increasingly dependent on the tuitions from the foreign students with the result that when Asian economies went into recession and were no longer able to send their students abroad in such large numbers, the universities suffered and many had to close several faculties and lay off staff. V. Lynn Meek (2005, 2011) from the University of Melbourne has been following the impact of internationalisation on Australian universities over the years and despite finding some positive features of the trend, concludes that there are real problems with the way Australian universities have entered into internationalisation projects, such as:

- Highly evolved, entrepreneurial culture with a focus on marketing and recruitment [that is] in conflict with traditional academic values
- [The] profit motive eclipses academic ethics, for example, soft marking
- Increased academic workload due to student language difficulties
- Overemphases on particular discipline areas—business and commerce
- Over-reliance on a single and potentially volatile source of income

(Meek 2011 report to OCUFA Conference)

4 How Neo-liberalism Has Affected Public Funding of Universities

Such problems have not, however, deterred universities in other parts of the world from continuing to set up their offshore campuses or attempt to increase the numbers of foreign students attending and paying hefty tuitions, often two or three times

as much as local students/citizens pay. Whereas in Canada, until recently, all universities were public, and tuition, at least for citizens, was heavily subsidised, now things are changing. We are seeing more and more private universities being set up across Canada. Tuitions are rising. The Canadian Association of University Teachers (2008) has tracked tuition as part of operating revenue in universities and shows gradually eroding government support for universities partially offset by rising tuitions and otherwise supplemented by research grants but also other business undertakings.

Government funding and tuition as share of university operating revenue, Canada (adapted from CAUT 2010, p. 3)

	Government (%)	Tuition (%)	Total (%)
1978	83.8	12.3	96.1
1988	81.4	13.9	95.1
1998	64.9	26.3	91.2
2008	57.5	37.7	95.2

Source: Statistics Canada

Clearly, Canada is entering the slippery slope depending more and more on tuitions, including those brought in by international students, as well as from other sources of funding, and less on government support. It is interesting as well to note that universities are selective in what they set up as offshore campuses. Canada has preferred to set up business faculties abroad where students can take parallel programmes to the ones offered in Canada and graduate with a Canadian degree. All courses are offered, of course, in English, which is another matter of concern. In fact, with English widely viewed as the language of commerce and business in our globalised world, universities all over the world and not just offshore campuses tend to offer business and commerce courses in English. In our new pragmatic view of the purpose of a university or college education, humanities and the arts are finding themselves viewed as increasingly irrelevant.

5 Effect of the Market Agenda on Research

Humanities and arts professors in universities, in the English-speaking world at least, complain that their funding possibilities for research are being cut back or eliminated. I understand that in the UK, the institution of high tuition for university students is affecting in particular arts and humanities students who will receive no government support for their programmes of study. In Canada, our main government research-funding agencies are known as the “Tri-Council” and include CIHR (Canadian Institutes of Health Research), NSERC (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council) and SSHRC (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) which is the one to which arts, education and humanities researchers normally apply for funding.

While CIHR and NSERC, the councils responsible for hard science and medical research, receive proportionately much more funding than SSHRC, despite the fact that the majority of university researchers work in the Social Sciences and Humanities areas, not only has SSHRC funding been decreasing but what is available has strings attached with the result that preference is being given to projects that fit a neo-liberal agenda. That is to say, research projects in targeted areas are sought and inevitably include a requirement for partnerships with the private sector and indications of outcomes that will benefit the global economy. What is overlooked is the fact that the private sector tends to value research (particularly conducted with quantitative research methods—qualitative methods are viewed with suspicion since no measurable results are produced) that provides quick solutions. This is opposed to more traditional social science research that requires painstaking examination of data to find meaningful results using a variety of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. Still the funding councils persist in encouraging projects that involve partnerships with the private sector, projects that have not proved particularly productive.

The more generously funded health sciences areas also complain that partnerships with big business cause ethical problems since private partners often include requirements in research protocols to the effect that if, for example, a drug or medical procedure being tested should prove not to be effective or perhaps may even result in dangerous side effects, researchers are not allowed to publish the negative findings.

Some researchers in the health sciences area who wish to pursue research that naturally would involve humanities and social sciences and hence would involve applications to SSHRC have been cut out of that avenue of funding and must apply to CIHR which is not interested as much in the “human” element as in the scientific and medical aspects only. Another prominent research organisation (the National Research Council) which has been the leading Canadian source for research, development and technology-based innovation has recently announced that it will focus on applied (rather than pure) research, particularly that which has clear “market drivers” or a “purposeful direction”, in other words research that will produce economic outcomes (Western News, April 14 2011). This will cut out many projects designed to pursue areas that do not have any obvious financial payoffs but may produce useful, innovative findings. Many scientists feel that their research potential has been narrowed and subjected to the business agenda.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, however, has different problems and seems to be recasting itself as a tool of the economy rather than as an agency to promote research for new knowledge in the humanities and social sciences. Recently SSHRC received a \$9M infusion, but all of that money was reserved for business projects—nothing for traditional humanities and arts. With a reduction in government research funding, researchers are finding themselves forced to look for private partners for funding and to write their proposals in a language that will be favourable to the business community. Meanwhile arts and humanities researchers are increasingly finding that while their project was deemed worthy of funding, no funding exists, and so they must resubmit or recast their project to fit business interests.

6 The Semantics of Education Under Globalisation and Neo-liberalism

Another nefarious element of our “Brave New World” of education involves the changing meanings of words. I have alluded in earlier research to the way words like “accountability”, “quality”, “assessment” and even “knowledge” have changed in their meanings and implications (Majhanovich 2006). Whereas educationists used to equate “accountability” with their professional responsibility to deliver the best possible programme to their students, using effective teaching approaches that would address the needs of their students, now the term implies rather the success of a programme to meet requirements for success in the global economy or success of a teacher in achieving high test scores on standardised tests; the focus has shifted from accountability to one’s students to accountability to the education “corporation” (See Ben Jaafar and Anderson 2007). As Allan Pitman has pointed out, “quality” in education used to refer to the uniqueness and difference in that which one was exposed to in university programmes. However, in a globalised age, the connotation has shifted. As Pitman says:

There is an essential contradiction in the two usages of the word, in that [one] seeks out that which is unique or different about the object; [and the other] focuses upon the commonality between similar objects and claims to evaluate in terms of comparative excellence.

Education systems are under continuing pressures to be reshaped in ways that respond to the aspirations and fears of the societies that they serve. These concerns are grounded in the context of increasingly interconnected world systems that characterize the globalizing trends in communications, trade and discourse. Increasingly, the issue of quality has become a cornerstone of debates, and policy formation in relation to education systems and their reform. This has been coupled with governmental moves to assert greater control and surveillance over the academic activities of educational institutions at all levels. At the university level, the use of rankings such as that compiled by the *London Times*, based on citation analysis, are among the most important of these. Worthy of note is that governments pay attention to them, and it should be recognized that they are the products of commercial enterprises. Through means such as these, governments try to position themselves internationally through gauging the quality of their educational institutions and curricula through comparative processes. (Pitman 2007, pp. 9–10)

The ranking of journals is another example of this that has not yet come to Canada, but probably it is only a matter of time. Part of the problem with such “quality” outcomes as applied to education is that they may work against uniqueness and difference in programmes and approaches, especially if only what can be concretely measured—number of citations, number of research grants and articles, success rate of students, standardised test scores, etc.—is the standard by which quality is claimed. The perhaps romantic notion of the university as a community of scholars debating the issues of the world becomes lost in such a hard-nosed definition of the “good”. Moreover, since the quality factors tend to be found in the concrete research output, where is there room for new, imagined and perhaps radical research? Quality in the above sense does not foster innovation and change but rather conformity and conservative approaches to curriculum and research.

Similarly “assessment” now seems to be a much more narrow concept than in the past with its focus on the strictly measurable and concrete numerical results from standardised tests that can only address certain kinds of learning (See Popham 2001). How can we now assess values, aesthetics and abstract concepts like social justice? And despite the obvious importance governments and corporations place on concrete assessments, should we even be considering “assessing” those areas that cannot be measured?

As for knowledge, we constantly are reminded that we live in a “knowledge” economy. But what counts as knowledge? It would seem that preference is given to technical, scientific knowledge, as well as knowledge that will in some way be used to turn a profit on the global stage. Where is the room for knowledge of culture, the arts and history? Moreover, knowledge is now viewed as a commodity that can be exported or used to make profit. This development has come about largely because of the WTO’s efforts to put into place the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which focuses on twelve areas of services, one of which is education (see Davidson Harden and Majhanovich 2004; Schugurensky and Davidson Harden 2005). Speaking to the implications of “knowledge” in a neo-liberal, globalised world and the role that higher education institutes play in producing knowledge, Philip Altbach (2001) has noted:

One of the main factors is the change in society’s attitude toward higher education—which is now seen as a ‘private good’ benefiting those who study and do research... The provision of knowledge becomes just another commercial transaction. The main provider of public funds, the state, is increasingly unwilling or unable to provide the resources needed for an expanding higher education sector. Universities and other postsecondary institutions are expected to generate more of their funding. They have to think more like businesses and less like public institutions. In this context a logical development is the privatization of the public universities—the selling of knowledge products, partnering with corporations, as well as increases in student fees. (Altbach 2001, p. 2)

It is no wonder then that privatisation of universities is growing apace. In my own university, the business school has privatised itself while remaining a part of the larger public institution. It has its own budget and through all kinds of entrepreneurial undertakings seeks to maximise its profit. Interestingly enough, the business school has often had the highest deficits in its budget among all faculties in the university. Within the faculty of education, the continuing education section became more or less privatised, running on a strictly cost-recovery basis. Through an expanding number of distance education courses, continuing education for a time turned a profit that benefited the faculty as a whole.

Lately, however, demand for the continuing education courses has fallen, perhaps because of overall problems in the economy, and teachers find that they no longer can afford the expense (over \$1000 per course) for the courses offered by this segment, and now our faculty finds itself with a serious deficit in its budget with no ready way to make up for the lost revenues. Needless to say, we are expanding our graduate programmes and hoping to attract international students! To link the above to the overall argument regarding the attack on the humanities, I would say that “thinking more like a business” as Altbach has said has meant that in the faculty of

education, humanities subjects have less place: we used to offer pedagogy classes for the teaching of German and Spanish as a foreign language; now we can only offer French. Courses by distance education somehow do not provide the rich opportunities for classroom debate and discussion that small seminar courses used to encourage. In order to save money, class sizes have grown, again restricting opportunities for discussion and debate in class.

7 Effects on Learning Foreign Languages

The learning of languages has fallen victim to the new business mentality. In North America it is not seen as necessary to learn other languages since English is the lingua franca of business and commerce. It is interesting that in the European Union, there is still a demand for language learning so that the citizens of the various EU countries can better communicate with each other and yes, speak other languages well enough to be able to work in countries where a different language is spoken. Hence, although knowing several languages in the EU is viewed as an asset, the knowledge is valued mainly insofar as it serves the utilitarian purposes of being able to communicate using the functional language required for one's trade of choice. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR 2001) has been hailed as an excellent standardised tool to promote the learning of languages because its various level scales and assessments permit workers to prove their proficiency at a given level required employment. However, it has been pointed out that the CEFR programmes tend to avoid the study of culture and literature and focus instead on needs for the business and "real" world. So the humanities are once again being cast as something irrelevant and unimportant in the face of demands of the market!

It is of interest to note that research on elite schools shows that language learning is valued, particularly of languages like Mandarin that are important in the new world economy. However, like the CEFR language learning model, in elite schools, languages are regarded as an instrumental tool to open networks for future partnerships. There is little attention given to cultural understanding or connections to the native speakers of the languages learned.

8 Mounting a Defence for the Humanities and Arts

Universities as we have known them in the past have been radically changed by the global agenda through such international contracts as the GATS and other WTO initiatives. The commodification of knowledge has led to certain benefits in some areas of academia but has endangered others, notably humanities and arts. There are

indications from all around the English-speaking world of how humanities are under attack and in danger of disappearing in some places because of their perceived irrelevance and uselessness in a world dedicated to the market and profit making.

One person who has mounted a strong campaign in defence of the humanities and liberal arts is philosopher Martha Nussbaum in her book *Not for Profit Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010). She argues that as nations increasingly devote themselves to the production of “short-term profit by the cultivation of the useful and highly applied skills suited to profit making” (p. 2) at the expense of humanistic elements of the academic disciplines, they are endangering the very underpinnings of their democratic system. She identifies the humanities and the arts as the domains best suited to prepare individuals with the attributes that will nurture and protect democracy, namely, the ability to imagine other possibilities, to be creative and to be empathetic while being capable of rigorous critical thought. She also contends that in our test-driven schools, courses like citizenship education that are necessary to develop members of society aware of the implications and responsibilities of democracy are being badly neglected and suffer from inappropriate pedagogy. Nussbaum’s (2010) message is a sobering one:

Radical changes are occurring in what democratic societies teach the young, and these changes have not been well thought through. Thirsty for national profit, nations, and their systems of education, are heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive. If this trend continues, nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves, criticize tradition, and understand the significance of another person’s sufferings and achievements. The future of the world’s democracies hangs in the balance. (p. 2)

Nussbaum contrasts education for economic growth as opposed to education for global citizenship. In the former, the emphasis is on basic skills like literacy and numeracy with some people gaining advanced skills in technology. She notes that in this kind of education, equal access is not a priority as economic Darwinism is at the fore; a few highly skilled technicians are capable of carrying out the tasks to maximise profits; it is simply too bad for those who can’t compete. Thoughtful reflection is also not required and might even get in the way of the concrete drive for profit making.

When it comes to education for global citizenship, matters are not so cut and dried. This kind of education is messy and complex and involves engagement and interaction with “history, geography, the multidisciplinary study of culture, the history of law and the political systems” (pp. 86–87). She also thinks that all students should learn at least one foreign language well enough so that they can gain perspectives of how people from other cultures and religions view the world. What is required above all is the ability to remain active, questioning, curious and critical—not just accepting at face value what authority proclaims as truth and the good. Nussbaum strongly affirms that it is the above type of education that is needed to protect and further democracy. But in an age that has no time for reflection, viewing and weighing multiple perspectives and becoming informed about what has gone before, democracy is endangered.

9 Conclusion

By sounding the alarm to promote humanities and all they entail in education or risk losing our democracy, Nussbaum is echoing what Giroux has been warning about for years. He too makes a strong argument that neo-liberalism as a cultural politics, and public pedagogy encourages new forms of authoritarianism where class, racial and gender inequalities become more evident and even accepted, while what has been the essence of democratic life is gradually being worn away (Giroux 2004).

It is to be hoped that the battle has not yet been lost. Those who understand and appreciate the value of the arts and humanities need to continue to make clear how flawed the reductionist and barren approach to education that is being promoted in the name of global success is and how a more equitable, reflective and yes, critical commitment to education must ultimately prevail if the democratic society as we have known and valued it is to survive.

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Part VI
Globalisation, Education Policy
and Reform: Curriculum
and Policy Change

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Globalization and Changes in School Governance

Alexander W. Wiseman

1 Globalization and School Governance: Introduction

How white-collar bureaucratic organizations like schools are managed is and has historically been of particular sociological as well as administrative interest. In fact, the bureaucratic administration of formal organizations is by no means unique to discussions of schools or school governance (e.g., Weber 1946; March 1965; Silverman 1971; Meyer et al. 1994; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Zajda and Gamage 2009). As a result, prescriptions for administrative as well as managerial activity are widely debated and discussed in both the organizations and management literatures (Sayles 1964; Hales 1986; Stewart 1989; Noordegraaf and Stewart 2000). Within these debates, there are rich discussions of various relationships between managerial activity and organizational output (Ouchi 1977; Corwin 1981; Firestone 1985; Gamoran and Dreeben 1986; Perrow 1986; Orton and Weick 1990; Ingersoll 1993). And, while these discussions are not unique to the educational literature, special attention has been given to the association of managerial activities with organizational outputs of schools and school governance in a time of globalization.

As the literature has developed, attempts to either reach the struggling school administrator or sell books to the lay public with an interest in schooling have become prominent. As a result, various terms, formulas, and essays have appeared, which elaborate upon school governance and especially “leadership.” Prescriptions and recommendations for how to govern schools are widespread. A significant concern, however, with much of the school governance research is avoiding arguments and analyses that select on the dependent variable, meaning that schools or principals sampled include only those demonstrating outstanding performance, high achievement, or some sort of extraordinary leadership from the principal. While

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these studies and reports have a proper place and time, they are not helpful in understanding the phenomenon of school governance because they essentially sample on the dependent variable.

The goal of this chapter is, therefore, not to expand upon the “successful” activities and behaviors of school leaders but is instead to understand how schools’ environmental complexities both within and between organizational levels influence school governance worldwide. As with many roles where individuals are accountable for something or to someone or group, what school leaders do is largely a function of what their organization is expected to do and the characteristics of the people or community that both comprise and contextualize the organization. This contextualization of school governance is the foundation of the chapter.

2 Globalization and Environmental Complexity

Globalization is defined and debated in many different ways, but it is most often discussed in terms of the spread or transfer of goods, services, knowledge, and policies across national, social, and political boundaries. The most frequent version is economic globalization as a result of the commodification of goods and services, which spread across national, political, or societal borders. This resonates with educators, educational administrators, and educational researchers mostly in the forms of policy transfer, policy borrowing, and educational legitimacy seeking that cross from one national educational system to another. The problem with this is that schools exist in unique cultures both in terms of the community environment in which schools are embedded and the organizational environment, which dominates the national education systems and the institution of education worldwide.

As a result, principals’ school governance activities are unique compared to leaders, managers, and administrators in other organizations because of the character of schools as public service as well as publicly funded organizations where high degrees of organizational autonomy and external penetration are both expected and required (Weick 1976; Meyer and Scott 1983; Ingersoll 1993). Even though these levels of organizational autonomy vary by national system, schools are ideal for the examination of the relationship between governance activity and organizational environments. In fact, it is the variation in national systems of education that may be a significant predictor of the school governance activities of principals, district managers, and superintendents situated within these various systems. This variation in schools’ environments at not only the local but also national levels means that school governance becomes a bureaucratic administrative function within at least two organizational contexts: the local and the national.

School governance occurs according to local school community contexts and immediate needs, while also considering and responding to national educational goals, trends, and expectations for schooling. For example, what school principals do may be a response to local community needs, nation-level expectations, or both. Each of these levels of needs and expectations may be called an organizational

environment in the sociology of organizations literature (Meyer and Associates 1978; Meyer and Scott 1983). At each level, these organizational environments are characterized by varying levels of complexity. Complexity in organizational environments is largely a product of the number of stakeholders, needs, or expectations focused on the organization in question, namely, schools.

A complex school level organizational environment would be one in which principals had many different interest groups or educational stakeholders involved in curricular decision-making. For example, the more that businesses, religious groups, parent associations, and other school community groups have a part in deciding what curriculum is taught to students in a particular school, the more complex the organizational environment of that school is. These sorts of complex environments for schools are more common in highly decentralized national educational systems such as in the United States where school penetration from external entities is frequent. On the other hand, a simple environment for schools would be one in which curricular decision-making was a function restricted to the centralized bureaucratic authority of a national Ministry of Education or similar entity, such as it is in France where it is often joked that educational bureaucrats know what each classroom across France is doing every hour of every day.

Complexity in schools' environments is not a function restricted to either the local or national organizational levels. This complexity can also be a product of the combined stakeholders, needs, and expectations for schools occurring at each organizational level. Therefore, schools in systems that have centralized goal- or standard-setting authority and decentralized implementation authority will be some of the most complex environments for schools because standards and expectations from the national level may both coincide and conflict with local level implementation needs and expectations. Complexity can occur both within single levels of schools' organizational environments (such as local and national) and as an interaction between these levels of organizational environment (Fletcher and Sabers 1995). There are not clear boundaries between these organizational environments because they are, in fact, nested, meaning that schools' local communities and contexts are nested within national systems of education and national contexts for educational accountability and expectations. This nesting and mixing of environmental influences occurs in spite of traditional political boundaries such as are politically defined as distinct districts and states. It is this combination of complexity both within and between levels of schools' organizational environments as well as the nested nature of these complex environmental contexts that is one of the most significant elements of school governance.

School principals' governance activity is an example of the applied school governance because it exemplifies the relationship between educational policy and its intended effect. The relationship of local or school level policy as realized through the activity of principals and both the intended or unintended effects on instruction and achievement provide a microcosm of the relationship, if any, between organizational norms, cultural context, and organizational output. With increasing consistency, student achievement reports and comparisons at both the national and international levels drive nation-state-level educational policies and declarations

(Meyer and Baker 1996). These policy statements and declarations, however, often target the structure, methods, and rigor of subnational (i.e., state and local) educational systems rather than material resources and opportunities to learn.

Evidence suggests that the association of managerial activity with organizational output, such as student performance, has been and continues to be particularly weak in schools in spite of increasing pressure to standardize and regulate this relationship (Wiseman 2004). Some often cited reasons for weak associations are loose-coupling or decoupling processes, which explains how school governance activities, time, and resources are dedicated more to legitimizing the processes and consequences of schooling than improving the technical output of instruction (Weick 1976). A further assertion is that the range of duties in which school managers engage is becoming increasingly normalized. These assertions have been supported by empirical evidence documenting cross-national variation in the work of classroom-level managers: the teachers. For example, in their study, LeTendre et al. (2001) present evidence, which suggests that cross-national variation in teacher tasks or activities is minimal, especially among Japan, Germany, and the United States.

Although the scope of principals' governance responsibility and activity is much greater than teachers', the same institutional reasoning applies. As a result of normalizing and legitimizing trends at the national and cross-national levels, the school governance is often only loosely coupled to school outputs. As LeTendre et al. suggest, nations that score roughly the same in math achievement (i.e., Germany and the United States) are sometimes less similar in teacher practices than between these nations and high scoring nations (i.e., Japan). Overall, the total between-nation variance is relatively low.

There are three useful empirically based approaches to answer the question of why and how school governance is globalized. The first and most popular is the instructional leadership perspective, which suggests that school principals do what they do in order to affect change in student instruction and achievement, as well as other school outcomes such as enrollment control and so forth. A second approach is from the organizational perspective, which suggests that what principals do is largely a response to the characteristics of the organization itself and its environment rather than initiatives inspired by individual performances from those comprising the technical core of the organization. For example, since schools are educational organizations, principals' activities are often related to either improving, maintaining, or discussing student learning and achievement with parents, teachers, and the students themselves even though the teacher is the point of most direct contact with student learners. And, a third approach is from an institutional perspective, which suggests that what principals do is because of legitimized norms for school governance but may contradict national or cross-cultural norms in response to local needs and environmental pressures.

While the instructional leadership perspective is the most popular, many studies of this perspective select on the dependent variable, which presents a methodological problem. The organizational and institutional approaches, however, offer two empirical options as to why principals do what they do. These two approaches both rely on the contextualization of school governance as a motivating or shaping force,

but which lead to tension in defining and estimating school leaders', administrators', and managers' activity because one suggests that what they do is a response to school environments while the other suggests that people do what they do in order to meet expectations and norms that cross traditional contextual boundaries.

3 Global Origins of School Governance

As schooling becomes and remains the predominant formal mechanism through which citizens are formed, socialized, and prepared for roles in the political, cultural, and economic arenas of adult life, the governance of schools becomes increasingly essential to the social life of families, nations, and the global community. Consequently, the pressure from parents, communities, and policymakers on principals to influence and, hopefully, raise the achievement levels of students is significant. Heck et al. (1990) provide suggestions concerning which principal activities predict student achievement. They argue (pp. 99–100) that how principals govern schools affects the technical processes of schooling, which then lead to changes in student achievement. Others suggest that students' scores will improve to the extent that principals can shape their school organization through the "adoption of institutionalized structures at the administrative level and the development of coordinative mechanisms at the technical level" (Ogawa and Bossert 1995, p. 233).

An important consideration is the conceptual distinction between public and private sector management and even the distinction within the public sector between the political and the social service spheres (e.g., Forssell and Jansson 2000). Education and schooling contexts provide situations where the activity of managers is semipublic. On the one hand is the frequent push by educational stakeholders, researchers, and practitioners for the corporate model of management in schools. Yet, as Noordegraaf and Stewart (2000, p. 440) point out, "As traditional public sector values—such as representativeness, equality before the law, justice—are forced to compete with modern managerial values—such as economy, efficiency, effectiveness—inevitable tensions arise." These tensions are what give rise to loosely coupled relationships or even broken (i.e., decoupled) relationships between school governance activity and organizational environments, especially at the national level. These tensions also suggest how the environmental complexity of schools may influence principals' activity and encourage it to couple differently with the organizational environment at different organizational levels.

Although school governance roles and activities are or are becoming relatively similar around the world, their beginnings for mass education were largely within the United States. The Progressive Era in the United States coincided with the advent of scientific management based in the writings of Frederick Winslow Taylor and the invention of mass production techniques by Henry Ford, most notably. In concert, these led the means of production and even the producers into becoming unknown and faceless but simultaneously more efficient and effective. These changes affected not only the nature of producer-consumer relations and the economy but also

translated into the social services and organizations such as schools to change the nature of school-student relations, in general, and the nature of the principals' job, in particular. In other words, educational reformers in the early twentieth century in the United States were enamored with the scientific method. This involved, among other things, the belief that the technical process of schooling could be understood and better run through quantification and categorization. The scientific method was accompanied by the idea of social efficiency for Progressive Era school reformers. This meant that there was a belief that society could also be quantified, categorized, and understood so that it would run smoothly and that principals as managers of these educational institutions were responsible for creating and maintaining an efficient and effective system of educational production for the benefit of society.

In addition, there was a push by early twentieth century reformers to replicate the corporate model of governance in schools (Tyack 1974). School systems were typically bureaucratically administered formal organizations and, consequently, were not generating the most productive students in the most efficient and effective ways possible. This was partly due, during the Progressive Era, to tremendous growth in public school attendance due to the influx of rural dwellers to urban areas and also from the large numbers of immigrants coming to live in American cities. Given these concerns, the corporate model of school governance suggests that there should be one executive manager in charge of larger districts with executive power to streamline and empower the educational process and more importantly the responsibility for doing so. Therefore, school managers such as principals were expected to be executive leaders who were ultimately accountable for the output of their schools and students.

At the same time, the Progressive Era saw the development of a strong, vocal middle class in the United States and the shift of schooling from a privilege to a right to a requirement. With this shift in social consciousness and the technical ability of the poor to rise from their squalor and associate with or become part of the middle class, schools also became institutions for social change. This also meant, of course, that school managers such as principals were beginning to be held accountable for issues larger than the transmission of knowledge to students. The very future of society was believed to hinge upon the success or failure of schools to educate students. In other words, to Progressive Era school reformers, schooling became such that principals as school executive managers became touchstones for the rise and demise of American society, public welfare, and, more specifically and importantly, political and economic conditions.

Although the Progressive Era is the foundation for and historical context of school governance worldwide, a resurgence in the 1980s of corporate involvement in schooling and the corporate model of governance was accompanied by another global phenomenon: the effective schools movement.

Beginning around 1980, the effective schools movement in the United States began to reincarnate the early twentieth century Progressive Era arguments that schools are organizations in which knowledge and skills are technically blended and delivered to each schools' students (Boyd 1994). This overtly rational and largely economic technical metaphor was not, as mentioned, new nor was it to end with this

movement (Fullan and Stiegelbauer 1991). But, rather than limiting these arguments to the United States, the effective schools movement expanded these notions of performance accountability to other nations as well. Therefore, the effective schools movement gave birth to the notion of principals as instructional leaders as much as or more than bureaucratic administrative managers (Mellor and Chapman 1984) and expanded the focus beyond the United States to include other nations.

As instructional leaders, principals emphasize the school governance activities that somehow enhance or benefit classroom instruction and learning. Although there is no more specific or consistent definition of instructional leadership, the expectations are that school principals will either directly or indirectly influence how teachers instruct their students and how students learn from their teachers. This may mean that principals could be expected to spend most of their time demonstrating model lessons for teachers, providing adequate professional development time for teachers, or even making sure that students enter their classrooms ready to learn. Regardless of the specific activity, the bottom line for school principals is that students post high achievement levels as a result of school governance activity.

4 Instructional Leadership as School Governance Activity

The driving rationale of school governance is that “effective” school leaders have broad effects on instructional quality and school or student performance (Barnhardt et al. 1979). In fact, school governance in many nations is evaluated and measured in general terms such as school output, accountability, standards, rigor, and economic consequence; particularly in studies conducted as part of the effective schools movement (Atkin and Black 1997; Hallinger and Heck 1996; LeTendre et al. 2001). In particular, the output most frequently used to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of schools as organizations (i.e., student achievement) is also one of the easiest forms of school governance output to measure. For example, principals are in positions of authority and responsibility to affect and mold the formal structure of instruction at their schools in order to facilitate and encourage the production of effective instruction leading to high student achievement. In other words, principals are in positions of instructional leadership by which they can influence student performance levels, even if they do not always take advantage of that opportunity (Bossert et al. 1982).

According to the instructional leadership perspective, when principals develop mission statements and goals, they influence school output because the substance of instruction is molded and shaped by the ideological foundation of the school in which it occurs. In other words, a school organization’s technical outcomes are motivated and determined by its intentions. By contrast, in schools without educationally influential missions and goals, an instructional leadership approach suggests that teachers and other school personnel cannot or will not have the direction nor the ideological resources to teach well and inspire high performance. Therefore, much of the instructional leadership literature suggests that the creation, support, and

reinforcement of school mission and goal statements influence schools' outputs and effectiveness.

When school governance activity promotes an academic learning climate, it emphasizes the immediate environment in which teachers instruct and students learn. In order to promote an academic learning climate, school leaders need to create situations in which the only concerns are learning and performance. Immediate environments should have as many resources available as possible, thereby giving students and teachers many opportunities to productively interact. Rather than directing what students or teachers do during instruction (the process), these principal activities direct what students and teachers have available to them (the resources) throughout whatever instruction and learning situations arise. As a result, instructional leadership literature suggests that the school environments in which principals create and are situated influence schools' outputs and effectiveness.

And, finally, when principals develop a supportive work environment, they extend the immediate and available environment of resources emphasized above and focus on teachers and students more directly. An essential element of this category of instructional influence is the interaction and peer development among individual teachers. Regardless of student performance or activity, principals are often expected to provide material resources, professional development opportunities, and spawn peer support networks among teachers as well. Although it may be difficult to direct this sort of teacher-to-teacher interaction, it is nonetheless expected that principals will create and encourage these peer relationships and on-the-job support networks. So, the instructional leadership literature suggests that principals' support for and provision of material resources, professional development opportunities, and peer interaction among teachers influence schools' output and effectiveness.

By focusing on each of these elements of school governance (i.e., ideology and structure, process, immediate environment and local context, and support and resources), an instructional leadership approach to principals' governance activity asserts that principals worldwide can influence student achievement by promoting the best and most appropriate instruction at every schooling stage and situation (see also Zajda and Gamage 2009; Zajda 2010). Yet, this approach largely ignores the impact of school environment on school governance, although it emphasizes the principals' responsibility to manipulate the environment.

The balance of environment with output in determining school governance activity is the main point of difference between the instructional leadership and organizational learning approaches to school governance. Some instructional leadership research suggests that principals' activities associate with the organizational characteristics of schools more than school outputs such as student achievement in spite of the more effective schools approach frequently adopted in instructional leadership (Leithwood and Duke 1999). Given the potential for a variety of impacts based upon the various types of activities that principals engage in and the causes leading to them, it is important to distinguish activity that principals empirically exhibit from the predicted results of these activities. Ogawa and Bossert's (1995, p. 233) argument suggests that school output will improve to the extent that school governance, and

principals in particular, can shape schools as organizations through the “adoption of institutionalized structures at the administrative level and the development of coordinative mechanisms at the technical level.”

Before moving on, there are several weaknesses with the instructional leadership literature from both methodological and conceptual perspectives that deserve attention. First, as mentioned above, a significant amount of the published research samples on the dependent variables of high-performing schools and students. Second, those that sample more widely tend to ignore the multilevel nature of schools’ organizational environments when conducting statistical analyses. And, third, the literature focuses almost exclusively on the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom meaning there are relatively few internationally comparative or cross-national analyses of school governance activity (a notable early exception is Dimmock and Walker 1998), although the literature is largely overwhelmed by discussions of school governance and policy. Contextualized cross-national comparisons are less frequently considered in educational policy research than for other policy research agendas even though cross-national comparisons often drive policy reform agendas for schooling in general (Meyer and Baker 1996; LeTendre et al. 2001).

5 Loose-Coupling and Organizational Environments

The coupling of school governance to schools’ immediate organizational environments is an oft-examined phenomenon (Leithwood and Duke 1999). However, there are other examinations, which suggest that the environments of schools are (1) without clear boundaries and, therefore, (2) cross traditional organizational boundaries such as are defined by regions ranging from local communities to regional districts to nation-states (Meyer and Scott 1983). As a result, the boundaries of schools’ organizational environments are often undefined or only vaguely defined. This means that it is difficult to talk about where influences on schools and their principals begin and end. Are principals influenced by or accountable to their local community only or to their district and state educational officials as well? Is the influence from the local environment stronger than the national level stakeholders, needs, and expectations for schools? It is often hard to answer these questions clearly because the influences of each level either mix with or are the result of the influences at the other.

Although many empirical studies do measure and estimate relationships between principals’ activities and schools’ environmental elements, little has been done to determine how school governance is adjusted in response to schools’ organizational environmental complexity. In contrast to an instructional leadership approach, an organizational perspective suggests that organizations like schools are replete with rituals and loosely coupled relationships between school governance and school outputs (Weick 1976; Ingersoll 1993). There is also particular attention paid to the

issue of environmental penetration of schools versus organizational norms and local cultures. This is where the focus of loose-coupling arguments usually turns.

And, as Ingersoll (1993, p. 86) asserts, schools embody the stereotypical characteristics of loosely coupled organizations such as: (1) unclear, diverse, or ambiguous organizational means and goals; (2) low levels of coordination of employees' productive activities; (3) low levels of organizational control; (4) high levels of employee autonomy; and (5) low levels of managerial authority. As school leaders tailor their activity to the specific needs of schools' local environments and managerial pressure from the national educational system increases, the complexity of schools' organizational environments should rise as well. In other words, the more complex schools' organizational environments are within national educational systems, the more loosely coupled the managerial activity of principals should be to the school and national environments.

Across the many kinds of schools and educational environments that exist, there are often consistently similar pressures on principals to behave in certain ways and perform certain duties. In addition, principals find themselves either looking to legitimate models of school governance or being taught to be "effective" school leaders in formally accredited and scripted-for-legitimacy professional training programs. Following established, rationalized scripts ensure principals' legitimacy even though some activities may decouple from the legitimate model of school governance depending on a schools' specific environment. This means that school governance activities are sometimes torn between the rationalized, transnational models of legitimate school structures, processes, and outcomes and the characteristics and needs of individual school environments. Therefore, one might expect that school governance activities might become increasingly stable over time due to institutional pressure resulting from the expanding legitimacy of mass education (Meyer et al. 1977, 1992). Therefore, the persistence of archetypal school governance models in spite of wide variation in school environment and output across nations and schools within national educational systems seems contradictory.

Regardless of the relationship between what principals do and schools' local environments, curricular centralization and centralization of decision-making at the national level may determine principals' ability or opportunity to contextualize instruction within their schools (Stevenson and Baker 1991). However, the same institutional influences that contribute to the training, education, and activity of principals as rationalized and legitimate models of school administration are products of the environment and preexisting levels of school performance at least as much as they are causes of it. Therefore, principals' governance of both material and personnel resources is not as influential as the environment or context, which preexists schooling processes and permeates most aspects of schooling students receive. As a result, principals' governance activity is caught between local school environmental pressures and national environmental pressures, where principals respond to (1) pressures at the system level for legitimacy and (2) pressures at the local level for accommodation (Wiseman 2005).

6 Conclusion

Even though there is a large base of literature that has examined and variously explained how school governance changes or adjusts in response to local school community contexts, school governance has rarely been comparatively or cross-nationally examined with regard to the nation-level organizational environments of schools. In particular, there has been no attempt to determine whether there is a cross-nationally institutionalized model for school principals' governance activity such as there has been to determine how school organizational structure and curricula are institutionalized in the modern and postmodern areas (Benavot et al. 1991) or that teachers follow institutionalized norms for behavior and activity that do not necessarily correspond to cultural or regional traditions (LeTendre et al. 2001). In other words, both Benavot et al. (1991) and LeTendre et al. (2001) find evidence that there are norms for school curriculum and classroom instruction that transcend local or regional idiosyncrasies and are relatively standard in many otherwise dissimilar national educational systems.

In this age of globalization, this argument that certain elements of mass public schooling have become institutionalized across most school organizations suggests that in the broadest sense schools are generally large scale and organizationally complex due to high enrollment rates, long periods of formal schooling, and increased access and opportunity for a wider swath of potential students. These institutionalized elements of schooling also suggest that schools are generally public, professionally staffed, and officially undifferentiated within systems. Given these similarities in schools' organizational characteristics, curricula, and structures across national educational systems, is there also an institutionalized model for school governance that crosses national boundaries and transcends unique elements of schools' environments? That research is yet to be done.

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Globalization and Education Reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore

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1 Education Reforms: Introduction

The first decade of the twenty-first century marked the high time of education reforms in both Hong Kong and Singapore, the two prominent global financial cities in the Asia-Pacific region. A sea of education reform policies and initiatives, ranging from the restructuring of the academic and public examination systems at the macro level to the improvement of classroom pedagogies at the micro level, had been put forward with a popular notion of coping with changes and challenges arising from the global knowledge-based economy. The process of education reforms in both city-states, which are endowed with no natural resources but manpower as the sole source fuelling economic growth and social development, keeps moving on and seems to be endless with an abundant supply of public expenditures for the sake of social investments. Education cannot get rid of public scrutiny for it is constantly treated as a vital instrument to ensure both British colonies-turned global cities high-quality professionals and a skilled labour force to deal with rapid changes in the world economy. Moreover, there are widespread concerns over the practical and market values of education in both city-states where pragmatism and neoliberalism prevail.

Synthesizing the contexts and contents of education reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore, this chapter examines and compares how these two city-states' education systems have been reformed over the first decade of the twenty-first century. It argues that the strength of state power is critical to determine whether the education reforms can be implemented effectively. The more trustful the government is,

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the more effective the education reforms are. The trustworthiness of the government is closely related to whether it is endowed with strong political legitimacy, which is also attributed to strong state power. State power, political legitimacy and governance effectiveness, which are interrelated with each other, are highly critical in affecting how education reforms are approached, how far they are supported by stakeholders, including educational practitioners, and the general public in society and in turn the overall effectiveness of education reforms.

This chapter has four sections. In the first place, the politico-socioeconomic contexts facing Hong Kong and Singapore in carrying out the education reforms from the end of the 1990s are reviewed. Then it turns to examine both policy principles and major education reform initiatives in the two city-states. This is followed by a comparison to be presented in the penultimate section, in which the reasons accounting for similarities and differences found in the two city-states' education reforms are discussed. The final section concludes the discussion.

2 Contexts

Hong Kong and Singapore are heading for the so-called next society, in which knowledge is its key resource and knowledge workers are the most productive and influential group in its workforce. In the "next society", knowledge is considered a means of production which is essential for everyone to get the job and also enables people who receive education to achieve upward social mobility. The idea of "next society" is echoed by the notion of "knowledge society" which denotes the dominance of information technology knowledge and the ever-growing importance of competition for talents and resources for both survival and sustainable development in the age of globalization. In a world filled with unprecedented rapid changes, knowledge becomes obsolete rapidly and knowledge workers and technologists have to receive education and training from time to time (Drucker 2001, 2002). Education, therefore, has an important role to play in the development of the knowledge-based economy.

Education reforms are inevitably affected by globalization, which stands for a shift in the relationship between the state and education concomitant with the rise of competitive state in which the economic dimensions of the state's activities are prioritized (Cerny 1990; Marginson and Rhodes 2002). There is a shift in the focus of public policies from maximizing welfare to promoting enterprise, innovation and profitability in private and public spheres. As a consequence, the provision of education along other public services has become more market liked in line with the principles of choice and competition. The governance of education concerns what is to be decentralized and to whom in the three areas of finance, provision and regulation (Dale 1999, 2000). According to Robertson and Dale (2000), with the rise of competitive state, four major changes in education policies are observable. First of all, school organizations and educational professionals have to ensure managerial efficiency in line with the logic of financial and public accountability. Second, educational outcomes are subject to external scrutiny and audits which are carried

out in the name of quality assurance and performance evaluation. Third, the education market is created to promote efficiency, competitiveness and responsiveness to consumer demands. Finally, schools are granted not only greater autonomy but also more responsibility to meet consumer needs and social expectations in educational outcomes and value for money (Whitty et al. 2000).

These changes in education policies can be derived as a natural consequence of the rise of managerialism, which points to the import of business models and tighter systems of accountability into education for it is more akin to the rhetoric of rational choice, efficient organization and entrepreneurial management (Apple 2001). More emphasis is placed on the roles performed by leaders and managers who should be charismatic, proactive, innovative and well prepared to go for school-based management within the more tightly defined quality parameters (Bottery 2000).

It is noteworthy that in the age of globalization, the state needs to maintain its legitimacy to rule by creating conditions for socioeconomic development. An effective education system should be built on the basis of a well-organized and efficient public administration system which is capable of stimulating sustainable economic growth. Both strategies of decentralization and marketization are widely believed to make education institutions more accountable to different stakeholders, including consumers, employers, students and parents. In financial terms, public money, which should be spent wisely, needs to be increased to provide more opportunities for citizens to be educated and, more importantly, to enhance the quality of education which should not be overwhelmed by such goals as cost-effectiveness and managerial efficiency (Carnoy 1999, 2000; Daun 2002; Hallak 2000; Zajda 2014).

What has been discussed in the previous paragraphs points to the converging policy environment that affects the development of the education systems of Hong Kong and Singapore within the context of globalization. One of the most significant changes in educational governance refers to the decentralization of policy implementation concomitant with the centralization of policy control. This means that there is a need for a greater surveillance of individual units at the periphery, which is often carried out in the name of quality assurance and control, in order to ensure the effectiveness of policy control at the core. While there are global trends leading to marketization, privatization and centralized decentralization confronting the educational policy formulation and implementation (Lee and Gopinathan 2003), the state remains a key and powerful player in the education sector as what can be observed in both Hong Kong and Singapore even though they are one of the freest economies around the world. The shift of paradigms and logics of educational development under these global trends does not deny the fact that education policies are still very much influenced by factors which are local or national in character (Gopinathan 2001).

3 Policies

By the 1970s, both Hong Kong and Singapore had achieved the status of universal education at the primary and secondary levels in face of the ever-growing demands of education amidst rapid economic growth as a consequence of industrialization

which was a common features shared among the emerging East Asian economies, including also Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. The adoption of an expansionary policy on education corresponds to the ever-growing demands from the industrial and commercial sectors for well-educated professionals and skilled labours for these emerging East Asian economies, including Hong Kong and Singapore, have been undergoing a transition from being industrial societies to high value-added and service-oriented financial and economic hubs in both regional and global marketplaces.

In Hong Kong and Singapore, where human capitals are the only resources available for engineering socioeconomic development, education performs its core function to enhance both economies' competitiveness and competitive advantages and achieve the position and status of being the trading and financial hubs in the Asia-Pacific region. With a strong belief in market-capitalist economic system, both Hong Kong and Singapore, which have long been positioned as open market economies, are profoundly influenced by global market forces and therefore naturally more conscious about the importance of improving both quality and productivity of human resources. The educational expansionary and restructuring policies in Hong Kong and Singapore have been formulated and implemented in response to the rapid and large-scale industrialization process being carried out since the early 1960s (Gopinathan 1974; Luk 2000).

Apart from serving economic interests, education has also its sociopolitical functions as widely expected by the government and society at large. This has long been the case for Singapore, where education has an additional role to play in socializing students into citizenship obligations and cultivating a national identity towards the newly independent multiracial and multicultural nation-state. While some progress has been made and there is a stronger sense of national identity in Singapore, this task continues to be difficult due to several factors. One has to do with Singapore's size and vulnerability in an unstable neighbourhood, with neighbours envious of its economic success. Another has to do with the government's insistence that ethnic "fault lines" have to be acknowledged for what they are and space provided for the sustenance and celebration of ethnic distinctiveness. An insistence on meritocracy as a core principle of governance has served, at least in the short term, to sustain the substantial differences in educational and occupational achievement between the majority Chinese and minority Malay and Indian communities. Finally, a competitive school environment, which has been reflected until recently by the imposition of school ranking and banding mechanisms (Heng 2012), places a premium on individual excellence both at the individual and institutional levels.

Common principles guiding the making of education policies and reforms can be observed in Hong Kong and Singapore. For both city-states, education is not only for improving their own economic competitiveness through the upgrading of human resources constantly with new knowledge and innovations; education policies are made to ensure that public resources spent in the sector can be utilized more rationally in line with the growing social expectations for financial accountability. Another importance issue to be handled by education policymakers in Hong Kong and Singapore is to maintain close linkages between education and full employment

for the importance of high employability among school-leavers and university graduates amidst the massive expansion of education in both societies. In addition, being perceived as a key for bringing about upward social mobility, education policies are supposed to be formulated and implemented in accordance with the fundamental principle of equal educational opportunities which enable individuals to climb up the social ladders not because of their families' socioeconomic backgrounds but their own academic performance and merits regardless of their races, religions and family's socioeconomic positions. In this sense, education is a means to achieve social justice.

Based on these guiding principles of education policymaking and reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore, three major policy and reform initiatives deserve more in-depth discussion. Firstly, there is the transition from quantitative expansion to qualitative consolidation. Secondly, the trend of centralized decentralization of the governance and management of educational institutions is observable. Thirdly, the developments of both education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore have been profoundly influenced by comprehensive education reforms with special reference to diversification, curriculum reforms and internationalization, being carried out in response to the challenges arising from globalization and both city-states' strong desire to become regional education hubs with .

3.1 Shift from Quantitative Expansion to Qualitative Consolidation

The policy of universal primary and secondary education has been implemented in Hong Kong and Singapore since the 1970s, when both city-states were undergoing the labour-intensive and export-oriented industrialization process when required a large pool of educated and trained workforce. The transition from elite to mass and then universal education system inevitably brought about a sharp increase in public spending and human resources to meet the ever-growing demands and expectations for education services, in both terms of quantity and quality, in society. The policy of quantitative expansion is not confined only to the primary and secondary education sectors but also the post-secondary and university education sectors which have taken a relatively longer period for the goals of massification to be accomplished in Hong Kong and Singapore.

In Hong Kong, following the implementation of the 9-year compulsory primary and junior secondary education policy in 1978, the government invited the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to form a panel to review the structure and development of the education system. One of the most important recommendations made by the panel was to set up an advisory body for education policy, which became Education Commission (EC) since 1984 (Hong Kong Government 1982, para. II-27). During the period of 1984–1997, the EC published a total of seven reports with a wide coverage of education policy areas, including

language teaching and learning, teacher quality, private sector school improvements, curriculum development, teaching and learning conditions, special education, tertiary education and quality education (Cheng 2000). It is noteworthy that the seventh report, which was released in 1997, focused on the notion of “quality school education” with a vision to improve the quality of education mainly through a management-based approach. The *Education Commission Report No. 7* marked the end of the stage of quantitative expansion which was overtaken by that of qualitative consolidation which has been focused on the inculcation of quality culture and the institutionalization of quality assurance and evaluation mechanisms, such as Quality Assurance Inspections and external reviews, in the schooling system which have been widely expected to be run in a more efficient, cost-effective and accountable manner (Education Commission 1997).

The emphasis on quality education is not confined to the school education sector but also the university sector, which underwent an unprecedented rapid expansion in the early 1990s. The goal of raising the participation rate of university education from a mere 8 % at the end of the 1980s to 18 % was achieved within 5 years (University Grants Committee 1996). The University Grants Committee (UGC), which was formed by the government to oversee the publicly funded universities’ funding mechanisms in 1965, turned its attention to matters related to quality control and assurance. A series of quality review exercises on research, teaching and learning processes and also institutional management have been conducted since the early 1990s. The performance-linked funding system in research was introduced with the launch of the Research Assessment Exercise in 1993 to improve the quality and outputs of research among the universities funded by the UGC (University Grants Committee 2002). As a consequence, research output is widely adopted as a crucial indicator to affect the making personnel decisions on academics including appointment, promotion, substantiation and even extension of services beyond the retirement age. The academic profession in Hong Kong, as similar as other parts of the world, cannot escape from the unavoidable reality of the so-called public or perish phenomenon with much stronger emphasis placed on research outputs and publications than on teaching quality and outcomes (Cheng 2002; Currie 1998).

Since gaining independence in 1965, the Singapore government has worked to ensure children with equal opportunities to receive education at the primary and secondary levels. The universalization of education came along with the nascent nation-state’s economic strategy of export-led labour-intensive industrialization, which required a large number of labours who were taught with practical language and arithmetic skills and well trained to improve the overall economic productivity for wooing more foreign investments. The massive expansion of the schooling system aroused the government’s concerns over whether its cost-effectiveness and efficiency were maximized in face of the rising attrition rates especially among the Malay students during the 1970s (Goh 1979). In this context, the first wave of education reforms came into existence with the publication of the education reform report in 1979 when the Ministry of Education declared its aim to solve the problem of resource wastage in the education sector. A number of problems were addressed in the report, including students’ failure to achieve the expected academic standards,

premature school leaving, repetition of grades and unemployable school-leavers. The problems of low literacy and the ineffective policy of bilingualism in the schooling system were also pinpointed as urgent issues to be tackled with the introduction of an ability-based streaming mechanism at the end of the primary three level together with an ability-differentiated curriculum and also the extension of the length of schooling for students who were academically weak (Gopinathan 2001).

In the mid-1980s, when Singapore suffered from its very first economic depression since its independence in 1965, the government responded by forming an economic review committee to carry out a thorough review of the Singapore economy to identify its weaknesses and to find out solutions to bring about economic recovery in the long run (Economic Review Committee 1986). In 1986, the review committee published its report entitled *The Singapore Economy: New Directions*, in which it was recommended that, in order to enhance Singapore's competitiveness advantage, the overall educational level of the labour force to be upgraded to secondary education level and, more importantly, more opportunities should be made available to the local population to receive polytechnic and university education. The quantitative expansion of tertiary education was aimed at coping with the needs of future manpower development to stimulate the development of more creative and flexible skills through broad-based education as well as continuous training and retraining programmes (Economic Review Committee 1986). While the process of quantitative expansion has been a major concern for the Singapore government, there has been much more attention paid on the capability of educational institutions, including schools, polytechnics and universities, to improve the quality of education.

For school education, the practice of school ranking and banding was introduced in the early 1990s, on the one hand, to enable the general public to get more information about individual schools' performance in academic-related and nonacademic areas. On the other hand, these ranking and banding exercises, which were terminated in 2012 (Heng 2012), had widely been considered as a means for the government to bring in competition among secondary schools to boost their quality as measured and compared through a series of performance indicators like students' performance in the public examinations. In the early 2000s, the School Excellence Model was also launched to motivate schools to improve management effectiveness and efficiency. Moreover, schools have been considered for the scheme of Singapore Quality Class awards for those who have outstanding achievements in providing quality education and ensuring effective and efficiency school management (Ng 2008).

As for university education, quality assurance is perceived as a means to ensure that universities are managed and run effectively in response to the external pressure for accountability and efficiency. Business management concepts and practices have been transplanted in the university sector which has recently been overwhelmed by the ever-growing importance of quality audit for the sake of improving the quality of teaching and research and ensuring more rational distribution of resources in accordance with the performance of individual institutions (Gopinathan and Morriss 1997). In response, universities have been very much keen to recruit

talented local and foreign academics with the imposition of a more stringent tenure policy, the offering of incentives and recognition for outstanding teaching and research performance and also the provision of well-equipped teaching and research facilities in addition to staff training and development programmes to upgrade academics' skills and performance (Selvaratnam 1994).

Both National University of Singapore (NUS) and Nanyang Technological University (NTU) developed their appraisal systems focusing on the areas like governance, teaching, research and community services. Moreover, the Ministry of Education also formulated a Quality Assurance Framework for Universities (QAFU), which is consisted of both institutional self-assessment and external reviews and validation. These QAFU mechanisms are aimed at ensuring proper accountability for the use of public funding and making universities to run more flexibly, responsively and resourcefully (Ministry of Education 2000a). The quality assurance frameworks for the two state-financed autonomous universities, NUS and NTU, were modeled from the practices adopted by other public service institutions under the policy of Public Service 21 Movement for reforming the public service sector since the mid-1990s. With the strong emphasis on the spirit of entrepreneurship in the public and private sectors, the two universities, together with the other two autonomous universities, Singapore Management University (SMU) and Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD) which were founded in 2000 and 2012, respectively, have to look into different business models to revamp their institutional management. The government's strong intention to develop Singapore as a regional education hub with the presence of a few world-class universities makes it necessary for those universities to provide quality education with a high degree of financial rationality and accountability even though, unlike most developed countries, there is not any financial or resource problem facing the education sector in Singapore (Gopinathan 2001).

3.2 Crossroads Between Centralization and Decentralization

Another major direction of the education reform is concerned about the simultaneous tendencies of centralization and decentralization for educational governance and management. It is under the concept of "centralized decentralization" which has affected how education institutions should be run in line with the guiding principle of "autonomy for accountability" (e.g. Ministry of Education 2000b). The concept addresses not only the trend of decentralizing decision-making and managerial power from the state to individual education institutions, which are under the auspices of the state or financed by the public funding, but also the trend of centralizing the means of external scrutiny through the institutionalization of quality assurance mechanisms for the sake of maximizing accountability. In the schooling system, the trend of decentralization can be reflected from the school-based management policy which denotes school-based, bottom-up approach of making changes and leading

developments for enhanced effectiveness, quality and relevance of schools. In the meantime, schools are expected to be more responsive to external needs and more efficient and effective in delivering favourable educational outcomes with the limited amount of public money being allocated.

In 1991, the Hong Kong government launched the School Management Initiative (SMI) to provide a new management framework for public schools to embrace critical elements for improving managerial efficiency and effectiveness such as decentralization, autonomy, participation, flexibility and accountability (Cheng 2000). The SMI policy symbolizes a departure from the traditional management practice which denotes the hindrance of a central bureaucracy to the effective use of resources, the development of appropriate school cultures and the pursuit of education quality. Moreover, the policy addresses a fundamental shift from an external control management model to a school-based management model (Cheng and Chan 2000). In 2000, the School-Based Management (SBM) framework was subsequently put forward by the government with two core objectives to build up the managerial capacity and capability of individual schools and to boost the effectiveness of teaching and learning (Advisory Committee on School-Based Management 2000). Instead of being fully free from the influence of government's policies, individual schools under the SBM framework are accountable for their performance which is subject to the scrutiny of external quality reviews.

Apart from the SBM policy framework, the Hong Kong government has also promoted the development of the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) schools which are able to enjoy more autonomy in finance, curriculum, tuition fees and staff recruitment even though they are entitled government subsidies based on the number of enrolled students, who need to pay tuition fees ranging between few 100 and several 1,000 Hong Kong dollars (Education Department 2001; Tan 1993a). Provided much more freedom and autonomy in school management being immune from the unnecessary interference from changes in education policies and reforms, a number of top schools, most of which are English medium and run by churches and missionaries, converted from being grant or aided schools to DSS schools during the 2000s, when more discretionary powers on budgetary, personnel, curriculum and admission matters would be granted to those schools (Tsang 2002).

On the other hand, the Singapore government has similarly focused more on the decentralization policy direction in order to prevent schools, including top schools, from losing their individuality and character in a highly centralized system of education in recent years. Since the mid-1980s, the government has embarked on a series of educational decentralization policies by empowering schools to have a greater extent of autonomy in areas such as staff appointment, resource allocation and curriculum and pedagogical designs (Tan 1997). In 1987, the government published *Towards Excellence in Schools*, in which the independent school policy was formulated. Each independent schools is managed by a board of governors which is held responsible to make decisions on matters related to the appointment of school management, staff deployment and salaries, tuition fees, admission criteria, teacher-pupil ratio and curriculum design (Ministry of Education 1987). Only well-established

schools, which are equipped with capable principals, experienced teachers, strong alumni and responsible boards of governors, are qualified to be chosen by the government to become independent schools. The independent schools are supposed to serve as a role model for other schools to pursue their continuous improvement in both academic and management aspects in Singapore (Ministry of Education 2003a; Tan 1993b, 1996, 1997). Beside independent schools, there are autonomous schools, which have come into being since 1994. There are three main criteria for being selected by the government as autonomous schools. Firstly, the school should have a good system in place to achieve the desired outcomes of education. Secondly, the school should have achieved consistently good academic and other results. Finally, the school should be well established and receives parental support as well as public recognition (Ministry of Education 2003b; see also Tan 1996).

Meanwhile, the Singapore government has been eager to cultivate an ethos of competition among schools, which have to be held responsible for their performance and more accountable to the government and stakeholders. Since the early 1990s, up to the year 2011, there had been ranking exercises for secondary schools and junior colleges not only to allow parents, students and stakeholders have access to information about how individual schools performed for them to make choices but also to ensure schools could be motivated to take initiatives as deemed necessary to improve their education quality as revealed mainly from their students' performance in public examinations and some nonacademic aspects such as students' physical fitness and also their participation in community services. As a consequence, it is not uncommon to see that school principals had been very keen to engage in various marketing activities, such as recruitment talks, the production of promotional brochures and videos and the courting of the press to highlight school achievements, all of which were conducted with reference to their favourable results in the school ranking exercises which had been released by the government and also published in the press (Tan 2002). It was not until 2012 when the government determined to discontinue the school ranking practice in order to make schools concern more on how to improve the teaching and learning processes rather than on how to boost their ranking positions and prestige by focusing on how to make students perform well academically in the public examinations (Heng 2012).

3.3 Reviews and Reforms for Renewing Education System

Comprehensive reviews and reforms of education had been a common feature in Hong Kong and Singapore over the first decade of the twenty-first century. The reviews of both education systems have covered a wide range of areas including the aims of education, curriculum development, school admission mechanisms and examination system. Largely influenced by an irresistible global wave of education reforms, the systemic reviews carried out in Hong Kong and Singapore did result in unprecedented changes and shock waves facing education practitioners. While reforms are considered necessary to bring about self-renewal of the education

systems, it is not unquestionably welcomed by school managers, teachers, students, parents and other stakeholders who were concerned about disruptions induced by especially radical reform initiatives over the continuity of the existing education system. The strength of the state power and political legitimacy, in fact, affects how the education reforms to be implemented and how far the reforms are well received by stakeholders in the society.

Since Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) in the People's Republic of China on 1 July 1997 when it marked the end of the 155-year British colonial rule, there has been overwhelmingly widespread concerns over how major social and public policy areas such as housing, health care, social welfare, environmental protection and education should be reformed in order to cope with the ever-increasing demands and rising social expectations on the improvement of people's livelihoods under the "One Country, Two Systems" formula by which Hong Kong people are entitled a high degree of autonomy in governing themselves without much interference from the Chinese government. For not being popularly voted by the people, the political legitimacy and popular support would only be drawn from securing sustainable economic growth and prosperity as well as enabling better living standards and quality.

This sociopolitical context, in addition to changes and challenges arising from globalization and knowledge-based economy, provided a strong rationale for reforming the education system in Hong Kong. In 2000, the education reform proposal *Learning for Life, Learning through Life* was formulated by the Education Commission which advises the government in making education policies. The reform was aimed at constructing a lifelong learning society, improving education quality and learning outcomes and making way for more diversity in the schooling system. These goals are very similar to those in Singapore. Five major reform initiatives were proposed. Firstly, primary and secondary schools with the same educational ideologies are encouraged to link together as "through-train schools" in order to maintain consistency in curriculum, teaching and personal development of students. Secondly, a diversified system of senior secondary and tertiary education would be developed to provide more opportunities for students to pursue postsecondary education. Thirdly, the school curriculum would be reformed to make it more inductive for students to learn how to learn. Fourthly, quantitative assessments would be taken over by analytical assessments in order to encourage students to develop their creative and independent thinking skills and produce a more comprehensive picture of students' needs and performance in their schools. Finally, the banding system of secondary schools would eventually be phased out to minimize the labeling effect on students with different academic abilities. Continuous assessments would also be introduced to the public examination which would be revamped with the adoption of the 6-6-4 (6-year primary, 6-year secondary and 4-year undergraduate education) academic system, which has been implemented since 2012 (Education Commission 2000; Education and Manpower Bureau 2005).

In Singapore, the government has put a strong emphasis on fostering greater creativity and innovativeness among students with the launch of "Thinking Schools, Learning Nation" (TSLN) policy since 1997. The main objectives of TSLN are

twofold: to develop students into active learners with critical thinking skills and to cultivate a creative and critical thinking culture in schools. Major reform strategies included the promotion of teaching critical and creative thinking skills, the reduction of subject contents, the revision of assessment modes and also a greater emphasis on processes rather than on outcomes when appraising schools (Goh 1997; Gopinathan 2001; Mok et al. 2000). Complementary to the TSLN policy, the use of information technology in teaching and learning of up to 30 % of all subjects' contents was to be achieved in 2002 (Ministry of Education 1997). In addition, the school curriculum was reviewed with a reduction of up to 30 % of the curriculum content for students should be encouraged to engage in project works which aim to enable students to master creative and independent thinking techniques throughout the teaching and learning processes. In this sense, there has been a paradigm shift from emphasizing the mastery of curriculum contents towards the acquisition of thinking and learning skills for the sake of lifelong learning (Gopinathan and Ho 2000).

It is also noteworthy that the decentralization of decision-making power from the central government administration to individual school management has been strengthened with the implementation of the School Excellence Model (SEM) from 2000 onwards. The SEM aims to identify and measure schools' strengths and areas of improvement. It allows benchmarking against similar schools and stimulating activities that can improve the quality of schools and the schooling system (Ministry of Education 2000c). Moreover, SEM is aligned with the Masterplan of Awards for schools, which comprises three levels of awards, namely, the Achievement Award at the bottom level, the Best Practices Award and the Sustained Achievement Award at the middle level and the School Excellence Award at the top level. Schools, like other industrial and commercial corporations, can apply for the Singapore Quality Award (SQA) from the Singapore Productivity and Standards Board (Ng 2003). The SEM framework requires schools to assess the design, delivery and output of education, the perspectives of processes and results and how the school leadership leads people and manage systems to produce the desired outcomes (Ministry of Education 2000d, e). Schools which have been awarded SQA, including Raffles Institution, Anglo-Chinese (Independent), Dunman Secondary School, River Valley High School and Xinmin Secondary School, are coincidentally top independent and autonomous schools since 2001. In order to be qualified for SQA, these schools were assessed on leadership quality, resource management and staff planning (*The Straits Times*, 23 July 2001).

The case of Singapore reveals the change from centralization to decentralization with the growing tide of marketization which is revealed from a strong emphasis on competition and performance indicators which facilitate government to change its mode of regulation from direct control to "steering from a distance". The market has been manipulated by the state to make education practitioners taking up their responsibility in educational governance in line with the principle of autonomy in exchange for accountability. In addition, the Singapore government carried out a review of junior college and upper secondary education in 2002, when *Report of the Junior College/Upper Secondary Education Review Committee* was released. It was recommended that a broader and more flexible junior college curriculum and a more

diverse junior college and upper secondary education system would be put in place. The reformed junior college curriculum is aimed at cultivating students with conceptual thinking and communication skills. As a consequence, an Integrated Programme was introduced in some top secondary schools and junior colleges to provide a seamless secondary and junior college education which allows students to take 6 years straight for the GCE A-Level Examination or other alternative qualifications like the International Baccalaureate without taking part in the GCE O-Level Examination (Ministry of Education 2002; Shanmugaratnam 2003).

Similar reviews on primary and secondary education with more emphasis placed on curriculum development and pedagogical advancement were also carried out by the end of the 2000s as a part of the comprehensive education reform in Singapore (Ministry of Education 2009, 2010). These are followed by the introduction of a Civic and Character Education programme in primary and secondary schools from 2013 as a means to inculcate positive values on personal development, civic responsibility and national identity among students in face of the ever-growing challenges arising from cultural globalization and westernization.

4 Discussion

The previous section has examined the core principles and major policy initiatives of education reform in Hong Kong and Singapore. This section turns to compare similar trends facing both education systems in the reform process and also figure out the reasons for different reform outcomes in Hong Kong and Singapore. It is argued that the state power and its political legitimacy, among other factors, is a crucial factor determining whether the education reform can be implemented effectively and efficiently without facing much resistance and opposition in society.

The first common point found in both education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore is the strong influence of business principles and practices in the management of educational institutions, ranging from schools to universities. These institutions, to a certain extent, are more likely to be perceived as similar as corporate enterprises in recent years. With the implementation of the SBM and SEM policies in Hong Kong and Singapore, respectively, it has become a norm for schools to develop mission statements, strategic plans, financial budgets and quality assurance mechanisms which are subject to external scrutiny by government and other stakeholders. In fact, both Hong Kong and Singapore governments, which have been deeply influenced by the ethos of new public management, are eager to improve the quality of education and, more importantly, maximize the “value for money” in tandem with the improvement of managerial effectiveness.

Such a management-oriented approach has been praised by both governments to make schools excellent organizations as similar as those in the business sector. The Singapore government admitted that the line between the ways schools and business organizations are run being has become blurred. School principals should behave more like chief executive officers. Quality assurance and performance assessments

are nowadays norms for schools to make themselves into good organizations with strong leadership (*The Straits Times*, 23 July 2001). Likewise, universities are not immune from the influence of the notion of managerial effectiveness from a business-oriented perspective for they have been placed under the external scrutiny in areas like strategic plans, resource allocation and management system. Moreover, the languages of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial spirit prevail in the university sector with initiatives to improve universities' academic standards and international rankings.

Another commonality concerns the profound impact of market forces on the development of education reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore. In order to grasp enough support from stakeholders, especially parents and students, marketing activities have become more common among schools. It is not surprising that schools have become more eager to compare their academic and even nonacademic performance to boost their popularity in the community. Interschool competitions resulted from the practice of school ranking exercises as is the case in Singapore from the early 1990s until the government decided not to publicize the school ranks in the press in 2012. It is believed that such competitions among schools would provide more choices for stakeholders and also give rise to greater accountability among schools whose performance has been more closely scrutinized by the public in society.

Critics against the ranking practice are concerned about its negative impacts on stratifying or polarizing between elite and non-elite schools. Due to different historical backgrounds and resource entitlements, the competition between elite and non-elite schools normally does not take place on a level-playing field. The gap between top elite and non-prestigious has been widened in terms of student enrolments, autonomy and flexibility in financial and personnel matters and also academic and nonacademic achievements (Tan 1998). For universities, the so-called name and shame syndrome, which accompanies various international league tables, has become much more obvious in recent years. They are increasingly exposed to the influence of market forces and are therefore more proactive to respond to external pressures for achieving better performance, which is quantifiable, measurable and comparable, with more efficient and effective institutional management in order to survive in the highly competitive global marketplace of higher education. Therefore, the notion of world-class universities has become a catchphrase for the university systems in Hong Kong and Singapore with both city-states' ambition to become regional education hubs in the Asia-Pacific region in the twenty-first century.

The final similarity denotes the tendency of diversification in both education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore. Although both education systems are not troubled with financial cutbacks as a result of the two governments' promise to increase education investment in the long run, there have been more policy measures to encourage a greater role played by the nongovernment or private sector in education. By doing so, it is to prevent the problem of being over-reliant on the government as the sole source of educational finance. The user-pay principle applies in Hong Kong's DSS schools, all of which used to be aided schools in the education system, for they are allowed to levy tuition fees on top of receiving government's subsidies which are

allocated according to the number of student enrolments. The DSS schools are also encouraged to engage in activities in favour of drawing social donations, and they constitute a more diversified education system in which parents and students are allowed more choices besides government and aided schools (Lee 2009). In Singapore, the creation of independent and autonomous schools, together with schools which run the Integrated Programme and specialized schools, does not only grant them more autonomy in curriculum, pedagogy and management but also facilitate the trend towards diversification to build up niche markets.

Furthermore, in response to the urge for building up regional education hubs in Hong Kong and Singapore, nonlocal education service providers have been drawn in as revealed from the setting up of their offshore campuses in both city-states like the UK-based Harrows International School and the US-based Savannah College of Arts and Design in Hong Kong and INSEAD and the University of Chicago Booth School of Business in Singapore. Apart from this, it has become more common for overseas education institutions to make their presence in Hong Kong and Singapore in the form of partnership with local institutions. The well-known examples in Singapore is the SMU-Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania as well as the SUTD-Massachusetts Institute of Technology-Zhejiang University partnerships, which are aimed at building brand-new state-financed autonomous universities on a solid basis of academic achievement and prestige derived from partnering with such world-class universities (Gopinathan and Lee 2011).

Concerning major differences between Hong Kong and Singapore, it is noticeable that there is much stronger resistance against major policy changes and reform measures in education. The policy of using mother tongue as the medium of instruction in secondary schools in 1998 resulted in widespread discontent among parents who, generally speaking, preferred to send their children to study in schools which used English as the language of teaching and learning even though the use of mother tongue was proved to be more beneficial for students to study more effectively. This change in the medium of instruction policy not only brought about harsh criticisms among stakeholders in society but also triggered off talks of conspiracy theory about the intention of the motherland, the Chinese mainland, to eliminate the remaining impacts of the British colonial rule and to speed up the process of assimilation and even “mainlandization” (Lo 2009) by advocating the dominance of Chinese language in the schooling system.

Another policy which aroused much controversy was the implementation of the language benchmarks for teachers who commonly got a feeling that the government did not recognize their professional standards and qualifications. As a consequence, although the policy was aimed at improving the quality of teaching profession, it turned out to be widely considered as a sign for the government to humiliate the teachers, and worse still, a mutual mistrust between the government and the profession was inevitably aroused (Law 2003). As seen from these cases, resistance to education reforms is not uncommon in Hong Kong partly because of the presence of more proactive civil society organizations like teachers’ unions, school sponsoring bodies and parents’ associations to voice out their worries and concerns over negative impacts of reforms on stakeholders in society.

On the contrary, in Singapore, less resistance can be found for not only because of the absence of a strong civil society but also, more importantly, the People's Action Party (PAP)-led government is able to get its mandate to govern the state through its ability to win parliamentary elections since 1965. Simply speaking, it is much easier for the elected government to garner popular support of its education policies and reforms. The government in Hong Kong is not elected through universal suffrage so that its political mandate to rule and govern has not been well established and also not surprisingly induces strong opposition to policies, including those on education, in society for a lack of mutual trust between the regime and its people.

Moreover, it is undeniable that the government enjoys a very strong political legitimacy for its track records in magnificent economic achievements and sociopolitical stability that there is a belief that policies made by the government which is highly trustworthy are generally found acceptable among its citizens (Khong 1995). Moreover, Singapore used to pay much more attention to proceed with long-term policy planning and research in order to enable more coherent refinements, adjustments and modification in education policies and reforms for coping with changing needs in society.

The expansion of higher education has been carried on more cautiously, but on a sustainable basis, to make it possible for more local students to earn degrees in local universities without sacrificing the quality and academic standards of higher education in Singapore. The setting of long-term policy goals allows the government and education institutions to make necessary changes step by step, but not at once, with a longer time span in favour of incremental changes rather than something too radical that is not well received by educational practitioners and stakeholders. Hong Kong lacks long-term policy planning and goals to guide the gradual and sustainable educational development.

In short, the education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore have been clearly affected by market forces and greater pressures for being more business oriented with a higher degree of diversification. Nevertheless, the two city-states' responses to these forces of change are not identical due to differences in their own sociopolitical contexts as discussed earlier. Perhaps both governments are prepared to take a more radical stand in economic rather than in sociopolitical restructuring. The changes pointing to corporatization, liberalization and intra- and inter-institutional competitions are common in both city-states as they are in many developed economies. While Singapore is as fond of the spirit of entrepreneurship as Hong Kong, the question is whether entrepreneurship can really thrive in Singapore's current paternalistic sociopolitical climate.

5 Conclusion

Some common patterns and trends of education reforms can be synthesized as Cheng and Townsend (2000) points out that the most important converging trends include the setting of aims and visions of education, the expansion and restructuring

of education systems, the pursuit of effective schools and quality education for greater public accountability, the dominance of market forces stimulating inter-institutional competitions for the sake of achieving excellence, the move towards more diversified education systems and the shift towards decentralizing management power with the import of business-oriented principles and practices.

Although the trends of education development converge under the profound influence of globalization, educational institutions, schools and universities alike, are embedded in their local sociopolitico-cultural contexts. If society is to be subject to carefully measured change, then it follows that schools as dependent institutions cannot leap ahead. Schools take their cues as much from sociopolitical as from economic trends. Educational change and reforms need support from teachers, parents and the wider community. However, the fact is that it is very difficult to change the entrenched mindsets. Resources are important for carrying out education reforms. Even when schools are well resourced, teachers have multiple responsibilities which leave them with little time to learn collegially how to teach differently, to build and share appropriate instructional resources and to engage in activities that would develop and sustain a culture of innovation. Commentators are envious about the level of resources available to the education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore. This is only one part of education. There are undoubtedly some schools that are good examples of effective change. However, system-wide change has yet to happen. On the one hand, the Hong Kong government hopes to strengthen its political legitimacy and mandate to govern the territory, especially at a time when the government is not popularly elected as the case in Singapore, and also carry out education reforms more effectively without much concern over how to cultivate the spirit of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, the Singapore government can enjoy much stronger political legitimacy and mandate, which enable much smoother implementation of education policies and reforms without much resistance and opposition from society, in a much stable policy context, but this may result in continuous complacency about government control over education and thus may hinder the accomplishment of innovation and creativity in schools and universities.

Education reforms are ultimately about “people”, who are the most important element for driving social and economic developments in the twenty-first century. The danger of dehumanizing education as a public service to citizens would be accelerated with an overemphasis on a management approach to reform in the education system. While the dominance of market forces in education is no long resistible, policymakers need to be alert to the many dangers of making education a commodity, as a means to an end, especially economic goals, which change from time to time.

Nevertheless, quality is now being interpreted as efficiency of resource allocation and utilization more than the quality of teaching and learning processes. Reforms are attempting to achieve good governance with a greater attention to market discipline and private sector management. Over-dependence on market forces and mechanisms to reform education would eventually undermine its role and function to enlighten citizens and to promote democratic and humanistic values in society. Also, for university education, perhaps it would be prudent for educators,

academics and policymakers to heed the text of the *World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century: Vision and Action* (UNESCO 1998a, b). Recognizing the need to strengthen higher education management and financial systems, which is illustrated in the reform experiences in Hong Kong and Singapore described above, the *World Declaration* stated that:

The management and financing of higher education require the *development of appropriate planning and policy-analysis capacities* and strategies, based on partnerships established between higher education institutions and the state and national planning and coordination bodies, so as to secure appropriately streamlined management and the cost-effective use of resources. Higher education institutions should adopt *forward-looking management practices* that respond to the needs of their environments. Managers in higher education must be responsive, competent and able to evaluate regularly, by internal and external mechanisms, the effectiveness of procedures and administrative rules... The ultimate goal of management should be to enhance the institutional mission by ensuring high-quality teaching, training and research, and services to the community. This objective requires *governance that combines social vision, including understanding of global issues, with efficient managerial skills...* (UNESCO 1998a, p. 10; emphasis original).

Although more emphasis has been placed on aspects of governance, management and finance in the university sector of most countries, the *World Declaration* affirmed that the core missions and visions of higher education should be preserved to educate responsible citizens for active participation in society, to advance, create and disseminate knowledge through research and to provide an open space for higher learning and for learning through life. What higher education institutions and universities need to do, in brief, is:

[t]o enhance their *prospective* function, through the ongoing analysis of emergent social, economic, cultural and political trends, acting as a beacon, able to foresee, anticipate and provide early warning, thereby playing a preventive role. For this, they should enjoy full *academic freedom* and preserve their *autonomy*, while being fully responsible and *accountable* towards society. (UNESCO 1998b, p. 1; emphasis original)

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Globalisation and Educational Policy Shifts

Val D. Rust and W. James Jacob

Globalisation involves the transformation of space and time, transcending state territories, state frontiers, and historical traditions. Whereas international relations embody the notion of transactions between nations, global relations imply that social, economic, political, and cultural activities disengage from territorial authority and jurisdictions and function according to more immediate imperatives of worldwide spheres of interest. Through globalisation the economy is dominated by market forces run by transnational corporations owing allegiance to no nation-state and located wherever global advantage dictates. Paralleling the development of multinational industry is a global electronic finance market that exchanges more than a trillion dollars a day (Bergsten 1988).

Globalising forces have a long history, but they accelerated in the 1980s following the economic worldwide liberalisations of the 1970s, the growing transportation systems, movements of people, and the emergence of a global communications network. Globalising processes do not involve all countries equally. Some are highly involved, while others are not, and some aspects in one and the same country are highly globalised, while others are not (McGrew 1992; Waters 1995; Hirst and Thompson 1996a, b). Besides the economy, globalisation includes overlapping political and cultural processes such that economic issues often appear synonymous with political issues. Commentators claim a global political culture has emerged driven by what they call political neoliberalism, characterised by a kind of ‘buccaneer individualism’, ideological competitiveness, and a secular and materialistic market-oriented economy (Spragens 1995). Neoliberalism is an unfortunate label

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attached to globalisation processes, because it overshadows the long liberal tradition emphasising moral imperatives, social solidarity, and strong communitarian forces.

1 Globalisation and Politics

Interpreters of political globalisation typically focus on the surrender of sovereignty on the part of nation-states and the emergence of larger political units (European Union), multilateral treaties (NAFTA), and international organisations (UN, IMF) (Waters 1995). They see the rational consequence of these trends to be a system of global governance with the decline of state powers and authority (Held 1991). This scenario seems reasonable, but the actual political developments are not so clear.

While state autonomy is apparently in decline, as yet no global political unit is in place that regulates and coordinates cultural and economic life, although we shall see, in the case of the European Union, that its policies dictate many things that go on in the member states. However, a more subtle kind of political globalisation is taking place. Certain interpreters claim that the incipient common, global political culture takes different forms, depending on the orientation of the interpreter. For example, Francis Fukuyama (Fukuyama 1992) claims that the collapse of the former Soviet Union signals the triumph of global political liberalism. Certain educational specialists, who find strong evidence that education policies reinforce his view and norms, are becoming globally more and more uniform.

2 Globalisation and Education

Education plays a large role in the globalisation agenda. The contemporary educational reform debate has been taken over by so-called neoliberal groups that popularise a special language not found in conventional education discourse. This language is based on a free-enterprise economic metaphor. According to this metaphor, a productive society and system of education are based on individual interest, where people are able to 'exchange goods and services' in an 'open marketplace', to the mutual advantage of all (McLean 1989). In this marketplace, the government is constrained to narrowly defined functions, such as supervision, licensing, etc., which protect individual interests and enable them to make free choices. In other words, private initiative and enterprise are sources of efficiency and productivity, and any initiative on the part of the state to operate government-sponsored programmes is inimical to efficiency and productivity.

At the heart of this discourse is the call for parental choice among public and private schools, subjecting the schools to market forces, allowing schools to flourish if they satisfy consumer demands, while those which fail to conform to consumer demands wither and die (Guthrie 1994). The most radical of various proposals are education vouchers. The voucher was proposed by conservative economist, Milton

Freedman, when he suggested that money follow children rather than go directly to the local education agency. That is, parents should be allowed to use government resources to purchase educational services at a state-approved educational institution of their choice (Freedman 1962). Educational vouchers became a major education policy issue in a number of countries in Europe, including England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In developing countries, such as Chile in 1980, vouchers became a visible aspect of educational reform (McEwan and Carnoy 2000). And in the United States, which is so decentralised that no uniform national system is possible, vouchers have been implemented on an experimental basis in California, Wisconsin (1990), Ohio (1996), and Florida (1999) (AFT 2003).

Reforms more tempered than vouchers point to a radical decentralisation of school administration, giving individual schools much more autonomy and ensuring that parents play a direct role in determining local school policy. This politically conservative reform agenda calls for a curriculum emphasising science and technology but giving renewed attention to civic education, particularly as it relates to patriotism and national allegiance.

Although the free-market reform metaphor is surprisingly uniform throughout the world, the educational reform agenda, however, takes different forms depending on the country or region of the world and the educational tradition.

3 Western Europe

The recent educational reform agenda in Western Europe has been to reverse an educational reform tradition that has been at work since the inception of state schooling in the nineteenth century. Initial state schooling in Western Europe reflected the social class divisions that characterised European societies, and the school tended to perpetuate and reinforce these social class divisions. The reform agenda has come from those representing cultural integration interests who were typically liberal- or socialist-oriented interest groups such as trade unions, primary teacher organisations, and humanitarian groups, speaking in the name of the working classes. They attempted to break down the dualistic school system that had historically provided a separate schooling programme for the masses and the elites.

The major cultural integration symbol of educational reform in Western Europe was inevitably some form of comprehensive or unified school structure that would provide a common schooling experience for all. Prior to the end of World War II, the focus of school reformers in these countries was towards some form of common primary schooling. In most countries reform represented a struggle between competing interests in the political process, and any successes were hard won. While Norway and Sweden made provision for primary school integration around the turn of the last century, England, France, Denmark, and Germany would not adopt a common primary schooling plan until the 1930s and 1940s.

After World War II the focus of reform in Europe shifted to the secondary level. Sweden led the way when it adopted a universal basic common 9-year school as

early as 1949, and other countries such as Italy, Norway, and France followed it. Other Western European countries engaged in comprehensive school reforms with varying degrees of success. Western Germany, for example, never did get beyond the 'experimental stage' in its quest to democratise its secondary schools. In Great Britain the comprehensive school became the goal, largely because after World War II almost all factions of the political spectrum were committed to the welfare state, including extensive education for all in common schools.

Whereas the focus of the past reform tendencies has been towards cultural integration, the entire political agenda has begun to shift towards market-driven economic imperatives, and a clear political and social trend has emerged signalling a break from the dominant tendencies of the past century and a half. Certainly, economic interests were served in the past, but rarely to the exclusion of cultural integration interests. European governments are seeking effective policies for enhancing economic productivity through education and employing economic incentives to promote the productivity of schooling. The shift is reflected not only in political parties, but economic-oriented interest groups have been able to gain control of the educational discussion and have begun to formulate an economic-based policy that promises to rid the schools of their failure to address economic issues in the curriculum.

With the creation and opening of the European Union, the educational systems of the member states are tending to become more and more alike. The Council of Europe has been particularly energetic in developing a European dimension to education. The goal is not to abolish national differences in favour of a European identity, but to achieve unity in diversity. In primary and secondary education, language has been one of the most important issues. As there are 11 different official languages in the European Union, most European schools have decided to teach more languages and to begin teaching them as early as possible, usually in primary school. Moreover, since many European schools are decentralised, and some do not even have a central curriculum, language training is one of the ways to bring the European dimension into the curriculum. Such is the case in the Netherlands, where students are examined in the foreign language and culture. Language instruction must also be developed for participation in exchanges with schools of other countries, which will also contribute to creating a European identity. These exchanges are an important part of the efforts towards a European effort for education, and they occur at all levels, from primary school to higher education and teacher and vocational training. The European Union projects SOCRATES is useful in improving the quality of language training and school partnerships at the primary and secondary level through the LINGUA and COMENIUS programmes. These programmes facilitate exchanges of pupils and teachers and encourage the joint development of curriculum components.

At the higher education level, all national systems have grown massively in terms of student numbers, institutions, faculties, and courses. Unfortunately, until recently reforms have been few, limited in scope, and rarely applied. Fundamental changes are now beginning to occur. The most far-reaching university reform agenda is related to the so-called Bologna Declaration of 1999, signed by 29 European

countries, which aims to establish by 2010 a common framework of easily understood and comparable university degrees, having both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, that are relevant to the labour market, have compatible credit systems, and ensure a European dimension. Each country is working to establish such a system. In Italy, for example, the new higher education system has a first cycle lasting 3 years leading to an undergraduate degree, a second cycle lasting 2 years leading to a postgraduate degree, and a final 3-year programme leading to a doctorate. Within these general constraints, the universities are given great autonomy in terms of programmes and administration.

Another major innovation is the development of a European Course Transfer System (ECTS). It is embryonic and completely voluntary but suggests the development of a complicated process for determining equivalences of degrees and diplomas. Universities or academic/industrial consortia already offer a number of so-called Euro degrees, even though external recognition is virtually non-existent.

Student exchange has become a major policy issue. ERASMUS is an exchange project under SOCRATES, which allows university students to participate in exchanges in universities throughout the European Union and receive credit at their home university. The creation of the European Course Transfer System renders such an exchange possible for students who may not have the time or money to take courses that will not count towards their degree. This cooperation between universities of the European Union does not necessarily mean that they will become identical versions of each other, but it does suggest the need for transparency and the establishment of equivalencies based on trust that other universities are equal in quality to one's own. This trust must also be extended to a mutual recognition of diplomas at all levels of the education system. It is important to note that this puts pressure on all member countries to raise standards.

One of the difficulties that has arisen regarding exchanges is that they often must be reciprocal and people may be discouraged from taking part in an exchange in the countries with less widely spoken languages such as Dutch or Danish. While many people study English, French, or German and are likely to spend a year in a university where one of these languages is spoken, they may hesitate to study in a country where they are not proficient in the language. One solution offered at the university level is to teach some courses in a more widely spoken language. Such is the case at the University of Amsterdam where 25 % of the classes are taught in English in order to develop internationalisation in the Netherlands. Another solution at the primary and secondary levels is to create bilingual programmes, especially in the border regions of a country.

4 The United States

In the United States, the free-enterprise economic metaphor is also found in education. In fact, the whole school reform debate of the past two decades has been driven by that metaphor. A starting point of this reform is a report, entitled *A Nation at Risk*

(Gardner 1983), which outlined the major thrust of the contemporary educational reform movement. Simply stated, the report claimed the youth of today are not performing adequately in school and it then made an important connection between schooling and economics. It maintained that America was losing the battle in international economic competition and that the country would not become economically competitive until the youth of today became educationally competitive.

Out of that report came a number of studies and reports, all advocating some form of fundamental reform. These studies contributed to an educational reform movement that persists today. In fact, the movement has taken on its own peculiar name or label, known generally as 'The Excellence Movement in Education'. Significantly, this reform movement is quite different from any other educational reform movement that has occurred in the past century, and it takes on a number of peculiar characteristics. First, because it is a political movement, we find proposed solutions that politicians understand and demand. Politicians demand comparative data between schools, school districts, states, and even nations. They wish to be told if particular schools are good or bad, if one school district is better or worse than another school district, and if the children on one state are better educated than the children of another state. They have no patience with complex statistical data or extensive contextual information. Consequently, achievement tests are being mandated at all levels and in all contexts (Sheldon and Biddle 1988).

Second, there is a tendency towards centralisation of functions to the state level. Politicians are typically inclined to find solutions to problems by centralising regulations. This is certainly the case in terms of the contemporary school reform movement. In America there are approximately 15,000 local school districts. Traditionally, these school districts have been the seats of real power in education. They have decided the kinds of programmes they would have in the district and how the curriculum and teaching programmes would look. They have hired their own teachers and decided how much they would pay them. When Americans speak of school boards, they almost always are referring to the local board in the local school district, which is elected by the lay public. These school districts grew out of different local commitments to education (Doyle and Finn 1984).

Third, there is a countertendency towards local school control and autonomy. Even while many functions of education are being centralised to the state level, the local school is also taking on more and more responsibility. We have seen that the local school district has traditionally been the seat of authority of power, but the school district is quickly losing this authority, part of which is moving to the local school itself (O'Neil 1990; Ornstein 1989). For example, the local school is playing a growing role in school finance. That is, the funds coming from the central state are often bypassing the school district and are being channelled directly to the school itself. The school is taking on the responsibility of hiring its own teachers and deciding what the teachers shall earn. In most school districts, the local school now has its own school board or at least an advisory council, consisting of school staff and local lay people. In fact, schools are not allowed to participate in some funding options unless they agree to establish a local school council. The local school is defining what its programme shall be, at least within the limits allowed by the centralised state programmes.

Fourth, there is a growing tendency towards parental choice in education. In America, schools are traditionally neighbourhood schools. That is, children are expected to attend the school that exists in the neighbourhood where the child lives. In fact, in the past it has been very difficult for a child to obtain permission to attend a school outside its geographic area. This has been particularly important, for example, in sports, traditionally very important in American schooling. A young man who is a good athlete would not have been allowed to attend another school that might have had a particularly good team or a good coach, because school authorities maintained this would lead to 'empire building' and concentration of good athletes (Chubb and Moe 1990; Hirni 1996).

The contemporary reform movement in America is driven mainly by political conservatives who are concerned about morals and economics. Its leaders have little interest in social welfare issues such as racial or ethnic integration. They wish to create schools that prepare youth for a free-market economy. Significantly, they have also adopted a free-market model for schools, claiming that schools themselves must be subjected to a competitive format. This competitive format allows parents to make choices about where they may send their children to be schooled. The notion behind this is that competition will strengthen the quality of schools. Reformers maintain that when a school possesses a monopoly, it experiences no competition and so has no incentive to improve itself or make itself more attractive to the students. If schools are in competition with each other, then the good schools will attract pupils, and the poor schools will decline and eventually die.

This notion means, however, that the leaders of the movement today must destroy the idea of the neighbourhood school in order to give parents the opportunity to choose between schools. Instead, they maintain that parents are the best judges about which schools serve the needs of their children; parents know best what is necessary for their children to receive the best education.

There is no national policy that dictates the direction institutions of higher education are to go. According to some commentators, money has tended to overwhelm other issues as the academy has become increasingly commercialised. That is, the basic values of the university are becoming aligned with enterprise and entrepreneurship to the point that all other values appear to have fallen into the background and the basic academic principles of the universities are quickly disappearing. Sociologist Stanley Aronowitz (Aronowitz 2000), for instance, feels that in the past two decades, the universities have tended to respond so actively to commercial interests that political and market forces now claim sovereignty over higher education. Such an evaluation may be overstated, but it is clear that the university is becoming more and more commercialised. In fact, higher education itself appears to be treated more and more as a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder.

Derek Bok, the distinguished American scholar, likens the process of recent years to that of a drug addict. The problems with commercialisation require only slight compromises and modest adjustments in terms of basic ideals, and so campuses proceed as if there are no risks, but soon find that they are so caught in a web of habit and addiction that they are unable to disengage themselves from the lure of money and profit (Bok 2003).

Historically, American higher education has always been subject to a vast array of market forces, and these forces have helped shape one of the most powerful academic institutions in the world. American institutions have provided access to advanced education to untold numbers of people from the entire world. In this respect, commercialisation is not always to be seen as something negative; however, these influences were always tempered by a forceful sense that education was a public good, cultivated by the public, and those involved had internalised a commitment to return the rewards of their activity back to the public. According to Eric Gould, a balanced alliance between corporate America and social idealism and humanism has been one of higher education's strengths, but he feels that balance has now shifted so strongly towards corporatism that the alliance has been lost, and corporatism is increasingly dictating the nature and form of higher education (Gould 2003).

5 Former Soviet Union

We turn now to the former Soviet Union and its educational reform undertakings. In some countries of the former Soviet Union, the social integration reform agenda continues to take priority, but the growing reform agenda deviates radically from the reform trends that have been the agenda of liberal reformists for the past century and a half. The contemporary reform movement is in large part economics driven. Its leaders have little interest in social welfare issues such as social class or racial integration. They wish to create schools that prepare youth for a free-market economy. Significantly, they have also adopted a free-market model for schools, claiming that schools themselves must be subjected to a competitive format. This competitive format allows parents to make choices about where they may send their children to be schooled. The notion is that competition will strengthen the quality of schools and that when a school possesses a monopoly, it experiences no competition, so it has no incentive to improve itself or make itself more attractive to the students. If schools are in competition with each other, goes the argument, then the good schools will attract pupils, and the poor schools will decline and eventually die.

A brief account of reform at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union is in order. As the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union continued to fall into disarray, growing unrest was beginning to be felt. Some of this was predictable, such as in the Baltic republics, but in the summer of 1990, the Russian government declared its independence from the Soviet Union, and the Union quickly began to fragment and dissolve. It was the new Russian government, rather than the Soviet Union, which decided upon real educational reform. Educators soon joined Russian education officials in the Baltic Republics, who held attitudes similar to those of Russian educational officials. Soon thereafter, educators from other republics such as Georgia, Moldavia, White Russia, and Ukraine began to move in a similar direction (Rust 1992a, b).

The educational adjustments taking place throughout the region are significant, though somewhat varied, where most countries have begun moving from a command and distribution state paradigm to various versions of representative democracy, stressing self-realising participation in social life. In spite of this, there is a striking uniformity of educational changes taking place, all related in one way or another to a rejection of the communist ideology that has dominated education for the past four decades. In addition, there is uniformity even in the language of reform. A good deal of sharing has occurred in the various countries of the former Soviet bloc, as they have attempted to work out their individual reform agendas. It should also be clear that activities taking place in the Soviet Union, before it collapsed, contributed to a common reform language and agenda. The reform agenda for the Soviet Union had already been spelled out as early as 1988, in some respects, by a special Committee for Educational Innovation, known generally by the acronym of VNIK, which developed a basic reform policy focusing on 'democratising and humanising' the educational establishment and the educational process (Rust et al. 1994). These reform labels had been given a specific meaning by those at VNIK. To democratise education meant to provide choice and training in making decisions, including the ability to work collaboratively among professional educators. To humanise education carried a two-pronged meaning. First, it meant to connect the Soviet sphere once again with classical European humanism. Second, it meant to make the educational process more humane, to become more child centred (Rust 1992a, b).

It is important to point out what was missing from this reform agenda. VNIK engaged in its preliminary work before serious discussions took place regarding the possibility that the Soviet Union would move to a market economy or even adopt political pluralism. Consequently, educational reform rhetoric was not economics or politics driven. The focus was on the student, the learning child, who was to be self-determining and able to make choices. Of course, there was recognition that each human being is located in the social and economic sphere, and also the recognition that school reform, by its very nature, is a political process, but the concepts on which much of that reform has been based have been lodged in the rhetoric prior to the political and economic realities of today.

As countries and republics broke away from the Soviet Union, they carried these notions with them as they began to define their own educational reform agenda. Consequently, in spite of intriguing and important variations, there is a sense of common purpose in most reform activities taking place in the former Soviet bloc.

One of the principles of the current educational reforms is differentiation and pluralism. This is nowhere more evident than in Central Europe, where the trend is to make unity and equity the exception and multiplicity the dominating theme of reform (Panov 1994). On the basis of new and modified educational laws, it is clear that commitments are towards an extension and diversification of secondary schooling, as well as a stronger inner differentiation of specific educational institutions. In addition, individualised instruction claims a stronger place in schooling programmes (Schirokova 1992). In Russia, for example, after 1992 a multiplicity of state school types began to emerge. Many are private and take a variety of forms. At the secondary

level one finds *Gymnasien* (grades 5–11/12), *lycée* (grades 8–11/12), experimental schools focusing on modified instructional approaches, free-time programmes, social and psychological services, as well as many special schools focusing on specific fields of study. Although these institutions suggest a borrowing mentality from Western Europe, a good deal of discussion is found in the pedagogical literature concerning the strong Russian tradition of the *Gymnasien* which attempts to identify this type of schooling with the general cultural and national heritage of the Russian people (Kondratjeva 1994).

The aspect of the reforms taking place most directly related to economics is vocational training. In the period of socialism, there was a polytechnical orientation to schooling, which reflected attempts to relate schooling to the world of work, practice, and technology, but Central and Eastern European countries face the decline and disappearance of polytechnical education simply because it was part of the old system. Today, reformers stress that schools must serve the needs of an emerging market economy and politically pluralistic society (Rust et al. 1994). These reformers claim young people must learn to deal successfully with a performance-oriented educational programme that focuses on science-based learning, cognitive skills, and other subjects that will satisfy the needs of economic, technological, and political development. Vocational education, which was closely linked to communal farms, industries, and businesses, is struggling to survive the wholesale privatisation process taking place. Apprenticeship places are almost non-existent at the present time, and new incentive schemes are emerging to attract employers to participate in apprentice programmes.

The network of state universities and other higher education institutions has not changed much since independence, at least in qualitative terms, though a number of private institutions have come into existence, most of which are of questionable quality. Certain changes that have occurred in the public sector have been in name only. For example, the 'Humanities University' in Moscow is little more than a continuation of the old Historical Archives Institute, and the Technical University, also in Moscow, is a new name for the old Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School. In St. Petersburg a regional Higher Education Committee changed the name of 42 higher education institutions to universities. The most active changes in name came from former pedagogical institutions that were attempting to enhance their status and financial support by becoming pedagogical universities. In addition to declaring themselves universities, they also began to require higher tuition fees, offer new and often questionable programmes of study, and hire poorly prepared academic personnel (Kitaev 1994).

A further tendency of structural-institutional reform has occurred by way of hybridisation. The purpose of such hybridisation has been to create what Russians describe as additive or integrative educational complexes. For example, in the end phase of the *perestroika* period, a number of so-called research-educational complexes were organised (*nautchno-obrasovatel'ny kompleks* – NOK), such as in Magadan, where the teacher-training institute engaged in such an undertaking. This process was continued after independence. The institution in Magadan has faculty members from the university, the Northern Humanistic Lyceum, the teacher-training

institute, a psychological centre, the Research Institute for Biological Problems of the North, various *Gymnasien*, a mathematics/natural science *lycée*, a biological/ecological *lycée*, an art/aesthetics school, and a school complex with a kindergarten, middle school, and *Gymnasien* (Gadshieva 1993). The basic notion behind this undertaking was that they could provide a smooth transition from one type of education to another, such as general to technical education or from basic to specific to regional educational components.

A further problem is manifest in the creation of a modified system of higher education leaving certificates. Since September 1992 there is a multilevel system of certification:

1. Basic higher education
2. Further basic higher education
3. Specialised higher education, with a possible Master's degree
4. Graduate study, leading to a candidate or doctoral degree

At this time each university must make its own decision whether it will accept this new, more Western form of study (Balzer 1994). Any decision will have fundamental structural, content, and personnel consequences.

6 Sub-Saharan Africa

Colonial-based education systems of sub-Saharan Africa were largely geared to prepare a small percentage of the eligible student population for employment within the colonial government framework. Preparing students to function in a global economy was not within the scope of the African colonial government curricula. At independence, Africans were faced with the general dilemma of what to pattern their government social sectors after; education was certainly no exception. While sub-Saharan African governments recognised the potential education had in producing moral citizens and a competent workforce, what should be taught in schools was open to debate.

Inherited or adopted educational policies in French and English-speaking Africa reflected the colonial process, and this affected education in the now politically independent Africa.

An analysis of the policy formation process indicates the continuing involvement of former colonisers and foreign aid agencies throughout the various phases of these countries' struggle to develop. Nearly 40 years after political independence, most sub-Saharan African countries find themselves more grown (as population increases) than developed and are struggling to fight as their leaders see in technical assistants, substitutes rather than assistance.

Even when developed jointly with government officials, policy documents are perceived as belonging to the donor agency and exogenous to local policy-making. The national capacity for policy formation remains un-institutionalised and episodic mainly because the policy foundation set by national procedures is quickly

submerged under a flood of donor-generated country plans, sector studies, feasibility studies, and staff appraisal reports that drive new investment and shape educational policy as implemented. These donor-generated country plans are inevitably shaped by a particular theoretical orientation: the human capital theory. Of the many change theories, the human capital theory has had the most profound effect on educational policy in Africa. It emerged as a subset of modernisation theory which became popular just as most African countries were struggling to acquire political independence and represented for many governments an opportunity to improve the fate of all their people. To some extent, modernisation theory was an intellectual response to the two world wars and represents an attempt to take an optimistic view about the future of mankind. Schultz's 1960 Presidential Address before the American Economic Association undoubtedly influenced many educational investment initiatives in developing countries as he urged assisting them in their struggle to achieve economic growth. These ideas were later elaborated in Schultz (1963). Schultz noted that it is simply impossible to benefit from modernisation without investing in human beings. The assumption of his position is that investing in humans improves their knowledge and skills, hence their productivity. The human capital theory underlies the basic assumptions of the World Bank, which initiates and funds major change and development projects throughout sub-Saharan Africa. These theoretical assumptions are also shared by members of the ministries of education in Africa who, in setting a national policy agenda, draw on decisions and policies developed by external funding agencies, in particular the World Bank. But, applying Schultz's theory to Africa, neither the local decision-makers nor the foreign aid agents with whom they cooperate have delivered at the levels expected. In general, little economic growth has occurred in Africa, despite its policies of massive education.

This is not to suggest a rejection of the human capital theory as it applies to developing countries. A rejection would constitute a grave mistake in a world where knowledge is created at a vertiginous speed and where technology continues to break barriers. But a closer look should be taken of its requirements. All too often, in the midst of reform in Africa, education decision-makers feel neither in control nor accountable. This situation is alarming for a continent that has been independent for nearly 40 years. The kind of leadership required to go beyond colonial mentality and attitude is still needed, leading to the sad conclusion that the educational experience of the past decades is deficient.

What few resources available to government spending on education usually have gone to the primary subsector. Thus, the secondary, and especially higher education, subsectors have been largely neglected. The select students permitted access to secondary and higher education institutions are generally guaranteed positions of prestige and authority within the post-colonial government framework.

In addition to the economic woes, internal political struggles added to the turmoil of educational reform in sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda suffered from nearly 20 years of civil war and dictatorship prior to the rise of the current president, Yoweri Museveni. During this period, government spending was virtually eliminated in the education sector and channelled instead to help fund the war effort against mounting rebel resistance to the tight dictatorial grip. Government spending on education

in East Africa since 1980 has averaged 4.0 % of the share of national GNP, with Kenya leading the way at an average 6.5 %, Tanzania at 3.2 %, and Uganda well below average at 2.2 % (UNESCO 2004).

Even in times when government funding was sparse during the past 20 years, parents and communities found alternative ways for financing their children's education. Thus, the private sector began to flourish in Africa. Initially, this private movement was established by the Catholic and Protestant missionaries who came to East Africa to convert Africans to Christianity in the nineteenth century. The impetus for private education increased substantially in the late 1980s, throughout the 1990s, and continues today, however, as private education is viewed as a strong alternative to the government schools at all levels of education. For instance, in 1992 while only 15 of 11,000 primary schools in Tanzania were private supported, over 75 % of secondary schools were considered private (Lassibille et al. 2000). Even though schools are considered 'public', most schools in sub-Saharan Africa rely on some form of community or parental assistance for their support. Thus, students are required to pay user fees, regardless if they attend the so-considered private or public schools.¹

In the 1990s, multilateral funding organisations, such as the World Bank and European Union, provided temporary assistance to sub-Saharan African nations, based on government assurance that funds would be spent primarily on universal primary education (UPE). While enrolments increased dramatically in Uganda, net enrolments dropped in Tanzania and Kenya. Up to one-third of primary school students do not complete the 7-year primary school cycle in Tanzania (Anderson 2002). What is the reason for this dramatic drop in net enrolments? Many scholars blame the lack of relevance of the national curriculum with real-life scenarios of students attending schools in East Africa (Brock-Utne 2000; Reagan 1996; Eshiwani 1993; Yoloye 1986). With so few students advancing on to higher education, does it make sense to continue to support primary and secondary national curricula that are geared to preparing students to attend higher education? This further portrays that there seems to be a stronger emphasis on increasing the number of those who attend education at the expense of investing in the development of a quality and relevant curriculum being taught in schools (Beshir 1974; Jansen 1989). The impact of UPE on Ugandan enrolment levels in primary schools, and its implications in terms of: (1) increased manifestation of latent demand for postprimary education by a succession of increasingly larger cohorts of primary school leavers and (2) the UPE enrolment cohort of 1.6 million currently travelling through primary and expected to hit the postprimary level in 2004.

More than the other geographic regions addressed in this chapter, HIV and AIDS have ravaged East Africa since the late 1980s. The Lake Victoria region is recognised by leading epidemiologists to be the epicentre of the now global disease. While the government of Uganda exemplified that the epidemic can be contained, Kenya and Tanzania are still struggling with its ailments as their HIV infection rates continue to escalate. This disease strikes at all socio-economic statuses and ethnic groups and is truly no respecter of persons. Yet, the Uganda case has shown that education is formidable in overcoming the disease. Still over 20 % of people aged

15–19 years are HIV positive in Kenya. As many as 30 % of the education workforce in various East African regions have been impacted by the epidemic as teachers have been too sick to come to school to teach classes. How to offer health care to HIV-infected teachers is another issue currently facing the already resource-stretched East African governments. The Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports is considering offering early retirement packages to HIV-positive teachers to help replace them with teachers who are able to attend and teach classes. The Uganda government has also developed a plan for integrating HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and mitigation strategies into the primary and secondary school curriculum. This integrated approach prepares teachers to proactively look for opportunities to teach about HIV/AIDS in their respective classes regardless of the subject matter.

The market has had a substantial impact on higher education in East Africa recently. Mass education has enabled several private and for-profit higher education institutions to provide a means for anyone with sufficient resources to access higher education. No longer is the tertiary subsector in East Africa limited to the elite few who pass the national examination. As a result of unprecedented expansion and privatisation, governments and officials in East African countries are calling for methods of evaluation, standardisation, and assessment to ensure quality control of tertiary education and make the system more open to exchanges, from both within and outside their respective countries. Kenya is working to change its system to more closely resemble that of Tanzania and Uganda in order to more easily facilitate student and academic exchange. In April of 2001, Uganda passed a Universities and other Tertiary Institutions Act creating the National Council of Higher Education to establish regulations governing universities, increase cooperation between them, and standardise admissions and transfer policies. Government and university officials in other countries in the region are also calling for increased government regulation and standardisation to mitigate the possible impacts of runaway privatisation.

As the countries of East Africa become more integrated and also work to integrate themselves into the international market place, the global emphasis on technological advancement is felt ever more strongly throughout the region. Governments are encouraging universities to turn out graduates capable of meeting the development needs of their individual countries. This includes an emphasis on innovative agricultural techniques, increased access to computers, and greater stress on science education.

7 People's Republic of China

The traditional education system in China is based on Confucianism, which evolved into a rigid, authoritarian, and undemocratic system (An 2000). Education provided the necessary underpinnings to the Confucian outlook on social order. Under this system, Confucius taught that education would change men for the better and that this should be available to those capable of benefiting from it. His remark that 'by nature men are nearly alike; but through experience they grow wide apart' supported

the efficacy of schooling, and he was famed for his meritocratic outlook (Cleverley 1985).

Since 1949, education has been viewed as a primary means for socialising the general populous and minority groups into mainstream Chinese society. The Chinese government viewed education as a means to improve the economy, and the standard of living of its citizens, and to ensure the continued existence of the communist state. To achieve these goals, many Chinese educational policies intentionally, and inadvertently, exclude certain minority groups from full participation in the educational system (Johnson 2000). From 1949 to 1978, schools in minority regions had oriented students towards assimilation rather than giving recognition to their distinctiveness and towards conformity to the centralised control of the Chinese government rather than support autonomy and local initiatives. The government's policy towards minorities changed in 1978, however. Some of these policy changes include permitting minority families to have more than one child, sometimes exempting minorities from paying taxes to the central government, and increasing educational opportunities by establishing boarding schools, conducting some instruction in local languages, increasing teacher salaries in minority regions, and lowering requirements and affirmative action consideration for university admission. Still, in some areas of the country, two-thirds or fewer of minority students finish primary school. Advancement to secondary and tertiary education depends on student mastery of the Chinese language. UPE remains an important goal but is limited by economic and social influences.

At the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, most local officials had finished only junior middle school education. This dramatically changed as over half had college degrees by as early as 1984. As of 1995, approximately 90 % of local officials were college graduates. Thus, a bureaucratic elite transformation occurred in the 1980s and early 1990s whereby young professionals trained in the education institutions geared towards a new market economy phased out the old and less educated. More than a million senior Chinese Communist Party individuals were pensioned off into retirement to make way for individuals who would spearhead the national decentralisation reform movement (Fairbank and Goldman 1998). Top-level government support continued as leaders touted education as the key priority to realising the four modernisations (2003, Chinese Education and Research Network www.edu.cn).

The transition to a more dynamic and market-oriented economy has resulted in a rapidly changing pattern of manpower needs and an increasing number of graduates now entering the labour market to find jobs on their own (Li and Peng 1999; Xiao 1998). The articulation of school and work is gradually shifting from a centralised planning system to one based on the labour market. However, with the market economy still relatively immature in China, there is a need for Chinese universities to establish closer links with employers to effectively coordinate their programmes with actual manpower needs.

Evidence shows that inter- and intra-country inequalities have been increased through the globalisation process. Now and in the future, sustainable economic, social, and political development will depend mostly on the knowledge production

and knowledge assimilation capacity of individual countries and of the world system as a whole. Traditionally, knowledge centres were established primarily around universities and other kinds of higher education institutions. Market influences shift this focus where the semi-monopoly of scientific and technological research is now being affected by attempts to establish public- or private-financed research centres independent from universities, as well as by the role played by research and development branches of international and transnational corporations operating in the region.

In the current era of unprecedented growth, complexity and competitiveness of the global economy with its attendant sociopolitical and technological forces have been creating mounting pressures on schools to respond to the changing environment requiring desperate institutional adaptations. In addition to reform, higher education in China also has expanded very quickly over this same time frame in response to an ever-increasing demand stimulated by the fast-growing market economy, the rapid development of science and technology, and rising income levels and living standards, especially of the large economic urban centres along the coastal region of China.

Enrolments in higher education institutions rose from about 1 million in the early 1980s to 6 million in 1998 (including 2.8 million enrolled in adult education). College admission decisions rely mainly on performance on the national competitive examinations and tend to favour students of higher socio-economic status who have had the benefit of better learning conditions. Regional disparities are glaring, rooted in the uneven socio-economic development among different areas in China. Gerard Postiglione (Postiglione 1999) notes that these educational regional disparities are accentuated when it comes to women and minorities.

China is the largest potential market for many foreign universities, especially in terms of business management, teaching English as a second language, and other professional degrees. It has become a Chinese tradition to send children to distant places within China or abroad to get a better education. Now this tradition is becoming a fashion in which an increasing number of Chinese parents and students find it difficult to avoid; this overseas enrolment of students is viewed necessary by many Chinese who believe that in order to remain competitive in an increasingly competitive global economy, one must obtain the best education possible (Du 1992). For the time being this education is found in the United States, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand.

8 Conclusions

The global relations of the world of the late twentieth century, one must conclude, have turned itself upside down, at least in relation to educational policy. Whereas the defining historical reform policies have concentrated on cultural integration and social welfare, in the past two decades free-market values have begun to pervade educational reform throughout the world. These values manifested themselves in

different ways depending on the culture in question; globalising forces are providing the energy behind policies being defined. They bring with them a curious mix of old and new, in that they call upon traditional values and practices, but the specific market-driven reform proposals often have dimensions that are unique.

Note

1. For the purposes of this chapter, the term *private* refers to all non-government supported schools in East Africa. Private schools receive no direct government support. This is to say that there is no public subsidy of costs associated with infrastructure or teacher salaries. The government bears the cost of the general and professional teacher education, even for those hired ultimately by private schools. The term *public* refers to government-aided schools.

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Globalisation and the Value of Service Learning in an Undergraduate Primary Teacher Education Program

Anne L. Scott

1 Challenges in Teacher Education in Contemporary Contexts

Globalisation and migration are changing economic and social landscapes (Zajda 2010). Student populations are becoming more diverse.¹ However, the typical profile of a prospective teacher has remained constant. Preservice teachers are often middle-class females (Fuller 1992; *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* 2009). Many have noted a cultural mismatch between the backgrounds and experiences of prospective teachers with those of students whom they will teach (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005; Mueller and O'Connor 2007). Consequently, a challenge in teacher education in this climate is to produce 'work-ready' graduates who can provide inclusive programs to cater for the diverse student populations which exist in schools today.

Although the recommendation to recruit prospective teachers from minority groups to represent the changing student populations (OECD 2009) may be an appropriate long-term initiative, other short-term strategies are needed. One short-term strategy being used involves providing opportunities for preservice teachers to interact with people from diverse backgrounds through service learning programs (Butcher et al. 2003, 2005). Of course, this solution is more complex than it seems, and the affordances and constraints are explored later in the review of the literature.

There are multiple terms often associated with *service learning*. At this point, it is important to make distinctions between three terms *experiential learning*, *experiential education* and *service learning*. Experiential learning describes how an individual

¹ In this discussion, a broad understanding of the term diversity is used which includes race, class, gender, disability, language and sexual orientation.

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makes sense of a first-hand experience such as through observation or interaction; it does not require a facilitator. In contrast, central to the philosophy of experiential education is having facilitators provide learners with first-hand experiences who also promote focused reflections on them so that learners may increase their knowledge, develop skills and clarify values (Association for Experiential Education 2007). Service learning is one of the teaching methods within experiential education.

The term *service learning* is most commonly used in the literature; however, there are different interpretations. Traditionally, the term described students working voluntarily for organisations performing ‘acts of service’. Generally, in such cases, students did not expect to benefit themselves. More recently, the emphasis on service learning has been about capacity building and developing learning partnerships in which all participants benefit.² In the latter, service learning is described as a curriculum-based program that integrates classroom instruction with community service activities; yet, what distinguishes service learning from simple volunteer work are the reflections on what is learnt as a result of that activity (Saggers and Carrington 2008). Hence, in this discussion, the notion of service learning³ combines community service with academic goals and reflection.

A long-standing challenge in teacher education has been that prospective teachers enter their courses with robust yet naive belief systems about teaching (Richardson 1996; Weinstein 1989), and these may act as barriers in learning the content presented to them during teacher education programs (Scott 2005, 2006). In the report, *Teachers Matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers* (OECD 2005), effective teachers are described as life-long learners who continually reflect on their practices. When new challenges arise in their classrooms, they seek alternative ways to maximise learning opportunities for all their students. Thus, another step in preparing ‘work-ready’ preservice teachers is to instil in them a habit of critical reflection on their practices and how their beliefs have influenced their actions.

Presumably, each of these challenges has implications for fine-tuning preservice teacher education programs. This article addresses the challenge of shifting preservice teachers’ preconceived beliefs about people, teaching and learning to prepare them to understand the needs of, build relationships with and teach students from diverse backgrounds. In particular, the research investigates the ways in which service learning contributes to preservice teachers’ learning outcomes. The research is significant in that it considers how to implement service learning as an integral component of the teacher education program with large cohorts of preservice teachers. The key question guiding the research is: *In what ways does this service learning contribute to preservice teachers’ learning?* Having introduced the problem and clarified key terms diversity and service learning, in the review of literature, I justify the theoretical framework for the research and present a summary of relevant research findings.

²In some studies, this is referred to as *community engagement*.

³In the context in which this study is situated, *community engagement* is the preferred term; however, to increase readability, I shall continue to use the more common term service learning with the more recent emphasis.

2 Review of Literature

A social constructivist epistemology underpins this study which views knowledge as being socially constructed through meaningful interactions with others. In this paradigm, one interprets the visible reactions, expressed beliefs and shared experiences in an attempt to describe situations. In order to consider the value of preservice teachers' experiences of service learning, it is important to review literature about beliefs and the role these play in shaping one's thinking, reactions to events and consequent actions. Following this, I present previous work in service learning which have informed this research. Finally, I describe the theoretical framework which underpins the analyses and the reporting process of data collected for this study.

2.1 *The Power of Beliefs*

Beliefs are often described as filters or lenses through which we view the world and on which we base our decisions (Ambrose et al. 2004; Nespor 1987; Pajares 1992; Smith and Croom 2000). Created through a process of enculturation and social construction, beliefs are context specific, personally meaningful, however, and may vary with intensity (Pajares 1992). Beliefs are thought to be shaped by various experiences. Some are from the distant past which may be central to several belief systems thus difficult to change; others may be formed by more recent personal salient experiences or influenced as a result of conversations with significant others (Block and Hazelip 1995; Scott 2005). Indeed, in some instances, people appear to misinterpret facts and/or ignore evidence contradicting their beliefs (Kardash and Scholes 1996; Mueller and O'Connor 2007). Having said that, although it is important to acknowledge the power of preconceived beliefs, these cannot account for all our actions. Sarver (1983) argued that people act in accordance with their beliefs when opportunities related to those specific beliefs present.

Prospective teachers enter teacher education courses with robust beliefs about learners, learning, teachers and teaching which are resistant to change unless these are explicitly identified, discussed and challenged within their studies (Carter and Doyle 1996; Causey et al. 2000; Kagan 1992; Nespor 1987; Richardson 1996; Weinstein 1989). Further, their robust belief systems may be also in opposition to the goals and ideals presented in their courses (Scott 2003). Cockrell et al. (1999) indicated that preservice teachers hold different, sometimes opposing, positions on multiculturalism based on personal experience, political ideologies and beliefs about the roles of schools and teachers which are resistant to change. Therefore, it is vital that teacher educators assist preservice teachers through a process of examining their beliefs about diversity so that they can see how these influence their views about learners and their role as teachers.

According to Munby et al. (2001), traditionally teacher education programs shaped preservice teachers' beliefs with two forms of authority: 'the authority of position and the authority of argument' (p. 896). Munby et al. argued what was missing from teacher education programs was the 'authority of experience' (p. 896) which values the practical nature of teaching and preservice teachers' experience in schools. By giving credence to the missing or third authority, teacher education programs validate the work of teachers and highlight factors teachers consider in their decision making process. Reflections on service learning experiences offer opportunities for preservice teachers to voice their 'authority of experience' (Munby et al. 2001, p. 896) and in doing so may contribute to reshaping their beliefs.

2.2 Studies of Service Learning in Preservice Teacher Education

Wasserman (2010) explained how service learning is reciprocal in nature. As students contribute to the community through their engagement with the agency, potentially both the community and the student benefit from the experience. Participation in service learning may promote a deeper understanding of citizenship which provides opportunities for preservice teachers to build respectful relationships not only with professionals from outside organisations but also with those with whom they are working. Furthermore, regular reflection on service learning experiences provides opportunities to make meaningful connections between personal, professional and practical knowledge.

Internationally, service learning is being used to address a number of issues including the widening social and cultural gap between teachers and students, to identify preservice teachers' perceptions on diversity and to help preservice teachers examine and challenge their existing beliefs and perspectives (Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005). Moreover, others are using it with the aspiration to prepare preservice teachers to respect students from all backgrounds and to enable them to deliver fair and equitable programs (Butcher et al. 2003; Wasserman 2010).

Findings from many studies report positive outcomes for preservice teachers as a result of their participation in service learning experiences. Hart and King (2007) noted that service learning is most effective because preservice teachers maintain ownership of their learning and their knowledge develops over time. There were other significant benefits such as the development of not only technical skills and cultural knowledge but application of that knowledge in meaningful ways (Butcher et al. 2005; Ryan et al. 2009), a deepened awareness of their own concept of themselves as teachers (Wasserman 2010), increased exposure to and tolerance for people from minority populations and cultures (Butcher et al. 2003; Causey et al. 2000; Leavy 2005; Ryan and Healy 2009), a shift in preconceived views about diversity (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Ryan and Healy 2009) and the ability to problem solve complex issues impacting on learners (Butcher et al. 2003; Saggars and Carrington 2008; Wasserman 2010).

As expected, while there are reported benefits, there are also limitations. Causey et al (2000) concurred with others in stating that it was difficult to influence long-held beliefs and attitudes in the space of one course. Many studies had less than 50 participants and, in some cases, about 20 h of 'additive' engagement to the regular assigned tasks. In contrast, the current study comprises a large sample size, involves 70 h of service learning and reflection and implements the experience as a component of the professional experience program, integral to the program, as an enactment of the university's mission statement.

In spite of the potential benefits linked with service learning, some authors warned teacher educators against presuming that service learning was a powerful teaching strategy. In particular, Bell et al (2007) stressed the need to look for preservice teachers' views of diversity and to scaffold contextual and pedagogical understandings of a broad range of differences to prevent 'reinforcing existing stereotypes and leaving preservice teachers without the analytical skills and/or desire to teach in socially conscious ways' (p. 131).

Similarly, Mueller and O'Connor (2007) rejected using moral grounds as a means for reconceptualising preservice teachers' beliefs about diversity because it was met with high levels of resistance. The authors wondered whether it was possible to develop pedagogical practices without invoking explicit or implicit moral mandates in order to circumvent the student resistance. Moreover, Butin (2006) argued that there are pedagogical, political and institutional limits to service learning because the reality is that there are many barriers constraining reciprocity with the communities. For service learning to realistically become embedded within higher education programs, scholars need to 'specifically probe the limits of service-learning in higher education' (p. 493) and plan what is possible within the context.

2.3 Conceptual Frameworks for Analysing Service Learning Experiences

Butin (2003) argued that despite the perceived benefits of service learning providing alternative modes of teaching and learning in education, it was imperative to consider practical issues such as community impact, student outcomes and authentic assessment. Butin conceptualised a framework including four distinct yet inter-related perspectives on service learning: *technical, cultural, political and poststructuralist*. A *technical* perspective considers the implementation of both the process and the outcome, hence questions issues affecting efficacy, quality, efficiency and sustainability. In this case, one might ask preservice teachers for their views about management aspects related to their service learning experiences.

A *cultural* perspective considers a cultural perspective at two levels: individual and societal. This perspective questions issues affecting acculturation, understanding and appropriation of the activity. For example, one might ask: In what ways have these experiences helped you to think about the learners or learning tasks? A *political* perspective considers 'the power (im)balances of social learning as it can be potentially both transformative and repressive' (Butin 2003, p. 1681), hence,

questions the legitimacy and consequences of the process and product of an innovation. Using this lens, one may seek views about issues such as: Who is really learning in this context?

A *poststructuralist* perspective considers how the activity ‘constructs, reinforces, or disrupts particular unarticulated societal norms of being and thinking’ (p. 1683). So, one asks: do service learning experiences perpetuate or challenge our notions of the roles of teachers and learners, and/or the processes of teaching and learning? Or, which values are being taught implicitly?

Several authors have reported findings using Butin’s (2003) conceptual framework (Butin 2003; Ryan et al. 2009; Ryan and Healy 2009; Sagers and Carrington 2008); however, it should be noted that some of these studies report different aspects of the same sets of data. Nonetheless, Ryan and Healy (2009) suggested that the data collected were richer and more comprehensive for the technical and cultural than for the political and poststructural lenses. They suggested that it would be advantageous to use these four lenses to guide to preservice teachers’ reflections in future. Sagers and Carrington (2008) noted that only three of the 22 comments from the preservice teachers were categorised in the political lens and a further three of 22 comments were categorised as poststructuralist. Both sets of comments were linked to organisations that supported homework programs for refugees. They also noted that preservice teachers working in the homework program for refugees found the experience challenging. Similarities between this study and the one to be investigated in this article will be discussed later.

Various other frameworks have been used to analyse and interpret preservice teachers’ qualitative responses and reactions to service learning experiences in the following studies: content analysis of written entries in either online discussions or in journals (Cockrell et al. 1999; Wasserman 2010); the use of *Productive Pedagogies* (Gore et al. 2001, 2004) provided the structure of considering the features of effective practice in the study by Butcher et al (2005); a framework for grouping teachers’ understanding of diversity into four categories: *individual difference*, *categorical differences* (social class, race, gender), *contextual differences* (takes into account the first two differences) and *pedagogical view of difference* (Bell et al. 2007); and, a comparison of preservice teachers’ written responses against the professional standards (Power 2010). It is also possible to review preservice teachers’ written responses quantitatively by identifying those items which specifically address service learning on the end of unit evaluation tools, survey questionnaires with closed items using a Likert scale (Leavy 2005).

3 Methodology

3.1 Description of the Program

Service learning experiences were integrated into the third year of a 4-year Bachelor of Education (Primary) course at an Australian tertiary institution as a compulsory component of the Professional Experience Program for a total of 70 h over the entire

academic year. The introduction of service learning into the undergraduate program was the result of ongoing efforts from the tertiary staff in collaboration with staff from *The Smith Family*, a national, independent children's charity that helps disadvantaged Australian children, who organised the local homework program.

The venue for the homework program was a 5-min walk from the tertiary institution. The university timetable for this cohort of preservice teachers had been designed to accommodate some on-campus classes as well as attendance at the homework program on Wednesday afternoons from 3 to 5 pm. Furthermore, 6 months prior, information sessions were held with preservice teachers to forecast participation requirements for the following year.

Two full-day induction workshops were held during orientation week prior to the commencement of the first semester. During the workshops, preservice teachers were provided with background information about the families who resided in the local multistorey government-funded housing estate and the aims of the homework program designed for primary children of these families.

Discussions about roles as tutors in the local homework program and how to maintain professional boundaries preceded a brief visit to the homework program site where preservice teachers met staff from the homework program. During the year, three groups of 45 preservice teachers worked as tutors at the local homework program with about 90 children ranging from 5 to 12 years of age.

More specifically, the aims of service learning experiences were to enable preservice teachers:

- To broaden their awareness of cultural diversity in the community
- To acknowledge factors affecting student learning beyond the primary classroom
- To work as tutors in a homework program organised by staff from *The Smith Family* agency
- To practise their skills in teaching mainly literacy and numeracy
- To see themselves as potential agents for change through their contributions to the community
- To reflect on their experiences, values, knowledge and skills

The 70 h of service learning also comprised participation in on-campus sessions, reflective off-campus tasks and allocated 10 h of service learning in a site of preservice teachers' own choosing as long as it aligned with at least four aims of the program. Table 1 presents a chronological overview of the timing and duration of activities and the assessment tasks of the service learning experience required for the unit over two academic semesters.

All preservice teachers enrolled in the unit were expected to complete the assessment tasks. However, the information letter and ethics consent form clearly stated that each preservice teacher would decide whether or not to permit his/her online postings to be accessed by the lecturer/researcher for research purposes in the following year. In other words, the lecturer would not be aware of who had consented or who had not consented, while the preservice teachers were enrolled in the unit. During the year, I, the lecturer, did not participate in online discussions. However, I acknowledge that my relationship as lecturer may have had an influence on the content of the online postings and this is a limitation of the study.

Table 1 Overview of activities for service learning

Assessment task	Brief description	Timing and duration in hours (x)
Tutoring in Homework Club	Professional participation as tutor for EIGHT 2 h sessions	Semester 1 – four sessions (8)
	Setup for and debriefing after each session	Semester 2 – four sessions (8) (2)
O-week workshops	Two full-day induction program with a visit to the off-campus site	February – (14)
Online reflection entries	Entries discussing issues impacting on learners, teachers, learning and teaching with peers in a small group based on experiences gained through service learning experiences	Semester 1 – Feb, Jun (5)
		Semester 2 – Aug (5)
	Completion of ‘before and after’ chart critically reflecting on beliefs, values and performance	Semester 2 – Oct (3)
Reflective Inquiry Process Journal	Five journal entries using the Reflective Inquiry Process	One entry in Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug and Oct (10)
On-campus sessions	Two compulsory on-campus sessions exploring the inquiry-based model for teaching and using narrative texts to consider experiences faced by some refugees and immigrants	Semester 1 – week 1, 2 or 3
		Semester 2 – week 1, 2 or 3 (5)
Ten-hour own choice of service learning	Evidence of the additional hours in a self-selected project or in projects linked to university	Anytime between Mar–Oct (10)

3.2 Participants

One hundred and thirty preservice teachers were predominantly young females who entered the undergraduate course having recently completed their secondary education. Most were from either third-generation or earlier Australian-born, middle- and working-class families. About 10 % were male. In contrast, the local homework program had 114 children enrolled, with 98 % from Vietnam, China, Laos, Sudan or Somalia, single-parent refugee families.

Majority of the children resided in the local multistorey government-funded housing estate. Online postings and on-campus workshops were based mostly on the service learning experiences gained in the Homework Club setting because it was known to all.

However, preservice teachers also participated in self-selected community-based programs and shared their other experiences as well.

3.3 Research Design

Set within a social constructivism epistemology using an interpretivist theoretical perspective, I use Butin’s (2003) four lenses *technical, cultural, political and post-structural* to inspect preservice teachers’ written online discussions for evidence of

the influences of their service learning experiences on their views about diversity, learners and themselves as emerging teachers. These texts provide opportunities to infer views and make sense of what was happening in this context.

3.4 *Data Collection and Analysis Tools and Processes*

Data were gathered voluntarily from about 130 preservice teachers in 2009 using the following approaches and tools:

- Anonymous written responses to items at the end of the unit using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agree to strongly disagree on the university's unit evaluation instrument
- Anonymous written comments at the end of the unit using the university's unit evaluation instrument
- Confidential records of preservice teachers' online discussions

Although there were multiple sources of data, the analysis and findings of only the online discussions are reported here.

3.5 *Online Discussions*

There were opportunities for preservice teachers to share their experiences with peers via online discussions during the program in February, June, August and October. Guidelines for each entry focussed the discussion around issues of diversity, teaching and learning (Table 2).

Initially, inspecting the data involved data reduction (Miles and Huberman 1984). Drawing on October online contributions, only those which referred to the involvement in this specific homework program because the full context was known to the researcher, identifiable markers were removed, and entries were coded to ensure that entries could be retraced to original sources. With the research question in mind, the researcher highlighted and annotated the data using these three headings *learners*, *emerging teachers* and *teaching and learning*. Later, sections of text

Table 2 Guidelines to online discussion

October entry: complete three parts
a. Briefly describe an experience from your involvement in the Homework Club
b. Read entries posted by four other preservice teachers participating in the Homework Club. Then reflect on two aspects or issues and write about these in relation to teaching and learning in this setting. What did you learn? (word limit 200–250)
c. Complete the 'before and after' chart for these two aspects or issues
Please post your completed chart as an attachment with this online contribution

were reread and categorised according to Butin's (2003) four categories: *technical*, *cultural*, *political* and *poststructural*. Using a process of constant comparison (Cohen et al. 2007), each category included a definition and subsequent rereads checked whether or not excerpts were classified accurately. In some instances, entries were reclassified and others were deleted.

Having said that, I noted some themes were present in more than one category. Comments by preservice teachers about particular issues indicated reflective thinking at different levels. Indeed, Butin (2003) stated 'that melding and merging contrasting lens offers the opportunity to come up with new ways of approaching service learning theory and practice' (p. 1690). Concurring with others (Butin 2003; Ryan et al. 2009; Ryan and Healy 2009; Sagers and Carrington 2008) who had used Butin's conceptual framework for exploring service learning experiences, I noted that the four categories facilitated the inspection of preservice teachers' views from different angles: *technical*, the practical aspects concerning the implementation of the program; *cultural*, the nuances of becoming a teacher; *political*, acknowledging the power relationships impacting on this teaching and learning context; and, *poststructural*, were these experiences challenging preservice teachers' preconceived notions? Hence, in reporting these data, I highlight the key themes which emerged and provide examples from the online discussions, then I identify the conceptual lens(es) informing the interpretations.

4 Results and Discussion

In this section, I present the data under three broad headings *learners*, *emerging teachers* and *teaching and learning* to address the question: *In what ways does this service learning contribute to preservice teachers' learning?* Of the 130 enrolled in the unit, 100 preservice teachers gave consent for their online discussions to be examined for research purposes.

4.1 Considering Learners

There were 45 comments about diversity ranging from being tolerant and nonjudgmental of cultural and socioeconomic differences and recognising the intellectual capacity in each child despite his/her limited control of Standard English. For example, the following excerpts capture the sentiments of the majority. Some reflected on the intellectual capacity of the children and wrote:

The children are bright and deserve every opportunity for success.

Another added:

[The service learning experience] allowed me to see the contrast in abilities between students and gave me a chance to try and cater to the needs of varied levels.

It seems that the experience provided opportunities for preservice teachers to consider equity issues. Similarly, others commented on their unjustified preconceived views about groups of people. Two entries included:

I was able to appreciate and develop a deeper understanding of the situation many families face living in the high rise flats [multi-storey government funded housing estate]. In the past I have often viewed the high rise flats [multi-storey government funded housing estate] in a negative manner, however this opportunity has allowed me to view them in a more positive and accepting manner.

I have thought more intently now about problems people might endure and am much less prone to making judgments.

Such responses are positive outcomes of involvement in service learning experiences and consistent with earlier findings (Butcher et al. 2003, 2005). The *cultural* and *political* lenses enable us to see the shift in views in two aspects. Of course, there is no guarantee that preservice teachers will maintain these views in other contexts or that these changes will be long-lasting. Nonetheless, using the *technical* lens, the program was effective in initiating such responses. Hence, the use of the conceptual lenses facilitated a more fine-grained inspection of these data and illuminated three ways in which service learning experiences contributed to preservice teachers' learning about diversity.

4.2 *Considering Themselves as Emerging Teachers*

There were 32 comments about the skills the preservice teachers have gained as a result of their involvement in service learning. Many mentioned the need to communicate clearly with the children. One preservice teacher wrote:

After working with ESL students for the first time, I am particularly careful in how I communicate my ideas and instructions.

Managing children's behaviour was also a prominent feature in all online discussions. For example, two entries were:

This program allowed us to watch our peers experiment with different 'disciplining' techniques and learn from them. Each tutor had their own way of sorting out issues – some worked, some didn't.

I have been able to build up a more extensive range of disciplinary methods to use in the classroom.

Increased levels of self-confidence with 'being a teacher' were also evident.

This [experience] has made me far more confident and I am really starting to see myself as a teacher. I am feeling much more excited about teaching rounds now rather than [feeling] nervous.

I have the ability to adapt to the changing surroundings and needs of the student.

These insights are desirable outcomes of any professional experience program. Viewing responses through the *cultural* lens allows us to see that preservice teachers were able to reflect on two skills needed in teaching, effective communication and

respectful management of children's inappropriate behaviours. Thereby, reiterating the reciprocal nature of service learning for capacity building (Wasserman 2010). Preservice teachers' experiences increased their self-confidence in general and in important communication and management skills. By using the *technical* lens, we also see how the program's design provided opportunities for preservice teachers to learn from each other which were additional benefits not reported earlier.

4.3 *Considering Issues Impacting on Teaching and Learning*

There were 29 comments about building relationships with children, creating an environment conducive to learning and using activities which were meaningful to the children's lives. The following excerpts provide a sense of the sentiments about these issues:

I now know that cultural background affects learning styles of students.

I have come to appreciate the importance and relevancy of 'getting to know' your students. It informs your teaching and instructive approaches.

I learnt that respect from your students must be earned, and at times, this can be extremely difficult. By being reliable and showing your enthusiasm and dedication, as well as treating the students equally and with respect.

I discovered that students' learning and interactions with other students largely depend on the environment.

I think that we can't expect children to just sit still. We need them to explore, play and use manipulatives [concrete materials] in their learning.

These are valuable insights which were possibly already known to many preservice teachers but were reinforced by their service learning experiences. Viewing these comments through *cultural* and *political* lenses, it seems that preservice teachers have deepened their appreciation of both tangible and intangible influences on teaching and learning episodes. Such findings concur with earlier studies in which preservice teachers applied their knowledge in meaningful ways during their service learning experiences (Butcher et al. 2005; Ryan et al. 2009).

5 Evaluation

Participation in the service learning program provided preservice teachers with opportunities which they may not have otherwise experienced in school-based practicums especially given the number of preservice teachers enrolled and the limited number of suitably qualified teachers willing to supervise them. To an extent, the experience raised these preservice teachers' awareness of the cultural gap between their lives and those from diverse backgrounds by situating them in a program catering for children predominantly from refugee backgrounds. It provided the opportunity for preservice teachers to revisit their preconceived views of people

who lived in multistorey government-funded estate, and many had the chance to work with children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds for the first time.

This is a modest yet positive outcome – an initial step in addressing concerns about the cultural gap in our school communities as others have previously identified (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005; Mueller and O'Connor 2007). Although the preservice teachers found some children's behaviours challenging, many indicated that they had developed skills which increased their confidence and made them become more flexible in their interactions.

There were signs of increased learning outcomes as deepened understandings about the complexities associated with teaching and learning. They formed clear insights about expecting that all children have the capacity to learn given the right conditions, what constitutes effective communication, respectful management of children's inappropriate behaviours, building relationships with children, creating an environment conducive to learning and using activities which were meaningful to the children's lives. In a sense, their service learning experiences reshaped pre-conceived and evolving ideologies as a third authority – experience (Munby et al. 2001).

Using Butin's (2003) conceptual lenses as a means of viewing the data was helpful. While there was evidence that the service learning had elements which related to *technical*, *cultural* and *political* dimensions, there were limited comments indicating a change in preservice teachers' perceptions about who was serving and/or who was being served, the *poststructural* lens. The absence of such comments is likely given that the instructions guiding the online discussions did not focus on this aspect at all. This, of course, skews the results in a particular way and is a limitation of the study. Hence, concurring with Ryan and Healy (2009), it seems wise to use the four lenses with the preservice teachers during the implementation of the program so that they may consider more broadly the implications of their service learning and future practice.

Given the demands placed on teacher educators undertaking normal teaching duties, I questioned whether the extra work involved in designing service learning experiences was really worth it. To an extent, seeking evidence of the impact on preservice teachers' learning outcomes was more than just a research question. Stepping away from the busyness of implementing the program and reflecting on the findings, despite the known imperfections and limitations of the 'work in progress', the service learning experiences made unique contributions to this cohort of preservice teachers. In the words of one preservice teacher:

Retrospectively, my time spent at homework club was often utilised as a way of interacting with students that I may not have experienced in the real world. I know that we have had teaching rounds but they seemed to be a haze of lesson plans and intensely steep learning curves. The reason I enjoyed homework club so much is because it is purely student-oriented. I felt that I learnt more in those sessions than I did in some activities at university.

6 Conclusion

While it is evident that service learning experiences provided rich reciprocal learning opportunities for those involved, it is important that future endeavours also consider ways to share the workload inherent in such initiatives to ensure the sustainability of education which takes place beyond the boundaries of tertiary institutions.

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When the Global Meets the Local: Global Citizenship and School Reform

(Kent) Sheng Yao Cheng

1 Introduction

Along with the development of information and communication technology (ICT), the world is becoming more and more interrelated (Lewin 2009; Mundy 2008). For instance, in 2010, Iceland's Eyjafjallajökull Volcano erupted and thousands of people and travelers were forced to remain in Europe or delay their travel plans. Moreover, a global village also forces us to face the lack of borders between nation-states and vanishing time and space (Bates 2011).

The definition of the globe is beginning to replace the national/local as an identity referent, thus establishing conditions for freeing subjects from fixed identities while reducing the possibilities for cultural domination and imperialism (Zajda 2010a). Globalizing processes are also credited with transforming the conditions of people's lives producing "new ways of doing business and working, new forms of identity and politics, new forms of everyday life, time and space, new forms of sociability" (Featherstone 2002, p. 4).

These new ways of thinking, acting, and everyday life also represent a dramatic transformation of schooling all over the world (Canadian Council on Learning 2009). In Singapore, the government encourages its children to learn five core values including self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship management, and responsible decision-making. Furthermore, students are required to have critical and inventive thinking, information and communication skills, and civic literacy, global awareness, and cross-cultural skills. The ideal citizens in Singapore are active contributors, concerned citizens, self-directed learners, and confident people, who are able to face the competitive twenty-first century (See Fig. 1).

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Fig. 1 Values at the core of twenty-first-century competency (Ministry of Education in Singapore 2011)

Kubow and Crawford (2001, p. 77) remind us that conceptions of education that fragment content and processes and compartmentalize learning may not produce globally conscious citizens. Thus, educational policies that attend to both content and processes, as well as the local and global, are more likely to foster global citizens, who are able to function successfully in a world characterized by complex global challenges. Our society currently develops toward internationalization and globalization, and the idea of global citizenship has become the major concern of the recent school reforms all over the world.

In this chapter, the author first interprets the definition of globalization to outline the contexts of the globalized era we face today. Secondly, the researcher analyzes the meaning of global citizenship and then, thirdly, creates an interconnection between global citizenship and recent school reforms. Fourthly, the author juxtaposes the current school reforms in different countries and focuses on the issues of global education and global citizenship. Moreover, the researcher compares the diversity of strategic plans for school reforms worldwide, and finally, the author concludes with some tendencies of global citizenship and school reforms when the global meets the local.

2 Globalization, Localization, and Glocalization

Globalization is one of the buzzwords of the last two decades, along with the increasing importance of the Internet and the world economy. At the same time, the other two terms, localization and glocalization, also preoccupy academic considerations of these issues (Fagan and Munck 2009; Foskett and Maringe 2010; Novelli and Ferus-Comelo 2010; Schuerkens 2010).

Along with the development of globalization, the policy makers and preservice trainers predict the following events (Karsten et al. 2000; Kubow 1996; Kubow and Crawford 2001):

1. Population growth in developing countries will result in greater poverty for more people, especially children.
2. The economic gap among and between countries will widen significantly.
3. Inequality between those who have access to information technologies and those who do not will increase dramatically.
4. Conflicts of interest between countries regarding environmental deterioration will increase dramatically (e.g., increasing costs for obtaining adequate water and increasing deforestation).

Globalization refers to a wide range of discrepant phenomena, but is commonly portrayed in singular and economic terms as reflecting an evolutionary, inevitable, and irreversible phase of societal development (Matthews and Sidhu 2005, p. 51). Robertson and Khondker (1998) discovered that the existing proclamations related to globalization tend to look at globalizing processes through a disciplinary lens while minimizing the interplay and interdependence between the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of globalization. Such studies have also been criticized for a collective failure to engage with space and time, a manifest outcome of which is a largely parochial and preliminary account of globalization, which ignores the histories of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism (Slater 2002).

Recent research on globalizing processes and global flows has acknowledged the disembodied quality of many theoretical accounts of globalization and has highlighted the power/knowledge relations implicit in how we imagine and theorize the global (Amin 2002).

Along with the advent of globalization, the movement of localization started to dominate the domain of educational reforms since 1990. The beginning of the research of localization focuses on adapting international products into diversified languages, culture, and desires in order to account for local “needs” and “feelings.” For instance, McDonalds decided to change the content of its valued meals into the local taste, including adding beer in Germany. Moreover, Microsoft provides different versions of its operating system to satisfy the needs of the local people. Ideally, during the movement of globalization, it also comes with the localization to connect the international quality and local usage (Minhui 2010).

When the global meets the local, a new term emerges: glocalization. The term glocalization combines these meanings and definitions of globalization and localization (Ritzer 2004). Glocalization refers to certain individuals and groups that could think globally and act locally (García et al. 2006). The very beginning of glocalization was published in the *Harvard Business Review* by Japanese economists in the 1980s. According to Robertson’s findings (1992), glocalization points out the strategies that international enterprises adopt under the pressure of international competition.

In order to globalize, international businesses recognize that they need to be localized. Taking McDonalds as an example, it could be regarded as one of the

globalized phenomena to be able to eat at McDonalds all over the world, but one is able to order different happy or value meals in different countries. Moreover, in order to increase the sales in France, the McDonalds company replaced its traditional idol of Ronald McDonald by Asterix the Gaul, who plays a famous comedy role (Chell 2001).

3 Global Education and Global Citizenship

Following the significant impact of globalization, localization, and glocalization, the school system worldwide faces the demand to rethink the changes and reforms related to students' core values and competency for the future. One of the major school reforms is how children will think about the globe and world village, and it has also led to the movement of global education and global citizenship in the last decade (Brecher et al. 1993; Davidman and Davidman 1994; Hartman and University of Pittsburgh. Graduate School of Public and International Affairs 2009; Schattle 2008).

Kubow and Crawford (2001, p. 78) stress that globalization is as old as human civilization. Nearly 2,000 years ago, Marcus Aurelius wrote "As Marcus Aurelius, I am a citizen of Rome; as a man, I am a citizen of the world." Recent comparative research studies attest to the importance that people expand their understanding of citizenship to include a sense of obligation to the global community as well as to their nation-state. One of the current trends about the global citizenship is multidimensional citizenship and four designated areas of multidimensional citizenship (personal, social, spatial, temporal) (Bates 2011).

In the United Kingdom, global education has its origins in world studies that was introduced and directed by Richardson (1976) and Fisher and Hicks (1985). Holden (2000) indicates that in the 1980s, over half of the local education authorities (LEAs) promoted world studies, but in 1988 the topic and content shifted after the advent of the conservative *National Curriculum*.

In their World Studies 8–13 project, Fisher and Hicks (1985) define the meaning of world studies as "studies which promote the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are relevant to living responsibly in a multi-cultural and interdependent world." Moreover, they established three major missions that students need to accomplish: First, students should study cultures and countries other than their own and the ways in which they are different and similar. Secondly, students need to learn major issues which face different countries and cultures, for instance, those to do with peace and conflict, development, human rights, and the environment. Thirdly, students need to be aware of the ways that daily life and experience affect, and are affected by, the wider world (Fisher and Hicks 1985, p. 8).

Antiracist education, multicultural education, peace education, political education, and education for human rights were related movements during the same time period. The latter agenda is of direct relevance to education for citizenship that

all secondary students in England and Wales needed to take, beginning in 2002 (Holden 2000, p. 78). Echoing global education, the aim is for children to understand “cultural, ethnic/racial, and religious diversity” and “different values and customs” through a variety of activities involving discussion, role play, and active participation in running the school (QCA 1998, p. 29).

Kubow and Crawford (2001, p. 78) agree that if citizens during the first part of the twenty-first century are going to cope with these issues, they will have to demonstrate an ability to (1) understand and accept cultural differences, (2) think critically, (3) approach problems from a global perspective, (4) work cooperatively and take responsibility for their roles and duties within society, and (5) change their lifestyles and consumption habits to protect the environment.

In Matthews and Sidhu’s empirical findings (2005), they suggest, first, that the normalizing discourses of nationality, race, and ethnicity permeate global education to reinforce old ethnic and national affiliations while stimulating new “racial” formations. Second, given its economic rationale, practices of global education uphold the global spread of hegemonic social practices such as the marketization of education. Under these conditions, global education does not necessarily establish the conditions for unsettling ethno-cultural and nationalistic persuasions and practices and thus misses the opportunity to sponsor cosmopolitan identification and globally oriented subjectivity. In short, international education is as likely to give rise to profoundly conservative ethno-cultural affiliations and largely instrumental notions of global citizenship as to generate a collective and compassionate global subject.

Discussion of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism in global literature goes beyond narrow ethno-cultural nationalism and patriotism to highlight global governance, openness to cultural diversity, and recognition and regard for a common humanity (Matthews and Sidhu 2005).

4 Key Values on Global Citizenship and Global Education

Under the trend of globalization, international competition not only relies on the race related to quantity and prices but depends on the contest between innovation and values (Zajda and Daun 2009). Following this vein of thinking, the crucial factor to international competition is human resources and how students view the world and their responsibility to the earth and their living environment (AACSB International. Globalization of Management Education Task Force 2011; Rhoads and Szelényi 2011; Silova 2011; Zajda 2010b). To review the current school reforms research articles, documents, and governmental white papers in Taiwan, Singapore, Australia, the Netherlands, and the United States, there are four key movements found necessary to face the new challenges during the immediate future. In Fig. 2, we see these crucial school reforms include national identity, international literacy, global competition, and international responsibility.

Fig. 2 Four core values of global citizenship and school reforms



4.1 *National Identity*

Even though global competition and global awareness are competitive issues, the fundamental goals for schooling remain focused on national identity (Moran and Keane 2010; Nissanke, Thorbecke, and World Institute for Development Economics Research. 2010; Saxena and Omoniyi 2010). As mentioned earlier, even though globalization knocks on every nation's doors, they refuse to give up their own national identity. One way out might be through glocalization, which includes thinking locally but acting globally (Han and Graburn 2010).

Global education ought to begin by helping students know themselves and then helping them obtain local awareness and patriotism. Students in the elementary, junior, and senior high schools need to learn the differences and similarities of international cultures via understanding their own culture and interpreting other cultures (Bellamy et al. 2010; Chavkin and Maher 2010; Elliott et al. 2010; Ministry of Education 2010).

4.2 *International Literacy*

After the students/children possess a basic awareness about their own culture, language, and values, the teacher ought to encourage their students to interpret and accept different languages, values, cultures, and manners all over the world. Therefore, not only are domestic needs and feelings vital in the content and procedures of school curricula but also the diverse conditions around the globe are important in the instruction teachers provide to students (Leung 2009; Standish 2009; Torres 2009).

International literacy should begin from languages, cultures, and other global issues to generate international awareness. The improvement of global education relies on curriculum development and international cooperation. The school first needs to teach the students to respect and appreciate different cultures. Secondly, education needs to help students touch on and understand international and global

issues. Thirdly, the students are required to learn cross-cultural communication (Chun and Evans 2009; Fagan and Munck 2009; Hartman and University of Pittsburgh. Graduate School of Public and International Affairs 2009).

4.3 Global Competitive Ability

Along with the development of national identity and international literacy, students are urged to nurture their global competitive abilities. To face the international market economy, global citizenship requires international communicative skills and attitudes (Birch 2009; Weber and Duderstadt 2008). Global education should provide students in the K-12 levels different national learning opportunities, so they can observe and reflect on cultural differences. The implementation of global education could lead students to be aware of competition and cooperation among international societies, strengthen the multi-language abilities to participate international exchange and global educational activities, educate professional knowledge and skills, encourage their commitment to international competition and cooperation, and enrich their human capital to live comfortably in the upcoming global village (Schattle 2008; Schelhase 2008; Townsend and Bates 2008; Vaish 2008).

4.4 International Responsibility

The last but not the least domain to be considered is international responsibility. It is tremendously important to figure out that the earth belongs to everyone and everyone needs to take a responsibility to maintain the health of the world (Nagashima and University of Pittsburgh. School of Education 2008; Nelson et al. 2008).

The goal of global education should be to focus on tolerance among different ethnicities, regions, and cultures. Moreover, it should be to advocate the value of world peace. The effort of the global education is to indicate the mutual understanding of heterogeneity and variation, emphasizing the idea of human rights and sustainable development (Abdi and Shultz 2008; Spindler and Stockard 2007).

5 Global Citizenship-Oriented Curriculum Reforms

The four core values of global education and global citizenship must influence current curriculum reforms in several countries. The current curriculum reforms related to global education and global citizenship could be interpreted as having an integrated curriculum, international exchange, teacher professional development, and an internationalized campus (Cushner et al. 2007; Dayal-Gulati et al. 2007; Sánchez Sorondo et al. 2007).

5.1 *Integrated Curriculum*

The approaches to integrate global education into daily schooling include incorporating international material into the curriculum, self-designed learning material, and international language instruction.

5.2 *International Exchange*

Ways to promote the international exchange include: carrying out education travel, studying abroad, international exchange programs, sister/brother school exchanges, international volunteer services, international conferences, global language villages, and Internet conference participation.

5.3 *Professional Development of Teachers*

To increase global education literacy is to enrich the teachers with current global education knowledge and skills and provide enough support about infrastructure of international cooperation and competition.

5.4 *The Internationalized Campus*

The approaches to internationalize the campus environment are to set up international language signs and websites, establish international offices that deal with international cooperation, provide enough learning materials full of international languages and culture, and participate in international exchange programs. Taking Australia curriculum reforms as an example, Patterson (2000, p. 27) introduces how to investigate an issue of global citizenship in Australia into several topics and strategies as outlined below:

- (a) *What Is the Issue?* Read stories or watch videos, which bring up topics of social justice, environmental response, or human rights. In what ways are people or the environment being disregarded, mistreated, or put at risk? Identify which groups are involved, either directly or indirectly. How might the issue be viewed differently by different people? Who shares the responsibility to address the situation? (Note: almost all situations of injustice require action by several parties.)
- (b) *What Factors Have Contributed to the Situation?* Consider social, economic, historical, political, and environmental factors.
- (c) *How Significant Is This Issue, on a Global Scale? How Are Australians Affected?* Find out whether people in other places face similar situations as you do.

- (d) *What Are Possible Ways for Individual Citizens, Community Groups, and Governments to Respond Constructively to This Situation?* Consider and evaluate a range of different ideas. Classify these actions in various ways, e.g., local, national, and international; inexpensive, moderate cost, and very expensive; easy, possible, and unlikely; and short term and long term. Rank them from most important to least important using a ranking diamond.
- (e) *How Do Australians and the Australian Government View This Issue? What Changes in Laws or Policies Are Being Considered?* Collect and analyze information from surveys, community organizations, political parties, and government departments. This might involve identifying the relevant departments, reading media releases on the web, and looking at letters to the editor.
- (f) *How Can We Act as Informed Citizens in Relation to This Issue?* Encourage students to discuss and decide what they could do. For example, write a letter (to whom, about what?), or make posters to display in the school or local library. Invite the local Member of Parliament or another community member to speak about Australia's laws, policies, and responsibilities concerning this issue. Raise funds to assist organizations working for change in this area.

According to the current school reforms, most of the countries in the world that try to promote global education tend to focus on the section of international exchange, and they ignore the importance of curriculum integration, teacher professional development, and the internationalized campus (Beckford and Demerath 2007; Ministry of Education 2011). Furthermore, several research articles also mention that two leading struggles facing most countries today are reforming the curriculum and obtaining financial resources. We shall elaborate briefly on these two issues.

Most curricula only cover some specific subjects, such as history and geography and foreign languages. Even here the options are limited. In terms of foreign languages, they usually concentrate on English, French, and Chinese (Mirza 1998). Most of global education activities remain disconnected from the goal of mutual understanding within our global villages and the responsibility of global citizenship. Huge gaps among different school teachers' global education literacy can still be found, and there are few preservice and in-service teacher education training activities focused on global education. The campuses are still far from becoming internationalized environments, and the infrastructure needs to improve to feed the need of global awareness (Dutta 1999; Eades et al. 2000; Kramarae et al. 2000).

With reference to the lack of resources and supports, even recently, a lot of countries encourage their schools and students to face the global competition, but the financial support for individual schools and students is still limited. Along these veins, most of the international exchange programs lack financial resources and support (Nederveen Pieterse 2000; Stromquist and Monkman 2000).

6 Conclusion

The twenty-first century is the era of globalization, and the idea of the global village encourages people to consider the importance of international cooperation and the enrichment of world peace. Along with the development of information and

communication technology, there is a necessity to encourage political, economic, social, and cultural cooperation among nations around the world. Moreover, the active commitment from multinational enterprise, NGOs, and NPOs helps accelerate interaction in the world (Ministry of Education 2011).

Globalization is not a choice, but a reality that we should face nowadays. Globalization and the development of countries are highly interrelated (Zajda 2010c). We are facing a system full of multicultural lifestyles, and that is why the educational systems need to expand the breadth and depth of schooling and connect to the tendency of international development.

Globally oriented citizens and grounded cosmopolitans are the hybrid of globalization and localization (Matthews and Sidhu 2005; Zajda 2005). The role of global citizenship should include global perspectives and the competence of international participation and competition. In schooling, it is becoming more and more significant about how to advocate respect and tolerance cross-cultural values, how to educate students to get along with others in the multicultural environment, and how to make some effort in terms of international mutual understanding.

According to the current research discoveries, the global citizenship-oriented curriculum should include four core values: national identity, international literacy, global competitive abilities, and international responsibility (see Zajda et al. 2009). Moreover, the strategic plans for school curriculum facing the issues of global education and global citizenship include: the integrated curriculum, international exchange, teacher professional development, and the internationalized campus. However, due to detached curriculum and the lack of financial resources and support, the movement to global education and global citizenship still faces significant struggles to achieve the goal of mutual understanding and international responsibility.

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Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective

Lawrence J. Saha

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the key concepts of cultural and social capital in a global perspective. This will be done by first examining the origins of the two concepts and their relevance for education. Second, the global implications of the concepts will be examined. Third, the relevance of cultural and social capital for understanding educational processes will be discussed. Finally, examples of cultural and social capital in educational contexts will be given to illustrate the global relevance of the concepts.

1 The Concepts of Cultural and Social Capital

The concepts of cultural and social capital have become critical for sociological research in the last two decades. The two concepts are closely related, and both are part of a family of concepts having to do with various forms of capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), “Capital is accumulated labor....which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (p. 241). Furthermore, as Bourdieu notes, capital has the potential capacity to “produce profits.” In this seminal paper, Bourdieu identified four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. The concept of economic capital is best known and is a form which is convertible into money and property rights. Symbolic capital, which appears only in a footnote in Bourdieu’s discussion, is a form of capital where the object is symbolically possessed and reflected in *habitus*, which are durable schemes of perception and action (i.e., permanent dispositions) (Madigan 2002).

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However it is the forms of cultural and social capital which concern us in this chapter. These two concepts are important because, as with other forms of capital, they can be converted into economic capital. Although the two concepts are closely related, they have different histories and are related to education in much different ways. Let us consider each concept in turn.

1.1 Cultural Capital

The first documented use of the concept of “cultural capital” occurred in the research of Bourdieu and Passeron (1964, 1977, 1979) in their research on French university students. During the mid-1960s, Bourdieu and his colleague were interested in how the university experience, particularly in the arts faculty, contributed to the perpetuation of elite status in French society. Furthermore, the researchers were not concerned with economic factors but rather those cultural factors which explained the reproduction of elite status.

It was in this context that Bourdieu and Passeron developed the concept of cultural capital.

In its *objectified* state, the concept of cultural capital includes knowledge and possessions that are reflected in books, art, and other cultural artifacts. The possession of cultural capital facilitates the participation or movement of the possessor in society, thereby bringing advantage in lifestyle or access to the valued institutions of society. Bourdieu and Passeron argued that through their university studies and experience, students acquired knowledge of the “high” culture which allowed its possessor to more easily circulate and take advantage of opportunities of the French elite. Being able to comfortably associate with this segment of society, the students were able to get better jobs and more promotion within these jobs. In other words, their cultural capital was converted into economic capital.

1.2 Social Capital

In its broadest sense, the concept of social capital refers to resources which are obtained through social relationships and connections with other people, be they family, community, work, or school. However, unlike its related concept, cultural capital, the underlying notion of social capital has a longer history in sociological thought and is more complex in its diversity of definitions and analytical use. Although Coleman (1988) is usually credited for having developed and popularized the concept, it is generally agreed that the idea of social capital, in one form or another, appeared in sociological writing much earlier (Schneider 2002). Coleman himself noted that the concept of social capital was first used by Loury in 1977 (1977), but Schneider argues that Park and Burgess (1921) implied the concept in their discussion of social contact and corporate action in social control (for which

they credit Durkheim as their influence). Mead (1934) also referred to a similar notion when he defined social institutions as organized social attitudes and actions of individuals, and without which there would be no fully mature individual selves or personalities.

The notion of social contacts as productive resources in a wide range of social activities has found its way in a number of subsequent sociological writings. Janowitz (1975), for example, argued that social contacts within groups are central for social control and they result in societal self-regulation.

Some researchers explicitly have linked the notion of social capital to economic returns. Over a period of two decades, Lin (Lin 1982; Lin et al. 1981) has studied the importance of social resources, in particular social networks, as a mechanism for protecting and gaining resources. Most recently, Lin (2001) defines social capital as "...investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace" (p. 19). He puts forward a more precise conceptual definition of social capital which allows for its measurement in the analysis of a wide range of effects. He also develops a theory of social capital which takes into account the mobilization of social capital through purposive action. Lin's theory represents the most elaborate attempt to understand how social capital brings advantage to those who possess and mobilize it in a wide range of social objectives.

Working in the same conceptual framework as Lin, N.D. De Graaf and H.D. Flap (1988) cite Bourdieu in developing their research and use the terms "social resources," "personal contacts," and "informal contacts/sources" to explain differences in the influence of social capital on the attainment of occupational status and income in the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands. The researchers found that personal contacts, or social capital, were more likely to be used for job getting in the United States, West Germany, and the Netherlands, in that order. In all three countries, however, personal contacts were more important than formal methods for finding a better job.

Using the concept of social capital somewhat differently, Putnam (1993, 2000) has used the concept specifically to explain civic engagement in Italy and the United States. Citing from Coleman, Putnam defined social capital in his Italian study as "...features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions..." (Putnam 1993, p. 167). In his study of the United States, Putnam used the same concept to analyze what he argued was the declining level of civic and political participation. Thus declining group membership and group activities represented a decline in social capital.

More recently, social capital has gained a wide acceptance in the field of economics (Guiso et al. 2007, p. 24). This success is due in part to the remarkable correlation between social capital and economic performance across countries (Tabellini 2008). Given this wider adoption and expansion of its use, it should be clear that the concept of social capital has become central to much social science research. While related to the notion of social networks, social capital, as used by many researchers, is a much more precise concept which can be quantitatively measured. Finally, while much research has focused on social objectives such as

occupational attainment, income, and even health (Kawachi et al. 1997), another area where social capital has had considerable impact is that of education. It is to the relationship between both cultural capital and social capital and their impact on education that we now turn.

2 The Impact of Cultural and Social Capital on Educational Processes

The person most responsible for linking cultural capital with education is Bourdieu, while for social capital it is Coleman. While both writers acknowledged other forms of capital with respect to educational processes, they seem to have had very little intellectual contact and rarely cited one another's work. As in the above section, it is easier if the contribution of these two forms of capital to education is treated separately.

2.1 Cultural Capital and Education

The origins of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital lie specifically in his educational research. During the mid-1960s, Bourdieu and his colleague Passeron were involved with a series of studies on French education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). One of these studies was on university students in the arts faculty, who he considered to have a unique relationship with a society's culture, compared to students in other academic disciplines. Although Bourdieu and Passeron accepted the importance of social and economic factors in explaining attendance and success at university, he wanted to focus on the influence of cultural factors on the educative process itself.

In one sense, Bourdieu and Passeron regarded all students as being exposed to the "high culture" of French society by their attendance at university. However he argued that those students from *bourgeoisie* backgrounds represent the end product of a long exposure to a lifestyle which enables them to use or exploit the university in a way that those from disadvantaged backgrounds could not. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, university students from bourgeoisie backgrounds approach their studies much differently from the others, and their educational experience permeates all aspects of their lives, even the language they speak and the vocabularies they command. Thus they communicate better with their lecturers, and their possession of elite culture enables them to transform this cultural capital into scholastic capital, that is, relevant knowledge related to their fields of study which will serve them later in life (Teese 1997).

On the basis of their studies of French university students, Bourdieu and Passeron argued that they could explain how the French bourgeoisie elite and their "inherited"

culture were reproduced legitimately through the workings of the French education system. Bourdieu and Passeron had introduced to the sociology of education the important concept of cultural capital and its relation to education. But more importantly, from this research, they developed a theory of social reproduction, that is, an explanation for how the schools actually contribute to the reproduction of the class structure of society by means of an inherited culture, but which appears in society to be meritocratically acquired (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

The concept of cultural capital, and its implications for the process of social reproduction, has become widely used in education research in many countries. Thus, the importance of culture as a form of capital which can be converted to other forms of capital, such as economic or occupational capital, has been found to be more or less a universal process. A number of studies using the concept illustrate this point.

Apart from Bourdieu's study in France, one of the earliest studies of cultural capital was conducted by DiMaggio (1982). Using data from a survey of about 3,000 grade 11 students, he found that even after controlling for family background and measured ability, cultural capital variables had a highly significant impact on student grades and for nontechnical school subjects were almost as important as measured ability. DiMaggio (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985) extended his study of cultural capital to educational attainment and found similar results.

P.M. De Graaf (1986) provided a further complexity to the findings in DiMaggio's work by demonstrating that financial resources and cultural resources (cultural capital) over time were not important in explaining the educational attainment of the two oldest siblings in families in the Netherlands. De Graaf's explanation was that the Dutch government had successfully eliminated differentiation according to family resources and that cultural consumption by the parents explained little of the differences in the children's' educational attainments. Social background, measured in terms parental education and father's occupation, was a more important factor. However De Graaf argued that while his findings do support Bourdieu's argument concerning high-status culture and cultural consumption, Bourdieu's further hypothesis concerning cultural consumption and educational attainment was not supported by his data because of the particular characteristics of the Dutch educational system.

Building on the already accumulating body of research, Lamb (1989, 1990) studied cultural consumption (attendance at art exhibitions) among a sample of Australian secondary school students and found that it was related to educational plans. However Lamb did find gender differences and that this cultural consumption pattern was more pronounced for boys than girls. However, he argued that this Australian pattern was due to a smaller difference among girls with respect to future educational plans.

Studies of cultural capital and education have begun to occur outside of North America and Europe with similar findings. In Hong Kong, Post and Pong (1998) investigated the impact of declining family size on the sex differences in educational attainment. Using census data, they found that between 1981 and 1991, the differences between boys and girls decreased. They attributed this decline to the

increased educational attainment of mothers, which they argued represents “an omnibus measure of culture capital” (p. 108).

In many Asian societies such as Japan, Taiwan, and China, there are rich traditional cultural practices which guide the daily lives of people. The knowledge of these cultural practices constitutes a form of cultural capital which can be converted into other forms of capital. Zeng (1996) describes one example of these practices with respect to education. For some students, it is common to use prayer tablets (*ema*), headbands (*hachimaki*), and charms (*omamori*) to give them personal confidence and solace. Zeng argues that differential access to, or use of, these cultural practices represents variation in the distribution of cultural capital in these societies.

The above examples largely support the original Bourdieu argument that cultural capital can be converted into scholastic capital, that is, forms of education success and attainment. The affect of educational attainment on other forms of life chances such as occupational attainment has also been documented. Thus, insofar as culture capital tends to be possessed and used by certain social groups in society, it represents an important variable in the process of social reproduction. However, do these processes operate in the same way with respect to social capital? We now turn to this issue.

2.2 *Social Capital and Education*

Coleman defined social capital in an educational context as “...social resources that children and youth have available to them outside schools in their family or community” (Coleman et al. 1997, p. 623). He saw it as consisting of social relationships with adults which students possess and which provide advantages in a range of activities, in particular those relating to school activities. Defined in this way, social capital includes the interests of parents, the interaction patterns within families which relate to schooling, and similar contacts outside the family, such as the community, which influence the students’ school performance.

Unlike its counterpart concept “cultural capital,” social capital has found wide acceptance and use not only by sociologists but economists and development planners. Lin (2001), for example, has recently summarized almost two decades of his own research into the importance of “social connections” and “social relations” for the achievement of various life goals. These concepts, of course, are related to social capital and the resources which flow from these two phenomena. Lin’s earlier work primarily had been concerned with the importance of social capital and occupational status (Lin et al. 1981), and his recent attempts have been to develop a theory of how social capital works in various social settings.

Other researchers, however, have directed their attention to the importance of social capital more specifically with respect to various educational outcomes. One of the areas of much of this research has focused on migrant or minority status and the relationship between social capital and educational attainment. In trying to explain

the different educational attainments of immigrant youth compared to native-born youth in the United States, White and Glick (2000) point out that human capital is not a sufficient explanation. They argue that differences in social capital must also be taken into account. Using longitudinal data, Glick and White found that social capital variables such as parental involvement in their student's school work, student strong commitment to family, student personal locus of control, and bilingualism were significantly important in determining who remained in high school, irrespective of migrant status and the possession of human capital in the home.

Also for the Latino minority group in the United States, Stanton-Salazar and his colleagues (Stanton-Salazar et al. 2001) found that low educational aspirations among low-status adolescents was due to their reluctance to seek help from the resources available to them. In other words, due to a number of factors such as low English proficiency, these Latino adolescents were failing to mobilize the social capital which was available to help them.

Studies which have related social capital with various aspects of educational achievement or attainment have been conducted in other countries. For example, Stevenson and Stigler (1992) never mention the word social capital in their comparative study of Japanese, Chinese, and American primary schools, but their findings clearly indicate that the embedded nature of the Asian schools with home and family environments produce a continuity between home and school which they did not find in the American schools that they studied. They found that the relationship between parents and teachers in Asian schools produced complementarity rather than duplication. "Parents and teachers work together, but do not duplicate one another's roles ... Americans, by contrast, seem to expect that schools will take on responsibility for many more aspects of the child's life" (Stevenson and Stigler 1992, p. 83).

However what was particularly important in the Asian schools was the emphasis on cooperative and group learning as opposed to individual achievement. This former type of learning context increased the social capital for each child and therefore increased the resources for the learning process. In effect, Stevenson and Stigler implicitly described how both cultural and social capital were maximized in the learning process in the Asian schools that they studied.

Another aspect of Asian society is illustrative of the role that social capital can play in furthering the educational progress of children. In most Western societies, single-parent families, particularly where the mother is the single parent, are often found to be detrimental to the education of children. However Pong (1996) found that in Malaysia, this negative relationship does not necessarily occur. For the Malay ethnic group, and where the mothers are widowed, there is a strong cultural norm which requires that the extended families provide social and financial help in the raising of the children, including their education. In effect, as Pong points out, these collectivist ties provide the social capital necessary to overcome the absence of the father.

Teachers in Asian societies also are involved in the environment of social capital in education. Robinson (1994) found that in South Korea, the custom of *ch'onji*, or the practice of parents giving "tokens of appreciation" to the teacher, contributed to the educational benefit of children. Even though the teachers denied that these gifts influenced their treatment of the students, they were nevertheless interpreted as

expressions of parental concern for the children. They thus tended to call on these students more often, a practice seen as contributing to *palp'yo*, or the acquisition of valued speaking skills necessary for later public life. Thus, from the parents' point of view, *ch'onji* was a practice which helped to acquire social capital for the child in the educative process. As Robinson notes, this process "is an example of how economic capital can be converted to social capital" (1994).

Finally, a study of Palestinian high school students in Israel provides further evidence of the impact of social capital, even for a highly disadvantaged minority. Khattab (2003) found that in spite of their disadvantaged minority status, the Palestinian students held high educational aspirations, largely because of the parental aspirations for their children and the extent to which parents discuss education with them. Another interesting finding of this study is that the impact of cultural capital variables was reduced when the social capital variables were introduced into the analysis.

There are many other sources which document the universality of the impact of social capital on educational attainment (Saha 2003). This should not be surprising given that social contacts and social relationships are fundamental to society itself. However it is clear that social capital manifests itself in a variety of ways in the way that it affects the education process.

Recently, however, it has been argued that as societies become more modern, they tend to become more individual oriented, and that in fact social capital itself is on the decline. Indeed, a similar question might be asked about cultural capital. This is the issue to which we now turn.

3 Cultural and Social Capital, Education, and Globalization

Globalization is a concept which has become dominant in modern discourse. The concept describes a condition whereby the world is seen to be becoming more homogeneous with respect to a wide range of economic and social processes. The result of this homogeneity is the loss of the importance of the unique regional level. Terms such as the "global village" have come to describe the process and the loss of the "local village." One of the assumptions of those who take this perspective is that there is an incompatibility between the two. In the context of cultural and social capital, there seems to be some evidence of this conflict. For example, Demerath (2000) found that students can be subjected to two forms of cultural and social capital, that of a local traditional culture and that of the school, a modernizing institution. In his study of students in Papua New Guinea, he found that students often had to cope with the social and psychological consequences of the conflict between the collectivist demands of the local village culture and the individualist demands of the school. Both environments possessed their own forms of cultural and social capital, and the students had to learn how to manipulate their "social self" so that they would not lose their integration with one or the other.

In this context, it is important to note that all cultures have their forms of cultural and social capital. However the crucial issue in the case of contact between two or more cultures is which one is dominant. Therefore the issue of globalization is the extent to which the “global” dominates the “local” and whether the “global” in effect reflects a particularly dominant form of cultural and social capital, for example, Western as opposed to non-Western, Christian as opposed to non-Christian, or individualist as opposed to collectivist.

Both cultural and social capital are likely to be affected by globalization but in different ways. For example, a local form of cultural capital, such as knowledge of indigenous art or literature, may be overtaken by a global form of art and literature knowledge, such as Western art and literature. Thus persons who had previously possessed highly valued local knowledge might find that that knowledge is no longer valued, and therefore is no longer cultural capital in the true sense of the concept. In other words, it cannot be exchanged for academic or economic capital.

Social capital stands to be affected by globalization in a different manner. Social capital is embedded in social relationships. Clearly the globalization process can change the value of a particular set of social relationships. Former relationships with local persons may no longer carry the same value as relationships with national or international persons. Similarly, perceptions of trust and integrity, at both the personal and organizational level, can affect the prevalence of social capital in a society. As these relational characteristics become more or less common across societies, the prevalence of social capital will increase or decrease (Woolcock 1998).

However another manner in which social capital can be affected by the globalization process is by its decline in absolute, not relative terms. This was the argument in Putnam’s work *Bowling Alone* (2000). Putnam argued that at least in the United States, social capital, as reflected in membership in various social, religious, and political associations, declined since the end of World War II. The data that Putnam used to support his argument suggests that the United States has become less of a community in the conventional sense and more a society of individuals who behave much the same, but not as part of formal groups. Although he cites television viewing as one of the causes, one could say that globalization, and the rise of the global village, has contributed to this process.

A counterargument to Putnam’s hypothesis has been put forward by Lin (2001) who claims that the notion that social capital is declining is “premature and, in fact, false” (p. 237). Lin claims that the emergence of social networks in cyberspace represents a new form of social capital that transcends community and national boundaries and will in time supercede personal capital in significance. Lin contends that cyber networks represent social capital because they provide resources beyond mere information. Furthermore, he contends that unlike social capital in the conventional sense, where individuals in advantaged positions in society have greater access to resources, the new cyber networks may represent a “bottom-up” globalization process since the networks are not dependent on any dominant group.

Lin argues that cyber networks can work within any social group or social institution. He develops a model in which social capital is a determinant of both

instrumental (wealth, power, and reputation) and expressive returns (physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction). However it is clear in the context of Lin's discussion that cyber networks might also become important for education processes. The availability of knowledge and access to persons who are sources of knowledge represent forms of social capital which are increasingly important for educational success. Thus cyber networks and their implication for education are part of the globalization process.

4 Conclusions

Cultural and social capital are two important concepts in understanding many economic and social processes in all societies. They have been found to be particularly important in understanding educational processes and in particular why some children do well in school and others do not. The globalization processes occurring in the world today are likely to increase, rather than decrease, the amount of cultural and social capital available. Furthermore access to cultural and social capital is likely to be less dominated by a particular social or national group, given the manner of access through cyber networks. However, little research has been conducted on this most current change in the globalization process, and therefore many of the arguments remain to be tested.

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Part VII
Globalisation, Education Policy
and Reform: Changing Schools

Section Editors: *Joseph Zajda* (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus)
and *Rea Zajda* (James Nicholas Publishers)

Globalization and Education

Svi Shapiro

1 End of an Era: Possibility and Hope

I do not think I am being overly optimistic to believe that we are now witnessing the implosion of the neoconservative “revolution” in the United States. All signs point to our being in a transitional period in which the assumptions that have governed political life for the past 6 years are in grave crisis. At the core of these assumptions has been the belief that the United States had a free and unopposed hand to make and reorganize the world according to the interests and inclinations of our governing elites (Zakaria 2009). We can now see quite clearly that this arrogance of power has hit a resistant wall. The world cannot be re-made through our military muscle and economic power quite as easily as some may have wished. The lies and deceit that have brought us to this catastrophic moment have been laid bare. The belief that this country could act unilaterally on the world stage without much broader international support has produced unparalleled anger and distrust towards the United States. Many now see that terrorism is only one of a number of serious threats that confront us: global warming, lethal epidemics, poverty, violence and war, nuclear proliferation, racism, and ethnic hatred. All are part of the increasingly pressing agenda for action in the world (Korten 2006). And the severity and complexity of human problems will demand from us, and especially our children, inclinations, dispositions, and knowledge quite different from those which have shaped, and continue to shape, our social identities and ideological outlooks, moral preferences, and attitudinal priorities (West 2004). *This is a time of crisis, but also of renewed*

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possibility—one that offers us the opportunity to radically reconsider what is the meaning of education for a generation that will bear the brunt of grappling with these extraordinary challenges and dangers. What will it mean to be an educated human being in the twenty-first century compelled to confront and address so much that threatens the very basis of a decent and hopeful human existence?

The unraveling of the “neocon” consensus is likely to bring in its train many questions about our public policy priorities. Already there is a growing populist resentment towards the increasing concentration of wealth in the United States. There is increasing disillusionment with the effects of free trade agreements on the lives and economic security of working and middle class Americans, which includes the anxiety felt by many towards the influx of migrants from these free trade areas. For many Americans there is an inability to meet the basics of a decent existence through the absence of affordable health care or dependable retirement income. Katrina exposed us to the harsh realities of poverty and racism that continue to disfigure American life. Catastrophic weather patterns have ignited concerns about humanly influenced climate change. Continuing war is resulting in increasing disillusionment with government’s failure to respond to our dependence on oil and the development of alternative energy sources. At the same time authoritarian Christianity has led the nation down a path of intolerance, discrimination, and religious chauvinism. Its constricted moral rage has been blind to questions of poverty, social injustice, and environmental degradation. Meanwhile there is an increasingly pervasive sense that there is a crisis of meaning and values in America—one that leads to a debasement of human relationships, accelerating materialism and greed, and misplaced fixation on celebrity and glamour (Lerner 2006). In this context there is a compelling need to articulate a new bottom line for education—one that offers a different vision for educating our children that directly and cogently speaks to human purpose and meaning in the world that they will inherit.

2 The No Child Left Behind Debacle

Of course any such attempt will need to start with the failure that is the *No Child Left Behind* law. Its deleterious effects have been well documented (Shapiro 2009). They include the failure to significantly reduce the racial achievement gap; the penalizing of immigrant children and special students; the increased dropout rates; the narrowing of the curriculum and the shallow reductionist form of learning; the increased stress and anxiety among students resulting from the obsessive focus on standardized tests; the diversion of public funds to private tutoring sources and other for-profit outfits; and the deskilling of teachers’ work and the reliance on “programmed” learning. All of this points to a bankruptcy in what has been the paramount public policy in education. And as the failures and unpopularity of NCLB gathers steam, there are increasing calls to tether education even more closely to the human capital demands of big business, as well to intensify the measurements of accountability in public schools (and in higher education). Little is heard in the

public discourse about education's responsibility to nurturing the knowledge, attitudes, and dispositions of a democratic polity (Giroux 2005). Short shrift is given to the value of developing the imagination and creative aptitudes of the young.

There is little attention afforded to the capacity of education to enhance the ability of young people to critically interrogate popular media or the sources of public information. Intellectual and creative activity as a joyful human act, not simply a vehicle for instrumental advantage, comes to be regarded as frivolous waste. And it is taken as axiomatic that the moral context of the classroom and school is one that emphasizes individual achievement, competitive advantage, and willingness to subordinate authentic interests and passions to the compulsive quest for college and career success (Purpel 2004). It has produced a sadly limited form of education devoid of any larger human vision—one that speaks to the quest for lives of meaning and purpose. Separated from the latter and focusing only on the transmission of skills and technical competencies, the classroom has become a site of boredom, stifled curiosity, and joyless learning (Shapiro 2006).

3 Education and the Crisis of Democracy

Yet the growing political crisis holds out the possibility of change and hope. Can we really doubt that our situation today calls for a language and vision that is bold, courageous, and resonant to the fears, concerns, and hopes of the broad majority of human beings? There is surely little doubt that we face a deep crisis of meaningful citizenship in this country. And in this regard education has abdicated its responsibilities. Meaningful citizenship—what Stuart Ewan (1988) referred to as a “democracy of expression”—is more and more replaced by what he called a “democracy of consumption.” For many people—young people especially—choice, power, and freedom are increasingly reduced to one's capacity to buy.

The marketplace defines “democratic” action more than the polling booth or public engagement and advocacy (Sandlin and McLaren 2010). The credit card defines one's eligibility as a citizen. That critical aspect of democracy—the capacity to exert power over one's circumstances—is reduced to the ability to shop from the ever-expanding, dizzying array of available products. Advertisers have appropriated the language of democratic life so that change, innovation, renewal, and the energy of public life are concentrated and distilled into the excitement of fashion, automobile ownership, the latest upgrade in the technology of communication, or the promise of optimal experiences offered through travel, drink, or sex.

If democracy is about a shared search for better society, then consuming is all about what *I have acquired or experienced*. If democracy is about improving our common well-being, then consumption relentlessly offers the prospect of “getting an edge” and being one-up on our neighbor in looks, acquisitions, opportunities, and style (Reich 2008). A possessive and competitive individualism is at its motivational core. In sharp contrast to this, a democracy of expression concerns the capacity to name and articulate the circumstances that enable or limit a full and satisfying

human existence, not just for oneself but also for all of us who are members of our shared polity.

Yet it is a rarity when schooling offers students the opportunity to develop that capacity for expression that enhances democratic life and citizenship. School for most students is primarily about the process of domestication and conformity as they learn the grammar and syntax of test-taking skills and become adept at the search for the single correct answer on the test sheet. Creative thought, critical questioning, the articulation of ideas, and insights about students' lives and concerns have little place in the classrooms of most young people. The present suffocating regime of schooling squeezes out any possibility of educating young people so that they develop a genuine curiosity about their world, a passion to pursue and understand life's purpose, and the will to challenge accepted truths and conventions.

Most of all schools now develop accountants of test scores and grade point averages and adept manipulators of college resumes through the accumulation of curricular and extracurricular experiences. Little here can contribute to a mind that is alert and awake to the challenges we face as a human community and is imbued with the desire to question deeply and boldly those social, moral, and epistemological assumptions and categories that shape our dangerously divisive, wasteful, and materialistic world. After Abu Ghraib, and the abuses of Guantanamo and elsewhere, we must be concerned again with the propensity towards an unthinking conformity—a readiness to do or say whatever is deemed necessary in order to oblige those in authority. As we know so well, the path towards what Hannah Arendt called the “banality of evil” starts in school with the message about doing what one is told to do without question or reflection. When success in school comes to mean rote memorization, the search for the single right answer, and intellectual conformity or timidity, then we have created the conditions in which human beings learn that it is right to abdicate their capacity for moral autonomy and “wide-awake” thoughtfulness and decision-making.

The shrinking ability to see knowledge as having any transformative power other than as the crass instrument of individual advantage is also the consequence of the world of spin that engulfs political and corporate life in the United States. This is a point well made by Bernard Cooperman (2007) for whom our culture is one that induces cynical, disbelieving attitudes towards any claims about truth or judgment. People are taught, first and foremost, to see themselves as consumers who choose sides as a matter of temporary and shifting taste or convenience. Intellectual conviction and ethical commitment are replaced by cant, spin, and short-term interests. And this, says Cooperman, is reflected in our classrooms where students have lost the ability to think critically about the world because they do not believe in knowledge itself. These difficulties however should, of course, only strengthen our conviction as to the need to understand education's crucial role in revitalizing a democratic culture. In the face of the extraordinary and intensifying power of elites—corporate, political, and military—to structure the language and set the limits of public debate in this country, any significant new educational vision must be one that includes the prospect of a critically reflective, boldly questioning, and imaginatively creative citizenry.

4 Education and the Struggle for Community

The crisis of democratic citizenship is also the crisis of community. The withering of what Cornel West (2004) refers to as *parrhesia*—the capacity for bold and courageous thinking—is also the erosion of social cohesion and communal interdependence. And in each case schools are an important (though certainly not the sole) factor in this decline. School is after all that place where children first learn the “culture of separated desks.” It is the place where they are first formally introduced to a worldview in which life’s rewards—material and symbolic—are seen as the product of an endless struggle with one’s neighbors. The mentality of the bell curve instructs them that scarcity of affirmation, recognition, and reward is part of the very DNA of human existence. It is a social imperative, they learn, to acquire those skills, manners, dispositions, and knowledge that give them an advantage over the next individual.

Whatever is said about friendship, sharing, and caring in our schools and classrooms, the real effect of the curriculum is to teach the centrality of competition and individualism in our social relations. In this world, children learn, not everyone can be someone; some of us are inevitably destined for failure and invisibility. It is a lesson relentlessly emphasized through schools’ constant attention to the markers of success and failure, validation, and rejection. It is a message that deeply penetrates students’ understanding of human existence. The world is a predatory place. The fear of failure hangs over all of us and with it a distrust and suspicion towards those who appear to have acquired something more than we have. It is a world in which envy, dissatisfaction, and incessant drive towards invidious comparison permeate our lives (Fuller 2004). From the gold stars of kindergarten to the status hierarchy of college selection, schooling is an insistent socialization into the world of hierarchy, status, and human separation. We are, through this process, driven apart not together; led to see ourselves as working against one another rather than acting cooperatively; and primed for an aggressive egoism rather than an open-hearted generosity.

Those who would argue that the root emotion of our competitively driven, aggressively self-oriented culture is fear make a convincing argument. There is the anxiety that what we have must constantly be protected from those who jealously desire to take it from us, resent our hard won gains, or wish to diminish our success in some way. Such pervasive *resentment* produces what Barbara Ehrenreich (1990) refers to as the constant “fear of falling”; the sense that in a ferociously competitive world someone is always just behind you on the ladder waiting (hoping) you will slip.

The encircling arms of young children as they protect their assignment from the eyes of other children so aptly embody the worldview of a fearful and suspicious individualism. Their answers dare not be shared with other children for that would diminish their special claim to success and recognition. For those whose arms and hands are used to hide what they believe is an inadequate response, the body language manifests the shame and vulnerability of failure in that painful world in which worth is always contingent on success and achievement.

In this landscape of painful human fragmentation and separation, the hunger for connection, genuine friendship, closeness, and camaraderie find expression—but often in ways that still bear the marks of a hostile and fearful environment. Our preoccupation with the flag speaks to a desperate desire for some unifying focus of a shared community (Bauman 1997). Sadly such a focus invariably becomes a fetish that carries the insistence on patriotic conformity. It comes quickly to stand for that nationalistic sense of togetherness, which leaves little room for dissent. It is a community in which the price of membership is an unquestioning allegiance to governmental authority or the belief in the perennial rightness of one's cause.

Not surprisingly such patriotic belonging is underpinned by triumphalism and an uncritical celebration of always being on the right side of history. This sense of connection with others is marked too by a Manichean view of the world in which the ties that bind us to some situate others as our inveterate enemies. We are locked into a constant struggle between ourselves, the forces of light, and others who represent the side of evil. The construction of community here is rooted in a zero-sum world of enemies; connection among us is predicated by our hostility towards, and fear of, those who appear to threaten our way of life (Maalouf 2000).

It is easy to see how young people are socialized into this kind of worldview. The school pep rally and varsity athletics rivalry inculcate a frenzied support for one's own team. Pride and loyalty towards one's "own" side come together with a demonizing of the opposition. The celebration of our shared identity is always one side of a coin whose other face is fierce competition and the will to superiority or dominance. The poison of a community constructed through invidious comparison with others who are viewed as inferior, immoral, or bent on our destruction has very deep roots in our culture. We do not have to look far to see a politics built around the contrast between those of "us" who inhabit the normal, safe, and hygienic world of heterosexuality and those who appear to threaten its acceptance. Our world is riven by religious claims as to who speaks with the one and only true voice of God and those who are heretical pretenders. Migrants from other countries seeking a better life for themselves and their families are made to appear as a dangerous threat to the national culture and language. Modernity with its drive towards unceasing change, dislocation, and uncertainty produces a world of extraordinary alienation and anxiety. It can hardly be surprising that such conditions are a catalyst for attempts to forge stable identities around what Zygmunt Bauman calls "neo-tribalism." Such identities are often ones that are turned in on themselves—absolutist in their thinking, resistant to any outside influences, and rigidly hierarchical (usually aggressively patriarchal). These communities of resistance to the destabilizing effects of modernity and globalized capitalism provide a sense of connection and meaning in an atomized and disrupted world.

Fierce assertion of communal identity reflects also a spiritual and physical resistance by those whose ethnicity, gender, religious traditions, and national identity have been degraded, repressed, and submerged. These allegiances are formed from the pain and humiliation dealt to oppressed groups. Such communities are both political and therapeutic attempting to assuage the wounds of humiliation, invisibility, and marginality while demanding redress to the social injustices they

have had to constantly endure (Bauman 2007). Such communities frequently demand schools of their own where the pride of heritage and identity can be transmitted to a younger generation. There is an understandable wish among communities whose history has been one of exclusion and oppression to provide for their young an education that reverses the pattern of marginality, humiliation, and invisibility. Such educational goals are integral to a vision of a culturally diverse democracy. Yet there is a tension here that should not be ignored between democracy's promise of the affirmation of plural cultural, ethnic, and religious communities and the need to ensure a *universal* human ethic and a global civic culture.

The enormous challenge in the twenty-first century is to allow and facilitate the genuine recognition and flourishing of all those communities that have hitherto been made invisible by the exercise of hegemonic cultures and, at the same time, to ensure that fierce allegiance within these communities does not preclude a sense of wider human connection and interdependence. *It is I believe the task of education to both facilitate the former while also encouraging the latter.* Schools need to provide the space in which particularistic identities can be nurtured. They need also to build and encourage communities of a much wider span in which a universal human ethic and consciousness flourishes. It is surely necessary to assert as never before the connectedness of the human species (and of course the interdependence on earth of all life).

We face as a human community threats to our very existence as a species from pollution, climate change, water shortages, nuclear armaments, the spread of disease across national borders, and violence that makes no distinction between combatants and innocent civilians. Education will have to be a part of a process that asserts and supports identities that are a complex weave of the particular and the universal, the local and the global, and the partial and the whole. We know enough now about the meaning of identity to understand the importance of rootedness and place to human well-being. But we also are increasingly aware of the malignant and dangerous consequences to others when such identity refuses to acknowledge the bonds that connect all of our species as social, ethical, and spiritual beings. Citizenship education today must be one that is concerned with our plural identities *and* the social cohesion stemming from our common concerns and needs as human beings.

5 Schooling and Global Justice

Of course it is impossible to address the pressing question of community in our lives if we do not acknowledge its inseparability from issues of social justice. Community is after all that mode of being in which each of us is visible and recognized within the circle of human presence, yet the practices and reality of our daily lives constantly contradict its possibility. We are, in school and elsewhere, constantly subjected to a process that creates a world of winners and losers—a hierarchy of worth and recognition in which, as educator John Holt once noted, a few learn to get what they like and many learn to like what they get. School is, in the words of educational

historian Joel Spring, first and foremost a “sorting machine” that socializes the young into a world of inequality. The primary and most insidious lesson of education is the legitimacy of unequal treatment and differential human value.

School is nothing if it is not a vehicle for the transmission of hierarchical distinctions of respect, worth, ability, and economic expectations. It is the seeding ground for a society in which we accept astonishing inequalities in the circumstances of our lives—access to health care, decent housing, availability of food, opportunities for rest and recreation, security of employment, and dignity and respect in the community and on the job. All talk of leaving “no child behind” is pure obfuscation in a society where social and economic inequalities bear down heavily on children’s lives, hopelessly blighting the possibilities for success or achievement among so many. And talk of a shared national interest is, much of the time, a cover for glaring and increasing inequalities in the lives of citizens.

In the wider world the new global economic order has been a prescription for increasing inequalities in the shape of people’s lives. Nearly 3 billion people on the planet live on less than 2 dollars a day; 850 million people go hungry and, according to UN estimates, 20–30,000 children die every day of starvation or preventable diseases related to malnutrition and polluted water. More and more power accrues to gigantic transnational businesses that undermine any notion of a democratic polity where ordinary people have a real say about the kind of world in which they live. Talk of community when such extraordinary disparities exist in the distribution of wealth and in the exercise of power becomes emptied of any real meaning.

In a world in which elites have such a disproportionate capacity to influence our culture, the economy, and social policy, the general interest of the many is supplanted by the greed and self-aggrandizement of the few. The security of working people is undercut by the callous and indiscriminate search for more profits. The underdeveloped places of our planet are ruthlessly plundered and exploited by those with economic, political, and military power. An education that is to nurture the sense of human connectedness within both our nation, and within the larger global human family, is an imperative of our time. It is the only alternative to a world of increasing and unnecessary suffering, more cataclysmic wars fought over scarce resources, and lives not blighted by a dehumanized existence in which people are treated as throwaway and expendable items of little enduring value.

To educate towards the now pressing vision of human community cannot be separated from the need to move human consciousness away from the impulse to sort, select, and rank and to find and to legitimate winners and losers. In our schools this will be no easy task since education is almost unimaginable today when it is not about such a process. Yet we need to be reminded that despite the power and influence of such ideas, other ethical, political, and spiritual visions persist. These speak to the continuing possibility of a world in which all are affirmed in their worth, respect, and autonomy; in which all deserve to live with decency and security; and in which meaning is found through the sharing of the earth’s resources. Such a vision must surely infuse what Raymond Williams once referred to as the “long revolution” that we are called upon to make both in our schools and throughout our social institutions.

6 Towards a Pedagogy of Peace

Such change rests on the belief in a universal human ethic. It is an ethic rooted in the concept of the infinite value and preciousness of each and every human life. Its first imperative is to refuse violence against others. We cannot separate a vision of education centered on the quest for democracy, community, and social justice from the need for an education that negates the violence that pervades our culture. The third great responsibility of education today is to cultivate a *culture of peace*. But in the end this goal cannot be separated from the need to cultivate the bonds of universal human community and a culture of democracy (Eisler 2007).

The first challenge of educating for peace is overcoming the dualistic and Manichean thinking that shapes so much of human consciousness in our world. At every turn we learn to understand our world as one constructed from rigid and binary categories. We learn to view all things through a prism that separates and opposes one side from another (Maalouf 2000). And to this separation we add the qualities that give “our” side its supposed superiority.

This is a way of constructing reality that ensures not just a world of immoveable divisions but one in which we come to see our attributes, allegiances, and preferences as the stuff that makes us better than, more deserving, more enlightened, or even genetically superior to all others. This polarized, us/them world is the recipe of inevitable and certain prejudice and hatred (Hanh 2004). Resentment of mistreatment and the ache of dehumanization fill the lives of those distinguished by their supposed failings and pathologies. And fear of the encroachment of the other shapes the psychology and politics of those who hold themselves as superior. If we don’t act with force to restrain and contain the other, it is held, we might succumb to their influence. In this view security comes through the domination and suppression of others.

While educating for peace requires that we see the essential humanity of all people, it also requires that we fully recognize the way in which our lives have been conditioned and shaped through the particularity of our language, history, gender, culture, and class. It has been said that one’s enemy is someone whose story you have not heard. Peace education certainly demands the possibility of dialogue in which one’s life story can be shared with others. It means cultivating a hermeneutical approach to “truth” in which the emphasis is less on whose view is right than on simply hearing what it means to grow up and deal with a particular set of circumstances, a process that emphasizes sympathetic listening rather than the impulse to quick judgment. It means to struggle with one’s own immediate assumptions and prejudices in order to truly hear the challenges and obstacles in the life of the other (Hooks 1994). Such dialogue breaks down or deconstructs—the simplistic and damaging binary view of identities. In its place emerges a more complex and fluid understanding of one’s neighbor, someone who is different in some respects from oneself yet so similar in others; a person whose being is not solely defined through a single characteristic of religion, race, nationality, disability, etc; and a person who is not fully formed and complete, but someone whose life is evolving and changing.

Of course the sharing and naming of experience can only be a part of what it means to educate for peace. There must also be exploration of the culture of violence—the social conditions that predispose us towards the harming of others on the macroscale we now witness. We have to look at what Zygmunt Bauman has termed *adiaphorization*—the tendency, so pronounced in our world, to become desensitized to the pain and humiliation of others. We have to look here at the way violence becomes entertainment; the way wars are depicted through the mass media as video games; and the overall consequence of the barrage of violent images and themes on our sensibilities as human beings.

We have to consider how poverty and unemployment sap human beings of hope for a better future and open the door to a nihilistic rage. Or the way domination—cultural, economic, and political—humiliates and dehumanizes people and can become a catalyst for suicidal revenge. And we must recognize the way that so much of the violence in the world is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men (Katz 2000). Here we have to consider the way masculinity is constructed around the axis of power and dominance. Vulnerability, dependence, and the desire for nurturance are regarded as signs of human weakness (read femininity) that evoke hostility and disgust and are an incitement to violent suppression whether in oneself or in others.

Without this kind of critical social reflection, we run the risk of approaching the issue of violence as simply a manifestation of individual or even collective pathology. The mass murders in our schools are approached only as a matter of psychopathology requiring more efficient mental health systems. Suicidal bombings by Muslims are disconnected from the history of colonialism, the trauma of Palestine, or current western domination of much of the Arab world. Rape and brutality directed against women, or homophobic violence, are not seen within the context of aggressive and authoritarian forms of male identity. And war is somehow disconnected from the multibillion dollar economic interests that enthusiastically encourage militaristic resolutions of social conflicts.

7 Into the Storm: Facing the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century

A fuller and more radical expression of democracy, a culture of peace that teaches us to practice nonviolent means of resolving human conflicts, and relationships between people that celebrate and affirm the bonds of community and interdependence among us are some of the great challenges before us in this century. Their failure to be seriously addressed confronts us with threats to the very possibility of a desirable human future. And all these challenges will require efforts and interventions in a multiplicity of ways within both our individual lives and across the landscapes of our public institutions. There can be no doubt of the extraordinary importance of education to making these changes. Education is after all that sphere where reason, reflection, imagination, and the capacity to act with thoughtfulness and creativity is stirred and nurtured.

Yet it is clear that this is far from where the present discourse of education has taken us. Schools have become instruments of conformity and passivity. They are enthralled to the language of management and controlled outcomes, measured by their usefulness to the state as the means to supply trained workers. For anxious parents education can, perhaps, provide their kids with an edge or at least the minimum set of skills and aptitudes that will enable them to survive in an increasingly competitive society. Yet even within a culture so dominated by fear, there is still hope. Out of the frozen ground, we see shoots of possibility.

There are moments of recognition by parents and citizens that our children's education should be a joyful, creative, and thought-provoking experience, not the dull grind of endless tests. Teachers are becoming more vocal about their frustrations as to the lack of opportunities for dialogue, critical reflection, and meaningful learning in the classroom. Among students there is increasing criticism of the drill and test variety of education with its resulting boredom and alienation. Still it might be that in the end the awesome and terrifying events that now confront us as a species will provide the powerful catalyst for change in how we view the task of education.

We will have to confront the failures in the way we have constructed our social world or face the dangerous consequences of inaction. We will need to teach our children to think deeply and critically about the costs of a consumer culture and how human wants are manipulated into an endless desire for more, with all of its devastating consequences for our resources and the flow of pollutants into our environment.

We will need to teach our children to think in ways that are holistic—understanding that human life and nature do not stand opposed to each other but are connected in an interdependent web. We must be stewards not violators of our natural world. We will need to teach so that our children see themselves not as isolated and self-contained beings, but members of a reciprocal community with common needs and shared responsibilities. And we will need to emphasize that a sense of social justice must be present in all of our human actions so that the privileged lives of some do not depend on a callous disregard for the lives or fate of others.

8 Conclusion

In this time of great danger and also extraordinary possibility, educators are called towards a prophetic role. Education today must contribute to the transformation of human consciousness *and* conscience. The vision that animates our work as educators must be rooted in the ancient quest for *Tikkun Olam*—the effort to repair and heal our world as a place of generous and loving community, in which there is a just sharing of rewards and obligations, where human differences are mediated by respect and recognition, a world of ecological sanity and responsibility, and where there is the widest diffusion of opportunities for human beings to participate in shaping the world they live in. No matter how far-fetched or unrealistic such a vision may appear to be in relation to the present concerns of schooling, this is no

time for timidity. The immense dangers and the extraordinary suffering within which we are now engulfed demand from us bold, daring, and imaginative thinking. Anything less is an irresponsible negation of our obligations to coming generations.

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Global Education

Sadiq A. Abdullahi

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses global education within the context of globalization. The premise of the paper is that globalization remains a unifying and destabilizing global force that continues to shape and reshape values, ideologies, theologies, processes, policies, individuals, and cultures in the twenty-first century. At the dawn of the new century, the global community realized that it faced daunting challenges to overcome problems of global terrorism, global diseases, globalization, immigration, environmental degradation, and global economy (Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001; Zajda 2010a, b).

In this extended discussion, I will focus on the following questions: To what extent can globalization and global education foster global security and peace, environmental safety, social justice, and transformative leadership? To what extent can globalization and global education contribute to a transformative civil global society? To what extent does religion play a role in global education? If the overarching goals of global education are (1) to prepare young individuals to become national and global citizens, (2) to provide global knowledge, skills, and disposition needed to transform the world, (3) to preserve and sustain global cultural values, global teacher educators and classroom teachers should, therefore, provide the appropriate pedagogy to attain these goals. Many global educators have called for global education to be universally taught in schools (Gutek 2006; Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001; Zajda 2010a, b) in order to achieve these goals.

In *Rethinking Global Education in the Twenty-first Century* (2010), I argued that the field of global education in the United States should rethink and reconceptualize

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the field in order to respond to current global realities and to the exigencies of globalization and concluded that global education holds the delicate balance between world security and peace and socioeconomic development.

2 Context

Global education began as a social movement in the United States in the early 1900s. By 1918, when World War I ended, there was a need to establish international schools to deal with problems caused by the war. Similarly, by the end of World War II in 1945, the world had recorded unprecedented loss of lives and property. In 1948, United Nations was formed to promote world peace, security, and economic development. There was a need around the world to educate for global security and peace. Also, in 1948, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established, and the Declaration of Human Rights was made. In 1960, the Cold War emerged. This was the war between two super powers: the United States and USSR. The war ended in 1990, giving rise to a new global economic order and a new globalization. The collapse of the Cold War led to the conceptualization of global education for national and global citizenship education in American public schools (Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001; Zajda and Daun 2009; Zajda 2010a, b).

In the twentieth century, global educators were faced with issues and problems emanating from the two great wars, as discussed earlier. Conflicts during this era shaped the behaviors and attitudes of leaders around the world and the human character and values of the twentieth century. There are three broad categories of conflicts: religious conflict, ethnic conflict, and conflicts that arose out of historical animosity between individuals and groups. A case in point is the ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union over liberalism, communism, fascism, capitalism, and democracy. During this conflict in 1957, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik I*. In the 1960s, there was another conflict in the United States, which had global consequences – the struggle for civil rights, human rights, and social justice. This conflict influenced freedom fighters around the world, particularly in Asia and Africa to demand rule, freedom, and independence. Many found solace in the struggle and the courage to demand freedom and justice from the colonial oppressors (Zajda and Daun 2009).

In the 1970s, and throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, global events of such as the oil glut, the IMF/World Bank structural adjustments policies in the developing world, integration of national economies, globalization, environmental disasters, and natural calamities, such as tsunami, post-September 11, 2001, and the 2008 global financial crisis, have made global education as an academic discipline/curriculum to be taught in American schools and schools around the world. International and supranational educational agencies such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank, UNESCO, United Nations

Intercultural Children Education Fund (UNICEF), the European Union (EU), and other agencies continue to promote global education-related programs (Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001; Zajda and Daun 2009).

3 Globalization

Guttek's (2006) defines globalization as "the systems or processes that promote worldwide involvement, relationships, adaptations, and connections between peoples of different countries, cultures and languages" (p. 100). Thomas Friedman (1999) wrote that globalization has a long history and tradition and that the period of globalization that preceded World War I was quite similar to the one we are currently living through today. He argued that the first era of globalization and global finance was greatly impacted by World War I (1914–1918) and the Great Depression in the United States (1929–1930). He concluded that a new globalization emerged after World War II (1945–1948) and the Cold War (1945–1989). This new globalization is different in terms of degree, intensity, and the speed with which it is tying together elements of globalization into a single globalized marketplace. But this homogeneity and nature of globalization is giving global educators a serious concern.

Zajda, on the other hand, redefines globalization as a new "dominant ideology of *cultural* (especially economic, political, social, technological and educational) *convergence*, which is characterised by increasing economic and political interdependence between nations, and which ultimately transforms the ethnocentric core of nation-state and national economy" (Zajda 2010a, b). He also argues that globalization may have an adverse negative effect on higher education sector and on education in general, while others continue to argue that the globalized world is fundamentally heterogeneous, unequal, and conflictive, rather than integrated and flawless programs (Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001; Zajda and Daun 2009; Zajda 2010a, b).

The globalization process that started in the early 1990s had the following characteristics: (1) state economic planning and centralization no longer provided a viable alternate policy to the free market capitalist model and (2) market-driven capitalism as recognized in the United States and other technologically developed Western nations and Japan was closely associated with political democracy (Guttek 2006). Because international trade and the global economy are fueling changes in the world, global education can offer students the opportunity to make connections and interact with people different from them. Some of the interactions, for example, are seen in the area of economic globalization, where there is increasing personal, group, corporate greed, and wealth, on one hand, uncertainty and instability on the other. Globalization may have created both opportunities and challenges for both developed and developing countries; global educators should provide students the opportunity to critically evaluate information that are floating out there. Zajda (2010a, b) is concerned that the economic rationalism and neoconservative ideology that are gradually becoming the dominant ideologies in education may

support the idea of seeing students as product and as goods and services to foster economic stability and growth and allowing the “business” model to be entrenched in education (Zajda 2014).

But globalization is having a firm footing in educational discourse around the world. The concept has found expression in nearly all areas of human interest. It encompasses different dimensions such as social, cultural, political, environmental, religious, educational, and economic. It is well documented that globalization has its roots in trade and in economics, but now it has both social and political consequences of international magnitude. One of the challenges of globalization and the global competitive market are the upsurge in the “knowledge-based economy,” and this is having profound differential effects in higher institutions around the world. This differentiation is greatly felt at higher institutions in the United States. For example, university administrators are now vehemently complaining that American secondary schools are not preparing students to be highly competitive in the global economy. As a result, policy makers are now discussing and debating how to realign the curriculum at the secondary and tertiary level to respond to the impact of globalization. How colleges of education and teacher educators respond to these challenges will determine how matured the field will become in the twenty-first century (Merryfield 2001).

Globalization has also created opportunities and challenges for teacher education in the United States. The biggest challenge for the teacher educators in the colleges of education is to see some of their programs housed in other colleges, particularly in the college of arts and sciences. This trend is now emerging across higher institutions in the United States. The resulting global interdependence and interconnectedness requires an understanding of the complex connections among individuals, groups, institutions, nations, and transnational communities. Teachers and students in the United States need to develop knowledge and skills to survive in the globalized world of the twenty-first century, a world characterized by globalization, terrorism, environmental degradation, and a strong belief in religious tenets. Global educators continue to argue that emphasis should be placed on developing students’ critical thinking and problem solving. They also argue that students need to develop and demonstrate collaborative, communicative, and creativity skills. Students are then expected to apply the knowledge and skills to real-life situations and make real-life connections both locally and globally.

Larry Ray, in his book *Globalization and everyday Life*, suggested that globalization has changed our social concept of self. He argued that globalization has changed the way we think about ourselves, our cultures, and how we imagine our futures.

The problems of globalization in developing nations can also offer teachers and students the opportunity to analyze global issues and problems comparatively. The idea that the world has not only become an interdependent and interconnected global village but also a stage for increasingly hostile and violent place where political and economic mismanagement and perpetual conflicts should be critically examined and analyzed. Global teacher educators understand that teachers and students must be active participants in addressing and resolving global issues and problems.

Zajda (2010a, b) concludes that there is “sufficient evidence to suggest that globalization and the forces of globalization have contributed to a new dimension of socio-economic stratification, which will have implications for equity of educational opportunities in decades to come” (Zajda 2010a, b, p. 7).

4 Global Education

Global education is the learning about the interplay of political, ecological, cultural, and economic systems in the world stage. Global education is a component part of international education, a distinct field of educational research. In the United States, global education or the internationalization of K-12 education is offered as a curriculum to students in K-12, and this is done primarily through the social studies program. At the collegiate level, it takes the form of global studies or international or intercultural studies. Gutek (2006) makes this distinction when he classified all the related disciplines with global undertone, such as comparative education, foreign policy studies, regional or area studies, international development and development education, peace education, and environmental education. These are academic fields related to international education.

Anderson (1990) argued that global teacher educators should prepare secondary social studies teachers to teach about issues and problems of the world, such as foreign policy, maintenance of national security, control of warfare, reduction of poverty, promotion of human rights, and preservation of environment. Furthermore, Anderson argued that global educators at the secondary level should focus on expanding and improving the study of world history, world geography, world economics, world politics, or world ecology. Others seek to expand students’ understanding of cultural diversity through the cross-cultural study of literature, art, music, dance, religion, and social customs. Many others seek to expand and improve the study of foreign languages, including the rarely studied languages that are of growing importance to the United States, such as Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and Arabic.

Still, many other global educators devote their energies to improving instruction about the other regions of the world such as Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Still others focus on improving education about world problems such as the maintenance of national security, the control of warfare, the reduction of world poverty, the promotion of human rights, and the preservation of ecological well-being. Some seek to place the study of American society and its history in a world context so as to highlight the ways in which American cities, states, and the nation as a century issues and problems; global educators began to think global education for the new century. This was evidenced in national, regional, and international presentations at conferences on global and international education worldwide.

This UNESCO declaration has become the guiding framework for defining global education. For example, in 2002, the UN stated in the Maastricht Global Education Declaration that “global education is education that opens people’s eyes

and minds to the realities of the globalised world” and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all.

One of the overarching goals of global education, therefore, is to prepare learners for responsible national and global citizenship. Developing students’ global perspectives and cross-cultural sensitivity and understanding are the means that global educators use to achieve their goals. Global teacher educators have developed programs geared toward improving teachers’ and learners’ ‘global thinking and global consciousness’ by developing global awareness programs through the expansion of social studies curriculum with more content on Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East. Others have infused the voices of others in the curriculum (Kirkwood 1995; Merryfield 2001).

The vision of UNESCO and of the pioneers of the global education movement in the United States and elsewhere is to see a world that is safer politically, militarily, economically, and ecologically. Some of the central objectives of global education include preparing and developing learners to (a) understand multiple perspectives; (b) demonstrate knowledge of different cultural understanding (beliefs, values, perspectives, practices, and products); (c) understand similarities and differences in peoples, cultures, and nations; (d) demonstrate knowledge of global dynamics, issues, problems, trends, and systems; (e) demonstrate the capacity to think, reflect, write, and articulate issues, problems, and ideas from historical, philosophical, sociological, and psychological in a comparative context; and (g) develop and demonstrate the ability to make decision and apply knowledge of global education to solve problems in the global community. Global education then becomes a process that seeks to prepare learners to live in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world where the study of and interactions with humans and others in that ecological system will secure the Planet Earth (Abdullahi 2004, 2010a, b; Zajda 2010a, b).

Finally, the recent social revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Libya, Jordan, and Syria in early 2011 have created opportunities for global educators to reclaim the field and reconceptualize the vision, mission, and goals of global education for the twenty-first century. By doing so, global education will be helping students to understand their role in transforming the world and thus contributing to the global civil society.

5 Global Pedagogy

Global pedagogy deals with the teaching and learning about global issues and problems to primary and secondary students. Global andragogy deals with the teaching of adults (adult education) about the world in a formal setting. Global education as a transformative learning process requires an understanding of the role of global pedagogy. To transform learners, global education should be an opportunity to move learners the “culture of individualism to a culture of partnership based on dialogue and cooperation.” Gutek (2006) believes that “there is a need to provide knowledge about globalization as a process and analysis of how it affects people in

a multi-dimensional way” (pg. 111). He continues that education for globalization is both conceptual and applied, which involves the infusion of knowledge about the meaning, processes, and implications of globalization for society, and the economy into the curriculum (pg. 111). The conceptual, theoretical and practical solutions to global issues and problems involve the use of appropriate instructional strategies. The impact of global issues and problems also has implications on the social, economic, political, environmental institutions, and systems.

Global pedagogy is enhanced by technology. Technological advances have either removed or lowered many barriers allowing individuals, nation states, multinational corporations, institutions, and systems to be homogenized. The realities of global interdependence require deeper understanding of increasing and diverse global connections among world societies and regions. Young learners around the world are now heavily engaged with technological devices, and they are already learning to deal with complexities of the world through their interactions and experiences with the Internet and with computer games and simulations. Understanding the effects of globalization and how to solve issues and problems caused by globalization, for example, can pose serious challenge to teachers interested in teaching about the world. Understanding requires students to create, consider, propose, test, question, criticize, and verify. When students are able to apply these skills in a global context, they are indeed fostering global understanding.

Research in global education continues to support the view that young people around the world, particularly American youths, continue to lag behind in global knowledge, skills, and disposition (Abdullahi 2010a, b). Other research studies point to secondary students’ inadequate use of essential skills to deal with complex issues and problems caused by globalization such as global terrorism and environmental degradation. Therefore, many global teacher educators have concluded that the global education issues concerning foreign investment, security, peace, and environmental education will remain insignificant in American public schools, and in schools around the world, until the field of global education is fully reconceptualized to support literacy. As Abdullahi (2010a, b) argued in *Rethinking Global Education in the 21st Century*, “a new framework must seriously consider how to develop a pedagogy that will be integrative and link language, religion, politics, economics, and legal systems to one universal mode transmitting learning and knowledge to future generations without seriously undermining national sovereignty and national identity” (pg. 24).

This will also provide students the opportunity to apply the skills in a global context furthering their ability to be effective national and global citizens. Teachers would emphasize understanding multiple perspectives, cross-cultural sensitivity. They would emphasize the understanding of different people and their cultures including understanding their beliefs and values systems. Teachers would emphasize developing students’ capacity to think, write, reflect, and articulate issues and problems from a national, international, and comparative perspective. Finally, teachers would emphasize developing students’ critical thinking, communication, and technological skills in order to effectively solve national, regional, and global problems (Abdullahi 2004; Zajda 2005, 2010a).

If indeed the goals of global education are to prepare students to develop global perspectives, then serious efforts are needed to introduce the concept of global pedagogy and globalization in schools. Global education prepares students to act responsibly and contribute productively in the national and global community; it develops in students the knowledge, skills, and attitudes for effective national and world citizenships (Abdullahi 2004; Zajda 2005, 2010a, b). Again, in *Rethinking Global Education in the 21st Century*, for example, Abdullahi (2010a, b) argued that global educators in the United States now have to come to the realization that many students at the secondary level are not developing the social and cognitive skills, and the global perspectives needed to live cooperatively, collaboratively in a multicultural and pluralistic environment, not the knowledge to compete effectively in the new global economy.

6 Global Education in American Schools

The introduction of global education in the American schools in the United States began with the publication of the Foreign Policy Association's report entitled *An Examination of Objectives and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary Schools* in 1968. The publication paved the way for the conceptualization, design, and implementation of global education programs in teacher education and public schools. As a result, global teacher educators, such as Lee Anderson, Charlotte Anderson, John Goodlad, Robert Harvey, and James Becker conceptualized, designed, and implemented global education programs for teacher education in the early 1970s. Their work was a response to changes in the world caused by political and economic forces. They believe that information and knowledge about the world should inform our collective minds, so that young people everywhere can better understand themselves and their role in the world relative to other people, cultures, and nations. Their ultimate goal is to see students become active participants in changing their communities and the world. They also believe that global education can be the mechanism for social and political change at the school level.

The integration of global education into the American schools has been slow and difficult. Tucker and Evans (1996) wrote that during the mid-1980s, some global education programs came under attack from every corner, including the Center for Teaching International Relations (CTIR), University of Denver. As a consequence, many colleges of education and school districts across the nation failed to endorse or promote global education. Even lessons learned from World War II and the end of the Cold War were not enough to sway people in the direction of promoting and developing global perspectives in American schools. There was the perception by the radical right wing that "global education is un-American and has a secular humanistic plot" (Tucker and Evans 1996, pg. 193).

Two global education programs – the Iowa Global Education Association (IGEA) program, which grew out of the model United Nations program in the early 1970s, and the Chadwick Alger's "*Columbus and the World, the World in Columbus*" – were

designed to supplement the teaching of citizenship education program. Citizenship education was the core organizing theme of social studies education in American schools at the elementary level. The pilot programs subsequently became the models for other global education programs.

7 Task Force for Global Education in America

In 1977, Ernest Boyer, United States Commissioner of Education, established a Task Force on Global Education to examine the national need for global perspectives in education. One of the findings was that there is a need for developing global perspectives in American schools. In the 1980s, another Task Force of the United States Governors Association, chaired by former Governor of Arkansas and former president, William J. Clinton, was formed. One of the conclusions of the task force was that international education is as important as economic prosperity, national security, and world stability. The Task Force made seven recommendations:

1. International education must become a part of the basic education of all our students.
2. More of our students must gain proficiency in foreign languages.
3. Teachers must know more about international issues.
4. Schools and teachers need to know about the wealth of resources and materials, other than textbooks, that are available for international education.
5. All graduates of our colleges and universities must be knowledgeable about the broader world and conversant in another language.
6. Business and community support of international education should be increased.
7. The business community must have access to international education, particularly information about exports, trade regulations, and overseas cultures (America in Transition 1989).

As result of the declaration, colleges of education and school districts across the nation began to encourage the teaching of global education. Many global educators developed courses and applied for various types of state and federal grants. In 1981, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), the leading professional organization for social studies educators, issued policy position statements that urged schools to become effective agents of citizenship education for a global age. In 1982, the NCSS defined global education as “the efforts to cultivate in young people a perspective of the world, which emphasizes the interconnections among cultures, species, and the planet” (pg. 1). The NCSS recommended that social studies curricula should emphasize:

1. Globalization of the human experience
2. Individuals, non-state groups, such as multinational corporations, churches, and scientific organizations, as well as local governments and national leaders
3. People and the environment

4. Linkages between past and present social, political, economic, and ecological realities and alternative futures
5. All people making choices in the ways in which they participate in world affairs

Since the 1981 NCSS declaration, past presidents have urged social studies global educators to promote and advance the teaching of global education in colleges of education and American schools. For example, in 1983, NCSS President, Carole Hahn, challenged social studies educators to prepare students to be both national citizens and citizens of the global society. In 1992, NCSS President, Charlotte Anderson, urged social studies educators to help students understand and address global issues. She stressed that students need to learn from and work collaboratively with individuals representing diverse cultures, religions, and lifestyles in a spirit of mutual respect and open dialogue.

In the 1990s, national professional organizations such as the national Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education and the American Association of Colleges for teacher education issued position statements supporting global education in schools. Many state departments of education also issued mandates to school districts to support and endorse the teaching of global perspectives in elementary and secondary schools. Wisconsin was one of the first state departments of education to promote international education. Other state department beginning with those in Michigan, Ohio, New York, and Florida follow suit. National and state agencies were immediately formed to design curriculum frameworks for global education. For example, in 1982, the Florida Department of Education accepted the Florida State of Board of Education, a framework for developing global education programs at the local level. In the 2000s, the national trend to promote global education waned as state governments and school districts face economic and financial challenges.

8 Global Education in the Classroom

The global education classroom offers the platform for meaningful discussion of global issues and problems. The internet and other social global networks offer opportunity for continuing dialogue. The questions posed in the beginning of this discussion – To what extent can globalization and global education foster global understanding, peace and security, environmental safety, social justice, and transformative leadership and can globalization and global education contribute to a transformative civil global society? – will be addressed in this section of the paper. If globalization, global terrorism, environmental degradation, human rights, and social injustice pose serious threats to humanity and to a global civil society, all learners, young and adults, must learn how to make a contribution. There are five important areas in global education: (1) human rights and social justice education, (2) environmental sustainable education, (3) global security and peace, (4) global economy and globalization, and (5) global transformative leadership and service.

8.1 *Human Rights and Social Justice*

One of the expectations of global education is seeing learners apply knowledge and skills to new situations in order to contribute to creating a more equitable and just national and global society. The idea that social justice supports the fair and equitable treatment of all people and protects the blatant discrimination by people on other people should be articulated in all classrooms around the world. Global education, social justice, and human rights education have the potential to transform individuals, especially youths, to be reflective and critical global citizens (Zajda 2005, 2010a; Rizvi 2009).

Fazal Rizvi (2009) posed some interesting questions for global educators: To what extent has globalization made it more difficult to realize the goals of social justice in education? In a world increasingly characterized by global interconnectivity and interdependence, how are the various forms of injustice changing, both within and across nation states? How should education be structured as an instrument for promoting global justice?

These questions are at the heart of the questions I posed earlier in the paper. If we attempt to answer Rizvi's questions, we will foster global peace and security, and ultimately transform the individual and the global society. The rights of the individuals will be subsumed in the process and governments will secure those rights. This is to suggest that there is an inextricable connection between globalization, human rights, and social justice.

8.2 *Environmental Sustainability*

Environmental education, Education for Sustainability or Sustainable Education, and Education for Sustainable Future have elements of global education. Global education is interdisciplinary, integrative, and holistic. To effectively engage in learning about global or environmental education, global teacher educators must prepare students to think and act holistically. Globally minded learners eventually become steward of the earth and protectors of natural resources. They take responsibility for creating awareness to improve the quality of life for others, locally and globally. Citizenship, service, and leadership are important traits and values if we aspire to preserve and sustain the future. Understanding the effects of globalization on the environment becomes essential for students to know how aggregate actions affect change beyond our own communities and the world. In America, for example, this important message has not been heeded by the policy makers, as students in K-12 education are given the opportunity or expose to environmental education and global education as curriculum. On the other hand, higher education is closing the gap as focus now shifts to preparing students to be global citizens equipped to sustain the future. The United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development has been very active in promoting global environmental awareness and sensitivity (Zajda 2005, 2010a).

8.3 Global Security and Peace

The global security and peace agenda has a normative and qualitative component. This requires students at the secondary level around the world to examine, critique, reflect, and evaluate in order to engage one another in a meaningful discussion and debate about global security and peace. As it is today, the educational processes, students' interactions, and experiences are limiting and prescribed in many learning institutions. Global security and peace are impacted directly or indirectly by globalization, global terrorism, and environmental degradation (Abdullahi 2010a, b; Zajda 2005, 2010a). Students everywhere should acquire knowledge and skills such as negotiation and conflict resolution skills, problem solving, and communication skills in order to effectively engage in policy level discussion to effect changes at the local, national and global levels (Abdullahi 2010a, b).

8.4 Global Economy and Globalization

Since 2008, the global economy has been impacted by variable fluctuations of all sorts of financial miscalculations by financial experts. This misrepresentation is causing uncertainty and instability in various markets around the world. Globalization, the integration of the global systems, is being affected as well. We have discussed above the connections to education and the unifying and destabilizing effects on the all aspects of humanity and on cultural and religious values, ideologies, educational structures, processes, and policies. Global education will offer students the opportunities to explore the connections and the implications.

8.5 Global Transformative Leadership

Global transformative leadership is an emerging concept in global education in the United States and around the world. Individuals such Nelson Mandela, Bill Gates, Warren Buffet, and Barrack Obama have shown traits and qualities of transformative leadership worthy of emulation by students in global education programs. Effective global leadership can foster global understanding, peace, and security. Leaders with good understanding of the causes of global terrorism, environmental degradation, human rights, and social injustice can contribute significantly to minimizing the effects of these problems around the world. The global education curriculum has a transformative component that exposes students to various forms of leadership style with an emphasis on transformative leadership (Abdullahi 2010a, b).

8.6 Religion and Global Education

The religious imperatives in global education are sensitive and controversial. Although global educators see and accept the role of religion in molding and shaping society, they seldom agree on the appropriate pedagogy in primary and secondary schools; after all, religion does not belong in schools. At the higher institutional level, religious studies allow students to explore all the religions within the content of religious fundamentalism and the benefit to global community. I will not venture deep into this terrain. But I will conclude by adding that if indeed we aspire to make the world safer ecologically, politically/militarily, and economically, there is room to also develop students' spiritual and religious appetites.

9 Conclusion

The reemergence of religious fundamentalism or extremism, corporate greed, human rights, environmental degradation, and social injustice around the world, and particularly the most recent social and political upheavals and revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Libya, Jordan, and Syria, is now having transcendental and transformational effects beyond national boundaries. The global education agenda for the twenty-first century should include all the voices in struggle to contribute to a new world order.

Globalization may indeed be reshaping the world in the twenty-first century, but the work to make the world safer is humanistic, normative, and qualitative. Global education will provide the opportunity for meaningful discourse and policy direction around the world. Students should learn new ways of analyzing, synthesizing, evaluating, and judging the behaviors of actors and agents of nation states, big business corporations, and educational institutions. Globalization, with its implications for education, particularly for the practice of global pedagogies, must be seriously explored by everyone. In this sense, I agree that global education needs a renaissance around the world. To fight for the sustainability and survival of the world is a collective endeavor. My students at FIU are aware of this challenge. The global education community must be aware too. There is a need to come up with appropriate ideology, instructional strategies, and policies for global education. After all, the universal expectation and hope is to work collectively and cooperatively to make the world safer politically, militarily, economically, and environmentally today and in the future.

I have argued elsewhere that in the United States today, the discussion on the issues and problems facing the planet revolves around global economic recession, global competition, globalization as agent of change, and the impact of technology and globalization on students' academic performance. The truth is that schools in United States are still not preparing students to adequately compete on leveled playing fields with the rest of the world in the new global economy. I have also argued that

global educators should introduce global transformational pedagogy in American schools, as technology and globalization are empowering some and hindering others. This allows those better educated, highly skilled, highly competent, and knowledgeable of world's issues and problems to be more marketable locally, regionally, and globally. This may be the biggest threat to the global education movement in the United States and a bigger threat to global security. Other threats include the neoconservative ideology and religious extremism and the lack of rigor in engaging students in the global transformational process.

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A Global Lens for Viewing Children's Literature

Matthew D. Zbaracki

1 Visual Literacy

“Dad, you have to come see this,” Oliver said as he was looking at one of his many books. A prep student in Australia (Kindergarten in the United States). Oliver had no idea how crucial this “looking” at would be with what he had found in the book. While Oliver was showing me the book about the body which had full colour illustrations and lift the flap sections with flaps within the flaps, it reaffirmed to the author how complex and visual children's literature has become. The development and growth in children's literature has put a huge focus on the visuals in books.

It is quite natural that children are able to focus on visuals so easily as is seen in this anecdote. As Piro (2002) noted over a decade ago, “Because of early responses to picture books as a first reading experience, children do not think only in written language but in visual image as well” (p. 128). This may explain Oliver's ease at learning about the human body and interacting with the flaps and visuals in his book. However, it also shows the necessity for educators to instruct children in developing these skills.

The emphasis on the visual in children's literature has gained a bigger and bigger emphasis globally and is something that must be taught to students throughout the school years to assist in comprehension as well as engagement.

The goal of this chapter is to provide background for the reader about visual literacy, how the visual has been found within children's literature traditionally, and the global rise of visuals in children's literature currently, as well as introduce a new genre that has a strong emphasis on the visual.

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Winch et al. (2011) state, “the essence of visual literacy (and beware—many of the current usages are loose and rather muddy) is the making of meaning out of images that may be signs, objects, lines, circles, dots, tables, diagrams, charts, maps, comics, cartoons, numerals, varying mixtures of all the above, AND WORDS” (p. 620, emphasis theirs). It is important to note how complex their definition is, especially when one considers what defines the image being examined. While once children may have looked at a picture that supported the text, now the visual sometimes stands alone to tell the story or provide the information. If one were to continue to look, they would find a plethora of definitions. Williams (2007) notes, “although a concrete definition of visual literacy is elusive, at its core is an emphasis on the personal construction of meaning from any type of visual image” (p. 637). What Williams states best here is that there are so many different formats that the visual image might take in that it is important to include a large range of options.

This validates what Winch et al. (2011) introduced in their definition. They support this idea of multiple formats, stating how, “students will increasingly interact with an overwhelming number and variety of visual images generated by television, motion pictures, personal computers, video games, and other technologies. As images continue to evolve as the dominant text of our society, students of all ages need the experience of reading such texts in order to be successful” (p. 642). The experiences children are provided are what will help them to become better readers and viewers of such diverse visual images. Serafini (2011) supports this as well, “visual images are drawn upon with increased frequency to make sense of one’s world often overshadowing the once dominant mode of written language” (p. 86). Thus, the multiple forms of text in the definition show that written text does not have the sole importance it once did in previous definitions of literacy in general. Perhaps, though, it is not just one definition of visual literacy or literacy in general that needs to be considered. Williams (2007) believes that the definition of literacy has expanded. “By shifting from the singular *literacy* to the plural *literacies*, the idea of reading escapes the narrow confines of the printed text to encompass a wide range of cultural, technological, and visual elements”(p. 636). One of the key ideas behind this is that culture plays a big role in the visual elements that readers or viewers are finding and how they are interpreted. This idea of culture within the visual helps identify that this is not a local issue, but rather a global one.

Most importantly though is that this issue of visual images and the teaching of them is something that must occur in classrooms worldwide. Many believe that more instruction of the skills needed to comprehend visual literacy is needed in classrooms (Serafini (2011), Williams (2007), Unsworth et al. (2004). Serafini (2011) discusses this further, “This lack of pedagogical attention to visual images and visual systems of meaning presents serious challenges to teachers at a time when image has begun to dominate the lives of their students” (p. 86). The stress on visual images is very much needed as Serafini contends and was also seen by Williams (2007) where she described that she did not see a focus for teaching how to engage and interpret visual images in classrooms at any age level. This is alarming because, as was mentioned earlier, children around the world are being exposed more and more to an abundance of visual images in almost any form of text they see. Unsworth

et al. (2004) even discuss how the role of images in relation to print and meaning is increasing in their study examining how standardized tests are emphasizing visuals and visual literacy. In their study they found that while some of the test items "purport to address 'viewing skills' and refer directly and explicitly to images, it is possible that other items implicitly test respondents' understandings of images and image-text relations" (p. 47).

Probably the greatest idea that is relevant here is that while standardized testing worldwide continues to grow and become more prevalent, the tests themselves are also including elements of visual literacy and visualization. Because of this, it must be emphasized that the visuals in children's literature continue to deserve focus and attention globally. Unsworth et al. (2004) also suggest that the increase in visual images in the standardized tests they looked at over a 3 year period suggests, "perhaps this is a deliberate aspect of the design of the tests, reflecting both the demands of contemporary texts and the need to monitor children's developing knowledge and understanding of visual literacy in large scale literacy assessment in school systems" (p. 54). The arguments are compelling ones and show further attention to the issue is needed.

2 Illustrations

Historically, illustrations in children's literature began with chapbooks. Chapbooks were crudely printed books or even pamphlets that had woodcut illustrations in them. They were quite popular with both children and adults and were sold by peddlers or "chapmen". Kiefer (2010) describes them as the forerunner to comics. The early illustrations in chapbooks provided the reader with assistance when reading and also were one of the precursors to trying to extend the text. Brice Heath (2011) describes this idea, "Chapbooks of the 18th century continued the pesky trend of working text and illustration into intimate partnerships that sometimes quarrelled with one another and other times joined peacefully" (p. 42). The main idea for including the illustration was to provide young readers with more than simply the text that might become overwhelming. It is interesting to note that because these books were crudely constructed, the illustrations and text did not always go well together as Brice Heath points out. This had a major impact in children's literature however as illustrations became more a part of books and manuscripts. The flood in the market of chapbooks also led to John Newbery's publishing books specifically marketed for children, which in turn led to the idea of illuminated manuscripts.

Historically, an illuminated manuscript (a handwritten document accompanied by decoration) was a highly prized object, generally owned only by the church or a wealthy individual (<http://www.abebooks.com/books/hours-gold-vellum-decorated-parchment/illuminated-manuscripts.shtml>).

Illuminated manuscripts developed through time and changed to a different format within children's literature to include novels with illustrations and the well known and loved genre of picture books. Picture books emerged with Randolph Caldecott

leading the way in creating books with more illustrations specifically designed for young children. Illustrations in children's literature continued through the years and entered into novels for children as well.

The idea of illuminating novels was carried over for years with illustrations found within the novels. This could be seen in Roald Dahl's books (*Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, *BFG*) and Sid Fleischman's (*Chancy and the Grand Rascal*, *Mr. Mysterious and Company*). The main reason for the illustration may have been to provide a visual for young readers to assist in their comprehension. Their purpose could also have been to serve as a transition from picture books to the novels they would be reading as adults which would not have any illustrations in them. This is especially found in Dahl's books for younger readers. Titles such as *Esio Trot* are shorter books and contain more illustrations in them throughout. These types of novels with illustrations were a staple in children's literature and could be found around the world in the novels that were being published. Then, in the 1990s, there was less emphasis on this visual and more on the text. While there were still some novels with illustrations in them, the focus became much more on the readers to create their own visuals in their mind.

Now, in the past decade the emphasis is back on the visual and it is back with a vengeance! When once there was a huge emphasis on illustrations in picture books, there has been a progression to more varied formats. Visuals have become more significant in picture books, especially wordless picture books, early readers, illuminated novels, traditional novels, and now the acceptance of graphic novels and comics. This progression has serious implications for educators. As Walsh (2006) questions, "How does 'reading' occur when images are part of the text? Is the reading process as described for the novel, a print-based text, applicable to the reading of images in a picture book?" (p. 28). Walsh's questions are very good ones and ideas that are maintained by Serafini (2011): "Images and texts mean things because readers bring experiences and understanding of images, language, and the world to them when reading" (p. 89).

It is crucial then that the books they read reflect the combination of written text and images in a complex manner. This can be seen in illustrated novels and they are becoming more prevalent throughout the world. An example of an illustrated novel from the United States is *Platypus Police Squad: The Frog Who Croaked* by Jarrett Krosoczka (2013a). In this novel there are numerous illustrations throughout. However, these illustrations are ones that support what is being read about in the text. Thus, the illustrations and text are working hand in hand to help tell the story. One example of this is found on page 94 as the two detectives are walking into the school and hear someone call to them from behind a bush.

What the illustration does then is provide comprehension support by showing what is happening in the text. Another example of this, found in England, are the books by Guy Bass. His *Stitch Head* series is quite popular and has illustrations throughout the book that correspond with what is happening in the story. While in Krosoczka's book the illustrations are found in every chapter, in Bass' books the illustrations are found on nearly every page. Illustrations in novels are becoming more common these days in children's literature. The question and idea,

which Walsh (2006) raises, is a very critical one when considering how novels have changed either to become “illuminated” or more blended with the inclusion of different forms of visual elements.

In this more modern usage, the term “illuminated novel” captures the shared nature of visual and text and allows us to more broadly conceptualize the role that each plays in contributing to the narrative whole. Krosoczka (2013b) commented on just this idea:

I live by one golden rule. Words and pictures are teammates, and each must bring their own special skill to the field to get the job done. If the words and pictures communicated the same information, it would be like hearing the same story twice, and that would lead to a very dull experience for the reader. (personal communication)

This is becoming clear as a worldwide trend developing to engage readers and encourage them to be focused more on the visual than ever before. This is especially apparent in what Zbaracki and Geringer (2014) describe as “blended narratives”, defined as “texts that combine the features found in picture books, comics, and graphic novels. A key component of blended narratives is that they contain narratives that are told through two aspects on equal footing: the text and the visuals (illustrations)”, (forthcoming) in which the illustrations and the text both bear the burden of telling the story and they do so by using differing formats such as graphic novel components, comics, or picture book formats, with the traditional novel genre. Walsh (2006) discusses how complex this is and how readers must be able to break different visual codes and that, “This involves a different coding system” (p. 29). Because there are many challenges that readers are being exposed to in order to break these new “codes”, it is vital that we examine the new formats or codes that young readers are being exposed to.

When children read blended narratives, they need to take their past experiences (or schema) of different text types (picture books, comics, graphic novels, and the traditional novel) and use all the reading strategies they have been taught in order to read and comprehend the new blended narrative. This new genre requires a complex system of codes that need to be used and decoded in order for the books to be read, engaged with, and comprehended. Several examples of this genre will be explored from Australia, the United States, and England.

3 Blended Narratives Globally

In Australia one of the most popular and engaging examples of both illustrated novels and blended narratives are found within Andy Griffiths' and Terry Denton's books, specifically the “Just” series (*Just Tricking*, *Just Disgusting*, etc.). In these books the illustrations are found throughout the book on each page. While sometimes they assist in telling the story throughout the book, there are also numerous times in which they extend the text and sometimes provide their own story or humour. The illustrations might be found in the margins and are recurring characters.

They might also take up a more predominant part of the page and take over telling the story itself. Their newest series, *The 13 Story Treehouse*, is another prime example of this.

In their most recent book *The 39 Story Treehouse* (2013), Griffiths and Denton have the illustrations supporting what is happening in the story. There are, however, several times in which they become blended narratives with the illustrations taking on graphic novel formats with the illustrations in frames telling the story. This is especially true in the conclusion of the story in which the illustrations are in the graphic novel frames and they tell the story with no text, until the last page in which the text reappears and concludes the book. The use of illustrations in this mixed format plays a crucial role in reading these more groundbreaking novels in which the visual plays such a primary role.

Another example from Australia is the *Eric Vail* series by Michael Gerard Bauer. In this novel the author's son has created the illustrations and they are found in various places on every page throughout the book, similar to what is found in Andy Griffiths and Terry Denton's work. The illustrations assist to help provide support for the reader, as with Krosoczka's and Bass' books. However, there are also places where Bauer's son Joe has included comics in the middle margins or "gutter" of the book. In the gutter the comic format is used to both correspond with the written text and provide its own story. There are single frame comic panels and in some places there are elements of graphic novel formats in which double panel frames are used to show what is happening in the text. This unique format may not be a blended narrative in the sense that the comic is telling the story in its own right, but the use of comics is still present and goes beyond the traditional novel.

It is also important to note what appears to be an early "entry" into the genre of blended narratives from Australia as well. The *Vidz* series by Ian Bone and Jobi Murphy seemed to be very much ahead of their time in the blended approach to writing the story. Their second book in the series *Time Trap* (2004) helps show this. The novel is presented using a "storyboard" approach. The chapters are "scenes" in the book. However, the unique feature is that they contain storyboard illustrations throughout the book. These storyboards continue to tell the story in their own way and use the creative approach of a movie medium as well. The new approach with the illustrations is fascinating even though the illustrations do seem a bit clumsy in their presentation. One point to pull from this early example is that using this new blended approach may have been in existence previous to the current influx in children's literature.

A new example of blended narratives from the United States can be seen in the book *The Odd Squad: Bully Bait* by Michael Fry (2013). In this novel a boy is trying to find his place in middle school. The illustrations assist in telling the story throughout the book. Some illustrations take up an entire page, while some might be just a brief sketch which continues what the text is saying. A chief example of this is found on page 175, in which the illustration of Nick helps the reader understand what happens where the text stopped. When the text continues after the illustration, it starts telling the story again using the illustration's "text" of what happened. There are also other examples of a blended narrative in which a comic format is

woven into the text to help tell the story as well. On page 195 in the book, the use of the comics is seen when the main character Nick and the school bully discuss whether or not they are scared to go into the heating duct in the school. The traditional novel format sets the comic up, and then the comic provides both the visual and dialogue between the characters.

Another blended narrative from the United States is found within *Arnie the Doughnut: Bowling Alley Bandit* by Laurie Keller (2013). This novel is actually a sequel to Keller's picture book, *Arnie the Doughnut*. What Keller did so well with the picture book was provide what she calls humorous "asides" where there are a plethora of illustrations that provide humour that are not directly related to the story. This is brought to life even further in the newer title. The new novel has examples similar to Fry's book discussed above in which the novel tells the story in the traditional format and then the illustrations take over and continue to tell the story. What is occurring here however is that the blended narrative is integrating not only graphic novel sequences but also picture book elements. For readers who are comfortable with the first adventure of Arnie, this newer title will build upon their previous knowledge and skills and further them by blending the formats together. This title is an excellent example of how the visual in children's literature is playing such a crucial role.

A final example from the United States would be the *Dragonbreath* series by Ursula Vernon. Described as a combination of text and graphic novel, this series is a true example of blended narratives. In the first book in the series *Dragonbreath* (2009), Vernon begins the story with graphic novel frames and illustrations introducing the story. Then chapter one is presented in the traditional written format that one would expect to find in a novel. These formats are used interchangeably throughout the book. This series is one that would entice and engage readers and have them coming back to read more about the main character Danny Dragonbreath. It is important to point out that the use of visuals in this series is truly what make the books unique as well as engaging. It becomes more and more clear that the visuals in children's literature are not only complex, but they play a crucial role throughout a reader's development.

The examples discussed are not limited to just Australia and America however. Emily Gravett, an English author and illustrator, is another example of a children's author who is able to incorporate such a strong emphasis on the visual in her work, specifically in the picture book format. Whether it be one of her first books, *Wolves*, (2005) or another one of her books, *Little Mouse's Big Book of Fears* (2007), the emphasis on the visual is quite obvious. In *Wolves* it is sometimes very subtle, when the reader/viewer is looking at a few trees; upon second glance, however, they see the trees create the shape of a wolf, thus connecting to the overall theme of the book. In *Little Mouse's Big Book of Fears*, the visual plays a crucial role throughout the book as the mouse "writes" his own book. Children's literature journal, *The Horn Book* (2007), discussed the visual elements in their review of the book stating, "The visual and textual layers woven by Gravett's meticulous mixed-media illustrations blur the lines between the book and mouse and his creations, and contain enough detail that multiple reads still won't reveal everything" (p. 79).

Gravett's ability to "blur the lines" again shows how complicated the visual elements in children's literature have become. As the review states, repeated readings still won't answer all the questions readers could have. Thus, it is vital that the skills of visual literacy be taught to children to avoid angst and frustration from the different formats of children's literature they are being exposed to.

Another example from the United Kingdom is *Slog's Dad* by David Almond (2010). Originally a short story by Almond, Dave McKean later constructed the illustrations which add to the story with no text to accompany them. The use of various colours, both bright and dark, set the mood for the story early on and then the text appears. The illustration sections are interspersed throughout the book eight times and add to the overall text to create a complex and challenging book that will leave readers and "viewers" deep in reflection as to what happened in the book. This is an excellent example of a blended narrative as the illustrations do tell the story with the text appearing in the traditional novel format. The complex ideas addressed in the story are addressed even further through the illustrations. The power of the story is overwhelming, and the inclusion of illustrations into this new version of the short story helps highlight what Walsh (2006) mentioned earlier in the chapter about the various codes needed to read when illustrations are included in a novel.

A final example of the role of visuals in children's literature found in the United Kingdom is in the Tom Gates series by Liz Pichon. This series focuses around Tom and his life and adventures in and out of school. This has many features of an illustrated novel and it also experiments with font sizes and writing. The text also includes illustrations in the sentences. The main character, Tom, loves to draw and doodle on his school workbooks and this is reflected throughout the series. A prime example of this is found early in the book on page five when Tom discusses what scared him and that he "wasn't expecting to see this," and then the reader turns the page and sees a full illustration of Tom's older sister. What works so well here is that the text sets up the illustration, but when the image is shown, it is able to tell the story alone, without support from the written word other than the set up. While this may not be an example of a blended narrative as the other books discussed have been, it does have a very strong focus on the visual and reinforces how visual literacy and the visuals in children's literature are included and how crucial they are in books for young children.

Children enjoy reading a variety of genres and formats. Because of this it is important that they are exposed to, and taught, how to read such engaging texts. This is especially true with books that contain strong visual components. As discussed in the previous section, "blended narratives" are becoming more prevalent in the field of children's literature. With the discussion of authors, picture books, illustrated novels, and blended narratives from three different countries, it becomes more and more clear that this is a global phenomenon. It is also one that must be taught and emphasized in classrooms around the world. As Serafini (2011) contends, "the challenges facing readers and teachers alike demand that we expand the analytical tools we bring to bear in the process of interpreting visual images and multimodal texts" (p. 101) Similar to what Walsh introduced earlier with the codes that are necessary to read images in novels, Serafini's ideas of tools are also important.

No matter what the reference point, codes, or tools, this is an educational capital that children from any culture need.

However, while this might be a preferred format for young readers, finding such texts can prove challenging. When searching library catalogues or even online booksellers, the entries for the book will simply state the number of pages (e.g. *The Odd Squad: Bully Bait* has 215 pages) and the word *ill.* to show that there are illustrations. Nowhere does it inform the interested reader the total number of illustrations, format of the illustrations, or their purpose. If the entries provided more detailed information about the book, young readers worldwide would be able to more easily find and access the books that appeal to them the most.

4 Conclusion

When focussing on the world, it is important to include a global view that shows the importance and dependency on the visual. Words, images, signs, and “text” are all around us no matter where we are. Unsworth et al. (2004) recommend, “Explicit teaching of the role of images in constructing meaning in texts needs to be integrated into classroom practice in literacy education not only to prepare children for the reading experience of tests, but also to optimise their critical negotiation with contemporary multimodal texts in broader social contexts” (p. 57) Again, they stress the important role that visual images and visual literacy play in the classroom for anyone in the world in the various social contexts faced. Piro (2002) notes the changing definition of literacy and how we, as educators, must change with this definition, “We are all in the midst of a new century of literacy education, and the definition of literacy continues to undergo a metamorphosis as society’s contact with more and more symbol systems increases” (p. 133). Because this definition is changing and expanding educators, worldwide must adapt as well. It is crucial that we, as educators, capitalize on the currency children’s literature has to offer in teaching visual literacy skills. It is this currency that will afford children the opportunity to read, engage, and open doors both locally and globally.

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Philosophical and Pedagogical Underpinnings of Globalisation and Education

John P. Keeves and I. Gusti Ngurah Darmawan

1 Globalisation and Education: Introduction

The maintenance and survival of the human race on planet Earth, in which we live, work, learn and play, is dependent on the process of education by which knowledge, skills and beliefs are passed on from one generation to the next. The educative process is an essential component of the development and the well-being of the human race and all living creatures that together share and occupy planet Earth. This chapter views the wholeness of this situation and considers the critical role of the educative process in the past, the present and the future. The problem demands not only analytical thinking but also systemic thinking in which the situation under consideration is viewed as a whole, as well as its many parts. It is also argued that globalisation involves more than an international and global approach to economic and political issues. Today, more is at risk than financial transactions and only the process of education, considered as a worldwide whole, can resolve the complex issues faced.

The relationship between a global view of the world and education emerged in modern times from the philosophical writings and educational practices advanced by Comenius (1592–1670) during the Reformation in Central Europe. These ideas spread first to Northern Europe, particularly Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland and importantly to England. The scientific developments in England during the eighteenth century led to the Industrial Revolution and the growing concentration of people in large cities and industrial towns. In turn, these societal changes led to the formation of education systems, together with legislation and public policy in the

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field of education. This social action was derived from the advancements in philosophical thought that subsequently influenced religious, political and social movements. While nations were formed and the boundaries of countries underwent change, there was growing recognition that the peoples on planet Earth had a common origin and changes in one part of the world had profound influences on changes in other parts within a global system.

2 The Emergence of Formal Education

There seems little doubt that almost all human beings who are alive today could trace their origins back to a ‘mitochondrial Eve’ who lived in Africa about 150,000 years ago (Sykes 2001, pp. 336–8). An extraordinary gene was passed through the maternal line from generation to generation to one of seven women, the so-called daughters of Eve. Not only was a gene passed through successive generations, but the skills necessary to survive in a hostile environment were in some way passed on to provide for survival. This account tells not only of our common ancestry but also indicates the origins of the educative process that is necessary for survival in an adverse and changing world. No doubt there have been genetic changes occurring in the successive generations that have followed as are witnessed by the diversity existing in the human race in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Moreover, there must have been many changes in the skills, knowledge and beliefs transmitted across the successive generations, through what we refer to as the ‘educative process’ that has ensured survival. However, only in relatively recent times has education been formal. Connell (1980, p. 3) stated that ‘at the beginning of the twentieth century formal education for the majority of the people in the world scarcely existed’. Only in the more developed and industrialised nations of North America, Western Europe and the former British colonies of Australia and New Zealand was universal education well established.

The account of the development of the educative process is only available through what has been passed down successively using abstract symbols. These symbols have been recorded on the stone walls of tombs, on clay tablets and on papyrus, vellum or parchment scrolls that were later transformed into a codex and at a later stage into printed books. No doubt most teaching took place through word of mouth and most learning through recital and directed action. Only where collections of written records have survived in tombs or in libraries is there evidence of how the educative process was actually carried out. Such early records as remain are only a few thousand years old. Unfortunately, most early records stored in libraries had generally been destroyed by conquering armies. Only documents secreted in caves or buried in tombs or untouched by fire or military personnel are now available to provide evidence of how teaching and learning took place over successive periods of time.

In general, education initially served only the training of administrators and record keepers for the purposes of tax collection or providing support for the

governors of provinces or instructions for the builders of amphitheatres, bath houses, meeting places and palaces. However, the establishment of a priestly class to sustain religious practices required not only the keeping of historical and religious records but also the education of persons who would conduct religious assemblies. It was the support and maintenance of religious observations that gave rise to the spreading of education.

During the Golden Age of Islam, the need to maintain records and documents and to examine the works of the one true God led to the building of libraries not only in the Middle East but also in North Africa and in Spain (Iqbal 2007). In a similar way, the Church of Rome in the West and the Eastern Church in Constantinople supported libraries and educational activity. However, the great libraries that had been built in Athens and in Alexandria had been largely destroyed by conquering armies. Gradually, religious organisations built universities in Western Europe that emerged as centres of scholarship, with schools attached for the children of the wealthy and the ruling class. Two major intellectual developments occurred. The first involved the advancement of analytical thought and reason. The second involved the development of systemic thought and the systematic examination of evidence. These developments challenged the influence of dogma and religious traditions in Europe.

3 The Enlightenment

In the eighteenth century, a movement that became known as the 'Enlightenment' led thinkers to argue both in a rational way and for a reasoned approach to practical life and social change. In France, the great scholars of the Enlightenment included two Frenchmen: (a) Fontevelli, who argued for a modern theory of development, and (b) Descartes, who established the supremacy of rational knowledge. In Germany, (c) Kant held to a belief in the unlimited progress of all mankind, and (d) Leibniz contended that progress took place in a continuous and cumulative way. In England, (e) Newton was the great scholar who laid the theoretical foundations for the examination of change in the fields of Mathematics and the Sciences. This movement, the Enlightenment, was supported by energetic and prolific writers who presented the new ideas of scholars to a wider public. They argued that humanity was progressing through the application of reason, science, tolerance and benevolence. Their influence on the educative process in Western Europe was profound, but essentially analytical and dependent on reason.

4 Evolution and the World System

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Darwin (1859) in his great work *On the Origin of Species* advanced the idea of 'evolution' as the process that lay behind the changes that were occurring in the world of nature. His observations ranged across

many fields of science, and his conclusions were challenged and attempts made to discredit them. However, over the decades that followed, more and more evidence was brought forward, and today 150 years later, the scientific value of the theory of evolution is now widely and strongly recognised. Moreover, this theory has had a major impact on ideas of social and cultural evolution as well as man's concept of himself and his place on planet Earth. The impact of the idea of 'evolution' on the educative process is widespread since it has had an influence on almost every intellectual field. The principle of 'survival' or 'preservation' that Darwin called 'natural selection' has two components. First, the minor differences that existed between individuals were a component that provided an encouragement of competition. The individual person, best trained and best equipped, would succeed in competition with others. Those who were likely to succeed were the ones most worthy of support and encouragement. Second, the principle of 'inheritance' that passed these differences down through generations involved survival within a complex system. In contrast to the cultivation of an elite, this component supported the view of equalising social, cultural and educational opportunities through support and cooperation to ensure survival within the natural system. This involved adaptation to circumstances in order to ensure the survival of the group and all the individuals within the group.

The advantage that human beings had over all other organisms within the Earth's environment in which they lived involved the use of language and a capacity to communicate in a meaningful way with other members of the human race. Moreover, human beings developed the use of signs and symbols that could be employed to record, transmit and store both ideas and their interrelations and subsequently to test these ideas against evidence obtained from the system in which they operated. The capacity to document and test both ideas and relationships defined the role of science within the educative process.

5 The Places of Language and Culture

There are approximately 6,000 different languages in the world today, but many have died out during recent decades. The neighbouring island to Australia of New Guinea has, by contrast, some 1,200 languages. The difference arises from the historical origins of the peoples and the geographical characteristics of the lands (Wade 2006). Bellwood and Diamond (2003) contend that across planet Earth, there are 15 major language families, while further condensation suggests fewer, namely, the Eurasiatic, the Apoasiatic and the Indo-European language families. Problems arise in tracing languages back using linguistic procedures, but by using phylogenetic analysis that employs DNA, it is becoming possible to trace back further, perhaps to a single ancestral human language. There appear to be three main centres from which languages have spread: the Middle East (Sumaria), China (Yangtze Yellow River Basin) and Central Africa. However, the movement of peoples across the world from Africa would appear to imply a common source.

Symbolic systems would also appear to have arisen more recently from the Fertile Crescent (Sumaria) (5–6,000 years ago), Egypt (4–5,000 years ago) and Phoenicia (4,000 years ago) with a different symbol system arising in China. For the development of cultural differences between groups of people, it would seem that languages and symbol systems played a key role. However, racial differences would appear to have a DNA or genetic basis. The present time is a period of very active research in these areas. There is a strong hypothesis that all peoples on planet Earth have a common genetic origin with successive subgroups forming from about 50,000 years ago, with marked developments occurring about 14,000 and 6,000 years ago (Wade 2006).

6 A Global Language

It is necessary in a World system for individuals and groups within the system to communicate with each other. With some 6,000 languages in operation across the world, it would appear desirable that there is one language that forms the global language of communication, but without the collapse or decline in the use of the many other languages. English is emerging as the global language in preference to French, the case for which the Francophone countries have argued strongly. Moreover, German unfortunately suffers from several short comings, such as a complex and lengthy sentence structure, and Chinese, which while serving perhaps the greatest number of people in the world, employs a complex symbol system. English has the advantage among the Indo-European languages in that it has been developed from an amalgam of Latin, French and the Northern European languages and has been spread widely across the world by the former British Empire and the United States of America. Furthermore, it has already become the common language for telecommunication as well as the basic language used in international trade and commerce.

Nevertheless, it would appear to be highly desirable that each language group of people should maintain their traditional language and culture. From the strength and diversity of the many different cultures of the World, the human race can maintain, enrich, augment and develop the strength of the cultures already in existence.

7 The Roles of Democracy and Freedom Within the World System

During the twentieth century, two great books were published that have led to change in recent times. The French Revolution in 1789 and the *Development of the Rights of Man and Citizen* in the name of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* ended the period of the Enlightenment, but opened the way, particularly in the United States,

for the re-emergence of democracy as a political system that is now spreading globally. In 1916, the publication of *Democracy and Education* by Dewey extended the influence of pragmatist thought beyond the area of philosophy into the fields of education and social theory. Likewise, the publication of *Development as Freedom* by Amartya Sen in 1999 strengthened the expansion of freedom and democracy to both the richer and poorer countries of the world where human rights were constrained and democratic governance did not operate.

8 The Contribution of Science and Technology in a Changing World

The work of Newton introduced more than two centuries of scientific development together with great advancements in industry and technology. The scientific ideas advanced by Newton supported the view of a world governed, like a machine, by laws that were deterministic in nature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Einstein introduced a very different view of the physical world where time and space were merged. Thus, an observer's time frame was relative to himself and events were probabilistic in nature and governed by stochastic relationships. Einstein's (1961) ideas changed mankind's view of the universe and unleashed immense sources of energy and completely different models of the material world. This led on to the field of semiconductors of electricity and in particular to the development of electronic computing and communications technology. Likewise, the fields of atomic fission and fusion emerged. The former raised problems that greatly influenced the political world, and the latter raised the possibility of providing an unlimited supply of energy if the problems of containment could be resolved.

A second development associated with the field of genetics is best seen in the writings of Watson on *The Molecular Biology of the Gene* (1965) and *The Double Helix* (1968). Further work on the DNA molecule has greatly influenced thinking on evolution, the development of language, medical research and the feeding of the growing population of planet Earth. The rapid expansion of knowledge in the fields of science and technology has great implications for the processes of education. No longer is an initial period of learning in schools adequate. Learning is becoming a universal lifelong process that needs to be undertaken by all people.

9 Economic Influences

Trade and commerce across the world benefited greatly from the development of a number system and an effective notation that gave rise to algorithmic calculation. These principles reached Europe from the Middle East (Iqbal 2007), where the Indian and possibly Chinese ideas had been accepted and further developed. However, the

works of Marx (1818–1883), along with those of Engels (1820–1895), were to have a profound influence in Russia and Eastern Europe and subsequently in many developing countries. For Marx, the fundamental issue for the human race was the need to convert the raw material of the natural world into the products, including food and manufactured goods, necessary for human survival. Consequently, production and the associated management of living conditions required financial transactions that together with the principles of economics and commerce demanded training and formal education. Distinctions emerged between groups of people who owned property, the middle classes who employed those who worked in industry and those people who formed the working classes. Those people who inherited or acquired wealth could live with security in comfort, leaving behind a commonly large group of people who suffered social and economic disadvantage. Enterprising individuals who were constrained by lack of resources sought to live in situations where they could acquire wealth and property. Those with the benefits of education and training sought opportunities to live a better life. Thus, education became the key to overcoming social and economic disadvantage. Alternatively, opportunities could be provided for the socially and economically disadvantaged through the idea of forming a ‘managed society’ referred to as ‘socialism’ through the operation of educative processes.

10 The Systematic Study of Man, Society and the Educative Process

The ferment of new ideas and the associated way of thinking through the application of reason and science, together with tolerance and benevolent goodwill, led in the field of education to the advancement of new theories of the educative process and the establishment of new practices. Rousseau (1712–1778) was perhaps the first philosophical scholar to challenge significantly the principle that education should be centred on *what* is taught (the subject matter) to the child. He argued that education should be focused on meeting the *needs* of the individual child. This led to a radical change in the emphasis assigned to the educative process. It was contrary to the teaching engaged in by the Christian churches that dominated the provision of education in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, this new approach was consistent with the thinking advanced through the Enlightenment. New views of the educative process emerged.

Froebel (1782–1852) was the founder of the kindergarten movement that gave rise to the establishment of preschools. Herbart (1776–1841) reoriented the approach to education at the level of primary schooling. His emphasis was not on the subject matter or the needs of the child but rather on how the educative process took place and how educating should occur in schools. Educating was concerned with practical pedagogical problems. The main task of the educative process thus involved the development of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that met the requirements of the student at a particular stage of development through voluntary engagement in the process of learning.

From these new ideas and principles guiding the thinking of scholars in Germany, France and Italy, major developments in the process of education started to emerge. Not only was the provision of education greatly changed, but research and investigation into the processes of learning and teaching started to occur in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The field of educational research was established with three major studies: (a) the pioneering study in 1882 by Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes* (The Mind of the Child) in Germany; (b) Hall in the United States in 1883, with *The Study of Children*; and (c) by Galton's work that led to the introduction of the idea of mental testing (de Lansheere 1997). These three studies opened up three fields of inquiry, respectively: (a) developmental psychology involving field experience, (b) the child study movement and (c) the application of applied statistics to the study of human phenomena.

Experimental pedagogy was founded in about 1900 by Lay and Meumann in Germany, Binet and Simon in France and Thorndike and Judd in the United States. In Geneva, Claparède's theory of 'functional education' paralleled the work of Dewey in the United States who published a book on psychology in 1890, *The School and Society* in 1899 and *The Child and the Curriculum* in 1902. Dewey also established a laboratory school within the Department of Education at the University of Chicago. These developments all had an influence on the advancement of formal education.

11 Exploration of the Unknown World

The initial step in globalisation, apart from the conquest of neighbouring lands by the ancient empires of Egypt, Greece and Rome, involved exploration of the unknown world by the nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean and, possibly China, bordering the Pacific Ocean. Few records remain of the exploration undertaken from China. However, the exploration conducted from Western Europe by Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Germany led to the discovery of the Americas, Southern Africa, South East Asia and Australasia. These explorations were undertaken with a variety of motives, initially the endless quest of the unknown and subsequently for the purposes of trade and shorter trade routes to the Far East, colonisation and the search for new sources of wealth. In addition, there was concern for the religious salvation of the indigenous peoples by the Christian and Islamic faiths. Where possible, settlements were established and colonies consolidated with a very substantial empire formed across the planet Earth by Great Britain. These colonial empires remained in force until the middle of the twentieth century, and over a period of several centuries, educational activities were introduced to facilitate the government of these empires. The military activities of Germany in the First and Second World Wars and Japan in the Second World War led, over the following years, to the granting of independence to all but a few remnants of these empires. This termination of these vast empires and colonial states gave rise, during the second half of the twentieth century, to an immense expansion of education at all levels.

12 Religious Issues

Both the countries of Western Europe and within the Islamic realm established religious-based schools, not only in the home countries but also in the colonial countries where control was maintained. In most of these countries, the religious support for such schools has been sustained after the granting of independence. The continued operation of religious-based schools does not necessarily pose problems for the educative process arising from the onset of globalisation. Nevertheless, certain religious faiths would appear to hold strong beliefs and opinions, leading to particular issues that are related to different aspects of an emerging world crisis. Most religious organisations had a strong and beneficial influence on the provision of education during the times of educational expansion, and the importance of their ongoing work must be emphasised.

13 Education and Development in the Modern Era (1800–2000)

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been a period that involved a remarkable revolution in education that has completely transformed and reshaped the lives of human beings on planet Earth. The Enlightenment paved the way for the change that started in Western Europe and was based on the quest for freedom and equality among all people living on the planet. Nevertheless, there were many attempts made to gain control of territory and material resources for the benefit of the dominant groups of people in Western Europe. However, the principles of ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’ have ultimately influenced the developments and the changes that have taken place. At times, it might have appeared that control was being sought by the most highly educated groups through military might or by the wealthy groups through the ownership of territory in strategic locations and material resources. Nonetheless, with the growth of education, the use of reason and the power of ideas would appear to be paving the way forward for living in a changing world.

Earlier centuries gave rise to the emergence of national groups with an identified ‘Fatherland’ or ‘Motherland’ and the need to use education not to support the maintenance of a traditional religion but to sustain and expand the homeland of the nation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the countries of the world could be clustered into three major groups. First, there were the developed countries of Western and Northern Europe and Japan, together with the more prosperous colonies of Australia and North America within which the United States had belonged in the eighteenth century. Second, there originally were the so-called emergent or transitional countries that included Russia, China and India. These were later joined by Indonesia, a former colony of the Netherlands and South Korea, a former colony of Japan. These countries are still in a process of transition and are being joined by Malaysia and Thailand. The very large third group include the

developing countries of South America, Northern and Southern Africa, South East Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific Islands. The forces that all countries have in common are those associated with the educative process that today are turning towards globalisation, rather than the building of a national identity. However, the building of a national identity is strongly maintained in the fields of sport and culture. This threefold grouping of countries is employed in the pages that follow in an examination of the development of the education processes.

14 The Development of Formal Education During the Nineteenth Century

14.1 The Emergence of Formal Education in Germany

The establishment of formal education that was removed from the control of religious bodies would appear to have commenced at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany. In 1808, Von Humbolt was appointed as Director of Public Instruction in Prussia. Although he held office for only a brief period, he transformed primary and secondary schooling and, subsequently, university education in Germany. The philosophical writings of Fichte and Schiller and their influence on the work of Froebel (1782–1852), Herbart (1776–1841) and Pestalozzi (1746–1827) had a profound effect on the development of German education at all levels. The kindergarten movement was established for younger children using the ideas of Froebel. The formal education that was introduced built on the ideas of Herbart. Science was incorporated into the programs of secondary schools, together with an emphasis of technical education (Boyd 1962; Curtis and Boulwood 1964). Goethe (1749–1832), in particular, had been extremely critical of both the approaches advanced by Newton, as well as those of the established churches towards science, and had viewed science as a highly inductive and holistic process, based in observation of the natural world and demonstration experiments (Bortoft 1996). His views greatly influenced the introduction of science into the curriculum of schools in Germany as well as the consolidation of science in the teaching and research activities of the universities under the leadership of Von Humbolt.

These developments both in philosophical thought and in educational programs in Germany also led, during the nineteenth century, to the teaching of science and technology in separate schools that were different from those schools that were teaching classical studies and that had previously dominated European education in both secondary schools and universities. Moreover, schooling became compulsory for young people leading on to preparation for work or higher education in universities. These ideas spread throughout Western, Northern and Eastern Europe, and the developments that took place during the nineteenth century in the main followed the pattern of education and the processes of education initially advanced in Germany. Science gradually became an essential component of secondary schooling, with

nature study being taught at the primary school level (Jenkins 1985). It was not until the 1870s that Arnold, an English inspector of schools, visited Germany and recommended the adoption in English secondary schools of the teaching of science as was occurring in German schools.

The Enlightenment had introduced a new view of the world, and developments in philosophy and pedagogy in Germany presented to the peoples of the world the way in which compulsory education for all children could be conducted. Moreover, the provision of education in German schools ranged from the kindergarten years through to the final years of schooling. Education became a continuing process in preparation for further study at the university level and in preparation for work in the later years of adolescence as well as in adult life.

15 The Development of Formal Education in the United Kingdom

During the early years of the nineteenth century, England was in turmoil that was created by the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte. This was followed in England by a period of rapid urbanisation. Thus, only at a later stage, in 1833, did the Governments in England and Scotland recognise the need for education beyond that provided by the churches for children in each of their parishes. A decision was then made to provide a relatively small amount of money from public funds for the advancement of elementary education in local school districts.

Industry and manufacturing had expanded rapidly in Great Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. It was gradually recognised that with the growth of large cities, the children of the working classes needed an education that consisted of reading, arithmetic and writing as well as simple technical skills that differed between boys and girls, with carpentry and metalwork for boys and needlework for girls. Thus, in a stable political climate and following the success of a Great Exhibition in 1851, efforts turned to the provision of free and compulsory education for all children throughout Britain. The provision of educational programs was supervised by inspectors. Objectives were prescribed by six standards, and grants were paid to local education authorities with respect to the levels of performance achieved by the students. Teachers were trained in the classrooms as 'student teachers' working under supervision. Philosophical ideas and pedagogical methods were largely ignored. Examinations were held to select the more able students who could proceed with a secondary education that followed the long-standing tradition of classics and mathematics. However, Mechanics Institutes were introduced for adults who needed new skills, but very limited opportunities were available for those who aspired to further education, although books were provided in public libraries. In the schools, the curriculum was very narrow for the children of the working classes. However, Grammar Schools were established and students were selected to undertake secondary education that could lead on to further study in universities. These schools operated

alongside a growing system of private schools. These private schools were in the main residential schools and they prepared students for further study in universities and for administrative duties in the armed forces and throughout the British Empire.

16 The Spreading of Formal Education in the More Affluent British Colonies

The settlements of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand initially followed the patterns of development that were taking place in Great Britain and the European countries from which the settlers were drawn, until that time when the colonies gained independence. Initially, private schools were established, and when settlements became sufficiently prosperous, local authorities and district councils set up schools that were largely financed from the resources of each of the local communities. Subsequently, larger units that were states or provinces combined the local schools into centralised school systems, and free and compulsory schooling was introduced. These countries that were originally British colonies differed in some respects in their provision of education, but were surprisingly similar in the curricula offered and the teaching methods employed. The United States led the way and obtained its independence at an earlier stage than the other countries, but like the other countries, the states retained substantial control over the provision of education. However, the introduction of free and compulsory education took place in these countries at about the same time, namely, in the period from the 1850s to the 1870s. Canada that was a country formed out of settlements of British and French origins maintained this separation through developments at the provincial level. However, the United States was able to integrate its French colonies into a political structure together with the English colonial settlements. In Australia, while the country gained separation from Great Britain in 1901 with the federation of six states and two territories, each of these regions continued to maintain control over its educational system. In due course, the United States exerted considerable influence on the development of education in other countries. For example, the structure and practices of the US educational institutions can be readily seen in both Japan and the Philippines and to a lesser extent in parts of China.

17 The Spreading of Formal Education in the Emergent and Developing Countries

In the countries that gained independence from the British Empire after the Second World War, such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan in the Indian subcontinent and Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa and Ghana in Africa, the pattern of development has been very similar. Schools were first established by religious orders and missionary

groups. School systems were subsequently formed alongside the church-based schools, but education was rarely free and never universal during the nineteenth century. Commonly, the standards of education were set by examination boards in England, and students in these countries prized their affiliation with England and the award of a qualification from England at the school level.

Likewise, the German colonies followed a similar pattern, as did the Dutch colonies in South East Asia and the French colonies in East Asia. While the Dutch colonies would appear to have been greatly influenced by German education, reflecting the influence of German education in the Netherlands, the French education system has over time maintained an influence in the Francophone colonies and thus a separate identity.

The large domain that also remained dormant during the nineteenth century was the subcontinent of South America. The countries of this region were opened up by Spain and Portugal. However, Spain and Portugal after extracting wealth from the region would appear to have left it largely to the Roman Catholic Church to bring educational services to the peoples involved. In some of these countries, the German-based settlements would appear to have thrived, and British commerce also profited, but the provision of educational services would appear to have been minimal except for the wealthy who lived in a somewhat isolated region of the world.

Japan was the first country, outside Western Europe and North America, to advance between the 1850s and 1880s to a national system of education that was laid down and developed, and the Imperial Tokyo University established. With rapid industrial growth at the commencement of the twentieth century, the Japanese educational system grew rapidly.

The two major regions of the world that remained largely apart from the developments that took place during the nineteenth century were China and Russia. These two great countries were influenced by the developments in the regions that lay geographically adjacent to them in Central Asia and in Russia's case also in Eastern Europe. They both formed what might be described as 'sleeping giants' during the nineteenth century, only to emerge from an apparently dormant state with remarkable strength during the twentieth century to form strong education systems.

18 The Expansion of Formal Education in the Twentieth Century

Connell (1980) examined the expansion of education around the world during the twentieth century, and some of the account presented in this section is derived from his work. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a high level of participation occurred at the primary school level in most developed countries of Western Europe, the United States and Japan. However, enrolment in secondary education was largely dependent on the results of selection into academically or technically oriented schools. Formal education scarcely existed in most countries that were part of

colonial empires such as India and countries like Russia and China that were each governed by a feudal ruling class. Whereas Germany had extended and developed formal education during the nineteenth century with the kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and the universities, which sought not only to teach but also to generate new knowledge, the United States led the way during the period from 1900 to 1945. Education in the United States was seen to serve three main purposes: (a) to generate wealth through manufacturing, trade and commercial activity that financed development; (b) to raise the standard of living through medical services, better living conditions and a longer life; and (c) the cultivation of intellectual activity as well as art, music and drama, through the planned use of leisure time.

In the more developed countries, secondary education expanded. New universities were established and opened up to enable students from all social classes as well as to women, and opportunities for further education were made available to adults that provided training in commercial and technical skills. However, while Germany maintained a strong program of both education and research, it destabilised Europe with its military ambitions during the First and Second World Wars. In Europe, the neighbouring countries of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark struggled to maintain their educational and cultural activities. The United States sought to remain apart from the problems that emerged in Europe, but profited greatly with respect to wealth and the influence that wealth could buy around the world. England, in spite of its heavy commitments in both wars and seeming to emerge as victor of both, after raising the standards of education across its Empire, gracefully provided the freedom for the countries under its control to develop on their own within the British Commonwealth. Likewise, the other European countries with smaller colonial affiliated states set these states free to develop on their own after the cessation of hostilities in 1945. Thus, the world embarked on a new era from 1945 to 1990.

A major change occurred in the period around the close of the First World War that revealed the immense power of education to change the relative standing of a country in a very short period of time. Russia at the turn of the twentieth century sought to expand its vast empire to the east and encountered resistance from a modernising Japan and lost in this struggle. A new Soviet regime emerged, and after a period of instability during the final years of the First World War, revolutionary activities were undertaken that lasted until 1922. Although opposed by allied forces involved in the war against Germany, the Soviet Red Army won the struggle for freedom by the Russian people, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formed as an immense power occupying most of the Northern Asia and much of Eastern Europe. In a little more than a generation, the USSR from the 1920s built a strong education system. It was able to train a population that raised the standard of living of a large body of people capable of defending, at great expense of life, the vast country from the German onslaught during the Second World War. This paved the way for a 40-year period of consolidation of educational activity at all levels of schooling, technical and higher education and research, to challenge the combined power of the North Atlantic world. The USSR remained a great power until 1990, when it was led by Mikhail Gorbachev to change the structure of the country and

completely reorient the process of globalisation around the world. In the 70-year period from the 1920s to 1990, Russia had emerged from a feudal empire to become a very powerful country that provided the challenge from which globalisation has emerged.

A second major change arose during the first half of the twentieth century that involved the consolidation of education in Japan. In the later years of the nineteenth century, Japan had observed the developments that were taking place in Europe and had skilfully engaged in a process of modernisation in order to compete commercially with the developed countries of Western Europe and the United States. The main purpose of Japanese education was to increase production and to raise the standard of living, as well as to expand the size of the territory that it controlled. At the turn of the twentieth century, Japan conducted successful wars with China and Russia and a few years later annexed Korea. Subsequently, during the Second World War, it sought to expand into the Pacific Region and into South East Asia, but without success. However, Japan succeeded in the establishment of a school system that provided strong programs of primary and secondary education, with considerable strength in technical education, but with limited growth at the university level and in the fields of research.

The cessation of hostilities in 1945 at the conclusion of the Second World War gave rise to a remarkable development, particularly in the field of education, scientific and cultural activity, that initiated the movements for globalisation on planet Earth.

19 The Recognition of a Global World

The First World War started from an incident in Southern Europe, but over a 4-year period involved most of the countries of the world. An organisation was needed that would serve to integrate countries that went beyond negotiated agreements with respect to military activity and trade. Leadership came from South Africa. Jan Christian Smuts (1870–1950), who had been involved in several military campaigns and who was a significant figure in the making of the Treaty of Versailles, was instrumental in the founding of the League of Nations in Geneva in 1919. However, the United States refused to join. Germany joined the League in 1926 and the USSR joined in 1934, but Germany and Japan withdrew in 1933 and Italy in 1936. The League was involved in settling some minor disputes, but failed to prevent the onset of the Second World War.

Again, after the termination of activities in 1945, Smuts together with the leaders of the Allied forces, particularly Churchill and initially Roosevelt, moved to establish the United Nations Organisation that operated from a headquarters in New York. Many specialist agencies were set up: the International Court of Justice, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Health Organisation, the World Trade Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the International Labour Office, UNICEF and the International Development Organisation. In addition, a specialist agency was

founded in 1946 to promote cooperation among nations through education, science and culture, namely, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

These many agencies initiated moves towards globalisation in their many different areas of interest. While UNESCO has encountered problems from time to time in the working together of its about 200 members, it has been widely recognised that the forming of unity among nations is essentially a task that is reliant on educating the six to seven billion people on planet Earth, rather than distributing food and aid to those in need and the lending of money to support development or to maintain armed forces that can intervene in the settlement of territorial disputes. Three major Institutes have been maintained by UNESCO. In 1925, the International Bureau of Education (IBE) was founded in Geneva by the League of Nations as a documentation centre and subsequently the planning of UNESCO's General Conferences and from time to time an International Conference on Education. In 1951, the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) was set up in Hamburg, Germany. This Institute focused mainly on 'lifelong education'. However, it gave birth to a major educational research organisation in 1958 that became known as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This organisation has led to the conducting of large cross-national research studies in educational achievement. Currently, it focuses mainly in the monitoring of educational achievement in selected fields of learning among its more than 60 member countries. The third major institute is the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris that has a mandate to organise training, research and dissemination activities in order to support educational planning and administration, particularly in developing countries.

UNESCO has undertaken the preparation of two major reports that have had a marked impact on the development of education on a worldwide basis and have laid the foundations for the globalisation of education. The first report *Learning to Be* was prepared under the editorship of Faure (1972) and a second report *Learning the Treasure Within* under the editorship of Delors (1996). The influences of these reports have been not on the establishment of new bodies or new programs but rather to change the way in which educational processes were viewed and the ways in which educational activities were conducted in both developed and developing countries.

20 The World Conference on Education for All

The World Conference on Education for All held at Jomtien in Thailand in 1990 was a turning point in the globalisation of the educative process. This conference was a joint initiative of four United Nations Agencies, namely, UNESCO, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UNICEF and the World Bank. The conference did not just concern itself with initial education in primary schools, but

it sought to achieve by the turn of the century in the year 2000, through a concerted effort and educational targets on six important dimensions:

- Expansion of early childhood care and development
- Universal access to completion of primary education
- Improvement in learning achievement
- Increase in adult literacy rates
- Expansion of provision of basic education and training in essential skills required by youth and adults
- Increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values necessary for better living and an improved quality of life (Maclean and Vine 2003, p. 18)

A World Education Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal, in the year 2000 to undertake a comprehensive review of what had been achieved during the previous decade. While no region of the world had achieved its goals, the Forum reaffirmed its commitment for a further period to 2015. However, this program of deliberate and purposeful activity on a global front of all participating regions of the world, by representatives of governments of three quarters of the countries of the world, formed a seminal effort across the world to undertake a major revolution in education. Moreover, this commitment to global activity occurred at a time when over a 40-year period the world had been divided by a barrier that had developed after the cessation of the Second World War. Never before had a great majority of the nations of the world agreed that through the processes of educational activity, the world would be changed. Education was recognised as the only way through which a majority of the peoples of the world as individuals and as national groups could agree to advance the quality of life of all who were living on planet Earth.

21 The Challenge of Information and Communication Technology

The developments of information and communication technologies during the two decades, since a turning point of 1990, have had an immense influence on every sector of human activity. The influences on trade and commerce are widely recognised as are the influences on terrorist and military activities. However, it is on the younger generation of people, particularly those living in the emergent or transitional and developing countries, who find their lives transformed through their access to news and to information from across the world. Where once the educational opportunities they experienced were limited by travel, the cost of printed books and the constraints of language, they are now able to learn, think and work in a global setting. Moreover, they can study, reflect and communicate on their learning in their leisure time. Problems still exist that arise from inequalities between the rich and the poor, between the developed and the developing countries and between

the private sector and the public sector. However, language barriers seem to be disappearing, commercial practices seem to become more flexible and the necessary equipment seems to be available at surprising low cost in many developing countries. Globalisation is endorsed, supported and rapidly expanded through the ongoing developments taking place in information and communication technology (Anderson 2002). 'Education for All' is capable of becoming a reality.

22 The Emergence of a Global Challenge

Mankind can no longer assume that the resources available on the only known planet on which life occurs are unlimited. The records from the past that are available in different forms indicate that changes of a catastrophic nature have in the past occurred as natural disasters and the regions of the planet involved have recovered. However, it is the unnatural disasters that are occurring with greater frequency and with greater magnitude that emerge as the current and urgent challenge not just to the people living in certain regions but possibly to all mankind.

The growth in the population of the World over the past two centuries has been remarkable.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were approximately one billion people living on planet Earth. At the onset of the Great Depression in 1930, there were approximately two billion people alive. At the time of writing in 2010, there are estimated to be between six and seven billion people, and at the end of the twenty-first century, there are estimated to be nine billion people. Thus, over a period of three centuries from when formal education first commenced, there is likely to be a ninefold increase in the population who live on what are considered to be the limited natural resources of planet Earth. This remarkable growth in population can be attributed to formal education that has provided an increase in human survival skills and to the effects of medical research and development on the increase in the life span of a rapidly growing population. This growth has occurred in spite of the hundred or more million people who were killed in wars and the large numbers who died or are currently dying from controllable diseases.

The strikingly rapid growth from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day can be attributed to healthcare and the improved production of food that are both derived from scientific research. However, the power of the ideas advanced by Newton, Darwin, Marx and Dewey referred to on previous pages suggest that it is necessary to attribute the changes that have occurred to the processes of education and to the expansion of the provision of educational services. Moreover, the many agencies of the United Nations and, in particular, of UNESCO have been the driving force since the 1950s for the World to be viewed as whole. The force that would appear to be necessary to contain growth is that of education and would follow the curve labelled 'medium'. The assumptions and forces that would lead to the 'low' curve, while possible, seem improbable. All that can be done in the decades ahead is to monitor change and to advance the provision of educational services on a worldwide basis.

Planet Earth originated about 4.6 billion years ago in a universe that formed about 13 billion years ago. A small ancestral group (of about 150) of human beings moved out of Africa about 50,000 years ago to explore the planet, but symbolic records exist from only about 5,000 years ago. The growth in population across the planet must be attributed to the building of knowledge and the learning and the use of that knowledge. Consequently, it is to education that mankind must turn within a global framework to ensure the survival of the human race over the years ahead.

23 The Challenges to the Survival of the Human Race

Challenge to survival arises from six main sources, namely, (a) a limited supply of fresh water, (b) a limited supply of food, (c) a limited supply of fossil-based fuels, (d) a limited climatic and temperature range in which human beings can live, (e) an emergence of new forms of disease that are harmful to human beings and (f) the destruction of ozone on the stratosphere (Lincoln 2006). Each of these sources is already responsible for a reduction in the number of people living on planet Earth. If the harmful effects of the challenges to survival were limited to certain regions of the world, migration could occur. However, while countries are willing to share the hardships suffered from natural disasters by providing financial aid, they are reluctant to share the lands on which they live with those who suffer from both natural and unnatural disasters. Countries such as Australia are reluctant to share their immense natural resources that are, however, clearly limited. Thus, large numbers of people will continue to suffer from both natural and unnatural disasters. Only in very specific circumstances are the people of Australia willing to share their natural resources of their country with refugees and immigrants, who satisfy clearly specified requirements that will maintain their very high standard of living.

Knowledge is now available to help solve the six major challenges listed above. However, there are no simple solutions to these problems. The solutions will only arise from large groups of people from all countries of the world possessing the necessary knowledge, understanding and the will to work together to act in appropriate ways to eliminate the problems or reduce the effects of these problems or to introduce alternative procedures that will compensate for the harmful effects involved.

24 The Roles of Education

It falls to education and the use of the educative process, rather than economic and political operations to transform the thinking of large bodies of people to work together to provide the changes necessary to overcome the challenges that confront the human race during the twenty-first century and beyond. However, while the foundations of the educative process necessary can be laid in schools, it is the responsibility of universities, institutes of technical and further education and

programs of lifelong and continuing education to undertake these required tasks. The tasks fall into two domains that are necessarily interrelated. The first domain involves the formation of attitudes and values towards individual and social group well-being. The fields involved are highly linked and are concerned with peace, freedom and democracy at the societal level and with human rights, equity, equality and, above all, compassion at the individual level. The remarkable growth in the number of countries that endorsed democracy during the closing decades of the twentieth century indicates that such an educative process is in progress (Giddens 1999).

The second domain involves individual and group behaviour for the betterment of the global situation. This leads to positive actions towards (a) the use and storage of potable water; (b) the production and distribution of food; (c) the restricted use of fossil-based fuels and the increased use of a range of alternative sources of energy, particularly nuclear energy through fusion, if this can be found to be containable; (d) the reduction of effects that lead to climate change; (e) the control of existing and new forms of disease; and (f) the elimination of practices that give rise to the destruction of ozone in the stratosphere. In addition to these behaviours that lead to the betterment of the global situation, there are several planned operations that give rise to effects that are seriously damaging to individual and social group well-being, namely, (a) the use of weapons of mass destruction leading to a nuclear holocaust or to the deliberate spread of infectious diseases; (b) the planned use of acts of terrorism that serve to destabilise or destroy the sense of security of large groups of people for religious or political purposes; and (c) the criminal distribution of narcotic drugs to provide the finance for political or criminal purposes that lead to the degeneration of human beings and the spread of disease.

The one organisation with affiliated agencies that is tackling these problems worldwide is the United Nations Organisation. At the international level, while agreement is sometimes difficult to achieve to lead to unified action against forces that are having a harmful influence on the global situation, the UN's many different agencies have had important beneficial effects. However, the overcrowding of planet Earth arising from the expansion of the populations of many countries continues to give rise to major problems (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division 2004; World Population Prospects 2013). Current estimates indicate that population will increase to 8.1 billion in 2025, and to further increase to 9.6 billion in 2050 and 10.9 billion by 2100 (World Population Prospects, 2013, p. xv). There is, however, one organisation within the United Nations that has responsibility for the educational, scientific and cultural activities of the nearly 200 nations that cooperate and work together within that organisation, UNESCO. It is argued in this chapter that the key process within UNESCO's activities is that of education. Education provides and disseminates the knowledge required and trains individuals and teams that undertake the necessary procedures of inquiry, not only to gain new knowledge but also to generate solutions to existing problems. UNESCO operates in two languages, namely, French and English, but it is the latter that is becoming the global language through the widespread use of information and communication technology. Moreover, it is to UNESCO that the 200 nations, both large

and small, in global cooperation must turn in order to employ the educative process and thus over time to save the people who live on planet Earth.

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Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Science Education

Lyn Carter

*The universe is transformation; life is opinion
(or ideology, LC).*

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, book 4, sect. 3

1 Science Education, Globalisation¹ and Neoliberalism

The geopolitical, economic and sociocultural complexity, that is, the twenty-first century, requires globalisation to be part of the lexicon of science education scholarship and practice. Yet relevant to the size of the science education field, its excursions into the globalisation terrain are small and variable. Of course, globalisation itself is a contested and highly unstable notion whose content is far from determined. Kaylan (2010, p. 546) reminds us that globalisation ‘signifies nothing other than itself ... (and as an) impossibly wide term, includ(es) everything ... (and) is as flexible as it is pervasive’. For him, the global has become a placeholder that ‘designates a kind of newness, a potentiality, (and) one that is impossible to separate from its virtuality: (that is) its distribution of images, discourses, and signs’ (p. 546).

Virtual or real, as we all know, its effects are felt everywhere these days! Since education (read science education) is a constituent of both the virtual and the real, science education and globalisation are necessarily mutually entwined categories where globalisation has become the macro-level sets of forces shaping the conditions for and being expressed within science education, and science education circulates and indigenises globalisation. Mapping and understanding these effects, let alone proactively addressing their outcomes, is certainly science education’s major challenge for the twenty-first century.

¹In Australia from where I write, globalisation is spelt with an ‘s’ rather than a ‘z’ as in globalization. This simple letter change encompasses the very complexity of globalisation itself in that it is indigenised in all its possible settings.

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How best then can we represent globalisation that we all generally understand to be the recent transformations of information, populations, capital, labour, markets, communications, technological innovations and ideas stretching out across the globe. I favour Gerard Delanty (2000) as one of many theorists who broadly group the various characterisations of globalisation into political economic transformations as well as sociocultural changes. Within the former, the processes of convergence foster an increasingly hegemonic homogenisation embodied in the growth of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism involves the reconstruction of all in line with market ideologies that ensures the expansion of Western-style capitalism and culture (DeBoer 2011; Spring 2006; Zajda 2014).

These ideas and practices are applied to education (and hence science education) through the adoption of market regulatory procedures like curriculum and teacher standards, funding arrangements, the introduction of Charter schools with their focus on individualisation, and test performance and hierarchical league tables that lead to closure for underperforming schools. This neoliberal reform of education and its impact on teaching and learning, while discussed at length in the policy and other educational literatures, is sparse within science education scholarship (exceptions include Bencze 2008, 2010; Carr and Thésée 2008; Carter 2005, 2008, 2011; Tobin 2011). Sociocultural characterisations of globalisation, on the other hand, emphasise the divergence in local adaptations of larger global forces. Diversity, identity, cosmopolitanism, indigeneity, fragmentation, hybridity, deterritorialisation, mobility and interstitiality become the leitmotifs of the global age. There is pleasingly more science education research tackling these complex issues within the literatures interested in student diversity (see, e.g. Atweh 2011; Brandt 2008; Carter 2004, 2006; Carter and Walker 2010; Chin 2007; Hwang and Roth 2008; Jegede and Aikenhead 1999; McKinley 2007).

Globalisation then can be thought of as a complex dialectic of both geopolitical-economic and sociocultural transformations that are still to be fully configured even as they work themselves into the materiality of the everyday (Jameson 1998). Kaylan (2010) argues that this very complexity opens the door to many different interpretations and uses of the term underpinned by sometimes competing ideological interpretations, numerous paradigms and theoretical models. Hence, when science educators use the word 'globalisation' in pedagogical, research or policy contexts, it carries with it all types of assumptions and repressions, be they ideological or more materially economic, political, social or cultural. Zajda (2005, 2010) contends that if taken uncritically at face value, scholarship on globalisation and education risks the development of a *globocratic* (in the sense of being technocratic) sensibility. The politics of globalisation, he goes on to argue, particularly the hydra of ideologies inscribed in the discourses of globalisation, need to be analysed critically to avoid superficial and one-dimensional interpretations that will ultimately limit (science) education scholarship.

A recent special edition of the very prominent *Journal of Research in Science Teaching (JRST)* devoted to globalisation and science education (Chie and Duit 2011) displays a timely reminder of Zajda's (2011) warning. Articles from De Boer and

Fensham (separately) are particularly globocratic. Bazzul (2012) insightfully recognises that they conflate globalisation with the more apolitical discourse of internationalism. De Boer and Fensham's globalisation represents a taken-for-granted or imagined 'world' community or 'global society' that ignores the material and structural inequities, oppressive conditions, as well as the actual sociopolitical adjustments to global capitalism inherent in globalisation. Bazzul (2012) notes that whereas Carter (2011) refers to globalisation as a 'wicked problem' (p. 2) with all the complexity, disjunction, ideology, incoherence, incompleteness and contradiction that the concept embraces, Fensham (2011) adopts the language of the *US National Research Council*, the *US National Academy of Engineering*, and the *Bill Gates Foundations*, speaking of global 'grand challenges' (p. 2011).

With this in mind, I wish to again contribute to the discussion of political economic globalisation focusing on the dominant logic of neoliberalism and its reconstruction of science education. Within the science education field, it is clearly 'the road less travelled' but nevertheless vital for understanding the way in which all science education proceeds even if it is under acknowledged or, indeed, not understood. Exposing and scrutinising neoliberalism within science education at every opportunity can only lead to bettering the field in the long term. An '(o)ft-invoked but ill-defined' (Mudge 2008, p. 703) concept, neoliberalism has prematurely been declared dead in the wake of the *Global Financial Crisis* by none less than the French President Nicolas Sarkozy arguing that 'a certain idea of globalization is dying with the end of a financial capitalism', yielding a seemingly unambiguous ideological conclusion: 'Self-regulation, to fix all problems, is over. Laissez-faire is over' (quoted in Erlanger 2008), as well as the Australian Prime Minister at the time, Kevin Rudd (2009). Similarly, the former German Federal Chancellor, Alfred Gusenbauer (2008), proffered the propitious view that 'the fall of Wall Street is to neo-liberalism what the fall of the Berlin Wall was to communism' (see also Stiglitz 2008; Wallerstein 2009). Several years on, however, neoliberalism is a *dispositif* that Peck (2010) tells us defied the naysayers and upheavals only to opportunistically and adaptively tighten its grip on the world. It has become more and more an imperative to expose neoliberalism at work within science education.

Rather than offer a quick overview of the neoliberalism literature likely already familiar to many readers of this volume, I take a different approach and describe the acute and prescient observations of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. In his lectures to the Collège de France in 1978 and 1979, Foucault outlined the polycentric formation of neoliberal governmentality, a little known discourse in France at the time. To my mind, Foucault develops a particularly accessible account of neoliberalism's tenets that can become visible in contemporary settings such as science education. Foucault didn't live to see neoliberalism become 'the dominant pole in the ideational universe' (Peck 2010, p. xviii) which makes his insights even more poignant. I will then look at one of the ways neoliberalism has coopted a privileged pedagogy within science education as a means of reinscribing science students as willing subjects for the neoliberal world.

2 Foucault's Neoliberalism

Collectively known as *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Michel Foucault lectures were surprisingly only published in 2004 and translated into English in 2008 making them a relatively recent source of interest. For McNay (2009), Foucault remarkably 'predict(ed) crucial aspects of the marketization of social relations' (p. 56) even though his lectures were delivered several years before the emergence of the New Right in the early 1980s. To mark the 25th anniversary of Foucault's death in 2009, the journal *Theory, Culture & Society* produced a special issue that aimed to re-engage Foucault's observations with contemporary issues. This engagement motivated the shape of my chapter here. Highly regarded philosophers, political theorists, social and cultural commentators including Paul Rabinow, Brian Massumi, Couze Venn, Lois McNay, Tiziana Terranova and Maurizio Lazzarato contributed to the volume furthering Foucault's analyses which due to his untimely death in 1984, necessarily stopped short of neoliberalism as a 'lived phenomenon' (Peck 2010, p. xii).

In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault's object was the historical exploration of a particular 'framework of political rationality' (p. 317).² This saw Foucault use his 'histories of the present' genealogical approach to trace a selective history of liberalism and capitalism from its eighteenth-century classical form, bypassing the nineteenth century and settling on the two cases of twentieth-century (neo)liberal thought – the German Freiberg School of *ordoliberalism* and the applied neoclassical economics of the Chicago School in the United States. With antecedents as far back as the 1920s, both schools grew in opposition to the Keynesian form of liberal government that was at its peak between World War II and the 1970s.

Having looked at the *longue durée* of liberal thought, McNay (2009, p. 58) argues that Foucault identified 'a catalysing moment' in the shift in capitalism and governance by the Germans as they sought to rethink state, economic and societal relations in response to the Nazism, on the one hand, and the strong interventionism and welfarism of Keynesianism, on the other. They initiated a number of important breaks with traditional liberal understanding of a *laissez-faire* market economy with state intervention to stimulate demand and mitigate market-driven social inequalities through programmes of wealth redistribution. As a consequence of their own unique trajectory of history and ideology, the Ordoliberals saw economic problems in terms of an unconstrained state, which Foucault (2008, p. 116) expresses thus:

Nothing proves that the market economy is intrinsically defective since everything attributed to it as a defect and as the effect of its defectiveness should really be attributed to the state. So, let's do the opposite and demand even more from the market economy than was demanded from it in the eighteenth century ... let's ask the market economy itself to be the principle, not of the state's limitation, but of its internal regulation from start to finish of its existence and action.

²Throughout this chapter, I use lengthy quotations from Foucault's work. This is a deliberate choice, as Foucault's own words capture the nuances of his meaning better than I could ever hope to achieve. This does mean though that Foucault's gendered language remains intact.

For the Ordoliberals, central to this constraining of the ‘defect’ state was the shift towards competition as the organising plank of the market. Competition replaces exchange, but not as whether markets are competitive or not, but rather that government must implement policies to promote competition. Conditions for competition must be ‘carefully and artificially furnished.... Competition is thus an historical objective of the art of government ... [T]he market, or rather pure competition ... cannot emerge unless it is produced, and unless it is produced by an active governmentality’ (Foucault 2008, pp. 120–121). In other words, the market can operate as regulatory principle only if competition is made the regulatory principle of society.

Foucault went on to carefully differentiate the neoliberalism of the Chicago School from the Ordoliberals relating a different trajectory unique to the US context (although the two schools later connected through membership of the Mont Pelerin Society). Foucault’s analysis around human capital theory rated the Chicago School a more extreme form of neoliberalism as it sought the extension of the ‘economic form of the market ... throughout the social body and including the whole of the social system not usually conducted through or sanctioned by monetary exchange’ (Foucault 2008, p. 243). Social policy, the Chicago economists argued, should work to exclusively support economic policy. The focus becomes not supply and demand of goods and services, but on the reinscription of the individual as *homo oeconomicus* or *enterprise man*. *Homo oeconomicus* is an active economic subject(s) who ‘allocates their time and resources between consumption ... and investment in the self ... (s)uch an individual is ... an investor, an innovator, and an entrepreneur’ (Flew 2010, p. 29).

For Foucault, the required *Homo oeconomicus* is not the man of exchange or man the consumer; he is the man of enterprise and production within an enterprise society. The contemporary mission of neoliberal government is that ‘one must govern for the market’ (Foucault 2008, p. 125):

That is, one must govern according to the rules of the market, by drafting laws, by instituting (fiscal and other) regulatory apparatuses, recalibrating the functions of socio-cultural institutions to bring them into line with the new language and new objectives of the enterprising state, and by constituting appropriate subjectivities, notably *homo oeconomicus* as ‘enterprise man’. (Venn 2009, p. 212 italics in original)

Foucault didn’t live to see the Chicago School become *the* nearly complete hegemon, and the ideologies of competition and enterprise cover the globe. As Lazzarato (2009, p. 113) argues, and Foucault so presciently envisaged, we have managed to produce a ‘new mode of government (that) substitutes the couple inequality-enterprise in place of the (traditional liberal) couple exchange-equality’. In other words, despite the neoliberal discourse that claims the contrary, inequality has become the deliberate progenitor of our social world and, hence, (science) educational world. We see it in social policy that has reconstructed what it means to be a citizen.

We see it in atomisation of everything, in increasing individualisation and in the organised proliferation of difference absolutely crucial to promoting the inequality that enables the mechanism of competition to work. Where competition and inequality

doesn't naturally exist, various strategies work to produce it. It occurs when appetites of all types are developed, sharpened, promoted, priced to include/exclude and be met, when hyperconsumption is normalised and when the self-managing and promoting entrepreneurial subject hawks his/her talents around a cosmopolitan world that excludes four fifths of humanity. We see it in the promissory view that technologies of the bio and nano varieties will not only commodify but also be able to supplant the limits of nature.

More pertinent to my task here, we see it in education in the reforms that have increased privatisation, decimated public spending, closed schools, blamed teachers and reconstructed students who must vie for places in the new system. In science education, competition is engendered through the ever-proliferating standards that facilitate the high-stakes testing regimes of TIMSS and the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment's (PISA), a triennial survey of 15-year-olds from 57 countries in mathematics, reading, and science. Meadmore's (2001) analysis of standardised student testing regimes like PISA explains this point further. Meadmore argues that the neoliberal desire for increased surveillance, regulation and accountability is intrinsic to such assessments.

Productive of both Foucauldian view's of power and performativity such that students, classes, schools or systems must show quantifiable results, Meadmore (2001) believed testing regimes like PISA monitor outcomes and position everyone on scales so improvements can be claimed and deficiencies blamed. It is a view of knowledge as 'sliced and diced' for easy testing, readily available and easily decoded for the commodified market. Good test results are constructed as the value-added productivity, reiterating Carnoy and Rhoten's (2002) point about the global economy's need to measure national knowledge production and hold education workers (usually teachers) accountable. It is only when the numbers can be compared that markets are able to act as markets. Witness the hundreds of study trips to Finland (PISA's top performing nation), consultant's fees, product development, international student travel and so on. Foucault's sagacious words that we are now all in a state of 'equal inequality' have certainly come to pass.

Interestingly, rather than Foucault's lectures being designed as an overt criticism of neoliberalism, commentators generally agree that his purpose was to ask if the political left was up to the task of innovating a New World order with the same audacity as the right. Neoliberalism, he argued, conceived of different governmental practice and institutional frameworks and so 'define(d) for itself its way of doing things' and formulating a 'different capitalism' (Foucault 2008, p. 94). With the passage of time, the answer has become unfortunately obvious!

3 Neoliberal Pedagogy at Work

I turn now to review the privileged pedagogies within science education to suggest that they have been coopted to become part of the neoliberal subjectification of school science students. I talk here of *inquiry-based* and *discovery methods*

developed by Jerome Bruner and Joseph Schwab in the 1960s that have a long *histoire* in science education. Inquiry is an integral methodological feature of the natural sciences so it is hardly surprising that inquiry-based science is promoted in the *US National Science Educational Standards* of 1996 as well as the US National Research Council's second volume, *Inquiry and the National Science Education Standards* in 2000. As is the manner of globalisation, these documents have been influential in shaping science education in all corners of the world, including Australia.

Tabulawa (2003) notes that inquiry and discovery methods are learner-centred pedagogies that also include other iterations such as *participatory*, *democratic*, *constructivism* and *student-voice*. They share many characteristics most important of which is their common epistemological foundation, generally agreed to be that of social constructivism. As a philosophy of knowledge, social constructivism holds that reality does not exist independent of social actors/subjects, but, instead, historically produced and culturally bounded knowledge enables individuals to construct and give meaning to reality. For Foucault, such construction occurs within current disciplinary and governmental regimes of power that necessarily curtail possibilities and limit agency.

Despite Foucault's caveats, the rhetoric of social constructivism's derivative pedagogies aim to encourage (a) intellectual autonomy and creativity, based in the primacy of an individual's own ability to think reflectively and construct knowledge; (b) democratic decision-making since it demands a collaborative relationship between actors; and (c) high degrees of tolerance and flexibility to cooperatively engage in dialogue and activity with others that builds social understanding. In practice, these pedagogies *where implemented* strive for learner-centred shared control of the learning process through a collaborative and flexible approach that enables students' to develop their own questions and processes for investigation.

I hasten to add that in case this synopsis seems to be an oversimplification, which it is, I put aside the complications of whether one is discussing learning theories distinct from pedagogies, learner-centred teaching or learning or indeed, the classroom. The educational literatures are understandably replete with such discussions. I have also elided the differences between cognitive (Piagetian in origin) approaches versus/and/or sociohistorical (derived from Vygotsky) approaches with their incongruous difficulties of individual cognition and social collaboration, not to mention how these all differ from newer ideas like complexity theory. For an overview and fuller discussion, readers are directed to Mark Windschitl's (2002) essay for which he was awarded the American Education Research Association's (AERA) Presidential Award as the best research review of 2002–2003 as one of any number of articles exploring this field. For their efforts, readers will meet their even more conceptualisations and rhetoric that includes the theorisations of authentic pedagogy, metacognition, conceptual change, alternative conception/misconceptions and collaborative learning communities. Those interested in pursuing complexity theories of learning are directed to Davis and Sumara (2007).

Instead in the brief space I left, I wish to review learner-centred pedagogies in the rarely considered context of neoliberalism and globalisation. In a similar vein as the

globocratic science education scholarship noted above, learning-centred pedagogies are usually portrayed as value-free, apolitical and merely technical in their desire to promote better learning outcomes. But the educational enterprise, and the choice of learning pedagogies as part of that enterprise as Britzman (1998) has shown, when coupled to the ideological positioning of social constructivism, is anything but apolitical! Tabulawa (2003) and Windschitl (2002) are two of the few theorists who acknowledge the value-laden nature of learning-centred pedagogies which reflect the norms of the Western liberal democratic capitalist systems in which they arose.

Progressive visions of education in the liberal humanist tradition have always argued for child-centred educational practices as a means to engage students in active learning. These trace back through John Dewey's late nineteenth-century 'transformed recitation' to the eighteenth-century Swiss-French philosopher Jacques Rousseau. For this reason, these pedagogies encode a view about the world (democratic governance within a capitalist economy), the kinds of people (responsible individuals) and society (social citizenship) deemed desirable and producible through education.

In the contemporary world though, Tabulawa (2003) and Windschitl (2002) differ in how they view the now inherent global and neoliberal consequences of learner-centred pedagogies, that is, encoding another view about the world (democratic governance within neoliberal economies), the kinds of people (enterprise individuals) and society (cosmopolitan citizenship) deemed desirable and producible through education. Windschitl (2002) argues that the democratic values that are part of learner-centred pedagogies do not in themselves contain a social vision. He also believes that many scholars would have us use them to that end. He does not, however, problematise the nature of 'democracy' itself and leaves it as a taken-as-read, benign and desirable construct.³

Tabulawa (2003), on the other hand, is more insightful about the various forms of democracy that abound in this global era. He identifies the narrow neoliberal, market-based democracy with all the social withdrawal, radical individualism and competitive marketisation implied, as well as the more broadly based, humanist participatory democracy. Like many scholars, he recognises that neoliberalism as the ideology of globalisation has helped redefine a version of contemporary democracy as largely synonymous with capitalism, so that consumption becomes the new form of democratic participation, equity becomes isomorphic with increased consumer choice and competition becomes the logic that sustains it all. A thin democracy indeed! Tabulawa (2003) argues successfully that the predisposition, habits of mind and social attitudes conducive to inhabiting a neoliberal market economy can be easily and actively promoted through learner-centred pedagogies

³Michael Apple (2013) in his review of Stephan Ball's (2012) excellent book *Global Education Inc* discusses 'thin democracy' which has replaced more participatory 'thick democratic' models. Thin democracy is the type that is promoted by learner-centred pedagogies particularly under neoliberalism.

as with other views of social life. These include both an individual's role as an economic consumer in their private lifeworld and as a global worker for the knowledge economy. The latter requires the ability to work in collaborative teams, to communicate effectively, to question and innovate and to be flexible and adaptive in the pursuit of competitive economic advantage, while the former also requires the habits of mind of individual autonomy, personal responsibility, and the ability to assume one's own management as the social sphere contracts. Foucault's Homo oeconomicus, the active economic subject who 'allocates their time and resources between consumption ... and investment in the self ... (s)uch an individual is ... an investor, an innovator, and an entrepreneur' (Flew 2010, p. 29), is clearly produced by learner-centred pedagogies.

Hence, Tabulawa (2003), along with other theorists including myself, sees learner-centred pedagogies as the neoliberal pedagogy of choice for the spread of its doctrines. For example, Spring (2008) quotes Cheng and Yip (2006) who argue that Chinese school officials wanting to prepare students for the neoliberal knowledge economy in Hong Kong and Shanghai saw learner-centred pedagogies that promote the 'ability to learn new things, to work in teams, to communicate effectively, to manage oneself, to question and to innovate, to assume personal responsibility, etc.' (p. 34), as essential for their success. This belief in a causal association between learning-centred pedagogies and better educational outcomes that includes student performance has, and continues to, provide a pervasive rationale for their widespread adoption.

In order for all countries to participate in globalisation as global economic development, they must meet world standards that include particular teaching practices and curricula. Backed by supranational institutions of the World Bank, the OECD, and the WTO who have actively promoted educational reforms around standards and learner-centred pedagogies, Tabulawa (2003) argues that they have become a one-size-fits-all pedagogical approach, that is, a universal pedagogy believed to work with equal effectiveness irrespective of the context in its promotion of the neoliberal knowledge economy. For Spring (2008), this has meant the concomitant growth of a standardised world culture of schooling regularly assessed through global comparison of international test scores. These scores can be used by national education policy leaders to organise their national curriculum to meet the standards set by these global tests. The result is the global uniformity of instructional practices and marginalisation and decline of other approaches effective or otherwise (Spring 2008).

4 What Now

In their introduction to the special volume of *Theory, Culture & Society*, Venn and Terranova (2009) draw attention to some of Foucault's other work, lest we be left in despair. They are quick to point out that neoliberalism is one of the two possibilities

Foucault saw as an outcome of regimes of power. The first possibility, *homo oeconomicus* is:

the utopian ambition of modernity, namely, the emergence of the calculating, instrumentally-driven ‘enterprise man’ ... (and) ... the logical outcome of that curious figure ... the Cartesian subject ... who appeared with European modernity and is destined to disappear with the tide of time, as Foucault expressed it at the end of the *Order of Things*. (p. 3)

Foucault’s other possibility suggest Venn and Terranova (2009) is the political subject who ‘speaks truth to power,’ a subject who is framed by ‘an ethics and aesthetics of ourselves’ (p. 10) and the human as an ‘essentially collaborative, convivial, spiritual and a historically located social being’ (p. 10). This subject is one who understands their times and who acts to ‘transgresses the limitations placed ... by historically specific conditions’ (p. 3). For Foucault (2008), this enlivens the possibility of resistance:

Even when the power relation is completely out of balance, when it can truly be claimed that one side has “total power” over the other, a power can be exercised over the other only insofar as the other still has the option of killing himself, of leaping out the window, or of killing the other person. This means that in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all (p. 292).

5 Conclusion

One way to resist the hegemon that is neoliberalism particularly within my context of science education, is to ‘call it out’ where ever it lurks. Here, I align myself with Foucault as I attempt to be a ‘subject who understands their times’. It is a foundational feature of both my scholarship and own pedagogies. It is the place of hope through resistance that continually exposes the underbelly of neoliberalism and its project of inequality. Though small in its way, it shows that there is always something one can do.

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