

**INTERNATIONAL  
HANDBOOK ON  
GLOBALISATION,  
EDUCATION  
AND POLICY  
RESEARCH**

*Global Pedagogies and Policies*

*Edited by*

**JOSEPH ZAJDA**

 Springer

*International Handbook on*  
**Globalisation,  
Education and  
Policy Research**

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Policy Research**  
Global Pedagogies and Policies

Edited by

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 Springer

A C.I.P. Catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 1-4020-2828-8 (HB)  
ISBN 1-4020-2960-8 (e-book)

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Published by Springer,  
P.O. Box 17, 3300 AA Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

Sold and distributed in North, Central and South America  
by Springer,  
101 Philip Drive, Norwell, MA 02061, U.S.A.

In all other countries, sold and distributed  
by Springer,  
P.O. Box 322, 3300 AH Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

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Printed in the Netherlands.

DEDICATION

TO REA, NIKOLAI AND DOROTHY

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PETER W SHEEHAN

## 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; and
- 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 India, China, Japan, Nigeria, Brazil, Canada, UK, USA, 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.

Peter W Sheehan AO  
Vice-Chancellor  
Australian Catholic University

## PREFACE

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 21<sup>st</sup> century. Equality of educational opportunities, labelled by Coombs (1982) as the "stubborn issue of inequality" (Coombs 1982: 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, 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). A significant gap in access to early childhood education has been documented in about half of the OECD countries (OECD 2001, p. 126). The chapters in the *Handbook* are compiled into eight major sections, which constitute the two volumes:

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 Rights
5. Education, Policy and Curricula Issues
6. Curriculum and Policy Change
7. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools
8. Curriculum in the Global Culture

The structure of the *Handbook* is defined by the two-volume set. The *Handbook* contains 47 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 International Handbook of *Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* 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 of *Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* is unique in that it

- presents an 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
- each chapter is written by a world-renown educator
- gives suggestions for directions in education and policy, relevant to transformational educational leadership, and empowering pedagogy in the 21<sup>st</sup> 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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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the following individuals who have provided invaluable help, advice and support with this major research project:

Michel Lokhorst, Senior Editor, Kluwer Academic Publishers (now: Springer)  
Marion Wagenaar, Kluwer Academic Publishers (now: Springer)  
Dorothy Murphy, Assistant Editor, *Educational Practice and Theory*, James  
Nicholas Publishers

We also want to thank numerous reviewers who were prepared to review various draft of the chapters. These include:

John Anchan, University of Winnipeg  
Ari Antikainen, University of Helsinki  
Beatrice Avalos, National Ministry of Education, Chile  
Karen Biraimah, University Of Central Florida  
Malcolm Campbell, Bowling Green State University  
Martin Carnoy, Stanford University  
Phillip Clarkson, Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus)  
Thomas Clayton, Univesity of Kentucky  
Michael Crossley, Bristol University  
William Cummings, State University of New York (Buffalo)  
Kassie Freeman, Dillard University  
David Gamage, University of Newcastle  
Sydney Grant, Florida State University  
Mark Hanson, University of California (Riversdale)  
Philip Higgs, University of South Africa  
Yaacov Iram, Bar Ilan University  
Andreas Kazamias, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Kyu Hwan Lee, Ewha Womans University (South Korea)  
Henry Levin, Teachers College Columbia University  
Leslie Limage, UNESCO  
Mark Mason University of Hong Kong  
Kas Mazurek, University of Lethbridge  
Marcella Mollis, University of Buenos Aires  
Adam Nir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Carlos Ornelas, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana  
Louisa Polyzoi, University of Winnipeg  
Rosemary Preston, University of Warwick  
Charles Slater, West Texas State University  
Gita Steiner-Khamsi, Teachers College, Columbia University  
Mary Nutall, Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus)  
Donatella Palomba, Universita di Roma  
Ken Smith, Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus)  
Seth Spaulding, University Of Pittsburgh  
Sandra L Stacki, Hofstra University  
Nelly Stromquist, University of Southern California  
Ronald Sultana, University of Malta  
Ron Toomey, Australian Catholic University  
David Willis, Soai University (Japan)

And all other reviewers who preferred to remain anonymous.

Finally, we wish to thank the section editors (Kassie Freeman, Dillard University, Macleans Geo-JaJa, Brigham Young University, Suzanne Majhanovich, University of Western Ontario, Val Rust, University of California, Los Angeles, and Rea Zajda, James Nicholas Publishers), who selected, reviewed and edited the articles. We are also grateful to the many authors who revised the final drafts of their book chapters and checked the proofs.

The final preparation of the camera-ready manuscript for publication was facilitated by the outstanding and creative work of Nikolai Zajda, Graduate student in the Faculty of Commerce, University of Melbourne.



JOSEPH ZAJDA

## OVERVIEW AND INTRODUCTION

### 1. GLOBAL TRENDS IN EDUCATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

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” (a ‘cradle-to-grave’ vision of learning) of 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 (OECD, 2001, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 8). 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 (OECD, 2002, *Education at a Glance – OECD Indicators*, p. 6).

#### *1.1 Comparative view of academic achievement*

The OECD international survey presents an encyclopaedic view of the comparative review of education systems in 30 OECD member countries and 19 other countries, 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 articles 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, is “largely an unfinished agenda” (OECD, 2001, *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, 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.

## 2. DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Using 31 indicators, the OECD survey provided a statistical description of the “state of education internationally” (p. 7). Among the highlights were included: an improvement in science performance; significant gender differences in mathematics; a positive correlation between work participation and educational attainment, particularly for women, high and longer participation rates in formal education for 15 and 20 year-olds (in the Netherlands the rate was 90 percent), variation in pre-school enrolment rates, (from over 90 per cent in France to less than 20 percent in Canada); and expanding higher education enrolments (up to 84 percent in some countries); youth unemployment; variation in education spending (between 3.5 and 7 percent of the GDP); and the provision of incentives for well-qualified teachers. The percentage of primary students using computers ranged from 90 percent in Finland, and Canada to 25 percent in Italy. The impact of ICT is such that over 80 percent of primary students in Canada (88%) and Iceland (98%) were connected to the Internet. Similarly, over 90 percent of upper secondary students in Canada (97%), Norway (98%) and Iceland (100%) were also connected to the Internet (p. 262). There were other equally startling facts. More than half of the adult population in some countries in Europe did not complete upper secondary education (e.g., Italy and Turkey), and the proportion of those who did complete higher education ranged from less than 10 percent to 20 percent, or more in the Netherlands and elsewhere.

Of the more interesting facts is the report covering academic achievement of Grade 8 (13-year-olds) students in mathematics and science in 12 countries in 1999. In nine out of 12 countries, achievement scores have increased between 1995 and 1999, but only in *two* countries ‘at a level that is statistically significant’ (p. 308). In mathematics and science, Japan and Korea performed significantly above the country means, while USA and Italy were significantly below (p. 309). Australia, while in the middle, was below the mean in mathematics with 525 (country mean 529, Korea – 587) and slightly better than average in science with 540 score (country mean 534, Hungary – 552, USA – 515). The performance indicators are drawn from the 1999 TIMSS-R (a repeat of the 1995 Third International Mathematics and Science Study). Finally, an attempt was made to link income

inequality and literacy inequality. The OECD data showed that higher variation in prose literacy scores is closely linked with “greater inequality in distribution of income”. The Netherlands and the Nordic countries showed both low variation in literacy and low variation in income inequality (p. 322).

### 3. EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

The mean expenditure on education in the OECD countries in the 1990s was 5.7% (the highest was Denmark – 7.2%, and Australia, surprisingly, was below the mean). The 2002 indicators show that the country mean of expenditure on tertiary education the OECD countries was just under 1.5% of GDP, with Australia spending under one percent. It was behind 20 countries, and significantly behind Sweden (almost double), Denmark, Canada and Finland (the highest). There appeared to be a considerable variation in spending per student. Austria and Australia, although with similar spending on education, tended to spend “very different proportions of their GDP per capita per student” (p. 61). In Austria, the proportion of income spent per primary student was 26 percent, whereas in Australia it was 16 percent, which is below the OECD average. The highest percentage of population that had completed at least upper secondary education in 1999 was in the USA and Norway (87% and 85% respectively).

The performance ranking of countries by annual expenditure per student was affected by institutional differences, especially the way relevant Ministries of Education define full-time and part-time students. The average expenditure on education in 1998 in the OECD countries per student (in US dollars) was \$3,940 for primary, \$5,294 for secondary and \$9,063 for tertiary level (p. 67). In USA, \$6,043 per student was spent on primary, \$7,764 for secondary, and \$19,802 for tertiary level.

### 4. ACCESS AND EQUITY ISSUES IN SCHOOLING

Access and equity continue to be “enduring concerns” in education (p. 26). A significant gap in access to early childhood education is documented in about half of the OECD countries. We learn that in some countries, fewer than half of children participate in the pre-school sector, ranging from over 90% in France to less than 5% in Turkey, with Australia (under 30%) in the nineteenth place (p. 46). Those who eventually complete secondary education have very different literacy levels, ranging from 10% to 60%. Finland had the highest literacy scores and the lowest under-achievement rate (10%), where as the United States and Poland had the lowest mean literacy rates (under 30%) and the highest under-achievement rates (60% and 50% respectively). The United States, with one of the highest upper secondary completion rates, has the ‘second lowest mean literacy score’ (OECD. 2001. *Education Policy Analysis* p. 50). Obviously some countries face serious challenges to ‘raise or sustain participation rates’ and to improve the ‘quality of outcomes’ (p. 49). Equally startling is the fact that only a minority of countries have made “lifelong learning for all a reality”, and that in most countries, lifelong

learning is 'largely an unfinished agenda' (OECD, 2001, *Education Policy Analysis* p. 67).

As to equity and socioeconomic background, students from high-income families continue to have much better access to tertiary education than students from low-income families. In France, 62% of the 15-year-olds coming from the poorest 20% of the families repeat at least one year in school, and in Germany only eight out of a hundred young people from a low socioeconomic background had access to higher education. In the UK, children from less affluent social classes represent 50% of the school population, yet only 13% of entrants to top universities (pp. 76-7). The International Adult Literacy Survey showed that in 14 out of the 20 countries that took part in the survey, at least 15% of all adults aged 16-65 performed at literacy level 1 – a level of competency too low to cope with the most basic tasks required in a knowledge-based society.

#### 4.1 *The digital divide pedagogical issue*

The OECD volume also shows that those without access to ICTs and without ICT skills are less and less capable in participating in the knowledge-based society may experience a new inequality of the *digital divide* kind. The highest percentage of households possessing a PC was in Denmark (63%), USA and Australia were almost equal with 50%, and Italy was 20%. The access to Internet was 46% for White and 23% for African-American households in August 2000, and as few as 3% of poorer households were on line, compared with 48% of the more affluent households (OECD, 2001, *Education Policy Analysis* p. 86). One of the conclusions drawn is that education policies are not sufficient to address the equity issue, and that "social inequalities existing outside the education system contribute to educational inequalities in terms of access, opportunity, process and outcomes" (p. 92). Despite the impressive expansion of participation in education, a relatively large part of the population, especially people from low-income families, remain excluded from access to education. Education policies to promote equal learning opportunities for all "can therefore hardly be seen as successful" (OECD, 2001, *Education Policy Analysis* p. 92).

#### 4.2 *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 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](http://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 needs 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.

#### 4.3 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).

## 5. 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), unmasks 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).

## 6. GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND POLICY

The *Handbook* 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 articles 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 values commodities in the global culture.

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*, by focusing 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 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.

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. By examining some of the major education policy issues – a better picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education and policy-driven reforms.

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*, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt to offer a worldview of significant developments in education and policy research around the world. Authors report on education policy and reforms in such countries as India, China, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Russian Federation, Nigeria, Brazil, Canada, UK, Sweden, Germany, USA, Australia and elsewhere. Understanding the interaction between education and globalisation – constructing similarities and differences in education policy research and reform trajectories in local-regional-national-global contexts is likely to result in a deeper understanding and analysis of the globalisation and education *Zeitgeist*.

Globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some serious 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 (e.g., 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 some states in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Central Asian economies and elsewhere, where children are forced to stay at home – helping and working for their parents, and thus are unable to attend school (see *Preface*).

Some critics (see Robertson, Bonal & Dale, 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, Bonal & Dale, 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 constrains, 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, Bonal & Dale, 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 (2002) 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, 2002, 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.

## 7. 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 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, p. 5-27).

#### 8. 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 21<sup>st</sup> century. Equality of educational opportunities, labelled by Coombs (1982) as the "stubborn issue of inequality" (Coombs 1982: 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 the 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). A significant gap in access to early childhood education has been documented in about half of the OECD countries (OECD 2001, p. 126).

The chapters in the *Handbook* are compiled into eight major sections:

1. Globalisation, Education and Policy Research
2. Globalisation and Higher Education
3. Globalisation, Education Policy and Change
4. Policy Issues: Gender, Equity, Minorities, and Human Right
5. Education, Policy and Curricula Issues
6. Curriculum and Policy Change Language, Linguistic Diversity and Teaching English

7. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools
8. Curriculum in the Global Culture

The structure of the *Handbook* is defined by this volume. The *Handbook* contains 47 chapters, with each chapter containing 6,000-8,000 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*.

## 9. GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND POLICY RESEARCH

In the opening section of the *Handbook* there are seven chapters that address the nexus between globalisation and education. The leading chapter reviews the changing paradigms in education and policy (see *Globalisation, Education and Policy: Changing Paradigms*). The next chapter considers policy borrowings in education and school reforms (see *Policy Borrowing in Education: Frameworks for Analysis*). One of the major issues facing comparative education researchers is the link between globalisation and comparative education (see *Comparative Education Policy and Globalisation: Evolution, Missions and Roles*). Another significant issue in education policy debate is the impact of globalisation and technological modernisation on education and work (see *The Education and Training of Knowledge Workers*). The fifth chapter in this section considers the hidden dimensions of knowledge and skills required for occupational mobility in the global economy (see *Tacit Skills and Occupational Mobility in a Global Culture*). The chapter that follows critiques one-dimensional and linear approaches to theorising about globalisation and education and offers a multi-centred comparative research methodology for managing diversity (see *Development, Globalisation and Decentralisation: Comparative Research towards a Theory for Managing Diversity*). Another major issue facing education and policy-makers is a new mode of governance in the global economy. The concluding 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 *Globalisation and the Governance of National Education Systems*).

### 9.1 Globalisation and Higher Education

This section, containing seven chapters, examines further education and policy shifts, particularly in developing countries, and their impact on the reform in the higher education sector. The introductory chapter examines the impact of globalisation on African nations. It is evident that globalisation has contributed to a growing economic and social inequality (see *Rethinking Globalisation and the Future of Education in Africa*). The chapters that follow address the particular problems confronting developing countries as they respond to the forces of globalisation (see *Neoliberalism, Globalisation, and Latin American Higher*

*Education: The Challenge to National Universities, and Globalisation and Higher Education Policy Changes*). The fourth chapter examines policy paradigm shifts and the outcomes of education reforms in Hong Kong (see *Globalisation and Education Reforms in Hong Kong: Paradigm Shifts*). It is followed by a chapter examining the changing role of the university in the global economy (see *The Impact of Globalisation on the Mission of the University*). The next chapter re-examines the state of multicultural education in the global culture (see *Globalisation, Cultural Diversity and Multiculturalism: Australia*). The concluding chapter offers a comparative analysis of the impact of the IMF, the World Bank, and GATT (the *General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs*), regarded as the pillars of the liberal international economic order, on higher education in Chile and Romania (see *Globalisation and Higher Education in Chile and Romania: The Roles of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organisation*).

### 9.2 *Globalisation, Education Policy and Change*

This section examines 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 educational policy shifts (see *Globalisation and Educational Policy Shifts*). The five chapters that follow focus on education reforms and policy shifts in Hong Kong and Singapore, the effects of globalisation on educational leadership, skills development in Africa, the impact of globalisation on policy change in teacher education, and the critique of the OECD's recent Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) international survey, which has evoked considerable debate, especially in Germany and elsewhere (see *Convergences or Divergences?*, *Comparing Education Reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore: Globalisation and Its Effects on Educational Leadership, Higher Education and Educational Policy*, *The New Partnership for African Development: Implications for Skills Development*, *Globalisation and Pre-Service in Teacher Education in Australia: A New Dimension*, and *PISA in Germany: A Search for Causes and Evolving Answers*).

### 9.3 *Education Policy Issues: Gender, Equity, Minorities, and Human Rights*

The introductory chapter in this section, addresses the provision of education from all globally. 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, but 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.

#### 9.4 *Education, Policy and Curricula Issues*

This introductory section to the second half of the *Handbook* considers the nexus between education policies and changing schools. The opening chapter evaluates the politics of education reforms, using Russia as a test case (see *The Education Reform and Transformation in Russia*). The chapter that follow focus on the impact of globalisation, ideological shifts in policy and education reforms in Latin America, the nature of the GATS and its influence on education in Canada and elsewhere, and discriminatory and oppressive dimensions of globalisation in Africa (see *Globalisation and Public Education Policies in Latin America: Challenges to and Contributors of Teachers and Higher Education Institutions Educational Reform: Who Are the Radicals, The GATS and Trade in Educational Services: Issues for Canada in the Pan-American Context, Education and Globalisation, Inside But Below: The Puzzle of Education in the Global Order, Globalisation, Education Reforms and Policy Change in Africa: the Case of Nigeria, The Interactions of Human Development, Economic Development and Nation Building on the Industrial Staircase*).

#### 9.5 *Curriculum and Policy Change*

This section takes up the issues of language, diversity and teaching English in the provision of education for all in our schools. Chapters address the particular problems of literacy, language, and linguistic diversity. The opening chapter is concerned with the problem of the language instruction in schools in Tanzania and South Africa, where teachers use both English and indigenous languages (see *Language-in-Education Policies and Practices in Africa with a Special Focus on Tanzania and South Africa – Insights from Research in Progress*). The chapter that follows focuses on the construction of English syllabuses in Ireland and Australia. It makes it clear that global, political, social and cultural forces have made a major impact on the construction of English syllabuses over the last century. The chapter also demonstrates that globalisation has profoundly affected the ways in which English is studied in schools today (see *Reinventing English: Text Lists and Curriculum Change in Ireland and Australia*).

#### 9.6 *Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools*

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. It contains twelve chapters, which examine key aspects of equality, equity, and access in education, with reference to decentralisation of educational policies (see *Decentralisation of Education Policies in a Global Perspective*, and *Educational Decentralisation: Rhetoric or Reality - The Case of Ontario, Canada*) education in conflict and post-conflict situations (see *The Edge of Chaos: Explorations in Education and Conflict*), the impact of globalisation on democracy and schools, and the global spread of democracy (see *Education as a Fault Line in Assessing Democratisation: Ignoring the Globalising Influences of Schools*) the impact of globalisation on school-university partnership

(*School and University Partnerships in Australia: Tentative Beginnings*), global agendas in special education (see *Current Reforms in Special Education: Delusion or Solution?*), and global implication for leadership in schools (see *Addressing the Challenge of Principals in Australian Catholic Schools*).

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, *Addressing the Challenge of Principals in Australian Catholic Schools, Change and the “Lapsed Reforms” Senior Secondary Education in Italy, Globalisation and Policy Reforms: Science Education Research, and Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective*). The opening chapter examines education for democracy. It is argued that one of the best ways to prevent educational policy and practice from being a tool of totalitarianism or cultural imperialism is to broaden the discourse of democracy, by including critical literacy, access, choice, and equal opportunity. Understanding that education for democracy is more than “education for human rights,” “education for tolerance,” or “education for diversity” enables us to see that many national systems of education that are frequently assumed to be democratic actually contain some highly undemocratic aspects (see *Globalisation and Democratic Aspects of Post-Communist Schooling*). The concepts of cultural and social capital have become significant for critical sociological research in the last two decades (see Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Burbules & Torres, 2000). 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 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.

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## GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND POLICY: CHANGING PARADIGMS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The chapter analyses the nexus between globalisation, policy and comparative education research during the last three decades. It focuses on the changing prominence given to various topics in educational policy and comparative education and the way conceptual thinking in this area has changed and developed, due to forces of globalisation and ideological transformations. An attempt is made to link both the shifts in focus on various educational planning policy themes and issues, dominant ideologies, and the major paradigm shifts in comparative education and policy in each decade during the period. In doing so, the chapter analyses and evaluates the following three broad interlinked themes:

- The shifts in methodological approaches in globalisation, policy and comparative education policy research
- Central issues and shifts in focus in comparative education policy research and globalisation
- Structural changes in globalisation, policy and comparative education.

The chapter demonstrates the emergence of the following three major paradigms shifts in education and policy between the 1970s and 2000:

1. The major paradigm shift of the early 1970s between positivism (empirical/quantitative research) and anti-positivism (non-empirical/qualitative research) began to question the very construct of ‘value-free’ empirical research and the scientific dominance of empiricism. This paradigm shift reached its heights in the 1980s, as illustrated by post-structuralist and post-modernist education and policy articles. Described as a ‘postmodernist revolt’ (Mitter, 1997) against the dominating theories of the Enlightenment and modernity, such a paradigm shift in policy directions challenged the meta-narratives in education and policy, the ‘regime of truth’, the disciplinary society, and promised to empower the learner, by re-affirming the centrality of the learner in the curriculum, and diversity of learner needs (Zajda, 2002; Zajda, 2003b).
2. In educational planning and policy reforms the shift has been from the ‘linear’ model of expansion in education, based on the ‘more is better’ metaphor, and the human capital theory, which had dominated policy-makers and reforms during

the 1960s and the 1970s to the qualitative, more holistic, ‘global security’ focused, and ‘integrative’ aspects of policy directions and policy reforms (Williams, 2000). ‘Human capital’ is a term for ‘the practical knowledge, acquired skills and learned abilities of an individual that make him or her potentially productive and thus equip him or her to earn income in exchange for labour’ (Johnson, 2000). Gary Becker, who was awarded Nobel Prize in economics in 1992, pioneered a model for investment in people as investment in human capital in the 1960s.

3. The key policy issues as reflected in education and policy reforms during the last three decades could be described as the restatement of an egalitarian-inspired imperative – the equality objective – ensuring that the equality and quality of educational opportunities enjoyed only by the best-served few are available to all. Specifically, the central policy issues dealt with the provision of compulsory education for all children (including the changing nature of universal primary education, in developing countries), equity, school choice, and the influence of home background on academic achievement.

## 2. MAPPING OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND CHANGE

Education policy articles published range from the analysis and evaluation of education, international comparisons of school reforms and educational plans/curricula to reports of special commissions and international agencies. Policy statements often refer to primary, secondary, vocational and higher education indicators (cross-country comparisons, enrolment patterns, public expenditure on education etc) and other aspects of education, including international dimensions in the curriculum, multiculturalism, school effectiveness and outcomes and globalisation. I have focused on the following three broad interlinked themes:

- The shifts in methodological approaches in education policy research, including issues arising from comparative education research.
- Central issues and shifts in focus in education and policy.
- Structural changes in education and policy.

## 3. GLOBAL TRENDS

### 3.1 *Revolutionary change*

The early 1990s were defined as a ‘revolutionary era’, marking the collapse of totalitarian regimes in the USSR and its client states. Mitter (1993) in ‘Education, Democracy and Development in a Period of Revolutionary Change’, uses democracy and humanism to reconsider policy shifts on the global arena. He finds that in many countries the notion of ‘democracy’ has eroded, leading to ‘nationalism, ethnocentrism and racism’ and that young adults react with

‘indifference, frustration, cynicism, aggressiveness or voluntary dropout’ (pp. 464-465). He believes that there is a need for a radical policy shift to address global problems, which include environmental issues and ethnic/racial conflict:

The recent World Conference in Rio de Janeiro drastically underlined the need for a radical reconsideration of strategies and policies in the area of environmental protection . . . in many cases education has entered, or has been forced into, unholy alliances with fanatical and violent outbursts of nationalism and racism (pp. 470-471).

### 3.2 *OECD Education and Policy Analysis: Education and Skills*

Education policy issues raised recently by 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/ceri](http://www.oecd.org/ceri)) include the five ‘strategic challenges’ and four ‘deliverable goals’:

#### *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

These newly constructed imperatives in educational policy could well operate as a global ‘master narrative’ – playing a hegemonic role within the framework of economic, political and cultural hybrids of globalisation (see also Green, 1997; Green, 1998; Samoff, 1992; Zajda, 2003). Samoff (1992) criticised the ‘school effectiveness’ paradigm on the grounds that it was a new form of modernisation theory. The hegemonic role of ‘cultural essentialism’ in legitimating global economic arrangements (e.g., structural adjustment policies, or SAP) is also questioned.

## 4. POLICY AND EDUCATION: COMPETING VIEWS

As concepts, *policy* and *policy-making* involve certain conceptual and epistemological difficulties. As one 1976 *IRE* article noted, these result from the various definitions of the term ‘policy’, ranging from the ‘manifest actions of systems’ to a more ‘behavioural perspective’ of policies (Coombs & Luschen, 1976, pp. 133-135). It could also be argued that these difficulties partly stem from the distinction between the two concepts that developed during the nineteenth century,

replacing the earlier inclusive Baconian view of policy as reason of the state. In turn, this dualism has given rise to a dichotomy between *policy* and *policy implementation*, which has tended to lead to a search for explanations of the differences between the promise of policies and the actual experience of their implementation.

Over the years educational researchers have sought explanations for such differences between educational policy and its implementation (Stellwag, 1957; Brodbelt, 1965; Psacharopoulos, 1989). In a 1957 article, 'Problems and Trends in Dutch Education', Stellwag discussed the way the implementation of educational ideals met with 'concrete obstacles', despite the 'firmly established cultural and academic tradition of high standards' found in The Netherlands and the 'exemplary' legislative activity of the Ministry of Education (p. 54). In a 1965 article 'Educational ideals and practice in a comparative perspective' Brodbelt (1965), uses a comparative method to propose that only when 'myth and fact' in a nation's policy goals agree, has it 'reached its ideal system of education'. He illustrates his hypothesis by referring to the USA's failure to reach its ideal of universal education up to age eighteen (pp. 144-145).

In early articles the idea of *policy* in education tended to be equated with *planning*. The term *policy* does not appear in the title of an article until 1976. Nevertheless, many articles had as their central focus the area now referred to as 'policy'. Although 'policy' is mentioned in earlier articles, it is often interchanged with the terms 'planning' and reform'. As Psacharopoulos later confirmed (1989):

'. . . educational policy' is perhaps the contemporary equivalent of what twenty years ago was known as 'educational planning'. Whatever it is, and no matter how many other disguises it takes (such as 'educational reform'), practically every country in the world has at one time or another proclaimed an intention or made a decision that would affect some aspect of schooling in society (p. 180).

## 5. NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Greater equality in the distribution of incomes, both nationally and internationally were the key ideas of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) during the mid 1970s and the early 1980s. Proposals for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) were advanced by developing countries, and were the focus of the 1964 Geneva Conference on World Trade and Development. They were a set of policy proposals for changing the-then international economic order, developed in the background document *Towards a New Trade Policy and Development* for that meeting (Johnson, 1976). These policy proposals were discussed at a summit meeting of the non-aligned movement in 1973. According to Looney (1999), the origins of the NIEO can be traced back to the Havana Conference in 1948 and "stem from economic and political tensions that had been building between the developing and developed nations" (Looney, 1999).

Emmerij (1982) believes that since a basic requirement of the NIEO is the 'international redistribution of income' education at the policy level should reflect

national efforts of a more equal income redistribution and seek to diminish the gap between the 'world of work' and the 'world of school':

One of the main objectives of educational policy in developing countries should be to inter-relate more closely the world of work and the world of school in order to bring individual aspirations into closer harmony with the actual opportunities offered by the environment. This is one example of a change in educational policy that would diminish the gap between that policy and labour-market and employment policies (pp. 442-443).

### 5.1 *The New Economics of Planning Policy*

Another significant policy shift was due to the changing discourse of the economics of education. If in the 1960s and the 1970s the neoclassical economic theory, based, among other things, on the concept of investment in *human capital* (first introduced by Schultz in 1961, and later developed by Becker, in his *Human Capital*, 1975), influenced educational policy makers, then in the 1980s *microeconomic* analysis was replacing macroeconomic techniques. It was the perceived failure of the neoclassical economic model to deal with 'realities' in the education market and its inability to offer effective policy recommendations that prompted policy makers to focus their attention on the labour demand side of the 'education-earnings equation'. As Kraft and Nakib (1991) explain:

Cost-benefit analysis, input-output analysis, internal rate of return analysis...are more pertinent to decision making and policy formulation than macroeconomic estimate...Therefore the exclusive use of neoclassical economic theory in the formulation of educational plans and politics is simply misguided... (pp. 308-315).

The authors argue that there should be more emphasis on the 'socialisation' function of education, and on the 'micro' workings of labour markets as they relate to human capital theory and education. Accordingly, policy makers should concentrate on providing the optimal economic and social conditions that would work as incentives for future human capital needs.

## 6. EDUCATION AND POLICY: PARADIGM SHIFTS

Several major paradigm shifts in the methodology employed occurred between 1955 and 2001. Evidence from a survey of the articles published indicates that these changes did not signal a complete break with approaches used earlier. Rather, their advent promoted a gradual refining of the tools and skills used in the treatment of policy, largely in response to a growing recognition of the complexity of the education and policy issues involved and a growing awareness of the need to adapt to changing conditions and needs.

As Mitter (1997) reminds us in 'Challenges to comparative education: Between retrospect and expectation', the notion of *paradigms* refers to the 'interrelationship

between thematic areas and corresponding key concepts, and to theoretical approaches'. He also suggests that shifts in paradigms have been in response to certain perceived conditions and needs, be they political or economic: ' . . . these paradigms mirror specific interrelations between sociopolitical trends and research priorities' (p. 405).

One of the major paradigm shifts occurred in the early 1970s, leading to a questioning of the 'value-free' empirical research in education. Reflecting the epistemological debate characterised by the dichotomy between two main research paradigms – empirical/quantitative versus interpretive/qualitative research, which preoccupied the social sciences in the 1960s, writers began to pay more attention to the issue of *qualitative* versus *quantitative* research. Until then, given its central theme, the area of policy and education, in particular, had been receptive to the ideas of *policy science*, which emerged in the early fifties. Lerner and Lasswell's (1951) influential work, *The Policy Sciences* had argued that policy analysis is a unique scientific discipline. It contained two dimensions: a) the science of the policy process and b) the use of science in the formulation of various policies. In education and policy, in particular, it spawned research into the science of the policy process (Mitchell, 1985, p. 30).

However, by the seventies some authors argued, that the 'value-free' connotation of 'science' had led to 'policy' sometimes being perceived as an attempt to produce 'value-free' research, so that 'any projective theory for the action of systems or individuals was discarded as teleological' (Coombs & Luschen, 1976, p. 134). In their 1976 article, which argues for a move beyond the emphasis on 'interrelationships between variables observed in the present situation', Coombs and Luschen propose that in order to better understand the performance of an educational system, the total system needs to be analysed:

The output of educational systems can be meaningfully analyzed and compared only in relation to other elements of the system, such as educational goals, cost, demands, and societal needs.

They go on to argue that as 'discontent with system performance is frequently a perceived lack of effectiveness, efficiency, responsiveness, or fidelity' then the system should be analyzed in terms of these four constructs (p. 149).

Dalin (1970), in 'Planning for Change in Education: Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning' argues for the need to understand the *qualitative* nature of 'process of change in education': 'The planner has to ask qualitative questions about humans like "Why do we change?", "where do we go?", "Whom do we serve?"' (p. 437).

The debate over this paradigm shift reached its height in the 1980s. In 'Theory, Politics, and Experiment in Educational Research Methodology', Walker & Evers (1986) are critical of what they see as a still continuing empirical domination in research. They suggest an alternative paradigm that incorporates an understanding of the epistemologies of the 'subjects' of any education research into the actual research design:

. . . the process of theorising must include theoretical activity on the part of those traditionally deemed subjects. In inquiring into their social reality, they may well reflect



upon and experiment with their actions within their social reality. This may lead to changes in that reality quite as dramatic as those introduced by traditional experimenters (p. 385).

Further shifts in methodology are debated in the 1990s. The paradigm shift in the social sciences from structuralism to post-structuralism and postmodernism are also found expression in various articles. In discussing an alternative paradigm in postmodern society, Aviram (1996) proposes a radical shift in educational paradigm from the 'anachronistic' nature of the prevailing paradigm based on the 'puzzle-solving' approach to the 'interdisciplinary search' for connections:

It requires a leap from the 'puzzle-solving' approach dominant today in educational thought, which focuses on specific disciplinary treatment of specific problems, to a macro-level systemic approach which seeks out connections among specific problems and between these problems . . . this leap would entail the interdisciplinary search for possible links . . . the quest for an alternative paradigm must begin with the questions: Is it possible to determine state-wide goals in post-modern democratic society? If so, what are they? (pp. 435-438).

In 1997, the concept of 'postmodernity in comparative education' appears in the title of a special issue 'Tradition, Modernity and Postmodernity in Comparative Education', guest-edited by Masemann and Welch, 43(5-6). Here, Mitter (1997) sees the change of paradigms move from the 'classical' historical research and the investigations of the national systems, to intercultural education in multicultural societies (and the interrelation between universalism and cultural pluralism) and finally to the '*post-modern* revolt against the predominant theories of modernity' which defined comparative education in the past. He goes on to caution that 'current trends of economic, technological and scientific globalisation and the counter current revival of the awareness of cultural diversity' have created new imperatives and consequences for education. In terms of present and future 'universalism and cultural pluralism', a fruitful balance, Mitter argues, must be found 'between the messages of world system theory, and the theories which regard cultural diversity to be a permanent formation of human history' (pp. 407-410).

Young (1997), on the other hand, rejects the extremes of 'postmodern relativism' and 'universalism' in comparative education and proposes a new *praxis* of 'intercultural studies' based on the idea of 'progressive conversations that cherish both difference and common ground, both the relative and the universal' (pp. 497-504).

## 7. CENTRAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION PLANNING AND POLICY

Although in broad terms the expansion, change, and reform of education characterised the research published between 1955 and 2001, in various decades certain priorities in education and policy prevailed. Fernig (1979, p. 14) in his review of trends in education in a special review issue 'Twenty-Five Years of Educational Practice and theory: 1955-1979' (in volume 25, 2-3), provides a very

useful policy change assessment in Europe and elsewhere between the 1950s and 1960s:

Around 1952-54, the major concern of educational policies lay with internal or with social issues: internal, in the sense that structural reforms of education were in the forefront of the debate, social in that democratisation was the goal sought...ensuring a better articulation of primary and secondary schooling . . .

The reform movement in Europe continued through the sixties but the importance of social and economic factors for education became more visibly recognised in public policies during that decade...The extent to which education systems succeeded in palliating social and economic inequalities may be questioned . . . (p. 13).

The quantitative aspect of education and policy between 1955-1979 was also observed by Gillette (1979) in the same issue, who wrote:

'More is better' – at the risk of retrospective oversimplification, one can suggest that this could well have been the motto of educational policy-makers and practitioners 25 years ago. In a Euro-centric world just emerging from post-war reconstruction, their central concern was to provide more people with more of the already existing kinds of education. In terms of aspiration and intention, change meant linear growth (p. 142).

One example of influential policy research is the evidence of the enrolment data collected during the 1960s. These descriptive reports of enrolment patterns, in the context of 'human capital' theories, were a factor in the impressive expansion of basic education around the globe.

In the Sudan, for instance, there was a five-year plan in 1960 for educational reorganisation, including an increase in educational spending:

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 . . . (Akrawi, 1960, p. 280)

In Yugoslavia, Crvenkovski (1961) notes a significant educational expansion, compared with the pre-war Yugoslavia:

Compulsory four-year education did not cover the whole territory of Yugoslavia. In some parts of the country illiteracy went beyond 75% . . . The expansion of the school system in the last ten years can be seen from the following . . . In the school year 1960-61, 84.3% children of school age attended elementary school (pp. 394-5).

The quantitative view of educational growth continued to be a major issue in education and policy during the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s. The shift to qualitative indicators of education and policy outcomes, as we shall see, is a characteristic feature of the policy discourse during the 1980s and the 1990s.

### 7.1 *Educational planning as a concept*

During the 1960s educational planning emerged as a 'major activity' in education and policy. In 1964 the concept of *educational planning* appeared for the first time in the title of the article 'Educational Planning within the Framework of

Economic Planning' (Ewers, 1964). Here the shift is away from the earlier linear approach to expansion in education in terms of numbers to the economic view of educational planning as an *investment* and *consumption*. The 'new things' about educational planning as it was conceived in the 1960s compared to the past were summarised by Coombs (1964) thus:

For one, it takes a much broader view, embracing a nation's entire educational establishment . . . Also new is the conscious effort to make education a major force and an integral part of economic and social development. Thus, educational planning, seen in this broader frame, embraces both the internal affairs of education and its external relationship to the rest of society and the economy (p. 143).

In examining some operational problems arising in educational planning during the 1960s Ewers (1964) proposes a number of strategies, which include:

The educational planner is now required to ensure that the system he has planned will attract sufficient and suitable students at all levels. He will need to examine the present preferences of students and to identify the types of incentives which may be needed to bring about whatever changes are necessary in those patterns...Educational history would indicate that educational preferences tend to adjust themselves to the economic realities with time (p. 138).

Educational reforms were launched under the 'double banner of equalisation of educational opportunities and economic growth' (Husen 1979: 212). Educational planning was then, unlike in the Soviet Union, something new in the West. By the early 1960s there was what Weiler (1987) has referred to as a 'planning euphoria':

Yet the basic assumptions, upon which educational planning of the early 1960s was founded, the human capital theory...were challenged. Preoccupations with economic growth led to neglect of the qualitative aspects of educational planning (Husen, 1979, p. 213).

At the policy level, the role of planning in bringing about education reform becomes the key preoccupation (Husen, 1979, p. 213). National development plans (eg. five-year plans) became the standard model of education and policy planning.

## 7.2 *Shift to qualitative view of total process-planning model 1970s*

If the 1950s and the 1960s were characterised by traditional linear approaches to 'step planning' models, then in the early 1970s there is a shift to a more qualitative view of a 'total process-planning' model in education and policy.

Winn (1971), who elaborates a total process-planning strategy based on a principle of social change that 'advocates wide-scale involvement in decision-making by those who will be most affected by the decisions' (p. 267). As he explains, total process-planning involves 'verification, construction, evaluation and reward' (p. 272). He argues that educational planning 'calls for the creation of influential organisations at state, local and notional levels' to promote and guide the process. He criticises the manner in which 'most planning remains fixated on a sequential approach'.

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:

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...A second measure might be sharing to a greater extent than at present the responsibility for primary education with local councils and municipalities . . . (p. 280).

The negative impact of policy on indigenous population groups is examined critically in 1980 by McDowell in 'The Impact of the National Policy on Education on Indigenous Education in Nigeria', who explains that policy-makers do not recognise the contribution made by indigenous education and that recent changes may 'threaten' local communities:

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 (p. 51).

A notable shift in policy planning was in evidence in 1983, when the concept was used in part 2 of a special issue 'The Universalisation of Primary Education', guest-edited by Hugh Hawes. This demonstrated a change from an earlier 'numbers' approach to a more holistic conceptual model. Here planning is discussed within the parameters of national and international initiatives, the increasing significance of the relationship between 'macro and micro planning', and 'devolution of power' (Hawes 1983: 165) and the importance of the latter for the local communities:

Until communities can be trusted and supported to share in the responsibility of organising staffing and servicing their own schools...then the quantity and, more critically, the quality of primary education will suffer. Devolution of power is a step which centralised administrations are often unwilling to contemplate . . . (p. 165).

The shifts from the linear, quantitative approach with priority placed on enrolments, cost surveys to the more qualitative approach may have led to what some critics perceived as an identity crisis in educational and policy planning. This identity crisis in educational planning is first discussed in 1984 in 'The Identity Crisis in Educational Planning' (Recum, 1984), who challenges 'traditional and contemporary technical approaches' to educational planning, in view of the failure of educational expansion to produce the desired results:

The early 1960s marked the beginning of new departures in educational policy-making...Educational policies, however failed to achieve the goals expected of them...Modern educational planning, on the other hand, serves to bring about controlled change. At the same time, it is expected to bring more objectivity to educational policy-making process and to improve their effectiveness...(pp. 142-143).

The status of educational planning was also reviewed by Bray (1984) in 'What Crisis in Educational Planning? A Perspective from Papua and New Guinea. Bray, in contrast to Recum and other 'education in crisis' policy researchers, argues, from

a case study of a developing country, that there is no real crisis in educational planning unless the policy-makers set themselves unrealistic objectives:

. . . educational planning . . . still has quantitative and qualitative weaknesses and its impact needs strengthening, but it does not suffer from an identity crisis or lack of prestige. . . it may be suggested that educational planning need only suffer an identity crisis if it expected to achieve unreasonable objectives . . . (pp.434-436).

Psacharopoulos (1989) (as noted earlier in the article) in analysing the discrepancy between educational policy goals and outcomes in some African countries 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).

### 7.3 Education and Policy Outcomes

In respect of education policy priorities, the period between 1955-1979 has been characterised by growth, decentralisation and school-based innovations. In examining social change, education and policy, some authors suggested that there needed to be refocusing away from the narrow strategy of growth to a more comprehensive and 'flexible educational strategy', based on international cooperation, the 'rapidly expanding learning needs', and a 'growing financial squeeze' (Coombs, 1982, pp. 144-145). The new focus in education and policy would need to address the 'stubborn issue of inequalities'. Coombs argues that:

. . . structural changes, especially in developing countries, have tended to enlarge rather than reduce long-standing educational inequalities. . . Helping to rectify these gross disparities is clearly one of the central challenges to education policies in the 1980's . . . first, each country. . . is bound to require a more comprehensive, flexible, and innovative educational strategy – a strategy that takes account of the changing and expanding learning needs of all its people. . . Second. . . there will be greater need than ever before for increased international cooperation in education, taking many new and different forms (pp. 153-157).

One of the key indicators in the domain of official policy was the universalisation of primary education. Bray (1983), commenting on outcomes of the National Education Policy in Pakistan (1970) with regards to universal primary education, concluded that, given low enrolment rates (e.g., 11 percent of females were enrolled in schools in Baluchistan in 1978) Pakistan was unlikely to achieve its desired UPE policy by the end of the century:

. . . it seems extremely unlikely that by the end of the century Pakistan will even be approaching universal education. This is not to say that policy makers should not set goals and aspire to achieve them . . . (p. 177).

## 8. STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN EDUCATION AND POLICIES: REFORMS AND INNOVATIONS

The key issues which have defined and guided structural changes in education and policy were compulsory schooling, equity of access and equality of educational opportunity and the influence of home background on academic achievement (Husen, 1979, pp. 204-205). If the central issue in educational policy in Western Europe during the 1950s and the 1960s has been the provision of compulsory education for all children up to the age of 15-16 (Husen, 1979, p. 204), then for developing countries it is the provision of universal primary education.

### 8.1 *Universal primary education policy*

The concept of universal free and compulsory education was first proposed by Unesco in Geneva in 1951. Subsequently, the Karachi Plan (1960) of universal primary education was adopted:

This meeting drew up a Twenty Year Working plan for the implementation by 1980 of universal free and compulsory education of at least seven years' duration for all the Asian States (Rahman, 1962, p. 257).

The first article on modern primary education in India was Kabir's (1955) account of universal primary education:

It is a directive principle of the Constitution of India that universal, compulsory and free education must be provided for all children of six to fourteen within ten years of its promulgation. When we remember that on the eve of independence, existing facilities did not extend to even twenty-five percent of them, this directive must be recognised as revolutionary in import (p. 49).

In one article it was estimated in 1959 that of 860 million children and youth of the "school age group" of 5 to 19 years during the 1950s only 30 out of 100 attended primary school, 7 were in secondary and postsecondary schools, and 63 (nearly 2 in 3) were not in school or 'have never been to any school at all' (Orata, 1959, p. 10):

In many developing school systems, education is often the story of drop-outs . . . Thousands upon thousands of children enrol in the first grade, but the majority do not reach the third or fourth grade, not to mention the sixth, which has been found to be the optimum grade for functional literacy (p. 10).

Education policy outcomes in Egypt are discussed by Harby and Affiri (1958):

The primary school has become an independent institution, it provides a total programme of common education for the great mass of children, and it is open to all without charge (p. 423).

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 (Macintosh, 1958, p. 461).

Universal primary education (UPE) was the focus of the *International Review of Education*, 29(2), 1983. Hawes (1983) believed that the political, economic and social factors associated with the introduction of UPE could generate new inequalities:

. . . there is a danger that the inequalities which universal education sought to narrow will in fact be widened. This happened in Latin America, is happening in Nigeria and may well happen in the Bangladesh and Pakistan (p. 129).

## 8.2 Equality and equity policy issues

One of the starting points for the educational inequality debate is found in Gal's (1957) discussion of the shortcomings of the educational reform in France arguing that reform had not cured the fundamental problems of the system:

The only real equality for the children of France is to be found at the level of the elementary school; from the age of 11 years the fate of our children is decided by socio-economic criteria . . . so very few pupils from lower class families gain admission to the higher branches of education (less than 3% of the children of workers; 4% of the children of peasant families) . . . the opportunities for French children to obtain secondary education, and through that higher education, vary according to the child's social origin (pp. 470-473).

Inequalities in education, due to social, cultural, economic and cognitive factors, were already discussed in the *IRE* in the 1950s. Equalising educational opportunities was the focus of Kandel's (1957) opening article in volume 3 of *IRE* when he notes that although the provision of compulsory elementary education was the major issue in the past the demand for equality of opportunity required a new way of thinking:

...The demand for the provision of equality of educational opportunity required a social and political awakening to a realisation of the worth and dignity of the individual as a citizen and a recognition of the economic value of a worker educated beyond the mere stage of literacy (pp. 1-2).

Other related issues are raised by Blomqvist (1957) in 'Some Social Factors and School Failure' when he argues that children's academic performance is linked to economic and social factors, including environment and the home background:

Most studies have produced results that show that pupils from lower social strata fail more often than those from higher...A low income seems to count for relatively little in comparison with the lack of cultural standard, cultural motivation and educational tradition (pp. 166-171).

Later, as we see, the topic of equality and equity had become 'another overriding policy issue' (Husen, 1980, p. 204). In fact, equality of educational opportunity became the key issue in education and policy research. The shift in policy was from the conservatives' notion of the 'talent reserve' – to enable young people from lower social strata to get access to education, to the idea of equal access to education for all. The radical writers challenged the concept of 'inherited' ability altogether, claiming that it reflected a bourgeois belief that inherited capabilities and not social class, determine life chances.

In Ceylon, Jayasuriya (1962) provides a historical setting for inequalities in education, which is attributed to the dual structure of schooling:

The absence of a genuine equality of opportunity on account of the existence of “two types of schools – one attended mainly by those who can afford to pay fees, and the other attended by those whose means do not permit them to do so” (p. 293).

Educational inequalities based on race and ethnicity interested a number of scholars. The problems connected with the education of black Americans were highlighted by Roucek (1964):

...The fact remains that the problem of the American Negro looms large in the United States, and America’s most enduring moral, social and political issues have been shaped, or at least influenced by mere presence – and they remain unsolved (p. 162).

In the 1960s wealth began to replace race as the key issue in many equity studies. Malkova, (1965) is critical of American high schools perpetuating educational inequality by their use of I.Q. tests for student placement, thus:

... the theory of mental giftedness has been exerting an important influence upon the American school...Investigations have shown the I.Q. to be connected with the children’s socio-economic environment, and it is children of poor families that are usually classed among the “incapable” ones...these children, being classed as “incapable,” are given a watered-down course of study...(p. 259).

Equality of opportunity and improvement of *standards* is the theme of ‘Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education’. Here, Naik (1979) reviews the dilemma faced by educational policy makers in India who, faced with limited financial resources, high adult illiteracy rates, and high drop-outs rates, attempt to bring about equality of educational opportunity:

...our worst achievements are in the field of universal retention. Of every hundred children enrolled, only about 30 reach Grade V and only about 25 reach Grade VIII. What is even worse, these high rates of wastage have remained almost unchanged over the last 30 years...it [the education system JZ] mainly serves the upper 30 per cent of the population who monopolise 70 per cent of the places in secondary education and 80 per cent of the places in higher education (pp. 53-55).

More recently Jennings (2000), in evaluating the impact of compulsory schooling on literacy rates in Guyana, among youth aged 14-25, finds that only 11% show a ‘high level of functional literacy’:

The study has shown that in a country which has the longest history of compulsory primary education in the English-speaking Caribbean, only about 11 per cent of its young people between the ages of 14-25 are functionally literate . . . there is a clear need for literacy programmes for those young people whose literacy skills the school system has failed to develop to a level at which they can function effectively in the society (p. 113).

The review of education and development in Latin America (1950-1975) by Rama and Tedesco (1979) offer a rare insight into the conservative role played by education, as the mechanism for reproducing the dominant cultural models and ideologies:



It also maintains, through that process, the structure of social differentiation of a stratified society. It is known, in a stratified society the labour market becomes the instance for marinating the hierarchic structure of inequalities (p. 74).

### *8.3 The Crisis of Quality in Education*

The issue of the 'crisis' of educational quality is also addressed by Heyneman (1993), who argues that because 'we have been so busy arguing over differing research paradigms' we have not paid sufficient attention to 'common professional goals'. For Heyneman it is time to return to 'first principle' in educational policy:

. . . it is time to ask why the state should support public schooling at all...How good in fact are our schools? How well prepared are our young people? How much would it cost to improve educational results? How well are schools being managed? How are our schools in comparison to schools elsewhere? (pp. 512-513).

Heyneman concentrates his analysis on the role of the 'efficiency' criterion in solving the global crisis of educational quality.

A more critical view of global standards of quality is offered by Vedder (1994) in 'Global Measurement of the Quality of Education: A Help to Developing Countries'. He argues that global measures of quality in the context of international comparisons are 'detrimental' to the quality of education, especially in developing countries (p. 5). He is critical of IEA assessment studies, based on the commonality of curricula, which is a pedagogical hybrid of 'a Westernised global curricula' and 'standardisation', and argues that policy-makers, who represent 'dominant interest groups' in a given country may use or abuse global measures as a means of maintaining a disciplinary power over teachers and keeping 'control of the curriculum' (pp. 14-15).

### *8.4 Global marketisation of education and social stratification*

The Western-driven model of excellence, quality and success is defining the teleological goal of the 'marketisation' of education around the world. This has some serious implications for educational policy. The encouragement of greater school autonomy and competition among schools may exacerbate, as Tan (1998) argues, not only the 'disparities between schools in terms of educational outcomes but also social inequalities' (p. 47). In short, increasing competition among schools and parental choice is a reinforcement of social stratification:

The intense inter-school competition and the introduction of annual school league tables has led schools to become increasingly academically selective in a bid to maintain or improve their ranking positions. There is a growing stratification of schools...there is a danger that marketisation of education will intensify social stratification as well.

Although the government is aware of the potential political fallout from the public controversy over social inequalities, it shows no sign of reversing the trend

towards the marketisation of education. If anything it is likely to further encourage competition among schools (pp. 50-60).

## 9. CRITICAL EVALUATION OF EDUCATION POLICY

In reviewing the nature of issues, ideological shifts and the notion of change in education and policy between 1955 and 2001 dealt with in articles published, we can observe the following shifts in education and policy:

1. The 1950s witnessed population growth and economic expansion and with it the interest in 'educational planning', forcing authorities to gather information to describe accurately the state of education in different countries. UNESCO's role becomes significant in this data-collection process. The major concern of educational policies was with 'social issues'. One of the additional issues in education during the 1950s was a growing discrepancy between rhetoric and reality of education policies.
2. At the beginning of the 1960s education and policy 'rode on a wave of optimism' and was considered to be a major instrument for 'social change and progress' (Husen, 1980, p. 212). In the 1960s education and policy entered an era of 'scientifically controlled' innovation. *Educational planning* emerged as a 'major activity' and can be cited as a good example of the 'breakthrough in the 1960s of the general interdisciplinary approach in conceptualising and tackling educational problems' (pp. 212-213). Educational planning becomes increasingly relevant to the economic link between education and development and the importance of economic and social factors: deciding on priorities and the allocation of resources.
3. During the early 1970s the 'reform period' gains in prominence, (Bowen, 1980, p. 194). This was an era of serious critical analysis of education and policy, typified by a rejection of capitalism, and the quest for better alternative to the conservative tradition. At the same time, a world-wide demand for greater expenditure on education continued.
4. In the 1980s educational planning increasingly emphasizes the significance of the relationship between *macro* and *micro* planning, the 'tensions between politicians and planners' and the complexity of the 'logistics of UPE' (Hawes, 1983, p.123).
5. The OECD study on sustainable flexibility (OECD, 1997) suggests that the new information and knowledge-based economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century will affect significantly the nature of work, which in turn will re-define educational planning and the education process.

Has there been any visible shift in paradigms, ideology and issues depicted in various articles? With reference to the role of the state, ideology and politico-economic imperatives in education and policy we can make the following four tentative conclusions:

In examining the shifts and the way conceptual thinking has changed in education and policy during the last five decades we can conclude:

1. The major paradigm shift of the early 1970s between positivism (empirical/quantitative research) and anti-positivism (non-empirical/qualitative research) began to question THE idea of 'value-free' empirical research and the scientific dominance of empiricism. This paradigm shift reached its heights in the 1980s, as illustrated by post-structuralist and post-modernist education and policy articles. Described as a '*postmodernist revolt*' (Mitter, 1997, p. 407) against the dominating theories of the Enlightenment and modernity, such a paradigm shift in policy directions challenged the metanarratives in education and policy, the 'regime of truth', the disciplinary society, and promised to empower the learner, by re-affirming the centrality of the learner in the curriculum, and diversity of learner needs.
2. In educational planning and policy reforms the shift has been from the 'linear' model of expansion in education, based on the 'more is better' metaphor (Gillette, 1979, p. 142), and the human capital theory, which had dominated policy-makers and reforms during the 1950s and the 1960s to the qualitative (Husen, 1980, p. 213), more holistic (Hawes, 1983, p. 165), 'global security' focused (Williams, 2000, p. 187), and 'integrative' (Hoppers, 2000, p. 24) aspects of policy directions and policy reforms.
3. The key policy issues as reflected in education and policy reforms during the last five decades could be described as restatement of an egalitarian-inspired imperative – the equality objective – ensuring that the equality and quality of educational opportunities enjoyed only by the best-served few are available to all. Specifically, the central policy issues dealt with the provision of compulsory education for all children (including the changing nature of universal primary education, in developing countries), equity, school choice, and the influence of the home background on academic achievement (eg., Kabir, 1955, p. 49; Jayasuriya, 1962, p. 293; Naik, 1979, p. 53; Husen, 1979, p. 204; Coombs, 1982, p. 153; Bray, 1983, p. 177; Hirsch, 1995, p. 239).  
Critical education and policy issues continue, by and large, to remain the same. The 'stubborn issue of inequality' (Coombs, 1982, p. 153), first examined in 1957 (Kandel, 1957, p. 2) is still with us (Jennings, 2000, p. 113; Zajda, 2003) and the prospect of widening inequalities in education, in part due to market-oriented schooling), and 'substantial tolerance on inequalities and exclusion' (OECD, 2001, p. 126; Aspin, Chapman, Hatton & Sawano 2003, p. xxiv) are more than real. In 1982 the critical issues in policy directions for the next two decades included:
  - new internal strategies (more comprehensive, flexible and innovative modes of learning) that took into account the changing and expanding learner needs,
  - overcoming 'unacceptable' socio-economic educational disparities and inequalities,
  - improving educational quality,
  - 'harmonising education and culture', and
  - 'international co-operation' in education and policy directions in each country (Coombs, 1982, p. 145-157).

The questions that arise from the ‘strategic challenge’ and ‘deliverable goals’ framework (Barber, 2000), 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, economic and political environments, which affect the nature of schooling. Diversity and uniformity, with reference to equality of opportunity needs to be considered. Important equity questions are raised by current discourses on centralisation/decentralisation, diversity/uniformity and curriculum standardisation models. Assuming that we accept that there is a need for greater diversity of schooling, what is the extent of widening social inequality? Will the spirit of egalitarian ethos of more equal and equitable outcomes prevail, or will it drown in the ocean of global inequality? The erosion of the earlier model of the welfare state and the global spread of the present conservative neoliberal models, characterised by ‘state withdrawal, privatisation, and localisation’ (Astiz, Wiseman & Baker, 2002, p. 69) may have legitimated the ‘often pervasive and exploitative’ dimension of the capital-labour-market organisational system. This economic aspect of globalisation, coupled with institutional and ideological spheres tends to force nations into a tighter connection to a global market (Astiz, Wiseman & Baker, 2002, p. 67).

## 10. CONCLUSION

The above chapter shows that critical policy issues and options, in terms of recently defined strategic challenge and deliverable goals, have shifted from the human capital and supply-determined models of economic planning based on enrolments, inputs and outputs, and the market forces, to a multi-dimensional and multilevel frameworks of policy analysis, which identify the impact of supra-national, national and sub-national forces on education and society. The pragmatic value of such paradigm shifts is that they address what Arnove & Torres (1999) call the dialectic of the global and the local and the unequal distribution of socially valued commodities.

However, the principle of providing quality education for all, in view of the presently widening gap of wealth, power, income, SES disadvantage and inequity between the rich and the poor locally and globally continues to remain a myth. To solve the inequalities requires an ideological and radical policy shift in current models of governance, and an authentic and equal partnership between the state, multi-national corporations, policy-makers and educators, all working together towards the eradication of inequality and poverty both locally and globally – for the common good of humanity.

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## POLICY BORROWING IN EDUCATION: FRAMEWORKS FOR ANALYSIS

### 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 1816/17 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 & 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.

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 & 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 & 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 & 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 naïve 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:

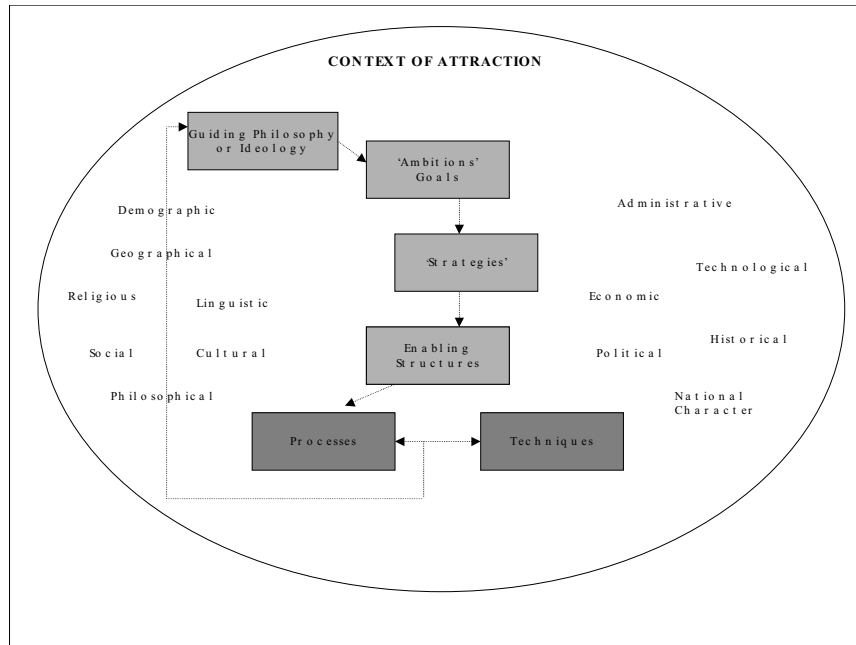
... there will have to be much greater influence from the centre, more direction from the centre as far as the curriculum is concerned [...] At the same time ... I don't want to chill and destroy the inventiveness of the teachers ... I don't want to go down the completely regimented German way, because ... 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 (2000) 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 & Phillips, 2000,a,b).



**Figure 1.** Structural Typology of 'Cross-National Attraction' in Education

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 inter-relationship, 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.

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 & Phillips, 2002a).

As we have put it in our previous study (Ochs & 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 & 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	enabling structures	Preparing the ground

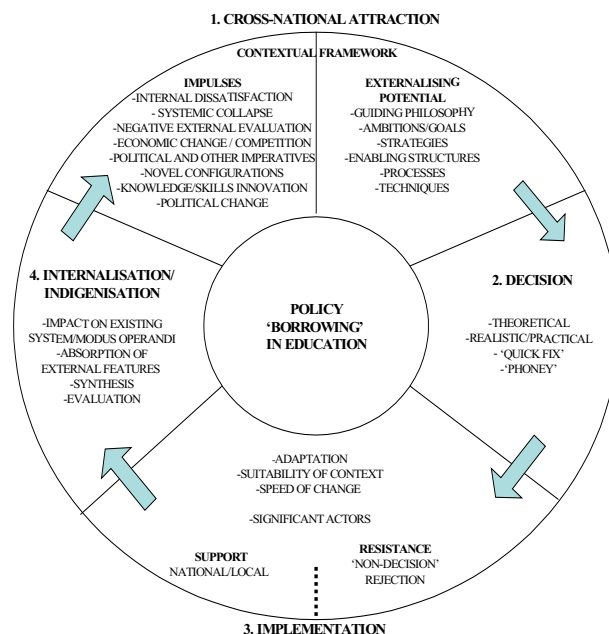
Legislation, reports, etc.	Factors in cross-national attraction	Result
the State of Popular Education, 1858		for the introduction of compulsory elementary education
Cross Report on the Elementary Education Acts, 1888	strategies, enabling structures, processes	Potential models for the solution of problems 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 & 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.



**Figure 2.** Policy Borrowing in Education: Composite Processes

(Source: Phillips & 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 South-East 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 non-decision.

### 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 policy makers, 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 & Rhoten (2002) discuss the process of ‘re-contextualisation’ 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 two hundred years or so (Phillips, 1993, 1997, 2000a, b, 2002, 2003; Ochs & Phillips, 2002a, b; Phillips & 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 & Phillips, 2002a, b) have shown that by identifying and analyzing 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 (the period leading up to the First World War, for example), the development of new ideas (for example, 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 contributes 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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MARK BRAY

## COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION: EVOLUTION, MISSIONS AND ROLES

The field of comparative education is arguably more closely related to globalisation than most other fields of academic enquiry. Comparative education is naturally concerned with cross-national analyses, and the field encourages its participants to be outward-looking. At the same time, the field responds to globalisation. Cross-national forces of change are reflected in dominant paradigms, methodological approaches, and foci of study.

In order to provide a context for subsequent discussion, this chapter begins by considering some of the meanings of globalisation. The chapter then turns to the nature of the field of comparative education, noting dimensions of evolution over the decades and centuries. Moving to relatively recent times, the chapter focuses on the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), which was created in 1970 and currently has 30 constituent societies. As its name suggests, the WCCES is a global body – with all the positive features and tensions that that implies. The chapter notes the some characteristics of the global field of comparative education, while also commenting on distinctive features in some countries and regions. Some specific domains in which globalisation have changed the agenda in which comparativists can and should work, are highlighted.

### 1. GLOBALISATION: CONCEPTS AND DEBATE

Held et al., (1999), presenting one of the most thorough analyses of the nature and impact of globalisation, began their book with the observation (p. 1) that:

Globalization is an idea whose time has come. From obscure origins in French and American writings in the 1960s, the concept of globalization finds expression today in all the world's major languages.

However, they added that the term lacks precise definition. As such, it is used widely and vaguely, and can mean different things to different people. At a general level, Held et al., suggest globalisation may be thought of as “the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” (1999, p. 2). The range of dimensions, Held et al.,

observed, stretch “from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual”. Elsewhere, Held & McGrew (2000) have noted that globalisation:

has been variously conceived as action at a distance (whereby the actions of social agents in one locale can come to have significant consequences for ‘distant others’); time-space compression (referring to the way in which instantaneous electronic communication erodes the constraints of distance and time on social organization and interaction); accelerating interdependence (understood as the intensification of enmeshment among national economies and societies such that events in one country impact directly on others); a shrinking world (the erosion of borders and geographical barriers to socio-economic activity); and, among other concepts, global integration, the reordering of interregional power relations, consciousness of the global condition and the intensification of inter-regional interconnectiveness (Held & McGrew, 2000, p. 3).

All these dimensions have impact on the field of comparative education as well as on other fields of endeavour. Nevertheless, interpretations of the precise nature of dynamics depend strongly on the perspectives of the observers. Held et al., (1999) distinguished between three broad schools of thought on globalisation:

- The *hyperglobalists* define contemporary globalisation as a new era in which peoples everywhere are subjected to the disciplines of the global marketplace. Emphasising economic forces, this view argues that globalisation is bringing about ‘denationalisation’ of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade and finance. In this ‘borderless’ economy, national governments are “relegated to little more than transmission belts for global capital or, ultimately, simple intermediate institutions sandwiched between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of governance” (Held et al., 1999, p. 3).
- The *sceptics*, by contrast, maintain that contemporary levels of economic interdependence are not historically unprecedented. The 19<sup>th</sup> century era of the classical Gold Standard, they note, was also a period of economic integration. The sceptics consider the hyperglobalist thesis to be fundamentally flawed and politically naïve since it underestimates the enduring power of national governments to regulate international economic activity. The sceptics recognise the economic power of regionalisation in the world economy, but assert that by comparison with the age of world empires the international economy has become considerably less global in its geographical embrace.
- The *transformationalists*, like the hyperglobalists, consider globalisation to be a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping societies. However, they are less certain of the direction in which trends are leading and about the kind of world order which it might prefigure. For transformationalists, the existence of a single global system is not taken as evidence of global convergence or of the arrival of a single world society. Rather, they argue, “globalisation is associated with new patterns of global stratification in which some states, societies and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are becoming increasingly marginalised” (Held et al., 1999, pp. 7-8). The new patterns require reformulation of vocabulary from North/South and First/Third World,

recognising that new hierarchies cut across and penetrate all societies and regions of the world.

These remarks show that the concept of globalisation is complex. The term is viewed differently even within particular academic disciplines, and across disciplines the variation increases further. Comparative education is by nature an interdisciplinary field. This provides a valuable meeting point for disciplinary perspectives, but also increases the potential for confusion.

## 2. COMPARATIVE EDUCATION: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION

To place in context subsequent remarks about the contemporary nature of the field and the extent to which it has become globalised, it is useful to sketch some dimensions of its history and evolution. It is commonly asserted (Epstein, 1994; Van Daele, 1994) that the origins of comparative education as a clearly-defined scholarly activity lie in 19<sup>th</sup> century France. Specifically, Marc-Antoine Jullien, who in 1817 wrote a work entitled *Esquisse et Vues Préliminaires d'un Ouvrage sur l'Éducation Comparée*, has been widely described as the 'Father of Comparative Education' (see e.g. Berrio, 1997; Leclercq, 1999). The field is then commonly considered to have spread to other parts of Europe and to the USA, before reaching other regions of the world. An alternative view might be that the field had multiple origins (Halls, 1990; Zhang & Wang, 1997; Bray & Gui, 2001); but it is undeniable that significant work was developed in Europe and the USA. Further notable landmarks include the first university-level course in 1899, taught at Teachers College, Columbia, USA (Bereday, 1964a), and a famous 1900 speech by Sir Michael Sadler in the UK (Sadler 1900). During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the field gathered momentum and spread. Nakajima (1916) published a book in Japanese entitled *Comparative Study of National Education in Germany, France, Britain and the USA*, which was translated into Chinese with some adaptation by Yu (1917). Further early works include Sandiford (1918) and Kandel (1935).

The extent to which these early works may be considered global deserves some examination. Jullien's (1817) work was explicitly confined to the states of Europe – though that may perhaps already be considered quite a broad canvas for that point in history. Sadler (1900) used examples from both Western Europe and North America, and Nakajima (1916) focused on Germany, France, Britain and the USA. Interestingly, although Nakajima's book was written in Japan, it did not include focus on Japan; but Yu's (1917) translation and adaptation did add some material on China. Like Nakajima, Sandiford (1918) and Kandel (1935) focused on Germany, France, Britain and the USA, but Sandiford also included Canada and Denmark, while Kandel included Italy and Russia.

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the field blossomed in a spectacular way with the publication of many journals, including:

- *Comparative Education Review*, an English-language journal launched in the USA in 1957;

- *Comparative Education*, another English-language journal launched in the UK in 1964;
- *Foreign Education Conditions*, a Chinese-language publication which was launched as an internal publication in Beijing in 1965, became a full journal in 1980, and was retitled *Comparative Education Review* in 1992;
- *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education*, an English-language publication which began in the UK as a newsletter in 1968, and which became a fully-established journal in 1977;
- *Canadian and International Education/Éducation Canadienne et Internationale*, which was launched in Canada in 1973 to publish both English-language and French-language articles;
- *Comparative Education Research*, a Japanese-language journal which was launched in 1975;
- the *Journal of Comparative Education*, a Chinese-language publication which began as a newsletter published in Taiwan in 1982 and which in 1997 evolved into a full journal;
- *Educazione Comparata*, an Italian journal which commenced publication in 1990;
- the *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, which was launched in Spain in 1995; and
- *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, an electronic journal which commenced publication in the USA in 1998.

Other journals used the word International in their titles and also published many comparative articles. In 1931 a journal under the trilingual title of *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, *International Education Review* and *Revue Internationale de Pédagogie* was launched in Germany and published articles in German, English and French. After a hiatus in World War II, it was re-launched in 1947 and proceeded with publication for another four years. Another hiatus occurred in 1951, but in 1955 the journal was again re-launched with the almost the same original title except that the English name was *International Review of Education* rather than *International Education Review* (McIntosh, 2002). In 1971, UNESCO in Paris launched *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education*, initially in parallel English and French versions, then from 1973 also in Spanish, and by the 1990s also in Arabic, Chinese and Russian. In 1995, the subtitle of the journal was changed to *Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*. The English-language *International Journal of Educational Development* was launched in the UK in 1981, and is also considered a major journal in the field. Another new journal in comparative and international education *World Studies in Education* was launched in Australia in 2000, adding a new dimension in comparative education research.

To these journals were added many seminal textbooks. Towards the end of the century they became too numerous to list, but significant English-language works in the decades immediately following World War II included Hans (1948), King (1958), Bereday (1964b) and Havighurst (1968). Hans' book to a large extent followed existing geographic traditions, with four case-study chapters focusing on



England, the USA, France and the USSR, but it did also refer to other countries in all continents. King's work was also dominated by the traditional focus. Like Sandiford's book four decades previously, King had individual chapters on Germany, France, Great Britain, the USA and Denmark; but whereas Sandiford's sixth country of focus was Canada, King's was India. This reflected the emergence to sovereignty of a group of colonies – a trend that gathered speed in the 1960s and which brought much broader focus to the field of comparative education. Bereday's (1964b) book focused on the traditional USA, England, France and Germany, but also on the USSR, Turkey, Poland and Colombia. Havighurst (1968) focused on France, the USSR, Japan, Brazil, China, Ghana, South Africa, New Zealand, the Sudan and the Netherlands, and, with an unusual slant, also included chapters on the Hopi Indians (USA) and Tudor (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century) England. During the next three decades the field further broadened its geographic scope, placing much more emphasis on less developed countries as well as on industrialised ones, and this in a sense becoming more globalised.

### 3. THE WCCES: A GLOBAL BODY IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

The WCCES was formed 1970, having evolved from an International Committee of Comparative Education Societies which had been convened by Joseph Katz, of the University of British Columbia in Canada, in 1968 (Epstein, 1981, p. 261). Five societies came together to form the Council, namely:

- the Comparative & International Education Society (CIES) of the USA, which had been founded in 1956;
- the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE), which had been founded in 1961,
- the Japanese Comparative Education Society (JCES), which had been founded in 1964,
- the Comparative & International Education Society of Canada (CIESC), which had been founded in 1967, and
- the Korean Comparative Education Society (KCES), which had been founded in 1968.

Over the decades, the number of constituent societies in the Council has fluctuated, but in 2002 the WCCES had 30 societies. Of these, 23 were national or sub-national societies (Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Cuba, Hong Kong, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Spain, Taiwan, UK, Ukraine, and USA), five were regional societies (Australia & New Zealand, Europe, Nordic countries, Southern Africa, and Asia), and two were language-based societies (French and Dutch).

While the total list of constituent societies was impressive, in some countries and regions the societies have been fragile. The organisations have depended on the enthusiasm of a few individuals, and have commonly operated on a voluntary basis with low budgets. The fragility can be illustrated by comparing the 2002 WCCES list of constituent societies with that for 1993. In 1993, the WCCES had 31

constituent societies, but only 25 were still on the list in 2002 because six had ceased to exist. These were:

- the Asociación Argentina de Educación Comparada (AAEC),
  - the Asociación Colombiana de Educación Comparada (ACEC),
  - the Egyptian Group for Comparative Education (EGCE),
  - the London Association of Comparative Education (LACE),
  - the Nigerian Comparative Education Society (NCES), and
  - the Portuguese Comparative Education Society (PCES).
- However, five new societies had joined the list, namely:
- the Asociación de Pedagogos de Cuba (Sección de Educación Comparada) (APC-SEC),
  - the Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA),
  - the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK),
  - the Comparative Education Society of the Philippines (CESP), and
  - the Ukraine Council for Comparative Education (UCCE).

Also, a new Argentinean group had formed and had expressed intention to apply for admission to the Council; a parallel group had been formed in Venezuela; and in France a body had been created under the title Association pour le Développement des Échanges Internationales et de la Comparaison en Éducation (ADECE).

The most obvious activities of the WCCES have been the organisation of periodic World Congresses of Comparative Education. The first Congress was held in Canada in 1970, and was followed by ones in Switzerland (1974), United Kingdom (1977), Japan (1980), France (1984), Brazil (1997), Canada (1989), Czechoslovakia (1992), Australia (1996), and South Africa (1998), South Korea (2001), and Cuba (2004).

Other WCCES activities include advocacy for the field. The WCCES is affiliated to UNESCO as a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), and makes official representations to the international community through that body. The WCCES also operates a website ([www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces](http://www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces)), which contains links to organisations and educational institutions related to the field. One part of that website connects readers to Ministries of Education in over 120 different countries. Like all such global bodies, however, the WCCES has constraints in its operation. As noted by King (1997):

In all academic circles there are prima donnas and factions, and in a world society of members from so many traditions and contexts it is often difficult to reconcile the diversity of interests and priorities. There are also diplomatic difficulties in finding acceptable venues which are also convenient for the gathering-in of colleagues from all over the world (King, 1997, p. 81).

The WCCES statutes do not declare any official language, but most WCCES affairs are conducted in the English language. English has gained dominance as an international language, but this is not a neutral form of globalisation. By convention, arising from the fact that the original Secretariats were located in Ottawa (Canada) and then Geneva (Switzerland), French has also been a permitted language for communication for the WCCES. During the last decade, however, French has been little more than a token vehicle for official deliberation of WCCES affairs. The

WCCES Officers are very aware of the imbalances that can be associated with language, and welcome suggestions on ways to promote the field of comparative education in multiple languages.

Another bias arises from the geographic spread of WCCES member societies. Although the WCCES has constituent societies in every continent, and has also held Congresses in every continent, several parts of the world do not have direct representation in the Council. Thus in 2002, following the demise of the Nigerian and Egyptian societies, the only African society was that serving Southern Africa. South America was represented only by Brazil; and the Arab States were not represented at all. By contrast, Europe and Asia were well represented.

Nevertheless, the WCCES may certainly be considered a global body; and in many respects it is also globalising. It brings together scholars from different parts of the world for the exchange of ideas, and promotes joint projects. Certainly a great deal more can be done to facilitate the development of comparative education in different regions of the world and to promote the global dimensions of the field; but the WCCES does at least provide one vehicle to do this.

#### 4. PARADIGMS, METHODS AND FOCI IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

The field of comparative education, at least in some parts of the world, has drawn strongly on the theoretical bases of the social sciences. To some extent, therefore, shifts in dominant paradigms within the social sciences have been reflected in shifts in the field of comparative education. This includes the rise of positivism in the 1960s and 1970s, and the popularity of post-modernism in the 1980s and 1990s (Psacharopoulos, 1990; Epstein, 1994; Crossley, 2000; Paulston, 2000). However, comparative education scholars have tended to use a fairly limited set of tools from the social sciences. Books and journal articles display many commentaries based on literature reviews, but relatively few studies based on survey research, and almost no studies based on experimental methods.

In order to gain deeper understanding of this phenomenon, Rust, Soumaré, Pescador, & Shibuya (1999) analysed articles in three major English-language journals in the field, *Comparative Education Review* (USA), *Comparative Education* (UK), and the *International Journal of Educational Development* (UK). Reviewing articles in the 1960s, they found that 48.5 percent were mainly based on literature review and 15.2 percent were historical studies. For the 1980s and 1990s, Rust et al., found a marked drop in the two categories – to 25.7 percent mainly based on literature review, and 5.0 percent historical studies (p. 100). Reviews of projects had increased, as had participant observation and research based on interviews and questionnaires. In this respect, the field had increased its use of some standard social science instruments.

Rust et al., (1999) scrutinised the qualitative/quantitative biases of the articles. Their survey of 427 articles published in 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993 and 1995 found that 71.2 percent were based on qualitative methods, 17.3 percent were based

on quantitative methods, 10.8 percent were based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative, and 0.3 percent were based on other strategies. Commenting on this, Rust et al., (1999) suggested that scholars in the field of comparative education:

tend to rely on similar philosophical assumptions. Concerning the nature of reality, comparative educators would tend to see reality as somewhat subjective and multiple, rather than objective and singular. Epistemologically, comparative educators would tend to interact with that being researched rather than acting independently and in a detached manner from the content. Axiologically, comparative educators would tend not to see research as value free and unbiased; rather, they would accept the notion that their research is value laden and includes the biases of the researcher (Rust et al., 1999, p. 106).

A third aspect of the study by Rust et al.,(1999) concerned the geographic foci of the articles. During the 1960s, the dominant focus was on high-human-development countries (using the classification of the United Nations Development Programme). By the 1980s/1990s, however, the balance had shifted significantly. It still showed bias towards these countries, but included a much greater focus on low-human-development countries. Thus, whereas in the 1960s 73.1 percent of the articles in *Comparative Education Review* and *Comparative Education* focused on high-human-development countries and 15.0 percent focused on the low-human-development countries, in the 1980s/1990s these proportions were 43.1 and 23.3 percent.

However, the nature of the themes, and the methodological approaches, have been very different in different parts of the world at particular periods in history. Thus, although Rust et al., (1999) referred throughout their article to “the field” of comparative education, their analysis focused only on English-language journals, and only on ones published in the USA and UK. Cowen (2000, p. 333) has highlighted the co-existence of multiple comparative educations. His observation on the one hand applies to different groups within particular countries who have different methodological approaches and domains of enquiry, and who may or may not communicate with each other. It also applies to groups in different countries who operate in different languages with different scholarly traditions, and who also may or may not communicate with counterparts in other countries and language groups.

Concerning the differences in scholarly traditions in different countries, it is instructive to compare the work of Harold Noah and Max Eckstein during the three decades from the mid 1970s with that of Gu Mingyuan. Sets of collected works by these authors have been published by the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, and thus may easily be placed side by side (Noah & Eckstein, 1998; Gu, 2001). Among the major concerns of Noah and Eckstein, who were based in the USA and who operated mainly in the English-speaking arena, were methodological issues in the positivist framework and oriented to First World concerns. Gu, by contrast, operated mainly in the Russian and Chinese-speaking arenas. His writings, particularly during the early part of his career, were couched within a Marxist-Leninist framework, and he was especially concerned with the lessons that China could learn from industrialised countries. Especially during the 1970s and 1980s, the comparative education world in which Gu lived was a very different environment from that in which Noah and Eckstein lived.

During the 1990s, however, these two worlds showed some signs of convergence. As China opened up, and as English became more widespread, scholars in China paid more attention to the literatures and to methodological approaches in Western countries. Academic interchange between the two cultures increased, facilitated by translations of English-language books into Chinese and by cross-national visits by both sides. It is arguable that the flow of ideas from the opening up was unbalanced: Chinese scholars were influenced by Western traditions much more than Western scholars were influenced by Chinese traditions, and the number of books translated from Chinese to English was considerably smaller than the number translated from English to Chinese. However, some Western scholars have certainly explored Chinese academic traditions in depth, and have gained from doing so. In this context, the work of Ruth Hayhoe (e.g. 1999, 2001) immediately comes to mind.

The 1990s and the initial years of the present century have also brought some broadening of geographic interest among the different scholarly communities. Throughout their histories, albeit growing over time, the major English-language journals listed at the beginning of this chapter have contained a significant number of papers on the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in addition to work on Western Europe, Northern America and Australasia. In China, the volume of scholarly analysis of education in less developed countries has been much more modest. This has partly reflected priorities, insofar as policy makers have felt that less can be learned from poor countries than from prosperous ones. It has also reflected the fact that although overseas-Chinese communities exist in many parts of the world, China has had fewer political and cultural links with Africa, Western Asia and Latin America. Nevertheless, some broadening of geographic interest has been evident in Chinese-language publications, both in the mainland and in Taiwan (Yung, 1998; Lee, 1999).

Despite these observations about convergence, however, it remains the case that the topics chosen for comparative analysis, and the methodological approaches, have continued to vary considerably in different parts of the world. Gender, for example, has been a much stronger topic for focus in Western countries than in Asian societies; and analyses of the World Bank and other international agencies have been much more common in the English-language journals than in the Chinese, Japanese or Korean journals. Similarly, not all societies have been equally interested in themes of postcolonialism, multiculturalism and civil strife. Thus, while it is increasingly possible to talk about a global field of comparative education, it is necessary to recognise continued variations.

## 5. MISSIONS AND ROLES IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

Crossley (1999, 2000) and Watson (2001) have presented insightful analyses of the field of comparative education at the turn of the century, and have stressed the need for reconceptualisation. The forces of globalisation, they suggest, provide both an imperative and an opportunity. The imperative arises from the changed

environment brought by globalisation, and the opportunity arises from the increased interest in international affairs among academics, policy-makers and practitioners. The field of comparative education, they argue, can be revitalised and can secure fresh relevance within the new environment.

Various other scholars have also noted ways in which the field of comparative education can grapple with issues of globalisation (see Sanz, 1998, Burbules & Torres, 2000, Tickly, 2001, Welch, 2001, and Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). Particularly useful to the present chapter is the work of Marginson & Mollis (2001), who presented five implications of globalisation for a reformed comparative education. These implications may be summarised as follows:

1. *Analytical frameworks.* Scholars should locate nation-to-nation comparisons in wider frameworks. At the same time, they should note that global effects are contested and uneven, and vary among nations, regions and institutions. Important work by comparativists has already been conducted along these lines, but more is needed.
2. *Units of Analysis.* The traditional comparative map of the world, in which all nations are formally similar and ranked according to their level of development on a single scale, is more inadequate than ever. It fails to explain power relations between nations, and it hides qualitative national differences. Globalisation requires “a new geopolitical cartography that traces the flows of global effects and the patterns of imitation, difference, domination, and subordination in education policy and practice” (Marginson & Mollis, 2001, p. 612).
3. *Focus on cross-border international education.* Cross-border trade in international education has become an important object of research in itself. Such trade raises questions about the identities of mobile students, and about the attributes required for educators, institutions and systems. Sub-themes include tensions between pedagogical practices and national cultures, and the mushrooming of on-line education communities.
4. *Forms of Identity.* Globalisation opens up a new potential for forms of identity other than national identity. The traditional focus on the nation state downplayed supranational cultural and religious identities, and obscured intra-national regional variety in educational participation, resourcing and outcomes.
5. *The Impact of Globalisation at the National Level.* Modern education systems are still organised locally and nationally, and are still subject to national regulation. The trends of increased mobility and cosmopolitanism, Marginson & Mollis suggest, have major implications for policies on the preparation of citizens in education. Further research is also needed on the extent to which international agencies and others shape national education policies (Marginson & Mollis, 2001, pp. 611-614).

No doubt this list could be extended. It is, however, a useful starting point to show that comparative education can and should play a very different role in the era of globalisation. It should address new questions, and it should be reinvigorated as a vehicle to assist academics and practitioners to understand the changes around them. This is not to say that the nation-state should be discarded as a unit of analysis, but

that an expanding agenda could focus on wider issues which impact on education within individual countries.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter commenced by noting that the field of comparative education is arguably more closely related to globalisation than most other fields of academic enquiry. One major factor is that comparative education is naturally concerned with cross-national analyses, and by its very nature encourages its participants to be outward-looking. At the same time, it has been pointed out that the field of comparative education is shaped by globalisation. Cross-national forces of change are reflected in dominant paradigms, methodological approaches, and foci of study. Reviewing the history of the field, the chapter has noted that comparative scholars have become much more global in their approaches than used to be the case.

The first part of this chapter quoted the observation by Held et al., (1999, p. 2) that globalisation may be thought of as “the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life”. Along similar lines, Delanty (2000, p. 81) refers to “the diminishing importance of geographical constraints”, and has described globalisation as “the deterritorialization of space”. These phenomena have certainly been seen in the field of comparative education. As noted by Wilson (2003), whereas early scholars had to rely on the printed word and on slow communications through the postal system and other mechanisms, their contemporary counterparts can access the Internet and liaise inexpensively by e-mail. Further, reductions in the cost of air travel have facilitated face-to-face contact with colleagues and cultures in a way that was unimaginable in former decades. Time-space compression and improved access to people, places and societies have assisted the field to develop in important ways.

Among the institutions which promote globalisation are the various national, regional and language-based comparative education societies and the global body which brings them together, the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). Most of the national, regional and language-based societies hold annual and biennial conferences which attract participants from outside the countries, regions and language groups which the societies mainly serve; and every few years the WCCES organises a World Congress of Comparative Education. These events increase the interflow and promote internationalisation. However, imbalances in access remain, and comparative education is certainly not yet (and may never become) a homogeneous field to which scholars from all countries and language groups have equal access.

Within the field, globalisation has itself become an important topic for study and has affected the nature of discourse. For many scholars the nation-state remains a favoured unit for analysis, but an increasing number of studies draw instructively on multi-level analysis (Bray & Thomas, 1995; Alexander, 2000; Crossley, 2000). Multi-level studies can show how global forces do or do not shape patterns within particular countries, provinces, districts, institutions and even classrooms. The field

of comparative education contains some hyperglobalists who, like their counterparts in other fields, argue that the world is becoming borderless and that national governments, using the words quoted above from Held et al., (1999, p. 3) are “relegated to little more than transmission belts for global capital”. However, scholars with this perception are a minority in the field. The majority recognise that cross-national forces exist and that in some ways they have become stronger than in the past, but who point out that cross-national forces have long been an important influence on education systems and that national governments still retain major roles in the education sector.

It would be unrealistic to assert that the field of comparative education will ever reach unanimity in perspectives on globalisation. One obstacle is that, as noted above, the term itself is viewed differently even within particular disciplines; and across disciplines the variation increases further. Since by nature comparative education is an interdisciplinary field, the potential for common conceptions seems very limited.

Nevertheless, the field of comparative education can contribute to one important agenda identified by Held et al., (1999, p. 7-8), namely analysis of the extent to which globalisation is associated with new patterns of social stratification in which some states, societies and communities are increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are increasingly marginalised. This theme again underlines the value of multilevel analysis which identifies the impact of supra-national, national and sub-national forces on education systems. Such frameworks address what Arnone & Torres (1999) call the dialectic of the global and the local. Issues of marginalisation have been specifically highlighted by specialists in comparative education within the context of globalisation (see e.g., Stromquist, 2002). Such work can contribute to broader, multidisciplinary analysis beyond that specifically concerned with education.

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DAVID WILSON

## THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF KNOWLEDGE WORKERS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The impact of globalisation and technological modernisation has changed the world of work during the transition from the Industrial Age to the Information Age. Globalisation has had both beneficial and detrimental effects upon finance, production, trade, employment and education. The export of both “blue” and “white collar” jobs from developed to newly-industrialised and developing nations has obliged developed nations to improve the quality of their workforce to enhance their “comparative advantage” by producing high-technology and high-value goods and services. Education and training/re-training contribute to the desired improvements in workforce quality.

In order to become – and remain – globally competitive, industries, enterprises, workers, and workplaces must change. The changing workplace necessitates the education and training of *knowledge workers* capable of operating in the knowledge-rich environment of a *learning enterprise*. In turn, these demands are driving the reform of secondary and post-secondary education, in particular Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET). The effects of globalisation also include the increasing convergence between *academic* education and TVET Policy, practice and curriculum development in both areas of education require improvement and integration.

The workplace is being transformed from the productive and/or service orientation, common during the Industrial Age, into a knowledge-based, *learning enterprise*. The nature of work is undergoing a profound transition and education and training must keep pace with such changes. The nature of workers is also changing, being transformed from *operatives* performing repetitive, assembly-line, tasks to *knowledge workers* in learning organisations. Management is also undergoing transformation as part of a global restructuring; in particular, hierarchical levels of management have been reduced from as many as eight to as few as three. In turn, this trend has improved dialogue between workers and management and, in doing so, *empowered* workers. The empowerment of workers has, in turn, bid up their *knowledge capital*. Knowledge is becoming the most

important capital requirement of the Information Age, augmenting the traditional land, labour and fiscal capital requirements (Tjaden, 1995). This chapter examines the impact of these trends upon secondary and post-secondary education policy and policy research.

## 2. KNOWLEDGE WORKERS

The chapter also focuses upon the education and training of 'knowledge workers', who are defined as those "who use logical-abstract thinking to diagnose problems, research and apply knowledge, propose solutions, and design and implement those solutions, often as a team member." (Wilson, 2001a, p. 21). In-depth research on many aspects of this transformation is rather scarce. Lee (2003) reported that a 1993 study by the U.S. National Research Council "concluded that the time it takes to lose half a worker's skills due to changes in technology and knowledge had declined from between seven and fourteen years to between three and five years." (Lee, *Straits Times*, July 29, 2003).

*Knowledge workers* are increasingly found in the productive, service and information technology sectors of economies in developed nations. In 1971, only one in 16 jobs in Canada was 'knowledge-intensive'. However, by 1996, the ratio was one job in eight (Wilson, 1998, p. 2). Moreover, the 'explosion' in labour mobility which accompanied globalisation means that such workers are also no longer confined to *one* economy in *one* country, but rather operate *globally* in many economies and countries

The education and training of *knowledge workers* requires different educational policies, facilities, curricula, and above all, teachers. Teachers must be transformed from "those who *impart knowledge* to those who *facilitate learning*." (Wilson, 2001a, p. 33) Curricula must be transformed from mechanisms to deliver facts into mechanisms to promote and facilitate learning and thinking (Wilson, 1997, p. 2).

Some writers assert that a competency-based approach to curriculum development can facilitate this transformation. Research on competencies is often limited to specific industries, professions and fields and, therefore, is not very useful in sectoral policy-making. TVET curricula has been in transition from its Industrial Age 'mix' of 50 percent theory and 50 percent practical to one that is 80 percent theory and 20 percent practical, paralleling the transition from the Industrial to the Information Age. This shift from a *manipulative* to a *cognitive* focus accompanies the convergence, noted earlier, of 'academic' and TVET curricula.

Educational facilities, in turn, must be reoriented to better facilitate learning. Many 'traditional' classrooms and lecture halls have been replaced with 'user-friendly' seminar rooms. These seminar rooms are often arranged with circular seating, or as meeting rooms with no lecterns and/or podia, and containing multimedia provisions. This reorientation may be the result of widespread adoption of *andragogy*, or adult learning principles.

One novel aspect of this reorientation is the *virtuality* of both educational venues and workplaces that has resulted from the Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) revolution. *Knowledge Management*, which originated in the

business world, is becoming the driver of learning when knowledge is ‘delivered’ to those who require it, when and where they require it (Wilson, 2003a, p. 1). This may either be in ‘traditional’ classrooms, or virtually anywhere one can access knowledge; e.g., workplace training (or training-within-industry [TWI]), the internet, various media, adult and continuing education, and/or self-directed learning.

The impact of technological modernisation upon many aspects of education --- and particularly upon curricula -- necessitates basing the education of future *knowledge workers* upon a firm foundation. This foundation should include provision of a sound understanding of mathematics, science, technology and communication skills. Rather than compartmentalising knowledge, “technology affects all aspects of life and necessitates a broader understanding of what technologies are, how they work, how they have been applied to real-world problems, and how they affect our lives.” (Wilson, 1997, p. 1). This *technological education* foundation at the elementary and secondary school levels should then be augmented with a broad-based curriculum, prior to the commencement of specialisation in post-secondary education. To avoid ‘cluttering’ curricula, many educational systems have adopted a cross-curricular approach to infuse common themes in as many curricular areas as possible. Moreover, specialisation has increasingly differentiated upward from the second to third level of education.

A policy encouraging *continuous*, life-long learning should supplement the ‘basic training’ of *knowledge workers* by the delivery of ‘just-in-time’ education and training when new knowledge is required at the workplace. Individuals are likely to have three or more different occupations and/or careers during their lifetime. This necessitates workers *learning how to learn* in order to recycle themselves, when moving from one position, or workplace, to another.

Modernisation implies that various forces for change are in play. These forces range from the *neo-technic revolution*, introduced by Lewis Mumford (1970), to *robotics*, *mechatronics*, *rapid prototyping* and/or manufacturing, the *biotechnology revolution*, and *nanotechnology*. Each of these forces will be defined and explained below and their implications for educational and training/re-training research, policy and practice will be examined. Among changes in education and training resulting from these forces are *multi-skilling*, *cross-training*, *knowledge management*, defining relevant *competencies*, and the education of *knowledge workers*.

### 3. A HISTORICAL CONTINUUM TO EXPLAIN TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

Alvin Toffler (1981) placed these changes on a historical continuum that is helpful in setting the context for this chapter. His three ages, or ‘waves,’ began with the *agricultural revolution*, from about 8000 B.C. to 1700 A.D. Wilson (2001a, p. 23) suggested that Toffler should have included a *hunting and gathering age* preceding his first wave. It was also suggested that his agricultural revolution might be divided into a *subsistence* phase, in which families, clans and tribes consumed what they produced, then a *family farm* phase, now being displaced by the new

‘industrial’ model of an *agro-business phase*. Wilson also observed that Toffler neglected to consider that his ages/waves overlapped in time and space. (2001a, p. 23).

Toffler’s second age/wave was the *industrial age*, from 1700 to 2000 A.D. Tjaden (1995) claimed an important characteristic of this period was the separation of goods production from consumption. Another important characteristic was the division of production into the fabrication and assembly of components, which led to the development of assembly lines. This ‘industrial model’ also influenced the structure and organisation of the educational system.

It should be realised that while Rifkin’s (1995) *End of Work* may *reduce* demand for many occupations, persons will continue to be needed to fabricate, maintain, and repair most of the attributes of our civilisation, at least for the foreseeable future. This salient fact suggests that the transition from Industrial Age to Information Age educational systems must make provision for the education and training of both ‘traditional’ *and* ‘knowledge’ workers, rather than an either-or proposition. The abrupt termination of one type of education and its replacement is not an option; rather, a lengthy transitional phase is anticipated.

Toffler’s third wave, the *information age*, was said to have begun in the U.S. in the mid-1950s, when “white collar and service workers outnumbered blue collar workers.” (Tjaden, 1995). Wilson (2001a, p. 23) also observed that Toffler’s paradigm appeared somewhat simplistic because “what actually seems to be happening is the merger of attributes of” previous ages/waves. The educational implications of the new Information Age will be elaborated below.

Education and training began in pre-history with the transmission of knowledge and culture from one generation to the next. Culture is normally defined as the beliefs, values and technologies shared by a discrete group of people. Specialisation in societies and cultures most likely began during the *agricultural revolution* when sufficient surplus food was amassed to enable some persons to ‘work’ in areas other than cultivation, hunting or gathering. The first two socio-cultural specialisations were clergy and teachers.

Differentiation between so-called ‘academic’ and ‘training’ teachers very likely commenced with further specialisation into builders, potters, armourers, tailors, etc. While in some cultures separate *castes* developed for specific trades – e.g., in India the *patel* caste of leather-workers – in what became ‘Western’ cultures separate *guilds* developed in the fabrication and commercial fields. Each specific group, caste, guild, etc., designated certain persons as educators/trainers, often called *meister* (or master) to supervise the learning of new entrants to their field, known as *apprentices*. (Wilson, 1992, p. 34) In contrast, training for the clergy mainly comprised a shaman, priest, rabbi, or *guru*, who instructed a group of students. The former group evolved into the skilled trades, while the latter evolved into the ‘formal’ educational systems that we know today. At the end of this chapter we shall examine what the school of tomorrow is likely to resemble.

Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 4) observed that *knowledge*, “both basic and applied, is being generated very quickly and is growing exponentially.” They claimed, “more new information has been produced within the last three decades than in the last five millennia.” Their forecast was that “we should be poised for

dramatic technological advances and breakthroughs in the macro frontiers of the universe on the one hand, and microscopic secrets of the human body on the other hand.”

#### 4. FORCES DRIVING CHANGE

Mumford's (1970) *neo-technic revolution*, introduced above, concerns the creation of new technology by institutional research and development (R&D). Mumford asserted that this 'revolution' began during World War II and continued during the 'space race' to apply scientific research to military, space exploration, and subsequently, to consumer product development. One should differentiate between these organised R&D initiatives and the previous efforts of individual researchers. For example, the archetypical 'lone wolf' inventor, in this author's opinion, was Philo T. Farnsworth, who in 1921 drew circuit diagrams for electronic television on the chalkboard of his high school physics class, and later established the first research institute and factory to manufacture television sets from the 1930s to 1960s. In contrast, organised R&D initiatives include the "Manhattan Project" to develop the atomic bomb and the later development of the "Nautilus" nuclear submarine. These constitute public sector examples of Mumford's *neo-technic* initiatives.

These early R&D initiatives may be prototypes for the knowledge-based 'learning enterprise' that has evolved during the 'twilight' of the Industrial Age and the 'dawn' of the Information Age. Certainly, their implications for the changing nature of work and the changes necessitated in education and training is quite clear. *Knowledge workers*, engaged in R&D teams, or in problem-solving in many types of enterprises require the firm grounding in science, technology, mathematics and communications skills noted above.

Wilson (2001a, p. 24) noted, "a central feature of the neo-technic revolution is that employees work in a *mechatronic environment*." That is, an environment "using highly-precise, electrically-powered mechanical equipment, increasingly commanded by sophisticated computer programmes." This was observed to constitute "the merger of industrial processes and information," which is a central attribute of the Information Age (Wilson, 2001c, p.237). If such mergers are taking place in the world of work, then it logically follows that education and training should prepare future workers for these challenges. It was noted that Japanese educators introduced *mechatronics* courses in high schools during the early 1990s and now has four courses, while many other developed nations had only begun to introduce courses in post-secondary TVET by the late 1990s (Wilson, 1997, p. 20).

This *mechatronic environment* is one manifestation of the field of *robotics*, which concerns the electronic control of production. At the outset of the Industrial Age, control over production was rudimentary. This progressed to Automated Process Control (APC) during and after World War II and developed into Computer Numerical Control (CNC) by the 1970s. Each iteration of process control required relevant education and training for those operating productive machinery and equipment. Nicola Tesla, the inventor of the induction electric motor and alternating

current (AC), built the first radio-controlled vehicle in the 1890s. The term “robot” was coined by Czech playwright Karel Capek, adapting the Czech word for serf or forced labourer, in his 1921 play, *R.U.R.* [Rossum’s Universal Robots). Isaac Asimov coined the term “robotics” in 1942, but the first industrial robots were the Unimates, developed by George Devol and Joe Engelberger in the late 1950s.

A robot was defined by the *Robot Institute of America* (1979) as:

A reprogrammable, multifunctional manipulator designed to move material, parts, tools, or specialized devices through various programmed motions for the performance of a variety of tasks" (Dowling, 1996)

If there is one device that characterises the transition from the Industrial to the Information Ages it is the industrial robot. The “factory of the future” took shape in the 1980s when the automotive industry installed large numbers to increase productivity and compete globally with Japanese automotive firms that were the first to adopt them.

*Rapid prototyping*, or *rapid manufacturing*, constitutes one of the foremost changes in technology currently taking place in fabrication industries. Industrial age firms traditionally used carved dies for casting metal parts and/or injection mold models to extrude plastic components. These highly-precise molds and models were produced by *tool and die makers*, and mold makers, who were among the highest trained and remunerated of the skilled tradespersons.

This technology is being displaced by the capability to produce molds, models, and parts directly from three-dimensional CAD computer-generated designs, bypassing their fabrication by mold and model-makers. These new technologies build parts by adding material instead of removing it, building prototypes and parts on a layer-by-layer basis. Using these technologies, manufacturing time for parts of virtually any complexity is measured in hours instead of days, weeks, or months; in other words, it is rapid.

The designs are immediately digitised by computer-assisted manufacturing (CAM) systems. Dies or prototype models can now be fabricated directly from CAD software by means of new processes that fabricate items from paper, acrylic, or powdered metal, raw materials (Wilson, 2001a, p. 31). The process was first introduced in Detroit in 1987 and there are now 30 processes, some of which are commercial, while others are under development in research laboratories. These new skills are being introduced into community and technical colleges in most developed nations. If an example of a *knowledge worker* is desired, these technologists certainly seem to possess the necessary attributes.

*Biotechnology* concerns the manipulation of life forms (organisms) to provide desirable products for human use. This technology is traceable to the very beginnings of genetics and heredity, when the Austrian Augustinian monk, Gregor Mendel, cross-bred peas to improve varieties from 1857 to 1865. In addition, beekeeping and cattle breeding, which have been undertaken since pre-history, can also be considered to be biotechnology-related endeavours. The term *biotechnology* was coined in 1919 by Karl Ereky to describe the interaction of biology with human technology. However, usage of the word *biotechnology* has come to mean all aspects of an industry to create, develop, and market a variety of products through the



manipulation, on a molecular level, of life forms or utilisation of knowledge pertaining to living systems. In spite of considerable pejorative opinions on biotechnology, this technology promises to be quite prominent in the future.

While studying technological education in Israel, Wilson (1990, p. 37) observed The Northern Star Project, which gave 'gifted' high school students 'real-time' computer access to biotechnological research. This development appeared to be 'light years' ahead of any known educational programmes at that time and validated the powerful statement of the Director-General of the Israel Ministry of Education that they were designing an educational system to "fight the economic wars of the next century" (Wilson, 1990, p.25). The potential for student involvement in programmes of this type is essential in the preparation of *knowledge workers* needed in most nations.

*Nanotechnology* holds great promise to revolutionise fabrication industries in the longer-term future. *Nano* means one-billionth, so *nanotechnology* concerns devices that are a few billionths of a metre in size. This technology is currently at the research and prototype stage and is defined as the "manipulation of individual atoms and molecules to build structures to complex, atomic specifications." (Miller, 1999) Drexler (1992) suggested that this technology might "invent devices that manufacture at almost no cost ... [and] allow automatic construction of consumer goods without traditional labor."

A physicist, Richard Feynman, whose book, *Surely you're Joking Mr. Feynman* (1985), has inspired several generations of science and technology students and teachers, suggested the field of Nanotechnology. At the present time, *nanotechnology* research programmes have been established at major research universities in most developed nations. The impact of this revolutionary technology upon the workplace, as well as upon education and training, is not likely to be felt for a decade or more. However, prudent educators should begin adding this emergent field to curricula.

A mechatronic environment requires the *multi-skilling* of workers, learned by means of *cross-training*, or training in more than one area of specialisation. For example, a robotics repair-person needs to be trained in both the mechanical and electrical/electronic aspects of industrial robots (Koike & Inoki, 1990). These multiple skills are knowledge intensive and those workers must be capable of installing, maintaining and repairing industrial robots and, at the same time, training their co-workers. These are also excellent examples of knowledge workers. This emergent field also involves the merger of industrial processes and information and has important implications for education and training (Wilson, 2001a, p. 24).

Both *cross-training* and *mechatronics* were developed in Japan; however, their development arose from concepts originated by W. Edwards Demming (and largely ignored!) in the U.S.A. (Demming, 1986). This scenario illustrates that nations that ignore the pace and pervasiveness of globalisation do so at the risk of losing their comparative advantage. An earlier example was the invention of a three-electron-gun television tube technology by a U.S. engineer at the California Institute of Technology. Because RCA and General Electric had invested in factories to produce television tubes with three separate electron guns, they were not interested. An

obscure Japanese firm bought the technology, re-named it *Trinitron*, and the Sony Corporation was born.

*Knowledge management*, originated in the business sector but appears to be another application of adult and continuing education. Krönner (2001, p. 2) defined *Knowledge Management* as a “tool to efficiently connect those who know with those who need to know.” His requirements for an institution are “to convert personal knowledge to institutional knowledge” and “for the global community knowledge management means that knowledge available in countries and international organisations is being converted into *globally available knowledge*.”

Sveiby (2001) writes that “knowledge has been ‘managed’ at least since the first human learned to transfer the skill to make a fire. Many early initiatives to transfer skills and information can be labelled ‘Knowledge Management,’ libraries being one, schools and apprenticeships others.” New professions include: “Chief Knowledge Officers, Knowledge Engineers, Intellectual Capital Directors and Intellectual Capital Controllers.” The Business Processes Resource Centre (BPRC) at Warwick University (2002) identified a “constellation of changes” in the business world reflected by “the emerging Fields of “Knowledge Management,” which include:

- Long-run shifts in advanced industrial economies which have led to the increasingly widespread perception of knowledge as an important organisational asset
- The rise of occupations based on the creation and use of knowledge
- The convergence of information and communication technologies, and the advent of new tools such as Intranets and groupware systems
- Theoretical developments – for example, the resource-based view of the firm – which emphasise the importance of unique and inimitable assets such as tacit knowledge
- A new wave approach to packaging and promoting consultancy services in the wake of Business Processing Reengineering (BPRC, 2002).

Research on defining relevant competencies was noted above to be mainly sectoral. However, Wilson (1998) identified *international competencies* for the new millennium in a study undertaken across the spectrum of employers in Canada. The research identified the following desired international competencies:

**Personal Competencies:**

Ability to communicate effectively  
Tolerance for ambiguity  
Demonstrated leadership

**Technical/Professional Competencies:**

Problem-solving  
Up-to-date technical knowledge  
Negotiation skills  
Strategic thinking/planning ability

**Inter-Cultural Competencies:**

Ability to operate in other cultures

International job experience  
Language capabilities (Wilson, 1998, p. 13).

## 5. THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION

Various definitions of globalisation emphasise its impact upon commerce and the world of work. Lubbers (1998, p. 1) described it as a “process that widens the extent and form of cross-border transactions among peoples, assets, goods and services, and that deepens the economic interdependence between and among” nations. Marginson (2002) provided a definition that includes the impact of globalisation upon education and training. He looks at what globalisation means in practice and argues that globalisation is driven by the impact of new communications technologies that allow enterprises to compete in higher value-added niche markets. This means that information technology and generic skills are the key skills, or competencies, needed in the workplace. He also contends that globalisation is commodifying education.

Wilson (2003b, p. 16) has observed that globalisation is not a new phenomenon, rather it has existed, at least, from the Roman Empire. What has changed has been the pace and pervasiveness of this process. Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 5) confirm this assertion, noting that “everything is changing faster than the life cycle of an education program: sectoral needs, job definitions, skill requirements, and training standards.” Wilson (1997, p. 5) also noted that “the rapid pace of technological change” has affected the timing of curriculum reform. This pace has motivated Japan to halve the customary ten-year cycle of TVET curriculum reform, “in order to accommodate rapid technological change, foster global competitiveness and support attainment of *Monbusho* [the Ministry of Education] goal of technological literacy.”

Globalisation has had its most pronounced impact thus far on commerce, production and international finance. Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 5) observe that “industrialised countries are moving away from mass production towards high-performance systems, and are compensating for high wages with improved productivity.” However, its impact on production is changing because “manufacturing and high-value services no longer filters down ‘naturally’ from high-income to middle-income and low-income countries based on labour costs alone.” The deciding factors have shifted to the consideration of “the producers’ ability to control *quality* and manage flexible information-based systems.” The impact of globalisation upon education and training is more than likely the result of the previous impact of globalisation on production. Education and training are able to effect the desired improvements in quality and information.

Throughout history, changes have been transmitted from one culture and/or society to another, together with its shared culture, often modifying the culture transmitted to the next generations. Transmission commenced orally in pre-history, evolved into written and then printed communications, added ‘voyages of discovery’ during the agricultural age, and during the industrial age included conferences, consultations, and dissemination by means of international agencies (see Wilson,

2003b, pp. 18-20). The new information and communications technologies have increased dissemination of innovations to the remotest corners of the globe. In short, knowledge has also been globalised.

Hernes (2002, p. 22) writes that ICT hardware has “become one of the foremost expressions of globalisation” with components sourced “from all continents” and with “instant recognition” of brand names worldwide and software production mainly in North America and Europe. Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 4) add that “as rapidly as knowledge is being generated” ICT and other media “disseminate that knowledge” globally. They add that, “unfortunately ... most developing countries are behind on both” knowledge generation and dissemination.”

The disciplines of Geography and Education adopted a global focus from their inception. Innovations from other nations in education and training were observed by the ancient Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, and others while visiting other parts of the known world and likely adopted and/or adapted in their home countries. These were reported in the form that came to be known as “travellers’ tales” by comparative educators. This informal study phase was followed by organised study missions sent by governments to examine education in other countries. The first known official ‘mission’ in education was the delegation sent from Japan to China in A.D. 607 by Prince Shokotu to study educational practices (Kobayashi, 1990, p. 200).

Increasingly deliberate global influences upon education and training characterised the colonial era of the 1700s to mid-1900s. Wilson (1994, p.454) has characterised John Dewey as the first ‘modern’ *academic-practitioner*, influencing the ‘modernisation’ of educational systems in China, Mexico and Turkey during the 1920s. From the mid 1940s, educational, economic and political studies commenced preparation for the political independence that characterised the 1970s to 1990s. Another salient example of a prominent comparative educator engaging in such activities is the little-known *Kandel Report* commissioned by the British for Jamaica in 1943. While not implemented by the colonial authorities, Kandel’s policy and practice reforms formed the basis for Michael Manley’s educational development policies, following the attainment of independence in 1962. These early global mechanisms influenced policy and practice in education and training from the beginning of recorded history (Wilson, 2003b, p. 27).

It is important to document the inconsistencies, mistakes and foibles that accompanied the globalisation of educational policy. One salient example concerned the beginnings of development economics in the mid-1940s. Using terminology subsequently coined by W. W. Rostow, a group of U.S. economists predicted in 1944 that the first ‘developing nation’ to achieve ‘takeoff’ after the end of World War II would be Argentina. The important lesson in this prediction was that it is unwise to focus exclusively upon one approach to policy research, i.e., economics, while ignoring other influences that may alter predictions, e.g., politics -- Juan Domingo Peron in the Argentine case.

## 6. ACADEMIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The medieval divergence between ‘academic’ and ‘technical’ education has been more pronounced at the first and second levels of education than at the third, or post-secondary, level. Third level technical education is traceable to *l’école des ponts et chaussées* founded by Jean-Rodolphe Perronet in 1747. (Wilson, 2004) Prior to this development, ‘academic’ post-secondary education evolved during the Middle Ages from the itinerant professors and their coteries of students in Europe, who later formed faculties and inhabited premises that became known as universities. There also was the concomitant development of Islamic universities in North Africa and the Middle East.

The interplay between these cleaved institutional types continues to influence educational policy. For example, the conversion of 90 U.K. Polytechnics into universities during the Thatcher period has been followed by similar developments in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Research on the driving forces, known as *academic* and *mission drift*, has influenced policy in South Africa, where it was explicitly stated that Technikons should not be converted into universities. (Wilson, 1999, p. 18)

A similar interplay between proponents of *science* and proponents of *technology* has impacted upon research, curriculum development, and teaching. The separation of research and discovery – science – from the *application* of their findings – technology – probably reinforced the cleavage between ‘academic’ and ‘technical’ education. The education and training of *knowledge workers*, essential in the new Information Age, necessitate the re-combination of these cleaved institutional types. *Knowledge workers* must research and apply solutions to problems encountered at the workplace.

Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 3) examined education in the context of the industrial age and its processes. They observed “schools were to a large extent modelled on factories, where cohorts and student flow(s) evoke assembly lines, time-on-task parallels working hours, exams are designed as a form of control of the uniformity of the product, and the production function takes us back to the input/output model of factor production.” Their observations complement those comparing industrial and information age enterprises.

**Table 1.** Source: Tjaden (1995, p. 11)

Industrial Age Organisations	Information Age Organisations
Mass production	Mass customisation
Labour serves machines or tools	Tools and machines serve labour
Labour performs repetitive tasks	Labour applies knowledge
Command and control management structure	Common control management structure
Capital-intensive	Knowledge-intensive
Capitalists own the means of production	Labour owns the means of production
Capital is the primary driver	Knowledge is the primary driver

Peter Drucker (1994) predicted that the “knowledge society” would result in a “paradigmatic shift from an industrial economy to one shaped by knowledge, information and the [new] communications technologies.” A convergence between ‘traditional’ ‘academic’ education and TVET appears to be accompanying the transition from the industrial to the information age. This convergence is most visible in *technological education*.

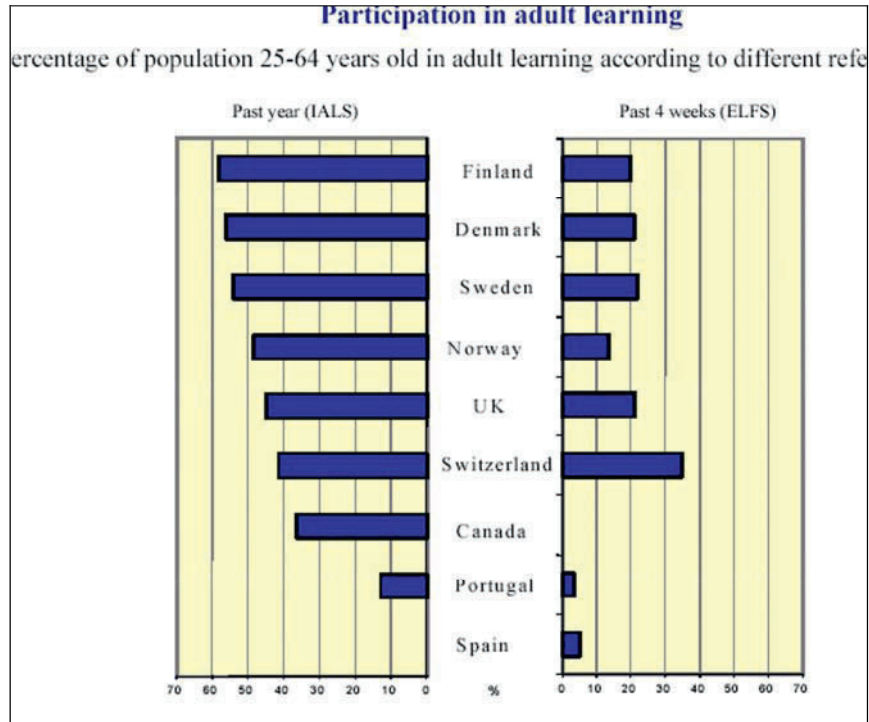
Wilson (1997, p. 15) noted that “technology changes teaching styles from didactic, where the teacher is the ‘sole source of knowledge,’ to become a facilitator of learning. Teaching becomes multi-disciplinary, takes a discrete-skills approach and teachers become a resource and ‘coach’ for student learning. Student learning in such a curriculum climate becomes *collaborative*, through teamwork, *self-directed*, to solve problems, and *self-paced*, towards the completion of meaningful, ‘real-world’ projects, or authentic, challenging tasks. In such a climate curriculum integration can be successfully implemented.”

Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 6) observed that “to ‘tech’ or not to ‘tech’ education is *not* the question. The real question is how to harvest the power of technology to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and make education relevant, responsive, and effective for anyone, anywhere, anytime.”

## 7. THE ROLE OF ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Adult and Continuing Education can play this knowledge management role by educating personnel *how* to seek, find, analyse and use information to create knowledge. The Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation (OECD) defined adult learning as “all education and training activities undertaken by adults for professional or personal reasons.” They, further, noted that adult learning has taken on a much higher profile in the last decade, as OECD economies and ageing societies are increasingly knowledge-based. High unemployment rates among the unskilled, the increased and recognised importance of human capital for economic growth – together with public interest in improving social and personal development – make it necessary to increase learning opportunities for adults within the wider context of lifelong learning. (2003, p. 1)

An OECD study documented participation of adults aged 25-64 in learning, for different reference periods, in the following table. The table graphically indicates that Canada lags behind many of its OECD partner nations, even though “one out of every three adults participates in some training activity throughout the year.” (*Ibid.*, p. 4)



**Figure 1.** Source: OECD (2003) p. 3

## 8. THE SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE

While prediction is among the more inexact sciences, this chapter has provided insights that suggest features likely to characterise the school of the future. Educational Policies will continue to grapple with the challenges posed by globalisation and technological modernisation, taking into account the new technologies highlighted above. As enterprises – and jobs – become more knowledge-intensive, *knowledge workers* will be in demand. The initial education of *knowledge workers* is best ‘grounded’ on a solid foundation in mathematics, science, technology and communications skills. Curricula will be reformed, either as required, or at least every five years. Academic and TVET curricula will continue to converge, as cognitive and psychomotor ‘skills’ displace manipulative skills. Teachers will continue to be transformed from didactic, imparters of knowledge to facilitators of student learning.

It is likely that initial, post-secondary, and continuing education will become *seamless*, building upon the concepts of the U.S. *TechPrep* programme that facilitates technology students to combine the last two years of high school with the first two years of community college. Articulation between academic and TVET programmes, between secondary and post-secondary education, and between initial and continuing, life-long, adult education will probably continue and be strengthened in the ‘school’ of the future. Moreover, for those “hamburger flippers” left behind without completing high school, the growth of ‘second chance,’ adult high schools and special post-secondary programmes that use Prior Learning Assessment to give credit for life skills and workplace learning, must expand in scope.

The ‘foundation’ obtained during initial education will continue to be augmented by *continuous learning*, through on-the-job learning, adult and continuing education, and/or self-directed learning. These learning mechanisms will continue to gain importance because employees and/or entrepreneurs will have three or more positions and/or occupations during their lifetimes. Learning in both initial and continuing education venues will no longer exclusively require ‘formal’ educational institutions, as *virtual learning* becomes increasingly facilitated by ICTs. *Knowledge Management* will assume even greater importance because of the increasing amount of information available and the increasing avenues to access that information and knowledge. Having learned-how-to-learn in their initial education, workers in the future will continue their education as *lifelong learning* when they require new knowledge.

Draxler and Haddad (2002, p. 6) conclude that “the workforce of the future will need a whole spectrum of knowledge and skills to deal with technology and the globalisation of knowledge. It will also need to be agile and flexible to adjust to continuous changes, both economic and social. This means that countries must embrace a holistic approach to education, investing *concurrently* in the whole pyramid of basic education, secondary education, skill training, and tertiary education.” They caution that “technology should not blind us to the fact that there are still millions of adults who can not read or write, and because of that, they cannot use educational programs offered through information technologies, or even through classical correspondence.” (Draxler & Haddad, 2002, p. 11)

ICT, the internet and the World Wide Web have also transformed education policy research. Similarly, innovations in curriculum development, school practice, etc. are available for the taking on the www. Of course, there are also problems of too-much-information (TMI), which Wilson (2001b) identified as one of many ‘digital divides.’ *Knowledge workers* must also learn to discriminate between valid information and ‘web myths.’

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KAREN EVANS

## TACIT SKILLS AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN A GLOBAL CULTURE

The part played by tacit skills and knowledge in work performance is well-recognised but not well understood. These implicit or hidden dimensions of knowledge and skill are key elements of 'mastery', which experienced workers draw upon in everyday activities and continuously expand in tackling new or unexpected situations. There is a bias in the tacit skills literature towards the understanding of expert knowledge as exercised in particular occupational or professional domains. In so far as worker biography is considered at all in this context, the literature tends to assume a more or less continuous accumulation of 'know how' and expert knowledge acquired in more or less continuous occupational biographies. This chapter based on the ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Network on Workplace Learning<sup>1</sup> argues that it is important to have a better understanding of the part played by tacit forms of personal competences in the education, training and work re-entry of adults with interrupted occupational or learning biographies. It aims to identify ways in which the recognition and deployment of tacit skills can be harnessed to strengthen their learning success and learning outcomes in new learning and working environments. The framework of concepts and issues has been published in Evans (2002), showing how approaches to 'tacit skills' have multiple roots in the literatures of epistemology (e.g., Polanyi, 1967; Molander, 1992), knowledge management (e.g., Johnson & Lundvall, 2001) work process knowledge (e.g., Kusterer, 1978; Leplat, 1990) and situated modes of cognition (e.g., Lave & Wenger, 1991; Eraut, 2000). In this chapter we concentrate on evidence from our latest empirical work, which has tracked adult learners in new work and learning environments. The importance of the workplace as a type of learning environment has been emphasised in a number of recent research publications (e.g., Harris et al., 2001; Billett, 2000, 2002; Rainbird, 2000). A shift in emphasis away from institutionalised learning to workplace learning has been the key reform initiative in the last decade (Harris et al., 2001, p. 263). A qualitative analysis by Harris et al., (2001) found that employers offered learning opportunities through a variety of strategies within non-formal learning settings such as staying with the employees on site, building on the closeness with them, encouraging them to think for themselves and try their own approaches before asking for help, adding explanation where appropriate or giving direct instructions. In respect of workplace learning in modern

apprenticeships (Fuller & Unwin, 2003) have shown that workplaces may be placed along a continuum which extends from *restrictive* to *expansive*, according to the ways in which their features (including culture, business goals and external pressures) combine to create environments which develop and expand (or restrict) the growth of expertise. In assessing the applicability of this concept to the experiences of adults re-entering the workplace, we interpret the expansive workplace environment as one which is stimulating for adult workers as well as young people, and ask how far this expansiveness is related to recognition and development of *tacit skills* and opportunities to engage in non-formal learning.

The idea of individuals being able to transfer skills and competences between jobs in the interests of 'flexibility' has come to the fore as an instrument of the 'lifelong learning' policy. Various forms of personal competences such as communication, interpersonal and problem solving competences have been portrayed as generic or transferable skills which are highly significant for individual effectiveness, flexibility and adaptability within the labour market (Kelly, 2001). At a European level, a major 'surveys and analysis' study supported by EU showed how the recognition of tacit forms of personal competences has been accommodated in different education and training models and national systems. (Hendrich et al., 2001). The international partnership<sup>ii</sup> identified five analytically defined model structures are shown in Table 1. All countries represent mixed systems although some features are more prevalent in some countries than others. Thus, the UK tends to be associated with the dominance of market driven approaches, Germany with occupational labour markets and Portugal with strong non-formal sectors, for example.

## 1. THE MODELS CAN BE FURTHER ELABORATED AS FOLLOWS:

### 1.1 *A strong non-formal sector*

A strong non-formal sector tends to determine, to a high degree, the modes of recruitment in the labour market, whereas VET and CVT play only a minor role. This model is a dominant one in the Mediterranean countries, including Southern Italy. Tacit skills are of little importance in the relatively small VET system, given the dominance of traditional schooling. They are of considerable importance in recruitment and advancement in jobs where informal assessment of non-formal prior learning tends to play an important part. In Greece, the significance of non-formal learning has been overshadowed by issues of graduate employment, but in Portugal assessment and self-evaluation of personal competences has gained in importance as policy has been influenced by French and Canadian practices.

### 1.2 *Market driven case, recruitment*

In the market driven case, recruitment and VET are strongly geared to demands in the labour market. Flexibility is the main aim, and the features of this model are most prevalent in England, Wales and Ireland. The English NVQ system represents an internationally significant attempt to recognize tacit skills and competences informally acquired within the VET system. The general esteem of tacit skills is high according to standards published for job performance. Variants of this approach have now been introduced in many different countries, ranging from Mexico to Australia. The English government (DfEE) attempted to promote the valuing of experience from unpaid work through the NVQ system, but the complicated performance-based testing procedures required for the NVQ have hampered these and other applications of the methodology.

### 1.3 *Occupational identity – the Beruf*

The system based on *occupational identity – the Beruf*, places a strong emphasis on occupation-specific capabilities, to be acquired through formal learning. It characterises features in Austria and Germany and has been widely admired but little exported beyond the Germanic countries. Tacit skills are held to be products of the socialisation processes of apprenticeship. The development of generalised ‘employability’ skills is not valued since the concept of preparing for future occupational mobility into unknown fields does not fit with the precepts of the *Beruf*. Preparing adults who have been unsuccessful in the labour market for a wider range of future options can involve greater recognition of tacit skills and competences without interfering with the regulations of the VET system, and the CVT system can potentially add this flexibility.

### 1.4 *Certification-based system*

A certification-based system values certificates gained in a complex schooling system with general and vocational routes. Flexibility is provided through non-formal recruitment procedures. This represents important features of the French system, where inflexibility of the labour market has led policy-makers towards the strongest move across Europe, towards the identification, assessment and recognition of non-formal learning in the form of the ‘*bilan de competences*’.

### 1.5 *Broad-based vocational education allied with personal development*

A broad, education – led VET system aimed at personal development as well as occupational preparation, and it emphasises elements such as problem solving and critical thinking in the curriculum, but tacit skills are seen as mainly developed through experiences in enterprises. These tend not to be well linked to the VET system, and are not highly recognised or explicitly valued. However, since personal development is an important element of all VET, it also influences continuing

vocational training measures, which in turn draw on adults' experiences in various life and work settings. Tacit skills thus become implicitly rather important in adult learning for occupational mobility. This model structure has features that are prevalent in the Nordic countries.

When these model structures are further considered in relation to the prevalent features of particular countries, UK market-led conditions were judged to be favourable for the appreciation of tacit forms of personal competences, given the lack of clearly structured systems of occupations at the lower and middle levels. Recognition of tacit forms of personal competences was also shown to be strongly gaining in importance in strong non-formal sector settings (e.g., Portugal) and in certificate-dominated settings like France, where the *bilan de competences* is becoming an internationally significant development. For the UK, our study concluded that although the conditions for recognition of tacit forms of personal competences were favourable, developments were "severely restricted by the prevalent behaviouristic approach towards the identification and assessment of competences" (Hendrich et al., p. 188). Despite this, there were important examples of good practice, particularly in college programmes originally designed for 'women returners'. While these broad characterisations do capture some important features of national contexts, a better understanding of the processes by which these skills are deployed and recognised in navigating changes in employment can only be understood by investigating individuals in context.

Considerable problems of definition surround the investigation of tacit dimensions of competence (see Eraut, 2000). While explicit knowledge and skills are easily codified and conveyed to others, tacit forms of personal competence are experiential, subjective and personal, and substantially more difficult to convey. The growing interest in their codification stems at least in part from a growing recognition that the tacit dimensions are very important in the performance of individuals, organisations, networks and possibly whole communities. *Know-how* is of particular significance for this discussion, referring to the ability *to do* things and involves complex linkages between skill formation and personal knowledge developed through experience. Much of the *know-how* people possess is acquired through practice or even painful experience. In this respect, this "know how is taken so much for granted and the extent to which it pervades our activities is unappreciated" (Bjornavald, 2001, p. 24). Recognition of tacit forms of personal competences is also highly gendered. The extent to which this reflects differences between the sexes in the actual ownership of skills or differences in the ways in which they are ascribed to people in social settings is also the subject of much research and debate (see Heikkinen, 1996, Billett, 2002, and Kampmeier et al., 2003).

The nature of 'transfer' of competences between jobs and environments is also highly contested. For the purposes of this research, we hold that all skills and competences have both tacit and explicit dimensions. We regard tacit competences as partly structural and partly 'referential' (ie referenced to context), recognising that people do take things with them into new jobs and occupations, but not in simple ways. Naïve mappings of key skills from one environment into another are not a basis for occupational mobility. Even 'near' transfer into related activities is far

**Table 1** International Significance of Tacit Forms of Personal Competences (TCP): five analytical models (Source: Hendrich, Heidegger, Evans, Figueri, Patiniotis, 2001)

Extent to which TPC recognised as relevant for:	Strong non-formal Sector	Market-driven Case	'Beruf' based	Certificate based	Broad VET Based
*VET	Little (in voc schools)	important attempts: NVQ/key skills	'key qualifications' implicitly built in	little (in schools)	some key competences
*Labour market	Very important	highly valued for 'flexibility'	not highly valued – resistance	less important	Little acknowledgement still low
*Esteem	Very variable	high when related to standards	low, reluctance to recognise	rather low	
*CVT	some significant innovation	important attempts	mostly aimed at certificates	important: 'bilan des competences'	'officially' little relevance Little
*Employability	Very important	important	little, except for long-term unemployed	not much	
*Personal development	important	implicit importance	little official emphasis	important in 'bilan'	Implicit importance
*Assessments	growing	imbedded in performance assessments	very little	important for 'bilan'	NVQ method increasingly important
*Self evaluation	growing	approaches for valuing unpaid work	some innovation	an importance feature of 'bilan'	Little

from simple, leading to the recognition by activity theorists such as Engestrom (1994, 2000) that it is whole activity systems which count. For people with interrupted occupational biographies, this presents particular problems, particularly when they have spent extended periods away from the workplace and have no belief or confidence in their previous skills.

The call for wider recognition of skills gained through non-formal learning is only one facet of a debate centred on the nature of the so-called knowledge-based economy and the ways in which the 'knowledge' concerned is codified and used.

Workers soon to demand pay for what they have learned, no matter where they have learned it...learning that takes place away from the classroom, during leisure time, in the family or at work, is increasingly seen as a resource that needs to be more systematically used. (CEDEFOP RELEASE, 2001)

The new debate has been fuelled by economists and labour market specialists, creating new possibilities for interdisciplinary endeavour with learning professionals and educational and social researchers in trying to understand better what it is that

actually constitutes the 'knowledge base' of the economy and the place of non-formal learning in this scenario.

Cowan, David and Foray (2000) in an issue of *Industrial and Corporate Change* have identified the distinction between codified and tacit knowledge as being in need of redefinition in the 'knowledge-based economy'. They argue that it is a mistake to view any knowledge or skill as inherently tacit—nearly all knowledge, they say, is codifiable. From their economists' point of view the only real issue is whether the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs. Furthermore, they have pointed out that any acceptance of the view that knowledge can both be inherently tacit and important undermines the basis for standard micro-economic theory, and any attempts to model human behaviour. Johnson and Lundvall (2001) take issue with them as fellow economists, showing how the concept of the 'knowledge-based economy' is poorly understood and raising fundamental issues which lie behind the drive to codify previously uncoded knowledge and skill for 'systematic use': how does 'codification' actually take place in relation to different types of knowledge? What are the driving forces which lie behind efforts to codify? What are the consequences of codification of different kinds of knowledge for economic development and for the distribution of wealth?

These questions are centrally important in considering questions of inequalities in skill recognition and access to learning at, for, and through the workplace. This is not an 'academic' discussion. The extract from the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training given above is close to the heart of the political and economic agenda in the expanding European Community, and the proposals merit critical examination by us all.

For the purposes of the discussion which follows, non-formal learning embraces unplanned learning in work situations and in domains of activity outside the formal economy, but may also include planned and explicit approaches to learning carried out in any of these environments which are not recognised within the formal education and training system. It is taken that such non-formal learning has strong tacit dimensions. While explicit knowledge is easily codified and conveyed to others, tacit knowledge is experiential, subjective and personal, and substantially more difficult to convey.

The interest in its codification stems at least in part from a growing recognition that the tacit dimensions of knowledge are very important in performance of individuals, organisations, networks and possibly whole communities. Knowledge is taken in its widest definition as incorporating, at an individual level, knowing why, knowing that, knowing how and knowing who. At the organisational level, these four types of knowledge are found in shared information, shared views of the world, shared practices and shared networks. At the societal level we may talk about knowledge which is stored as personal knowledge, knowledge embedded in culture, knowledge stored in institutions and in networks. *Know-how* is of particular significance for this discussion, referring to the abilities *to do* things and involves complex linkages between skill formation and personal knowledge developed through experience.

It is more helpful to regard all knowledge as having both tacit and explicit dimensions. When we can facilitate the communication of some of the tacit



dimensions, these become explicit and therefore codifiable. Why should we want to do this?

This may be for the purpose of teaching someone else to do it (if we are a teacher or trainer), or communicating to others that we have skills and competences appropriate to a task, role or occupation (if we are job applicants), or identifying that a person or group has the capabilities we need for a job to be done (if we are employers or project leaders). In other words, the reasons for codification largely revolve around 'transfer'. It can be argued that, for those competences and forms of knowledge which have a high tacit dimension, transfer has to involve high levels of social interaction, demonstration and 'showing how' –manuals and written accounts are of little help. In the case of the job applicant, jobs which require a high level of skills, which is not easily codified, will often require a demonstration of skills and competence. In the case of a new entrant to a job and workplace, know how will involve both skills acquired previously and the underpinning knowledge which allows this skill to be operationalised in a new environment. Beyond this a period of interaction within the social and occupational practices of the workplace will be needed for the tacit dimensions of know how to be adjusted to culture and environment of the new setting.

The ideas of individuals being able to transfer skills and competences between jobs in the interests of 'flexibility' fitted the 'modernisation' and deregulation agendas of the 1980s and 1990s in Britain, and key competences came to the fore as an instrument of 'lifelong learning' policy.

Treating these as completely codifiable leads to the claims at the beginning of this chapter. If we can codify and compare key competences against 'objective' criteria, some of the assumptions commonly held about skill levels of different occupations might be challenged. (See Table 1). But research on 'work process knowledge' such as Boreham's (2000) finds that these skills derive much of their meaning from the context in which they are used. Treating these skills as partly structural and partly 'referential' (ie referenced to context) recognises that people do take things with them into new jobs and occupations, but not in simple ways. This is one of the gaps in our knowledge. Much of the work on key competences has focused on extracting these from tasks and not in looking at the dynamics of the ways in which people carry knowledge and learning into new environments. The importance of this is now being recognised in the economic domain as well as in VET research and practice, with Johnson' and Lundvall's latest paper calling for "a major interdisciplinary effort" (2001). We know that the idea of simple skill transfer from one setting to another is very problematic - the fact that we can use common language to describe a skill group does not mean it is transferable intact. What we need to understand is the *processes* by which skills are 'transformed' from one setting into another. Naïve mappings of key skills from one environment into another are not a basis for occupational mobility. Even 'near' transfer into related activities is far from simple, leading to the recognition by activity theorists such as Engestrom (2000) that it is whole activity systems which count. For people with interrupted occupational biographies, this presents particular problems, particularly when they have spent extended periods away from the workplace. This fits with clear evidence that people with extended breaks from the workplace have no belief

or confidence in their previous skills. Their feeling of being completely deskilled can be seen as a lived reality, not as lack of the personal attribute called 'confidence'.

The discussion which follows considers the origins of 'key competences' and formulations which have developed heuristically through micro-level research on the realities of how women and men recognise, use and develop their skills and the possibilities and contradictions they encounter in their occupational and learning biographies. These analyses have been developed through work carried out in the UK component of the European funded research discussed earlier (Evans, Hoffmann & Saxby-Smith, UK; Hendrich & Heidegger, Germany) and research carried out within the UK in the ESRC Teaching and Learning Programme Research Network project (Evans, 2001; Kersh, 2001)

The final sections consider whether the European proposals for codification and communication of 'know how' via 'personal skills cards' (or other means) would decrease inequalities or increase them, and asks what the place of non-formal learning might be in the alternative scenarios for lifelong learning articulated by Coffield (2000) as the technocratic or democratic visions of a 'Learning Society'.

The table 2 below shows competences performed by work category, according to research by Billett (2000), reported in Gerber and Lankshear (2000). The research highlighted the skill content of jobs cast as unskilled, a finding which is consistent with Rainbird's *Future of Work* research which led the team to replace the term 'low-skilled' with 'low-graded' work.

The table concentrates on identifying forms of key competences, or key skills found in jobs. Key competences have gained in importance in all EU member states over the past decade. Formulations of key competences have come from different origins and are controversial in different ways. While the ideas behind key competences in the wider European understandings contain rather broad conceptions of skills and competences, competences in UK have to be understood comparatively in a rather narrow sense. In the European research a more holistic approach to competence was needed which would refer not only to occupational needs but to needs of the individuals with respect to enabling them to manage their personal biography as a whole. A new learning culture also had to be envisaged which would refer to competences which are generative of future individual and group performance rather than based on reductions of present individual work activities.

While there are official formulations of 'key' competences in most countries, these are in very different stages of development. Where they are controversial within their respective national contexts, this is because of the ways in which they sit in relation to the dominant models already discussed. For example, the focus in Germany on key competences came initially from labour market perspectives on the changing nature of work, and subsequently started to permeate discourses about the development of VET systems and practices in the search for ways to meet the requirements of enterprises for new qualifications in the workforce. Key competences are controversial in Germany because of fears that they undermine the 'Beruf' principle and occupational structures which underpin the German systems. In comparing competences and qualifications within Europe, different meanings of the term 'qualification' have to be understood. This is associated with certification

in the UK but is more widely understood in continental Europe as the whole set of attributes required for performance of an occupation.

**Table 2.** Mayer competencies: activities performed ‘most of the time’ by work category

Source: Gerber R & Lankshear C (2000)

Competencies	‘Unskilled’ (%)	Non-trade skilled (%)	Trade (%)	Professional (%)
Collecting, analysing and organising information	51	64	55	75
Expressing ideas and information	32	57	48	58
Planning and organising activities	34	55	52	83
Working with others and in teams	81	78	73	50
Using mathematical ideas and techniques	20	29	23	33
Solving problems	39	53	52	75
Using technology	49	42	44	58
Routine tasks	81	69	57	42
Novel situations	22	20.6	20.5	23

The key competences debate in the UK can be contrasted with that in continental Europe in general and the specific features of the German debate. The origins in England dated from 1980s, where ‘core skills’ were explored as a means of developing wider options for young people in the labour market, in response to high youth unemployment : how to prepare school leavers for jobs when the youth labour market had dried up. *A Basis for Choice* was an important report in the early 1980s. It advocated key skills developed into models of the kind illustrated in Figure 1. This was then overtaken by an attempt to redefine the entire occupational field in terms of occupational competences, with the development of new formulations of core skills based on the analysis of tasks common to jobs. In the Southern countries, key competences have entered the policy development arena more recently. In Portugal, the approach to key competences has been based on critical evaluation of European and Canadian approaches, leading to a drive for a lifelong system based

on the validation of formal and non-formal learning. In Greece, the traditionally weak links between education and the labour market have meant that ideas about key competences and transfer of skills have gained attention only very recently. It may be that the importance of the informal and collective networks in facilitating work entry and occupational mobility in the Southern countries mean that the instrumental individual formulations of key competences of the Northern European countries will never be as important for changing employment opportunities in the Southern countries, but the ideas of key competences are nevertheless developing more strongly now in these societies.

5 clusters of key competences according to...	
1.	Advancement oriented, work centred attitude <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• predominantly males, 'labour force entrepreneur' frequent job moves geared to advancement; high awareness of key competencies &amp; know-how.</li> </ul>
2.	Precarious occupational biography in low graded jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• predominantly males; awareness of social competencies for adapting to new work situations; little confidence in ability to draw on other experiences or skills in new work situations, or recognition of their</li> </ul>
3.	Return to general job market after occupational break for personal (family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• predominantly stability-oriented females; awareness of key competencies gained outside work but knowledge that these are seen as equipping for helping/caring occupations or low graded jobs ('women's</li> <li>• for males, awareness of key competencies but these are seen as irrelevant for work re-entry: 'in a different</li> </ul>
4.	Aiming for self <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• both males and females; high awareness of key competencies, used with confidence to pursue chosen business opportunities – does not rely on accreditation by others</li> </ul>
5.	Resuming high skilled professional career after career break <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• focus on regaining lost technical skills and updating them – importance of key competencies gained outside work. Valued retrospectively, but irrelevant to work re-entry process.</li> </ul>

**Figure 1.** Case Studies Of Participants In CVT – Job Change Programmes , UK

The UK formulations and use of key skills as a policy instrument have the longest history and some important lessons can be learnt from the problems encountered. The labour market has been redefined in terms of the rationale of competences, collected together as units, elements and range statements, the function being to measure the individual against the ideal worker which the skills matrix represents. The concept of competence thus becomes essentially technical, and omits the social meanings and social relations of work. According to Giddens, 1991, the individualised, technical approach to competence “de-skills individuals in terms of competences acquired within the informal localised networks of everyday life” and thus effectively disempowers them. In this sense it is best understood as part of the broader framework of regulation and control in modern societies. Others such as Issitt (1995) argue that approaches which equate competence with

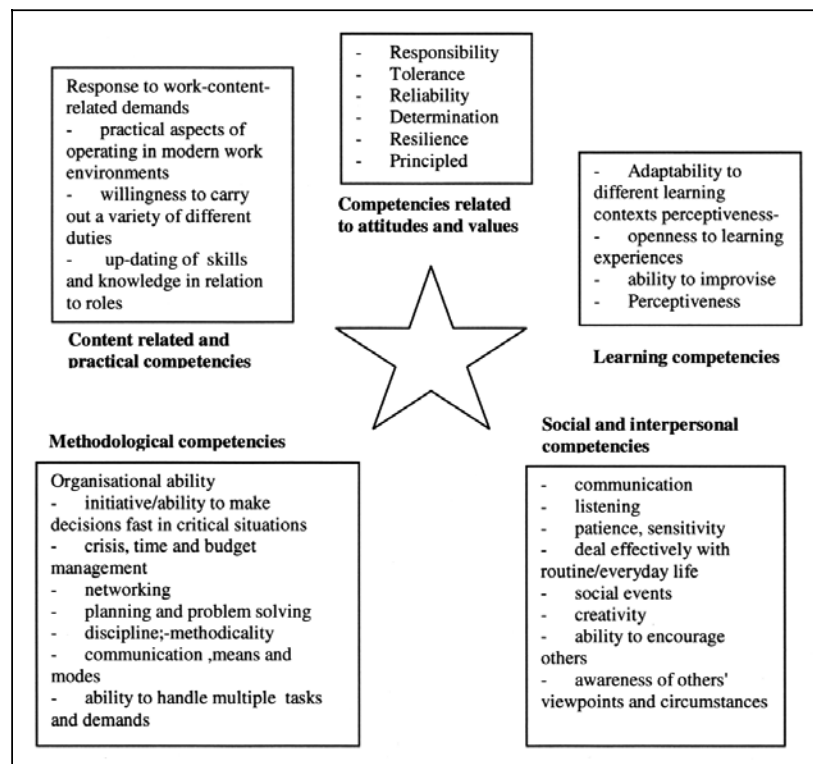
performance are essentially retrospective, reflecting and reinforcing the status quo and therefore reproducing structural inequalities. They have also been shown to be unworkable for higher levels of professional training (not popular with the academy).

Generic and cognitive constructs of competence, by contrast, emphasise broad clusters of abilities which are conceptually linked. They involve an underlying generative capacity reflected in general ability to co-ordinate resources necessary for successful adaptation (Norris, 1991). These may be seen as maximal interpretations. They imply the need for critical reflective learning and emphasis the development of self-efficacy and shared autonomy and attributes such as judgement. Reflective learning is considered essential if competence is to become future oriented, that is, able to develop the skills of the future (Brown, 1994; Wellington, 1987) rather than tied to the performance of narrowly specified tasks. In the international literature, the concept of capabilities has been recently elaborated in ways which further emphasise underlying abilities and attributes which are important to the task performance. These formulations move beyond the surface features of common descriptors in task analysis, into a recognition of the importance of a degree of autonomy, emphasis on taking responsibility, being capable of undergoing and managing change in oneself and one's environment, having initiative and self reliance. They tend to emphasise individual rather than collective capability, although the latest findings from European wide research into aspects of work process knowledge by Boreham et al., (2000) are challenging some of the more individualistic formulations and leading into a new generation of work on collective competence and collective intelligence (Brown, 2001).

These current positions in the partner countries (Germany, Portugal, Greece, UK) were reviewed at the outset of the research into interrupted occupational and learning careers. None of the current formulations of key competences was found to be adequate for the experiences we were trying to understand. In the English and German formulations, there is not sufficient attention to motivations, learning abilities, or the ability of people to manage their own biographies in line with personal interests and needs. The German 'action competence square' does not sufficiently recognise the non-formal dimensions of learning in its 'Beruf'-centred training and the English formulations are split between the general skills which now sit more easily in an educational paradigm and those embedded in work processes, in ways which have compromised their usefulness and have become conceptually confused (Unwin, 2001). In Portuguese models, the approaches to recognition of 'know-how' are interesting and important, but not sufficiently advanced for our purposes here. Their development in Portugal has centred to date on the traditional occupational areas.

The research needed to develop a model of 'key' competences which was more future oriented and generative in terms of people's personal and professional projects, given our emphasis on interrupted occupational biographies and learning careers (allowing for a wide range of life experiences and value orientations). Since all possibilities could not be explored simultaneously, the model which came to be known as the 'Starfish' model (or *l'étoile de mer*) for ease of international communication, was developed initially on the basis of existing knowledge in the

partner counties, and developed heuristically in exploring the tacit dimensions of key competences in work re-entry. (See Figure 2 attached.)



**Figure 2.** A Biographical Approach: Key Competences Identified Through Biographical Analysis Of Significant Non Formal Learning Experiences And Job /Role Change (Starfish Model)

The 'Starfish Model' (Figure 2 ) was thus initially developed from a collective review of studies and used as a basis for heuristic investigation, to meet project criteria. The model was one we could test and develop empirically through our investigation of learning and occupational biographies. The model has emphasised broad clusters of abilities coming together in ways which generate growth, movement and future development. That is why the model is not a square or a list but an organism with abilities coming together at its centre. Our evaluation has shown that the model - as elaborated through the investigations in the four partner countries - has value in capturing some of the features which underlie successful change, adaptation and personal growth in ways which transcend national

boundaries. It also blends well with wider European definitions of CEDEFOP in which key competences are *interlinked and interdependent human actions, involving self steering capacities, integrated social cognitive and technological dimensions together with underlying capacities for life-long learning*.

In identifying clusters in the ‘starfish model’, we identified five clusters of abilities which are important in negotiating changes of work and learning environments. These are *not* de-contextualised ‘transferable skills’ but abilities which have both structural and referential features. Their structural features may be carried (tacitly) between environments but they have to be situated, underpinned by domain specific knowledge and developed through social interaction within the culture and context of the work environment. *Learning abilities* included the critical dimensions of perceptiveness, and learning from reflection on experience. *Social abilities* include empathy and promoting feelings of efficacy in others. The *methodological cluster* included being able to handle multiple tasks and demands in complex and sometimes contradictory environments. Competences related to values and attitudes can be argued to be attributes rather than competences, but attributes such as reliability, determination, patience, ‘emotional intelligence’ are often translated into quasi- competences of self-management when related to particular tasks or roles.

Our early research confirmed that naïve mapping of key skills between environments does not work. It has also confirmed that the clusters generated from learner perspectives also capture employer and trainer perspectives at the level of the generic ‘label’. Employer perspectives, however, ascribe and recognise the key competences at lower levels than the learners, a phenomenon also observed in the Brown and Keep COST review of VET research (1999), while trainers are more likely to recognise key competences at higher levels than employers, but also more narrowly than learners. Attributes of creativity, sensitivity, emotional intelligence often go unrecognised or are taken for granted.

Case studies of males and females enrolling in Continuing Vocational Training (CVT) programmes aimed at changes of direction showed that male and female biographies cluster in the ways they deploy the abilities gained through experience. There are also commonalities of experience associated with gender and class, which transcend national boundaries. In our cases, positive experiences were shown to be associated with awareness of ownership of the key competences identified. The ‘positive’ experience of overcoming setbacks is particularly powerful in these respects. One of the most interesting findings is that males and females with long term occupational breaks view and deploy their skills differently. Females often regard their ‘family’ skills as highly developed but unrecognised in all areas except ‘caring’ or other areas of ‘women’s work’, so disregard them in their search for work re-entry in other fields, concentrating instead on new or updated explicit skills. But they do take the structural aspects of these wider skills with them, and point to their importance when applied (tacitly or explicitly) in their new work situations. In practice, employers ascribe ‘female skills’ to mature women re-entering the labour market, but at a level and in a way which advantages them only in relation to other vulnerable job-seekers, ‘women’s work’ and easily exploitable positions. Males ignore their skills gained outside the economic sphere, no advantages are derived

from them and they are regarded as totally separate from the economic domain. Explicit new skills are sought for work re-entry and no advantage is perceived to stem from those informally gained in the family/domestic domain. More generally, those who are able to operate as 'labour force entrepreneurs' moving frequently between jobs, in order to improve their position, and have forms of know how which appear to have currency in the labour market despite the fact that they cannot be easily codified (See Figure 1).

## 2. RECOGNITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF TACIT SKILLS IN ROLE CHANGE

Further analysis of these phenomena (Evans & Kersh, 2001) indicates how important 'tacit supplementation' is in the ways in which employees approach job change and employers ascribe competences to individuals and delineate requirements for jobs. Case studies reported more fully in Evans, Kersh & Kontiainen (2004) show how conceptual modelling allowed us to carry out systematic case analysis, which showed the importance of recognition and deployment of tacit skills in learning/workplace environments. Learners with more continuous occupational biographies generally recorded higher initial levels of confidence in their personal competences than those with substantial interruptions, except in cases where recent work experiences had been poor. The use of prior skills in the cases of adults with significant interruptions in their occupational biographies can be contrasted with those of adults with more continuity in their careers and identities. Drawing out of tacit elements to 'make them visible' is of considerable importance in the case of adults with interrupted occupational biographies; it is through self recognition and recognition by others of their hidden skills and abilities that adults seeking to re-enter work after a break or changing direction gain the self assurance and confidence to negotiate new environments and deploy those skills. For those with more continuous occupational biographies who move between workplaces and positions, prior skill and knowledge are not simply transferred even though they are more readily recognised by the holder as being of direct relevance; they also have to be operationalised in the culture of the new context. Self-awareness of personal competences affects the ways in which people explore the opportunities and constraints of the new environment. Case analysis and comparison showed how adults' learning processes are negatively affected where recognition and deployment of tacit skills of an adult is low or negative. Conversely, positive deployment and recognition of these skills sustains learning and contributes to learning outcomes. The starting point of this process is that of *awareness and self-awareness* of learners' hidden abilities or tacit skills by tutors and students themselves. Furthermore, recognition and utilisation of tacit skills in stimulating, 'expansive' learning environments sustains learning outcomes and facilitates the process of work re-entry. Systematic case comparison showed that employees experienced their workplaces as either expansive or restrictive depending on the following factors: (1) types of workplace environment: stimulating versus dull; (2) recognition of employees' skills and abilities; (3) opportunities for workplace



training and career development. There are strong links between the recognition of tacit skills, learning processes, gains and outcomes.

Adults re-entering the workplace after their college programmes may experience their working environments as expanding, consolidating or undermining their learning gains. Environments which are experienced as giving recognition to and supporting deployment of tacit as well as explicit skills, facilitate further development. The parts played by the workers in creating environments which support their deployment of skills, and their further learning are contributory factors. The way employees experience these environments often has to do with the feeling of being a part of a team, allowing them to deploy their tacit skills in ways which enhance their confidence and self-assurance, whereas experience in environments which undermine learning gains is often associated with being an outsider or mere observer in the workplace.

### 3. CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF TACIT SKILLS IN ADULT LEARNING

Standard qualitative analysis extended by modelling of individual cases and systematic case comparison is enabling us to elaborate a larger conceptual model of the significance of tacit skills recognition in adult learner biographies. Personal competences gained from various life experiences are deployed and developed in both college and workplace settings. The acquisition of these skills is often tacit in nature and therefore individuals do not necessarily recognise that they have gained anything valuable. However, these previously acquired skills often become a central part of a learning process when they are deployed and developed in new learning and workplace environments. Tacit skills development is non-linear, and the use of tacit skills is situation-specific: tacit skills may lead to success in one context but not necessarily in another. The recognition of tacit skills contributes to their transformation from the tacit to the explicit dimension in ways which can facilitate positive learning outcomes for adult learners, such as those associated with self-confidence, increased capability for improved attainment and greater abilities to exercise control over their situations and environments. This is particularly important for those with substantial interruptions in their occupational biographies. Recognition (by self and others) of tacit dimensions of competences developed or influenced through prior activity need not fall into the trap of assuming that all that is tacit is good. Prejudices, poor practices and uncritical intuition (Neuweg, 1999) can become open to challenge in making the transformation from the tacit to the explicit dimension, and this also can become part of the transformation. Beyond 'transfer of skills' we emphasise the agency of the whole person (see also Lobato, 2003) and learners' personal processes within social settings which structure their experiences, including the way in which the person brings his or her tacit skills into play in constructing and negotiating the affordances and constraints of new environments. This analysis has been elaborated further in Hodkinson et al., (2003) as a major thematic outcome of the ESRC Research Network on *Incentives to Learning in the Workplace*.<sup>iii</sup>

Findings also suggest that approaches which emphasise the relational aspects of teaching and learning, and pay attention to the construction of learning environments that value and draw out tacit skills can improve learning success. As well as providing a research tool, a simplified version of conceptual model building can be used with practitioners (programme designers, tutors, trainers, mentors, human resource developers and learners themselves) in ways that enable them to reflect upon and change their own concepts and approaches, including the creation of learning environments. The further development of methods piloted in this study is now taking place through a European consortium of researchers and practitioners working to produce tools which can be used for the self-evaluation and development of personal competences in a wide range of continuing vocational training settings.

#### 4. WIDER POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Leplat (1990) showed how tacit skills appear important in at least three places: the gap between skills officially required for jobs, and (1) skills actually required (2) the skills actually implemented and (3) between the skills required by preliminary training and the skills actually implemented. Our findings are also showing how the processes by which skills and attributes are ascribed to people (often along gendered or class/disability-based lines) often align with the tacit (as opposed to official) requirements of occupations, and may thereby reinforce workplace inequalities. For example, attributes of 'mature and reliable' often ascribed by employers to women returnees may have a tacit supplement of 'compliant and undemanding', tacitly seen as equipping them better than younger people or males for low grade and low paid positions with few development opportunities. These processes of tacit supplementation of key competences and jobs reinforce inequalities in the workforce and systematic undervaluing and underdevelopment of the skills of segments of the population. (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2000; Ashton, 2000)

So how can 'making learning visible' help the owner of the tacit skills and competences in question? Would it empower them in negotiating for what their skills are really worth? Would it increase democratic access to knowledge, by making it explicit and distributing and recognising it more widely? Or would the existence of unequal power relations mean the control of more and more domains of knowledge by the powerful, and the disappearance of the 'protective belt' of tacit knowledge formed in the informal discourses of everyday life, through which individuals and groups can exercise their rights and resist exploitation.

The possibilities can usefully be explored in the context of Coffield's (2000) two scenarios for the future of lifelong learning – the technocratic and the democratic versions of the learning society. The technocratic model envisages continuation of the present policy lines, emphasising individuals' responsibility to maximise their competitive position within markets. The democratic scenario emphasises the individual, social and political rights which are minimum conditions in a democracy.

In the *technocratic* model, short term gains might be made in providing a basis for more equitable rewards for those whose skills currently go under-recognised and underpaid, but continuation of current policies would mean that the onus would

continue to fall on individuals to negotiate and sell their skills in marketplaces in which the strong dominate. Longer term, will those same markets operate in ways which reward individual investment (by people acting as private agents) in securing expanded forms of know-how as the new 'knowledge currency'? Does this fuel still further the processes of polarisation as the advantaged are able to expand their ownership of all four kinds of economically valuable knowledge through engagement in knowledge-rich and experience-rich environments and 'know who' networks, which are denied to those with fewer resources and less social capital? The *democratic* scenario would reassert the four domains of knowledge as public goods to which anyone should have access, through the twin principles of education provided as a public and collective responsibility, and social audit of enterprises and their policies in relation to skills development and relationships with their communities. It would also reassert the wider importance of learning in, through and for all domains of life. It would prioritise the inclusion of those who are currently the 'knowledge poor', and its emphasis in 'making learning visible', would be to strengthen the self assurance of those who have skills and knowledge which presently are unrecognised or exploited.

The so-called knowledge based economy raises fundamental questions about what counts as knowledge, who owns, manages and controls it. This is reflected in the contested nature of the Recognition of Prior (Experiential) Learning. Two projects involving documentation of the experiences of workers in the mining and motor industries, reported by Evans (2000), showed that these became highly problematic because management and unions had entered the process with completely different agendas, with management wanting a skills audit while the union saw the process as 'part of a move towards improved job grading and wages for workers' in the first instance and improved access to further education in the second. In both cases, neither improvement in wages nor improved educational access was forthcoming, with consequent deterioration in the industrial relations. This led the compiler of *Experiential Learning around the World* (Evans, 2000) to comment towards the end of the collection that "...what has become clear is that RPL cannot be separated from the broader epistemological, political and ethical issues." This is obviously so. For the future, the ESRC network project on this theme (Evans & Sakamoto, 2001) and the wider programme of which it is part, is aiming for a better understanding of adult learning processes within these frameworks.

Johnson and Lundvall (2000) have argued, a much more satisfactory mapping of the knowledge base is needed, and that such a mapping has to capture the competencies and competence building of individuals, organisations and regions, "in order to understand what is learnt, how and by whom, in different contexts and to construct better indicators of different kinds of knowledge." (Johnson & Lundvall (2000, p. 18).

By focussing on competence building in interrupted occupational biographies (where key competences are seen as carriers of tacit and explicit dimensions of knowledge and skill) and the implications of accrediting non-formal learning, this chapter has aimed to bring questions of social inequality closer to the centre of the debate.

## 5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Co-researchers from the Tacit-Key partnership are thanked for their collaboration, in particular G.Heidegger, Wolfgang Hendrich, Bettina Hoffmann. The Economic and Social Research Council for the UK is acknowledged for their support of the Research Network 'Improving Incentives to Learning in the Workplace ' as part of the ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Programme.

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- <sup>i</sup> Economic and Social Research Council Award Number L139 225 1005 directed by Helen Rainbird, Karen Evans, Phil Hodkinson and Lorna Unwin
- <sup>ii</sup> Partnership formed under the Leonardo Programme, Ger, UK, Greece, Portugal ,Czech R, Romania, Denmark
- <sup>iii</sup> see Hodkinson P, Hodkinson H, Evans K and Kersh N with Fuller A Unwin L and Senker P , The Significance of Individual Biography in Workplace Learning submitted to Studies in the Education of Adults July 2003

DAVID TURNER

DEVELOPMENT, GLOBALISATION AND  
DECENTRALISATION: COMPARATIVE RESEARCH  
TOWARDS A THEORY FOR MANAGING DIVERSITY

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.

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 inter-group 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; within the group is always greater than the difference between groups.

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 Aristotelean 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 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 counter-intuitive 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, while of traffic, it remains difficult to tell whether any particular commuter will be travelling a particular route on a particular day.

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, 2004) There is, of course, a great deal more 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, the current research literature records, but does not explain, that identical twins perform better at school if they are dressed differently, or if they are separated for their classes. A multi-centred approach suggests why this might be the case.

### 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, policy makers 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 has set

the goal of having 50 percent of young people having an experience of higher education by the year 2010. Yet there is no available explanation of why 50 percent is the appropriate figure. Indeed, as noted above, we have no concept that it is the appropriate response of any group that 50 percent should attend university; either all of a group should, or none of it. We therefore know that when a policy maker 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 percent of people with the appropriate qualifications at the end of upper secondary schooling proceed to university. And we might wish to examine why eighty percent of pupils, rather than ninety percent or one hundred percent, follow that route. Our immediate reaction, in a single-centred approach, would be to try to identify what it is that distinguishes the twenty percent who do not proceed from the eighty percent 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 ninety percent of appropriately qualified middle class pupils proceed to university, while only forty percent of working class pupils do similarly. Or we might discover that ninety nine percent of boys proceed to university but only sixty percent 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 eighty percent of a group do one thing and twenty percent do something else, and perhaps even more importantly told us what it was in the circumstances which would help to shift from eighty percent to eighty five percent, are exactly the kind of frameworks which policy makers would find useful. Even where single-centred approaches have provided the beginnings of an explanation of educational phenomena they have not proved useful to policy makers.

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 policy maker has ever suggested that the policy response to this understanding should be to distribute books to people's houses. Nor has any policy maker 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 under-represented in secondary education? Are the boys over-represented 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. The Government is to establish an office to oversee the fairness of

University admission procedures. 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.

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 policy makers 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 are conducted without a theoretical framework which allows us to evaluate the true strength of those influences. 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 policy makers and have a direct impact upon policy making.

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HOLGER DAUN

## GLOBALISATION AND THE GOVERNANCE OF NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A new mode of governance (NG) has emerged, whereby the state deliberately allows the market and the civil forces to decide upon, implement and administer education and other collective goods and services, which the state has traditionally been in charge of. In education, the NG follows from or a package of policies (restructuring) including decentralisation, introduction or reinforcement of *choice*, privatisation, market mechanisms, and sometimes, centralisation of goal formulation, curriculum, and assessment<sup>1</sup>. The NG may be seen as a way for the state to respond to multiple and sometimes contradictory demands and requirements, resulting from globalisation processes as well as factors internal to each country - but across countries. Among the latter, we find a new era of 'enlightenment' among populations, and state problems of administering, coordinating and financing large scale education systems.

This chapter takes a broad perspective and attempts to locate the NG within the context of globalisation and ideologies that justify a de-centred role for the state. The changing role of the state during the past seven decades is outlined and some aspects of globalisation, assumed to have contributed to the NG, are described. The final section discusses some definitions of the NG.

### 2. BACKGROUND

During the past century a considerable centralisation of the state resulted from or was deliberately implemented for at least three reasons: (i) The mobilisation of people and resources for the world wars, (ii) the administration of the 'great society', i.e. Keynesian or Leninist-oriented political economy, and (iii) the running of national capitalist economies. Certain functions, activities and items, once being handled by the local communities, were taken over by the central state, while others resulted from its own innovations and inventions. Apart from the trends mentioned, centralisation to a large extent accompanied industrialisation and urbanisation. This is illustrated by two examples: In 1850 there were 200,000 school districts in the USA, and by 1930 there were some 30,000 (McGinn & Welsh, 1999, p. 24). In

Sweden, twenty-five years later, the number of municipalities decreased from 4,000 in the beginning of the 1950s to some 287 by 1980 (Daun, 2003).

Education had in some countries been an issue for religious interests and/or local communities but finally became a responsibility of the central state. In the South, colonial patterns of state and education systems were inherited and in countries never colonised, similar models of state and education were constructed as well. Thus, in the 1960s, the state (central or regional levels) had become the principal actor in the educational domain in most countries. For this reason, special attention will be given to the changing relationships between the world system, the national state, the national society and national education systems. Also, an analysis of the NG requires a historical and broad perspective including economic, political and cultural changes.

After a century – or more – of centralisation of state and education systems and extension of the public sector, an opposite trend started in the 1980s. This may be interpreted or explained in terms of (i) globalisation processes; and (ii) internal factors, such as costs and economic flows, the need to delegate risk and uncertainty away from the central state, increasing ‘enlightenment’ due to mass education, and the shift in policy and research discourse to an individualistic epistemology and ontology. There are of course interactions between global and internal factors.

### 3. THE NATION-STATE AND GLOBALISATION

#### 3.1 *State and Government*

From a broad perspective, the state includes all bodies that are funded mainly from public sources (Dale, 1989), and it is the only actor legitimised by the international community to use coercion and violence (within its territory). The government is the most strategic state body since it is the principal mechanism for redistribution of resources, and it is therefore an arena for mediation of conflicts between different wills and interests (Habermas, 1978; Morrow & Torres, 2000). The fundamental task of the modern state has been to guarantee the principle of exchange relationships in markets, to provide opportunities of well-being, and to create willingness and ability among people enter such relationships and to efficiently perform roles as producers, consumers and citizen. School education has generally been seen as the most important means for the generation of cultural motivation for people to be able and willing to perform these roles.

Culture is shared world views, visions and meaning systems (D’Andrade, 1984). Political culture is highly important in the context of governance, because it defines what is the appropriate role for the state in society, the extent to which state interventions are seen as legitimate and to what extent common people are expected to participate in public decision-making (Almond & Verba, 1965; Haynes, 1999; Inglehart, 1990, 1997; Kooiman, 2000). For instance, state interventions and state initiatives are more legitimate in several European countries than in the USA. Grassroots initiative and participation in school affairs may be more or less

expected. Eastern Nigeria is an example of a culture supporting local involvement (Kemmemer, 1994), and according to Bray (1997), "In parts of eastern Nigeria, the tradition of self-help is so strong that it seems to flourish under almost all circumstances. Mongolia, by contrast, has almost no comparable tradition" (p. 197).

In order to fulfil its tasks the state intervenes in the surrounding society. Traditionally, the following principal modes of state intervention have been employed: (i) regulation; (ii) economic measures, and (iii) ideological measures. *Regulation* means to establish *a priori* and in detail the frame of action for different bodies and actors. Regulation may vary from establishing loose parameters for decision-making to detailed regulation of everyday activities. It has often been used for the sake of equality and equalisation. However, regulation tends to be costly and to affect state legitimacy due its tendency to result in standardisation and insensitivity to multi-cultural values and different life styles. Also, regulations might provoke resistance and produce their own problems that tend to require new solutions (Offe, 1984).

The second mode, economic measures, includes the state distribution of subsidies and services as well as the extraction of resources. Such measures have tended to be general or specific. The third mode, ideological measures, include the definition and selection of knowledge to be handled in schools through the national curriculum, syllabi, teacher guidelines and types and contents of examinations and evaluations (Lundgren, 1990). Some of the modes of intervention overlap or combine when applied in practical policy. All measures of intervention require a certain capability of the central state. Where this capability has been weak, coercion and force or *laissez-faire*/neglect have been the alternatives available. This has not been uncommon in low income countries, in which state capabilities, legitimacy or both have been weak.

Globalisation has in different ways changed the conditions for the traditional modes of state intervention and, therefore, some of the most common features of globalisation processes and restructuring of national societies will be described.

#### 4. WORLD SYSTEM AND GLOBALISATION

An international framework has always existed, experienced by, in particular, small countries, but globalisation processes have made the world quantitatively and qualitatively different from before (Hirst, 2000). The world system consists of structures, "spaces" and interdependent components (nations, companies, organisations, etc.), and when more intensive and more extensive chains, networks, exchanges and transactions, these processes may be seen as globalisation (Henderson, 1996). While such processes result from or are the sum of state, company, NGO and INGO actions, others are driven by Transnational Companies, and tend to take place rather independently from single country actions and frontiers (Sklair, 1995).

Globalisation results in economic growth but also increasing poverty and marginalisation, and spread of risk and uncertainty (Cox, 1996; Edwards, 1998;



Griffin, 2003). Risk and uncertainty have become common in all spheres of life, but mainly in the domains of employment, certain economic branches and family constellations (Carnoy & Castells, 1995). The sector of the economy mostly involved in global processes requires flexible companies, and a flexible labour force. Companies and workplaces in this sector have to a large extent been restructured from a Fordist to a post-Fordist organisation of production (Waters, 1995). The Fordist organisation is characterised by a hierarchical structure and mass production, whereas the Post-Fordist organisation is characterised by, among other things: total quality management (by the team itself), teamwork, and managerial decentralisation (Waters, 1995:82-84). However, for large sections of the economies, work places are not very different from before (Morrow & Torres, 2000).

Now globalisation is changing the conditions by placing the states in a position where they have less control than before of economic processes and flows. The state and companies are dependent on finance but finance capital has become decoupled from production, investment and trade. This capital has been globalised while production and investments are geographically based, a fact that has implications for state revenues and state abilities to redistribute resources (Castells, 1993; Freeman and Soete, 1994; Storey 2000). The state has to handle, among other things, economic restructuring, increasing complexity and specialisation and, at the same time, increasing networking in the economic and civil spheres (Messner, 1997). The requirements of competition result in an increasing pressure on the state to struggle not only for peoples' willingness to become efficient producers, consumers and citizens but also for their willingness and ability to become competitive in a global context. In order to achieve this, the state cannot use regulation and economic measures as much as before but has to find new forms of relating to its national context. In all, states have been and are restructuring themselves but not necessarily shrinking themselves (Cerny, 2000). According to Pierre (2000), "few states actually spend a lower percentage of their GDP than they did in the 1960s" (p. 1).

Culturally, globalisation causes or encompasses standardisation and homogenisation as well as particularisation and heterogenisation; secularisation as well as de-secularisation and revitalisation of moral and religious values (Berger, 1999). Economic imperatives dominate over all others; there is a universal commodification of life and pricing is being extended to more and more services and activities (Giddens, 1994; Saul, 1997). Also, with the spread of the market model, a consumer culture is disseminated (Ahmed, 1992; Appadurai, 1991). Local cultures are challenged and questioned through this diffusion of a "universal culture" (Mayer & Roth, 1995; Waters, 1995). The taken-for-granted aspects of cultures are challenged and "Traditions have to explain themselves..." (Giddens, 1994, p. 23). All this might provoke exaggeration of the importance of local ideas and values (cultural particularism). The fact that some countries have started to give more attention to moral and values education in the schools may be interpreted in this context (see, for instance, Cummings, et al., 1988; Taylor, 1994).

With increasing globalisation; national governments and ministries of education tend to formulate a similar policy all over the world and to introduce the same type of educational arrangements in the name of global competitiveness (Brown & Lauder, 1996; Daun, ed., 2002). This seems to be related to dissemination of world

models. Institutional sociologists employ a world systems theory according to which there exists a world polity (Meyer et al., 1997), not as a physical body or institution but as a complex of cultural expectations “stored” in and disseminated by international organisations and national governments in the biggest countries. The world polity may be seen as hosting world models (one for education, for instance), including different features, from the epistemological features to concrete recommendations, and taking a form ranging from tacit understandings to explicit policy suggestions and impositions (Dale, 1999; Gill, 2000; Popkewitz, 2000). Also, they inform policy-makers and researchers about opportune, desirable and appropriate educational policies, prescribe the role of the state and education, and signal, among other things, efficiency, effectiveness, school-based management, privatisation, choice, and accountability (Meyer et al., 1997; OECD, 1998).

In addition to the world models, there are different motives, justifications, and driving forces behind human conduct (Gerth & Mills, 1974; Thomas (1994). Ideal typically they may be conceptualised into the following ideological orientations: (a) market, (b) etatist-welfarist, (c) professional-managerial, (d) professional-pedagogical, and (e) communitarian/humanistic (Watt, 1994). The orientations most influential in the NG have been the market, professional-managerial and the communitarian. One of the basic features of the Market orientation is that human beings are utility-maximizing beings and act accordingly - regardless of history and geographical place (Gill, 2000). The education system is seen as a market and education as a private (individual) good and for the formation of human capital (Chubb & Moe, 1988; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Crowley, 1987).

In the Etatist-welfarist orientation, equality and the common good are two of the principal reasons for the existence of a state and political activities (Dow, 1993). According to the Professional-managerial orientation, the leader is a chief executive driving the processes in the organisation (Bush, 1995). Other organisational participants (teachers, for instance) are generally viewed as essentially passive recipients of the leader’s vision (McGinn & Welsh, 1999, p. 37). The leader compels the participants or members of the organisation to adopt his or her vision. In order for school leaders and teachers to be able to implement school improvement, they need to be liberated from bureaucracy and political interventions (Chubb & Moe, 1990).

Different ideas and approaches (from philosophical to practical ones) are behind the Communitarian/humanistic orientation (de-institutionalists, de-schoolers and ‘some postmodernists’ are part of this orientation) (Barber, 1996; Best, 1994; Goffman, 1963, Illich, 1971; Lash, 1990). The driving forces are, to a large extent, idealism, altruism, and solidarity (Doyal & Gough, 1991; Miller, 1989). Communitarians reject large scale arrangements and reforms, be they capitalist companies or bureaucratic state bodies, because largeness creates anonymity and alienation (Etzioni, 1995; Lewis, 1993). A distinction can be made between traditional and modern communitarianism (Barber, 1996). The former is linked to the traditional local community based on residence, kinship, religion or all of them (Wesolowski, 1995), while the latter sees society as “atomised”, the individual as autonomous and community as based on some type of “sameness” among the

“community members” (Offe, 1996). Sometimes, in the modern variety, those who have their children in the same school form a “school community” together with the school staff. Each orientation has its core values, basic assumptions and logics of action.

The world models include parts of and carry combinations of contradictory ideas such as the market orientation (the autonomous individual as a rational chooser, consumer and utility-maximizing being) and the modern communitarian orientation (the individual as an autonomous but altruistic and solidaristic being).

Another feature, already mentioned, is the rationalisation that penetrates different spheres of society, also organisational life. Organisations initially driven by idealism and humanitarian intentions (including voluntary or idealistic organisations dealing with health care and development assistance) now tend to be required to be efficient, not primarily in terms of value rationality but in terms of instrumental professional and organisational rationality. State subsidies and mandatory program evaluations reflect the requirements of effectiveness and efficiency in terms of per unit costs and goal achievement. A move of emphasis is taking place: From idealism, humanism morals/value rationality, and struggle for souls to efficiency, utility, profit; from amateurism to professionalism; from authority based on charisma, competence in subject matters and personality traits to management (leadership formed on organisational efficiency in narrow production terms) (see, for instance, Smyth, 1994).

The emergence of the NG should be understood in this context of globalisation but also in relation to some factors here termed “internal”.

#### *4.1 Internal factors*

Factors such as (a) increasing costs and less control of economic flows; (b) the need to delegate risk and uncertainty away from the central state; (c) increasing ‘enlightenment’ due to mass education; and (d) the shift in policy and research discourses have preceded or accompanied introduction of the NG. They derive more or less from processes of globalisation but are articulated within national frameworks. The move towards the NG started in “contexts of unprecedented education budget cuts” (Townsend, 1997:210). Due partly to world recession in the 1970s and 1980s and partly to the policy of state withdrawal, less money was made available for education in many countries.

Also, central states had experienced a number of costly failures in education and started to look for “secure” solutions (Duffield, 2002). Weiler (1993) argues that decentralisation could be a way for the state to displace conflicts or to “dissolve” them but also as a way to improve state legitimacy. If we combine these two features, it may be argued in the same way that decentralisation may be seen as a way for states to delegate costs, “wastages”, risk and uncertainty to local levels; that is, “policy and funding mechanisms designed at the centre to steer from a distance more autonomous local units” (Blackmore, 2000, p. 134)

In the North and in rapidly growing economies in the South, post-compulsory education has become a rule and in countries at lower economic levels, primary

education has increased tremendously since the 1960s. Education has maintained its sorting, selecting and reproducing functions, and now - in addition to these functions - it seem to contribute to the emergence of other categories of people than socio-economic classes in the traditional sense, e.g. those who become critically reflexive and demand participation, and those who are unable to fulfil the requirements of the education system and the labour market and become marginalised (Giddens, 1994; Inglehart, 1997; Messner, 1997; Popkewitz, 2000). The reflexive and marginalised are problematic for the state and the economy but for different reasons. The former because they to a large extent demand "life quality" and reject consumerism (Inglehart, 1997) and the latter because they tend to be seen as not "employable" and competitive (Gordon, 1991). This seems to be one of the reasons why "inclusion" and "social cohesion" have become new buzz-words in the international discourse (see, for instance, OECD, 1998).

As far as policies and research are concerned, they were centred in the national state, and the centre was in focus until the beginning of the 1980s. A shift from structuralism (and determinism) and state centrism to individual agency and economically oriented views of realities then started. The latter is an aspect of the NG. Individuals' participation in construction of their own realities is now seen not only as a means to solve various problems and to tackle different challenges but also as a value in itself; poverty is now perceived not only in economic terms but also as a matter of individual ability, knowledge and skills to participate in the construction of the own life situation. World Bank, OECD, UNESCO and UNDP have all adopted the idea that, for instance, "the poor themselves could contribute to move out of poverty" (Schneider, 1997, p. 9) if they are given an opportunity to participate in decision-making (Patrinos & Laksmanan, 1997, p. 9). What Giddens (1994) calls "Generative politics" has been a salient feature in political discourse since the 1980s. Such politics "seeks to allow individuals and groups to make things happen rather than have things happen to them" (pp. 30-31).

#### *4.2 Educational Restructuring*

The education system has traditionally had some degree of relative autonomy in relation to the state and society (Althusser, 1972; Dale, 1989). This has implied, for instance, that some degree of failure to achieve the goals has been accepted.

The globalisation processes affect national education systems directly as well as indirectly in different ways. Most countries have restructured their education systems during the past two decades. The fact that the formulated policies are rather similar everywhere, indicates that ideas related to the construction of education have been borrowed from the world models. Despite the discourse on education for and as democratisation and enactment of Human Rights, there has been a general tendency to link the administrative structure, curriculum and measurement of the outcomes (evaluation, assessment and monitoring) more firmly to the central state and the requirements of the economy. Other aspects have been de-linked and left to forces of governance other than those deriving from the state sphere (Daun, 2002).

Like the state in general, the education system is to a large extent under the cross-pressure between local cultures, and the globalisation aspects. Education systems around the world are experiencing one or several of contradictory, for instance: unitarian vs. diversified curriculum; religious-moral vs. secular subjects; local vs. national or international subjects; principally formation of human capital and merits vs. broad personality development; individual good vs. common good; mother tongue vs. international language/s (Benhabib, 1998; McGinn, 1997; Robertson, 1994).

## 5. THE NEW MODE OF GOVERNANCE

It is the globalizing market forces that ultimately, at least since the 1980s, provides the foundation on which institutions are constructed and reconstructed and life is organised and reorganised (Cox, 2000; Gill, 2000; Story, 2000). These forces, that is, “governance without government” (Cox, 2000), are mediated in each historical, cultural, political and economic context (Lingard, 2000). The governance by market forces and mechanisms has spread to most areas of life, among them the field of education. The state leaves - either deliberately or due to pressure from globalisation forces - to market and civil forces to implement, administer and control educational processes. At the world systems level there is no physical or other global body that performs the functions of a state, such as the distribution of collective goods, efforts to implement policies of equalisation, and repairing for market failures, and existing supranational institutions (International Monetary Fund, OECD, World Bank, WTO, etc) are not created for this purpose.

Griffin (2003) argues that “We have a global economy but not a global polity and hence our ability to ‘govern the market’ and ourselves is weakened” (p. 1).

Increasing participation in education and rising levels of education in the population have resulted in rationalisation and scientification in society, and regulation has to a large extent been delegated to the individuals themselves (Popkewitz, 2000). Individuals are free to choose but their choices have ultimately to correspond to the parameters emerging from the interplay between state actions and market forces. The outcomes of choices made and actions taken by people are increasingly conditioned by market forces and monitored and surveilled at distance through evaluations, assessments and commissioned research.

Governance is now employed as a policy concept for steering performed by various forces and as a research concept to analyse such processes. As a research perspective, the governance approach focuses on interactions and processes taking place between various social systems and their outcomes rather than structures and not only the state (Jayal & Pai, 2001; Kooiman, 2000). The World Bank was first to introduce the term “governance” into the present discourse, and this was made in a document published in 1989 on structural adjustment in Africa (Jayal & Pai, 2001, p. 15). Later on, the bank came to define governance as “the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development” (Schneider, 1997:7), implying rule of law and public sector management (legal framework and accountability). Taking

some of Foucault's (1991) thoughts into account, this definition seems to be too narrow as an analytical tool. For Foucault, governance does not necessarily have to be made by and through a government but may also be exerted by the market and civil forces (Pierre 2000:2). In Foucault's (1991) view governance is "conduct of conduct", and it may vary from conducting oneself to conducting political sovereignty. Governance may be seen as "a way of ordering the relationships between people and things" (Duffield, 2002, p. 116), or as a way for states to redefine their roles, and it does not necessarily mean a decline of the state but is rather of the state's ability to adapt to external change (Pierre, 2000, p. 21). Also, govern is to create the minimal division of labour, to coordinate, to protect national societies from the most disruptive effects of globalisation (Hettne, 2002, p. 11) and "to ensure at the different levels within this division of labour (between different spheres and actors in society) an effective presence of a democratic voice – so that the actions of a body at one level do not systematically negate decisions at another" (Pierre, 2000, p. 25).

Hirst (2000) adds the dimension of political culture by specifying that governance is "the means by which an activity or ensemble of activities is controlled or directed, such that it delivers an acceptable range of outcomes according to some established social standard" (p. 24). The "social standard", originally culturally conditioned, is increasingly judged in terms of market efficiency.

'Govern' thus ranges from deliberately control-oriented actions to those actions conditioning outcomes. The market and the civil sphere actors to a large extent now perform some of the roles that formerly were performed by the state. However, both spheres host ideals and goals other than those prevailing in the state. Markets cannot be the only form of co-ordination of the division of labour since they are not able or made to provide the platform and network that make their own existence possible. Civil forces do not have the overview necessary for coordination. The number of NGOs, INGOs and IGOs has grown considerably (Mannin, 1996); the number of active INGOs was 200 in 1900 and 4,000 in 1980 (Boli & Thomas, 1999, p. 14). In many cases, at least in the South and in transition countries in Europe and Asia, NGOs and INGOs are forming new elites that *de facto* function as decision-makers or expertise in educational matters (Jaya & Pai, 2001; Kooimann, 2000; McGinn, 1997). However, only the state has the characteristics and perspectives needed for internal coordination and moderation of international organisations' activities (Hirst, 2000).

In Kooiman's (2000) view, political governance aims to solve societal problems or promote the common good. However, rationalisation of society is accompanied by a market oriented ideology suggesting that the individual good has priority over the common good, and that individuals should struggle for themselves, and societal problems is increasingly seen as private and individual problems.

According to Foucault (1982), the state may rely upon force, compliance, consent, surveillance, or economic rewards, and in order to make the individuals turn themselves into subjects, four technologies (of governance) are in play: technologies of domination, technologies of self, technologies of production and technologies of sign systems (p. 223). This view may be translated into the domain

of educational governance, whereby some of the technologies appear or are combined in a certain mixed mode in management by objectives and market mechanisms. The New management system – patterned by private economic life – has been applied to the state apparatus as Management By Objectives (MBO), introduced also in the education system (Smehaugen, forthcoming). As Pierre (2000) argues, “the new public management increases some dimensions of central control through budgetary constraints, accounting procedures, and forms of inspection” (p. 20)

A commonly used economic strategy in the political economy during the past two decades – not least in the educational domain – has been to de-regulate, to contract-out activities and functions, to shift finance from the central to the local level, from the state to the economic and civil spheres and to use performance indicators (Jayal & Pai, 2001). This implies that lump sums are going from the central level to intermediate levels and then to schools in accordance with performance-based criteria (subsidies per pupil).

Decisions have different scopes, depths, and impact and, consequently, it makes a difference at what level and by whom decisions are made and actions are taken. Kooiman (2000, p.154) discusses three levels of governing: first-order, second-order and meta-order. First-order governing involves problem-solving in everyday life activities and is to a large extent influenced by practical reason. Second-order governing consists of attempts to influence the conditions under which first-order problem-solving or generation of opportunities takes place. ‘Framework’ decisions’ as described by McGinn & Welsh (1997:17) are situated at what Kooiman (2000) has termed meta or second-order levels. This is the level where most measures of managing, steering and guiding take place, while meta-order is about “who or what governs ultimately the governor” (Kooiman, 2000). Historically, God and religion have constituted the meta-level in many places and still does in some Muslim countries, whereas today it is a mixture of market and communitarian forces, while étatism (struggle for national sovereignty, the common good and equity, for instance) still is important in some national contexts. In most cases of decentralisation, a meta order exists, and it is from there that the policy of decentralisation, ways of implementation and monitoring and assessment emanate. Procedures and processes of decentralisation are expected to follow pre-established frameworks and centrally defined levels of performance criteria. Underlying all this is a linear and teleological view of change and development (Hammouda, 1997). All countries are assumed and presumed to follow the path drawn by the history of the rich countries in the North (Siddique, 1997; Tenbruck, 1991).

Returning to the different modes of state intervention and looking into ‘Foucault’s (1991) analysis, we find that he sees a tendency in the West to regard government as both apparatus and *savoirs* (“knowledges”). The former is associated with bureaucracy, force and coercion and the latter with ideological and cultural production and dissemination. A move from regulation to the ideological mode of intervention is taking place, and within this mode, a differentiation and sophistication. Apart from the classical instruments of governance, such as curricula, syllabi, etc., the following factors have become more important: scientisation, information, persuasion, self-regulation, monitoring and assessment are now options

for the central state. Through this type of governance, the individual can be governed (by the state) at a distance. This is the case not only in domestic politics but also in the new mode of development cooperation (sector-wide approach, partnership, etc.) (Duffield, 2002).

What counts nationally and internationally, as knowledge is determined from the central level, while curriculum details and local funding are decided upon locally. There has been a move away from pro-active control and regulation to retro-active monitoring and assessment. Such a combination of loose coupling in some areas and strong coupling in others (monitoring of goal achievement and efficiency in terms of per pupil subsidies, for instance) may, in fact, bind schools harder to the central level and make them less autonomous and make them lose some of their autonomy (Angus, 1994; Gurr, 1999; Robertson, 1994). On the other hand, several initiatives from grassroots level have reinforced the need for flexibility; home education, which can be seen as the ultimate combination of decentralisation and choice. This is one such example seems is one such example of initiative from below (Vynnycky, 2003).

## 6. CONCLUSION

Governance has traditionally taken place through a combination of the 'regulation' mode, pro-active steering and a needs-oriented perspective. Now it is shifted to retroactive monitoring and surveillance by the help of evaluations and commissioned research and other ideological measures. The latter are used to persuade and convince people by the help of scientifically legitimised influence on the public opinion and discourse.

The NG may be seen as a way for the state and civil actors to respond to the requirements of the market for competition and efficiency, political requirements for participation and accountability and the requirements of the civil sphere for an education that corresponds to prevailing moral and value pattern in the local communities.

Implied in the shift to the NG are such (sometimes contradictory) purposes as increased democratisation, participation and equality, on the one hand, and professionalisation, efficiency and effectiveness, on the other hand. Ultimately, it is about improving state legitimacy but also about liberating the state from responsibility and finance by increasing participation in decision-making, to improve education by scientific theories and methods and to increase productivity and competitiveness by lowering the cost per pupil. Risk and uncertainty are delegated to lower levels. All this has taken place in a context of budget cuts in public budgets, which have affect the schools to a large extent, some more than others. These measures do not necessarily relax control from the central level. Instead, they may require the central state to monitor the performance among the decentralised bodies and collect information, which in its turn, requires intensive and extensive exchange of information.



International bodies have convinced or imposed on low income countries... However, states in low income countries tend to have a weak ability to shift governance from regulation to new forms of governance, requiring intense production and flows of information.

A framework (or meta-order) establishes the parameters according to which people have to operate. It is constituted by the common denominator between the market ideals and the communitarian ideals, and this common denominator has attained a hegemonic role in the global educational discourse. At the meta level, the drives emanate from a combination of market and communitarian ideals, while at the second-order level, space is created for market forces and “civil” efforts, and, finally, at the first-order level, individuals equipped with an “enlightened” common sense and utility-maximizing drive, are supposed to be the principal actors.

The NG requires not only a restructuring of national societies but also a “re-culturing” as well as a rather sophisticated network for information flows between the different levels and between different actors. One important challenge for educational research is now to analyse the outcomes from different perspectives and trace them back to their origins.

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<sup>1</sup> Educational restructuring has become a world wide educational policy with few exceptions such as Japan and some Muslim countries (Green, 1997; Lee and Bray, 1997; Morsi, 1990; Muta, 2001).

MACLEANS GEO-JAJA AND JOSEPH ZAJDA

## RETHINKING GLOBALISATION AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

### 1. INTRODUCTION

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. 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. 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 disadvantage 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 six-fold during the century, while the poorest quarter experienced less than a three-fold increase. Income inequality has clearly increased (The World Bank, 2002). 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. King and McGrath (2002) argue 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. These new knowledge and skills taxonomies need to be internalised by both individuals and enterprises.

Michael Apple (2002), on the other hand, in his macro-sociological analysis, very convincingly linked globalisation with decentralisation, marketisation, and privatisation of education, as characterised by the commodification of knowledge, skills, and learning activities. The neoliberal ideology of globalisation does not only marketise education programs that were once provided by government and supported by taxes, it also agitates trade liberalisation to the benefits of transnational corporations' penetration of local markets. 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, Arnove (1999) puts neo-liberal 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-term, 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.

This chapter situates the process of globalisation, not in the narrow context of economics, but rather in its wider guises: social cultural 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. The grand narrative of economic globalisation is a form of economic neoconservatism, an absolutist closed discourse that valorises "the market" into an international capitalist marketplace of trade liberalisation, unfettered by national regulation. It is this economic rational that becomes the paramount organising principle to which all societies and education must become subject. In essence, like supranational organisations which 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 (Geo-Jaja & Magnum, 2003). 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 market place 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, 2002; Geo-JaJa & Mangum, 2003). 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.

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. 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.

## 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;' 'harmonisation,' and an increasing global competition dominates the discussions between different operators. 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 economicism" – 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, p. 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, in the certification and the definition of standards. In fact, marketisation of education, and the commodification of knowledge have been associated with a deepening of ‘education inequality’ – 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 McGrath (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 & McRath, 2002, p. 11).

King and McGrath 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 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 (p. 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 “neo-colonialism” 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.

#### 4. TRADE TERM EQUALISATION OR MARGINILISATION

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 a detail discussion see *Comprehensive Assessment of the Sustainability of these Interventions*, UNCTAD, 2002, p. 47). 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 one percent per year increase and in 12 countries increases exceeding one percent 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 percent 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 percent 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 percent annual growth from 1975 to 1984, drastically fell to -6.8 percent during the period 1985 to 1989, and then slightly recovered to an annual average growth of -0.4 in 1990s. Manufactured goods export, which stood at 32.5 percent in 1980, drastically fell to -2.7 percent in 1997 (UNDP 1997, p. 82; UNCTAD, 2001, 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 (see graph 1).

#### 5. DE-HUMANISATION 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 sub-regions and countries and also within countries has widened. Stunningly, the gap in per capita income between the rich and the poor countries grew five-fold between 1980 and 1990 (Pritchett 1997). What else can be deduced from the globalisation effect when a region with about 14.5 percent of the world population and with an annual average population growth of almost four percent carried only 1.5 percent of world trade and controlled only 1.3 percent of the world's wealth?

The negative impact of policy on indigenous population groups was examined critically by McDowell (1980) in 'The Impact of the National Policy on Education on Indigenous Education in Nigeria', who explained that policy-makers do not recognise the contribution made by indigenous education and that recent changes may 'threaten' local communities:

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 (McDowell, 1980, p. 51).

## 6. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

According to the *World Development Report*, 2000/2001, of the 64 countries ranked as "low income countries", 38 are in Africa (World Bank, 2001). For most African countries, economic growth fell from 4.0 percent yearly from 1996-1973, to -0.7 percent yearly from 1985 to 1990, and to -0.9 from 1991 to 1994 (World Bank 1996, p. 18). Average income per head was lower in 2000 than it was in 1980; and unemployment increased from 7.7 percent in 1978 to 22.8 percent in 1990, and subsequently reached 30 percent in 2000 (ILO/JASPA, 1993). By 1990 public sector wages had declined by not less than 90 percent 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 open 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 the 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...(Akrawi, 1960, p. 280).

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 (Macintosh, 1958, p 461).

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 (Hoppers, 2000, p. 27).

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 & McRath, 2002, 70), the authors show that the notion of education for global competitiveness has reached African policy makers 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 the rich-poor gap and domination by the elite strata in some African states must be taken up by the political and educational policy makers. 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 McGrath (2002) believe that globalisation combined with post-Fordism forces policy-makers 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 outcomes-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
- De-humanisation 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.

According to Apple (2000), the socio-cultural 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 de-humanisation effect of globalisation policies, it becomes more difficult and more costly to sustain minimal levels of social protection (Geo-JaJa & 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 has 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 ECONOMICISM IN EDUCATION REFORM IN AFRICA

Several empirical studies reveal that since the 1980s, the ideology of instrumental economicism – the influence of strong market forces – has significantly dictated education reform and development in many regions, particularly in Africa (Jones, 1998; IJED, 2002; Geo-JaJa & Magnum, 2003). 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 economicism 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, Ilon (1994, p. 199) observed 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 economicism 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; Morris, 1998; Jones, 1998; IJED, 2002; Ilon, 2002).

As Instrumental economicism 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 of resources to education, most importantly primary education.

Contrary to the dictates of instrumental economicism 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 (see Table 1 and graph 2).

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 is 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 economicism 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 economicism”.

#### 10. HOW IS ECONOMICISM 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, and in 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 economicism 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 neo-conservatism in education and human economic development.

#### 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 the 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 (Kless, 2002, 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 polices for globalisation promotes global inequalities and is becoming increasingly problematic as the pace and scope of marketisation in education intensifies.

## 12. NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION AND PERFORMATIVE MEASUREMENTS IN SCHOOLS

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, 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 percent) than in 1980 (81.7 percent), despite its high private and social returns (see graph 2). 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; 1998b). 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 percent 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. Table 1 shows gross primary school enrolment ratios across regions between 1970 and 2000. 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 percent in 1980, was estimated at 76.8 percent 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 economicism leads to the replacement of the 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 then and still remained at the bottom compared to any other region. Education expenditure that averaged 5.3 percent of the GDP in 1980, dropped to an annual average of 2.8 percent between 1992 and 1994. Estimated public expenditure per pupil in Africa declined from 15 percent of the GNP in 1990 to 10 percent in 1997, compared to steady growth of 13.8 and 23 percent 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 twenty-six African countries, shows an overall decline of 33 percent in central government expenditure per pupil, in the period 1980-88 (UNESCO, 1991, p. 37). Table 2 further shows that the share of education in African countries national budgets averages about 12.8 percent but falls as low as 0.7 percent in Nigeria. 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.

Figures in Table 2 show that there is considerable variation among countries in the region regarding the extent to which education expenditures as a proportion of the GDP either declined or stagnated over the years. Even countries like Botswana that have managed to maintain, though not increase, their level of education expenditures have seen per pupil expenditures decline drastically. The figures provided in Table 2 reflect a significantly altered government investment strategy that is suggestive of disinvestments in education that has been compensated by increases (boom) in private education at all levels. 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 goods"

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 school enrollees either drop-out or repeat classes. The incidence of poor quality at the primary level not only reflects poor educational inputs on the supply side, 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, 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 percent. With government support in implementation of *the Basic Education Sub-sector Investment Program* in 1996, gross enrolment ratios are planned to increase from 84 percent in 1994 to 99 percent 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 (World Bank, 1993). Primary enrolment reversed course at the abolition of user payments in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, and Tanzania (World Bank, 1993; World Bank, 1995; Oxfam, 2002).

In Ethiopia, the education sector is characterised at all levels by extremely low overall participation rates (30 percent at primary, 13 percent at secondary, and less than one percent 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 percent to 77 percent and in the transition rate from 35 percent to 70 percent 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 percent 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 being able to cope 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 four 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 percent 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 over-determination 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 counter-balance 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 two-fold 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 economicisation 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 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, national sovereignty and to public education systems that reflect and support democratic values.

## 15. CONCLUSION

We conclude this chapter by noting that African education confronts two enormous challenges. The first is to fulfil the knowledge and training tasks of the 21st 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 neoliberals are very much alike in terminology and intentions across countries, and 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-terms profit maximisation policies and practices. The lesson is clear. For Africa, the philosophy of neoconservatism is fraught with danger, as educational outcomes are now judged and measured in terms of costs and returns to investment 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. 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 de-humanising aspects of education and global markets.

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NEOLIBERALISM, GLOBALISATION, AND LATIN  
AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CHALLENGE  
TO NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

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, Bruhn & Zebadua, 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 United States and other Western powers (Boron and Torres 1996). This changing socio-political and socio-economic landscape poses major challenges to education throughout Latin America (Boron, 1995; Levy, 1994; Morales-Gómez & Torres, 1990; Morrow & Torres 2000; Torres & 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 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 percent 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 realized 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 is 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 preeminent 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 an 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 two 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 U.S. 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 U.S.

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 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 criticized 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 to 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 pre-college 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 a 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 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 ten 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 U.S. 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 percent 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 realized. 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 (Cadriel & Gómez 2000, Martínez & Cruz 2000, and Rhoads & 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 Center for Studies of the University (roughly equivalent to an Institutional Research office), and five highly esteemed research faculty at UNAM, all of whom specialize 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 U.S. UNAM not only provides half of the country’s university research and educates well over 200,000 students, 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 U.S.

### 3.2 *Higher Education Reform and Neoliberalism*

A major concern raised throughout most of our interviews was the imposition of a U.S.-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 re-shaping the country's social and economic relations around a U.S.-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 percent 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 Organization 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 percent. PRIDE covers a three-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 under-funded 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 U.S. 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 U.S.-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 U.S., 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 longstanding 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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KINGSLEY BANYA

## GLOBALISATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY CHANGES

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Virtually, all institutions of higher education almost everywhere in the world have been influenced by the concept of globalisation. The resulting policy changes in each nation state have, of course, reflected the degree of the impact of globalisation on the country, hence the changes in higher education. This chapter critically examines policy changes in higher education based on the effects of globalisation. It is divided into four major areas viz: (a) key elements and analysis of neo-liberal ideas about globalisation; (b) purpose of higher education prior to the late 1970s onwards; (c) policy changes in higher education and its impact on students, demands for private universities, funding and the issue of quality; (d) future trends and recommendations. The research on which this chapter is based was conducted partially in West Africa in 2000-2001 and partially in the USA in the 2002-2003 academic year. The chapter is not country specific; rather examples, where appropriate, are drawn from all over the world.

### 2. GLOBALISATION

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the state's role in guidance and governance was gradually replaced by a range of new academic, social and philosophical perspectives whose central common assumptions most often referred to as "neo-liberalism" (Burchell 1996, Olssen 2001, and Rose 1996); "economic rationalism" (Codd 1990, Marginson 1993); neo-conservatism/ the "New Right;" monetarism/ Thatcherism (in UK); and Reaganism (in the U.S). The central defining characteristic of this new brand of liberalism includes:

- a) Free market economics; the best way to allocate resources and opportunities is through the market. The market is seen as an efficient mechanism to create and distribute wealth.
- b) "Laissez-Faire": because the free market is a self-regulating order, it regulates itself better than the government or any other outside forces.

- c) Free Trade: involving the abolition of tariffs or subsidies, or any form of state-imposed protection or support and open economies.
- d) “Invisible hand theory”: a view that the uncoordinated self-interest of individuals correlates with the interests and harmony of the whole society.
- e) The self-interested individual: a view of individuals as economically self-interested subjects. In this regard the individual is represented as a rational optimizer and the best judge of his/her own interests and needs. (Olssen, 2001)

The pervasiveness of globalisation is not only in education but every aspect of human endeavours. Jones (1998) refers to the various agendas of globalisation, which by nature are mutually reinforcing and increasingly leave participants who refuse to participate isolated, and at a comparative disadvantage. A precise version of Jones (1998, p. 145-146) organised patterns of globalisation are:

*Political Globalisation*

1. An absence of state sovereignty and multiple centres of power at global, local and intermediate levels.
2. Local issues discussed and situated in relation to a global community.
3. Powerful international organisations predominant over national organisations.
4. Fluid and multicentric international relations.
5. A weakening of value attached to the nation-state.
6. A strengthening of common and global political values.

*Economic Globalisation*

1. Freedom of exchange between localities.
2. Production activity in a locality determined by its physical and geographical advantages.
3. Minimal direct foreign investment.
4. Flexible responsiveness of organisations to global markets.
5. Decentralised and “stateless” financial markets.
6. Free movement of labour and services.

*Cultural Globalisation*

1. A deterritorialised religious mosaic.
2. A deterritorialised cosmopolitanism and diversity.
3. Widespread consumption of simulations and representations.
4. Global distribution of images and information.
5. Universal tourism and the “end of tourism” as we know it.

Moreover, he posits that the multiplier effect of globalisation on the processes which promote it—communication, information technology (IT), and mobility, will intensify and become more dominant aspects of societies for the foreseeable future.

The common language of globalisation emphasises concepts such as “outputs,” “outcomes,” “quality,” “accountability,” “purchase,” “ownership,” “value for money,” “contracts,” “efficiency,” “customers,” “managers,” etc. Central to such approaches is an emphasis on contract which ostensibly replaces central regulation by a new system of public administration which introduces such concepts as clarification of purpose, role clarification, task specification, reliable reporting procedures and the freedom to manage.

Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state, neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation. In classical liberalism, the individual is characterised as having an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom. In neo-liberalism, the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur.

Dynamic competition is essential to understanding globalisation because it is the process that links globalisation to knowledge production. In many developing countries, higher education institutions are still the primary, sometimes the only, knowledge producing institutions, so they are natural participants in the process of dynamic competition. They are natural participants in the sense that since they have taken on the mantle of research, higher education institutions have had to work with the imperatives of dynamic competition. Different research programs (mainly in developed countries), for example, often represent fundamentally different ways to attack a problem. Competition arises because different groups of researchers are trying to determine which paradigm, model or approach will be the most fruitful in terms of future research opportunities.

Part of globalisation has been the shift towards a capitalist political economy. The values, institutions and modes of organisation of a capitalist economy seem to be everywhere. Dunn (2000) claims for example, if the belief in the efficacy of centralised forms of control continues to erode, then governments, in one country after another, will have little choice but to put in place, the institutions which give expression to the belief; that is, the institutions of a market economy. This trend is seen even in what used to be Soviet dominated countries of Eastern Europe and China. In several regions of the world, this process is already well advanced (Southeast Asia). The result is a gradual but nonetheless systematic shift in the context of political thinking. It is becoming less and less likely that the familiar centralised institutional forms will resume the control over economic development that they once enjoyed. These changes set the context in which not only trade but also the universities will have to operate and, within which higher education institutions will have to work out their strategies for survival.

In this chapter, globalisation is taken to be the result of the processes of imitation, adaptation and diffusion of "solutions" to problems of many different kinds—whether they are new technologies or organisational forms or modes of working. It is because these "solutions" are both more numerous and also that they may arise from any quarter that globalisation intensifies competition between organisations. Expressed in another form, globalisation describes the spread, internationally, of more or less continuous waves of innovation. This intensification of the innovation process can also be expressed in terms of the intensification of competition between organisations. Intensified competition and innovation are respectively the stimulus and the response to globalisation. The spur to innovation is perceived to be a matter of survival. Since the competitiveness of a nation's organisations is closely correlated with its economic development, maintaining competitiveness amounts to an imperative. The loosening up of markets for capital

and labour and the intensification of communication that accompanies globalisation means that a competitive threat can now arise from many different sources. Higher education is not immune from this globalisation competition. The centrality of knowledge to the innovation process now underpins the connection between globalisation and the emergence of a knowledge economy, hence the importance of the institution from which traditionally such knowledge emanates has been deemed “institutions of higher education.”

Higher Education’s role has shifted more to supporting an economy that is knowledge intensive at a global level. In the globalisation economy higher education has featured on the WTO agenda not for its contribution to development but more as a service to trade in or a commodity for boosting income for countries that have the ability to trade in this area and export their higher education programs. Higher education has become a multi-billion dollar market as the quantity of education is increasing rapidly. It is reported that the export of higher education service has contributed significantly to the economy of the U.S. In 1999, it is estimated that the U.S., being the largest provider of educational services, earned \$8.5 billion of the \$30 billion market from this trade alone.

We will now examine the “original” purpose of higher education in order to understand the radical changes that have taken place because of globalisation. This transformation is crucial for our understanding of the changing purposes of higher education—because modern higher education systems were established within the framework of a modern, urban, industrial, secular and scientific society. If such a society no longer exists (or is being eroded), it follows that the purposes of higher education must then change. They must allow themselves to be shaped by the new kind of society that is emerging.

### 3. HIGHER EDUCATION PURPOSES PRIOR TO 1970S

In this section, we shall briefly examine earlier higher education purposes in Europe, U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa.

#### 3.1 *Europe*

The European university tradition is often said to be divided into three strands: 1) a strand in which “scientific education” is emphasised – in essence, the Humboldtian tradition of the German University (and, by extension, the tradition of *Bildung*); 2) a strand in which “professional education” is emphasised, epitomised by France’s grandes écoles; and 3) a strand that values “liberal education” (Gellert, 1993, Rothblatt, 1993, and Liedman, 1993). However, there are commonalities shared by all higher education systems, which have always been as important as their differences. For example, apart from Oxbridge on the one hand and on the other, the new ‘red brick’ universities founded in the 1960s– Sussex and Essex, York and Lancaster – most English universities have much more down-to-earth origins – very similar, in fact, to those of land-grant universities in the United States. Their jobs

were, and continue to be, to train schoolteachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, designers, etc.

### 3.2 *U.S.A.*

Higher education institutions were treated with unusual deference by their state sponsors, who were often content to “leave the money on the stump” with few questions asked (Trow, 1993). Elected officials were frequently perplexed and even intimidated by the “learned men” of academe and by their claims of a special need for autonomy and academic freedom. When political leaders concerned themselves with anything having to do with higher education, it was mostly with rather traditional political matters around the allocation of enrolments, tuition rates, location of campuses and the size of capital budgets. Even the federal government historically paid little attention to higher education – with the notable exception of the Morrill Act land grants to the states in 1862 – until World War II and its aftermath. Even in the Morrill Act case, the federal government did nothing much to control how the grants were used. The federal government post-World War II forays into large-scale research funding and student aid, imposed few conditions on the institutions for a long time (Trow, 1993).

### 3.3 *Sub-Saharan Africa.*

For most of the countries on the continent, higher education is a development of the twentieth century, unrelated to the Islamic centres of learning of the past. The exceptions, in time only, are Sierra Leone and Liberia, both products of colonisation from the Western world. Higher education institutions in these two countries were established in the nineteenth century. In Liberia, there were Liberia College at Monrovia, formally opened in January 1862, and Cuttington College in Harper, Cape Palmas, opened in 1889. For Sierra Leone, it was the seminary founded earlier by the Church Missionary Society, which was established in 1827 at Fourah Bay for the training of ministers and catechists, that in 1876 introduced courses in higher education and became affiliated with Durham University.

After the Second World War and the resulting post-war global situation, the African colonies began making a strong push for freedom from Europe’s yoke of colonialism. The ensuing developments in these colonies plus the growing urge for higher education that had sent numbers of African students to Europe to pursue studies in higher education institutions there, and the resulting fervour of nationalism and other concerns that developed there, propelled the efforts for the establishment of higher education institutions on the continent (Ashby, 1966). The higher education institutions that emerged were diverse, each patterned after the European nation of which its country was either a colony or to which it had special ties. For example, in French speaking Africa, the university system that developed assured the “unity of the French nation in Europe and overseas” as decided at the meeting held in 1944 in Brazzaville at the instance of the Provisional French Government to determine what status French Africa should have when peace came

(Ashby 1966). The model was based on the French colonial policy of political and cultural assimilation. Accordingly, the universities that were subsequently established in French Africa were modelled after and linked to universities in France, most of them becoming a part of the French university system. They began as institutes or centres for higher studies, serving a training period in the French system, under French direction, and with assistance in money and personnel from France. For example, an Institute for Higher Studies was established in Tunis in 1945 and another one in Dakar in 1950, the latter supervised by faculties in the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux. These Institutes emerged to university status as of 1957, beginning with those at Dakar and Rabat, followed by Tunis in 1960. Studies in these universities were practically identical to studies offered by universities in France. These institutions had as their objective the meeting of the intellectual, moral and religious needs of their respective countries. They were, however, in the Western tradition, with studies rooted in the classics and theology. There were no offerings related to the social and cultural or the physical environment of these respective countries.

The year 1960 was a watershed in African higher education. That year 17 African countries gained independence and 13 others were to become independent states a few years later. The sudden collapse of the edifice of colonialism and emergence of the "Political Kingdom" triggered even greater expectations and demands not only for the total elimination of the vestiges of foreign rule from the rest of the continent, but also for the liberation of the masses of people from disease, poverty and ignorance. Many of the formal governing documents designated heads of State as chancellors or presidents of universities on the assumption that the prestige and power of the top national office would take education to the forefront of nation building. Several heads of State demonstrated confidence in university education as a driving force in nationalism. For example, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere (1967, p. 82) referred to academics as the "torch bearers of our society and the protectors of the flame." African universities were portrayed as the main instruments of national progress, the chief guardians of the people's heritage, and the voice of the people in international councils of scholarship. Additionally, African universities were expected to serve national policy and public welfare in "direct, immediate and practical ways" (Count 1980, p. 5).

The African university is a product of the modern world, yet the environment which inherited it is largely traditional, preindustrial, and agrarian. It is an environment caught in change from external forces – centuries of economic exploitation, colonialism, intellectual and cultural dominance. The small modern sector resulting from these forces has expanded over time but compared with the traditional sector it remains exceedingly small and does not integrate with it. A product of the Western world, the African university was born a stranger to its own environment, and its main links were with institutions that were strangers to this environment and with the countries to which those universities belong. Thus the African university became heir to a dual setting – the traditional African environment in which it was to be rooted, and the modern Western sector from which it received its orientation.

By the time of the founding of the Association of African Universities at Rabat, Morocco, in 1967, there were thirty-four universities on the continent. They were in as well as outside the various colonial traditions. Staffed mainly by foreigners, they were isolated from one another by tradition and geography as a result of the forces of colonialism, which had dominated the continent for almost a century – an isolation that would prove intractable. The diversity they reflected was born from strength, which the institutions engendered as a result of responding to the environments that they were to serve.

#### 4. POLICY CHANGES SINCE EARLY 1980S

Today, public universities and colleges face external demands that are in many ways unprecedented. The halcyon days of academic autonomy are long gone as higher education has grown in social and economic importance and dramatically in budget since World War II. From the late 1980s, the initial phases of a historically significant sharp increment in the degree of government involvement in academic matters started. In the name of greater accountability to the taxpayers and their representatives, public higher education is being asked not only to provide more data about their operations and the results achieved from them (“outcomes” in the current jargon), but also in an increasing number of countries are finding some of their appropriations linked to their measured performance on the country’s priorities (Burke & Serban, 1997). Significantly, these national priorities are no longer limited to how many students are enrolled or even how much tuition is increased, but range well into the traditional realm of academic decision making about matters such as which programs are expendable, how teaching is done and the allocation of resources between teaching and research. In some cases, countries (USA and UK) have mandated “efficiency” or performance goals such as improving student graduation rates, increasing faculty time in teaching undergraduates, and even showing improvements in graduates’ scores on standardised measures of learning.

There has always been scrutiny of institutions of higher education, however, since the 1980s, there has been a significant increase in this scrutiny. One of the main reasons for this questioning lies in economics. The economic pressures brought about by rapid technological change and globalisation have led to extensive corporate downsizing and closer business attention to costs, both in their own enterprises and in those supported by their taxes throughout the public sector. Extreme financial pressures on states during the economic slowdown of the late 1970s (the oil shock) and the early 1990s were followed closely by the tax revolt and right-wing electoral ascendancy in the U.S. of the mid-decade years. The consistent squeeze on public spending these events produced has led many countries’ policymakers to look especially closely at higher education.

Thus, in virtually every country in the world, higher education has been aligned to meet the new demands of globalisation. The push to a global market is not only state mandated but also international institutions (World Bank, IMF, regional development banks and donor agencies) have all joined the bandwagon of the globalisation of higher education. The main elements of this move are that education

shares the main characteristics of other commodities in the marketplace and as such is a private rather than a public good. In structuring tertiary education according to a market model, it is claimed that this would provide incentives and sanctions necessary to increase efficiency and effectiveness of tertiary education institutions. Other reasons advocated include student-centred funding, contestability in research, reduced state funding of student places, increased user-charges and a system of bank loans. It is claimed that a market model would enable each institution to operate autonomously, which would improve performance. In addition, such a model would provide incentives enabling institutions to attract greater student numbers. As funding in this model would be by government subsidies to students, rather than via bulk grants, higher education institutions that failed to meet market demands (high-quality and appropriately priced courses) would fail to attract students and hence would not attract funding.

We will next examine some of the globalisation policy changes that impact higher education.

#### *4.1 Increased user-charges.*

Within the neoliberal era of minimum state regulations and the triumph of a global market by free trade, many people believe that a higher education qualification – possessed by those with a larger repertoire of skills and a greater capacity for learning – offers a means of gaining unprecedented fulfilment in the job market. Aronowitz and Giroux (2000, p. 333) assert that “colleges and universities are perceived – and perceive themselves – as training grounds for corporate berths.” In keeping with the current vogue among developed countries and international development agencies to put greater stress on the marketplace, there has been a recent upsurge of interest in the implementing schemes of “cost recovery” and “user cost changes” in the social services. Higher education is one such area. As the population ages and the social demand for education continues to be buoyant, charging user fees for higher education has become necessary.

User fees take two forms: a) the direct charging of fees for tuition, books, accommodation, and foods; and b) a system of student loans which covers living expenses and at least some proportion of direct teaching cost (Banya, 1995). The arguments in favour of increasing student contributions are based on a series of efficiency and equity considerations. The main argument of equity considerations is that higher education leads to substantially higher earnings, and therefore, ought to be financed by those who gain. Even before their higher education programs, these students have enjoyed large amounts of public subsidy, for example, a free secondary education. Given the large differentials in earnings between college graduates and other workers, the high cost of this level of education as well as the obvious excess demand for it in most countries, makes it difficult, on the basis of economic theory, to find strong arguments against the substitution of grants by loans.

A policy of charging students tuition and/or living expenses would increase the incentives for students to make a more careful consideration of their educational



options. Essentially, it is argued that the labour market transmits signals of shortages and surpluses through wages and levels and periods of employment and unemployment to which students would be more likely to give consideration if their own level of investment in education were higher (Elu, 2000). The implication is that higher education needs to produce individuals who can take responsibility for their own success and who can contribute towards shaping a democratic society. In other words, higher education needs to produce autonomous individuals who are responsible for their own actions and as individuals contribute towards enhancing economic growth and shaping a democratic citizenry. This view is part of the well-known globalised conditions that accentuate firstly the concern to develop human capital, that is, to develop the thinking and intellectual capacities of the society which is considered to be the key to economic, social, cultural and political stability. It is taken as axiomatic that the development of human capital articulated by a demand for a more skilled and educated populace, is central to a country's capacity to purposefully, energetically and creatively establish a democracy. This line of thought is very much attuned to the logic of globalisation which insists on investing in human capital that provides a basis for a stable society (Avis, 1999, p. 186) and "important structural support for democracy" (Hyug Baeg, 1999, p. 282).

This argument completely ignores the various other functions higher education could perform. For example, the threat that corporate values pose to education lies not in the services they can perform but in the values they represent. The values of justice, freedom, equality, and the rights of citizens as equal and free human beings are central to higher education's role in educating students for the demands of leadership, social citizenship, and democratic public sphere.

Indeed, the World Bank (the largest lender in education) has recently changed its view of higher education to include the social and cultural roles higher education plays. As part of the recent policy changes at the Bank in 1997, in collaboration with UNESCO, a Task Force on Higher Education and Society was convened. After extensive deliberations, the Task Force report, *Higher Education and Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* was published in March 2000. It is worth noting in particular, the report's condemnation of earlier efforts to restrict higher education as indicated:

Since the 1980s, many national governments and international donors have assigned higher education a relatively low priority. Narrow – and, in our view, misleading – economic analysis has contributed to the view that public investment in universities and colleges brings meager returns compared to investment in primary and secondary schools, and that higher education magnifies income inequality... As a result, higher education systems in developing countries are under great strain. They are chronically under-funded, but face escalating demand... (p. 12).

The Task Force report continues:

During the past two or three decades, however, attention has focused on primary education, especially for girls. This has led to neglect of secondary and tertiary education, with higher education in a perilous state in many, if not most, developing countries. With a few notable exceptions, it is under-funded by governments and donors. As a result, quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. The focus on primary education is important, but an approach that pursues primary

education alone will leave societies dangerously unprepared for survival in tomorrow's world. (p. 19)

The same Task Force acknowledges that:

Demographic change, income growth, urbanisation, and the growing economic importance of knowledge and skills, have combined to ensure that, in most developing countries, higher education is no longer a small cultural enterprise for the elite. Rather, it has become vital to nearly every nation's plans for development. (p. 34)

A recent (2002) World Bank's development strategy lists three areas that higher education can contribute to economic growth:

The first argument is that higher education can contribute to economic growth by supplying the necessary human resources for a knowledge driven economy, by generating knowledge, and by promoting access and use of knowledge. Secondly, higher education 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. Finally, higher education could play a role in supporting basic and secondary education by supplying those sub-sectors with trained personnel and contributing to the development of the curriculum. (p. xi)

## 5. DEMANDS FOR STUDENTS

In the past, tradition dictated that who should or should not study at a particular institution was the business of the university's academic staff, exercising their judgment in a framework provided by academic criteria (mainly the results of the school-leaving examinations) and expectations about the qualities which make for the successful higher education student. These latter qualities are more difficult to measure in any demonstrably objective way and have generally been judged through an evaluation of the non-academic information revealed in a student's application and interviews, and more recently, portfolios. The exercise of judgment over the admission of students has been, and remains an important expression of the legal autonomy enjoyed by universities, and within each institution, of the academic autonomy claimed and jealously guarded by the various faculties and departments.

As stated earlier, one of the key features of globalisation is increased competition. Competition has become a driving force for innovation and entrepreneurship. Competition in higher education has increased in the past ten years. Countries of the North with their competitive advantage compete with countries from the South for best students, faculty, administrators and researchers. With the impact of globalisation, universities have been encouraged to recruit students beyond their borders. Recruitment of international students provides extensive revenue for the institutions and is therefore vital in helping to sustain the viability of the institutions. The promotion of internationalisation for many academics is also a consequence of the recognition of the need to equip students to operate in a global market, which transcends national boundaries. The basis of this kind of motivation is therefore, linked to economic imperatives.

Many of the students are coming from former colonial regions and "countries in transition" of former Eastern Europe. In 1990, according to UNESCO, 1.5 million

students studied outside their country of origin. The largest share of these students comes to the United States and Western Europe. Indeed, the influx of students from various part of the world to institutions of higher education also is not limited to Western Europe or North America or Australia. According to the Kaunda (2001), case study of the University of Cape Town (UCT), about 12 percent of the total number of students were international students from 76 different countries, with the majority of students coming from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. UCT has hosted exchange students from various countries and signed agreements with international universities aimed at promoting research, accessing international expertise, and facilitating student exchanges. He continued that because of escalating exchange rates, political and economic instability in many African countries and the resultant collapse of educational systems, has led to a shift to the South, making South Africa a sought after destination and provider of educational and other opportunities.

One consequence of higher education globalisation is that the intellectual resource from the South has been drained in the process. Sources of high-level skilled labour for the thriving global economy have been mainly in the developing countries and Russia during its transition to a capitalist economy (*The Chronicle*, September 8, 2000). Articles in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* have reported the concerns over the brain drain in developing countries including Africa. It is estimated that Africa has lost 100,000 people with specialised skill to the West. The loss is estimated at about 23,000 qualified academic professionals each year for Africa. The countries reported to lose the most academics are Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa. Russia reports a loss of 30,000 researchers (*The Chronicle*, September 8, 2000). Brain drain is reported to be the greatest obstacle to development (Buckley, 2001).

Commercialisation is rife with the attendant worries about academic quality. Less-developed countries are bedevilled by an influx of academically second-rate foreign degree programs.

International education has become big business. Former education secretary Richard W. Riley reported in 2000 that foreign students contributed \$9 billion a year to the U.S. economy (Riley, 2000). The Institute for International Education estimates that international students spend more than \$11 billion annually in the United States. Nor has the increased economic importance of international higher education escaped the notice of other world institutions. The Group of Eight (G-8) highly industrialised countries has set a goal of doubling exchanges in the next decade (Riley, 2000). The World Trade Organization (WTO) is considering guidelines proposed by the U.S. Department of Commerce that would ease the entry of commercial educational ventures into all member countries.

It is precisely because higher education has become such a big business, that the recruitment of students has taken on new meanings. In a competitive atmosphere each institution wants to recruit as many students as possible. Thus to achieve this goal institutions are appointing a number of specialist professional officers to manage the various stages of the "recruitment cycle" of which selection and admission are only parts, albeit the most important ones. Recruitment officers are given the task of visiting schools to talk to potential applicants and to ensure that

schools are fully aware of the opportunities offered by their institution. Although initially viewed with some suspicion, recruitment officers began to address the need of ensuring that an individual institution's image, advertising and publications were working as effectively as possible in communicating with, and attracting, potential applicants.

Changes in funding arrangements, which meant that overseas students could be charged fees intended to cover the full cost of their education, led to the widespread effort to recruit students from key overseas markets such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. Indeed, it is often in the area of overseas recruitment where the financial incentives led to moves to what might be called the "professionalisation" of admissions. Operating in fiercely competitive markets, recruiters have to ensure that the marketing is effective, the decision processes rapid, and the information accessible to the potential students with whom they are dealing. At times, these pressures could threaten even the right of academic departments to make decisions about individual students, because international recruitment often demand that decisions are made far faster than can be the case when applications are being routed through individual departmental admissions committees.

### *5.1 Distance Education.*

Face-to-face delivery of lectures is no longer the only means of obtaining higher education. As part of policy changes in a globalised market, foreign institutions have entered strongly in the traditional higher education market with virtual instruction and alternative delivery. An influx of nontraditional providers is currently changing the face of post-secondary education. According to Adelman (1999) "over 1.6 million individuals worldwide earned approximately 2.4 million information technology certifications by early 2000," and "three corporations administered over 3 million examinations in 140 countries in 1999." This is the face of the new higher education. A growing number of for-profit agencies and organisations are looking at the traditional and adult populations as a lucrative potential market for post-secondary provision. The advent of Internet-based instruction, for-profit providers, and a growing network of international institutions have created a competitive market that is having an impact on higher education worldwide. The growth of distance education programs, offered over the Internet, has exacerbated this tendency and made it more difficult for educators and students to assess the quality of such programs and the degrees they offer (Jones Education Company, 2000). As higher education becomes a new "widget" in the global economy, some institutions will be forced out. As U.S. and other developed countries' institutions are aggressively setting their sights on foreign markets, foreign institutions will aggressively market to U.S. audiences. Only those institutions able to adapt quickly and creatively to this competitive situation will prosper in the new economy. For example, India and China expect a wireless Internet to provide an opportunity to leapfrog the developed world in access and opportunity. Wired technologies have long been a barrier for developing nations, and the creation of a wireless

infrastructure is already having an immediate and sizable impact in many parts of the developing world.

## 6. THE GROWTH OF PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

One of the major changes in higher education policy in the past twenty years is the proliferation of institutions of advanced studies. Prior to the 1980s, private universities and other higher education institutions were not a major phenomenon in many parts of the world, except in developed countries such as U.S.A., France, Australia, Spain, etc. The so-called Ivy League universities in the U.S. are private institutions with a long history. In the developing world, only Latin and South America had a long history of private higher education institutions that were often affiliated with religious establishments. As indicated earlier, in Africa, only Liberia College, founded in 1862, was a truly independent institution with no affiliation with either the church or with an imperial power (Sherman, 1990). With globalisation, institutions of higher education proliferated all over the world.

The existence of private institutions in higher education varies enormously from one country to another. Although the size of the country and its population is a factor in the development of private institutions, the latter are much more the result of internal, social and historical developments. Private universities are a potentially important way of diversifying the financial base of national higher education systems. They offer an alternative for expanding access to higher education without adding significant government costs. In the current context of programs to privatise national economies, higher education has been no exception. Private higher education is growing rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa, reflecting a trend now developing across the rest of the world. Education leaders and other experts in several countries say the new institutions are becoming a force for the revitalisation of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. At the very least, the establishment of institutions that are not dependent on government support is seen as a welcome change (Irina, 1999).

There are compelling reasons why private universities have blossomed recently in many developing countries. Here is a brief discussion of the reasons for the growth of private universities in sub-Saharan Africa.

### 6.1 Enrollment

The establishment of higher education institutions immediately after Independence was to help develop human capital to meet the needs of the emerging economies. The success of state established higher education has led to the demand for space in the few existing ones. Combined with population growth, demand for university places has overwhelmed the higher education establishment. The popularity and viability of the private universities has led to high expectation on the part of many African policy makers that the institutions can fill the yawning gap between supply and demand in higher education. Thus, private higher education institutions are seen as a way to alleviate the pressure in public ones. It has been

estimated by a leading World Bank education specialist that “most African countries will have to at least double their higher education enrolment over the next decade to simply maintain the current, very low participation rate” (Saint, 1992).

### *6.2 Ideology*

Religious groups, primarily Christian ones, traditionally dominated private education in Africa. That role eventually was extended to higher education, through institutions established at least in part to help train new members of the clergy. A recent trend in religious affiliated higher education is the demand by Muslims for Islamic universities in Africa. This is more so in East Africa than anywhere else on the continent, although Nigeria seems to be moving in the same direction. In addition to other reasons advanced for higher education, the Muslim population feels that they have been marginalised in terms of formal education. With the establishment of new private higher education institutions opening, including some affiliated with organised religion, many Islamic scholars (Kasozi & Adamu, 1999) see them as the only way to insure that Muslims will be able to enjoy the educational opportunities available to others. The model is the Islamic University in Uganda, founded 11 years ago by the Saudi Arabia-based Organization of the Islamic Conference. Now the idea is taking hold in other countries.

### *6.3 Employment*

For a long time, the main role of public universities in many African countries was to train members of a small elite to become civil servants. Many institutions, still saddled with that legacy, struggle to produce graduates who fit into the current labour market. The private institutions, in contrast, say they are training a work force for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, one that has an entrepreneurial streak.

Private universities tend to specialise in few fields that have a greater rate of employability. Many concentrate on four-year undergraduate programs in business administration, commercial design, hotel management and tourism, and secretarial studies. Most private institutions try to find a niche, given their budget limitations and the context in which they work. In the current economic climate of privatisation, private higher education institutions that show immediate employment possibilities for their graduates, attract students even if they have to pay higher tuition fees. As the unemployment rate increases among traditional Arts & Sciences students, private universities that promise quick employment are becoming increasingly important.

## 7. FINANCE

Finance is probably the most ubiquitous policy tool by a state to influence institutional behaviour. This is true as well in higher education for the following four reasons. First, the budget is the only available policy tool that involves both the use

of incentives and explicit prohibitions on particular kinds of institutional action. Second, budget issues are revisited regularly—annually and at least biannually. Third, budget decisions affect all operations of the institution, not just isolated activities or processes. Finally, the budget is tangible and certain. It is much less open to interpretation than statutes, which individual state offices and officials can alter in the rule-making process and can interpret variously in implementation.

The main source of funding of state-run higher education until quite recently was government grants. Typically, each year a university, along with other tertiary institutions such as diploma and certificate awarding colleges, submits its estimates to a Ministry of Education. As indicated by the World Bank/UNESCO Task Force on Higher Education in Developing Countries (2000):

Most public universities are highly dependent on central governments for their financial resources. Tuition fees are often negligible or non-existent, and attempts to increase their level encounter major resistance. Even when tuition fees are collected, the funds often bypass the university and go directly into the coffers of ministries of finance or central revenue departments. Budgets must typically be approved by government officials, who may have little understanding of higher education in general, of the goals and capabilities of a particular university, or of the local context in which it operates. (p. 32)

There has been a drastic change in the funding of higher education all over the world. With the recession of the 1990s state funding of higher education has declined. In time of revenue shortfalls and allocation among state agencies, higher education is likely to absorb larger cuts than other sectors. Public higher education must compete with K-12 schools, welfare, health, prisons, and other services for state funding. Relative to these other services and agencies, colleges and universities are perceived by state policymakers as having more fiscal and programmatic flexibility. For instance, many higher education institutions have separate budgets, revenue streams, and reserves. Universities are also assumed to be able to absorb temporary fiscal adversity by translating budget cuts into payroll cuts, since many campuses are not bound by collective bargaining agreements. Unlike some state agencies whose programs have relatively fixed spending levels (some set in statute), colleges and universities can save money by increasing class sizes and changing course offerings and even by reducing enrolments. Higher education can also shift costs to students and their families by raising tuition fees (Hovey, 1999).

Higher education, when in financial difficulties, is likely to shift shortfalls to students and their families by raising tuition fees. The steepest tuition increases in the public sector have occurred during recessions as states shift their costs to users, including students and their families. Reference has already been made for the increased use of user fees in higher education. Financial aid strategies that could concentrate public subsidies on those least able to afford college have not been universally successful. Indeed, loans that are supposed to be paid back with interest seem to be the profound way to finance higher education for the poor (Immerwahr, 1997). The clientele bearing the blunt of higher education seems to be the way higher education is obtained; this is in line with the concept of globalisation i.e. the market mechanism.

## 8. QUALITY ASSURANCE ISSUES

Historically, state government has eschewed direct involvement in most academic issues relating to quality assurance. This is no longer the case. Higher education conventionally has associated academic quality with resource “consumption,” that is, with the amount of resources it has been able to attract and spend. In the past, a college or university whose enrolments and budget were growing was thus considered productive. Quality was attested by the addition of prestigious undergraduate and graduate programs such as law and medicine. Accountability was thought of mainly in terms of financial stewardship, by how well and in how much detail an academic institution could document how revenues were spent as functions of, for example, faculty-student ratios, numbers of academic credit hours generated, instructional programs sustained, and total numbers of degrees awarded.

The metaphor for academic accountability most often invoked combined the notion of an institution of higher learning as a production unit, a factory perhaps, together with that of the college or university as a corporate enterprise engaged in retail sales. The school as a business “produces” knowledge, which it then offers for sale. Competing with other sellers in a particular “market,” the college or university establishes a “marketing” plan intended to confer a competitive edge for attracting prospective buyers, namely students. For their part, students as tuition-paying “customers” are said to be making an “investment” in the education sought, hoping for an adequate “return” on that investment. (Implied, but not always stated explicitly, is the presumption that in higher education as in any other purchasing transaction, the customer is always right). College and university leaders need to listen more closely, and must respond more fully to what their constituencies profess to want from institutions of higher learning. Recent years have thus witnessed the growing popularity among academic planners of quality assurance systems originally devised for corporate business and industry such as total quality management (TQM) and continuous quality improvement (CQI), systems now proposed for use in colleges and universities. Dedication to servicing clients’ needs has become a watchword in certain academic circles as a hallmark of quality, responsiveness, and hence, accountability. Based solely on prescribed accumulations of credits, current academic degrees are increasingly incapable of guaranteeing to society that their conferees have achieved given levels of competence, particularly in areas like communication skills and critical thinking that lie outside the domain of a major. The resulting depreciation of meaning puts both degree-holders and potential employers at a severe disadvantage in the marketplace.

In many developing countries, rising graduate unemployment, inadequate performance on the job, and weak research production combine to bring the relevance of universities to national needs under growing public scrutiny. Relevance is understood to include educational choices within the university that are in tune with the national economy and responsive to the prevailing labour market, appropriate curricula, capacity for critical and innovative thinking on issues of national importance, the transmission of essential professional and cultural values, institutional processes and behaviour that equip graduates for leadership in society,



and adequate regional, gender and ethnic representation in the composition of staff and students. Many private universities have tried to avoid shortcomings of quality by concentrating in the few areas that they can manage. They are not everything to everyone like the state institutions. Since they obtain their funding mainly from student tuition fees, private universities tend to make their programs more relevant and marketable. There is, however, a general perception that the quality of private institutions leaves much to be desired. This perception partly arises from residual teachings from the colonial experience that private involvement exacerbates inequalities in education and is associated with inferiority.

## 9. CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly outlined some of the policy changes in higher education due to globalisation. Over the past two decades, higher education has undergone significant changes stimulated by the increasing globalisation of universities/colleges, the rapid growth of the Internet, the massification of higher education and the issue of institutional and instructional quality. New institutions, new players, new pedagogies, and shifts in new paradigms are changing higher education. Although Marxists and critical thinkers have long recognised the integration of higher education into the capitalist economy, there is increased pressure on institutions of higher education to adapt, evolve or desist. The policy environment for higher education is shifting rapidly as it has been outlined in the chapter. There have been policy interests shifting toward a concern about the client needs and services. The focus is no longer on institutions and their needs. As indicated in the chapter, rising tuition and user fee charges, the massification of higher education, the increased enrolment of students, and a shift in political/ social philosophy that sways the paradigm of responsibility away from the public sector toward the individual are trends that may be with us for a while. Some of the repercussions of policy changes have only been casually referred to in this chapter.

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YIN CHEONG CHENG

## GLOBALISATION AND EDUCATION REFORMS IN HONG KONG: PARADIGM SHIFTS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong is an international city and a meeting point of the West and the East, with a strong tradition of echoing global trends. As in some other parts of the world in recent years, education in Hong Kong has experienced two waves of reforms and is starting a third wave in this era of globalisation. The three waves of educational reforms are based on different paradigms and theories of educational effectiveness, and they employ different strategies and approaches for changing schools and education (Cheng, 2001a; 2002). Since the 1970s, the first wave emphasised *internal effectiveness* with a focus on internal process improvement through external intervention. Since the mid-1990s, the second wave pursued *interface effectiveness* in terms of school-based management, quality assurance, accountability, and stakeholders' satisfaction, focusing on macro-social reforms. Now, in response to challenges of globalisation, information technology, and a knowledge-driven economy for the new century, Hong Kong is starting a third wave of educational reform pursuing *future effectiveness* concerned with future generations and a globalised society. Reflecting on the issues of the first and second waves of education reforms, this chapter aims to analyse how Hong Kong, as an international city, is addressing the challenges of globalisation as it moves towards the third wave of educational reform. Implications for policy development, reform practice and research in international contexts are also discussed.

### 2. THE CHANGING CONTEXT AND REFORM

In the 1960s and 1970s, Hong Kong, a small British colony geographically and economically close to socialist China, operated in a relatively special and stable political environment, striving to achieve a steadily growing economy through developing its manufacturing industries and regional trade. Since the late 1970s, with the implementation of compulsory education, the school system expanded quickly in both primary and secondary education in order to meet the challenges of

rapid economic growth. In the 1990s, after the drastic expansion of the school system and the transition of Hong Kong from a predominantly labour intensive manufacturing economic system to an international financial and business centre, Hong Kong shifted its attention in an effort to focus education on quality rather than quantity and to increasing resources to ensure accountability and effectiveness. Particularly in the past ten years, Hong Kong society has been experiencing numerous challenges as it undergoes a transformation due to the fast-changing economic environment in the Asia-Pacific region and due to the political transition in July 1997, from a British colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China. Policy-makers and the public have not had high expectations in terms of the role and functions of education (Cheng, 2001b).

In the above context, a number of educational policies for educational change were initiated in Hong Kong. From 1984 to 2000, the Education Commission published seven reports (Education Commission, 1984-1997), and reviewed reports and reform proposals (Education Commission, 1999a & b, 2000, May & September). Reports No. 1-6 (Education Commission, 1984-1996) and other earlier policy reports can be classified as the source of policy initiatives of the *first wave reform*. The policy recommendations in report No. 7 (Education Commission, 1997) and the related initiatives by the Hong Kong SAR government between 1997 and 2000 are the key components of the *second wave reform* in Hong Kong (Cheng 2000b). The line of thinking and strategies adopted in Report No. 7 and some related initiatives (e.g., Education Commission 2000, May & September) are contrastingly different from those in the previous reports.

Since 1997, the formulation of the second wave of reforms has raised some important concerns about better education among the wider public, but at the same time the formulated strategies and their implementation have been confronting serious difficulties and challenges. In particular, Hong Kong is now experiencing a financial deficit, an economic transformation, and a high unemployment rate. Many people are losing their confidence in the second wave of reforms and doubt whether the ongoing education initiatives can bring a successful future for Hong Kong. Most recently, curriculum reform has been started by the Hong Kong government to promote a paradigm shift in teaching and learning with the hope of developing a culture of "lifelong learning," and "learning to learn," thus enhancing students' ability to adapt to the fast-changing knowledge-based society and meeting the challenges of globalisation and information technology (Curriculum Development Council, 2001). There are indications of an the emergence of a third wave of education reform in Hong Kong with an emphasis on pursuing effectiveness of education (Cheng, 2001b).

### 3. THE FIRST WAVE OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The first wave of educational changes and development in Hong Kong had its roots in the assumption that the policy makers have clear aims for education and are able to find the best practices that enhance effectiveness or optimal solutions for solving major problems for all schools at the school-site level. This wave was

generally characterised by a top-down approach with an emphasis on external intervention or increasing resources and with a focus on a limited number of aspects of educational practice. In reports No. 1 through to 6, the policies which were directly related to efforts for educational changes and development in schools included the following areas: language teaching and learning, teacher quality, private sector school improvements, curriculum development, teaching and learning conditions, and special education.

Some of the policies proposed by the Education Commission have been implemented, while some are still being carried out; that is, if they have not been suspended and changed into other forms, due to the lack of financial support or challenges from the public. Results of some implemented policies have not seemed encouraging, in terms of their impact on the improvement of school education. Based on a top-down approach and ignoring school-based needs, the policy effects of the first wave reforms were quite limited and fragmented (Cheng, 2000a).

#### 4. THE SECOND WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM

Education Commission (1997) Report No. 7 and the recent initiatives of the Hong Kong SAR Government since 1997 have formed the major part of the second wave of education reforms. This wave shares some important features of international reform efforts, with their emphasis on quality assurance, stakeholders' satisfaction, accountability, and school-based management.

##### *4.1 School-based Management*

One of the major second wave initiatives was to transform public schools to school-based management. In 1991, the Education and Manpower Branch and Education Department of the Hong Kong Government initiated a new scheme called the "School Management Initiative" (SMI), to induce a type of school-based management framework in public schools. Within the span of a few years, more and more school principals, teachers, and supervisors accepted the idea and principles of school-based management. There 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 & Cheung, 1999). With strong evidence for the positive effects of SMI in 1997, the Education Commission required all Hong Kong public 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. There has been a hard negotiation process between the school-sponsoring bodies and the government in restructuring an existing school governance that relies heavily on volunteer school-sponsoring bodies.

#### 4.2 *Report No. 7: Quality School Education*

The Education Commission required time to recognise the drawbacks of the first wave strategies and adopt a school-based approach to education reform. In 1997, the Education Commission in its Report No. 7 recommended the following:

- Schools should be helped to set goals and indicators for monitoring and evaluating quality education;
- 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;
- Education Department adopts a whole-school approach to quality assurance inspection and sets up a quality assurance resource corner;
- All schools which have put in place school-based management should enjoy the management and funding flexibility under the SMI;
- 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; and
- Government should raise the professional standards of principals and teachers through providing coherent pre-service and in-service training 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 point to a school-based approach as a mechanism for establishing more comprehensive education quality assurance and school effectiveness.

#### 4.3 *Government Initiatives Since 1997*

After the handover of sovereignty in 1997, the new Hong Kong SAR government made great efforts to analyze Hong Kong’s new role, define its positioning in the region and in the international community, and plan long-term development for the future of Hong Kong in the coming century. The significance and value of quality education to the future of Hong Kong were well appreciated by the first chief executive of the Hong Kong SAR, Mr. Tung Chee-hwa (Tung, 1997a, b). In his policy address of 8 October 1997 he presented 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 pre-primary, primary, secondary, and tertiary education, as well as the school curriculum and examination system, even as the Board of Education was completing a review of the nine-year compulsory education policy (Board of Education, 1997).

Since the delivery of the policy address in 1997, a number of reviews have been conducted and initiatives introduced on teacher education and principal training, educational aims, information technology, Education Department, and Quality

Education Fund. Some key progresses of these developments are summarised as follows:

#### *4.4 Review and Initiatives on Teacher Education and Principal Training*

In accordance with the new SAR government policy on enhancing teacher quality, 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 program in Hong Kong. They finished their reports in January and February 1998, respectively, and submitted them to the Government. The emphasis was on the development of a trained and graduate teaching profession, and all in-service teachers were encouraged to pursue continuing professional development.

A new leadership role for school principals has become crucial to effectively implement educational change and school-based management for quality education. In order to strengthen their leadership competence, in the past few years, 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 (Task Group on Training and Development of School Heads, 1999; Education Department, 2002).

#### *4.5 Education System Reviews and New Proposals*

In 1999 and 2000, the Education Commission reviewed education aims and structures and proposed a new framework for reforming early childhood education, school education, tertiary education, and continuing education (Education Commission, 1999 January, September; 2000 May, September). In setting the direction and formulating proposals for reform, the Commission claimed to adopt principles including student-focused, “no-loser,” quality, lifelong learning, and society-wide mobilisation (Education Commission, 1999 January). The focus of the whole reform package is on the following:

- Reforming the admission systems and public examinations so as to break down barriers and create room for all;
- Reforming the curricula and improving teaching methods;
- Improving the assessment mechanism to supplement learning and teaching;
- Providing more diverse opportunities for lifelong learning at senior secondary level and beyond;
- Formulating an effective resource strategy;
- Enhancing the professionalism of teachers; and
- Implementing measures to support the frontline educator.
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Since the proposals covered a wide range of crucial issues and large-scale changes, they have stimulated a number of debates. Even though the direction and

principles of education reform proposed were generally welcomed by the public, how and why these proposals and recommendations could be effective in order to serve the principles of education reform and the new aims of education in practice has been a major concern among the public. Particularly, without clear research evidence and a sound knowledge base in support of these proposals, it was really difficult to convince the public or educators that they were feasible, effective, and practical in terms of implementation.

#### *4.6 Review and Change of Curriculum*

Echoing the new education aims, principles and proposals for 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. In this report, the Council has proposed some guiding principles in planning a new curriculum framework 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 could be flexibly rearranged, modified or replaced in response to the needs of society and suit the different needs of students. The key components of the curriculum framework include eight Key Learning Areas as the bases for knowledge building. It also includes a platform to enhance cross-subject cooperation and facilitate students to “learn how to learn”), Generic Skills (for helping students learn how to learn, such as collaboration skills, critical thinking skills, problem-solving skills, communication skills, information technology skills, self-management skills, creativity, numeracy skills, and study skills), and Values and Attitudes (nurturing of students’ personal dispositions through the related topics and learning targets in the eight Key Learning Areas). The council also proposed a beyond ten-year schedule 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 the 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 the following are expected:
- 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 long-term development, a vision for lifelong learning is to be achieved. This curriculum framework is still in hot debate. In particular, many people are concerned with its feasibility and effectiveness.

#### 4.7 *Information Technology in Education*

In facing the challenges of the transformation of a traditional economic system to high technology and high value-added industries in a new era of globalisation and information, there is a pressing need to promote information technology (IT) in education for improving teaching and learning and equipping the young people to meet all those challenges. In 1997, the SAR government started to allocate substantial capital costs and annual recurrent costs for the implementation of a series of internet technology (IT) initiatives in education, and in 1998 the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) published its policy paper, *Information Technology for Learning in a New Era*, to outline a five-year strategy (1998/99-2002/03) 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).

From past experience of education reform, mere large-scale resources input and training have demonstrated they are not sufficient to bring effective change and outcomes in the classroom and at the school level. 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 the individual level, is still a challenging question for reformers of IT in education in Hong Kong.

#### 4.8 *Review and Restructuring of the Department of Education*

Following the implementation of decentralisation and school-based management, the traditional role of the Education Department of the Hong Kong SAR government was inevitably challenged by the public. After the policy address of 1997, the SAR government had appointed a management consulting firm to conduct a review of the organisational and management structure of the Education Department, with the final objective to “enable it to function more efficiently, effectively and responsively in its mission to provide quality education” (Education and Manpower Bureau, 1998b). The final report on the review was issued in July 1998 for public

consultation. The report made some recommendations to change and streamline the structure and organisation of the Education Department. With the results of this review and consultation, the Education Department initiated some internal changes towards more professionalism to support school education. But at the beginning of 2003, the Education Department was merged into the Education and Manpower Bureau. This means that the Bureau is now responsible not only for formulating education policies but also their monitoring and implementation. It is still too early to say whether such a merger can be effective and efficient to meet the needs of current education reforms.

#### 4.9 *Quality Education Fund*

As part of the reform policies to encourage school-based innovation and initiative 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. QEF mainly supports worthwhile non-profit-making initiatives for basic education, including pre-primary, primary, secondary, and special education. These projects are intended to promote the quality of teaching and learning in schools; all-round education; school-based management projects; and educational research (Quality Education Fund 1998). Recently, the implementation and effectiveness of QEF have been reviewed. It is clear that many school-based initiatives have been encouraged and promoted by the generous financial support of QEF. But at the same time, the way a comprehensive knowledge base for 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 spent their scarce resources (particularly teachers' time and energy) to "re-invent the wheel" or "beginning from scratch" in a fragmented and piecemeal way when they implemented their school-based initiatives, particularly in the area of using information technology.

### 5. CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES TO ONGOING REFORMS

Since, 1997, the education environment in Hong Kong has been changing very fast. The second wave of Hong Kong education reforms has passed quickly. To a great extent, it has carried characteristics similar to the international emphasis on education quality, accountability, and stakeholders' expectations. It is also clear that there is a strong awareness of future relevance in the reform, but how the reform proposals and strategies are related to the achievement of future effectiveness in education is still unclear and controversial.

Since the life cycle of the second wave has been short, many major proposals for reform are still at the development stage. It is too early to document any policy effects. Particularly, even though the new vision and aims of education are attractive and encouraging, many recommendations are still only broad guiding principles or general education ideas, without any concrete implementation plans or strategies. Although some specific proposals have been proposed (e.g., language benchmark

tests for language teachers and language media of instruction), most of these have become very controversial and have attracted serious criticism. Many ongoing debates were mainly based on personal opinions, different party interests, or political concerns, without any sophisticated analysis or concrete research support. When compared with the huge scale and scope of education reform, the knowledge base for policy discussion and formulation appears to be shallow, atheoretical, and powerless.

Based on the author's recent research on paradigm shifts in education and education reform (Cheng, 2000b; 2001a, b, 2002, 2003a, b, Cheng & Chan, 2000), this chapter tries to point out some fundamental constraints that are tightly restricting the development and success of the ongoing second wave in Hong Kong. As shown in Table 1, there are five major categories of constraints: knowledge constraints, structural constraints, social constraints, political constraints, and cultural constraints. Among these, knowledge constraints are crucial as they seriously limit the possibility of redressing other types of constraints. In other words, if there were fewer knowledge constraints, the change agents or policy makers would have better "knowledge power" to produce clearer ideas and strategies to overcome other types of constraints. Due to the length limit of this chapter, only the knowledge constraints will be discussed here in detail.

Currently, Hong Kong is reforming its whole education system from pre-education to tertiary and continuing education. The scope of reform is so huge and the nature of change is so fundamental, that a strong and comprehensive knowledge system is really needed to support such large-scale reform as well as numerous related initiatives at different levels of the education system and at different stages of development. But unfortunately, there is an absence of such a knowledge system, and the development of current reform is suffering.

### *5.1 Lack of Research and Data Base*

In the second wave of reforms, there was an intended strategy to use research to inform policy making, including, for example, the strategies as outlined in the Education Commission Report No. 7 (1997): "draw reference from experiences and research materials in and outside Hong Kong; research into specific issues related to the review." Unfortunately, in practice, research-based policy development is still a rarity and luxury in Hong Kong (Cheng, Mok & Tsui, 2002). For example, the Education Commission had a very tight schedule of just one to two years but had to review the whole education system and make numerous recommendations in 1999-2000. What kind of research and knowledge can they expect except their own experience and ideas as well as some overseas experience without rigorous analysis? It is not surprising that there is lack of a comprehensive and relevant knowledge base to support policy development and implementation, even though the reform of the second wave was so large-scale and influential.

### 5.2 *Lack of Critical Mass of Information*

Hong Kong is a small place with a population of around 6.8 million. While there are eight tertiary institutions, only four have faculties or departments of education. The Hong Kong Institute of Education has 400 academic staff and the other three institutions have a total of around 160. These numbers are in fact not large when compared with the large scale of education reform and the numerous areas of education at different levels from kindergarten to tertiary that are going to be changed. In other words, there may not be the critical mass of education expertise in each area to provide the necessary expertise, intelligence and knowledge base to support reform, even if all of them may have been motivated and involved in the reform.

Unfortunately, there is also the absence of any centrally established research institute to coordinate the research and expertise that are now separated and working in different institutions without any coordinating framework. Furthermore, there are no full-time educational researchers in Hong Kong. Nearly all academic staff in education in Hong Kong tertiary institutions have a major role in teaching in the teacher education programs. Therefore, it is not surprising that in many important areas, there is still a *lack of a critical mass* of researchers to generate data and support reform and practice at different levels.

**Table 1:** Potential Constraints in the Ongoing Education Reform

Data Constraints	Structural Constraint	Social Constraints	Political Constraints	Cultural Constraints
Lack of research and knowledge base for reform at different levels	Unclear leadership and role in reform	Losing confidence and trust in education and the profession	Over-driven by public media and political concerns	Losing meanings and beliefs in local education
Lack of a critical mass of researchers and experts to support reforms in different areas	Lack of full time/high quality professional teams as think tank and change agent	Lack of commitment and satisfaction with reform	Lack of strong alliances in the profession to support reform	Lack of understanding of and commitment to new paradigm of education
Part-time data for policy-making	Part-time and diverged leadership in reform	Increasing stress and criticism of schools and teachers	Self-defense to reduce loss in changes	Lack of cultural leadership at different levels
Piecemeal, repeated data and knowledge in school-based development diluting data in the teaching profession	Not knowing the existing strengths and losing quality people in teaching profession and unstable education department	Uncertain and anxious about their roles and responsibilities overburdened with existing workload and new initiatives	Mutual blame for failures making more enemies than alliances in reform too many fires to threaten schools and teachers	Creating inconsistent and conflicting messages to dilute the meanings and vision of reform. Lack of positive images and signals to stimulate the morale of teachers
Disappearing bureaucratic/ technocratic intelligence	Disappearing bureaucratic role and responsibility	Losing trust in the bureaucracy and reform	Losing legitimacy due to the failure of previous reform	Losing trust in the espoused direction of reform

Lack of an intelligence platform at both the school and system levels: ignorance, repeated failure, learned incompetence and helplessness	Lack of a sophisticated operation platform at both school and system levels: inconsistencies, gaps, and hindrances	Lack of optimism and encouraging social platform for schools & teachers: disengagement, frustration, and anxiety	Lack of a politically safe platform for innovation: resistance, conservatism, and self-defense	Lack of a cultural platform for communication: misunderstanding, mistrust, and poor morale
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### 5.3 *Part-Time Competence in Policy-Making*

At present, the advisory committees in education have involved many tertiary scholars, school practitioners, and community leaders in contributing advice and ideas for policy formulation. Chairs of key advisory committees are often business or non-education leaders appointed by the government. This arrangement is a tradition to encourage wide participation and input for policy-making. But in these years, the scope and nature of education reform are complicated and changing fast. All these committees are challenged and demand far more than part-time commitment; and most members are successful leaders who may have already several, if not many, other important and substantial community commitments in addition to their full-time job. It follows that policy making of large-scale reform is led by “*part-time competence*,” if not “bounded data.”

### 5.4 *Piecemeal and the School-based knowledge*

Since the implementation of school-based management, schools are assumed to develop, manage, and improve their activities and operation by themselves. Schools often start from scratch in accumulating experience, knowledge, and intelligence, particularly when they want to make any school-based changes or innovations such as using information technology in education. For example, with the support of QEF, a software process automation system, many schools in Hong Kong develop their own multi-media materials and software for teaching and learning. Even though many teachers are very committed and spend a lot of time to learn, prepare, and produce the materials, unfortunately the quality of materials is not always the best and the technology and knowledge teachers use and accumulate are modest, piecemeal, and repetitive. It is ineffective if teachers’ scarce time and efforts are used in such a way instead of directly helping and guiding their students. A central knowledge platform, with the necessary intellectual resources and materials to support school-based initiatives, would leave teachers more time and opportunity to work with their students.

### *5.5 Diluting Competence in the Profession*

In the past decade, there had been a serious brain drain from Hong Kong to other countries due to the political transition from the British colonial government to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China. Many experienced and qualified teachers and educational professionals migrated overseas. Furthermore, due to the implementation of many new education initiatives and the establishment of the Curriculum Development Institute and the Hong Kong Institute of Education, many high quality teachers were selected away from primary and secondary schools. All these developments are diluting the expertise and quality of the teaching profession that are necessary for effective teaching in the classroom and the successful implementation of education innovations.

### *5.6 Disappearing Bureaucratic Expertise*

Since the 1990s, the top leadership of the Education Department has changed frequently, from a few months to two or three years, while other senior officials have been repositioned to different offices. The bureaucratic or technocratic competence that had been accumulated slowly over the past years in the previous Education Department was disappearing quickly due to the fluid personnel and frequent changes in leadership. Without this bureaucratic competence, the development and implementation of new initiatives became more ad hoc, unstable, and unreliable and often ignored some important ecological relations in the policy environment (Cheng & Cheung 1995; Cheng, Mok & Tsui 2002). Following the implementation of school-based management and the merger of the Education Department into the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB), questions need to be raised about the way the EMB could play a new and successful role in leading education reform.

### *5.7 Lack of an Informed Platform*

Hong Kong lacks a sophisticated informed platform at the school and system levels, one that could provide the necessary technology, information, and other intellectual resources to support effective formulation and implementation of education reform, school-based initiatives and practices (Cheng, 2001c). Without such a platform, it is not surprising that ignorance of reform complexity, repeated failure, learned incompetence, and learned helplessness can often be found not only at the individual and school levels but also at the community and system levels. Many people do not understand the complexity of education reform and lose their direction in the policy debate and implementation because they are not supported with any concrete research evidence or a comprehensive knowledge base. Without systematic knowledge support and expert advice based on past experiences particularly from lessons learned from previous reform, many school-based practices repeat failures. Many educational practitioners feel themselves powerless, helpless,

and incompetent in changing their educational environment and managing their teaching practices and begin to distrust and resist education reform.

## 6. TOWARDS THE THIRD WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM

Hong Kong is now struggling to overcome all types of knowledge, structural, social, political, and cultural constraints and is unable to carry out ongoing reforms necessary to meet challenges in a new era of globalisation. Even though the second wave of education reforms in Hong Kong raised a strong awareness of the changing local and international environment, it remains unclear how the proposed recommendations and strategies are relevant in addressing the future of Hong Kong. From an analysis of the constraints as well as the international trends in education reforms (Cheng, 2003a,c; in press), six key implications may be proposed to accelerate the move towards a third wave of education reforms in Hong Kong. They include (1) "From Tight-loose Coupling Theory to Platform Theory"; (2) "Integration of Central Platform Approach and School-based Approach"; (3) "From Localisation to Triplisation"; (4) "From Separated Intelligences to Transfer of Multiple Intelligences"; (5) "From Qualified Teachers/Schools to Developing CMI Teachers/Schools."; and (6) "From Site-Bounded Education to Triplisation Education."

### 6.1 *From Tight-Loose Coupling Theory to Platform Theory*

In the second wave of reform in Hong Kong or other parts of the world, the measures of school-based management, accountability, and quality assurance are strongly emphasised to ensure interface effectiveness. The rationale for school development and improvement is based on the tight-loose coupling theory that encourages school autonomy within a clear accountability framework (Cheng, 1996). This theory implicitly encourages the reform policy efforts on setting up an accountability and quality framework and restructuring school governance and at the same time allowing schools to manage, develop, and function by themselves to meet the expectations of the framework given at the interface between their schools and the community.

### 6.2 *Limitations of a School-based Approach*

School accountability is not sufficient to meet the challenges of globalisation and the needs of the future. Firstly, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, interface effectiveness is not necessary to be effective. The expectations of stakeholders are often local and short term, and their relationship to the future in a context of globalisation and transformation in a new millennium may not be strong and clear. The satisfaction of stakeholders in the short-term or middle term is not necessarily relevant to the future needs of students and the whole society.



Secondly, education should not be seen as a low-technology and low-expertise “business” such that every school can use a school-based approach, a labour-intensive approach, or a low-expertise approach to create a very stimulating and effective environment for learning and teaching. Many schools and teachers in Hong Kong are spending time creating their “home-made” “high-tech” materials for teaching and learning. They are also encouraged to form various types of networks for mutual sharing of experiences, ideas, and best practices. Even though experience sharing is good, it is still not sufficient to raise the level of knowledge, expertise, and technology used in education. In other words, a school-based approach may be good to promote human initiative at the school level but it is not sufficient to raise the level of expertise and technology for education.

### *6.3 Toward Platform Theory*

Given the limitations of a school-based approach, we should give up the tight-loose coupling theory and employ a platform theory. This means that the formulation and practice of education reforms should be based on a high-level expertise platform with the following functions (Cheng, 2001c):

In practicing school initiatives and education activities, teachers and students can start from a higher-level expertise platform that can provide state-of-the-art knowledge and technology. They can concentrate their energy and time to use this platform for education and school operations, rather than wasting their time to begin from scratch. Of course, in the spirit of school-based management, they have their flexibility and autonomy to decide how to use the platform more effectively to meet the school-based needs.

The platform can provide the critical mass of information and knowledge to generate new ideas, information, and technology to support education reforms and school education and ensure the relevance of the policy development and educational practice for the future. The platform itself can be individually, locally, and globally networked to expand the critical mass of information, maximise availability of intellectual resources and create numerous opportunities for continuous expertise development at different levels of education in Hong Kong.

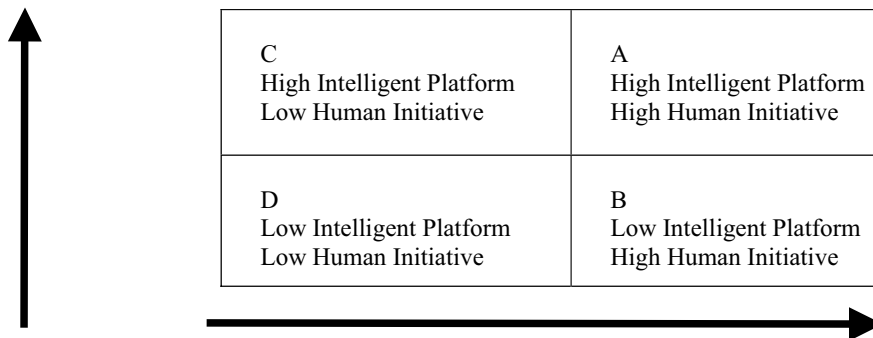
In addition to the information platform, the provision of structural, social, political, and cultural platforms is also very important to education reforms and school management. How to overcome various types of constraints, develop these platforms and facilitate schools and teachers to perform at a high level, is really a crucial strategic issue for further exploration in current education reforms in Hong Kong or other parts of the world.

### *6.4 Integration of a Central Platform Approach and School-based Approach*

The establishment of a central platform is capital-intensive, knowledge-intensive, and technology-intensive. Clearly it cannot be done by individual schools or using a school-based approach. It should be the major task of the government.

Both the central platform approach and school-based approach have their own strengths and limitations. The former can be used to raise the level of data, knowledge, and technology used by all practitioners in education and to avoid piecemeal, repeating and ineffective efforts starting from the beginning. The latter can be used to promote human initiative in the process of learning, teaching, and management and address the diverse developmental needs at the site levels. Both are necessary and important to education reforms. Depending on the degree these two approaches are used, there may be four scenarios for education reforms in the coming years, including Scenario A (High expertise platform + High human initiative), Scenario B (Low expertise platform + High human initiative), Scenario C (High expertise platform + Low human initiative), and Scenario D (Low expertise platform + Low human initiative), as shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1:** Scenarios of Education Reforms in Hong Kong



Theoretically or from the past experiences, we may prefer Scenario A, emphasising the strengths of both a central platform approach and a school-based approach. How we can shift the ongoing education reforms in Hong Kong from mainly Scenario B towards Scenario A is really a strategic issue to be explored.

### 6.5 From Localisation to Triplisation

The rationale of the second wave reform is mainly based on the concept of localisation including decentralisation, school-based management, stakeholders' expectations and satisfaction, and accountability to the local community. When compared with international trends (Cheng, 2002), the second wave of Hong Kong education reforms should move towards the third wave, with emphasis on triplisation, including not only localisation but also globalisation and individualisation. As discussed in Cheng (2000b), through responding to globalisation, reform initiatives can maximise the global relevance of educational practices and outcomes and bring intellectual resources and support in schooling, teaching, and learning from different parts of the world. Through localisation, the

local relevance of educational practices, community support, and indigenous resources can be achieved for schooling, teaching, and learning. Also, through individualisation in education, the motivation, initiative, and creativity of students and teachers can be maximised in teaching and learning. As shown in Table 2, there are some implications for educational reforms through triplisation to achieve unlimited opportunities and multiple global and local resources for learning and development of students and teachers (Cheng, 2000b). Recently there has been increasing evidence that more and more Hong Kong schools have started to globalise, localise and individualise their educational practices to different extents.

#### 6.6 *From Separated Intelligences to Transfer of Multiple Intelligences*

From Howard Gardner's (1993, 1999) framework of nine (Gardner added the last two in *Intelligence Reframed*, 1999) human intelligences, including musical, bodily-kinaesthetic, logical-mathematical, linguistic, spatial, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligence, naturalist intelligence, and existential intelligence, the current education reforms in Hong Kong have emphasised the development of students' multiple intelligences as one of the major new education aims for the future.

I have argued elsewhere that human intelligence should be contextualised and categorised into six contextualised multiple intelligences (CMI), including technological, economic, social, political, cultural, and learning intelligence (Cheng, 2000b). Also, a *Pentagon Theory* was proposed to develop CMI, promote learning intelligence, and facilitate mutual transfer of multiple intelligences as the core activities of new education. *Intelligence transfer* from one type to other types (e.g., from economic to political or social intelligence) represents the achievement of a higher level of intelligence or meta-thinking. The transfer itself can also represent a type of intelligent creativity and generalisation. It is believed that inter-intelligence transfer can be transformed into a dynamic, ongoing, and self-developing process not only at the individual level but also at the group, institutional, and community levels. This will be very important to the creation of a high level knowledge-based economy or an intelligent society. Therefore, the concept of CMI and the Pentagon Theory provides a new paradigm to reforming education, curriculum, and pedagogy in Hong Kong or elsewhere in the world. This paradigm is different from the traditional thinking of development of separated intelligences.

**Table 2:** Implications of Triplisation for Education Reforms

Triplisation	Conceptions and Characteristics	Implications for Education Reforms
Globalisation	Transfer, adaptation, and development of values, knowledge, technology and behavioral norms across countries and societies in different parts of the world: Global Networking Technological, Economic, Social, Political, Cultural, and Learning Globalisation Global Growth of Internet International Alliances and Competitions International Collaboration & Exchange Global Village Multi-cultural Integration International Standards and Benchmarks	To maximise the global relevance and bring intellectual resources and various initiatives from different parts of the world in schooling, teaching, and learning: e.g., Web-based Learning International Visit/Immersion Program International Exchange Program Learning from Internet International Partnership in Teaching and Learning at group, class, and individual levels Interactions and Sharing through Video-Conferencing across Countries, Communities, Institutions, and Individuals Curriculum Content on Technological, Economic, Social, Political, Cultural, and Learning Globalisation

Localisation	Transfer, adaptation, and development of related values, knowledge, technology, and behavioural norms from/to the local contexts: Local networking Technological, economic, social, political, cultural, and learning localisation; Decentralisation to the local Site Level; Indigenous culture; Community needs and expectations; Local involvement, collaboration and support; Local relevance and legitimacy; School-based needs and characteristics; Social norms and ethos.	To maximise the local relevance, community support, and indigenous initiatives in schooling, teaching and learning: e.g., Community involvement; Parental involvement & education; Home-school collaboration; School accountability; School-based management; School-based curriculum; Community-related curriculum; Ability grouping; Curriculum content on technological, economic, social, political, cultural, and learning localisation
Individualisation	Transfer, adaptation, and development of related external values, knowledge, technology, and behavioural norms to meet the individual needs and characteristics: Individualised services; Development of human potential in technological, economic, social, political, cultural and learning aspects; Human initiative and creativity; Self-actualisation; Self-managing and self-governing; Special needs.	To maximise human motivation, initiative, and creativity in schooling, teaching, and learning: e.g.: Individualised educational programs; Individualised learning targets, methods, and progress schedules; Self lifelong learning, self actualising, and self initiative; Self managing students, teachers, and schools; Meeting special needs; Development of contextualised multiple intelligences.

Note: adapted from Cheng (2000b)

### 6.7 *From Qualified Teachers/Schools to Developing CMI Teachers/Schools*

The success of implementing CMI education for students depends heavily on the quality of teachers and the school. Whether teachers themselves can develop and own a higher level of CMI and whether the school can be a CMI organisation and can provide a CMI environment for teaching and learning will affect the design and implementation of CMI education. Therefore, in the reform of school education in Hong Kong for the future, how to develop teachers as CMI teachers and schools as CMI schools through staff development and school development inevitably will become an important and necessary agenda.

### 6.8 *From Site-Bounded Education to Triplisation Education*

With the concepts of triplisation and CMI, there is a clear paradigm shift in education from the traditional site-bound paradigm towards a new triplisation paradigm in a context of globalisation. In the new paradigm, students, teachers, and schools can be considered to be triplised: *globalised*, *localised*, and *individualised* during the process of triplisation, with help of the information technology and boundless multiple networking. Both students and teachers can achieve unlimited opportunities and multiple global and local sources for lifelong learning and development. New curriculum and pedagogy place students at the centre of education and facilitate triplised learning, making its process interactive, self-actualising, discovery-oriented, enjoyable, and self-rewarding. Teachers can provide world-class learning for students. Students can learn from world-class teachers, experts, peers, and learning materials from different parts of the world in any time frame and get local, regional, and global exposure and outlook as a CMI citizen (2000b).

## 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the three waves of education reforms in Hong Kong since the 1980s and earlier. These waves represent three different paradigms for pursuing educational effectiveness. These education reforms and related paradigm shifts have been highlighted in terms of the third wave taking place in a fast changing context of globalisation. But this does not mean that educational relevance in terms of future effectiveness is the only crucial concern or that education quality (i.e., interface effectiveness) and internal effectiveness are not important. The three waves of education reforms represent a change of emphasis, focus, and rationale in interpreting reality and formulating the priorities and strategies of education reform at different stages of development.

As an international city in this challenging era of globalisation, education reforms in Hong Kong should aim not only at internal and interface effectiveness but also emphasise the relevance of education to the future. How to enhance the three types of educational effectiveness and ensure their mutual linkages is a key concern for research and practice in the current education reform in Hong Kong in

moving towards the third wave. On the one hand, people in Hong Kong are concerned with, whether the existing education system and practices are effective in achieving planned goals at different levels and, on the other hand, whether the quality of school education can satisfy the diverse and high expectations of stakeholders in the competitive, changing, and demanding environment in which Hong Kong functions. Further, how the aims, content, practices, outcomes and impact of education are relevant to the developmental needs of individuals and the Hong Kong society as a whole in the era of globalisation is another critical issue in ongoing education reforms.

We expect that the platform theory will replace the tight-loose coupling theory in Hong Kong and a single school-based approach will be replaced with the central platform approach. A triplisation movement consisting of globalisation, localisation, and individualisation in education will replace the implementation of a single localisation framework, and a pentagon theory on the development and transfer of contextualised multiple expertise will replace an emphasis on separate intelligences in education, the development of CMI teachers and schools will replace traditionally qualified teachers and established schools, and the triplisation paradigm will replace the site-bound paradigm in education.

In facing up to the challenges of globalisation, the people of Hong Kong have shown a strong commitment to education reform for enhancing social and economic developments in the new century. Even though a number of drawbacks and difficulties will inevitably be encountered in the policy formulation and implementation processes, numerous good opportunities are being created in the second wave and the coming third wave for policy-makers, school practitioners, and educational researchers to pursue educational innovation and effectiveness for the future. The ongoing educational experiments, reform experiences, improvement practices, and effectiveness studies at both the school and system levels should benefit not only the Hong Kong people, but should also make a substantial contribution to the international concern for globalisation and education reform in the new century.

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## THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON THE MISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY

### 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, sponsorship the custody of the university has to a large extent been conducted by the Church, the State or the 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. Thus, if, as postulated by Barnett (1990, p. 16), 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 emphasize 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 (1971, p. 219) 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 other 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 props of those who directed the energies of society. Medieval graduates furnished the trained minds which influenced political argument and shaped ecclesiastical policy. (Cobban, 1971, p. 234).

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 17th 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 to 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.<sup>i</sup>

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 Humboldt as a guarantee of the “scholar’s academic freedom within which he 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 is not at the same time required to provide an explicit service to society nor is he 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 19th 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 socio-political 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 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 (Cobban, 1971; Foursatié, 1971, Scott, 1984, and 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.<sup>ii</sup> (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, 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) because, as Barnett (2000) contends, in this age of super complexity “the university no longer knows what it is to be a university” (Barnett, 2000, p. 61). 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 it is to defend universal values and ideals, and to create knowledge for the needs of not only a national but also an international audience, 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.<sup>iii</sup> 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, according to Robins and Webster (1985), 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 the critical voice of the university (Delanty, 2002, p. 115).

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 neo-liberal 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 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 Renaut (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 Renaut'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 other 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.

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). Lyotard (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” (Lyotard, 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 Humboltian [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 Humboltian pretension to truth and transcendence from everyday social power

struggles in the Humboltian 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century by order of the King of Sweden to prepare “...civil servants to administer the kingdom and clergymen to serve the Lutheran Church.” (Välmaa, 2002, p. 13). 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 (Välmaa, 2002, p. 14).

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, 1989). 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 (Nevala, 1999). 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 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" (Lahtinen, 1988, in Välimaa, 2002, p. 32). 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 neo-liberalism, 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.<sup>iv</sup> 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 Välimaa (2002, p. 36), expenditure on higher education, rather than increasing as planned, fell by 4.9 per cent between 1991 and 1994: "The proportion of public funding of higher education by the Ministry of Education decreased by 19 per cent between 1990 and 1999 (from 84% to 65%), while external funding from both private and public sources has grown fivefold." (see Tables 3-4) 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 per cent 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 (2002) 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, 2002, 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 resources 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”. (Kogan & Hanney, 2000, p. 32).

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 has 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 is 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 (see Tables 5-6), 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.<sup>v</sup> It is undeniable that in the field of the natural 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 jeopardize 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. S/he is expected to think fast, to publish abundantly, to supervise flexibly, to produce profitably and to enrich science and culture.<sup>vi</sup> This polyvalent excellence can rarely be achieved without trivialising the very mission of intellectual activity.

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## 8. TABLES

**Table 1.** The Number of Students in Finnish Higher Education, 1900 1999. Sources: Nevala 1991, KOTA database, AMKOTA data base

Year	Students in Universities	Students in Polytechnics	All Students
1900	2300	-	2300
1910	3100	-	3100
1920	3500	-	3500
1930	6900	-	6900
1940	9500	-	9500
1950	15000	-	15000
1960	25300	-	25300
1970	60700	-	60700
1980	84200	-	84200
1990	110700	-	110700
1999	151900	96500	248400

**Table 2.** University teachers and other staff in Finnish universities, 1981 1999. Sources: KOTA data base, Valimaa 2001

	1981	1985	1990	1995	1999
University teachers on budget funds <sup>1</sup>	6.500	7.200	7.800	7.600	7.300
other staff on budget funds <sup>2</sup>	-	6.700	8.000	9.000	10.200
other staff on external funding <sup>3</sup>	-	4.700	5.200	7.500	9.600

<sup>1</sup> Professors, associate professors, lectures, senior assistants, assistants.

<sup>2</sup> Researchers (14% in 1999) and other, mainly administrative personnel.

<sup>3</sup> Project researchers, administrative and assisting personnel.



**Table 3.** The Financing of Finnish universities (x 1000 FIM mill.) Source: KOTA data base

	1990	1995	1999
Direct budget financing	3227 (84%)	4547 (71%)	5815 (65%)
Outside financing	612 (16%)	1879 (29%)	3101 (35%)

**Table 4.** Doctoral degrees awarded in 1988-1990 and 1998-2000 by University group

University Group	1988-1990	1998-2000	Growth*
<b>Metropolitan area</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>1419</b>	<b>2.03</b>
University of Helsinki	581	1050	1.81
Helsinki University of Technology	100	282	2.80
Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration	10	46	11.00
Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration	7	21	4.60
Art universities (4)	2	20	10.00
<b>Turku</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>2.52</b>
University of Turku	151	350	2.32
Abo Akademi University	47	131	2.79
Turku School of Economics and Business Administration	2	23	11.50
<b>Universities of the sixties</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>952</b>	<b>3.52</b>
University of Oulu	104	347	3.34
University of Tampere	76	278	3.66
University of Jyväskylä	67	228	3.40
Tampere University of Technology	24	99	4.13
<b>Universities of the seventies</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>3.56</b>
University of Kuopio	85	189	2.22
University of Joensuu	26	149	5.73
Lappeenranta University of Technology	4	44	11.00
University of Lapland	4	29	7.25
University of Vaasa	3	23	7.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>1293</b>	<b>3309</b>	<b>2.56</b>

Source: KOTA data base

\* Number of degrees in 1998-2000 per number of degrees in 1988-1990.

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- i The founding fathers of the German universities were mainly philosophers, a fact that becomes obvious when we read about the mission of this university.
  - ii This scathing critique, which is mainly directed at American universities, may also find some echoes on the campuses of European universities.
  - iii For example, the recruitment of international students is having a significant impact on the economy of many universities (e.g. in the United Kingdom).
  - iv A 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.
  - v As elsewhere in Europe there is in the Finnish university, as Stated by Taylor et al (2002, 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 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..."
  - vi Polyvalence is becoming one of the magic formulas in academia. Mittelstrass (1994,49) 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. (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, 147).

JERZY SMOLICZ AND MARGARET SECOMBE

## GLOBALISATION, CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURALISM: AUSTRALIA

### 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. The other force is represented by massive migration movements across cultural and political boundaries and the state's counter-measures 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' and recent terrorist attacks, both involving people mainly from non-European and non-Christian backgrounds, 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 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. These non-Western traditional values needed to give way to those of the new world order, or at least have their out-dated and backward elements trimmed away (Ake, 1988).

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, and Tjiptoheriyanto, 1988).

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 was 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 trans-national 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, 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 & 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, and 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 multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, not every state recognises the cultural diversity within its own borders (Conversi, 1997, 2002, Grant 1997, and 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 & 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.

##### 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 presupposes 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 & 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, Secombe & Hudson, 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 & Kipp, 1997), there was also a growing resistance to assimilation and refusal to disappear into the Anglo-dominated mainstream (Smolicz & Secombe, 1989, and Smolicz, 1999).

## 6. EMERGENCE OF AUSTRALIA 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 over-arching framework of shared values within which different cultures co-existed 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 and by statements of the former Governor-General of Australia (Deane, 1997). 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 co-existence, 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 programs 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, Hudson & Secombe, 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 *co-existence*, 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 toward 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; 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.

The idealized 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 programs 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 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 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. Incidents such as the "illegal" refugee issue hold far reaching and dangerous implications for the future development of the generally successful Australia 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 co-existence 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', has 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 (2000, 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, has referred to as unwarranted aggression – and even ‘state terrorism’!

As in the Australian response of rejecting or confining 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.

The increasing acceptance of this approach has been demonstrated by the Australian Minister, Tony Abbott (2003, p. 13), a self-confessed former opponent of multiculturalism, admitting to an error of judgment in underestimating the extent of successful cultural interaction between migrants and the older established population, with “every migrant adding permanently to our cultural mix”. While the Minister hoped for a convergence of cultures within Australia, which would depend on “no-one being excluded a priori and . . . left to happen in its own good time”, 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.

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 co-exist 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 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 an 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 HIGHER EDUCATION IN  
CHILE AND ROMANIA: THE ROLES OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, WORLD  
BANK, AND WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION<sup>1</sup>

1. INTRODUCTION

The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), created in 1947, form the institutional “pillars ... of the ... liberal international economic order” (Lal, 1998, pp. 113-14). In 1995 these “Bretton Woods” institutions were joined by the World Trade Organization (WTO), which was created to monitor and enforce the GATT as well as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

The GATS potentially pertains to trade in all service sectors, including water distribution, health, and education, and under the GATS there is a push towards the entrance of private, non-domestic companies into social service sectors from which they had previously been excluded (EI and PSI, 2002). For instance, in relation to the “national treatment” rule, member governments are obliged to treat in the same way domestic and foreign organisations that provide various kinds of services, including education (WTO, 1994, p. 296). Furthermore, with respect to the “[no] most-favoured nation” rule, all commercially provided services must be treated equally; that is, a member government cannot engage in “trade distortive effects,” opening up opportunities only to some nations or companies to operate service delivery businesses (WTO, 1994, p. 285).

For a country to be exempted fully – and indefinitely – from GATS rules, a service needs to be completely “supplied in the exercise of governmental authority” (WTO, 1994, p.285), meaning that the service is “not supplied on a commercial basis nor in competition with other [private] service suppliers” (Sauvé, 2002, p. 3). Alternatively, at least for the near term, a country can limit its commitments to be governed by WTO rules on a sector-by-sector and mode-by-mode basis.

It should be noted that today very few countries qualify for full and indefinite exemptions regarding trade in education services. For many years, education, health,

water, and other social services had been considered as primarily contributing to the public good and, thus, as something to be financed and organised by local, provincial, or national governments; however, more recently these services have become viewed as commodities to be more “appropriately” (read “efficiently” or “profitably”) produced by private organisations; traded in international “markets,” increasingly for private profit; and consumed by individuals for their private benefit (see Robertson et al., 2002).

Critics of the WTO/GATS argue that as public services are privatised and exposed to foreign competition, governments will lose the capacity to protect the domestic providers of such services and they will not be able to guarantee universal access to such services, which is at least theoretically possible under a public monopoly arrangement (Hartridge, 2000). Moreover, this neo-liberal form of globalisation is criticised because it tends to reduce citizens’ capacity to determine educational and other social policies (because local, provincial, and national governments have reduced authority vis-à-vis multinational corporations and “undemocratic” international financial and trade organisations) (Capella, 2000; Daun, 2002; Tabb, 2001). In contrast, those who support or work for the WTO appear to evaluate this trend positively, viewing moves toward privatisation as a means of liberalizing trade (EI and PSI, 2002).

Within the education sector, the post-secondary level is the main focus of the trade activity and discussions due to the higher representation of private sector institutions compared to other levels of education in many countries (EI and PSI, 2002). There is also a focus on making higher education an international business because, according to Schwartz (2000, p. 38) and others who share the WTO/GATS’ neo-liberal philosophy, “public universities...[,] being inefficient institutions ...[,] need the discipline of the market to get them in shape.” While this viewpoint that is not shared by proponents of “democratically” organised, public higher education (e.g., Cohen, 1999), the impact of GATS on higher education is likely to be strong, particularly for “developing countries [whose] restrictions...are the main target of ...[GATS] policy in the education area” (EI, 2001, p.3).

In the next two major sections of this chapter we examine the cases of the higher education systems of Chile and Romania, which during the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were transformed from virtual public monopolies into highly privatised (but also domestically marketised and internationally commercialised) “business enterprises.” These trends, which were shaped by “internal” as well as “external” actors (notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), are significant given the fact that a social service, such as education, can only be fully and indefinitely exempted from GATS rules if it is organised as a public monopoly. Moreover, the similarity of the processes and outcomes of privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education in these two societies – which exhibit similar economic arrangements, but have different political systems and are situated in different regional contexts – provide us with important insights into the phenomenon of globalisation.

## 2. THE CHILEAN CASE

Chile has been a member of the WTO since it began in January 1995, having signed on to the GATT in 1947 as one of the 23 founding countries (Srinivasan, 1998). However, while Chile has made a range of GATS commitments to liberalizing trade with respect to business, communications, financial, transport, and tourism services (Berlinski & Romero, 2001), to date it has made only one bilateral agreement (and only recently, in 2002, with the European Union) with respect to education in the context of the GATS.

In the Chilean case the processes of privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation were initiated in 1981 in the context of a major economic, fiscal, and debt crisis and during the “dictatorship” of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), who had come to power eight years earlier via a *coup d’etat*. This military coup, which was supported by U.S.-based multinational corporations and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (Garretón & Moulián, 1983; Zubenko, 1984), overthrew the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973). In stark contrast to Allende’s “socialist”-oriented approach to development, the Pinochet government pursued a “neo-liberal” strategy within a dependent capitalist framework, and the reforms initiated in 1981 affected all the social sectors (education, health and social security). The processes of privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation – and the more general neo-liberal agenda – continued under the governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei (1994-2000), whose “free” elections returned Chile to the “democratic” framework that had been a feature of Chilean society for 150 years prior to the 1973-90 Pinochet “dictatorship.”

## 3. PRIVATISATION

Prior to 1981 Chile’s higher education system consisted of eight publicly funded universities; two of these were publicly controlled and enrolled sixty-five percent of the students, while six were privately controlled and enrolled thirty-five percent of the students (Brunner, 1986; Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1994). With the implementation of the 1981 reform, Chilean higher education underwent changes, which dramatically increased the level of privatisation within the system.

First, the system was expanded, by allowing the creation of privately controlled and privately funded university and non-university institutions, such that by 1998, the Chilean higher education system contained less than 10 percent publicly funded universities and more than 70 percent private, non-university institutions. Second, as a consequence, the number of students enrolled in private higher education increased significantly; by 1998, 52.1 percent of all higher education enrolments were in privately controlled and funded institutions, up from zero percent in 1980. Third, government funding for publicly controlled institutions declined, and thus higher education institutions (both publicly and privately funded and/or controlled) sought

out or otherwise attracted funds from other (generally private) sources, including tuition payments (from students and their families), income from services provided to private enterprises (e.g., technology transfer), loans from private banks, and donations.

#### 4. DOMESTIC MARKETISATION

The above-noted trends toward privatisation of higher education in Chile have stimulated – or at least have been paralleled by – moves toward “marketisation” in Chilean institutions’ relationships with Chilean students (i.e., selling the programs/commodities of higher education to students/consumers). The trend toward domestic marketisation of higher education becomes more apparent when we compare shifts in the relative levels of institutional funding (direct support, indirect support, etc.) and financial support for students (loans and scholarships). While institutional funding decreased substantially in the period 1981-1990, representing approximately 22 percent less than the amount allocated before the reform in 1981, financial aid to students increased by almost 360 percent (from 6.8 to 25.1 percent) during the 1981-98 period. This meant that higher education institutions had to devote more time and resources to “market” their programs to students, who as “consumers” of higher education might have access to government scholarships and loans (in addition to family resources) to pay for their tuition.

The trend toward domestic marketisation is even stronger than suggested in the paragraph above for two reasons. First, not all higher education institutions were eligible to receive institutional funding and or to recruit students who received loans; thus, non-eligible institutions had to rely to an even greater extent on tuition payments by students. Second, even within the category of institutional funding, there was an declining emphasis on Direct Support (a grant allocation provided by the State to the twenty-five “traditional” universities, currently including sixteen public and nine privately controlled but publicly funded institutions), versus Indirect Public Support, between 1981 and 1998. The “indirect” category represents a form of government allocation designed to stimulate competition for “best” students and thus likely to encourage marketing efforts by institutions to attract such students.

#### 5. INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In the 1990s a few privately and publicly funded universities began developing internet-based or other forms of distance education programs, primarily designed to target “markets” in the Latin American region (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). Efforts were also made to attract foreign consumers of higher education to institutions in Chile, such that by the late-1990s the “traditional” publicly funded universities annually could count on approximately 400 foreign students, mainly from Latin America, but also from North America and Europe. The new (post-1981) private universities have been also seeking to recruit foreign students, although on a smaller scale (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). The Chilean government has promoted such

international commercialisation activity. For example, between 1993 and 1999 the Chilean government spent over US\$6 million to fund *Agencia de Cooperacion Internacional* (AGCI) scholarships for students from Latin America, the Caribbean, and other regions wishing to pursue higher education studies in Chile (AGCI, 1999, 2002a, 2002b).

Other international commercial higher education ventures involving Chilean institutions include: a) *Universidad de Chile*, which created in 1998 the International Corporation University Exchange in Washington, D.C. to promote academic cooperation (including student and professor exchange, design of research projects, etc.) with American universities as well as with other scholar organisations in the area; b) UTFSM, which originated an international agency of cooperation in Washington, D.C. to foster collaboration with American universities (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998); and c) the *Universidad de las Americas-Chile* in association with Ecuadorian entrepreneurs created in 1994 the *Universidad de las Americas-Ecuador* in the city of Quito.

## 6. THE ROMANIAN CASE

Romania acceded to the GATT in 1971 and participated actively in the final stage of multilateral trade negotiations of the Uruguay Round (1990-1993), making a large number of commitments on trade liberalisation on goods and services. In 1995 Romania joined 83 other countries in becoming a founding member of the WTO. For Romania, as with other Central and Eastern European countries, GATT membership was sought as a means of integration in the international (capitalist) economy (Haus, 1992). Similarly, but on a regional level, Romania signed an association agreement with the European Union in 1993, the first step in Romania's long-term plans for European integration, and has signed agreements with the European Free Trade Association and the Central European Free Trade Association. However, Romania has made no GATS commitments for the education sector. Moreover, on 28 September 2001, Romanian officials, along with presidents of the European University Association, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, American Council on Education, and Council for Higher Education Accreditation (USA), signed a joint declaration opposing the inclusion of higher education services in the GATS process (European Education Association et al., 2001).

Beginning in 1989 Romania moved from an authoritarian state formation, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu (1965-1989), towards a "democratic" polity (with "free" and "open" elections), presided over by Ion Iliescu (1990-1996), Emil Constantinescu (1996-2000), and again Ion Iliescu (2000-2004); simultaneously, Romania shifted from a "socialist," command economy towards a "capitalist," "free-market" economic system. Associated with the economic changes, Romania has experienced a reduction in government's share of GDP use, high rates of inflation, and falling employment. Romania's transformation occurred in the context of

economic, fiscal, and debt crises as well as in concert with similar political economic changes taking place in other Central/Eastern European societies and the former republics of the Soviet Union (Kolodko, 2002; Andor & Summers, 1998).

In 1989 Romania's higher education system was totally government-funded and controlled and, compared to the pre-1948 period, relatively isolated from countries outside the "socialist bloc." However, in the years since then, Romania has witnessed dramatic changes in higher education, involving processes of privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation.

## 7. PRIVATISATION

Since 1990, when it became legal for non-governmental organisations to provide all levels of education services, a great number of private universities have been set up; indeed, in the period of June 1993 to June 1995 Romania set a European record, operating 73 private higher education institutions (Mihăilescu, 1998). The percentage of higher education enrollments in private institutions increased from 0 percent in 1989-1990 to 31.9 percent in 2000-2001.

Overall, expenditures for higher education increased during the 1990s in Romania (Ministerul Educatiei, 2001). Public expenditures for higher education in Romania increased in the initial period after the transition (UNDP, 1997 and 2001). However, because tuition and other expenses began to be paid by some students attending public institutions and by most students attending private institutions (University of Buffalo, 2001), the proportion of the cost of attending higher education derived from private sources increased from the 0 percent figure that existed in 1989.

## 8. DOMESTIC MARKETISATION

Government support of higher education includes *core* and *complementary* funding. Core funding, which accounts for 80% of the total government expenditure for higher education, is based on net unit cost per equivalent student (World Bank, 2000, p.239) and is allocated to pay for personnel and material costs. Complementary funding, awarded on a competitive basis is used for establishing and modernizing buildings, laboratories and teaching equipment, as well as for social expenditure for students.

Since the vast majority of government funding allocated to universities depends on the number of students enrolled in specific programs, public institutions need to devote time and other resources to marketing their programs to students. This marketisation orientation was extended further in 1993, when public universities were allowed to collect fees from students enrolled beyond the enrollment quotas. Moreover, public universities can charge fees for courses taken by foreign students, and, in the case of Romanian students, for admission examination and re-examinations, repeated courses, registration and matriculation, board and accomodation, etc.

Accredited, private institutions of higher education are eligible to receive government financial support via two channels: a) their students can receive loans and scholarships, which are used to pay tuition and fees, and b) their faculty can be awarded research and development grants. Having not yet been the recipients of such government grants, private higher education institutions depend almost exclusively on tuition and fees charged to their students, some of whom receive government financial aid. External sources of funds for higher education have been provided by the Tempus Program, the Soros Foundation, the World Bank, etc., but these programs have not been targeted to the private higher education sector. Thus, private higher education institutions, even more than their public counterparts, must devote time and resources to marketing their programs to students.

#### 9. INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIALISATION

With higher education having become an international business, a few public and private Romanian institutions have sought to attract foreign students to their programs in Romania, have developed campuses or programs abroad and/or created distance education programs designed for students from other countries, particularly Europe. To illustrate, in 2001, students from approximately 70 foreign countries were attending Romanian universities, mostly to study art and medicine (Learning in Romania, 2000) and in 1998, the total number of foreign students enrolled in public and private universities and colleges increased constituted 3.25 percent of the total higher education enrolments in Romania (Learning in Romania, 2000; World Bank, 2001).

In 1998, the Romanian government allowed the practice of university extension, through the franchising mechanism, for Romanian universities. Thus far, public universities have tended to pursue university extensions abroad, notably in the Republic of Moldova. And one private Romanian university, the Ecological University in Bucharest, founded a subsidiary of its Stomatology Faculty in Spain; however, because it was not accredited by the Romanian government, the Ecological University in Bucharest had no authority to found a subsidiary in another country.

Romania was the first Eastern European country to create, between 1994 and 2002, the legislative framework for distance education. Within this framework, a number of Romanian public universities have opened their own Open Distance Education programs. Some, such as the Economic Sciences Academy in Bucharest, have opened branches in other cities. Additionally, since 1990, distance and open education involving one or more foreign institutions has expanded rapidly in Romania. Perhaps the most successful education programs of this kind are those offered by the Center for Open Distance Education for the Civil Society (CODECS), which was founded in 1993 as cooperative venture Britain's Open University and Romania's University of Bucharest and funded by the UK Government's "Know How Fund" scheme.

## 10. ANTECEDENTS OF PRIVATISATION, MARKETISATION, AND COMMERCIALISATION

The above-noted dynamics involving the higher education systems of Chile and Romania did not occur in a vacuum. Here we will briefly examine some of the internal and external institutional actors who played a role in initiating and/or continuing efforts toward privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education.

## 11. ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS ANTECEDENTS IN CHILE

The policies and practices pursued by the Chilean government during the 1980s and 1990s reflect a neo-liberal agenda promoted (“endogenously”) by the “Chicago Boys,” who came to dominate the Pinochet administration in the early-1980s, and reinforced (“exogenously”) by the policy recommendations and structural adjustment/stabilisation program conditionalities of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Espinoza, 2002).

An “internal” or “endogenous” catalyst for pursuing neo-liberal economic policies in Chile (and other Latin American countries) is a group of economists trained at the University of Chicago in the late-1960s and early-1970s. The neo-liberal economic reforms promoted initially in the early-1980s by the “Chicago Boys” were based on the assumed benefits of the liberalisation of trade, privatisation of economic activities, and reduction of public expenditure for social services. Based upon a neo-liberal perspective, the “Chicago Boys” argued for reducing public expenditure for higher education by encouraging the creation of private institutions, transferring costs of attending post-secondary education to students or their families, and emphasizing loans rather than scholarships for those students who could not afford to pay the increased tuition charges.

Perhaps not coincidentally, the ideas celebrated by the “Chicago Boys” were similar to those of the World Bank, which grounded its recommendations in neo-liberalism and built its case on the foundation of human capital theory and rate of return analyses (see Espinoza, 2002, pp. 140-48). The Bank viewed education as an investment in the future productivity of labour; in the case of higher education such investment was seen to have a greater return for the individual than for society. Thus, it is not surprising that the World Bank (1980 and 1986) recommended privatising the costs of attending post-secondary education – i.e., increasing tuition charges and making available loans (rather than granting scholarships) to at least some of the individuals/families who could not otherwise afford the tuition charges. And given a belief that private organisations were naturally more efficient, providing services to consumers on a supply-and-demand basis and being subject to the discipline of the “market,” the World Bank (1980 and 1999) also encouraged the creation of private institutions of higher education.

Two other strong, neo-liberal-oriented, “exogenous” sources of influence on Chile’s higher education policies, particularly during the 1980s, were two IMF’s



stabilisation programs and a World Bank structural adjustment program, both of which were “negotiated” with Chilean government officials as part of agreements for loans obtained in the context of fiscal and external debt crises (Edwards, 1994; Corbo & Rojas, 1991). The IMF stabilisation programs (implemented in 1983-84 and 1985-87) and the World Bank structural adjustment program (implemented in 1986-88) strongly encouraged the Chilean government to: a) reduce public expenditure in higher education, b) diversify institutional revenue sources by introducing competitive funding mechanisms (e.g., Indirect Public Support and Institutional Development Fund) and by expanding the sale of services, and c) increase the proportion of the individual/family costs of attending higher education (via tuition charges and student loans) (see Espinoza, 2002).

## 12. ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS ANTECEDENTS IN ROMANIA

Similar to the case of Chile, in Romania the changes that took place in the higher education system resulted from a confluence of ideas/actions of “endogenous” or “internal” and “exogenous” or “external” actors. While privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education did not occur “officially” until after the transition from “socialism” to “capitalism” in 1989, moves toward “voluntary, informal” privatisation of the costs of education and other social services actually began earlier. During the late-1970s and 1980s Romania experienced severe economic, fiscal, and debt crises, and by the end of the decade its economy was on the verge of collapse. In this context, the Ceausescu government secured loans first from the World Bank and later from the IMF,<sup>ii</sup> and “negotiated” a policy of “self-reliance,” which involved the rapid repayment of Romania’s foreign debt, totalling US\$11 billion or 20-30 percent of its Gross Domestic Product, to these organisations as well as private bank lenders (IMF, 2003; World Bank, 2002). During the 1980s, this policy (and one that emphasised large infrastructure projects and heavy industry) led not only to a “significant reduction in resources allocated for social services (education, health)” (UNDP, 1997, p. 90) but also to the privatisation of some of the costs of these social services. As reported by the UNDP (1997, p. 91): “To counter the rapid deterioration in [government] provision of these services, the population agreed to participate directly in covering some of the costs – maintaining the schools, private lessons for children, paying for medicine, supplementary [fees] for medical services. As a result, education and health were no longer completely free.”

After the transition in 1989, with a continuing economic, fiscal, and debt crisis and with increasing technical advice from the U.S. and other “Western” countries and international agencies, the Romania government, headed by Ion Iliescu and then by Emil Constantinescu, continued efforts to reduce public expenditures, “[a]lthough ... the amounts allocated to basic social services (education and health) grew, while direct financial transfers to the population (pensions and especially those for families with children) fell” (UNDP, 1997, p. 90). In 1990, the Iliescu

government began to increase public funding for higher education (at least as a proportion of public expenditures) but also decided to legalise the creation of private institutions of higher education. The latter decision was in line with the new government's ideology that private organisations could be more efficient and could be developed without much government intervention.

The Romanian government's initiatives to privatise, marketise, and commercialise the system of higher education were undertaken in the context of – perhaps in anticipation of and certainly reinforced by – the policy recommendations of the World Bank and the structural adjustment and stabilisation program conditionalities of the World Bank and IMF, respectively. The World Bank has been active as a lender in Romania since 1991, though it began implementing projects in the 1970s (World Bank, 2002); of the World Bank's 30 projects in Romania, totaling commitments of over US\$3 billion, around 21 projects, totaling US\$1 billion, were in operation in 2002. For example, in 2002 the Romanian government "negotiated" with the World Bank a US\$300 million loan, the Second Private Sector Adjustment Loan, which involved agreements that Romania would reform and privatise of the financial sector, privatise state-owned enterprises, enhance the business environment, and reduce social sector spending.

Similarly, the loans that Romania obtained from the IMF, beginning in 1991, stipulated as preliminary conditions the speeding up of structural reforms and the privatisation process (Bilotkach, 2000; Havrylyshyn and Wolf, 1999). In 2002, the IMF approved the release of the second and third tranches, amounting to a total of US\$86.6 million, of a stand-by loan agreement that had been postponed until Romania fulfilled the commitments stipulated in the agreement, including refraining from raising minimum wages for government workers (IMF, 2002, p. 4).

Moreover, Romania secured funding from the World Bank for the Reform of Higher Education and Research Project (1996-2002), which was designed to achieve, among others, the following objectives: a) increase per student expenditure in public and private higher education, b) increase the private share of total higher education enrollment (to 25 percent by 1999/2000), c) increase private sources of funding for recurrent expenditures in public higher education (to at least 30 percent by 1998/99), and d) increase in cost recovery from students as a proportion of private financing in public higher education (World Bank, 1996).

### 13. CONSEQUENCES: VULNERABILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN WTO/GATS FRAMEWORK

The cases of Chile and Romania are by no means identical, in terms of either their historical and contemporary contexts or the strategies that "exogenous" and "endogenous" actors pursued. Moreover, because of their geographical location and cultural traditions, they have pursued international higher education "business" relationships with different, though overlapping sets of foreign countries and organisations. Nevertheless, both cases presented above do provide strong support for Sauvé's (2002, p. 4) observation that "the 'market' for trade in [higher]

education services is big, diverse, innovative and growing fast. ... [Such] changes ... have been occurring almost independently of developments in the WTO.” However, we disagree with Sauvé’s (2002, p. 4) conclusion that the GATS/WTO “is not likely to be a driving force or even a major consideration behind such changes.”

Indeed, the moves toward privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation of higher education in Chile and Romania, which have been stimulated by “endogenous” actors as well as “exogenous” actors (the World Bank and the IMF, which are sister institutions of the WTO), have positioned very effectively these systems to be governed by the rules of the GATS/WTO. For us, the future direct impact of the GATS/WTO on higher education will be determined by the extent to which these “endogenous” and other “exogenous” actors continue to accomplish what WTO actions might otherwise be called on to achieve. If (new or existing) national governing officials seek to abandon the neo-liberal agenda and if global movements against the World Bank and the IMF reduce or eliminate their capacity to “impose” neo-liberal approaches for organising higher education (etc.), then the mechanisms available through the GATS/WTO may be utilised to pursue the goal of “opening up ... national educational markets with a view to building a vast international market, unified and based on competition” of corporate education service providers (EI and PSI, 2002, p. 16). Regardless of whether brought about by the actions of “endogenous” actors or “exogenous” actors (the IMF, World Bank, or WTO), “[s]uch an opening-up of the education sector [privatisation and international trade] would [likely] give a free hand to a small number of transnational corporations specialising in education, who could establish subsidiaries wherever they pleased by using, for example, computerised, ready-made and standardised teaching modules” (EI and PSI, 2002, p. 15; see also Kelsey, 1997).

While it is possible for a country to “opt out of [or excluded from] the multilateral trading system altogether” (Sauvé, 2002, p. 11), it is unlikely that many nations will pursue this course, particularly if they view such trade in higher education as representing opportunities as well as vulnerabilities. Moreover, while (as noted above) nations currently have the opportunity to restrict what service sectors will be subject to GATS rules, it should be remembered that “[t]he GATS ... contains an overarching commitment to successive future negotiations to increase coverage and expand the agreement ... aimed at achieving a progressively higher level of liberalisation” (Sinclair, 2002, pp. 3-4). As EI and PSI (2002, p. 13) note, “in accordance with the so-called rollback rule, it is expected that, as time goes by, member countries will open up their markets further, gradually lifting more and more restrictions on trade.”

Exactly what the future trends for the role of the GATS/WTO in shaping higher education in Chile, Romania, and other countries will be decided by the actions of individuals and organisations inside and outside these societies. While it is apparent that the provision of higher education available to worker-consumer-citizens of these nations may be strongly shaped by external forces (making national systems vulnerable to “foreign” influences), at least for semi-periphery countries

like Chile and Romania there may be some opportunities for some domestic higher education institutions to expand their business beyond their respective borders. Whether these dynamics are viewed as a positive or negative developments will likely vary among owners/managers and employees of “successful” and “unsuccessful” institutions and among students/consumers who do and those who do not gain access to quality higher education.

#### 14. NOTES

- 1 This is a revised and abridged version of Ginsburg et al., (2003).
- 2 Romania was the first state-socialist country to join the IMF (in 1972), and Romania and Hungary were the only Eastern European countries which borrowed funds from the IMF prior to “transition” process, which began formally in 1989.

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## GLOBALISATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY SHIFTS

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 & Thompson, 1996). 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 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 Fukayama (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, 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 programs 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 & 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 program 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 toward 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 nine-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 toward cultural integration, the entire political agenda has begun to shift toward 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 economics-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 eleven 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 toward 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 project SOCRATES is useful in improving the quality of language training and school partnerships at the primary and secondary level through the LINGUA and COMENIUS programs. These programs 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 three years leading to an undergraduate degree, a second cycle lasting two years leading to a postgraduate degree, and a final three-year program leading to a doctorate. Within these general constraints, the universities are given great autonomy in terms of programs 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 percent 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 programs, especially in the border regions of a country.

#### 4. THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the free-enterprise economics 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, if the children of 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 & Biddle, 1988).

Second, there is a tendency toward 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 programs they would have in the district, and how the curriculum and teaching programs 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 & Finn, 1984).

Third, there is a counter tendency toward 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 program shall be, at least within the limits allowed by the centralised state programs.

Fourth, there is a growing tendency toward 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 & 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 toward 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, 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 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 the Ukraine began to move in a similar direction (Rust, 1992).

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 block, 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 & Knost et al., 1994). These reform labels had been give 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, 1992).

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 block.

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 toward 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 programs (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), *lycéen* (grades 8-11/12), experimental schools focusing on modified instructional approaches, free-time programs, 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 *Gymnasium* 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 & Knost et al., 1994). These reformers claim young people must learn to deal successfully with a performance-oriented educational program 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 programs.

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 programs 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 (*nauchno-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, from the Northern Humanistic Lyceum, from 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 *Gymnasium* (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 multi-level system of certification:

1. Basic higher education
2. Further basic higher education
3. Specialised higher education, with a possible Masters Degree
4. Graduate Study, leading to a candidate or doctoral degree

At the present 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 forty 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: Human Capital theory. Of the many change theories, 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 the 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. 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 forty 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 little resources available to government spending on education usually has 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 twenty 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 percent of the share of national GNP, with Kenya leading the way at an average 6.5 percent, Tanzania at 3.2 percent, and Uganda well below average at 2.2 percent (UNESCO Yearly).

Even in times when government funding was sparse during the past twenty 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 percent of secondary schools were considered private (Lassibille, Tan 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 so considered private or public schools.<sup>i</sup>

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 seven-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 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 post-primary 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 post-primary 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, 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 percent of people aged 15 to 19 years are HIV positive in Kenya. As many as 30 percent 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 at teach classes. How to offer health care to HIV-infected teachers is another issue currently facing 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 the sufficient resources to access higher education. No longer is the tertiary sub sector 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 lowered 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 percent 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 & 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](http://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 & 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 programs 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 socio-political 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 admissions 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.<sup>ii</sup> 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, has 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.

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<sup>i</sup> 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.



MICHAEL H. LEE AND S. GOPINATHAN

## CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCES? COMPARING EDUCATION REFORMS IN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong and Singapore were British colonies for about one and a half centuries, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are also Chinese societies with a majority of Chinese population. Developed from small fishing villages and then entrepots, both cities are now competing for a leading role as an economic, financial, information and educational hub in the Asia-Pacific region. In spite of these similarities, Hong Kong, unlike Singapore, is not an independent state but has been a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China since July 1997. Following the "one country, two systems" principle, the government enjoys autonomy in public policies and governance. On the other hand, Singapore gained its independence in August 1965 after four-year self-government from 1959 to 1963 and a two-year merger with Malaysia between 1963 and 1965. Nation building is not surprisingly the most important policy imperative for the Singapore government. Moreover, unlike Hong Kong, Singapore is a multi-racial society, although there is a majority of Chinese, who account for about 80 percent of the total population on the island-state. The Singapore government put a strong emphasis on preserving social cohesion among the three racial groups, the Chinese, Malays and Indians through education. With manpower the only asset available in Hong Kong and Singapore to sustain their economic and social developments, education has been treated as a vital instrument to ensure for both cities high quality professionals, and a skilled labour force to deal with rapid changes in the world economy. More emphasis is now placed on the practical and market value of education.

This chapter examines and compares the policy context of education reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore. There are four sections. The first provides an overview of the global context for education reforms over the past two decades. The second section examines and compares the development of education reforms in the two cities. The penultimate section then assesses the impact of the education reforms

with reference to the trends of corporatisation, marketisation and privatisation. The final section concludes the chapter.

## 2. GLOBAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION REFORMS

Drucker (2001) stated that, in the “next society”, knowledge will be its key resource and knowledge workers will be the most productive and influential group in its workforce. These are three characteristics of the “next society”:

- Borderlessness, because knowledge travels even more effortlessly than money.
- Upward mobility, available to everyone through easily acquired formal education.
- The potential for failure as well as success. Anyone can acquire the “means of production”, i.e. the knowledge required for the job, but not everyone can win. (Drucker 2001, p.4)

The knowledge society is highly competitive and with the dominance of information technology knowledge is spread near-instantly and made accessible to everyone in the world. On the one hand, not only businesses, but also schools, universities and other government agencies have to be globally competitive although simultaneously they also need to be locally focused in their activities and in their markets. Knowledge technologists instead of unskilled manual workers in manufacturing will become the dominant social and political force over the next few decades. Education, therefore, has an important role to play in the development of the knowledge-based economy around the world. In a world facing unprecedented rapid changes, knowledge becomes obsolete rapidly and knowledge workers or technologists have to go back to receive education and training from time to time. Continuing education, learning, training, which will be delivered in different modes, will become a huge growth area in the future society (Drucker, 2001, 2002).

Education policies and reforms have been affected significantly by globalisation. Globalisation represents a new and distinct shift in the relationship between the state and education (Marginson & Rhodes, 2002). The world, they argue, is in the process of becoming commodified simultaneously through the recommodification of the provision of public services and the decommodification of the welfare state. The role and functioning of the state in the context of globalisation is tending towards the competitive state, which prioritises the economic dimensions of its activities above all others. As a consequence, there is a shift in the focus of policies from maximising welfare to promoting enterprise, innovation and profitability in the private and public spheres. *Corporatisation, marketisation and privatisation* have become the most popular policy strategies for reforming public services, including education (Mok & Currie, 2002). The provision of education has become more market-like based on the principles of choice and competition, whereas the governance of education concerns what is being decentralised and to whom, in relation to the three major components, namely, finance, provision and regulation (Dale, 1999, 2000).

Globalisation, in fact, has required a paradigm shift in policy-making towards the competitive-contractual state settlement, which involves changing relationships between the state, the economy and the civil society. From an educational perspective, schools are to be freed from bureaucratic control to become more responsive to communities but subject to managerial accountability regimes under the influence of neo-liberalism. According to Robertson and Dale (2000), there are four major changes of education policies alongside a movement towards the competitive contractual state. First of all, managerialism has been encouraged to bring about changes in school organisations and to make professionals more accountable to the government and the community. Schools have been encouraged to develop a management approach to ensure effectiveness. Secondly, educational outcomes have been audited in line with the principle of accountability. Audits are increasingly being marketplace. Thirdly, the goal of economic competitiveness has been promoted by the introduction of the schooling market, which is aimed at promoting efficiency, competitiveness and responsiveness to consumer demands. The governance of education has been increasingly driven by a more individualistic, competitive and entrepreneurial approach. The final change is indicated by a shift from central planning to devolved responsibility. While schools are made more responsive to parents through marketisation on the one hand, they become more accountable to government through enhanced auditing procedures on the other.

A major tenet of globalisation theorists has been the weakening of the nation-state in the face of an ever-closer integration of economies. Weaker nation states are seen as having little or no voice. Their peoples and institutions have been marginalised. A variant of this argument is that nation states exist as legal entities, legitimate within their boundaries, to some extent obliged to perform according to international conventions and agreements. Yet others point to governments as not so much eliminated as reconstituted or restructured. The point at which globalisation and education processes intersect is at the need for national economies to become even more efficient and competitive in the new environment, which is characterised by mobility of capital, talent, jobs, knowledge and accelerating technological innovation. Traditional production processes are deemed to be inefficient, old business models irrelevant and the new is embraced with a vengeance. Yet another shift has to do with the increased importance given to customer choice; the client is king and businesses' ability to respond to increasing diversification and product niche development will make them more successful than their competitors. This privileging of the flexibility links up with preference for markets, privatisation, and corporatisation as core elements for the revamping of public sector institutions, including educational institutions.

The change of educational governance has been featured by a commitment to market-oriented provision of services and the encouragement of a consumerist ethos. Some noteworthy results indicate a cutback of public funding for public services, a reliance on the "user-pay" principle for public services, and the corporatisation and privatisation of public service institutions. Education is skewed towards economic and vocational goals from a human capital perspective to enhance economic competitiveness in the globalising world. Greater autonomy enjoyed by educational

institutions is bound by centrally determined policy and funding guidelines and the emergence of a market-based form of governance based on the assumptions of consumer choice and public accountability (Green, 1999; Henry, Lingard, Rizvi & Taylor 1999; Marginson, 1999).

Our analysis of globalisation should not be confined to “economic globalisation”. As for education, Bottery (2000) argues that “managerial globalisation” has brought about unprecedented changes in educational institutions amidst the tide of public sector reform with the rise of New Public Management (NPM), also known as managerialism, characterised by more directive and assertive management. Private sector practices have been borrowed and adopted by public and educational institutions to realise two core values of NPM: on the one hand, managers have been turned into proactive instead of facilitatory or reactive administrators. On the other hand, managers have freedom to innovate within tightly defined quality parameters. In relation to education, the characteristics of NPM are:

- The greater emphasis upon site-based management
- Greater financial discretion at the institutional level
- An increased marketisation of activities, set within increasingly state-defined parameters
- An increased emphasis upon the role of principals as the charismatic and empowering “leaders” of their troops

An increased emphasis upon the need for senior professionals to be trained in such managerial techniques (Bottery, 2000, p.67)

The recent years have also witnessed the ascendancy of managerialism as a concept affecting the educational developments and reforms in most countries. Managerialism imports business models and tighter systems of accountability into education to make them more efficient and more akin to business enterprises and by putting more emphasis on the language of rational choice, efficient organisation and new roles of managers, who should be dynamic, efficient, productive, entrepreneurial, and “lean and mean” (Apple, 2001). Educational administration is now being supplemented by market accountability, which involves different forms of devolution drawn from the ideology of neo-liberalism; the responsibility for educational decision-making has shifted from state machinery to market forces and individuals (Whitty, Gewritz & Edwards, 2000).

It is noteworthy that in the age of globalisation, the state or government has to maintain its legitimacy to rule by creating conditions for economic and social development. An effective education system functions on the basis of a well-organised and efficient public administration, which is capable of stimulating economic growth. Both strategies of decentralising and marketising education can make educational institutions and the education sector more accountable to consumers, employers, students and parents. In financial terms, even more public spending, which is expected to be spent wisely and effectively, is needed to provide opportunities for its citizens to receive a higher level of education and, more importantly, to enhance the quality of teaching and learning processes but not on an imbalance that is skewed towards cost-effectiveness and managerial efficiency (Carnoy, 1999, 2000; Daun, 2002; Hallak, 2001).

There are thus a number of converging trends of educational developments and reforms in the context of globalisation. In relation to the change of educational governance, there is a tendency to having decentralisation of policy implementation with greater centralisation of policy control. That means 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, assessment and control, in order to ensure the effectiveness of policy control at the core. Nevertheless, while there are clear global trends confronting education policies and reforms, government continues to be a powerful actor in the globe. The shift of educational paradigms and ideas is inevitably affected by such global trends as decentralisation, marketisation and privatisation, the development of education policies is still shaped and determined by factors that are essentially local or national in character (Gopinathan, 2001).

### 3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION REFORMS IN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

By the 1970s, the policy of universal education at primary and secondary school levels was accomplished in Hong Kong and Singapore. This policy gave rise to an expansion of both primary and secondary education levels during a period of rapid economic growth, which required a skilled workforce and educated professionals during the transition from industrial societies to service-oriented financial and business hubs.

Particularly for Singapore, education has an additional role to play. Schools are expected to socialise pupils into citizenship obligations and cultivate a national identity. While some progress has been made and there is a stronger sense of identity, especially among the younger generation, 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 communities. Finally, a competitive school environment places a premium on individual excellence both at individual and institutional levels.

Three trends of policy changes and education reforms for primary, secondary and university levels in Hong Kong and Singapore are identified. The first is the transition from quantitative expansion to qualitative consolidation, due to the rapid expansion of different levels of the education sector. It also witnessed concerns over quality education over the past decade. The second is the decentralisation of managerial power and responsibility to educational institutions in line with the notions of autonomy for accountability, effectiveness for quality, and flexibility for innovativeness. The third denotes a common trend of comprehensive reviews of

education systems in the name of coping with challenges of globalisation and knowledge-based economy.

### *3.1 The transition from quantitative expansion to qualitative consolidation*

In Hong Kong, the policy of free primary and junior secondary was implemented during the 1970s. In contrast, tertiary education remained an elite system with a mere 2 percent of the relevant age cohort (between 17 and 20 ages) admitted by local universities. In 1978, the government conducted a review of the future development of senior secondary and tertiary education. It proposed a limited expansion of tertiary education (Hong Kong Government, 1978). As a result, the participation rate in local universities increased slightly to 8 percent by 1990. It was not until 1994 that the higher education enrolment rate reached 18 percent (University Grants Committee [UGC] 1996).

In the early 1980s, the government commissioned an international panel to review its education system. The most important recommendation made by the panel was the establishment of an Education Commission (EC) to provide for the government policy advice on the needs of and priorities for the education system in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Government 1982, para.II 27). Between 1984 and 1997, EC published a total of seven *Education Commission Reports* with a wide coverage of education 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, put its focus on the notion of “quality school education” with a vision to improve the quality of education chiefly by a management-based approach. That report marked a turning point from quantitative expansion towards qualitative consolidation by inculcating a quality culture in the education system, and for accomplishing the aims of education in an efficient, cost-effective and accountable manner (EC 1997).

The emphasis on quality is not confined to school education but has also had a profound significance for the university sector. Since the mid-1990s, when the target of raising the higher education participating rate was achieved, the government and its funding body, UGC, had turned its attention to issues related to quality assurance and enhancement. A series of quality review exercises on research, teaching and learning processes, and institutional management have been conducted. The performance-linked funding system in research was introduced with the implementation of the Research Assessment Exercise in 1993 as a means of improving both the quality and scope of the research undertaken by all publicly-funded universities (UGC, 2000). The immediate result is that research output is widely used for internal exercises for academics such as appointment, promotion, substantiation and extension beyond retirement. A “publish or perish” phenomenon has become a reality facing the academic profession in Hong Kong (Cheng, 2002).

In Singapore, since the late 1970s, the government has put forward a number of policy changes and reform initiatives, which affected the development of education on the city-state. The first came in 1979 when the government published a report on

the Ministry of Education (MOE) with the aim of tackling the problem of resource wastage in education, including students' failure to achieve the expected standards; premature school leaving; repetition of grades; and unemployable school leavers. The government paid much more attention to the reality of low literacy as well as the ineffectiveness of the policy of bilingualism in school education (Goh, 1979). The solution to the problem of low effectiveness was the introduction of an ability-based streaming mechanism at the end of primary three with an ability-differentiated curriculum, as well as extensions to the length of schooling for students who are academically weak (Gopinathan, 2001).

By the mid-1980s, Singapore's education system had entered into a stage of qualitative improvement. The city-state weathered its first economic recession in 1986 since the nation's independence in 1965 amidst a decade long high rate of economic growth. In response, the government conducted a comprehensive review of the economic system. In the same year, a report entitled *The Singapore Economy: New Directions* was released. It suggested that in order to achieve a competitive edge in the Singapore economy, it was necessary for the nation to upgrade the educational level of the population by raising the median educational standard of the labour force to secondary level and by expanding opportunities for the population to receive post-secondary, polytechnic and university education. Such expansion was aimed at catering for the needs of future manpower development to encourage the development of more creative and flexible skills through broad-based education as well as continuous training and re-training (Ministry of Trade and Industry [MTI] 1986). While the expansion of the existing education system was a major concern of the Singapore government, it was also keen to ensure that educational institutions were capable of maintaining the quality of education.

As for university education, quality assurance is widely perceived as a means to ensure that universities are managed effectively and wisely in response to increasing pressure for accountability and efficiency. Business management concepts and practices have been imported into the university sector. The growing popularity of such notions as quality audit and control ensure that the quality of teaching and research is likely to be improved, and resources can be distributed more rationally (Gopinathan & Morriss, 1997). In practice, quality assurance and enhancement in universities is achieved by the recruitment of talented local and foreign academic staff. The quality of university education is reinforced by four main strategies, namely, a stringent tenure policy, rewards for good teaching and research performance with incentives and recognition, favourable staff-student ratio accompanied by a well-equipped teaching and research facilities, and the provision of staff training and development programmes to upgrade skills and performance (Selvaratnam, 1994).

As in Hong Kong, the two existing public universities, the National University of Singapore (NUS) and Nanyang Technological University (NTU), developed their own appraisal systems on academics in the areas of governance, management, teaching, research, and service (see, for example, NTU University Academic Audit Committee, 2000). In the meantime, MOE also established a Quality Assurance Framework for Universities (QAFU), which was designed around three main steps,

namely, institutional self-assessment, external challenge and validation, and feedback and development. QAFU has three aims: first, to ensure proper accountability for the use of public monies; second, to help the universities to become even more flexible, responsive and resourceful; and third, to enhance overall quality across the higher education system year-by-year (MOE, 2000a).

The performance of academics is assessed by objective and transparent evaluation criteria to foster a culture of excellence within the university. Staff remuneration is not based on seniority but more on academics' educational achievements and expertise. Moreover, the quality assurance frameworks adopted in the two public universities are similar to those adopted by public service institutions under a wider policy context of Public Service 21 (PS21) Movement, which was launched by the Singapore government to reform the public service sector since 1995 (PS21 Office, 2001). With the spread of the spirit of techno-preneurship and entrepreneurship in both the public and private sectors, the universities have looked into business models for assistance with their institutional management. The widespread concerns about the quality of education and world-class academic standards in university education cannot be separated from the quest for a more rational use of financial resources derived from the public purse, even though there is not a resource problem for the education sector in Singapore (Gopinathan, 2001; Lee & Gopinathan, 2001).

### 3.2 *Moving from centralisation to decentralisation*

Another characteristic of education reforms in the two cities is the movement towards decentralisation in terms of managerial power and responsibility from the government to individual educational institutions. Hong Kong is not immune from the international trend of school-based management, which emphasises school-based, bottom-up approach of making changes and leading developments for enhanced effectiveness, quality and relevance of schools and the education system at large. In 1991, the government introduced a new policy, the School Management Initiative (SMI), which was a new management framework for public sector schools to embrace critical elements for improvement and effectiveness such as decentralisation, autonomy, participation, flexibility, and accountability (Cheng 2000).

The SMI policy symbolises a departure from the traditional management practice of depending on a central bureaucracy, which might hinder the effective use of human resources and the development of appropriate school cultures to pursue quality in education. Moreover, it helped schools to shift from an external control management model to a school-based management model (Cheng & Chan, 2000). In 2000, the government published a consultation document on the school governance framework under the School-Based Management (SBM) based on an assumption that the implementation of SBM would build up the capacity of individual schools to manage their own affairs within a framework of policies, standards and accountability. The ultimate objective is to enhance the effectiveness of teaching and



learning, and to improve student outcomes (Advisory Committee on School-Based Management, 2000).

The core of the SBM policy involves the decentralisation of decision-making power from the government regarding personnel procedures, financial matters, and the design and delivery of curriculum. Nevertheless, self-managing schools are not independent but operate within a centrally determined framework of authorities and responsibilities, which is subject to external audit and to be accountable for their own performance. Meanwhile, each school is required to identify priorities, select and continuously develop staff, allocate resources, adopt appropriate curriculum and teaching practices, and measure performance in ways which meet the mixed learning needs of the students.

In recent years, on the other hand, the government has propelled the development of the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) schools, which are able to enjoy a higher level of autonomy in finance, curriculum, tuition fees, and staff recruitment and deployment. These schools are subsidised by the government on a per capita basis and are in inverse proportion to the fees charged. They are also encouraged to set up their own fee remission schemes for students who cannot afford high tuition fees. Apart from deciding their tuition fees within the framework set up by the government, they can also decide their own enrolment figures. DSS is treated as an alternative to the public sector schools (Tan, 1993a). In 2000, the government relaxed the maximum amount of tuition fees charged by DSS schools so that a DSS school can charge as much as HK\$68,864 for each student per year on top of the full government subsidy payment for each student per year at the amount of HK\$29,513 in the academic year of 2001/02 (Education Department 2001). Due to such amendment in terms of government subvention and tuition fees, some prestigious aided English-medium schools, such as St. Paul's Co-Educational College and St. Paul's College, joined DSS in exchange for more autonomy and discretionary powers on issues regarding budgetary, personnel, curriculum, and admission matters (Tsang, 2002).

The Singapore government was increasingly concerned that the most prestigious schools had lost some of their individuality and special character as a result of the movement towards a highly centralised system of education under the tight control of MOE. The then First Deputy Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong, who is now Prime Minister, spoke of the need to allow more autonomy within schools and of giving school principals the right to appoint staff, devise curriculum and choose textbooks subject to adherence to key education policies (Tan, 1997). In 1986, twelve school principals were invited to accompany the then Minister for Education, Tony Tan Keng Yam, who is now Deputy Prime Minister, to visit 25 acknowledged schools in the United Kingdom and the United States with the aim of seeing what lessons could be learnt for Singapore. An official report *Towards Excellence in Schools* was published in 1987. The most significant recommendation made by that report was the creation of independent schools, which should be managed by a Board of Governors to make decisions on matters related to the appointment of the principal, staff deployment and salaries, tuition fees, admission policies, teacher-pupil ratio, and the curriculum (MOE, 1987). It was stipulated that those schools with

prerequisites for independence would be well-established schools with capable principals, experienced teachers, strong alumni, and responsible boards of governors. Given greater autonomy and flexibility in personnel, financial and educational affairs, these independent schools were expected to serve as a role model for other schools in Singapore (Tan, 1996, 1997). There are eight independent schools, including the Raffles Institution, Raffles Girls' School, Chinese High School, and Anglo-Chinese School (Tan, 1993b). Moreover, two junior colleges, namely, Hwa Chong Junior College and Raffles Junior College were to become independent from January 2004, thus making a total of ten independent schools (MOE, 2003a). For non-independent schools, the government decided to grant them more discretionary power to raise miscellaneous school fees for purchasing teaching materials and equipment and for funding new educational programmes.

Another category of autonomous schools was proposed in 1992. The first five autonomous schools were established in 1994. There are three major criteria for being selected as an autonomous school: first, the school has a good system in place to achieve the desired outcomes of education; second, the school has achieved consistently good academic and other results; and the school is well-established and receives parental support and public recognition. There will be 25 autonomous schools by the end of the year 2004. Additional funding is being given to enable those schools to develop a wider range of curriculum and programmes (MOE, 2003b; see also Tan, 1996).

Meanwhile, there is increasing pressure on competition among schools. Competition is supposed to provide parents and students with a wider range of choices and to improve the accountability of schools. In Singapore, there has been a practice of ranking among all secondary schools and junior colleges with the results released by MOE and published yearly by local newspapers. It is believed that with more and better information available, parents and students can make better choices. Secondary schools have been ranked on three major criteria. Firstly, a composite measure of students' overall results in the annual General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level Examinations. Secondly, an evaluation of schools' value-addends by comparing students' examination performance with their examination scopes upon entry to their respective schools. Thirdly, a weighted index that measures a school's performance in the National Physical Fitness Test and the percentage of overweight students in the school. A noteworthy consequence of the ranking of schools is that principals are more eager to engage in marketing activities, including recruitment talks, the production of brochures and promotional videos, and the courting of the press to highlight school achievements (Tan, 2002).

The introduction of such competitive mechanisms into education has inevitably aroused controversies and criticisms in the Singapore community. It is highly debatable whether fostering competition can improve the quality of education and promote greater choice and diversity for parents and students. The competition among schools does not take place on a level playing field. As the quantity of independent and autonomous schools are determined by the government, ordinary schools, i.e. non-independent and non-autonomous (NINA) schools, cannot enjoy such autonomy in student enrolments and the number of teachers employed. Non-prestigious and non-academically selective schools are unable to compete effectively

with especially the independent schools, which have ample financial resources. As a consequence, the gap between independent and NINA schools is widening in terms of academic outcomes because the latter remain unable to attract high academic achievers. In addition, the competition in the form of ranking has been criticised as a means to provide the top schools with valuable data for their marketing strategies to attract parents and students. Some schools have tightened their admission criteria in order to maintain their top ranking positions. Competition and increased academic selectiveness by top schools will lead to a further stratification between the independent and autonomous schools on the top and NINA schools below (Tan, 1996, 1998).

### 3.3 *Comprehensive reviews of education systems*

The third common feature of education reforms found in Hong Kong and Singapore is the launch of comprehensive reviews over the past few years. Since the establishment of the Hong Kong SAR in 1997, the government has been carrying out a comprehensive review of the education system covering a wide range of areas like the aims of education, academic system, curriculum, admission mechanism and criteria, and student assessment and examination. The latest review of education, which began in early 1998, was conducted by EC in three phases, namely, aims of education in the twenty-first century; direction and overall framework for reforming the education system; and proposals for the reform of the education system (EC, 2000).

In September 2000, EC finalised and published its education reform proposal entitled *Learning for Life, Learning through Life*. Globalisation and the emergence of the knowledge-based society were justified as the most important rationale for introducing education reforms in Hong Kong. The aims of education should be:

to enable every person to attain all-round development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physique, social skills and aesthetics according to his/her own attributes... Students should be enabled to enjoy learning, enhance their effectiveness in communication and develop their creativity and sense of commitment (EC 2000, pp.4-5).

In short, the ongoing education reform aims at building a lifelong learning society, to raise the overall quality of students and also to construct a diverse school system. In many ways these goals, as we shall see later, are very similar to those in Singapore.

Five education reform initiatives were proposed. First of all, primary and secondary schools with the same ideology are encouraged to link together as “through-train schools” based on their consistency in curricula, teaching and personal development of students. Second, the government also intends to develop a diversified and multi-channelled system for senior secondary and tertiary education in order to allow students to make their choices according to their aptitude and ability. A credit transfer system is proposed for higher education. Third, it is proposed that the curriculum for school education should be reformed to make it

more flexible, diversified and integrated to enable students to learn how to learn. Fourth, quantitative assessment should be minimised to make way for more analytical assessment so as to produce a more comprehensive picture of students' needs and performance in schools. The modes, contents and assessment methods of the existing examination system should be improved to give students more room for creative and independent thinking by linking the content of examinations with students' experiences in daily lives. Finally, regarding the admission system, the allocation of primary school places should be based on school enrolments and parental choices, whereas the banding system at the secondary school level should be gradually phased out to minimise the labelling effect. In addition, universities were asked to depend less on the results of public examinations but more on the overall performance of students for their admission exercises (EC, 2000).

For higher education, UGC conducted a comprehensive review of higher education. The report on *Higher Education in Hong Kong* by Stewart Sutherland, a former Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh in the United Kingdom, was released in March 2002. It made some controversial recommendations for reforming the higher education system in Hong Kong. For instance, it urged the government to identify a small number of institutions to be the focus of public and private sector financial support in order to enable them to compete with other institutions at the highest international levels. In order to maintain international competitiveness of local universities by attracting high quality academics, it was proposed to delink the salary pay scale of academic staff from that of the civil service in order to enhance the freedom and flexibility of institutional management to determine the appropriate terms and conditions of service. It recommended that the existing quality assurance system in universities be strengthened and the allocation of research funds continued to be based on research performance as revealed from the results of the Research Assessment Exercises. Furthermore, the report proposed the setting up of a credit accumulation and transfer system with a change of funding based on credit units in order to facilitate student mobility, and also to provide better articulation arrangements between community colleges and the universities (UGC, 2002).

In Singapore, since the mid-1990s, the government has put more emphasis on cultivating and fostering greater creativity and innovation among students with the launch of "Thinking Schools, Learning Nation" (TSLN) initiative in 1997 by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong (Goh, 1997). TSLN aims to develop all students into active learners with critical thinking skills and develop a creative and critical thinking culture within schools. Major strategies include the teaching of critical and creative thinking skills, the reduction of subject syllabus content, the revision of assessment modes, and a greater emphasis on processes rather than on outcomes when appraising schools (Gopinathan, 2001; Mok, Tan & Lee, 2000).

The TSLN movement was supplemented in 1997 with the launch of the Masterplan for Information Technology in Education with a budget of S\$2 billion to incorporate information technology in teaching and learning in all schools. The Masterplan specified a target of up to 30 percent for the use of information technology in curriculum for all subjects by the year 2002 (MOE, 1997). Moreover, the school curriculum was reviewed and MOE ordered a reduction of up to 30

percent of the curriculum content to leave more time for students to do project work. Assessments are also being modified in order to better assess creative and independent thinking among students. The emphasis of Singapore's education system is to move away from the mastery of content towards the acquisition of thinking and learning skills for the needs of lifelong learning (Gopinathan & Ho, 2000).

It is also noteworthy that the devolution of authority and decision-making power from the government downward to individual schools has been strengthened with the implementation of the school cluster scheme, and the School Excellence Model (SEM) in 2000. The model aims to identify and measure the schools' strengths and areas of improvement. It allows benchmarking against similar schools, stimulating improvements activities that can impact on the overall quality of the school and the quality of the education system (P.T. Ng 2003). There are nine quality criteria for school assessment within the SEM framework (MOE, 2000b, cited in P.T. Ng, 2003):

1. *Leadership*: How school leaders and the school's leadership system address values and focus on student learning and performance excellence; and how the school addresses its responsibilities towards society.
2. *Strategic Planning*: How the school sets clear stakeholder-focused strategic directions; develops action plans to support its directions, deploys the plans and monitors performance.
3. *Staff Management*: How the school develops and utilises the full potential of its staff to create an excellent school.
4. *Resources*: How the school manages its internal resources and its external partnerships effectively and efficiently in order to support its strategic planning and the operation of its processes.
5. *Student-Focused Processes*: How the school designs, implements, manages and improves key processes to provide a holistic education and works towards enhancing student well-being.
6. *Administrative and Operational Results*: What the school is achieving in relation to the efficiency and effectiveness of the school.
7. *Staff Results*: What the school is achieving in relation to the training and development, and morale of its staff.
8. *Partnership and Society Results*: What the school is achieving in relation to its partners and the community at large.
9. *Key Performance Results*: What the school is achieving in the holistic development of its students, in particular, the extent to which the school is able to achieve the Desired Outcomes of Education.

Moreover, SEM is aligned with the Master plan of Awards for schools, which comprises three levels of awards, including the Achievement Awards 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 may apply for the Singapore Quality Award (SQA) like other industrial or commercial organisations under the Singapore Productivity and Standards Board (P.T. Ng, 2003). The SEM framework requires schools to look at the design, delivery and output of education,

the perspectives of processes and results, and also how the school leadership leads people and manages systems to produce the desired outcomes or results (MOE, 2000c, 2000d). In 2001, five schools were award SQA, namely, Anglo-Chinese School (Independent), Dunman Secondary School, Raffles Institution, River Valley High School, and Xinmin Secondary School. These schools were assessed on the quality of leadership, management of resources, staff welfare and planning. While Anglo-Chinese School (Independent) and Raffles Institution are independent schools, the other three are autonomous schools which have been on the value-added schools' list for the past few years (*The Straits Times* 23 July 2001).

The case of Singapore illustrates the movement from centralisation to decentralisation is concomitant with the growth of marketisation in education with an emphasis on competition and performance indicators which enables government to change its mode of regulation from direct control to "steering from a distance". The market has been used by the state to make stakeholders take up their responsibility in educational governance on the basis of autonomy in exchange for accountability. Market mechanisms apply also in the university sector when the Singapore government aims to transform the city-state into an educational hub in the Asia-Pacific region by upgrading its universities to world-class status. In order to achieve the aim of making Singapore the "Boston of the East", the government carried out a review of the university governance and funding system between 1999 and 2000. Greater autonomy in financial and personnel matters has been granted to NUS and NTU. The system of accountability is to be improved to ensure that public funds are spent wisely and effectively in line with the desired outcomes. At the same time, the universities are given more flexibility in financial management with the institutionalisation of block grants and a three-year recurrent budget planning cycle. A new system of staff remuneration and management has been put in place by de-linking the salary pay scale of academics from that of civil service. The two universities abolished automatic, time-based increments for academics, and a new performance-based pay structure was introduced in late 2000 (MOE, 2000e; *The Straits Times* 5 July 2000; *The Straits Times Weekly Edition* 15 June 2002).

In January 2003, MOE announced a plan of restructuring the university sector in Singapore. The final report entitled *Restructuring the University Sector – More Opportunities, Better Quality* was released in May 2003. It proposed that a new and expanded public university sector should comprise two comprehensive universities, and three "niche" universities (MOE, 2003c, 2003d; See Table 1).

**Table 1:** Comparison between Singapore's University System in 2003 and 2010

2003	2010
NUS	NUS Multi-Campus University System
<i>Comprehensive university</i>	NUS Kent Ridge
NTU	<i>Comprehensive university</i>
<i>Science and technology university</i>	NUS Buona Vista
Singapore Management University	<i>Science and technology university with a</i>

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(SMU)	<i>strong research orientation</i>
<i>Business and management university</i>	NUS Outram
	<i>Boutique institution offering medical and health sciences education</i>
	NTU
	<i>Comprehensive university</i>
	SMU
	<i>Business and management university</i>

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Source: MOE (2003d), p. 60.

In the restructured university sector, NUS will be transformed into a multi-campus university system with three autonomous campuses led by their respective presidents. NUS Kent Ridge will retain its existing spread of disciplines. NUS Buona Vista will be a research-intensive university with a research inclination in the fields of engineering, info-communications technology and sciences. NUS Outram will specialise in medical and health sciences education. On the other hand, NTU will expand into a full-fledged, comprehensive university to include disciplines in the physical sciences, humanities and social sciences, and design and media. As for SMU, it is expected to continue its existing role as a quality university offering business and management education (MOE, 2003d; E.H. Ng, 2003).

Most recently, the government carried out a review of junior college and upper secondary education in 2002. In November of the same year, *Report of the Junior College/Upper Secondary Education Review Committee* was published. The review committee recommended a broader and more flexible junior college curriculum, and also a more diverse junior college and upper secondary education landscape. Apart from reforming the existing junior college curriculum to enable the cultivation of conceptual thinking and communication skills among students, more attention has been given to the way a diverse education landscape can be created. A total of five recommendations were proposed (MOE, 2002, pp. v-vii; see also Shanmugaratnam, 2003):

1. Introducing an Integrated Programme to provide a seamless upper secondary and junior college education.
2. Continuing the three-year pre-university programme provided by centralised institutes.
3. Establishing new specialised independent schools to cater to students with talents in specific fields such as arts, sports, mathematics, and science.
4. Allowing junior colleges to offer alternative curricula and qualifications to the existing "Ordinary" and "Advanced" levels.
5. Allowing a few privately run, privately-funded secondary schools and junior colleges to stimulate new ideas and innovative practices in the education sector, and cater to full-fee paying students from abroad within the national education policy framework.

Furthermore, university admission criteria were modified. As a consequence, examinations like the Scholastic Assessment Test, which is originated in the United

States, and the International Baccalaureate, are likely to become more prominent in the Singapore's education system (MOE, 1999).

#### 4. THE IMPACTS OF EDUCATION REFORMS

The ongoing education reforms have three major impacts on the education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore. These impacts are corporatisation, which refers to the running of educational institutions as a business or corporation; marketisation means the adoption of market principles and practices to run educational institutions; and finally, privatisation, which indicates the state sector or government has encouraged the non-state or private sector to take a bigger role in the provision and finance of education although it may not be the case that the government tends to reduce its public expenditure for the education sector (Mok & Currie, 2002). There are marked differences in impact between the three; as a general rule the impact is more pronounced at the post-secondary level.

##### 4.1 Corporatisation

Business principles and practices have been imported into the education sector. To a certain extent, educational institutions have been perceived as similar to corporate enterprises most recently. With the implementation of the policies of SBM and SEM in Hong Kong and Singapore respectively, primary and secondary schools have been made responsible for their mission statements, strategic plans, financial budgets, and quality assurance and control mechanisms which are subject to external scrutiny by the government. In fact, both governments are eager to improve the overall quality of education by means of maximising the "value for money" and improving managerial effectiveness. Such a management-oriented approach has been praised by the government hoping to make schools excellent organisations similar to the business sector. In Singapore, MOE admitted that the line between the way schools and business organisations are being run becomes blurred; school principals are now seen as chief executive officers. Quality assurance and performance assessment, which form part of business models, are now norms for schools to transform themselves into good organisations with capable leadership. School principals are now more involved in areas of leadership, management of resources, staff rewards and planning (*The Straits Times* 23 July 2001).

Likewise, universities are not immune from the influence of the managerial effectiveness notion as seen from a business-oriented perspective. In Hong Kong, while the institutional management has been embraced in the quality assurance mechanism governed by UGC, the universities have been skewed towards a more business-like model to cope with the requirements set up by externalities. Areas like the formulation of strategic plans, resource allocation, service delivery, and management information and system have been embraced in the Management Review undertaken by UGC. From a financial perspective, the universities have to play a more active role in soliciting donations, to compensate for the drop of recurrent grants from the government. Moreover, the universities have to earn extra



financial resources from their spin-off companies and market-oriented courses and programmes.

In Singapore, the universities are now expected to develop as global knowledge enterprises in order to compete with the best universities especially in North America, Europe, Australia and Asia. In order to improve the academic standards of the universities, the academic programmes and research initiatives are to be evaluated by international benchmarking. The languages of entrepreneurship and techno-preneurship prevail in the university sector as more emphasis has been placed on the cultivation of an entrepreneurial culture among academics and students in Singapore. NUS has announced recently its plan to set up five overseas colleges in the United States, China and India to provide entrepreneurship and IT-related courses for its students who will intern with companies in these countries. It is believed that the plan is to raise the international profile of the university by satisfying the international benchmarking standards and foreign alliances with world-renowned higher education institutions as well (*The Straits Times Weekly Edition* 22 September 2001).

In September 2002, following the path of the internationalisation of education, the Economic Review Committee under MTI suggested that NUS, NTU and SMU put more effort in attracting academically-strong students from overseas, in order to increase Singapore's share of the international student market. Targets have been specifically established for full-fee paying international students in the undergraduate and professional postgraduate disciplines in order to capture a bigger slice of the estimated US\$2.2 trillion world education market (Economic Review Committee, 2002).

Both Hong Kong and Singapore demonstrate the phenomenon of "jumping into the sea" in the university sector, which means that the universities are keen to commodify and marketise their research outcomes and related end-products in the marketplace through their spin-off companies to support their research and development projects by earning profits. Academics have become more involved in the market for alternative sources of income, which can be understood as an influence of "academic capitalism". This idea indicates that the universities have to compete for external resources from market-related applied research funds, service contracts, industry-government-university nexus, spin-off companies or corporations, and endowment funds (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

#### 4.2 Marketisation

The development of education reforms in Hong Kong and Singapore has also been affected by market forces. In order to grasp enough support from stakeholders, mainly parents and students, marketing activities have become a norm for schools. On top of their internal quality assurance mechanisms, schools are now more eager to be compared according to their students' academic and non-academic performance. While there is no ranking system for schools in Hong Kong, Singapore has introduced such practices of ranking among secondary schools and junior

colleges since 1995. It is believed that inter-school competition can result in a wider range of choices and also improve accountability of schools.

Criticisms against the ranking system are concerned with the stratification and polarisation of schools between elite and non-elite schools. Due to a different historical background and resource entitlement, the competition among schools does not take place on a level playing field, as the gap between top elite and non-prestigious, non-selective schools has been widened in terms of student enrolment, autonomy and flexibility in financial and personnel matters, and also academic and non-academic achievements (Tan, 1998).

For universities, the effective functioning of higher education markets depends a great deal on the provision of consumer information about the institutions in terms of education quality and performance available for the public. The provision of information concerning the quality and performance of the universities may require the government, or an intermediary body, to gather and disseminate relevant information to the general public. Alternatively, the information about the performance and quality of the universities can be gathered and compared through the ranking exercises conducted by external agencies. This is a "name and shame" syndrome in relation to the practice of ranking in league tables. The universities are therefore motivated to respond to external pressures for achieving better performance and to enhance the sense of public accountability.

Universities increasingly are exposed to market forces. More managerial powers and responsibilities have been delegated from the government to faculty and departmental levels of the universities. Performance-based funding is now necessary for strengthening the capacity of government and public service institutions, like the universities, to enhance their performance and thus survive in the highly competitive capitalist economy. In response, the universities are strengthening their capacity to develop the corporate form of governance and management in order to compete more effectively in the new environment of higher education. This seems to coincide with the rise of managerialism and bureaucratisation of the academic profession in the universities.

Quality assurance, planning and budgeting systems, and accounting procedures are now of central importance to the organisational development of the successful management of universities as public service institutions. Financial, academic and management audits are now major mechanisms for accountability to make the universities corporately responsible for their own performance and outcomes. The concept of competition has been extended to the policy of performance-based funding for research in line with accountability (Lee, 2002a; Lee & Gopinathan, 2001; Lee & Tan, 2002; Mok & Lee, 2003).

#### *4.3 Privatisation*

The latest development of education reforms has left some room for the emergence of private schools and university education both in Hong Kong and Singapore. Although both education systems have not yet envisaged serious problems with financial cutbacks of the huge public spending promised by the two

governments, there has recently been a comment that the non-state or private sector is encouraged to run education in order to give rise to the diversification of educational expenditure.

In Hong Kong, although Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa has made a promise to inject HK\$100 billion into the education sector as a long-term social investment for the socio-economic development in Hong Kong, it is not only the government but also service-users who have to share the cost of running a universal education system in the coming ten years (Lee, 2002b). The government intends to solve the problem induced by over-reliance on the government as the sole source of income to run education. While aided primary and secondary schools have been encouraged to join DSS to make these schools shoulder partial responsibilities of financial management by collecting tuition fees and absorbing social donations for their endowment funds, the universities are urged to depend less on the government, which imposed a continuous financial retrenchment from the triennium 1998-2001 to at least the triennium 2005-2007 that there would be an estimated 25 percent cutback of the total university budget.

Social donations, university-business-industry partnerships, and lucrative courses and programmes become major alternative income sources for covering their operational costs. In response to the need of exploring non-governmental sources of income for the university sector, the former Financial Secretary, Antony Leung, announced a plan to set up a HK\$1 billion matching fund for eight UGC-funded higher education institutions to encourage fundraising activities in the university sector (Leung, 2003, p.10). Meanwhile, EC's education reform proposal also supported the development of private university education on the basis that a well-established quality assurance system is in place to assure academic standards. The government subsequently indicated that it was willing to consider the viability of privatising some publicly-funded universities with an aim to alleviate the financial burden on higher education, which is currently shouldered by the government. It was believed that the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, which were set up in 1911 and 1963 respectively, were the most suitable higher education institutions to be privatised because of their relatively strong alumni networks and social connections with the corporate sectors. It was estimated that the government would have to spend about HK\$360 billion to privatise all eight publicly-funded universities. Upon privatisation, universities would enjoy a higher degree of flexibility and freedom in management and resource allocation in exchange for lesser reliance on government grants (*Mingpao Daily* 31 October 2001).

In Singapore, there has also been some discussion of private education. In his 2001 Teachers' Day Rally Speech, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong spoke of allowing the setting up of some private schools to promote diversified and innovative teaching methods in the school education sector. Theoretically, private schools can be totally independent of MOE but they have to conform to the national education policies like teaching core subjects and National Education (Goh, 2001). Afterwards, there were at least two proposals for setting up private schools submitted to MOE. One is for a private "through-train" school from kindergarten to

junior college levels, and the other is for an Asian International University to be financed by an endowment fund (*The Straits Times Weekly Edition* 22 September 2001).

Some renowned schools were also hoping for more autonomy and independence from the government by going private. In December 2001, the Chinese High School submitted a proposal to MOE to ask for private status in order to have complete freedom to devise its own curriculum and hire university lecturers and business professionals as teachers. In addition, the school was also seeking to offer a straight six-year secondary school programme so that its students would not sit for the Ordinary Level Examination (*The Straits Times*, 8 December, 2001). Finally, instead of becoming a private school, the Chinese High School maintains its independent school status but has linked up with the Hwa Chong Junior College, which was to become an independent school in 2004, to offer a six-year secondary school programme with the introduction of an Integrated Programme (MOE, 2002, p.24).

Unlike Hong Kong, there has been a sort of private university in Singapore since August 2000, SMU. The university has a close relationship with the Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania in the United States. The collaboration aims to build up a world-class university for nurturing creative entrepreneurs and business leaders. The university also differs from the two public universities in a sense that it is run as a “private” university with responsibility for developing and establishing the curriculum and its own recruitment and promotion procedures, although it is still funded by the government through its endowment funds (SMU, 2001). There is still a division of labour among the three existing universities in Singapore. While NUS performs its role as a comprehensive and NTU a specialist institution in engineering and business disciplines, SMU concentrates its efforts to serve the business and service sectors of the local economy in the nation.

The concept of “private” is vague because the government still offers SMU financial grants and physical infrastructure such as land and campus buildings. The government regulates tuition fees so that they are identical to the two public universities in order to maintain the competitiveness of the “private” university in terms of student enrolments. Instead of viewing it as a genuine “private” university, it is perhaps more appropriate to label it as a “privately-run publicly-funded” institution. The founding of SMU as a “private” university had aroused discussions and debates on the possibility of privatising the two public universities, NUS and NTU. Nevertheless, the government denied that there had been any plan to privatise both public universities. SMU is expected to provide the government with an opportunity to try out a different governance framework and allow the three universities to compare their governance experiences and share best practices (Teo, 2000).

Moreover, although the Singapore government rejected the setting up of a fourth university by proposing the university restructuring plan in 2003, the Economic Development Board under MTI suddenly announced that a new university would be established by an established institution overseas to offer a comprehensive curriculum from liberal arts to engineering. Such a move is likely to allow both

international and Singapore students more choices in university education. It aims to triple the number of foreign students in the nation up to 150,000 within ten years. The new university would definitely be funded privately. It reveals a further step for the Singapore higher education system to move towards the direction of “privatisation” and also to achieve more intense competition between public and private universities (*The Straits Times* 17 August 2003).

The education systems in Hong Kong and Singapore have thus been clearly affected by trends of corporatisation, marketisation and privatisation. However, their responses to these forces of change are not identical due to divergences in the socio-political contexts. Perhaps both governments are prepared to take a more radical stand in economic rather than in socio-political restructuring. The corporatisation of government entities, the liberalisation of government-owned companies, and the introduction of much greater internal competition for resources in a number of public policy areas, are now common features that can be found in both city-states, as indeed 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 socio-political climate.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Some common patterns and trends of educational development and reforms can be synthesised among the East Asian economies. Cheng and Townsend (2000) have made a list summarising convergences facing those economies. The most important converging trends include the re-establishing of new aims and a national vision for education; the expansion and restructuring of education; the pursuit of effective schools and quality education in line with the notions of quality assurance and accountability; the use of market forces to encourage competition and thus promote excellence; the privatisation and diversification of education; and the shift towards decentralisation of managerial power of education institutions with the importation of business management principles and practices such as strategic planning and management (Cheng & Townsend, 2000, p.319). These trends seem to be unfavourable for Hong Kong and Singapore as both of them are eager to learn from foreign experiences of education policy changes and reforms particularly in developed Anglophone countries like Australia, the United Kingdom, and increasingly the United States.

Although the trend of educational developments and reforms converge under strong global influences, schools are still embedded in their local socio-political contexts. If society is to be subjected to carefully measured change, then it follows that schools as dependent institutions cannot leap ahead. Schools take their cues as much from socio-political as from economic trends. Educational changes 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 too. Even when schools are well resourced, teachers have multiple responsibilities which leave them with too 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.

Overseas commentators are envious about the level of resources available to schools and educational institutions in Hong Kong and Singapore. This is only one part of the equation. There are undoubtedly some schools that are good examples of effective change. However, system-wide change has yet to happen. While the Hong Kong government hopes to strengthen its legitimacy in carrying out education reforms without much concern over the cultivation of the spirit of entrepreneurship, the Singapore government can enjoy greater legitimacy in a much stable policy context but this could result in continuing government control and thus may hinder the accomplishment of innovation, experimentation and creativity in the school and university sectors.

Education reforms are ultimately about “people”, who are the most important element for driving social and economic development in the twenty-first century. The danger of dehumanising education as a public service to citizens would be accelerated with an overemphasis on a management approach to reform in the education system. Although the trends of corporatisation, marketisation and privatisation are irresistible, policy makers 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 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.

As 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, 1998b). Recognising the need to strengthen higher education management and financing 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 co-ordination 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 objectives 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 financing in the university sectors 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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DUNCAN WAITE, LEJF MOOS AND CHULSUB LEW

## GLOBALISATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, HIGHER EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Almost twenty years ago, as the first author of this chapter was driving from Guadalajara, Mexico to Mexico City, he stopped outside a small Mexican town to stretch his legs at a scenic overlook on some backcountry highway that ran through the forested hills of Michoacan state. There he saw a man, a vendor, who happened to be wearing a *playera*, a t-shirt, bearing the logo of the author's alma mater, The University of Michigan. Amazed and a bit homesick, he asked the man how he had come by the shirt, explaining in Spanish that he had gone to school there, hoping to make some small human connection. But the man was ignorant of the significance of what he was wearing, especially for our author. To him, it was simply a shirt.

Much has changed in the past twenty years, though much remains the same. As through history, people still engage in commerce, among themselves and their kind, and between different peoples. However, the rapidity of transactions (e.g., 'e-commerce'); the depth of penetration of non-indigenous goods, cultural artefacts, and life ways into far flung locales; and, indeed, the rate of change itself stand in stark contrast to the ways these goods and ideas were exchanged previously, and the contexts, conditions and meanings of those exchanges.

In this chapter, we examine the effects of globalisation on higher education and educational leadership, and policy changes associated with these domains. By necessity, portions of our discussion will be more general, more global in nature – especially those portions having to do with large-scale trends and theoretical applications. Other portions of our discussion will be much more focused – when considering particular phenomena or institutions – and, hence, more local and specialised.

### 1. DISTINCTIONS, DEFINITIONS, AND PERSPECTIVES

As noted above, there has always been commerce. The early Chinese, the Sumerians, the Assyrians, the peoples who inhabited what is now Israel, Palestine, Jordan and the rest of the Middle East, the Mayans, the Inca, in short, all early civilisations engaged in commerce, trade. There are theories that the Irish and the

Vikings travelled to the Americas long before Christopher Columbus. There are theories that early Chinese explorers visited Central and South America millennia ago. This type of travel, indeed any type of travel, usually includes commerce – whether or not that is the primary purpose. Commerce involves exchange of goods, but as physical anthropologists would be quick to point out, material culture is a manifestation and integral component of the ideational; that is, materials grow out of and are important to cultural ways of being and believing. People the world over imbue symbolic meaning into even the most mundane of their physical tools. Language, too, is involved in a dynamic interaction with culture, and, hence, with intercultural exchange.

Intercultural exchanges are two-way (at least), power differentials notwithstanding. For a modern day example, take the Internet: the World Wide Web has facilitated communication and commerce, though particular types of each. This particular form of technology and the innovations it provides are available to anyone with a phone and a computer (and both phones and computers are becoming smaller, more affordable, and more and more integrated, one with the other). The potential is there for a culture (a particular cultural manifestation of the originating culture) to penetrate previously inaccessible regions and, conversely, for those previously inaccessible regions and their peoples to interact more with the global community through technologically-mediated forms of communication.<sup>1</sup> To date, however, some regimes (e.g., China and North Korea) have been relatively successful in controlling their populations' access, for example, to the Internet.

Still, the exchange is two-way. Others communicate back to the originating source. Sometimes computer viruses, worms, and hackers (i.e., computer attacks) invade or infest the servers, computers, and root servers across the Web. Sometimes these attacks are focused on a particular target (such as when hackers try to break into the servers at, for instance, the US Pentagon or a major corporation like Citibank Visa). Sometimes these attacks appear random (such as when a worm will invade the host's computer and replicate by re-sending itself to those on the host's email distribution lists). The most recent attacks (in the US at least) appear to emanate from within countries such as South Korea, Russia, and the Philippines. These are what might be termed the 'blowback' or 'back channel' effects of intercultural commerce and communication in today's 'wired' world.

There were similar effects in earlier times, effects that persist through other types of interchange today (i.e., face to face), many of which are unintended, unanticipated side effects. For example, epidemiologists recently discovered that, in the US, a higher-than-average incidence of syphilis was prevalent along the interstate highway running from New York to Florida. Likewise, AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases spread through India and Africa along truck routes (i.e., the so-called 'AIDS Highway'[Thompson, 2003]). Tracking the spread of the new and mysterious SARS (i.e., severe acute respiratory syndrome) disease illustrates global patterns of exchange and travel: "Looking at this disease, you could probably plot the patterns of globalisation—who's related to who, who's investing with who, who visits who. This is what globalisation is" (Fariborz Ghadar, director of the Center for Global Business Studies at Penn State University, quoted in the *Austin American-Statesman*, April 13, 2003, p. E1.)

Other intercultural contact has been occasioned by mass migrations of people, either due to political or economic upheaval. Refugees, victims of various diasporas, and massive legal and illegal immigration force intercultural contact on the peoples of different regions who had not had to deal with it previously. Such large movements of people evoke official and non-official (i.e., reactionary) responses by governments and citizens, some hospitable and some less so. Macro ageing and birth trends have prompted previously closed societies to open themselves up to 'guest workers' (e.g., Japan, Saudi Arabia, the US, and various European countries). These global trends have consequences for the provision of public services, including education.

There are other complex phenomena that occur with globalisation. Hargreaves (1995) noted increased tribalism as an unintended consequence of globalisation. Others have noted how the global and the local interact, causing Beck (2000; as cited in Sugrue & Furlong, 2002, p. 191) to coin the term *glocal* to capture the interaction of the global with the local. Ultimately, all global phenomena are mediated locally. One could even say that global phenomena are mediated individually.

## 2. GLOBALISATION VS. AMERICANISATION

Multinational corporations contribute to globalisation. By definition, multinational corporations are not strictly American. There are several multinational corporations that originated in the US or that have their headquarters there; but state control of multinational corporations is problematic, given today's geopolitical/economic climate. Nation states today serve as ineffectual stewards of the corporations either begun within their borders or which have penetrated their markets.

Historically, business, religion, and the state were the three major controlling influences in peoples' lives and were responsible, to a large degree, for macro historical social trends. In the past (and seen over long periods of time), each of these social institutions served as a check on the power and influence of the others. Some historical epochs can be characterised by a relatively disproportional degree of power or influence of one or the other of these major social institutions. For example, the Enlightenment saw the decline of the power of the Catholic Church relative to the state (Sale, 1990). We contend that today, of the three, business is the most powerful, left relatively unchecked by the state or religion.<sup>ii</sup>

Economic entrepreneurialism and the penetration of local markets and the cultural changes that these forces might occasion emanate from numerous, different countries and peoples. Inglehart and Baker (*Austin American-Statesman*, March 19, 2000, G8) claim, for example, that 'if any societies exemplify the cutting edge of cultural change it seems to be the Nordic cultures.' It must be acknowledged, though, that these different businesses, economic concerns and their initiatives leave different 'footprints' on the local country or market.

### *2.1 Economic, business, management and organisational trends.*

The world is seldom rational. It is both rational and non-rational, too (Waite, 2002b). Macro trends usually trump micro-managerial initiatives and projects. In many cases, change at the local level is more often reactive than proactive.

The influence of business on education has been well documented (e.g., Callahan, 1962; Waite, Boone & McGhee, 2001; White, 2003). In primary and secondary schools especially, the overall global trend is of managerialism in schools, a relatively recent phenomenon captured by the term New Public Management (Dempster, Freakley & Parry, 2001; MacBeath, Moos & Riley, 1996, 1998; Moos, 2000). New public management entails:

a reduction in government's role in public service provision; the imposition of the strongest feasible framework of competition and accountability on public sector activity; explicit standards and measures of performance and clear definition of goals, targets or indicators of success, preferably in quantitative form; a greater emphasis on output controls—a stress on results, not processes; and a reduction in the self-regulating powers of the professions. (Dempster, Freakley & Parry, 2001, p. 2).

For us, the issue is not whether new public management is a reality—for we readily accept that it is; the issue is how pervasive, how deep is its colonisation of the world of education, and, what further directions this might take. We are convinced that many social functions and their corresponding institutions – education and schools, for example, or medicine and hospitals – are beset by what we term ‘creeping managerialism.’ Creeping managerialism reflects the manner in which a managerial mentality has, over time, permeated our social institutions, resulting in a domination of the managerial mindset over other possible ideologies or ways of operating (i.e., models of organisational operation). Creeping managerialism privileges decision making that is based on quantitative data, as though such decisions were value-neutral. (Schools in the US are encouraged to engage in ‘data-driven decision making.’) Such a model and those who apply it and/or are under its sway do not recognise it to be simply one episteme among many. Other models and modes of living/managing social institutions are outside the realm of consciousness, they are ‘contained’ (Popen, 2002).

Sinclair (1995) reminds us that managerial accountability is one of five types – along with political accountability, public accountability, professional accountability, and personal accountability. So the fact that managerial accountability is prevalent in education is unremarkable. What is remarkable is the degree to which managerialism has usurped the others. Managerialism, in this sense, has become hegemonic. Additionally, and as Dempster, Freakley and Parry (2001) acknowledge, educational organisations are increasingly prone to the forces of marketisation. Competition among schools is fast becoming the rule. This competition is exacerbated by publication of league tables or school test score data (Canaan, 2002; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000; Waite, Boone & McGhee, 2001). Provisions of the current Texas (USA) education code and the recently enacted federal legislation, “No Child Left Behind”, permit students from so-called ‘failing schools’ to transfer to another school district, taking their federal funding with them.

Schools have begun to compete for these students and the federal dollars that follow them.

Education itself has continued a trend toward increased commodification, especially in higher education. Among other things, education has become more of a commodity – to be bought, sold, traded, and affected by other market forces. As an example, the US is pushing for higher education to be covered by the controversial General Agreement on Trade in Services, or GATS, treaties (CAUT-ACPPU, 2002). The US goal, according to Douglas Baker, deputy assistant secretary of the US Department of Commerce, is “to create the conditions for international competition in education services with minimal government interference”. According to some critics of this proposal, trade in education, of the sort proposed, increases the already-strong influence of the private sector (as noted above) and removes such education from public accountability and absolves it of public responsibility. The commodification and marketisation of education, especially in higher education, may well result in its becoming simply another means of domination, especially by the USA – a part of what Lather (2003) terms ‘academic capitalism,’ and what we might refer to as academic imperialism.

These trends pose the question: If education is made a commodity and educational decisions are based on financial and market considerations, can schools under such conditions educate for higher purposes, for living a fulfilled life or for democratic purposes? The combination of the forces of marketisation, new public management, and commercialisation of education has severe ramifications for education worldwide. Government financial support for colleges and schools is being reduced. Political support for public schools, in the US at least, is being undermined. Services are evaporating. Budgetary constraints are forcing many schools to cut programs and services. The first of these to be cut are those deemed ‘non-essential’ – for example, programs in music and art, and even their extra-curricular components. In Texas (USA), a plan was recently floated to delay purchase of social studies textbooks for public school students state-wide. Social studies texts were next in line for purchase in the state cycle, being now five years out of date. The delay was rationalised to save money during a severe state budgetary crisis as social studies is not tested through the state’s accountability regime, and, therefore, the subject is deemed ‘non-essential.’

Pressure on higher education faculty to be more ‘productive’ is increasing, while, at the same time, resources are cut. For example, as a result of a recent program review at the first author’s institution, the lead reviewer – the Dean of the College of Education of a highly-respected, US research university – declared that, as faculty could not expect the same level of support from higher education administrators and state legislatures, they ought to become more ‘entrepreneurial.’ This is in keeping with the thinking of Charles Handy (1994), who describes the future of work wherein one might use his/her office primarily as a home base, to collect mail, make telephone calls, and hold meetings. He describes organisations under current and future conditions as being donut-shaped, where the main work of an organisation is done by a core of workers and other work is done by contracted workers. Harvey (1989), likewise, describes such organisations, which he terms ‘post-Fordist.’ Such

contracted workers are cheaper for the organisation, as they usually are not covered by benefits. However, in higher education, such contracted workers, sometimes referred to as adjuncts, do not assist with any faculty or organisational duties other than teaching. They do not assist with governance or student committee work, as examples, leaving the full-time core faculty to carry those burdens.

Even if faculty wanted to become more entrepreneurial, there are hidden dangers along that path. For all the rhetoric of flattened organisational structures in the management discourse, universities are too bureaucratic and too inflexible (Bergquist, 1993) to adequately support post-industrial, postmodern entrepreneurs. Besides, entrepreneurialism left unchecked is dangerous—to the organisational members and to the society as a whole. Schools in China were encouraged to be entrepreneurial, owing to scarce resource allotment from the central government, with the result being a recent explosion in a primary school in Jiangxi Province that killed about forty-five children (Waite & Allen, in press). The children were being forced by their teachers to assemble fireworks to earn extra money for the teachers, the school, and the local Communist Party. This horrendous example of educators' entrepreneurial spirit was cited by Waite and Allen (in press) as one among many instances and types of corruption in education, including higher education, which they uncovered worldwide. (Other cases of corruption will be taken up later in this chapter).

That higher education administrators expect faculty to become more entrepreneurial begs another question: Who assumes the risk and who should benefit from any successful efforts? Besides the dangers we have mentioned, there is evidence to suggest that free-wheeling entrepreneurialism will perpetuate social inequities – with the rich simply getting richer, and the poor getting poorer. Better schools (i.e., high status schools and those in more well-to-do neighbourhoods) will do well, poorer schools will fare badly under such systems.

If, as present trends seem to indicate, the state further devolves responsibility for resource generation and appropriation for institutions of higher education (that is, if states continue to under-fund higher education, to shift the burden to the local level), then we may soon see a day where faculty, for example, are required to 'bring your own salary' (B. Beatty, personal communication, March 2, 2003). Economic pressures on higher education may fundamentally alter the day-to-day operations of such institutions, if not their fundamental mission.

The phenomena associated with new public management are already being felt in institutions of higher education. Faculty are more and more coming under regimes of accountability similar to those we have seen in primary and secondary education. In Texas, certain higher education faculty are considering adopting accountability measures linked to student results on end of course exams. In parts of Australia, faculty raises are calculated as an actuarial exercise by a contracted accounting firm based on the number of publications faculty have in a given year (P. Gronn, personal communication, September 16, 2002). A similar pressure is felt by academics in Denmark, where the faculties' contracts with the Ministry of Education state research production goals for the year. If the faculties under-perform, it affects their resource allocation; if they surpass their production goal, there are no additional monies. This situation is especially draconian in a country like Denmark, because



most of the outlets for research are published in English, with US, Australian, British or Canadian norms for research publication and for what is judged to be of worth.

Entrepreneurialistic ‘educrats’ are pushing for more distance or distributed education, most often provided through the Internet. Some educational business concerns have already begun providing ‘courses’ and whole ‘programs’ on line. Most universities have at least some offerings on line. These marketing efforts seek to penetrate previously untapped markets; for example, by allowing those who are place bound, isolated, lazy, or who simply appreciate the convenience of doing course work from home to partake in this type of distance education. However, these projects represent potentially disastrous social experiments. Such efforts are driven by monetary concerns and are pedagogically suspect. Also, use of these technologies in this way allows the potential for yet another ideological penetration into our human life ways. Technologically-mediated pedagogy (or andragogy) is unlike personal, face-to-face instruction. Time-honoured pedagogical models – such as the lecture, the Socratic method, demonstration, and apprenticeships – always provide the learner with instruction in much more than the mental, cognitive, or intellectual disciplinary domain. Cultural anthropologists (e.g., Varenne & McDermott, 1999) have contributed to our understanding of learning as a process that is, above all, a *social* phenomenon. Exclusive or excessive computer use has been recently shown to result in various negative social adaptations (Kraut, Patterson, Lundmar, Kiesler, Mukopadhyay & Scherlis, 1998).

A particularly troubling manifestation of marketisation in education was revealed to us by one of our informants, a high school teacher from San Antonio, Texas. Apparently, her school (and no doubt others as well) reworked its curricular offerings and courses of study for students, resulting in three diploma ‘tracks’ – a collegiate, a technological, and an entrepreneurship ‘track.’ The entrepreneurial ‘track’ consists of core courses plus specialisations in welding, cosmology, wood shop, and food production. Graduates of this ‘track’ are destined to fill low-level industrial, manufacturing and/or service jobs. This is hardly entrepreneurship as we understand it.

Though the signs of the times, the trends and rhetoric seem to indicate a move toward further marketisation, this movement is not totalising. There are other discourses abroad. For example, in the UK, where new public management is well-entrenched, Campbell, Gold and Lunt (in press) report that school leaders hold certain non-market values dear. According to these authors, these leaders’ values spoke to the “wider educational, social and personal development of students, staff and local communities” and stressed “the need to develop ‘empowering’ and ‘learning’ relationships, combined with a commitment to social justice outcomes.” These authors conclude, based upon their research, that:

- While there have been concerns about shifts in education policy towards
- market forces and managerialism resulting in a values shift and possible
- conflict for school leaders in the UK . . . the school leaders interviewed for
- the present research remain committed to their personal, professional and

- educational values. A simple shift from ‘welfarism’ to ‘new managerialism’ was not evident.

### 3. CORRUPTION AND ABUSE OF POWER IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The underbelly of marketisation – operating according to business ‘ethics’ – seldom receives attention, though it has perhaps always been with us. We speak of the phenomenon of corruption. In some ways, it would be fair to say that corrupt officials, whether educational administrators or other ‘public’ servants, are simply being entrepreneurial. Initial research into corruption and abuse of power in educational administration has been done by the lead author and colleagues (Waite, 2001; Waite & Allen, 2002; Waite & Allen, in press).

Corruption, broadly defined, seems to be inimical to educational administration, at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. The cover story of a recent issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2002) referred to corruption as a plague in higher education, though the report dealt mainly with corruption in institutions of higher education in developing countries (in Columbia, China, Georgia, and India). But corruption among educational administrators – in public and private, primary, secondary and tertiary-level institutions – is a global problem that not only affects so-called developing countries, but also those countries thought of as developed. Waite and colleagues have uncovered corruption in education in the US, the UK, Israel, Mexico, Albania, Latvia, Japan, Kenya, Romania, Italy, Ukraine, and Uganda, among others.

Basically, corruption can be defined as using one’s professional position for private gain (Waite, 2001; Waite & Allen, 2002); though there are many more subtleties and nuances to the concept and practice of corruption than space permits for discussion here. Examples from education and educational administration include awarding academic positions (either for faculty or students) in exchange for bribes or other favours (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2002); the fraudulent obtaining of degrees for personal/professional advancement (Copans, 2001); plagiarism and/or falsification of research (*Austin American-Statesman*, October 14, 2002); theft of institutional monies or goods; the theft of toe nails and finger nails from cadavers at a university medical centre for sale to research laboratories for experimental testing (*Austin American-Statesman*, February 28, 2003, B7); and the forced employment of school children to assemble fireworks for the financial gain of teachers, headmasters, and local Communist Party officials in China, discussed above.

Vicente Fox, the President of Mexico, said corruption is the ‘evil of all evils’ (Althaus, 2000, p. 2). A US Border Patrol agent, commenting on the corruption that is rampant on both sides of the US-Mexican border, notes how a corrupt official sucks the integrity out of an organisation (*National Public Radio*, September 12, 2002). Waite (2001) and Waite and Allen (2002, in press) have noticed a relation between bureaucratic organisational structures and corruption. Basically, modern bureaucratic structures are pyramidal, with more people on the ‘bottom’ and fewer on the ‘top.’ This characteristic of bureaucratic organisations lends itself to

corruption, where, as in the case of the Mexican City police force (Althaus, 2000), graft – money, goods, and ill-gotten gains of all types – move upward in a multiplier effect. A little bribe, hardly worth mentioning, by many at the bottom can add up to millions of dollars to those at the top.

It is ironic that Max Weber (1946) understood the modern bureaucracy as doing away with privilege – at least privilege based on birth, title, class and caste, and patronage. The modern corrupt bureaucracy and the bureaucrats who use them to feather their nests are about nothing if not privilege.

Another way corrupt bureaucrats gain is through a process of siphoning off the resources budgeted to the organisation to fulfil its state or public function (Waite, 2001; Waite & Allen, 2002). This process can also be referred to as ‘leakage.’ It is understood among multinational aid organisations and in foreign aid circles that some siphoning off is likely to occur when large grants or loans are made to foreign governments and NGOs (non-governmental organisations).

It is also commonplace, at least in American universities that up to 50% of a federal grant awarded to any particular institution will go to ‘overhead,’ for operating and expenses. That is, up to 50% of a research grant gets siphoned off by the university administration for administrative costs and is unavailable for application to the research itself.

Another type of siphoning off is exorbitant CEO salaries (Tobias, 2003). What remains shocking, or at least remarkable, about business model application to education, is that CEO salary and perks in education are following the trend. Superintendents (i.e., school district CEOs) today can command salaries topping \$400,000 in some cases. Among the private US university presidents, salaries are approaching \$900,000 a year (Harris, 2003). Granted, average state university presidents’ salaries are not as high (yet), though it is not uncommon for such administrators to earn upwards of \$500,000 a year, plus perks.

These and other instances of what we call siphoning off are earmarks of a culture of corruption—understood as the way things are. Such corruption is aided by the pyramidal organisational structure of the modern bureaucratic institution, especially institutions of higher education.

#### 4. DISCURSIVE DUALITIES

Policy is here understood to be the codification of discourses – ways of talking about, understanding, and perceiving the social world, in an attempt to impose structure upon it. Policy dictates how we organise ourselves, based upon our cultural understandings.

Everywhere we see discourses and counter-discourses. No one discourse is so monolithic, so total in its pre-eminence, that it is the only discourse in circulation at any one time, anywhere. We find dualities of discourse – or even what Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) referred to as dialogism, a type of polyvocality – shot through our social lives and institutions. How else can you explain why the dominant rhetoric of schools (in the US and elsewhere) has to do with democracy and local control, while

accountability schemes centralise and tighten bureaucratic control over schools (Smyth, 1992; Waite, Boone & McGhee, 2001)?

We have written above that the world is both rational and non-rational. This applies to our organisations and social institutions too. Generally, we tend to operate as though our institutions and the policies that they both produce and are guided by are rational, objective, even value-neutral. But cultural anthropologists, symbolic interactionists, and social constructivists paint a different picture of organisations and their policies (Sutton & Levinson, 2001). New work on emotions in, for example, teaching (Hargreaves, 1998; Hargreaves, Beatty, Lasky, Schmidt & James-Wilson, S., in press) and educational leadership (Beatty, 2000) point out how schools and the people who populate them are fraught with seething emotions.<sup>iii</sup> Indeed, teachers and administrators engage in an inordinate amount of emotional labour while carrying out their tasks. The psychic toll exacted of administrators under strict accountability regimes is tremendous (Nelson, 2002). This psychic toll is more devastating for administrators concerned with social justice issues. That is, these administrators are torn between their institutional subordination to hegemonic testing regimes (and their control function) and the educational bureaucracies that perpetuate them, and their professional moral obligation to do what is in the best interests of their charges, children, when they daily witness the damage done to people—teachers and students—by out-of-control accountability/testing systems.

In addition to the work being done on the emotions in education and educational administration/leadership, exciting work is being done applying a psychoanalytic framework to teachers, teaching, and educational leadership (e.g., Britzman, 1999, 2003; McWilliam, 1999). The work on emotions in educational leadership and the research into its psychoanalytic dimensions, taken together with recent explorations into the spiritual aspects of educational leaders (Guare, 1995; Mayes & Mayes, 2002; Starratt, 1995), begins to round out our understanding of leaders and leadership. This literature serves as a counterbalance to the overly objectivist conceptions of leadership, policy making and implementation of policy, that have blinded us to the truly human, non-mechanistic and non-rational sides to our educational organisations and institutions.

But, despite the tremendous strides we have made as a field in filling in the outlines of educational policy and leadership, there is still work to be done. Waite (2002a) directs our attention to three critical new areas of educational leadership, especially research in that field: the reintegration of the human subject, the ethnographic understanding of educational leadership, and the democratisation of educational organisations. In response to global trends, other work needs to be undertaken with all due urgency. Perhaps the most pressing area of study is that of the role of ideology, especially religious ideology, on policy and educational leadership.

Ideology is parasitical upon policy, as culture is upon intercultural exchange. Recent examples worthy of note come out of the US and the 'faith-based' initiatives of the Bush administration. Afghanistan experienced the effects of one type of an extreme religious ideological policy shift when the Taliban ruled that country. In the US, the Bush administration has exhibited similar inclinations. The Attorney General of the US under the Bush administration, John Ashcroft, has instituted daily

morning prayer meetings in his office. The US Secretary of Education, Rod Paige, recently was quoted as saying that “he favours schools that appreciate ‘the values of the Christian community’” (*Austin American-Statesman*, April 10, 2003, p. A2). The Bush administration is seeking to implement the so-called Mexico City rule as a condition on foreign aid. Basically, the Mexico City rule denies foreign aid for family planning programs that conduct, condone, or even mention abortion as one of their services. Given the catastrophic explosion of AIDS/HIV in developing countries and the relation between family planning, abortion, birth control and sex education, this religious-ideological criterion is noteworthy. Additionally, the Bush administration has been criticised for using ideology as a litmus test for federal appointments (Zitner, 2002).

From textbook adoption, to use of vouchers (i.e., chits permitting use of public funds to pay tuition at private, sometimes private religious, schools), to stacking boards of education – both local and state level – with ideologues, ideology infiltrates and influences education. In the heartland of the US, efforts with varying levels of success have been waged to require teachers in public schools to teach what is called creationism, alongside more conventional, accepted theories of evolution, especially in biology classes. (Creationism is a ‘theory’ based on the belief that a Christian god created the world, explaining such a creation in scientific terms, through application of an adaptive timeline and other ‘facts’ of biology, geology, cosmology, etcetera, to support the ‘theory’.)

There exists a type of discursive duality, a tension, between the various models we might use to organise ourselves, especially for education. These models are seldom pure types, and are always influenced by other macro forces. Two models at play today are those of 1) the bureaucratic model (mentioned above), and 2) a community model (e.g., Sergiovanni & Starratt, 2002). Others have written of learning communities and, again from the business domain, learning organisations (Senge, 1990). The bureaucratic model has been much maligned of late (e.g., Clark & Meloy, 1989), but has proven itself to be nearly impervious to change. Clark and Meloy note how bureaucracies and their mores are barriers to educational reform. In his classic treatise on the topic, Max Weber (1946, p. 228) noted how: “Once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among the social structures which are the hardest to destroy”. He continued, “bureaucracy has been and is a power instrument of the first order—for the one who controls the bureaucratic apparatus”.

There are other types of social organisation, and some hybrids of types. Giddens (1991) cites the Boy Scouts, Alcoholic Anonymous, and high-tech work teams as alternate types. Hargreaves (1994) refers to a more post-modern type of organisation as a ‘moving mosaic’. A recent social organisation type has arisen through advances in telecommunications (especially cell phones with text messaging) and the Internet. One social observer refers to groups organised for social action through these technologies for social action as ‘smart mobs’ (Rheingold, as cited in Taylor, 2003). Smart mobs have demonstrated their power and potential in helping to bring down the former Philippine President Joseph Estrada in 2001 through rapidly-organised massive demonstrations and in recent global anti-war demonstrations. Terrorist

sleeper cells represent another type of organisational model – highly decentralised and independent.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Social life has become more complex of late, and that particular trend shows no signs of subsiding. Schools, education and educational policy function in an interdependent relation with these larger social trends – both influencing, and being influenced by them, in turn. We might remain pessimistic and cynical when, as social observers, it seems to us that a business/commercial/utilitarian ideology has gained pre-eminence globally. But, such matters are never settled, once and for all. We take heart in the numerous alternatives emerging to strictly technicist/commercial educational missions, goals and methods of organisation. These alternatives are always in play. We need only gravitate to them, seek them out, and nurture them to help foster more humane social institutions, including education.

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<sup>i</sup> Lack of access to even electricity is no longer a barrier to participation in the global communications revolution (Lovering, 2003). A recent report details how, in Ban Phon Kham, Laos, one aid organization is installing a computer powered by a generator attached to a bicycle and, through Wi-Fi (wireless) technology, this computer is in turn connected to a computer in a regional hospital that has a dialup internet connection and two of the region's only phone lines. By simply pedalling the bicycle, villagers can store electricity for running the computer. One minute of pedalling yields five minutes of computer power. In other locales, such generators are being run by hand cranks or burned cow manure. Solar panels provide electricity for the relay stations. This project is being installed in the village school, where the children are expected to teach the adults how to use the system.

Like many smaller communities worldwide, Ban Phon Kham has suffered extensive out-migration of many of its younger generations. Pahn Vongsengthong, a retired 78-year-old rice farmer, is quoted as saying: "the first thing is that I miss my daughters . . . . Whenever I miss them, I will be able to walk down the road and talk to them" (p. D6).

<sup>ii</sup> We understand that each of these three also influences and combines with the other major societal influences. That is, there are religious influences on business (and religious businesses) and vice versa; state religions and other state influences on religion and vice versa; business influences on the state and vice versa; and so on.

<sup>iii</sup> There has been no research done to date that we are aware of on the emotions and their role in higher education.



LEON TIKLY

THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was adopted by African Heads of State in October 2001. It is an integrated development plan with the goals of achieving sustainable economic growth, eradicating poverty and ending Africa's marginalisation from the globalisation process (NEPAD, 2001). Although NEPAD has had only limited success to date in realising its bold objectives it was recently reaffirmed as the development vision of the African Union at the second meeting of the union in Maputo in July 2003. It will be argued that NEPAD is to be welcomed because it represents an indigenous, African response to globalisation but that it needs to be linked much more clearly to the goals of democracy, poverty eradication and gender equity. The implications of NEPAD for all areas of policy including education and training also need to be much more clearly spelt out if the initiative is to gain popular support. It will be suggested that central to the future success of the NEPAD initiative must be an emphasis on increasing the skills base of the continent. Understanding skills development priorities in relation to NEPAD however, requires moving outside of the traditional human resource development (HRD) framework, and beginning to think more strategically and politically about the relationship between skills development and economic and political growth. On the one hand, it involves engaging with the broader socio-economic context of skills development and in particular the nature and implications of globalisation for African economies. On the other hand, it involves redefining the nature of "skill" itself. Such a re-conceptualisation inevitably leads to different implications for skills development than those that often follow from traditional (HRD) forms of analysis.

The chapter will commence with an account of contemporary globalisation. This will provide a basis for critically engaging with the NEPAD initiative understood as an African response to globalisation. The chapter will then outline a view of skills and of skills development that is considered appropriate for realising the NEPAD initiative, and will conclude with an attempt to outline the basic conditions required for African governments to begin to put in place an appropriate skills development strategy.

## 2. GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES

The UK Department for International Development (DFID, 2000a) has defined globalisation as:

The growing interdependence and interconnectedness of the modern world through increased flows of goods, services, capital, people and information. The process is driven by technological advances and reductions in the costs of international transactions, which spread technology and ideas, raise the share of trade in world production and increase the mobility of capital

The above definition accords with similar definitions used by the World Bank and other donor and multilateral agencies. Whilst useful up to a point, the emphasis in this definition is almost solely on economic globalisation driven by technological change. Although these aspects are central to any understanding of globalisation, the definition neglects the implications of cultural and political globalisation. These are important in the context of the present chapter, because they help to define Africa's increasing marginalisation from contemporary global flows and networks, and because they too have implications for skills development. The definition is also a-historical in that it does not consider past forms of globalisation. Further, it represents a benign view of contemporary globalisation as a level playing field in which all countries are equally able to compete, and as a process from which all can equally benefit. It fails in other words to take account of the extent to which contemporary globalisation is structured in inequality within and between countries. Given the present focus on African countries, it is necessary to develop an appreciation of globalisation as it impacts on these contexts in particular. A full account of globalisation has been provided elsewhere (Tikly et al., 2003). For the purposes of the present discussion the following points are important:

- *Globalisation is not a new phenomenon but contemporary globalisation is historically unprecedented.* There have been successive waves of globalisation since the early modern period of human history but contemporary globalisation (dating from the end of World War II) is unprecedented in its extensity, intensity, velocity and impact (Held et al., 1999; Tikly, 2001; Collier & Dollar, 2002). Whereas previous forms of globalisation, and in particular the forms associated with European colonialism, have left deep scars on the African continent, these historical inequalities are being overlain and reinforced by the effects of contemporary globalisation, which have been to reinforce Africa's marginalisation from the global economy and politics.
- *Contemporary globalisation is characterised by the end of European Empires and the emergence during the post World War II period of the United States as the one truly global power alongside a more liberal world economic order and the ever tightening systems of economic regulation (first through the Bretton Woods system and more recently through the World Trade Organisation).* Contemporary globalisation has also involved a massive increase in migrations of populations, the increasing significance and impact of environmental issues and concerns, the spread of truly global diseases (such as HIV/ AIDS) and developments in mass media and technologies. Contemporary globalisation involves the emergence of a growing worldwide elite as well as the popular

consciousness of global interconnectedness. Globalisation is also contested as states, citizens and social movements resist or manage its impacts (Held et al., 1999).

- *Contemporary globalisation involves a new global division of labour.* The global division of labour, developed under colonialism, was based on the production of primary commodities in the South and their conversion to manufactured products in the North. Now, however, much of the labour intensive manufacturing is being relocated to wherever in the World production costs are lowest. Further, the development of new materials has undermined the market for primary commodities traditionally produced in the South. The effects of this undermining have been exacerbated by protectionism amongst rich countries (and to a lesser extent amongst low income countries themselves) which has reduced the market for primary commodities from low income countries such as those of Africa. Consequently, the high levels of economic growth associated with the new technologies, financial deepening and the increased trade in new commodities and financial services have principally benefited western and newly industrialised nations that are integrated into these new global networks (See Castells, 1993; Amin 1997; Hoogvelt, 1997, for example).
- *Globalisation means greater economic integration for some countries but greater economic marginalisation for others.* Collier and Dollar (2002) estimate that about 3 billion people now live in “new globalising” developing countries including India and China, Vietnam, Hungary and Thailand. These economies have managed to attract foreign direct investment and have experienced a shift towards manufacture and service industries. As a result, they have become more integrated into the global economic system. They estimate, however, that 2 billion people across the planet, including many of the inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa, have been left out of globalisation. There are two broad paths that low income countries can follow in order to become more integrated into the global economy (Tikly et al., 2003). The first of these is an “evolutionary” or gradualist approach which takes as given the developmental route historically followed by the countries of the North and by the Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs) of East Asia too. The second route involves an economic development strategy that “leapfrogs” the historical stages of development elsewhere. DFID (2000a), for example, refers to the potential that some low income countries have for “leapfrogging” the development trajectory of industrialised countries through the use of new technologies that offer access to knowledge and links to the global economy. The route that countries choose will depend on their particular circumstances and priorities. There are, however, severe structural constraints at a global level that must be overcome if African countries are to follow either of these paths (see below).
- *Growing economic marginalisation has resulted in increased poverty in Africa during the 1990s.* In Africa, 340 million people, or half the population, live on less than US\$1 per day. The mortality rate of children under 5 years of age is 140 per 1000, and life expectancy at birth is only 54 years. Only 58 % of the

population have access to safe water. The rate of illiteracy for people over 15 is 41 %. There are only 18 mainline telephones per 1000 people in Africa, compared with 146 for the world as a whole and 567 for high income countries. In identifying the underlying causes of Africa's malaise, Cheru (2002) points out that economic growth is below the 5 % annual level needed to prevent a rise in the numbers of people living in poverty and that aid to Africa has also fallen from \$17.9 billion in 1992 to \$10.8 billion in 2001<sup>1</sup>. Growing austerity has led to a decline in human development. For example, per capita spending on education in sub-Saharan Africa has declined from \$41 in 1980 to \$26 in 1985 and then to \$25 in 1995. 50 % of Africans do not have access to adequate health care and this is compounded by the devastating effects of HIV/ AIDS. Of the 40 million people infected by the disease worldwide, 28.1 million live in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2001). Health and education services are further stretched as a result of the relatively high proportion of the population below the age of 15 and by a growing refugee problem fuelled by ongoing conflicts. The recent Human Development Report (UNDP, 2003) details the problems that still need to be overcome to reach the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. The pace of progress towards meeting the Goals needs to be dramatically increased. Given the current rate of progress, Sub-Saharan Africa will not reach the Goals for reducing income poverty until 2147 and for reducing child mortality until 2165.

- *The effects of globalisation, however, are experienced unevenly within countries.* Globalisation has very different implications for urban elites who are increasingly integrated into its processes and benefit from its outcomes compared to the vast majority who must endure increased levels of poverty. Globalisation also has different implications for women as compared to men. To date the effects of globalisation for women in low income countries have been contradictory. On the one hand, for some women, employment opportunities have risen as a result of foreign direct investment, for example in the clothes manufacturing industry and the labour intensive service sector including the tourist industry, the information-based industries, banks and insurance companies (DFID, 2000b; Joekes, 1995; Fontana et al., 1999). There has also been an expansion of exports of fruit, flowers and vegetables in some African countries, again based largely on the use of female labour. According to Keller-Herzog (1998) these may represent the main or even the only immediate employment possibilities for many women because the female labour force is poorly equipped for work in modern industry. Indeed, it is the potential exclusion of women in Africa from integration into globalised manufacturing and higher value-added production that presents the biggest risk of keeping women in relative poverty (Keller-Herzog, 1998; DFID, 2000b). Women are also subject to discriminatory laws and practices that prevent them from equal participation in employment, pushed out of traditional domains of production by the introduction of new technologies and land uses or exploited in the new manufacturing and service sectors (Chinkin, 2002). Finally, women carry the double burden of responsibility at work and at home. They are, therefore, affected the most from cuts in services like education and health because they are left to care for children and sick relatives.

- *Contemporary globalisation involves an adjustment in the influence of the nation state* in relation to areas such as education policy, although this has been contradictory in its effects. All countries have experienced an increase in global and regional influences over education policy and a proliferation of mechanisms through which these influences have been brought to bear (Dale, 1999). In most high income, western countries, however, the nation state remains the main locus of decision-making over areas of social policy, including education (Green, 1997). This is less the case in low income countries where the influence of multilateral and donor agencies has been increasing since the 1980s, through the mechanism of conditional lending and more recently through the mechanisms associated with poverty reduction strategies (Samoff, 1994; 1999; Dale, 1999; Tikly, 2001; Cheru, 2002)<sup>ii</sup>.
- *Regional responses to globalisation.* Despite the above observations concerning the state, some regions are beginning to develop specific responses to globalisation. For example, some commentators have suggested ways in which Africa can respond to its position of marginalisation from economic globalisation (see below).
- *Changing cultural identities.* As some commentators have pointed out, one of the effects of contemporary globalisation is to reshape cultural identities in new ways. Hall (1992; 1996) and Hoogvelt (1997), for example, have commented on how processes of migration, diaspora formation and cultural hybridisation have transformed individual and group identities, and created “new ethnicities” based on fluid rather than fixed cultural attributes. These “new ethnicities” have also emerged, however, at the same time as there has been a reassertion of more conservative and “fixed” religious and cultural identities and an escalation in ethnic conflict.

### 3. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF NEPAD

NEPAD is conceived as a commitment on the part of Africa’s leaders to their people and as a framework of partnership between Africa and the rest of the world although such a conception has come in for much criticism (see below). NEPAD is linked to the broader discourses of an African Renaissance as it has been articulated most recently by Thabo Mbeki amongst others. The NEPAD document itself (2001) starts from a recognition of Africa’s malaise similar to the one outlined in the above sections. It goes on to outline a programme of action for tackling Africa’s problems. The specific goals are to achieve economic growth of 7% per annum for the next fifteen years and to meet the international development targets agreed on by the United Nations in 2001. The programme of action outlines initiatives that will provide the necessary conditions for achieving these objectives in the areas of peace, security, democracy, political and economic governance and developing regional co-operation. NEPAD goes on to identify a range of sectoral priorities that are organised around specific themes. The first is to bridge the infrastructure gap in transport, energy, ICT, water and sanitation. The second is to develop human

resources through poverty reduction, bridging the education gap, reversing the brain drain and developing health services. Other themes include strategies to develop agriculture, sustain the environment, to develop African culture and indigenous science and technology programmes. The NEPAD document sets out a series of measures for mobilising resources to support the overall programme including tax reform, debt relief, an increase in external aid and measures to increase private capital flows. It also outlines a range of initiatives for increasing market access for African countries including diversification of production, developing mining, manufacturing, tourism and services, promoting the private sector and exports and removing trade barriers.

Before proceeding to a consideration of skills in relation to the above account, it is worth outlining the major criticisms that have been levelled at NEPAD as a basis for making explicit the view of NEPAD taken here. For example, some commentators have questioned the credentials of some of the leaders that have been most vociferous in supporting the initiative, some of whom are accused of human rights abuses, militarism and corruption. The newly fledged African Union, which has endorsed NEPAD, is also accused of turning a blind eye and even condoning undemocratic practices elsewhere on the continent. Rather than representing a commitment to ordinary Africans, the charge is that NEPAD (and by implication, the African Renaissance project) represents the self-interest of indigenous elites (Bond et al., 2002). A response to this would be to recognise the shortcomings and culpability of Africa's leadership but to suggest that NEPAD does itself contain a commitment to strengthening peace, security, democracy and political governance as a necessary condition of its realisation.

Some, however, have gone further than NEPAD in this respect. Cheru (2002), for example, has identified a range of measures that are critical for ensuring these conditions including decentralisation and de-bureaucratisation, guaranteeing freedom of expression and association, promoting transparency and accountability in public administration, regular free and fair elections, respect for human rights and the rule of law, recognising the rights of nationalities, promoting political reconciliation and creating equitable economic growth with social justice. As Cornwell argues, whilst the state must transform itself in order to become more accountable to ordinary people and their needs, it is problematic to assume that this ought to happen along the lines prescribed by the West. Rather it ought to involve "the creation of voluntary neighbourhood governments and rural grass roots movements that produce alternative institutions of decision making, drawing on customary notions of justice, fairness and political obligation" (1998, p. 14)<sup>iii</sup>. Deepening and extending democracy involves on the one hand, finding strategies by which organisations with a fundamentally social agenda can participate more effectively in the political and policy-making work of central government, through, for example, the establishment of appropriate policy forums. On the other hand, it also involves mobilising civil society by "allowing rural people to build on the 'indigenous', i.e. whatever they consider important in their lives; whatever they regard as an authentic expression of themselves" (Ake, 1988). At the heart of democratisation is an educational effort of consciousness raising, of creating awareness of the range of value choices, and the social and political implications as

well as organisational capacity building to provide leadership training for men and women, developing locally based research skills, dissemination of information, networking and lobbying skills.

A second major criticism of NEPAD relates to its economic content and in particular its apparent espousal of neo-liberal, market led solutions to Africa's problems. For some commentators, the discourses of the African Renaissance and of NEPAD in particular, see Africa principally as a vast and, as yet under-exploited market place. In this scenario, stronger economies such as South Africa would act as the agents of globalisation, leading other African economies into the global market and providing a "way in" for non-African, particularly US interests into Africa (Vale and Maseko, 1998; Bond et al., 2002). These authors question the efficacy of what they see as neo-liberal ideology and suggest that since the 1980s, they have served to increase rather than to decrease poverty and Africa's marginalisation. Whilst many of the critiques of neo-liberalism ring true these commentators fail to offer any alternative vision of development to that offered by NEPAD except a return to the inward looking and protectionist growth paths of previous eras. The extent to which NEPAD is in fact a neo-liberal document is also exaggerated.

Here more recent work on African responses to globalisation is more helpful (Ajulu, 2001; Cheru, 2002; Khor, 2002). Put simply, these authors argue that whatever one may think of globalisation, it is unavoidable, and that the task for African economies is to maximise the advantages it brings whilst minimising the risks. Ajulu, for instance, argues that Mbeki is actually opposed to the idea of untrammelled market forces and sees a significant role for national, regional and global regulation and intervention in markets, in order to achieve the objectives of ending poverty and underdevelopment. Such a view is also based on the assumption that instead of globalisation being seen simply as serving the interests of the richer nations and global elites, that it can be transformed to some degree at least and through a process of struggle in the interests of the world's poor, i.e. that globalisation is an inherently contradictory process. For Cheru, this involves embracing a third option, namely, "a guided embrace of globalisation with a commitment to resist" (Cheru, 2002, p. xv). Such a view accords with what Held et al. (1999) describe as a "transformationalist" view of global flows and networks, with more recent calls for instituting new forms of democratic governance and accountability at the global level (Khor, 2002) and even for the development of some form of global welfare state (Atkinson, 2002). The view requires first and foremost, pre-emptive national or regional development strategies and economic policy co-ordination amongst African countries.

For example, some commentators (Mazrui, 1999; Adedeji, 1998; Mayer, 1998) suggest that the success of the African Renaissance (and by implication NEPAD) in economic terms lies in the extent to which African economies can diversify their industrial base and export markets, and hence become less dependant on domestic markets and foreign imports. Mbeki draws on the idea of "developmental regionalism" as a means of securing African interests. At the heart of this concept is the view that successful participation in the global economy might most effectively be achieved through participation in regional and sub-regional trading blocks that

are more able to attract foreign investors and intervene in the market than are individual nation states. These commentators see an important role for the region in relation to skills development, a point that will be taken up below.

Such a view of globalisation and of developmental regionalism also has implications for understanding the balance between states and markets. Neo-liberal orthodoxy has taken a dim view of states as a provider of services, favouring markets instead. Indeed, as Bayart (1993) has argued, the postcolonial state in Africa has often been a vehicle for realising the interests of elites. Postcolonial states have been overly bureaucratic and prone to corruption and ethnic manipulation. The already weak postcolonial states in Africa have been further diminished as an effect of structural adjustment programmes during the 1980s and 1990s (with notable exceptions such as South Africa) (Cornwell, 1998; Muganda, 2001). Markets, on the other hand, whilst having many positive attributes are also prone to imperfection and can be ruthless to the poor as was the case, for example, with the introduction of user fees in primary education and health care during the 1980s and 1990s (Khor, 2002).

What is required then is a new balance between states and markets, and a changed role for the state to one of providing comparative advantage to those sectors of the economy that are capable of achieving competitive advantage in a global market (Tsie, 1999; Ajulu, 2001). Just as with strategies adopted in the Newly Industrialised Countries, this involves linking education and training to a specific growth path and prioritising those skills that are most likely to lead to competitive advantage. However, as many commentators have pointed out, Africa first needs to reverse some of the major barriers standing in the way of its development such as famine and disease (Alexander, 1999). This requires a balance between the role of the state in advantaging those sectors of the economy capable of leading economic growth in a global market, and interventions aimed at ensuring social justice. The recent adoption of a General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) will also imply a greater role for the state in regulating foreign providers of education, and ensuring that provision remains linked to national goals.

A final criticism of NEPAD is that it has leant towards a “modernist” view of development. This, so it is argued, contradicts a cultural interpretation of the African Renaissance idea which has at its centre the re-discovery of an African essence and the assertion on the world stage of African culture and values as an antidote to the dominance, since colonial times, of Western ones (Vale & Maseko, 1998). Whilst it is true that cultural aspects have been less dominant in recent debates about the African Renaissance and in NEPAD, the underlying view of culture and of cultural change implicit in some of the more overtly cultural interpretations is problematic. For example, rather than see global cultures as dominating indigenous culture in an uncontested way as Vale and Maseko do, it is more helpful to understand globalisation as involving processes of cultural *transformation* and *hybridisation* (Appiah, 1995; Bhabha, 1995). This is to acknowledge that the spread of global religions, colonialism, slavery, migration and now contemporary cultural globalisation have invariably touched and transformed cultures around the world but that their effects have been resisted and mediated by indigenous populations. In this



sense there is no “pure” African essence to be re-discovered either in Africa or the wider Diaspora but instead a series of “new ethnicities” based on plural and shifting cultural identities, class, language, sexuality and gender (Hall, 1992a,b). Recognising the fluid and hybrid nature of contemporary global identities also serves as an antidote to the narrow ethnic chauvinism that has lain at the heart of so many ethnic conflicts in Africa and elsewhere. Rather it is to discover, through a study of Africa’s intellectual, technological, linguistic, aesthetic and moral resources that are of relevance to succeeding generations of Africans in relation to contemporary development issues. In Ndebele’s words “the call for black roots has less effect than the provision of water and sanitation, electricity, telephones, houses, clinics, transport, schools and jobs” (quoted in Ajulu, 2001, p. 33).

#### 4. NEPAD AND SKILLS FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is clear that education and training have a critical role to play in the realisation of NEPAD. For example, education has a role to play in agricultural development through agricultural extension initiatives, in health education and measures to reduce population growth, in bridging the digital divide and developing science and technology. Determining skills development priorities, however, presents a series of tensions for policy makers that cannot be fully grasped using existing, dominant approaches. Whereas the dominant human resource development approach, favoured by the World Bank, the international development agencies, and even by some exponents of NEPAD itself, is premised on human capital theories and assumptions, the approach is based on the theoretical perspective of skills formation. At the heart of the difference are alternative views of development itself. Dominant approaches assume that through ensuring an appropriate supply of human resources (understood principally in terms of human capital), education and training can contribute to economic growth and wealth creation that will in turn contribute to poverty reduction through a trickle down effect. Economic growth is perceived as a relatively linear process pursued by capitalist societies rather than one characterised by crisis and contradiction. Developing human resources is largely a technical issue of developing discrete competencies within individuals in order to ensure a match between the products of the education and training system, and the needs of the labour market.

By way of contrast a skills formation approach starts from an understanding of skills as more than just the acquisition of narrow technical competencies but also including interpersonal, communications, teamwork and creative skills as well. This is to acknowledge the inherently social nature of learning, whether in formal schooling, the workplace, or some other context. The skills formation approach sees the development of skills as fundamentally a social rather than a technical issue and policy as an aspect of conflict over the nature and direction of development between groups in society with differing economic and political interests. This approach is, in other words, linked to a political economy perspective on development and as such

it is more suited to the view of NEPAD and development priorities presented in the previous section as being contradictory and contested.

Traditional human resource development approaches often also present a homogenised view of skills priorities in the context of globalisation. For example, the World Bank argues that globalisation requires a new kind of worker who,

will be able to engage in lifelong education, learn new things quickly, perform more non-routine tasks and more complex problem solving, take more decisions, understand more about what they are working on, require less supervision, assume more responsibility, and – as vital tools to those ends – have better reading, quantitative, reasoning, and expository skills (World Bank, 1999, p.1).

The problem is that such a view of the skills required by globalisation are based on the reality of globalisation in so-called “high skills” economies i.e. “economies that have the social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity in a post-industrial or ‘knowledge’ economy” (Brown, 1999, p. 233). It is unclear how relevant the concept of a “high skills economy” is in contexts where the impact of the new technologies and forms of production have been partial and uneven, and where the majority of the population relies on “low skills” in order to subsist.

Rather it is argued that there is no universal panacea for the skills required for development, that more research is required in individual countries, and that the responses of different governments need to be seen in relation to a broader analysis of the economic and political context. In this respect, the increasing pace of economic globalisation presents something of a moving target for education policy makers in Africa. Reductions in the number of public employees (a result of structural adjustment measures), the selling off of government owned enterprises to private (often multinational) interests, the privatisation of agriculture and the growth in the service and informal sectors have rapidly changed the skills required for economic development. As noted above, a large proportion of the population also has to be equipped to deal with prolonged periods without formal employment. Rather than prescribe a standard set of policy prescriptions, it has been argued elsewhere that skills priorities adopted by African governments must depend on the resolution of fundamental tensions or pressure points (Tikly et al., 2003). These may be briefly summarised as follows:

The first pressure point concerns *how different individuals and groups within a specific country understand skill formation in relation to national and regional growth path<sup>iv</sup> and the changing role of the state in the context of globalisation and regionalism*. The recognition of this pressure point turns the spotlight on the political economy of different African countries and of how different interest groups, including social classes, may have radically different views of development priorities with implications for what skills they consider to be “relevant” in the context of globalisation. In the highly industrialised countries the choice of either a high skills or a low skills route has depended in part on the existence of a consensus around skills priorities. In all cases, however, the choice was nationally determined and took place as part of a process of state formation (Ashton and Green, 1996; Green, 1997). A key point of comparison between African countries and the more industrialised nations is that in the African context choices about skills have largely been *externally* driven by donor and multilateral agendas. A starting point for

achieving a national consensus must be then the development skills development priorities linked to an indigenous vision of national and regional development. Here the process is as important as the outcome and needs to involve representatives of government and business as well as of trade unions, women, ethnic minorities and the rural poor.

The second pressure point arising from the skills formation approach concerns *developing the social capacity of education and training systems to deliver the skills required, where social capacity refers to the capacity for lifelong learning and innovation*. This pressure point draws attention to two inter-related aspects. The first, more conventional aspect is the capacity of education and training systems to produce the skills required by a particular growth path. This involves understanding the nature of existing skills needs, the practical capacity of education and training systems to meet those needs and identifying, prioritising and implementing appropriate education and training policies for meeting skills shortages. Whereas this first aspect can be considered as practical in orientation, the second aspect is more strategic and political. It involves a consideration of the extent to which there exists a national consensus and vision around skills formation priorities (see above) as well as a broader policy environment and legal framework outside of education and training to support an emergent skills formation strategy. Whilst much has been written about the first aspect, it is an understanding of this second, extended understanding of social capacity that distinguishes a skills formation approach and which many African countries currently lack.

The third pressure point focuses on *developing skills for global competitiveness versus skills to eradicate poverty and to ensure gender equity*. The central question here is whether the skills required to foster global competitiveness are the same as those required to promote social inclusion and to eliminate poverty. Discussion of this pressure point in the African context must necessarily take full account of the millennium development goals for education, which are specifically targeted at poverty reduction and gender equity (UN, 2001)<sup>6</sup>. The millennium goals are supported by the Dakar goals (UNESCO, 2002), which extend the scope of the millennium goals to include an emphasis on early childhood education, access to learning and life skills and halving adult literacy. Between them the two sets of goals provide a normative framework of action for the international development agencies, the donor community and individual governments. Yet although the goals are admirable, they also present serious policy tensions that are of relevance for the African Renaissance project.

The first tension relates to the relative priority that should be given to meeting the millennium and Dakar goals and to other skills required to fight poverty. The emphasis in the development goals is on basic education and primary education in particular, with a specific focus on basic literacy and numeracy with perhaps some science and life skills included as well. Yet as Afenyadu et al., (1999) point out, a very significant proportion of school leavers are likely to enter into the *jua kali* informal sector which is the mainstay of many local economies. In this respect, the authors ask whether some basic vocational skills ought to be included under the heading "basic education". Similar arguments could be advanced about access of

children and adult learners to basic agricultural and other livelihood skills such as various kinds of crafts. Such an approach would have to take on board past efforts to vocationalise the curriculum which floundered largely as a result of the broader failure of economic reform and a lack of social capacity (see above).

A second policy tension is concerned with the relative priority that should be given to skills for the immediate eradication of poverty on the one hand, and skills aimed at fostering longer term global competitiveness on the other. This reflects a deeper tension in the thinking of the international development agencies and donors. It is argued, for example, that education can have an impact on poverty eradication because access is itself a human right and because access can lower child mortality and female fertility rates, protect against HIV/AIDS and promote environmental awareness. The strength of these arguments has ensured a change in emphasis away from secondary and higher education and towards primary education since the 1980s. It is also argued by the World Bank and organisations such as the UK's Department for International Development (DfID), however, that long term poverty eradication is dependant on achieving sustainable economic growth (see DfID, 2000a, Wolfensohn, 1999, for example) and that education has a crucial role to play in this through providing the necessary human capital. The problem is that many of the skills required to promote growth within a global knowledge based economy are at a higher level than those that are considered necessary for fighting poverty and disease.

For example, an initial training need in relation to the challenges of entering the knowledge economy may be to set up and improve the efficiency of private and public organisations concerned with the analysis of training needs and the development and execution of training initiatives (Ashton & Green, 1996). As various studies have shown, the capacity to innovate and to build indigenous technological capabilities in production requires employees of firms possessing skills at least to secondary level (Riddell, 1996; Lall & Wignaraja, 1997). If African economies wish to develop their tourism and other service sector industries, then this requires new business management, ICT and related skills. Further, as Ntuli (1998), Brock-Utne (1996) and others have pointed out, the systematic underfunding and neglect of higher education in Africa has prevented the development of an indigenous research capacity relevant to Africa's needs, for example, one that can develop new biotechnologies to expand and develop the agricultural sector or affordable remedies for diseases such as malaria or HIV/AIDS. Thus whilst the development goals are to be welcomed as a necessary focus for eliminating poverty, longer term poverty reduction can only be achieved on the back of a more balanced approach to education funding within and across levels.

A further tension arising from this pressure point concerns whether or not the current emphasis on ensuring equal access to education and training for girls and women is a sufficient starting point for achieving gender equality, or whether a more comprehensive strategy is required. Addressing this tension requires taking account of the likely impact of globalisation on African women (see above). At present the focus of efforts aimed at gender equity as expressed in the millennium development targets hinge almost entirely on improving the access of women and girls to education and training opportunities. No doubt creating greater access to skills will

enable women to benefit from the opportunities opened up by globalisation. The spin-offs of greater access in the areas of fertility and health are also well known (DFID, 2000b). From a skills formation perspective, however, women's empowerment cannot be achieved through a sole focus on guaranteeing equality of access to education. Firstly, more careful analysis is required of the specific skills needed by women in order to take advantage of any opportunities that globalisation may have for them. This should extend to considering assertiveness training and other kinds of skills that will enable women to resist and manage the worst effects of globalisation. Significantly, however, attention to female skill formation needs to take account of the broader social relations within which women's skills are embedded, in a way that challenges patriarchal cultural norms and values (see below), builds on women's traditional strengths and custodial roles (Mazrui, 1999), supports women's economic empowerment and financial independence, and provides a protective framework of enabling legislation in the workplace and the home.

The fourth pressure point concerns *the relationship between cultural norms and values and skill formation*. A consideration of this pressure point draws attention to the impact of cultural norms and values on skills formation strategies. For policy makers, however consideration of this pressure point raises the question of what cultural norms and values to select as a basis for developing social capital. For example, should curriculum development be informed by a reversion to "traditional African values" or by dominant western ones? Ought subjects such as citizenship education to be informed by a positive view of the African personality such as that developed by the African humanists or by a view of global citizenship based more on western models? One response has been to extol the virtues of the western tradition but to remove its overtly racist content. This was the approach of some African leaders albeit in very different ways. A second response was to develop the antithesis of Western humanist approaches (see Mazrui, 1978, for example). Both of these responses in retrospect seem rather dated in relation to the era of contemporary globalisation. A third response more in keeping with the view of globalisation taken here, is to commence from a view of African culture similar to that advanced by Appiah (1995). This materialist understanding of culture leads to an awareness of Africa's common experiences under colonial and postcolonial regimes as a basis for citizenship and respect for human rights. It recognises that it is in relation to a knowledge of Africa's diverse cultural and intellectual past in historical perspective that successive generations of students will be in a position to make informed choices about which cultural resources are relevant for them in their own struggle to meet the challenges of contemporary globalisation and to be in a position to engage on their own terms with dominant European values. In practice such an approach would aim to fully reflect the diversity of African cultures and histories within the education and training systems including those of minority groups, although from a skills formation perspective, the development of appropriate norms and values in education needs to be understood, as an aspect of wider power relations between ethnic groups, and participation of minorities in educational governance ought to be part of a wider legal framework guaranteeing and protecting minority rights, and

part of a wider government strategy aimed at managing diversity in other areas of social policy.

The final policy tension to be mentioned under this pressure point relates to whether the African Renaissance project is best served by using indigenous or European languages as the medium of instruction. Space does not allow for a full consideration of this complex issue. The tension has in any case been dealt with adequately elsewhere (see Phillipson, 1999; Pennycook, 1995; Brocke-Utne, 2001; Rassool, 1999; Mazrui, 1999; Watson, 1999, Moodley, 2000). To summarise, from a functionalist perspective there are often good reasons to favour a global language as a medium of instruction. English, for example, is recognised by many within Africa as a language that will grant access to power and prosperity. It is also sometimes seen as a neutral medium in a multilingual setting and it is often easier and cheaper to obtain suitable learning materials in English. Also from a functionalist perspective, however, it can be argued with Mazrui (1999) that no country has successfully advanced scientifically without significantly developing indigenous language/s. He cites the examples of Japan and Korea in this respect. Furthermore, there are pedagogical and psychological benefits to learning in ones own language, especially in the early years. These advantages feed into more critical perspectives, which see the spread of European languages as vehicles for western consumer culture and as an aspect of neo-colonialism. Faced with these conflicting perspectives, African countries are increasingly adopting a phased bilingual or even trilingual approach, favouring indigenous languages in the early years, and global languages such as English, in the later years, although the choice in the end is a political one related to regional, national and local realities.

##### 5. TOWARDS A SKILLS FORMATION STRATEGY FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND REGIONS

In this section an attempt will be made to outline the basis of a skills development strategy for African countries in keeping with a skills formation approach. The ideas contained in this section are based on recent empirical research carried out in Rwanda and Tanzania (Tikly et al., 2003). Underlying a strategic approach to skills development is the principle that the identification of skills development priorities needs to be seen as a political and social question as much as a technical one, and that the development of a national or regional strategy ought to be seen in relation to a consideration of the pressure points identified in the above sections. Also underlying the development of an appropriate strategy and following from the above is recognition that, although it is possible to outline the basis on which a strategy can be formulated, the actual content of specific strategies is regionally and nationally specific. Having made these caveats, a skills development strategy would attempt to achieve the following:

- *Develop a relevant vision and approach to lifelong learning.* Today, the idea of lifelong learning is central to developing education and training policy around the world and has recently been endorsed as a concept by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in their protocol on education and training

(SADC, 1997). The need to develop and consolidate a lifelong learning approach is underscored by the impact of globalisation. Increasingly workers will need to skill and re-skill themselves as the pace of economic and social change intensifies. The idea of lifelong learning needs to operate as part of a national vision to guide development priorities. It also operates as a general approach or strategic orientation that should inform policy making across sectors. The idea of lifelong learning, however, needs to be grounded in the realities of specific localities, countries and regions and needs to be adaptable to rapid changes in the global environment. For example, such a vision needs to find a way of bringing learners back into the education and training system, and to recognise and develop traditional and other skills that in the past have been seen as marginal. It also needs to link skills development more clearly to national development goals and needs to provide greater articulation between elements of education and training, both formal and non-formal that in the past have been treated as discrete sub-sectors. One means for facilitating a lifelong learning approach, is the development of an integrated qualifications framework. If a vision of lifelong learning is to become a reality then it must be “owned” by all sections of the population and across sectors. This means involving all stakeholders in the development of such a vision and its wide dissemination.

- *Governments need to be proactive in formulating skills development priorities and strategies in relation to a national vision.* The success of skills development strategies elsewhere in the world has relied on the state taking a proactive rather than a reactive stance in relation to defining and implementing skills development priorities. This involves taking both a long term view of future development needs in a global era, whilst allowing for flexibility in order to meet short term skills requirements arising from changes within the national and global economic environments. Being responsive to short term opportunities in the global economy should not deflect the state from long-term priorities. The state also needs to be proactive in advancing a nationally determined skills development policy or else risk that policy is set by donor rather than by local agendas.
- *Create a supportive and coherent policy environment for skills development.* International experience suggests successful skills development strategies feed into and are supported by other areas of policy including policy relating to the economy, science and technology, youth, women, labour markets etc. At present there is little indication of coherence in many African countries between these different areas of policy and skills development priorities.
- *Put in place the necessary governmental structures.* International experience also suggests, however, that coherence is further achieved through the establishment of “joined up government” in the form of relevant government bodies to oversee skills development and the establishment of effective lines of communication and a clear demarcation of responsibilities between these bodies, government departments, the private sector and other key stakeholders.
- *Provide accurate information on the nature and extent of skills shortages.* Effective planning for skills development is dependent on the provision of

adequate information about the nature and extent of skills shortages and needs. This in turn relies on the development of adequate information systems. There has been a shift in emphasis in recent years away from manpower planning approaches to assessing future skills needs and towards labour market analysis. The focus of manpower planning is on the number of people with skills that are deemed to be necessary for producing the basket of a country's goods and services. Labour market analysis changes the focus to the labour force, a much wider concept, which includes those with no skills and the unemployed. It therefore fits more closely to the view of skills development used in this chapter.

- *Create an enabling legislative environment.* A skills development strategy also needs to be supported by an enabling legislative environment. For example, unlocking innovative and entrepreneurial skills relies on the existence of a legal framework to protect intellectual property. Such a framework is often absent in many African countries. This concern is of relevance across the business spectrum from small scale business and crafts people to representatives of larger scale industry. In some countries also, skills training is part of the broader legal framework governing trade and industry. Some countries, for example, have laws that levy a special training tax on companies to fund education and training.
- *Strike a strategic balance between prioritising skills required for eliminating poverty, achieving global competitiveness, ensuring national unity and gender equity.* It was suggested above that the dual goals of alleviating poverty and achieving economic competitiveness present a series of tensions for policy makers. These two goals can be both mutually supportive and mutually dependent. The eradication of poverty relies on successful integration into the global economy whilst the focus on poverty alleviation will ensure that the benefits of global integration reach all sections of the population including those most at risk of suffering the effects of poverty. Through mainstreaming gender issues, governments can ensure that skills development priorities recognise the vulnerability of women to poverty as well as their potential contribution to global integration. Thinking strategically around these different outcomes of policy means engaging with the inevitable tensions that arise between them but in a way that will lead to mutually supportive rather than contradictory outcomes.
- *Ensure that the principles of good governance apply and are adhered to in relation to education and training policy and practice.* Firstly, the state must provide a supportive environment for all stakeholders to participate in the identification and implementation of the skills development strategy. The principles of participation, communication and dissemination of ideas are a key mechanism for developing national consensus around skills development priorities. This in turn relies on the state being proactive in developing capacity within the state, the private sector and civil society to participate in policy making and to deliver skills development initiatives. It also means that the state must establish suitable forums within which participation can occur. Encouraging good governance also means supporting the decentralisation of aspects of education and training to the local level. At present, the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania are in the process of decentralising a range of aspects including teacher



training, the procurement of teaching materials and teacher resource centres. Communities are also being encouraged to become more involved in supporting education and training.

- *Harmonise external support for education and training in terms of a sector wide approach.* A sector wide approach has some advantages from the point of view of this chapter because it allows funds from donors and other sources to be channelled in relation to identified sector-wide skills priorities. It is preferable to a project funding approach which has predominated to date in many countries because of the potential lack of coherence between the goals and outcomes of different projects. A sector wide approach may also allow for greater stakeholder participation at the level of deciding national priorities and strategies. The challenge, however, is to ensure that the democratising potential of such approaches is realised in practice and that sector-wide priorities are clearly linked to national skills development priorities. This means ensuring the presence of linked up government policy and the establishment of governmental bodies capable of ensuring effective multi-sectoral planning and communication in relation to skills (see above).
- *Increase overall amounts of money available to spend on education and training.* The success of other countries that have successfully globalised can be attributed, in part at least to the high priority that was afforded to investment in education and training. Although existing national and regional visions such as NEPAD acknowledge the critical role of education and training in development, the overall proportion of GDP devoted to education and training on the African continent is often low by international standards. One reason for this is the high proportion of government expenditure used to re-service the external debt. The international community needs to do more to rectify this situation and to reform the regulations governing international trade in a way that favours African economies. There is also much that African governments themselves can do to increase the funds available for education and training within overall government expenditure, including doing more to tackle corruption and mismanagement of resources and working harder towards ensuring peace and stability.
- *Encourage private provision and funding of education in areas where state funding for education and training is limited.* Even if governments are able to gradually increase overall levels of funding for education and training, it is unlikely that they will be able to sustain investment beyond a basic learner entitlement. There remains a crucial role for the private sector in providing education and training opportunities in order to fill in the gaps in state provision. At present, private sector involvement in skills training has taken the form of private schools and universities. These have often sprung up in an ad hoc manner to meet market demand and in relation to public perceptions of labour market opportunities. As a result, there arise concerns about the need for a tighter regulatory framework both to ensure quality and to link their outputs to national priorities. Countries that have successfully globalised have often encouraged the private sector to provide training opportunities in key economic areas through

offering tax breaks and other incentives. Foreign firms and even governments have been encouraged to establish skills training centres in exchange for access to graduates from these centres and other trade incentives. The involvement of private firms in training can also lead to a benevolent process of technology transfer as generic skills and technologies used by a particular firm can be made more generally available.

- *Provide targeted support for groups most at risk of exclusion from education and training opportunities, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels.* At present all African countries have committed themselves to fee-free primary education. However, secondary and tertiary education remain relatively expensive. In both countries access to these levels is skewed towards the more affluent sections of society with negative implications for equity and social justice. There is also evidence that the enrolment of girls and women at these levels is less than boys in both countries. This would suggest a role for the state in providing financial support in the form of targeted bursaries to students from lower socio-economic backgrounds and to girls where there is found to be a gender imbalance at certain levels of the system or within certain subject areas.
- *Developing a suitable ICT infrastructure and policy.* The participation of African countries in the global knowledge economy is dependent on the development of a suitable infrastructure. This is arguably even more relevant for countries such as Rwanda and Mauritius that seek to leapfrog the industrial stage of development (see above). It is also crucial for countries that wish to pursue a more traditional developmental path, as they seek to industrialise and to find a global niche.
- *Building the regional dimension.* Regional co-operation in education is relatively under-developed in Africa as compared to some other parts of the world such as Europe (the European Union) and the Pacific Rim (ASEAN). Even in these relatively developed regions, education and training remains principally a function of national governments. There are clearly threats to regional co-operation in Africa that must be overcome, such as the instability caused by on-going conflicts in the region and the concern that less powerful nations will be dominated in the process by more powerful ones. Nonetheless, the benefits of forms of regional co-operation are that they could eventually facilitate the unnecessary duplication of expensive educational resources especially in the fields of tertiary education, training and research. The idea of regional co-operation is also a central aspect of NEPAD and a key theme of the African Renaissance idea.
- *Reversing the effects of the brain drain.* Many African countries continue to suffer from the on-going effects of the so-called “brain drain” although more research is required in order to quantify its nature and implications for development. Existing evidence suggests that the movement of skilled personnel out of the two countries is often in those areas where skills are scarcest and where the skills are required most in order to meet national development targets (e.g. in the fields of science and technology, management and accountancy). The brain drain exacerbates the problem of dependency on technical expertise from overseas. To some extent the development of regional co-operation might offset

some of the effects of the brain drain by creating more opportunities for sharing sought after skills in education and training and research and for the mobility for highly skilled people within the region. Further research also needs to take account of initiatives used in other parts of the world that have been successful in reversing the brain drain. (These include, for example, measures aimed at reversing the brain drain in Thailand where the government has offered financial and other incentives to Thai nationals working overseas in key skills areas to work in Thailand).

## 6. CONCLUSION

It has been argued in this chapter that central to the success of NEPAD must be a skills development strategy that is linked to an indigenously driven vision of development. An attempt to outline the basis for such a strategy within a skills formation approach has been outlined. The success of such a strategy is, in turn, reciprocally linked to the realisation of other broad objectives of NEPAD such as achieving peace and stability, sustainable economic growth, deepening democracy and reducing dependency on outside assistance. NEPAD and a skills development strategy, however, depend in the short term on support from the international community to kick-start its programmes, reduce the debt burden and to redress the unfair terms of trade that continue to contribute to Africa's economic and political marginalisation.

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- i This situation was exacerbated by the recent response of the G8 summit to the \$64 billion asked for by delegates from NEPAD. The response amounted to \$1 billion in debt relief and \$6 billion in aid.
- ii The reasons for the relative susceptibility of low income countries to global influences over education policy are complex but involve an appreciation of the postcolonial legacy, the use of the state by elites in many countries to serve their own rather than national interests, corruption, lack of capacity for good governance. These factors in turn are associated with the growing marginalisation of many low income countries from the global economy and political systems (Clapham, 1996; Bayart, 1993; Bayart et al, 1999; Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Hoogvelt, 1997).
- iii Cheru (2002) has identified a series of grass roots, civil society organisations such as peasants' organisations, informal economy and self-help associations, the human rights movement, trade unions and religious organisations who could be empowered to lead a form of 'democracy from below'. The list could also include grass roots educational organisations.

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- iv The term 'growth path' is here meant to signify a set of broad economic and social policies and objectives that define the developmental path of a country, the role of the state and the private sector and the relationship between different interest groups (Gelb, 1993).
  - v They are firstly, to ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling; and, secondly, to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education and no later than 2015.

DIANE CULLEN

## GLOBALISATION AND PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA: A NEW DIMENSION

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Whilst the significance of the processes of globalisation has been explored thoroughly in the academic literature in relation to the economy, its influence on teacher education has gained very little coverage. The aim of this chapter is to redress this gap in the literature. In so doing, Appadurai's (1990) notion of "cultural scapes" will be employed as the framework for an analysis of the most recent review of teaching and teacher education to have taken place in Australia, *Review of Teaching and Teacher Education Interim Report: Attracting and Retaining Teachers of Science, Technology and Mathematics* (Dow, 2003).

In the context of Australian pre-service teacher education, the number of texts produced over the last twenty-five years is indicative of the number of stakeholders involved in teacher education in Australia. The two major stakeholders have been the Commonwealth government, which is responsible for funding pre-service teacher education programs, and the various state governments, who are the major employers of graduating teacher candidates. In addition to these two levels of government, other influential stakeholders include: the employer bodies associated with Catholic education and Independent schools, the universities, teacher unions, schools and parent groups. In recent times, groups outside education have begun to play an influential role in teacher education, such as the Australian Business Council. Given the plethora of stakeholders who have a voice in instituting change within pre-service teacher education, it is not surprising that when a review or a report is published, the final text is often the result of a settlement process. Taylor et al., describe this process as being "policy attempting to suture together and over matters of difference between the participating and competing interests in the processes of policy text production" (1997, p. 50). This excess of stakeholders may also help explain the overwhelming number of reviews and reports on teaching and teacher education produced in Australia over the past twenty-five years.

What is noteworthy about these aforementioned groups is that they are associated with the nation state. More recently, other actors who operate beyond Australia's national boundaries have begun to take an increasing role in teacher training. The role of international organisations in steering Australian education in a

particular direction has become increasingly influential in recent years. These organisations, referred to as global actors, are committed to processes of globalisation; the significance of which has only recently begun to be addressed in the academic literature with respect to education. There is a dearth of scholarship in relation to the interplay between pre-service teacher education and the processes of globalisation. What follows is an attempt to address this gap in the literature.

It will be argued that in recent times the context in which pre-service teacher education operates has broadened beyond national boundaries, thus any analysis needs to accommodate global perspectives. As Kenway et al., (2003) observed, "These new forces of globalisation are bringing pressure to bear on national education policy" (p. 3). Education policy analysis also requires a critique of dominant ideologies at work, which often dictate the direction of intended reforms.

Too often, previous analyses of education texts have either over-simplified or else ignored those dimensions of change associated with globalisation. Although a number of writers have acknowledged that the production of education texts is rarely a straightforward, linear process the phenomena of globalisation has brought a new complexity to document analysis. Thus, the focus of this chapter is to analyse how global processes are being accommodated in the policy priorities of pre-service teacher education in Australia.

Examining the context of teacher education documents requires a selective approach to the documents chosen for analysis for two key reasons. The first is because the context of documents written twenty years ago is very different from the contemporary context. The second reason is that the quantity of texts produced by the Australian commonwealth and state governments are far in excess of what could possibly be analysed in one chapter. It is for this reason that the most recent document, released in February 2003 and produced under the auspices of the federal government, *Review of Teaching and Teacher education Interim Report: Attracting and Retaining Teachers of Science, Technology and Mathematics* is the document chosen for analysis. Emerging out of this text are the same major themes found in most documents concerned with teacher education that have been published since 1980. These include: the professional experience component, recruitment, course content, length of courses and control of teacher education.

Having selected the one text, the issue of which theoretical model will best assist in making sense of globalisation in relation to teacher education now arises. Crane (2002) recognises that "Cultural globalisation is sufficiently complex that no single theory can be expected to explain it adequately" (2002, p. 2). Whilst appreciating Crane's observation, the model most optimal in application to teacher education is Appadurai's (1990) notion of "scapes" which he uses to analyse global cultural flows. The five dimensions of cultural flows identified by Appadurai are: *ethnoscapes*, *financescapes*, *technoscapes*, *ideoscapes* and *mediascapes*. Whilst each "scape" will be dealt with in isolation it should be recognised that all of them are interconnected. In applying Appadurai's model, each scape will be paired with one of the major themes emanating from the teacher education documents. This form of analysis serves as a means of making transparent some of the ways in which globalisation is reshaping teacher education thus addressing Wiseman's (1998) concern that, "The extraordinary speed and spread of global flows ... has threatened



the capacity of people and governments to regulate, resist or even fully comprehend the local impact of transformations that result from actions and decisions taken on the other side of the globe" (1998, p. 15).

According to Robertson (1992), the concept of globalisation is associated with reconstructed notions of space and intensification: "Globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (1992: 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. The idea of interdependency is not intended to connote international harmony or global community, but rather the recognition that what happen in any simple society is influenced by its inter-actions with the many other societies on the globe" (1993: 1). Stiglitz (2002) develops the theme of interdependence in claiming "Globalisation has been accompanied by the creation of new institutions that have joined with existing ones to work across borders" (2002, p. 9). Malcolm Alexander (1996), in his definition of globalisation, identifies the impact of globalisation and the catalysts that drive it. "Globalisation is a concept which has been coined to describe the profundity and immensity of changes in communication, media, and civil society created by the political and technological seachanges of the past two decades" (1996, p. 31). Adapting Appadurai's notion of "scapes" to current developments in pre-service teacher education serves as a means of illustrating all of the dimensions associated with these definitions of globalisation.

## 2. FINANCESCAPES/PRACTICUM

It is in the arena of economics that globalisation has received most attention in the academic literature. Much has been written concerning a new form of capitalism that can be aligned to the development of globalisation. Whether described as "advanced capitalism" (Bell 1976) "disorganised capitalism" (Lash & Urry, 1987), or "late capitalism" (Jameson, 1984), what is important is the recognition that contemporary or postmodern capitalism works very differently from that of "modern" capitalism. Harvey (1989) describes this new form as a condition in which increasing areas of the social whole are being integrated into the logic of the marketplace. The university is one of these areas. Examining the shift in the role of universities in Australia pre and post mid-1980s, Hinkson (2002) comments that prior to the mid-1980s, "the university somehow stood outside the flow of mundane everyday life and the social structure. As such it became the organising focus of forces seeking to confront and renew social life . . ." (2002, p. 233). He continues by arguing that today the university "has moved to the centre of processes of renovation of both society and economy. The institution that was predominantly interpretive is now predominantly instrumental" (2002, p. 236). Integral to a new role for universities are the new economic imperatives that are framing policy options for education.

Since the mid 1980s, a reduction in public sector expenditure has been fundamental to all Western capitalist economies. The consequences for universities in Australia have been a restructuring of tertiary education. Begun in 1987 under the auspices of John Dawkins, the then Federal Minister for Education and Training, who argued, "Effective management at the institutional level will be the key to achieving many of the government's objectives for the unified national system" (1987, p. 49). So successful was the Minister that by 1994 there were "thirty-six universities in Australia in place of the nineteen universities and fifty-one advanced education institutions of 1987" (Marginson, 1997, p. 224). The result of this restructuring for undergraduate teacher education was that all courses were now situated in the universities. Significant to these developments was the discourse that was employed to justify the restructuring. The notions of excellence, efficiency and effectiveness became the new yardstick by which institutions were measured. Yeatman (1987) suggests effectiveness can be associated with outcomes and results, and improved style of change management, whilst efficiency is concerned with doing more with less (1987, p. 341). Now that education has to compete against other faculties in the context of depleted budgets, there has been decreased staffing and fewer resources.

In nearly every review, report or paper dealing with pre-service education and produced since the 1980s, suggestions for improving the professional experience component of the programs have been addressed. Sometimes referred to as the practicum or field experience nearly all of the relevant documents have called for an increase in the time student teachers spend in schools. In a submission to the most recent report, *Review on Teaching and Teacher Education*, the Australian Parents' Council wrote, "there ought to be more opportunity for trainee teachers to undergo longer periods of practical work in schools. Reforms to teacher training should include a greater emphasis on in-school classroom training experience" (in Dow 2003, p. 26). In another submission to the same review, the Australian Education Union argued, "There is a need to invest more in the practicum and allow for more time for teachers-in-training in classroom situations" (in Dow, 2003, p. 26). A university submission claimed, "A limited place in the pre-service program is reserved for in-school experience. There is a strong argument for this to be expanded . . ." (in Dow 2003, p. 26). What distinguishes the university's submission is that it acknowledges that more in-school experience is an "expensive option and difficult to deliver" (in Dow, 2003, p. 26). Lamenting the financial burden incurred by faculties of education, the Australian Council of Deans of Education submission claimed, "the cost of teacher education is barely able to be sustained and will reach crisis proportions over the next few years without some further injection of funding. The cost of teacher education courses, particularly the provision and administration of professional experience programs are of particular concern to education faculties" (in Dow 2003, p. 26). Given Australia's commitment to global competitiveness is aligned with restrictions on government expenditure to public institutions it is doubtful that the deans' cries for increased funding will receive a positive response. Thus, Yeatman's interpretation of efficiency: doing more with less, becomes particularly poignant for all involved in pre-service education courses.

### 3. ETHNOSCAPES/RECRUITMENT

Ethnoscapes refer to the flow of culture, which occurs, with the movement of specific groups of people. Since European settlement in 1788, Australia has been the recipient of many different waves of migrant groups from all over the world. When migration was at its zenith in the period after World War II, unskilled labour was sought from various countries in Europe. Boatloads of immigrants arrived to work on farms, in factories, and to undertake work involving other menial tasks. Referring to this period in history, Horton writes, "The levels of European migration to Australia can be seen as a major influence upon a wide range of cultural shifts in the Second World War" (1996, p. 7). However, the association of migration and cultural shift is not limited to this period alone. Since the 1980s, Australia has no longer considered itself a European stronghold situated in the Pacific region, but as part of Asia. Asian migration to Australia, a prospect once frowned upon, became acceptable during the 1980s, a development that can be described as another cultural shift. Geographic reasons alone were not the only element in this cultural shift. Asian immigrants represented the new type of migrant that immigration authorities were seeking; one who was highly skilled, well qualified, preferably spoke English and preferably wealthy. Asian migrants, along with those from other regions, were sought to work in hospitals as doctors, nurses, and technicians; computer programmers were sought to work in information technology industries; and entrepreneurs to work in business. Associated with this shift to a positive outlook towards Asia, was a recruitment drive that gave rise to a dramatic increase in the number of Asian students studying in Australian universities.

With universities facing financial difficulties, new means of income were sought to supplement government cutbacks to expenditure on tertiary education. Asian students, willing to pay full fees for their degrees presented new possibilities for increased income, and within a significantly short period of time large numbers of Asian students were recruited to study in Australian institutions. Marketing sections within universities became part of the standard infrastructure and for reasons of proximity and market potential various countries in Asia were targeted for students. In contrast to the American dollar, the Australia dollar was weak, thus making the possibility of studying in Australia much less expensive than in other Western countries. Given the rise of English in the business world, Australia, as an English speaking country, proved an attractive proposition for students and this country's reputation for safety added to its attractiveness. The reputation of the quality of tertiary education in Australia provided a further incentive to many Asian students who believed gaining a Western degree would be to their advantage in the labour market. The success of Australia's recruiting program is evidenced by this country having the third largest number of international students in the English-speaking world, behind the United States and the United Kingdom. Of these students, eighty percent are from Asia. As an export industry, international education is Australia's third largest service export earner, with a value of A\$3.4 billion dollars (DFAT 2003, p. 3). This emergence of a global education market created the conditions for an unprecedented movement of students across national borders and the related

reconstituting of education programs (Neave, 1991). It also indicated a shift in policy direction in the mid-1980s from international students being brought to Australia for philanthropic reasons, to reasons associated with economic imperatives. But whilst business and computer studies proved to be popular courses for recruiting international students, undergraduate teacher education courses were not in high demand. What education faculties became exposed to, particularly from the late 1990s onwards could be described as recruitment in reverse. Australian pre-service teachers in their final year of study are being recruited to work overseas immediately after graduating.

Up until the 1990s, any discussion in the policy documents on recruitment of teachers was limited to issues of supply and demand. Discussions on manpower planning revolved predominantly around questions of intake numbers into teacher education courses and of discussion of entry scores. Today with the developing teacher shortage in countries throughout the Western world, teaching graduates are now being enticed to become global workers and teach overseas. "A number of countries, including the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Canada, and the United States, recruit Australian teachers with offers of higher salaries and a range of incentives . . ." (Dow, 2003, p. 7). A recent feature of pre-service teacher education courses now involves representatives of various global agencies addressing students on the possibilities of working in other countries. There have been exchange programs for teachers between Australia and other countries for many years, but the number of teachers partaking in them has been limited and exchanges were organised on a government-to-government level. However, this new form of global recruiting has given rise to a large percentage of Australian graduates accepting teaching appointments overseas. As teacher education students are recruited to swell the ranks of the global workforce, the existing problem of teacher shortages in Australia is exacerbated by the introduction of this new element in recruitment planning.

#### 4. TECHNOSCAPES/COURSE CONTENT

In contemporary Western society there has been a proliferation of technological advances. Associated with these advances has been new means of production, distribution, consumption, and management (Castells, 1989). With respect to production, by the mid-1970s manufacturing industries that were labour intensive began to decline. Labour was expensive and competition from third world countries that could produce goods more cheaply made it difficult for Australian industry to be compete. Around the same time the system of tariffs, which had protected manufacturing related to automobile production, footwear, clothing, and textiles industries as well as agriculture was subjected to a series of reductions. Without the protection of tariffs that Australian manufacturing industries and agriculture were exposed to, global competition proceeded on an unprecedented scale. Notions of "world best practice" and "international benchmarking" became the mantra by which Australian industries were judged. Areas of production unable to compete either collapsed or were restructured using high-tech production techniques. During

this period Australia shifted from a resource-based economy to one reliant on service industries in order to be well placed in the new economy, referred to by the OECD as the knowledge-based economy. According to the Australian government, the new economy “refers to a global phenomenon characterised by:

- Increasing economic integration across national boundaries;
- Increasing pace of technological and social change, with innovation leading to higher economic productivity;
- Increasing pace of flow and transformation of information and knowledge” (DEFAT 2003, p. 1).

Interestingly, information and communication technology (ICT) is Australia’s fastest-growing sector and is considered by the government to be currently the key driver of economic growth (DFAT 2001). According to Castells, “The economic effects of the new technologies are crucial in the formation of an international economy” (1989, p. 30). Also crucial is a highly trained workforce with the necessary technological knowledge and skills. Today Australia is considered to have one of the most highly regarded and cost competitive ICT workforces in the world and is ranked among the top locations for the availability of IT skills. (DFAT 2003). The quality of the workforce suggests teaching and teachers are integral to this new knowledge-based economy.

Given this, it is not surprising that the latest review dealing with teacher education is concerned with attracting teachers of science, technology, and mathematics. As stated in the executive summary,

For Australia to reach its full potential as a highly successful knowledge-based economy and society, it will be necessary to raise the scientific literacy of Australians, to strengthen the foundations for world class scientists and innovators to emerge, and to support the development of a new generation of excellent teachers of science, technology and mathematics (Dow, 2003, p. ix).

Coupled with this new emphasis on specialised teachers for the knowledge economy, is the theme of course content in pre-service education courses. Information technology has become a core unit of study for all students. The application of particular computer programs for teaching and learning is now standard within these units and knowledge of the Internet and World Wide Web is mandatory. Although other units in the undergraduate teacher education program are not directly related to information technology, students are usually required to incorporate technology in their tutorial presentations and their assignments. Thus, information technology permeates the whole program. But because courses are limited to a particular number of units, in order to accommodate information technology units other areas of study have to be removed from the program. Today, units involving the history of schooling, philosophy of education, and multicultural studies have become superseded so as to provide space in the program for those areas that Dow (2003) refers to as “scientific literacy”. He advocates the need for partnerships “between education, science, mathematics and technology research and teaching areas within universities to ensure appropriate pedagogic and content knowledge, . . . and to influence university planning in order to improve teacher

education courses” (2003, p. 47). Indicative of these developments is a general shift of emphasis which can be found at all levels of Australian education, that is, a shift away from knowledge for its intrinsic worth, to skills for instrumental purposes. Also indicative of this trend is the central role education now plays in sustaining and improving this nation’s place in the competitive global economy.

## 5. IDEOSCAPES/LENGTH

Appadurai describes ideoscapes as a major dimension of the globalisation process whereby there is a flow of ideas and ideological trends across the globe (1990, pp. 295-311). These ideas are often very influential and can act as a catalyst for change at international, national and local levels. However, it can be argued that this is not a new phenomenon. Throughout history changes in any country can be associated with the influence of ideologies originating in other countries. This raises the issue of what distinguishes the flow of ideologies in the contemporary period from that of past epochs. Hinkson (2002) argues that because of the impact of the new technologies associated with the information revolution, the speed, depth, and breadth with which change occurs in society today is unparalleled in any previous period. Whilst supporting Hinkson’s perspective, the argument taken here with respect to ideoscapes is that there has arisen another feature distinguishing the postmodern, namely the issue of where the ideology originates. Summy (1996, p. 19), believes the new global actors fall into three main groups: transnational corporations (TNCs), intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). One IGO which has grown in stature and influence in recent times, and has had an increasing impact upon education policy in this country, is the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Established in 1961, it aimed to promote policies to assist the economic expansion of its member countries and to advance the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, international basis. In 1968 the OECD instituted the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, thus taking a special interest in education. Since the mid-1980s the OECD has taken an increasing interest in education as it recognises the relationship between education and the economic advancement of its member countries. Sometimes described as an international think tank, this IGO plays a major role in helping governments shape policy and exerts influence through processes of “mutual examination by governments, multilateral surveillance, and peer pressure to conform or reform” (in Taylor, 1997, p. 68), hence the term, “steering from a distance” (Kickert, 1991). As a consequence, the OECD is able to shape the education policy agendas of its member countries towards particular ideological ends, namely those ends in which education reform is interlinked with global economic reforms. Presently pre-service teacher education in Australia is being reshaped by OECD ideology.

The theme of the length of courses has emerged in most Commonwealth documents written since 1980 that deal with pre-service teacher education. Interestingly, in the more recent documents a major shift in ideology regarding the time frame for teacher education courses has emerged. In the early 1980s discussion

revolved around issues of the best means of getting student teachers to upgrade their qualification to equal four years of training. During this period it was commonplace for student teachers to be awarded a three year Diploma of Teaching and for them to return to the colleges after their graduation to complete a fourth year of study on a part-time basis, should they choose to do so. In 1987, John Dawkins restructured tertiary education and teachers' colleges were amalgamated into the university system. This resulted in undergraduate teacher education students undertaking a four-year degree course.

In the most recent review of teaching and teacher education, the concept of teacher education taking place over a discrete number of years within which students acquire the knowledge and skills considered necessary to become a teacher has been rejected. Instead, the review favours the ideology of lifelong learning. Critics of this ideology argue that teachers have always engaged in lifelong learning through their reflective practise and constant up-grading of skills. This perspective however, fails to appreciate that supporters of lifelong learning such as the OECD, the Australian Commonwealth Government and Kwong Lee Dow, perceive learning as being interconnected with economic expansion.

Dow argues in his review, "Teaching is a dynamic and lively profession. Being an integral part of the knowledge economy, teachers are lifelong learners with specific professional needs to be up-to-date with the content of their particular fields and with the developments about human learning. This goes to the heart of what is known as "lifelong and life-wide learning" . . ." (2003, p. 40). If knowledge is now central to the economy, the question that needs to be asked is, what knowledge? For Dow the answer is simple. He advocates a greater emphasis on areas of knowledge, which foster those skills associated with forms of work applicable to newly emerging knowledge-based industries. Hence, he favours a system of education that will improve the scientific literacy of Australians and create a well-educated and skilled workforce that embraces lifelong learning; equip Australia with world class scientists and innovators in a range of disciplines able to take ideas through to successful application and commercialisation; enhance Australia's capacity to train, inspire and retain world-class teachers of science, technology and mathematics who can in turn inspire; and instil the necessary technical knowledge and critical and creative thinking skills in their students and achieve the previous two objectives. (2003, pp. 1-2).

The emphasis in the review document on science, technology and mathematics is aligned with an acknowledgment that rapid globalisation and technological change in the Australian workplace and society is demanding knowledge and abilities associated with these three disciplines. Dow legitimates this policy direction from the perspective of Australia being a winner in the competitive global economy of the twenty-first century. But in so doing, the type of mathematics, science, and technology education he is advocating for pre-service teacher education courses is limited to that which can be applied to the work situation. Dow's perspective on the purpose of studying these disciplines can be described as narrow in interpretation and instrumental in perspective, as he ignores issues of the role these subjects can

play in helping students ponder the issue of how a more just, equitable and ethical society can be developed.

## 6. MEDIASCAPES/NATIONAL CONTROL

The information revolution is embedded in Appaduarai's concept of mediascapes. This "scape" refers to the rapid flow of information and images around the globe and it is one of the significant elements that distinguish modern society from that of the postmodern. The power of image has long been recognised in advertising and in more recent times politicians have sought to capitalise on image. This has led to accusations of style over substance; however, many a "wannabe" political leader has discovered that damage to one's image, wrought by negative media coverage, can result in a loss in an election. For those who are elected the need to maintain their image is vital.

In the pre-mid-1980s Australian context, each state Minister for Education was responsible for the budget and buildings and could not interfere in matters of curriculum or pedagogy. This began to change throughout the country both at State and Commonwealth levels with the restructuring of education in the early 1980s. The Minister's power to control all facets of education increased markedly. One of the consequences has been the constant change experienced by those working in the education field. In part these changes have been brought about by Ministers of Education wanting to "make their mark". Aligned to this is the desire to improve one's image and thus increase one's chances of being promoted and re-elected. A successful image for a politician is that of a person in control; someone who is seen to be instituting change that will better education. To do this successfully, the minister requires a convincing discourse style. The language employed by ministers when introducing educational change is couched in terms that have a resounding similarity to the language of business. Terms such as quality, accountability, flexibility, performance indicators, performance appraisal, all carry a positive overtone and when presented in the media appear to be common sense ideas. More importantly, the Minister presents the correct image of a person who is in control and has the knowledge of what changes are required and why they need to be implemented.

Teacher education in Australia is funded by the Commonwealth government, which is increasingly attempting to gain greater control of teacher education. The recent Commonwealth funded Review on Teaching and Teacher Education, is indicative of an attempt to increase national control over teacher education.

Dow argues for the establishment of a national framework for teaching "that will promote the consistent adoption of improved career paths for teachers, clear and specific standards for the profession, and portability of qualifications and entitlements" (2003, p. 9). A second national framework that is advocated concerns the processes for identifying demand for teachers of science, technology and mathematics in some geographic locations. A third national framework concerns establishing professional standards for the respective discipline areas and for describing teacher competencies.



The development of national professional standards and portability frameworks should be fundamental structural features of the teaching profession. Both serve to build and enhance the professional status of teaching, which is focused on attracting, educating, maximising and retaining high quality professionals. Renewing and extending the profession through development of professional standards and portability will serve to improve perceptions of the profession both from within and from the community as a whole. While these issues may need to be more fully considered by all stakeholders, momentum is developing for more active national management (Dow, 2003, p. 31).

When changes such as the above are couched in a convincing discourse, in this case a discourse that appears to be the language of common sense, the Education Minister is able to successfully mask the fundamental reason for the change, namely an increase in control. When pre-service teacher education can be directed from the centre, that is, at a national level, then there arises a silencing of local needs. Moreover, an intertextuality of policy directions in all government departments in Canberra takes on a disturbingly similar overtone. It is one in which the dominant ideology informing all policies is one of change that will lead to Australia being a “winner” in the global economy.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter analyses the evolving nexus between the emergence of globalisation in education and corresponding shifts in policy directions in pre-service teacher education in Australia. Applying Appadurai’s cultural “scapes” to teacher education and training is an attempt to make transparent the processes of globalisation that impact on teacher educators and policy makers and others involved in preparing teachers for the classroom in the global culture. In so doing, the chapter highlights the weakening of the steering capacity of the Australian Government, the rise in influence on education of elite power groups who operate beyond our national borders, and the distancing of influence on the decision-making processes of those who find themselves the objects of policy change. But if action either for or against policy decisions is to be taken at the local level, then an understanding of the complexities of the processes of globalisation will be a necessary prerequisite for success. Ozga (2000) suggests “the apparent ‘globalisation’ of policy raise[s] questions about the capacity of nation states to develop ‘local’ solutions to growing problems . . .” (p. 96). If those engaged in pre-service teacher education are to be encouraged to be critical thinkers, and empowering pedagogues who wish to act locally, then by studying the rise of this new phenomenon they can discover how voices of dissent are being effectively silenced.

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HANS LINGENS

## PISA IN GERMANY: A SEARCH FOR CAUSES AND EVOLVING ANSWERS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

With the opening of world markets and global interdependence it has become necessary to evaluate the quality of education in all countries. Over the last 30 plus years economic competition has increased the importance of comparing academic achievement. Especially in the countries of the European Union (EU) it is most important to have similar quality outcomes of education. Comparable qualifications of all workers are needed since they are free to move and pursue their professional career in all, not just in their own EU countries. Changes in education have been proposed since the 1960s, but very little has been accomplished. Now, based on hard data, another opportunity is available to improve and modernise education.

The most prominent international and comparative assessments of academic achievements were the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), conducted in the mid-nineties, which compared the science and mathematics achievement of forty-one countries. Of course, schools and the academic achievement of students have always been evaluated within countries, and many parents choose schools according to their academic performance. Oversight agencies in most countries evaluate and direct schools' curriculum, teaching, and performance.

Most recently the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) was implemented, sponsored by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and involving thirty-two countries. Aside from including literacy, the difference between PISA and TIMSS is that PISA emphasised more the usefulness of education in practical situations rather than focusing mainly on curriculum and academic achievement. The results of both studies show low performance of students in many countries, especially some who claim to be industrial and economic leaders.

## 2. THE AIM OF PISA

The overall purpose of PISA was to provide OECD member countries with comparative data and indicators of performance of their educational processes and systems (Baumert, Artel, Klieme, & Stanat, 2002). These indicators can be used for political and administrative decision-making to improve national education systems. PISA is a cooperative project of all OECD countries, since all countries have similar political, economic, and educational interests. The assessment program and its implementation was a political decision of the member states, and to lend it scientific credence, the countries enlisted international experts in developing the program and accompanying the process with their scientific analysis and advice.

PISA assesses basic competencies needed to live in a modern society, for personal and economic satisfaction, as well as active participation in politics and society. The first test was given in 2000, with emphasis on reading literacy, but questions in mathematics and science were included. The next round of testing was in 2003, with emphasis on mathematic literacy, and the third will be in 2006, emphasising science literacy. Even though the emphasis is on one subject area, the other areas are represented in each round of tests. Included were questions involving cross-curricular competencies and areas not formally taught in school, such as skills necessary for living as an adult. A survey of students' personal and social background was included; and school administrators had to answer questions about their school and community.

In the spring of 2000, about 180,000 fifteen-year-old students from 33 OECD countries were assessed. Four non-OECD countries took part; these were Lichtenstein, the Russian Federation, Latvia, and Mexico. The Netherlands took part as well, but due to technical problems with the sample size, was excluded from reporting the final results. In each country a representative sample was selected dependent upon the demography. In Germany, 8000 students from 220 schools (38 students per school) were tested. Germany has 16 federal states with cultural and educational authority, and since a comparison among states was desired, the study was expanded and administered to students in all states and the original sample was increased to 1,466 schools and 60,000 students. This study was named PISA-E.

## 3. THE FINDINGS

The results were considered devastating for Germany, since its education systems came at the lower end of average. The United States ranked average and seemed not quite as concerned, but Groves (2001), in her article *USA. students on par with peer nations*, quotes Education Secretary Rod Paige: "In the global economy, these countries are our competitors – average is not good enough."

As soon as the results were released in spring of 2001, many newspapers, politicians, and educators had opinions and suggestions for change. When data from PISA-E were released in spring of 2002, it was a sensation for the press and a

scandal for politicians and education authorities. Fingers were pointed everywhere, as can be seen by some of the titles in the newspapers:

- German students receive bad grades – In international comparison rank only 25- A call for consequences. (“German students“, 2001)
- PISA: Teachers fail too. Weakness in reading literacy (PISA, 2002)
- Poor report card for the education system. (*Poor Report*, 2002)
- Grade FAIL for parents. (*Grade FAIL*, 2001)
- Miserable report card for outdated system – First GEW reaction. (*Miserable Report*, 2001)
- Education study: Immigrant students depress German ranking. (*Die Welt*, 3/12/2001) (Education study, 2001).

The term *PISA Shock* was used extensively throughout German political and educational circles. The German coordinator of PISA, Jürgen Baumert (2002), not expecting the low performance, observed a big performance drop between the best and the weakest students. The background of the students plays a big role for success in school. And support for the weakest students is very poor. Since almost all schools share similar problems, the models for German schools can only be found in other countries such as Scandinavia and the Anglo-Saxon countries. It is unlikely that the United States with just average performance can serve as a model among the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Some students are just able to read and understand very simple texts and will therefore have great difficulties passing a test for employment. This does not give many a chance for employment in a very competitive labour market, where unemployment rates are very high, at 12 to 15 percent and in some ethnic neighbourhoods up to 26 percent. Diana Schemo (2001) of *The New York Times* referred to Barry McGaw, the OECD’s deputy director for education, who believes that the instability of poverty is part of the causes of low performance reported in the test results. Some countries, like Finland had succeeded in educating students of all backgrounds; poor home conditions in other nations, including the United States and Germany prohibit better student achievement.

- The German weekly, *Die Zeit* (Spiewack, 2001), sums up what has been verified by PISA about the education system in Germany:
- The German education system has failed
- Students on average receive a failing grade in the areas tested
- German students understand text worse than their counterparts in other comparable nations
- Science and math competencies are lower than international averages
- No industrial nation has so many educational losers as Germany
- Math competencies of 25% of the fifteen year olds are at primary level
- In no other nations is the gap between good and bad students as great as in Germany
- The schools produce only weak student achievement
- The system is so unjust that students of low socioeconomic status have to struggle to develop their intellectual competencies.

- Students are not able to solve problems reflecting life situations
- For many the die is cast already in first grade. They have to expect unemployment and no chance to even apply for jobs. This is especially true for foreign-born students.

These are heavy indictments for a country known for its intellectual achievements. This situation calls to mind the much publicised and often cited writing of Georg Picht (1964) in the nineteen sixties “The German educational catastrophe.” His writings started discussions about the need to modernise the German education system to make it more competitive in the world markets. The discussion at that time was similar to the one that is under way now. According to a study done in 1977 (Lingens) the issues are similar, and the political and educational discussions were then, as they are now very heated. The tripartite educational system came under fire, as now. Teacher qualification, outdated curriculum and, the segregation of students into homogeneous groupings in separate schools were some of the major issues. The ideological and political fighting continued, and not much was accomplished. The *Gesamtschule* or comprehensive school, viewed as the solution, did not live up to the expectations of the political and educational communities.

The German school system’s beginning dates back to the nineteenth century’s industrial society. Students were selected early to get into the *Gymnasium*, which was accessible only to the upper middle class, creating an academic elite or *Akademiker* (academicians). For many years hardened ideological fights guided discussions over different kinds of schooling. On one side were the three school (tripartite) types, *Hauptschule* for general practical education, *Realschule* for the theoretical and practically inclined students, and the *Gymnasium* for students with academic theoretical ability, and on the other side was the *Gesamtschule* or comprehensive school, where all schools were to be integrated to help all students achieve their potential. The latter one was viewed as the more democratic school, which would support all students for advancement and the reduction of inequality and injustice. Students were supposed to be helped individually to achieve the educational objectives in a democratic setting. According to Reinhold Kahl (2002), the debate was mostly over early selection against support for advancement, justice against equality, which was seen as opposites. Eventually this unique and outdated system led to the present difficulties in education. But still politicians try to ignore the “equal living conditions and advancement for all through education” guaranteed in the Basic Law.

#### 4. ANALYSIS

The first reactions and demands by the public and various agencies to PISA ask for a reform of the educational system in Germany. In the newspaper of the Union for Education and Science (*Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft*, GEW), a left-oriented organisation, the president, Eva-Maria Stange (2001), demanded that the results need to be analyzed completely without excluding any “taboos” such as changing the differentiated system, and that changes need to be implemented. The

union criticised the tripartite or differentiated education system, the shortness of the school day, the failure to support students' learning, the large class sizes, and the poor teaching and learning conditions.

For the GEW the differentiated system seems to enforce the learning and socio-economic divide, recognising that the EU schools in the top 10 ranking countries educate all students together throughout their compulsory education. A change needs to be made in the length of the school day. Within the EU, only Germany, Austria, and Greece have half-day schools. Portugal and Italy have half-day schools and full-day schools, whereas others have all-day schools. These schools should give students and teacher a chance to work with individuals to enhance their learning and provide for more opportunities for the weaker students to learn, as was demanded in the 1960s (Lingens & Lingens, 1980). The president of the Federal Republic, Johannes Rau (Andrusz, 2002), bemoaned the reluctance of the education system to assist the millions of students with a foreign background or those who were recent immigrants. They play an ever-increasing and important role in German society and deserve all the assistance necessary, especially in learning the German language.

The early streaming by ability of students after the fourth or fifth grade is one of the reasons why weak students showed poor learning results. Klaus Klemm (2001), an education researcher, stated in an interview that relegating students to less stimulating learning environments in low performing schools would stump their potential for learning. Separating students in this way is in fact social segregation and inequality. To show the complexity of the issues, he warned that this assertion is not entirely conclusive, since good and poor students can be observed in differentiated as well as integrated school systems. However, the quality of performance in integrated schools shows no measurable difference from that in the tripartite school system. The more conservative states, such as Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg are reluctant or just unwilling to change the differentiated school system and have few comprehensive schools. Both scored higher in PISA-E in comparison to other states. It is understandable that the discussion goes on since no empirical studies show that there is an advantage in any of the school systems.

Little has changed since the 1960s as shown by the comments of Rolff (2001). He proposed changes similar to those in his earlier writings (Rolff, et al., 1974, personal communication 1975), changes in the education/administrative system, and in schools. He suggested revision of the curriculum, establishing state curriculum institutions and establishing full-day schools, a change in the Federal State Commission (a cooperative body between states and federal government that works to establish common educational policies, initial teacher training, continuous teacher education, and the development of new teaching and instructional material). He suggests development of learning communities in the schools, where teachers are also learners, sharing of good practices, and reporting of performance of students to state authorities and the public to increase their competencies.

Biedendorf (2002) brings up another issue as in the sixties and seventies, suggesting that the discussion about the future of education needs to be free from all taboos including ideologically based prohibition of thinking and infringement on

“sacred territory”. Educational institutions can no longer afford to have a centralised system without an area of freedom to develop on their own and be supported in a central and unified way. He calls for a varied approach to education and schools. Education systems of the future need to be accountable for students’ learning and to compete for monetary support based on their performance. Eventually this could lead to the “right” way to educate the young. A price tag on education degrades it to a commercial enterprise and the term “education” can no longer be justified. It becomes training and only acquired knowledge is measured, ignoring the development of the person, the most profound result in education.

## 5. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Many commentators agree that Germany needs to abandon outdated instructional methods instituted at the beginning of the nineteenth century and delivered in forty-five minute segments. New ways could be found with an integrated curriculum and project oriented learning. A full-day school is needed to prepare students sufficiently for the future (Gabriel, 2002). No one can depend on staying in a job for a lifetime. All education needs to be in a cooperative atmosphere with willingness for life-long learning. But the nagging question is, will there be any changes? Will there be an emphasis on education or training, imparting knowledge or helping the individual to develop as a human being? These comments show many differences of opinion from many sides. The next step is to find which program proposals have the best chance of being successful. Many policy proposals were offered, and many goals were proposed, especially during the election year of 2002.

The driving forces for change in education are the federal states and the federal government, represented by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Culture, the Federal State Commission, and the ministries of culture in each state. Many of these were involved in the earlier attempt for change, which failed. All these agencies, as well as researchers and teachers may make changes impossible as before.

Many new proposals and guidelines have been suggested. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder (2002) recognised the low ranking and status of the school system and the many differences in performance of the sixteen state education systems in an education policy statement and declared that the education system was on very “shaky ground”. He saw the solution in a federal framework for education that would be binding for all states. He advocated the need for:

- National education standards, binding for all students in the republic
- National understanding and agreement on what constitutes standards for basic education
- National curriculum for core subjects in education
- Systematic reporting of the development of the German education system and a regular assessment on whether the quality standards are achieved
- New concept for preschool (learning can start very early)
- Change in the use of time in the school day and consideration of a change of starting age of schooling



- Change in financial priorities (shift of funding from higher grades towards the lower grades and basic education)
- All-day schooling
- School system for the immigrant society for integrating children of foreign background into the German society and valuing their differences
- Autonomous and self responsible schools with more freedom to make local changes within the national framework.

These were ambitious and bold goals but seemed to be achievable with complete cooperation of all involved. Most of the changes were based on models found in the high-ranking OECD countries. The federal minister of education and research, Edelgard Buhlmann, presented in 2003 the seven theses in a speech, *National education standards as part of a comprehensive quality management system for schools*. In this speech, she concentrated on national standards and quality control in light of the PISA study. The theses were:

1. The focus needs to be on the outcome or results of education as judged by measurable competencies.
2. The federal and state governments need to agree to establish national standards that are also competence standards, written in specific terms, measurable by tests.
3. These competence standards need to be the central focus in supporting individual students.
4. The achievement of minimal standards needs to be assessed regularly to guarantee fulfilment.
5. Schools need to have autonomy to take responsibility for achieving desired outcomes.
6. The introduction and implementation of national competency standards demands corresponding teaching qualifications
7. For the development, introduction, and evaluation of standards, federal and state governments need to work together to build the necessary structures.

She invited the state governments to accept federal financial support for the founding of a bureau for development of standards and evaluation.

While the United States government has no direct constitutional right to interfere with education issues of the states, except through the child welfare act, the Federal Republic of Germany has limited constitutional rights. Support through money gives the government a crucial function. The Standing Conference of the Education and Cultural Ministers of the States (KMK) work out most agreements concerning all states and believe they have much at stake to bring their respective states into a competitive position with other states and hopefully with other nations.

## 6. CHANGING EDUCATION

In principle all agree that education needs improvement, but how this is to happen is very uncertain, since turf rights and ideological differences will prolong the process of implementing changes or even agreeing upon what changes need to

be made. The states want to develop and implement their own programs, and there are many political and ideological disagreements. Just as in the United States, agreements are not made with only the education of children in mind. Most often a compromise is reached that is mostly political in nature.

In the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, the Minister for School, Science and Research proposed in 2002 to strengthen education and training through taking the responsibility, assisting individual students, providing better training, and supporting teachers, developing and assuring quality of instruction, and guaranteeing a good beginning of education, by thoroughly preparing students in preschool activities. Other states have similar proposals. However, implementation will be difficult and there are numerous administrative, political, and pedagogical hurdles that would need to be overcome.

Some disagreements exist already. The more conservative Teacher Association in North Rhine-Westphalia opposes the GEW in their proposal to shift teachers from the upper level of the *Gymnasium* to the primary school level, since the teacher/student ratio is much higher in the lower grades. It also wants to have a fewer number of all-day schools, especially at the beginning. The association observes that federal funds for the implementation of all-day schools will be spent on resolving the conflict between local and state administrations (Steuwe, 2003) rather than on instruction.

The issues German education faces are very familiar to education authorities and politicians in the United States. Some of these issues are: national standards, defining quality of education, equal opportunity, teacher training, financing of education, keeping education a national priority, central authority versus local autonomy. For this author, it is a false notion that autonomy of schools and central, even independent, evaluation is able to coexist.

## 7. GLOBALISATION AND EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The United States has national standards and quality indicators, yet the school systems did not fare much better in PISA. Education officials maintain that these results could not only be explained by the great diversity of the students and the great variety of languages in schools (Groves, 2001). The poverty level of many students and their lack of critical thinking skills are significant variables in academic achievement (Wetzstein, 2001). He observes that similar tests given in the United States, like the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), show that 47% of high school seniors do not have basic science skills, and this is worse than in 1996, when the figure was 43%.

All agree that “average” or “low average” gives the nation no chance for a competitive edge in the global market. More and more professionals with high-level thinking skills and skills of expression are needed if countries want to compete outside their borders.

Education issues in both nations need to be addressed to guarantee their role as leaders. One can learn from the other. Maybe Germany can learn from the failure and the limited success in the United States. The United States, on the other hand,

could learn much from looking at other nations and their process of change. The ideal would be if they exchanged ideas and concerns.

Will all these proposals reported for German education find acceptance or be implemented? Judging from past, the future does not look very promising. It is known in the educational community that changes implemented from the top down are not very successful and are soon replaced with others. National standards have not been proven to help students' learning, as shown by the PISA results in the United States. Financing education for all works well when the economy is strong. Any downward trend in this area, and education suffers along with other social programs. Germany has a shortage of teachers in the classrooms, not because of lack of available candidates but because the states do not have the funds to hire or replace teachers. Where will the money come from to work on improving education?

## 8. CONCLUSION

With the PISA test results there is another chance to change education in Germany. In this post-industrial or information society, it has become even more urgent to modernise education to ensure prosperity and competitiveness. Education has to become more a joint enterprise between society and school (Biedendorf, 2002). The opportunity to make changes in the approach to educate our young so they can be successful in the future needs to be taken seriously. This will affect their personal life, their work and the socio-political environment. It will take a long time to negotiate compromises that satisfy all involved. It is hoped that students and their learning will become be the most important issues in society. It is too early to see any serious changes being implemented or proposed. Only the future will tell.

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MARGARET B. SUTHERLAND

## GLOBALISATIONS, RESEARCH AND POLICIES REGARDING GENDER ISSUES

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The development of a global perspective, though regarded as a characteristic of the present age, is in fact scarcely new. Proposals for the organisation of research and consequent formulations of educational policy have long made it evident that scholars considered such matters should not be contained within one country or state but that an extended, preferably world-wide, view is essential. Already in 1605 Francis Bacon outlined in the *New Atlantis* the organisation of a body of scholars not only carrying out research in many sciences but collecting research results and discoveries from all countries of the world, analysing them and drawing conclusions from them for the better understanding of science and the determination of future policies.

Rather similarly, though less comprehensively, Marc-Antoine Jullien, who is regarded as the creator of the discipline of Comparative Education, foresaw the development of a European policy for education, based on research from a number of European countries. In 1817, the European perspective possibly seemed equivalent to a global perspective. Again, policy decisions were to be formulated by a body of experts using the collated results of research in different countries. Unfortunately, as for the *New Atlantis*, the qualities required in such experts were not defined.

In this new century, is educational policy regarding gender issues benefiting from a global perspective, or an assembly of global perspectives? Is such a perspective as helpful as past scholars thought it would be? Are there dangers in globalisation? Does it work?

## 2. CURRENT GLOBALISATION

### 2.1 *Influence of International Organisations*

The most obvious progress towards a global perspective influencing policies is the development in recent decades of international organisations which present relevant information and indicate from time to time, policies that seem to be desirable. In this category there are especially the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank; and, rather less specifically, the United Nations and, in a modified interpretation of 'global,' various European organisations.

A. Some of the earliest contributions of UNESCO in the 1960s were scarcely obtrusive, since they consisted essentially of the publication of statistics in its *Yearbook of Education*. Nevertheless, even if the information was at times incomplete and not strictly comparable, since it did not always relate to the same year for all countries, those statistics made it possible for governments to compare their educational provision with that of other countries. Whether governments took advantage of this possibility is another question; their awareness of research data often seems ill-developed. In the 1980s the relationship between researchers and policy-makers or politicians was indeed judged to be less than perfect (Husén and Kogan, 1984).

UNESCO has further focused in various ways – through conferences and workshops as well as by commissioned research and publications – specifically on the education of girls and women, as well as on the condition of women in general. It reports annually to the Secretary General of the United Nations on its work. UNESCO publications focusing on gender aspects of education include *Jobs for Women* (Borcelle, 1985), *The scientific education of girls: education beyond reproach?* (UNESCO, 1995), *Increasing girls' and women's participation in basic education* (Stromquist, 1997). Aspects of women's access to higher education have also been studied in the journal *Higher Education in Europe* and in other publications and conferences of one of UNESCO's organisations, CEPES (Centre Européen Pour L'Enseignement Supérieur – European Centre for Higher Education). In these ways UNESCO has encouraged and guided world-wide discussion for the improvement of women's education and status.

B. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), at its foundation in 1960, was centred on economic developments, but its Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, formed in 1968, indicated particular concern with educational matters (OECD, 1997). Membership of OECD has increased considerably from the original 20 member states, and obviously its publications can influence not only members but researchers and policy-makers in any country. Thus, during two decades a series of 'examinations' of education in individual countries was carried out and published. In these instances (e. g., *Yugoslavia*, OECD, 1981), a team of experts of different nationalities examined the country's own report on its

education system, met with representatives of its Ministry of Education and other education authorities and arrived at recommendations or suggestions for improvement of the system. While this scarcely gave a global perspective on education, it did mean that the country's provision was analysed by experts from other countries, who were well aware of trends that were becoming evident internationally and could recommend that these trends be followed. On the whole, however, while equality of access to education was widely emphasised, these studies did not stress equality between gender groups.

But at the same time, recognition of the gender issue did appear in the OECD publication *Girls and Women in Education* (1986). Following a joint development in 1995 by UNESCO, OECD and EUROSTAT (Statistical Office of the European Communities), of new methods designed to make the collecting of international educational data more reliable and consistent (OECD, 1997), extensive statistical information about various aspects of educational provision and performance is now offered in annual publications of *Education at a Glance*, while the associated volumes of *Education Policy Analysis* provide useful discussion of educational topics of current importance for the countries of the Organisation and their governments – indeed, for governments of any country. OECD's recent Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) research in particular has evoked considerable international debate as the school achievements of both male and female pupils in different countries were laid open to comparison.

C. The World Bank, initially concerned with economic development in different parts of the world, early found that provision of education was essentially related to such development and so, in its work for developing countries, it increasingly accepted that educational policies had to be studied and, if possible, improved. A statement in 1984 (Hultin, 1984), set forth the main principles then accepted:

basic education should be provided for all children and adults, . . . educational opportunities, without distinction of sex, ethnic background or social and economic status, . . . maximum internal efficiency through the management, allocation and use of resources available for increasing the quantity and improving the quality of education, . . . education should be related to work and environment . . . build and maintain . . . institutional capacities to design, analyse, manage, and evaluate programmes for education and training.

Such principles in various forms have recurred in World Bank Sector Policy Papers and Education Policy Papers. While some critics have suggested that the quest for economic aid must distort educational policies, yet obviously other considerations also have prevented educational policies in various countries from achieving the complete fulfilment of World Bank aspirations. So far as gender equality is concerned, Stromquist (2001), has suggested that the World Bank's 1997 definition of the characteristics of 'good governance,' while possibly tending to develop democratic states, nevertheless seems unlikely to ensure women's rights to equal participation in the state. She comments that 'on the positive side, it can be observed that the World Bank now agrees that public policies matter and that some should be in place specifically to help women.' Support given by the World Bank to projects enabling women to care better for the health, education, and physical

well-being of their children could admittedly be interpreted as restricting women's access to full equality in employment, education, and the life of society.

D. The United Nations Organisation has obviously world-wide responsibility. Its most general principles, set forth in 1948 in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, should presumably influence policy determination in all countries, as must its later (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. While the English version of the Human Rights Declaration occasionally used the masculine pronoun in ways that would now be considered incorrect, most of the rights listed were attributed to 'everyone' and the Preamble did refer to 'the equal rights of men and women.' (Possibly there was a slight bias in Article 25 (2), 'Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.) Yet, while governments may accept such declarations in principle, ratification and implementation do not always follow, or they follow after a considerable time. Thus, the United Nations Convention on 'the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women' (CEDAW, 1979), was still not signed by some countries even ten years after its formulation (Stromquist, 1997).

An important, universally applicable aspect of the United Nations' increasing concern to have the rights of women recognised world-wide was clearly manifest by its first World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City in 1975. Further confirmation of this concern lay in the designation of 1975 as International Women's Year and the designation of the following decade as the Decade for Women, Equality, Development and Peace. World conferences on women's situation followed at five-yearly intervals, in Copenhagen and Nairobi. The UN's continuing interest was also shown in the work of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women, and by its follow-up of the *Forward Looking Strategies*, the recommendations for action that was produced at the Nairobi Conference. Various regional conferences were organised to prepare for the 1995 Conference in Beijing; each member state prepared a report on the situation of women in that state, and a draft 'Platform for Action,' prepared by the UN Commission on the Status of Women, served to focus discussion and debate at the Conference itself.

Since the agreed *Platform for Action* was broad and covered so many aspects of women's lives, implementation has been difficult to assess. A remarkable number of states did publish information about the conference discussions and gave indications of the areas particularly deserving of attention in the individual state. Within countries, organisations concerned with women's situation drew up specific proposals for relevant reforms. Undoubtedly this globalisation contributed largely to drawing public attention to women's education and social conditions. Yet again, implementation of these global proposals has not always followed. Possibly, globalisation of another kind has been more important 'grassroots globalisation,' the increased awareness of gender issues, and the demand for reforms that developed among women who attended Beijing meetings and reported on them to groups of women and individual women in their own countries.

E. Another version of globalisation is found in the international testing activities of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Since the 1960s, when it was founded by representatives of research institutes in different countries, this organisation has been carrying out



carefully constructed tests of pupils' academic achievement in a variety of subjects in many countries, usually also providing data on gender differences in performance. Again, policies may be affected when publications of such results are studied by educational authorities in the countries concerned. While this influence may lead to some changes and participants may obtain clearer perceptions of differences in the content of school curricula in the countries involved from information which emerges during the state of test construction, this does not necessarily lead to major shifts in educational policy. Moreover, while IEA work may serve as a model of conditions to be observed in international research, e. g., in trying to solve the problems of equivalence in translations of questions into a number of languages, there remain some inescapable problems, notably, finding equivalent groups of pupils in countries which employ different methods of selection for some courses or have different age levels for compulsory school attendance.

Thus, results even of well-constructed tests do not automatically lead to clear conclusions about the efficiency of different countries' education policies. Governments can usually argue that the results do not clearly show a need to change to a particular new policy (there is always the escape clause that quantitative research fails to take qualitative factors into account), hence the effects of research results on policies are not predictable or necessarily large. Much may depend on whether the results seem to support a government's preferred policy. Nevertheless, findings from such testing showing gender differences in achievement have contributed usefully to the ongoing discussion of the nature of such differences.

F. The effect has to be recognised of some 'partial globalisation,' that is a trend towards unity in policies and research in the countries of Europe. On a European, rather than a global scale, there is the possible influence of the Council of Europe and the European Community/European Union. The Council of Europe seems to have been considerably less influential than the European Community over the years, and lacks the authority to make legislative decisions. Nevertheless, it has been in existence since 1949, and represents a larger number of countries than the European Union, and it has wide influence through its Parliamentary Assembly and its Women's Lobby.

A general 'globalising effect' of the Council of Europe and the European Union, applying equally to both gender groups, may be expected as a result of the acknowledged duty of individual systems of education to introduce 'the European dimension' in education (Ryba, 2000). The characteristics of European citizens which education should try to develop have been explicitly defined. Similarly, the many European-funded projects that have led to exchanges of school pupils, of teachers and of students in higher education have contributed to some globalisation of educational policies and research (Palomba & Bertin, 1993), encouraging convergence not simply by verbal statements but by experiences of different ways of acting and studying. The recent Bologna agreement explicitly indicates 'harmonisation' of higher education studies and their provision in European countries – even if the implementation of these agreements is still patchy and uncertain (Jobbins & Osbourne, 2003). Similarly, implementation of European policy for *Accreditation of Prior Experiential Learning*, that gives academic credit for non-formal learning by experience, an issue found to be very uneven in

European countries (Cleary & Whittaker, 2003). This is a matter of considerable importance when many countries are trying to make higher education more inclusive and, especially important for women to whom earlier access to higher education may have been denied.

As far as research and research policy affecting gender differences are concerned, these European organisations show considerable activity. The European Commission has published reports of research it has commissioned on the situation of women in vocational training and in employment, as, for instance, in *Strategies for Gender Democracy: Women and the European Social Dialogue* (1995). While the Working Papers of the European Parliament's Directorate General for Research covered, in its Human Rights series, not only educational aspects of women's situation but such related issues as member states' provision of *Measures to Combat Sexual Harassment at the Workplace* (1994), and *Women and Poverty* (1994). The report on *European Union Structural Funds and Community Initiatives 1994-1999* usefully summarised the practical measures taken, or to be taken, by the European Union.

G. A different major and apparently unlimited source of globalisation in education is of course the new availability of communication via the Internet. In various countries, educators have deplored undesirable aspects of globalisation, such as plagiarism, that has developed as students find access to various web-sites that enables them to produce reports which are simply copied from existing material (even government sources have been known to use such methods). Although the dangers of unthinking acceptance of everything appearing on a website are clearly recognised, the availability of research reports for study by appropriately trained scholars does give wider and easier access to useful information – at least for researchers with appropriate internet facilities. The collation of results from many countries no longer means, as in Bacon's time, journeys throughout the world, nor even, as in more recent times, access to well-stocked libraries and their borrowing facilities. Such globalisation, however, does not necessarily imply the propagation of common influences and beliefs, since the production of web-sites is not, at present, subject to regulation and choice of policies. There is conceivably a possibility of gender bias in Internet access, since males are found more ready than females to use computer facilities; but presumably, with the spread of education in the use of Internet technology (IT), this danger may evaporate. Certainly this kind of globalisation is at present too new for its effects on research policies or on changes in the educational systems of different countries to be evaluated. In some ways globalisation could encourage diversity rather than uniformity, since those using it may discover considerable differences in research results and in statements of policies in various parts of the world.

## 2.2 *Effects Of Current Global Influences*

Many people have fears and phobias concerning the undesirable results of globalisation. Thus, the European agreement to try to cultivate European citizenship has roused concern in some countries as to its possibly stultifying effects in, for

instance, encouraging uniformity of outlook and the loss of national identity. Yet some research has indicated (Convery, 1997) that many young people think of themselves as having joint citizenship, of their own country and the world, though admittedly this ability varies from country to country. Moreover, the experience of Eastern European countries during the time of the Soviet Union, and in the years following its disintegration, would seem to suggest that national sentiments are difficult to suppress and that, where education is concerned, traditional approaches are capable of a renaissance, even after considerable pressures to conform to other norms (Mitter, 2003). Similarly, perhaps, the weakness of 'global' influences is shown in the example of Japan where, after World War Two, the Allied Powers proposed major reforms, including the enfranchisement of Japanese women, and their emancipation. In fact, women did vote for the first time in 1946, and the new Constitution of Japan in 1947 stated that men and women were equal. Yet by the end of the century, Japanese women were still convinced that equality had not been achieved (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995), and traditional attitudes towards them prevailed. The nature of a country and national identity seem remarkably resistant to outside influences.

Such persistence of national identity and national customs indeed may have an adverse effect on the condition of women. An outside, quasi-global regime may assert the theoretical equality of both gender groups and improve women's position in some respects, as in the Soviet bloc, but reversion to the former national state may mean some loss of political representation for women, or of some practical benefits they had enjoyed, such as provisions for child-care for working women.

So far as the effects of globalisation on gender issues are concerned, expectations of universal conformity seem far from justified. Despite many years now of international publications and conferences intended to dispel disadvantages, girls and women still do not have full equality of access to education in all countries – or indeed in various aspects of public life (Hoskyns, 1996). It could of course be argued that since the majority of these global influences are at the verbal level, major changes in behaviour are scarcely to be expected.

There is also the underlying philosophical question as to the justification for attempting to change the values underlying educational and social policies. It has been assumed that the United Nations' principles are self-evidently, and globally acceptable. But it is also evident that in many societies some of these principles have not been accepted and indeed are regarded to be in opposition to other deeply held beliefs. Thus, imperfect implementation of international policies for the education and status of women may be due not to inertia or the weaknesses of bureaucracies, but to conflict with unchanging – possibly unchangeable – values in a society. Contemporary globalisation is weakened, and may in fact be opposed, by earlier globalisations.

### 2.3 Older Globalisations

A. Contemporary globalisation trends may have had some effects on educational policy and research but they do not work on a *tabula rasa*. Some other

kinds of globalisation have been in operation for centuries, especially as the proponents of various religions have sought to persuade the entire world to accept their creed. While the efforts of individual missionaries might seem ineffectual in comparison with modern communications, religions have, in such ways, through the centuries, gained adherents throughout the world. These world-wide religious beliefs, and the organisations representing them, have powerfully determined educational policies in different countries, especially with regard to gender differences and the place of women in society. In this respect, it is interesting to note the affirmation that 'the greater religiosity of women must be one of the oldest, and clearest, findings in the psychology of religion' (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997), even if, as King (1989), remarks, 'the more institutionalised a religion becomes, the more it generally excludes women from positions of authority and power.'

The two religions whose adherents are most numerous in the world today, Christianity and Islam, have clearly had very great influence on education in the countries where they are accepted, especially as, in earlier centuries, the provision of education was regarded as a function of religious agencies and it is still one of their activities. Different forms of the Christian religion have in the past adopted different policies for the education of girls, though for centuries the common trend was to consider formal education the preserve of males, even if, by reason of their social status, some females received a rich education. Nicholas Hans (1949), indicated differences between Catholic, Anglican and Puritan traditions, asserting that historically Protestant states tended to provide equal opportunities, at least in primary education, while Catholic countries of Europe tended to make considerable differences in education for the two gender groups, considering formal education more suited to males than to females.

Islam has clearly advocated desirable differences in education based on the concept of differential roles for men and women in society, with girls' education focused on their future role as mothers responsible for family life. Thus, separate schooling has been provided for the two gender groups: formal learning has seemed less relevant to the mother's role, and much of it unnecessary for females. At the extreme, the recent Taliban prohibition of schools for girls in Afghanistan illustrates this point of view.

Islamic preferences still favour the single-sex school. In the United Kingdom and in other Western countries, Muslim parents still show a preference for the relatively few remaining schools for girls only. Conflicting claims are made as to precisely which religious teachings prescribe different schooling for males and females (Delaunoy, 1996). Similar confusion exists also concerning the rules governing women's dress, since it is not clear precisely which religious authority ruled that women should cover their head, their face, their figure: much depends on the interpretation of chosen Koranic sources. Hence some relatively minor problems in education in countries where school populations include Christians and Muslims. Muslim girls' wearing of a headscarf (seen as a religious symbol, even if Koranic authorisation is unclear), has been the source of controversy, particularly in France and Turkey, but to a minor extent in England. In France, opponents of this practice consider it contrary to the long-established secular nature of public schools, and possibly an indication of the attribution of a subordinate role to women, which

would be contrary to the state's affirmation of equal rights. In Turkey, government authority has banned the headscarf for university women students; but some young women object this to as denial of their human right of expression. In England, objections by individual schools are usually on the basis of school uniform, or because of possible safety issues in, for instance, science or physical education lessons. But there are some indications in more than one country that Muslim girls and women may consider their choice of distinctive clothing as an assertion of their own freedom as independent individuals, rather than as meek conformity to traditional or religious prescriptions.

More serious aspects of education may be affected by religious scruples of various kinds. Thus there may be requests for Muslim girls to omit some parts of the school's curriculum, for instance, in biology, and swimming lessons may be refused. At later stages, Muslim women medical students may be unwilling to learn to examine male patients. Some Catholic students have objected to having to learn abortion techniques, or fertility treatment and contraception (Fazackerley, 2003). Satisfactory solutions to such conflicts of principle are still being sought.

B. Given the influence of religion on girls' education, we must also note that changes have occurred in some religious views. One striking change is in attitudes towards coeducation. Catholic schools were long established as single-sex establishments, usually with teachers belonging to one of the religious orders, but a quiet revolution did take place in the latter part of the twentieth century, as De Grandpre (1970), found in an extensive survey of schools in 45 countries. While an encyclical of Pope Pius XI in 1929 affirmed that coeducation was pernicious, and a proclamation of Pius XII in 1957 reaffirmed this view, a more liberal outlook was evidenced by the Council Vatican II: dangers to adolescent morality were still seen in coeducation but it was conceded that this system might be necessary for practical reasons and teachers must be responsible for preventing undesirable outcomes. Coeducation spread, for Catholics as for some other Christian denominations. In many cases, decisions were made on the basis of practical considerations of cost and problems of recruitment of teachers rather than on ideological grounds. Coeducation often was part of the general move to comprehensive schools. Bringing together pupils from different social backgrounds and different ability levels require coeducational schooling to ensure equal opportunities. So a global movement, with a change in some religious attitudes, took place to make coeducation an accepted provision. There had of course been the examples of the United States and the Soviet Union to reinforce belief in the acceptability of coeducation.

C. To some extent, religious attitudes in the past would seem to have helped to create widely held beliefs about possible gender differences in ability and in many countries such beliefs still linger. Coeducation possibly aroused greater interest in such differences. Certainly, for many years, it was no great concern if schoolgirls' academic achievement was lower than that of boys. This was in accord with the notion that progress to the university and other forms of higher learning was, in the majority of cases, for men. But international policies and research during recent decades have shown remarkable oscillations in assessments of boys' and girls' potential achievement as research combines uneasily with existing expectations.

In the earlier stages, sometimes prompted by IEA results, many educators were concerned to find that girls' school performance was lower than that of boys, especially in maths and science. Various historical reasons for the discrepancy were proposed – lack of ambition by girls or even fear of being seen to be too clever, too academic. More realistically, there were the conflicting demands of school and family life; even, in earlier times, concern that intensive study might be bad for female health. And, possibly, there could be innate differences.

Whatever the reasons adduced for girls' 'under-performance,' determined efforts were made in a number of developed countries to improve girls' attainment, especially in the 'masculine' subjects of maths and science (notably the 'hard' sciences). Efforts of various kinds were made (e. g., Whyte, 1986), to improve girls' progress in science and technology – for instance, teaching in single-sex classes! But almost at the same time, other evidence was published, for instance OECD (1986) and Sutherland (1988), that in some cases girls' general performance at the end of secondary school was superior to that of their male compeers.

More recent testing in different countries has indeed suggested that it is the turn of boys to be underperformers in school examinations. This has led to a wave of public anxiety and attempts to enable boys to perform better in school (Kenway, 1998). Various reasons have been adduced for boys' lack of distinction in school exams – peer culture, which holds that academic success or working hard at school, are somehow unmanly; teachers' styles and preferences that favour docile girls; new styles of examination which give credit for consistent attention to course work that girls prefer. Consequently, individual schools in different countries have tried alternative methods of teaching – single-sex classes, for instance, which were earlier thought likely to 'protect' girls and encourage their progress in maths and science, have been adopted particularly to encourage boys' progress in languages. Similarly, the content of the curriculum has sometimes been modified in attempts to find topics more relevant to what are assumed to be the interests of the gender group.

But here indeed it has been too readily assumed that globalisation is present. Evidence from a sufficiently wide range of sources has not been taken into account in some countries of the world, notably in some African countries, it is still the case that girls' school achievement is lower than that of boys, and indeed their access to upper secondary and higher education is much less. Various reasons can be found for this (Sutherland, 1999); principally, the cause seems to be in traditional attitudes that females do not need formal education, family money is better spent educating males and there is a lack of suitable teachers and schools for girls. In fact, looking at the history of education in developed countries, one can find many of the same causes and effects as are still influencing education in developing countries. The older globalisation, which produced these attitudes in so many parts of the world, has not yet yielded to the new globalisation of expecting equal achievement and ensuring equal opportunities for both gender groups.

D. Other attitudes, widespread, but not necessarily religious in origin, have also been identified as impeding realisation of the global ideal of equal access to education, particularly to higher education. Traditional treatment of academic disciplines in universities have been accused of having a biasing effect, their content being oriented towards male achievement. The developments of 'women's studies'

in universities of different countries during the last decades of the twentieth century, reinforced in Europe by the activities of ENWS (European Network for Women's Studies, under the auspices of the Council of Europe), represent attempts to remodel traditional disciplines to show the participation of women in social life and historical events and women's achievements as scholars and researchers. The traditional content of university teaching was thus modified, a process aided by the networking of university women in different countries.

Thus belief that for economic and intellectual reasons higher education is suited to men only was gradually abandoned, as international influences worked to establish women's equal rights. In the latter half of the twentieth century gradual, but widespread changes in the percentages of the two gender groups achieving access to higher education were faithfully recorded in UNESCO publications. In many countries the equal percentages at first entry to higher education (women indeed latterly achieving a slightly higher percentage in some countries), were followed by a more even balance in entry to postgraduate studies – though bias in subject choice still remains. But for a variety of reasons women are still far from achieving an equal participation in the highest posts in university teaching and research. (Delavault, 2002).

There is also the problem that the latter changes in attitudes and women's progress in education have not been, strictly speaking, global: they have tended to occur mainly in Western or developed countries, between which there has been considerable networking and exchange of relevant information. It is a danger of increased international communication that participants assume the situation is the same in all countries, and that the outlook and aspirations of women educated in a developed country are always the same as those of women in other circumstances in other countries. The aspirations expressed in the United Nations World Conferences for women are not necessarily universally accepted.

#### 2.4 *Multiculturalism*

Another kind of globalisation, which should be mentioned, is the multiculturalism movement now found in many countries as they receive an influx of immigrants seeking a better way of life, or of people seeking asylum from dangers confronting them in the political situation of their own country. Hence the realisation, in many educational systems, that policy must be formed to provide for the education and well-being of people having different national, social, religious and linguistic backgrounds. It would seem that rather than increasing conformity and sameness by such globalisation – assimilation is now widely regarded as an undesirable policy – diversity is being cultivated when schools take seriously the principles of multicultural education. In some instances in Britain it has been suggested that the acceptance of diversity can go too far if, for instance, indigenous primary school children are not allowed to engage in performing the customary Nativity play at Christmas time because some of the school pupils belong to other religions.

A particular instance of multicultural education that reduces the danger of losing diversity through globalisation lies in many systems' teaching of the languages of minority groups. In Europe, not only the languages of immigrants but also the languages of indigenous minorities are receiving support through the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages and the Council of Europe's Charter (1992), which tries to ensure satisfactory provision of education in minority languages.

But multiculturalism's attempts to respect a diversity of beliefs must encounter difficulties when foreign customs conflict with the established laws and values of the host country and this is especially the case where the education of girls and women is concerned. For some immigrant parents, the way of life of the indigenous young people seems wrong; they are especially anxious that their daughters do not follow the examples found in school among fellow-pupils. Whatever efforts may be made in the classroom, not only potential racism, but also the meeting of cultures in school life often present problems of choice to schoolgirls (Shain, 2003).

On the other side, there is a problem in a multicultural society when immigrants' customs or beliefs seem to conflict with deeply held principles of the society. Tolerance has limits. Thus, for example, there is confusion whether some religious authority or long-established social custom supports the practice of female circumcision. Many countries feel that ethically they are justified in making this practice illegal, despite the objections of certain groups within their society. An interesting variant is the recent example of Kenya, which has made the operation illegal until girls reach the age of seventeen – when they may be able to judge for themselves as to its desirability. Similar confusion arises concerning justifications for polygamy. Thus, globalisation presents many policy-makers, particularly in multi-cultural societies, with difficult ethical decisions as to whether it is justifiable to over-ride what are apparently the religious beliefs of another group of individuals. Conflict arises between the principle of equality for women, now globally asserted and to varying degrees supported by states' legislation, and what are alleged to be principles of religious beliefs which, it is also agreed world-wide, each individual has a right to choose.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Globalisation is not complete and it exists in different forms. Greater international communication and research may well affect policies in education and introduce some degree of assimilation, but it has on various occasions been found that the imposition of a policy from outside does not necessarily result in acceptance of that policy, especially in its intended form, existing tradition and customs reshape the newcomer, and it may fail to establish itself in place of the deeply-rooted habits of a society.

Globalisation itself may in some instances encourage awareness of diversity and so contribute to diversity's survival. Despite the pressures to conformity which may be exerted by international political and commercial organisations, we still find in many countries examples of individual schools and teachers experimenting with new methods, new approaches. Increased facilities for such schools and individuals to



become informed, via the internet or other mass media, about what like-minded people are doing elsewhere may serve again to strengthen experiments and changes.

The influences of past globalisations are still powerful, sometimes in ways, which are not expected or welcome. But human beings have possibly a safeguarding contrariness, a contra-suggestibility, which means that any move to globalisation arouses the counter-movement of reassertion of difference – sometimes for good, sometimes for ill. On the whole, it would seem that globalisation has led to positive educational policy; but the interpretation of knowledge given by globalisation is not as straightforward as past scholars would have expected. There are possible dangers in complete globalisation; but the world-wide exchange of information may strengthen diversity, and human characteristics may defend against excess conformity. Where gender differences are concerned, the situation of women is perhaps the area of modern life where the conflict between globalisations is most intense but also where international communication and research have been most beneficial.

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LAURA PORTNOI

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION:  
POLICY BORROWING AND THE POLITICS OF  
LANGUAGE

1. INTRODUCTION

Policies which aim to create equitable employment opportunities and equitable workplaces in higher education may be labelled “affirmative action,” “employment equity,” or “equal employment opportunity,” depending on the context. Such policies have been enacted in several countries across the globe, including Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Malaysia, Namibia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. [1] In general, employment equity measures aim to eliminate unfair discrimination and affirm several disadvantaged groups, including particular racial or ethnic categories, women, and people with disabilities. The beneficiaries of employment equity legislation are contextual, based on the history of employment discrimination in each country, and on the constitutional provisions for equity legislation. While certain countries extend coverage to private sector employers, employment equity legislation generally regulates all public or government funded employers, including public higher education institutions. Thus, employment equity policies should play an important role in shaping institutional human resource policies in the higher education sector.

In the first part of this chapter, I delineate the increasingly globalised policy landscape in four countries with specific employment equity legislation – Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States. I also consider the type and degree of policy transfer that has occurred during the creation of the policies. In the latter section of the chapter, I focus on articulation of equity legislation in the higher education context. I analyse two university employment equity policies in depth – one from South Africa and one from the United States – with particular attention to the debate around the politics of language that has accompanied policy formation.

## 2. TERMINOLOGY: EMPLOYMENT EQUITY OR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION?

Affirmative action and employment equity are complex terms, with many different meanings for stakeholders in various international contexts. In some countries, affirmative action in employment is referred to as “employment equity,” and as “equal employment opportunity,” “diversity,” or “equity” in others. Proponents generally regard affirmative action as a positive measure, which empowers people who have been discriminated against in the past (particularly in the workplace), while opponents consider such policies to be discrimination in reverse. To some, especially in the popular context, affirmative action and employment equity are considered to be interchangeable concepts. However, they are two distinct but related terms. Affirmative action is a positive, corrective tool intended to assist people who have been discriminated against in obtaining employment and training. Employment equity is a desired *goal* for employers and is a situation in which discrimination is minimised and the workforce is adequately trained and representative of the population. Thus, affirmative action is a strategy geared toward achieving employment equity.

## 3. EMPLOYMENT EQUITY IN THE UNITED STATES, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, AND SOUTH AFRICA

The United States employment equity legislation has had a lengthy history in comparison to Australia, Canada, and South Africa. The legislative framework for employment equity is not as clearly defined in the United States and Australia as it is in Canada and South Africa. As will become evident below, the dichotomy in types of legislation is due to two main factors: the existence or lack of constitutional provisions for affirmative measures based on race, gender, and disability, and the time period and circumstances under which the legislation was created.

Employment equity in the United States, generally called “equal employment opportunity” (EEO) or referred to as “affirmative action,” rests on several acts and executive orders. The United States Constitution, ratified in 1788, does not contain provisions for affirmative policies to assist certain disadvantaged groups. In fact, the constitution has proved to be an obstacle to specialized equity measures. As in many other democratic states, the U.S. Constitution lists “equality before the law” as a fundamental principle. This principle refers to individuals having equal capacity to acquire and enjoy legal rights (Faundez, 1994). In addition, the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees that no person will be denied equal protection from the law and prohibits discrimination of all forms. Therefore, those against affirmative action and equal employment opportunity measures have argued that they are unconstitutional because they offer special provisions for certain groups.

Despite the lack of constitutional support, additional mechanisms for equity measures have been introduced in the U.S. The first anti-discrimination act of the countries under investigation, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prohibits discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin by any

employer with fifteen or more employees. In 1972, amendments to Title VII strengthened its provisions, allowing measures related to race and gender, and explicitly adding higher education institutions to the type of employers the Act covers. Executive Order 11246 of 1972 provides higher education guidelines and requires the development and implementation of EEO programs for employment in higher education in particular. The executive order authorizes the use of goals (not quotas) and pertains to equal employment opportunity objectives based on race, religion, colour, national origin, and sex. In addition, Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in all educational institutions that receive federal funding. The regulations of Title IX authorize affirmative or remedial action in instances in which members of one sex must be treated differently to overcome specific effects of past discrimination. Disability status is not explicitly part of the U.S. EEO legislation, but the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 prohibits discrimination based on disability status in all sectors, including employment, and requires employers to make adjustments for disabled workers. In addition, the U.S. has anti-discrimination acts based on age and veteran status.

Employment Equity legislation in Australia is also somewhat fragmented, particularly because equity legislation is both federal and state-based and because constitutional provisions for employment equity are absent. Australia's legislation adapts the language of the U.S. context, using the terms "equal employment opportunity" and "affirmative action," rather than "employment equity." State employment equity policies in Australia are guided by the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975, which makes similar provisions as the U.S. Civil Rights Act, prohibiting discrimination based on race, colour, national or ethnic origin in employment. However, the Act does not provide mechanisms for monitoring discrimination or for instituting equity measures. In contrast, the Public Service Act of 1984 explicitly outlines equity measures, and requires departments in the federal public service sector to eliminate barriers in employment for people from certain groups – women, Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders, members of racial and ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities. These four groups have been incorporated as target groups in state legislation and policies that carry over into policies at higher education institutions in Australia. Also important in the Australian context is the Equal Employment Opportunity for Women Act of 1986, also known as the Affirmative Action Act, which extends the provisions of the Public Service Act to require that private sector organisations of more than 100 employees create affirmative action programs to remove structural barriers for women in the workplace. In addition, the Disability Discrimination Act of 1992 provides protection from unfair discrimination for people with disabilities and requires that employers provide special services or facilities. As with the U.S. legislation, the Act is not specific about ways to increase the numbers of people with disabilities in the workforce.

The Canadian Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1986, which was amended in 1996, is comprehensive in comparison to the U.S. and Australia, and covers both public and private companies and institutions under federal jurisdiction with 100 or more employees. The Canadian EEA pertains to four "target" or "designated"

groups – women, Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, and visible minorities. In the Canadian EEA, Aboriginal people are indigenous to Canadian territories, and visible minorities are other people who are generally not of European origin and may be either immigrants or Canadian citizens.

The EEA has its foundations in the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was a constitutional amendment and affirmed the right to equality in the workplace. The Charter contains the principle of equality before the law, but also states that this requirement does not preclude measures to address discrimination based on race, sex, disability, national origin, colour or religion. A royal commission released a report in 1984 documenting systematic barriers for people of the four designated groups, leading to the employment equity legislation two years later. In 1996, the renewed EEA strengthened the existing Act by extending coverage from federal employers to the public service sector and federally regulated private sector employers. An important difference between the Canadian employment equity legislation and most others is that it considers equity with regard to representation and salary differentials. The 1996 version of the Act gives the Canadian Human Rights Commission the mandate to conduct on-site audits and ensure compliance. The Act also created an Employment Equity Review Tribunal to ensure final enforcement where necessary. In contrast to the fragmented employment equity legislation in the United States and Australia, Canada's legislation has a constitutional basis and provides the important addition of compliance measures.

Like Canada's Employment Equity Act, the legislation in South Africa is distinct and comprehensive. South Africa's 1998 Employment Equity Act (EEA) was drafted in a period of significant political change in the country. Of importance is that the new South African Constitution, negotiated in 1996, contains an explicit clause for equity measures. The Constitution grants equality before the law, but also qualifies the statement in Section 9.2, by stating: "[T]o promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken." The South African EEA lists three designated groups as beneficiaries of the Act: Blacks, women, and people with disabilities. In the South African EEA, the term "Black" refers to all three non-White groups in South Africa: (continental) Indians, Coloured (mixed race) people, and Africans (people of indigenous origin).

Chapter II of the EEA, on the elimination of unfair discrimination in employment, impacts all employers. Chapter III pertains to designated employers (those with fifty or more employees), whether they are public or private organisations. Chapter III, Section 15 states that all designated employers must design and implement an employment equity plan based on an organisational analysis of barriers that contains affirmative action measures to work towards employment equity. Furthermore, Section 20 of Chapter III requires that the designated employers provide training to a person from one of the designated groups if the person has the capacity to acquire the skills to perform the job. As in Canada, the Act also creates provisions for monitoring and evaluation, with regular reports to the Department of Labour and sizeable monetary fines for non-compliance. The EEA makes significant advances in the realm of employment equity; although one

of its shortcomings is that it is directed to general business employers and government and does not provide guidelines for less traditional employers, such as higher education institutions.

While all four countries have a legislative base that expressly prohibits discrimination in employment based on personal characteristics, such as race, gender, national origin, religion, and disability status, each country's legislation differs qualitatively. Though the U.S. legislation is the only one to provide specific requirements and guidelines for the higher education sector, higher education institutions in all four countries are bound by the same requirements as other employers. The United States and Australia lack constitutional powers for creating employment equity measures, have fragmented sets of legislation, and specify limited consequences for non-compliance. In contrast, Canada and South Africa have comprehensive employment equity policies with concrete strategies for creating an equitable work environment and strict financial penalties for non-compliance. As I will argue below, the timing of Canada and South Africa's legislation allowed these countries to draw on the experience of others.

#### 4. POLICY BORROWING IN EMPLOYMENT EQUITY LEGISLATION

In today's globalised world with its interconnected economic system, countries often face common challenges with regard to social issues, such as labour relations, education, and health care. Thus, governments frequently look to their counterparts in other countries for examples of policies relevant to their own problems or situations. With increasing globalisation, it is clear that policy borrowing, also referred to as policy transfer or policy learning, has become an important contribution to national policy development. Not only can countries easily download other countries' legislation from the Internet, working groups may also visit other countries in person to assess the merits and disadvantages of a particular country's solutions to social issues or problems. Comparative researchers also conduct cross-national studies and provide information on countries grappling with similar challenges or issues and the types of solutions they offer. In addition, transnational corporations as well as international aid and donor organisations contribute to the transfer and borrowing of policies, as well as to technology transfer. The use of international consultants, particularly in developing countries, also contributes to the degree of policy transfer that occurs between nations.

Dolowitz (2000) argues that policy borrowing often occurs when countries need a quick solution to a problem and do not have time to devise an innovative new one. Dolowitz is justified in cautioning countries considering policy borrowing, because experience has shown that the success of transferred policies will depend on whether or not they are adapted to the local culture and context (Samoff, 1999). With careful research and planning, however, countries are able to allow sufficient time to review other countries' policies, borrowing what is relevant and adapting what is not to fit the local context. Countries are also able to assess the effectiveness of policies in other countries and anticipate public reaction to them, particularly if the policies

have been in the implementation phase for some time. Considerable amounts of time and trial and error exercises may be saved, if a country conducts thoughtful analyses of the implementation of a policy in different international contexts and makes well-informed decisions about how to adapt the policy to the local environment.

The development of parallel employment equity policies in various countries exemplifies the type of policy transfer that is based on years of trial and error. As we shall see in the discussion below, Australia drew upon the United States' experience and engaged the terminology of the U.S. context, such as "affirmative action" and "equal employment opportunity," despite the negative reception the concept of affirmative action had gained in the U.S.; on the other hand, Canada and South Africa developed policies years later and were able to devise employment equity legislation that incorporated elements of prior legislation in the other countries, while avoiding some of the stigma of the term "affirmative action" in their employment equity legislation.

In the United States, the path toward equal employment opportunity legislation harkens back to the first half of the twentieth century. A lengthy experience of slavery and discrimination in employment led to an organised struggle for equality in employment in the 1930s and 1940s, when Blacks, Jews, women, and other disadvantaged groups became particularly vocal about resisting continued discrimination. The first equal employment opportunity laws were at the state level, and Burstein (1985) argues that focus shifted to the national level because southern states were not likely to pass such progressive laws, and more liberal states were concerned about losing their business to other states. In the early 1940s, pressures from disenfranchised groups mounted, and Black leaders threatened that they would stage a massive march on Washington if a national bill was not created. President Roosevelt responded with Executive Order 8802 in 1941, declaring that discrimination in employment was forbidden in federal jobs and the defence industry. The efficacy of the executive order declined after World War II as the U.S. Congress blocked attempts to enforce it and soldiers returned to the workforce. Twenty years later, after a long and protracted civil rights struggle, the first anti-discrimination legislation came in the form of the Civil Rights Act. Equal employment opportunity legislation, generally referred to using President Kennedy's term – affirmative action, followed shortly thereafter, as outlined in the section above. [2]

Though Australia's racial discrimination and affirmative action legislation does not explicitly refer to the United States, it is obvious that the Australian policymakers learned from the United States experience. In particular, Australia drew upon the notion of anti-discrimination legislation and borrowed the terms "affirmative action" and "equal employment opportunity." However, Australia chose to adapt the policies to its own context, electing to enact federal legislation on affirmative action in employment for women in particular. Instead of incorporating the other groups into federal legislation, it has left that responsibility up to the state governments and has enacted a separate law for discrimination based on disability.

Canada's Employment Equity Act, which was promulgated a decade after the United States' EEO executive order and the same year as Australia's affirmative action policy for women, shifted the context toward "employment equity." The idea



of affirmative action is connected with a long track record of legislative, popular, and scholarly challenges, in particular. Affirmative action programs related to student access in universities had been challenged, and by 1972 the influential *Bakke* case had gone to the U.S. Supreme Court. [3] All of these challenges limit the efficacy of the concept of affirmative action. The connotations of the term “employment equity,” on the other hand, may appear to be less threatening. It may seem reasonable to citizens of countries with a history of discrimination that striving towards equity, or at least equality of opportunity in employment is a desirable societal goal. On the contrary, the negative connotations now associated with affirmative action – such as “reverse discrimination,” or “denying” a job to a white person in order to give it to an “unqualified” Black person – may not. Canada’s government was wise not to use the contested U.S. terminology, and took the global efforts for employment equity to a new level.

Canada’s legislation also included several other advances that were very likely borrowed from the experience of other countries, particularly the U.S. For instance, Canada’s Employment Equity Act focuses on the establishment of “targets” and “goals” for equity measures rather than using the term “quotas,” which had also gained a negative reputation in the U.S. and was declared unconstitutional in the *Bakke* case. In addition, Canada was the first country to create an inclusive and comprehensive piece of employment equity legislation incorporating discrimination based on disability. An important factor for implementation in Canada is the constitutional amendment that was created for affirmative measures, which Canada’s leaders may have realised would be important due to the experience of other countries without constitutional backing.

In South Africa, policy borrowing in the development of the employment equity bill is most evident, because the policy began to be formulated in the early 1990s when the new, representative government was taking shape following the demise of the racist apartheid regime. Affirmative action was a buzzword for Nelson Mandela’s rising African National Congress (ANC). The term “affirmative action” was used throughout the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), drafted by the ANC, which outlined a series of policy changes the expected leaders of the new government sought to make. The RDP guidelines were incorporated into new laws and policies after the ANC assumed power. As explained previously, the Constitution itself was created with an explicit clause for equity related measures. In addition, the transition government established the Affirmative Action Policy Development Forum (AAPDF) in 1995, which were responsible for drafting the Green Paper that preceded the Employment Equity Act.

While the AAPDF team was working on the Green Paper, it visited the Equal Opportunities Directorate in Canada and the Department of Labour in the United States. After the visits, discussion, and public comment, the team decided to use Canada’s legislation as the main template (Magida, 2000). Due to the Canadian example and concerns from the business sector, the discussion expanded to focus on employment equity and include unfair discrimination, rather than just affirmative action. The resulting Green Paper on Employment and Occupational Equity (1996) is more vague on affirmative action than any previous document on employment

equity or affirmative action in the new South Africa. The Green Paper acknowledges that legislation alone would not be enough, and Section 3.7.3 cautiously suggests that the decision making regarding “career events” for Blacks, women and disabled people “comes close to the affirmative action policies pursued in the United States, Malaysia and other countries.” However, this section is the only place in the document that uses the words “affirmative action” explicitly. Instead, the preferred term throughout the document became the Canadian one – employment equity. The Employment Equity Bill was formulated based on the Green Paper and its preferred terminology.

The South African EEA draws upon the experience of affirmative action in the U.S. and Australia, and includes most of Canada’s innovations on employment equity. From Australia, the Act incorporates an eight-step procedure for implementing employment equity from the affirmative action policy for women, which is almost literally reproduced in the EEA’s “Guidelines for Creating an Employment Equity Plan” section. From Canada’s innovative legislation, South Africa borrowed the concept of a comprehensive, inclusive piece of legislation, including both the prohibition and elimination of unfair discrimination and measures designed to increase employment equity in the workplace. South Africa also took Canada’s cue in including people with disabilities in the legislation and focused on numerical goals rather than a quota system. South Africa completed a long process of policy transfer involving review of several other countries’ policies, and incorporated what the country’s leaders felt were the most effective parts of those policies while adjusting them to the South African context.

##### 5. THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE: EMPLOYMENT EQUITY POLICIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Language is not neutral. As Yanow (2000) notes, all public policies use symbolic language that represents political and normative underpinnings related to values and beliefs. Neither the words written in policies nor the words of politicians or governments may be taken at face value. If we seek to understand policies more fully, we must read between the lines to generate an understanding of the standpoints of those who formulated them and under what social and political conditions they were created. We must also consider the beliefs, meanings, and norms the words symbolise.

Universities and other employers justify staff employment equity policies using three main types of arguments. Backward-looking arguments focus on compensation or reparations for past discrimination, forward-looking arguments focus on furthering common social goals for the future regardless of past or present injustice, and present-oriented arguments focus on current flaws or injustices in the allocation of jobs.

I turn now to analysing and comparing the language from the employment equity plans of two representative institutions that for the purposes of this chapter we shall call Western University in the U.S. (Western) and South African University (SAU) in South Africa. [4] Using an interpretive approach, my intent is to investigate and

compare the political and normative bases underlying the symbolic language of these two policies rather than to evaluate the policies per se.

A first point of comparison is the titles of the universities' plans. Western currently has a "Staff Affirmative Action Plan," while SAU has an "Employment Equity Plan," reflecting the conscious decision to use the term "affirmative action" or "employment equity" depending on the accepted contextual usage. Perhaps the need to downplay the negative connotations of affirmative action is also behind the recent renaming of Western's office that deals with employment equity for faculty. It was formerly the "Office of Academic Affirmative Action," and is now called the "Office of Faculty Equity Assistance." Clearly, in this age of challenge to affirmative action in the U.S., it is advantageous for universities to change their terminology and use less controversial terms. Given the current social and political context in the United States, it is likely that the next version of Western's affirmative action plan will also be renamed to incorporate the less controversial employment equity terminology.

It is noteworthy that the most recent staff employment equity policies of both Western and SAU are prefaced by a letter from the university's top leader (the chancellor at Western, and the rector at SAU), attesting to the institutional commitment regarding complying with the laws and regulations governing employment equity policies in each country. In both cases, the letter implies that the institution willingly accepts the challenge imposed by the government and also that the institution, because of its reputation and history, is particularly well placed to take up the task before it. Western University's chancellor states:

Today, we proudly fulfil this obligation through the vigorous pursuit of our campus policy to ensure that all employment actions are solely based on an individual's qualifications, without regard to race, colour, sex, national origin, religion, cancer-related medical condition, disability, age, sexual orientation, veteran status, ancestry, citizenship or marital status. As one of the most prestigious public universities in the world, . . . Western is committed to the principles of equal employment opportunity, affirmative action and diversity.

The language the chancellor uses calls upon the university community's sense of duty, implying that due to the university's progressive history and prestige, it should be at the forefront of equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, and diversity measures. The language thus has a normative, moral undertone. Through this letter from the university's top leader, the university community is informed that complying with federal regulations is of utmost importance, and that the university has an "obligation" to do so. Western's chancellor attempts to show that the university is going beyond compliance with the federal mandate by including a comprehensive list of potential types of discrimination, including untraditional sets of characteristics, such as cancer-related medical condition and marital status. The chancellor is perhaps attempting to appease all sectors of the university community with this all-inclusive list and to set an example for the staff. In addition, by using the term "vigorous pursuit" in the first line, the chancellor's language appears to anticipate criticism and symbolises staunch commitment to fulfilling the goals and requirements of the federal mandates.

The words the chancellor chooses to utilise about ensuring that all employment actions are solely based on the individual's qualifications appear to be in opposition to the subsequent reference to affirmative action. This statement exemplifies one of the main contradictions university employers in the U.S. face – a tension between the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and compliance with the race-based federal affirmative action legislation. As Gates (1994) notes, the civil *liberties* afforded to individuals in the Civil Rights Act may be regarded as a chief obstacle to civil *rights*. In other words, the language of treating all people equally without regard to race, sex, religion, creed, etc., while noble in its own right, leaves little room for preferential race-based policies such as affirmative action, even if they are meant to counteract past or current discrimination.

On the other hand, presidential executive orders exist regarding equal employment opportunity that trumps the non-discrimination mandate. The 1972 Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines for universities stipulate that “employers *in addition* to insuring non-discrimination must make ‘efforts to recruit, employ, and promote members of groups formerly excluded, even if that exclusion cannot be traced to particular discriminatory actions on the part of the employer’” (Goldman, 1977, p. 194). The incorporation of both antidiscrimination language and affirmative action in the chancellor's statement implies a reconciliation of the university's responsibility to pursue both seemingly contradictory mandates simultaneously. As will become evident later, this coexistence of mandates takes a certain form in the case of Western United States University.

Similar to the language of Western's chancellor, the SAU's rector states:

It is vital that we approach the Employment Equity Act as an opportunity for the nation, the province and the institution to remove obstacles to progress and correct the effect of past injustices that have created distortions and imbalances in the workplace. . . . The way and manner in which we do this however, should bear a distinctly SAU stamp. Our commitment to the success of the EEA should take us beyond purely legislative compliance towards greater race and gender integration; it should affirm South African people of all physical ability levels, for our long term strategic institutional advantage.

Like Western's chancellor, SAU's rector calls on the university community to rise to the challenge of leading the nation in employment equity efforts by going “beyond compliance” with the requirements of the Employment Equity Act. As SAU has a history of progressive action and was an important site of resistance during the anti-apartheid struggle, the rector invokes this spirit of progressiveness by stating that the university's policy should “bear a distinctly SAU stamp.” Thus, like Western's chancellor, SAU's rector also calls for recognition of the moral obligation to comply with the EEA, and to serve as an example for other employers. Moreover, the language used suggests that it is in the university's best interest to comply with the EEA.

It is also clear from the rector's remarks that SAU is relying on a backward-looking approach to justifying affirmative action at the university. By stating that the purpose of the EEA is to “remove obstacles to progress and correct the effect of past injustices,” the rector implies that discrimination is no longer occurring (or that it

should not be due to the antidiscrimination facet of the EEA) and that the main justification for complying with the legislation is the injustices that occurred in the past. Rather than using the term “discrimination of the past” as in the United States, the usage more common in the South African context is “redressing injustices of the past.” The term “discrimination” is somewhat ambiguous, as it can even be construed in a positive context, as with a “discriminating palate.” The language SAU’s rector uses (“injustices”) is much stronger and implies clear malice and responsibility, in contrast to the term that is generally acceptable currently in the U.S. The language here does not employ a present-oriented argument that any current discrimination or injustices are still occurring. However, contrary to Western’s policy, the language employed does account for the fact that the current inequities that exist are related to the discrimination of the past.

An example of text from within the policies is representative of the type of language used throughout them. These statements more directly reflect the normative nature of arguments used to justify the use of employment equity at Western and SAU. Western’s policy states:

Utilization of females and minorities is determined, for each job group, by comparing the number of females and minorities employed in the job group to the number of females and minorities expected to be in the present workforce based on current availability proportions and the current incumbent work force for each protected group. “Underutilization” exists when the number of females and minorities expected is greater than the number of females and minorities employed. Placement goals are established for job groups where underutilization occurs. . . . The declaration of underutilization, and the resultant establishment of a placement goal, does not amount to an admission of impermissible conduct. It is neither a finding of discrimination, nor a finding of lack of good faith affirmative action efforts. Rather, “underutilization” is a technical targeting term used exclusively by affirmative action planners who seek to apply good faith efforts to increase the future percentage utilization of females and minorities in the work force (p. 16).

It is clear from this statement and others like it in Western’s policy that the university is currently using a forward-looking argument to justify affirmative action in employment. Aside from the brief use of the word “discrimination” here, there is not a single statement in the policy using language referring to or admitting to “discrimination,” past or present. Instead, the seemingly neutral term “underutilization,” is employed throughout the text of the policy. Using the less controversial “underutilization” does not indict the university for current or past wrongdoing, but rather suggests that it has a moral obligation to correct an imbalance that society has created, or that is in some way natural. However, the language used does clarify that underutilization refers to minorities and women, relative to the expected numbers of eligible workers in the general population. Though Western is reluctant to admit any wrongdoing on its part, it seems illogical to assume that there is currently some imbalance but not acknowledge reasons behind this imbalance. The document almost implies that there was some mysterious force that has led to the current underutilization of women and minorities on the staff.

Furthermore, the reference to “protected groups” and the reference to minorities and women suggest that Western has accepted that affirmative action will apply to groups rather than individuals. A vigorous debate has ensued in the normative and philosophical literature over whether groups can be considered to have been mistreated and discriminated against, and whether affirmative action should be applied to individuals based on group membership and the harm (past or present) inflicted upon this group rather than on a particular individual. Cowan (1972), for example, argues that such entities as racial groups do not exist and that therefore they could not suffer discrimination. On the other side of this issue, Taylor (1973) suggests that groups must be referred to in affirmative action legislation for the purposes of social justice, and Nickel (1974) argues that group justice should be allowed for the purposes of administrative efficiency. Western’s position seems to resonate most with the administrative efficiency principle. In addition, an argument based on compensation for group harms is more difficult in the current context, because the more obvious forms of racial and gender discrimination are perceived to be less recent in the public’s collective memory. However, in Western’s case, because the policy does not acknowledge or refer to any past or current discrimination, whether or not a particular person has been discriminated against would be considered to be irrelevant.

In the case of the South African University, the Employment Equity policy states:

As a nation South Africa has made a tremendous political, legal and moral commitment to break with a troubled past and affirm at last its rich cultural, gender, ethnic and racial diversity. In a sense the Employment Equity Act is designed to ensure that henceforth difference in the workplace in South Africa matters in a positive sense. This is a resolve that gives force to the equality clause in the Constitution (p. 12).

Like the language used in the letter from SAU’s rector, this statement includes indications of backward-looking arguments for affirmative action. This is not surprising, as South Africa’s more recent history of formal and structural discrimination provides a more tangible basis for this justification. At the same time, SAU is also using a forward-looking argument here, arguing for diversity in terms of culture, gender, race, and ethnicity, so that difference “matters in a positive sense” in the workplace. It could be argued that this particular language about the significance of difference does not refer to any particular past or current discrimination.

Two additional points not specifically in SAU’s policy but explicit in the Employment Equity Act are worthy of mention. An important caveat to South Africa’s employment equity legislation is that people should be empowered through affirmative action to become “qualified” for a job that they could reasonably be expected to gain the skills to perform. This is in complete opposition to the U.S. policies, which make no reference to allowing less skilled people from minority groups or women to benefit from employment equity measures. Moreover, “giving” jobs to unqualified Black people has been one of the primary criticisms levelled against affirmative action in the U.S. In South Africa, on the other hand, where nearly ninety percent of the population had been systematically denied the right to gain skills equivalent to those of Whites until very recently, the government obviously sees a moral obligation to assist in the skills development of individuals

who have been treated unjustly. Therefore if a person from one of the disadvantaged groups has the “capacity to acquire” the skills to complete a certain job, the EEA stipulates that he or she must be hired and trained. This implies an explicit acceptance of responsibility, which Western does not appear to be willing to accept.

In addition, though SAU’s policy does not specifically refer to group harms or injustices, the EEA itself does. The Act explicitly applies to groups that have suffered injustice in the regimes of the past – women, people with disabilities, and the three non-White racial groups (Africans, Indians, and Coloured people). Although it might be possible to look at individual claims of discrimination due to the recent injustices of the apartheid government, it appears that South Africa has accepted group justice for administrative efficiency by using group membership as a basis for affirmative action rather than individual reparations. It may be easier to justify using group membership in this case because of the systematic discrimination of the apartheid regime and because it so obviously excluded and disadvantaged virtually all members of non-White racial groups, women, and people with disabilities.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The issue of employment equity has gained international importance and exposure in recent years as governments have begun to transfer policies based on the experience of other countries. Australia and Canada built upon the groundwork of the U.S. experience and made advances in employment equity legislation. Canada made an important decision when it decided not to use the terminology being debated in the United States and dispensed with the baggage of the term “affirmative action” and its negative connotations in favour of the less politically-charged terminology of “employment equity.” As evidenced above, South Africa borrowed extensively from the Canadian employment equity legislation. The South African government was also shrewd to include a provision in the 1996 South African Constitution that created a window of opportunity for employment equity measures, borrowing from the experience of other countries whose equity policies lacked authority without constitutional justification. South Africa in particular was able to draw upon the experience of the U.S., Canada, and Australia, and borrow from the policies of these countries to create an appropriate employment equity bill based on the history and context of the newly democratic country.

Employment equity legislation is an important and increasingly globalised facet of human resource management in higher education institutions around the world. Though employment equity legislation is generally created with traditional business employers in mind, higher education institutions must also redefine themselves and their employment goals based on the existing legislative framework. The policies of the two universities examined explicate how the politics of language surrounding the employment equity debate play out when translated to the higher education sector. As explored earlier, the social and political climate of each country affected employment equity legislation and the inception of policies at Western United States

University and South African University. Despite the differences, the connections between the language used in the policies of these two universities demonstrates the increasing globalisation of the employment equity debate.

## 7. NOTES

1. Malaysia's employment equity legislation was created for a fixed time period, from 1970-1990. All of the other countries listed have policies or legislation currently in place.
2. Kennedy coined the term "affirmative action" in 1961 when he issued Executive Order 10925 and created the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.
3. In this case, Alan Bakke, a White applicant to the University of California, Davis law school was denied admission, and sued the university arguing reverse discrimination due to an affirmative action program for admissions. The Supreme Court was divided on the issue, and Justice Powell's "compromise" decided the matter. The outcome of the case, which was recently reaffirmed in the Michigan case, is that race may be used as one of many factors in university admissions decisions for the purposes of diversity, but that quotas may not be used.
4. The names of the universities under investigation are pseudonyms.

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JOSEPH ZAJDA

## MINORITIES AND INDIGENOUS GROUPS IN EDUCATION

### 1. 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, inter-ethnic conflict, cultural stereotypes, discrimination and inequality. In its attempts to solve the political, cultural and moral dilemmas of ethnic/national identity and citizenship it represents the ambivalence between the desire to re-discover 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 address 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. 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.

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 neo-capitalism. How does one build a democratic, empowering and culturally pluralistic post-Soviet society, which is already characterised by a growing social differentiation, income inequality, and 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: 51). In the case of the Central Asia we need to consider the historical role of cultural fragmentation and its implications for re-inventing 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 Asia sub-region 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 & Kanaev, 2000, p. 102).

Now, in all the Central Asia 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 the 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 Asia sub-region:

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 Asia republics is a Hegelian dialectic in reverse – the rejection of the multifaceted *Homo Sovieticus* as an ideological synthesis and the re-claiming of the lost traditional heritage of the past. Sarfazov 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 19<sup>th</sup> century (p. 2).

### 3. INDIGENOUS GROUPS

“Indigenous peoples” (*korennye 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 *korennye narody* (indigenous people) appeared only twice in official documents (Sokolovski: 11). The sixty-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 East and Central Asia 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, 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 (Blagov, 2002, p.1).

### 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 eighty percent 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 Asia 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 block, resulted in unforeseen social, political and economic problems – poverty for the majority of ethnic groups in the Central Asia region, inter-ethnic 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 the Central Asia, has inherited a socio-political 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 Mohammad, 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: 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” (p. 18).

## 6. THE ROLE OF LINGUA FRANCA

Russian had a special role as the language of ethnic and indigenous groups 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 (p. 19).

### 6.1 *Ethnicity and the Language policy*

One of the key problems for the multi-ethnic State engaged in promoting and practicing 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 percent of the total population. By 1994, Russian population of Kyrgyzstan dropped to 18 percent (from 21.5 in 1989). In 1996 alone, some one million immigrants arrived in Russia; the majority of them were the refugees from the 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, Kirgistan, 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 percent 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 Kirgiz had more individuals completing higher education (all had ratios of above 120 as a percentage of increase over a five-year period) than the Russians, with their figure of 107.

In contrast, some twenty years later, modern Kazakh society was characterised by an inter-ethnic 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: 3). Increasingly, the non-indigenous groups, especially the Russians, who 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 down-grade 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 percent 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 percent of the respondents, including 54.1 percent of Kazakhs, supported the idea of introducing the second state language (Kurganskaia, 2000, p.7).

In Uzbekistan, where Russians, as a minority, comprise 8 percent 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 inter-ethnic 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 nick-named 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 inter-ethnic 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 appear to be non-discriminatory, and offer 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 Kyrgystan? Toktomyshev (2002), Vice-Chancellor of the Kyrgyz State National University, and Member of Parliament, believes that Kyrgystan 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 Kyrgystan. 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 the 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: 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 inter-ethnic inequality and discrimination. Problems in inter-ethnic conflict, and ethnic identity in Central Asia have been attributed to political (the contesting nature of the inter-state 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 “over lords” 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 on-going 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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## ISLAMIC EDUCATION

### 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 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 forty countries; conversion to Islam takes place in many places in the world

(Haynes, 1996; van Bruissen, 1995), but often Islam is assimilated into the pre-existing religions (An-Náim, 1999; Eickelmann, 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 *Shari'a*, the Islamic law in a broad sense, is an important feature that Muslims have in common. *Shari'a* 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 *Shari'a* is based on a number of primary sources or principles: (i) the Quran, (ii) *Sunna*, (iii) consensus (*ijma*) and (iv) analogy, (*qias*). The ability to reason (*'Aql*) is seen by some Islamic scholars as one additional feature. To study these principles, *usu al-fiqh* (literally: principles of jurisprudence), is a discipline required of every student in Islamic jurisprudence. The Islamic science of ascertaining the precise terms of the *Shari'a*, 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 & 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 & 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 (Warnoch Ferea, 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 *Shari'a* 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. 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 & 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 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: (i) globalised world models, and (ii) 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 life style (Liberal, pluralist and market-oriented) (Ahmed, 1992; Massialas & 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 Organization for Education, Science and Culture 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 civilizations” 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 (Quaranic 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 practiced 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: (i) traditional Islamic elementary education (Quranic school); (ii) traditional Islamic intermediate education (Medresh, Madrassa); and (iii) modernised intermediate Islamic education (Medresh, Madrassa, Arabic school) - see Table 1

Makdisi (1981) argues that due to the centrality of *madrassa* in Islamic education, the educational institutions could be divided into *pre-madrassa* and *post-madrassa* 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

**Table 1.** Types of Elementary, Intermediate and Higher Islamic Education

“Pre-school” level	Elementary school	Intermediate school	Higher education
1	Quranic ( <i>daara</i> , <i>kuttab</i> , <i>maktab</i> , mosque school).	Traditional Medresh (Madrassa, mosque school) or Modern Madrassa (“ <i>école arabe</i> ”, “Arabic school”)	
2	Quranic ( <i>daara</i> , <i>kuttab</i> , <i>maktab</i> , mosque school).		Islamic university
3	Quranic ( <i>daara</i> , <i>kuttab</i> , <i>maktab</i> , mosque school).	Traditional Medresh (Madrassa, mosque school). Modern Madrassa (“ <i>école arabe</i> ”, and “Arabic school”)	See the two varieties above.



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 enrollment 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 three to nine 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 pre-school (serving children three to six 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 exist 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 (Boyle forthcoming). In some places, Quranic education is also seen as a good preparation for primary schooling (William & Amer, 1988).

### 5.2 Intermediate education

The establishment of *madrassa* in the tenth century is regarded as a crucial point in the history of Islamic education. The *madrassa* 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 *madrassa* proper, in which *masjid* and *khan* were combined in an institution based on a single *waqf* deed (Pederson & 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 *madrassas* 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 *Madrassa* 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 *Riyadhiyat* (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 *madrassa* 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 generation of authorised narrators. The phenomenon known as *Tawator* (frequency) is considered as one of the deciding factors in the accuracy of transmitted knowledge. *Ijaza* also were certificates for teaching certain subjects or to issue new religious verdicts.

The modern *madrassa* (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 *madrassa* are 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 *madrassa* has been established, especially since the 1970s. The development of the *madrassa* 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 & 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 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 were founded in the early twentieth century – for instance in Turkey in 1900, in Egypt in 1925 and in Iran in 1934. The number of universities and colleges in Muslim countries is presented in table 2. 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, 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 & 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 Jaballah, 1994; Hussein, 1998; 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 is 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 & 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 & Maimunahy, 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 is 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. During the first years of the twenty-first century, 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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YVETTE LAPAYESE

## NATIONAL INITIATIVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION POLICY REFORM IN SCHOOLS

### 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 antidemocratic 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 programs and capacities for human rights education at the national and local levels. As the decade draws to a close, it becomes timely to explore how national governments across the globe have implemented appropriate educational policy reforms.<sup>1</sup> 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 of 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 Plan 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 condition;
- 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 life-long 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, 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 programs targeting public awareness, the schooling sector, and other priority groups, and a resource guide to assist in program implementation.

In addition, the Office has developed a database of existing programs, materials, and organisations for human rights education. The development of the OHCHR website ([www.unhchr.ch](http://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 centers, 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 programs;
- 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 programs 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.<sup>ii</sup> In 2000, the OHCHR conducted a mid-term global evaluation of the progress made in the first five 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 programs, 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 mid-term 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 programs. 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 programs in schools.

More recently, HURIGHTS OSAKA held a South Asia 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 UN-sponsored human rights education programs. In coordination with the UN, a sub-regional training workshop in Northeast Asia was held in the Republic of Korea in 1999. The participants in the workshop included education policy-makers, 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 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 programs 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 programs are not designated either as a subject, course, or extracurricular subject (Nabeshima, Akuzawa, Hayashi & Park, 2002).

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, authors Nabeshima, Akuzawa, Hayashi and Park (2002) 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 programs 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; plays, songs, and presentations on human rights issues performed by children at school and community festivals.

In regard to teacher education programs, there is no national program 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 programs. Some universities and colleges, however, have their own Dowa education or human rights education program 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, Akuzawa, Hayashi & Park, 2002).

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, Akuzawa, Hayashi & Park, 2002).

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 programs 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 programs 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 programs throughout the Member States. For instance, human rights education is a formal component of national curricular programs for both primary and secondary schools. Joint planning sessions and conferences have led to effective programs, 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, 1997).

### *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 for 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 Centre focuses on the introduction of human rights education in Austrian schools, a program supported by the Department of Civic Education. Among the various activities undertaken, workshops and training of teachers are organised, and appropriate material; 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 programs (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 5 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 programs are carried out. The Ministry for Education, Science and Culture regularly encourages provincial educational authorities and teachers to develop programs 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 pre-school 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 programs 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 Educator's Network and in 1989 began producing *Human Rights Education: The 4<sup>th</sup> R*, the first U.S. periodical in this new field. In 1993, David Shiman published the first human rights curriculum in the U.S., *Teaching About Human Rights*, which has been followed by a steady stream of new resources in the field, notably Betty Reardon's *Teaching 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 U.S. human rights educators met for the first time at this meeting and created working alliances that have resulted in significant projects in the USA: a partnership of Amnesty International USA, the Centre for Human Rights Education, the University of Minnesota Human Rights Centre, and Street Law, Inc. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, 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: Forty percent of the states studied indicate that human rights education is within the state mandated curriculum and fourteen 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 programs 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 programs 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 Centre at the University of Minnesota represents a force in developing and disseminating materials and curricula to educators across the United States. The Resource Centre has been instrumental in providing teachers with innovative teaching packets, like *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights* by D. Donahue (2001).

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 remains 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 provides a basis for human rights education. However, the legislation lacks specific details to systematically implement programs 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 that 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 mid-term 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, 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, 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, federal government systems, the lack of coordination among NGOs, 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 (for example France, Germany, United Kingdom, United States) there is less fertile ground for human rights education in general. (Elbers, 2002).

This brings us to the question of what lies ahead. The Commission on Human Rights held its fifty-ninth annual session from March seventeenth to April twenty-fifth, 2003 in Costa Rica. According to a report submitted by K. Fujii (2003) on the fifty-ninth 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 socio-legal 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 of 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."<sup>iii</sup> Now the difficult, yet exciting, work lies ahead in making real the objectives of human rights education for students across the globe.

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<sup>i</sup>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.]

<sup>ii</sup>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](http://www.unhchr.ch).

<sup>iii</sup> 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

JOSEPH ZAJDA

## THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND TRANSFORMATION IN RUSSIA

### 1. THE NATURE OF EDUCATION REFORMS: 1991-2001

Education reform in the Russia Federation after 1991 was an orchestrated attack on what was now perceived as the ideologically impure Soviet system of education, with its ubiquitous administrative centralisation, a bankrupt communist ideology and bureaucratic inefficiency. Hurried attempts were made to Westernize Russian education. These early attempts at reform reflected the lack of vision, political opportunism, the identity crisis and, in the absence of pragmatic teleological goals, a post-Soviet pedagogical anomie. Alternative curricula, new methodologies and structures were offered. More importantly, a significant degree of autonomy in the teaching/learning process, previously unknown, was given to local educators. The Moscow-based Ministry of Education lost its power and control. In Russia, these education reforms represented a radical shift in ideology, knowledge and values and appropriately typified the inevitable outcome of the global *Weltanschauung* of modernity.

Curriculum reforms and implementation of change in Russia during the early 1990s have been “almost completely permissive” (McLean & Voskresenskaia, 1992, p. 85). The ideas of democracy, humanisation and individuation--the three popular slogans of post-Soviet education reforms, which almost echoed the spirit of the French Revolution – liberty, equality, and fraternity, have successfully challenged the hegemony of Marxist-Leninism in schooling, authority, and curricular control in the teaching/learning process. In subjects’ content and teaching methodology considerably more power at the school-level decision-making has been given to teachers, parents and students. Various variants of the school-based curriculum models offered attest to this.

It is not the first time that the reform of the education system was used for the total transformation of society. Japan has used it from 1868 until Pearl Harbour, to transform its society from medieval feudalism to a global power. King (1968) believes that Japanese educational transformation was the “first wholesale educational revolution that the earth has known” (p. 88). It was also a modern



revolution in Japan in science, knowledge and technology. Similarly, the Soviet revolution of 1917, which was followed by the total overthrow of most political and educational assumptions, and the formation of a communist education system (the planned Leviathan state), which within less than thirty years transformed a rather backward agrarian nation in a position of world hegemony and global power after 1945, was a dramatic example of the Hegelian dialectic at work, as exemplified by the new Soviet education or *homo Sovieticus* – the synthesis of hegemony, power and pedagogy.

Reform “czars” are not as common in education as they are in politics and economics [1]. Part of the answer is that quality education reforms, unlike macroeconomic initiatives, do not provide immediate political gains. When countries address macroeconomic problems (high inflation and unemployment in Russia during the 1990s), the results are visible within months. Some Russian politicians have capitalised on these accomplishments. In contrast, many benefits of improved education are invisible in the short term, and a politician’s life is too short to witness the outcomes of education reforms (ten to twenty years). Thus, politicians are more likely to wage political battles that offer immediate (and impressive) gains rather than long-term political and cultural rewards.

## 2. KEY ISSUES IN RUSSIAN EDUCATION POLICY

The purpose of this study is to identify key issues in pre-university education (primary, secondary and vocational education) in order to suggest strategies for successful implementation of education reforms in the Russian Federation. The four key issues which Russian education policy-makers (applicable to other transitional economies) attempt to address and implement are:

1. equity and access,
2. quality and output measurement,
3. resource mobilisation and efficiency, and
4. market linkages.

### 2.1 *Equity and Access in Education: Trends in Educational Attainment*

The Soviet Russia (up to 1991) was a society with high levels of educational attainment. Educational levels over the last 15 years have continued to increase. The share of population with higher education nearly doubled, rising from 77 per thousand in 1979 to 133 per thousand in 1994. In 1989, many regions on the periphery, including Murmansk, Chukotka and Kamchatka in the Far East, had significantly higher shares of populations who had completed higher education than the national average.

The political strength of Soviet education between 1924-1991 was its on-going commitment to equity and access, regardless of ethnicity, social class, gender or geographic location. “Equity” refers, among other things, to accessibility, equality of opportunity, social justice, class, and disability, or provisions for making education

more inclusive. The equity indicators may be grouped, according to Macbeath (1999), into four categories:

- the school as a place for everyone
- opportunities for participation
- attitudes to individual differences
- action to deal with racism, sexism or other forms of discrimination (pp. 52-4).

He also lists five most common key features of equity, which I have adapted to fit the Russian school:

- Pupils have faith in school's policy on equal opportunities
- Cultural, moral, intellectual and social diversity is seen as adding value to school life and learning
- Teachers believe they have a part to play in promoting equity, or an equal opportunity culture
- The school curriculum—planning, organisation and implementation takes account of individual differences
- All students have opportunities to participate in the teaching/learning process.

These key features of equity, when combined with other equity indicators are very useful in evaluating the rhetoric/praxis outcomes of education policy in Russia. The on-going commitment to equity and access may no longer be the case in Russia today. In the present climate of economic collapse, secondary school elitism (non-government schools and elite state schools) is growing, and is reinforced by the ability to pay. This has serious equity implications, as in the present fiscal climate, students from privileged and wealthy family-backgrounds are likely to have access to high-status and much in demand courses, and the highly selective school itself (such as '*shkola-litsei*', a Russian version of a grammar school). The ability to pay for education may narrow educational choice and opportunities open to students from poor families.

The second problem is the issue of educational and fiscal decentralisation, which in the current climate of economic downturn in Russia may increase inter-regional and inter-state inequality among schools. The rigid funding formulae could also have inequitable consequences for the distribution of funds within a region. Regional administrators may have to choose between keeping hospitals open or paying teachers and heating schools during cold and long winter months.

## 2.2 *Quality and Output Measurement*

There is an inverse relationship between quality and equity. The inverse quality/equity relationship means that when one rises, the other falls. Some educators believe that quality and equity are inversely related. If equity focuses on equality of opportunity, accessibility and social justice, then "quality" refers to competition, excellence, merit, selectivity and academic elitism. Recent emphasis on diversity in schooling in the Russian Federation (state schools, grammar schools and private schools) and educational decentralisation is likely to reduce educational

choice and opportunities and create “increased inequality” (Canning, Moock, & Heleniak, 1999, p. 19).

Diversified and decentralised education systems in Russia require valid and reliable forms of “output” measurement. The Ministry of Education lacks an objective and fair system of student assessment that would ensure comparability of academic performance across culturally, ethnically and geographically disparate regions. Since 1992 work has been undertaken to develop minimum standards and assessment and testing instruments, but education standards are still defined as inputs, rather than student outcomes to the learning process. There is a pervasive lack of access to resources: new teaching materials, equipment, computer technology, and information about new teaching methodologies.

There is a need to develop more competency-based and individualised approaches to learning in a student-centred classroom environment.

### *2.3 Resource Mobilisation and Efficiency*

Compulsory education, like other functions of the regions, is supported by federal transfers from central government to the regions. Fiscal difficulties have resulted in reduced Federal Government financing of education. Federal grants have fallen during the 1990s—both in real terms and relative to what the regions themselves spend. Furthermore, these transfers are not earmarked but take the form of general block grants, which regional authorities can allocate as they see fit. Education, under such circumstances, is not always given high priority.

### *2.4 Market Linkages*

Neither secondary nor vocational education is well equipped to respond to market economy and to reflect the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions in Russia.

Secondary and vocational institutions have been slow and have had difficulties in adapting to the changing social and economic environment, and many are still not oriented towards current labour market needs.

## 3. THE NATURE OF EDUCATION REFORMS: 1999-2001

The Commission for Economic Reform (CER) of the Russian Federation directed the-then Ministry of General and Professional Education (MGPE) to prepare policy documents for making the outputs of the system more relevant to the needs of Russia’s market economy, and, more importantly, for reducing unit costs in education. The CER’s goal was to oversee the reform of education financing, including new systems to make fiscal flows to schools more accountable and more efficient.

In March 1998, the Minister for Education, Tikhonov, presented his concept for reforming education spending to the Collegium of the MGPE in Moscow. In the

climate of financial stringency, education received no increase in the 1998 Federal Budget. In May 1998 the Government announced in the “Draft on Public Expenditures Reduction Program” plans to reduce the workforce throughout the public sector, including education. In September 1998, after the change of government, the new Minister of Education, Vladimir Filippov, indicated that he would continue with the education reform policy proposals of the previous Government.

Since then, the two major education policy documents for reforming education were adopted in 2000. The National Doctrine on Education Growth (*Doktrina*), was approved on 17 February 2000. The Federal Program on Developments in Education (*Federalnaia programma razvitiia obrazovaniia*) defined priorities and strategies for education and the Russian Federation for the year 2010. Furthermore, a single national examination is planned for the final year of secondary education in the Russian Federation in 2003—which, according to Filippov, proved to be the most widely discussed issue (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 29 August, p. 10). Finally, the new (and controversial for many Russians, who had lived under the ten-year schooling for 60 years) Basic Curriculum Plan (*novyi bazisnyi uchebnyi plan*) for a twelve-year schooling to be adopted in 2003, had been widely discussed in 2000. Various models of curriculum programs for Grades 1-12 were published in *Uchitelskaia Gazeta* (Teachers’ Newspaper). The Ministry of Education has shortlisted some, and will select the winning curriculum model of a new 12-year schooling.

#### 4. QUALITY IN EDUCATION: CURRICULUM REFORMS AND EDUCATION STANDARDS

The State Education Standard document (1998) was introduced in response to decentralisation and diversification in education—to ensure the equivalence of education standards and academic qualifications across Russia’s 89 regions and to facilitate the movement of individuals from one oblast (region) of the Russian Federation (RF) to another. One of the goals of education standards rhetoric is the preservation of the ideals of a “common education space”, defined as an equivalence of educational experience and qualifications in each of the 89 regions. There has been a good deal of public debate about the education reform in the Russian Federation since the summer of 1997. According to Vadim Avanesov, a professor in education, Russian education has two basic problems – “inadequate financing, and the obsolete system of school governance” (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 January: 14). Nelliia Troshkina, a school principal, on the other hand, identified the following four basic problems of schooling:

- Staffing (*Kadry*): Youth is not applying for teaching positions, as the wage is too low.
- Curriculum Overload (*Peregruzka*):. . . The Moscow Basic Curriculum is quite extensive. It has many new subjects—ecology, economics, Moscow Studies . . . Our school has two languages: English and one other, a choice from French,

German, and Spanish. Parents are not complaining about the languages, but they are against civics, and economics . . .

- The five-day school issue: Our children attend the school for six days and get very tired . . .
- External Studies: . . . In specialist schools students often, after Grade 9, leave the school for *eksternat* (off-campus mode of studies) (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 January, p. 10).

Similar problems, associated with a demanding curriculum and staffing were identified by Alla Kashkarova, a principal in Petrozavodsk, in her letter:

Today our children are terribly overloaded—13-14 subjects . . . We need new textbooks. Even for our lyceum, the textbook price of 50-70 roubles is a problem . . . Every fifth teacher in our school is a pensioner . . . (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 January, p. 2).

The above indicates that educational issues needing addressing, as perceived by some teachers and school principals, include inadequate financing, an obsolete system of school governance, staffing, and the overloaded curriculum.

The outcomes of qualitative reforms in education are dependent on the calibre of teachers, their training, level of education, and teaching experience, and the availability of the necessary resources. Schools are under financed and poorly equipped, as indicated in the following harrowing account:

“How can a teacher exist? In the classroom there is not only no computer, but there is also no copier machine, no monitor, VCR, or a slide projector, not even the bookcases. In the library there are no books about the history of culture, art, philosophy, and there are no primary sources.

In such conditions, and these are typical for many schools, works a recent graduate of the Novosibirsk Pedagogical University, 26-year-old Elena Ushakova, the winner of the Novosibirsk “Teacher of the Year-2000” Award . . . During the last year, as reported by the Deputy Principal, 14 teachers had left the school’ (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 4 July, p. 3).

The introduction of a national system of student assessment in the final year of secondary schooling in Russia (as from 2003) would legitimate the maintenance of minimal standards, improve assessment and testing systems, and provide the much needed credibility to nationally recognized certification. Present registration and licensing procedures for educational institutions have been in place since 1991. Accreditation procedures are becoming more transparent and streamlined. State Attestation services have been also operating, and there is a need to introduce a decentralised system of attestation, with regional branches in place, taking into account models of decentralisation employed, resources and skills available, and regional disparities.

Historically, Russian students were over-tested (with daily oral quizzes etc) but under-evaluated, under the system of school-administered assessment that relied heavily on teacher judgment (and teacher biases and discrimination), with no independent assessment and evaluation. Decentralised and increasingly diversified education systems in Russia will require reliable forms of “outcome” assessment

(concentrating on student achievement, competencies and skills, rather than “input” (compulsory content) and “process” (duration of course, hours per week) based education standards.

The idea of promoting national standards and assessment as a means for improving curriculum and academic performance in schools is not new. In the USA the adoption of national goals by Congress had “triggered” nationwide debate on national standards, curriculum and assessment (Darling-Hammond, 1994, p. 478). The taken for granted assumption is that national standards are more appropriate and effective for defining and influencing local school reform and change than school-based standards, testing and assessment.

Russian education policy-makers have assumed, like their American counterparts, that national standards are better suited for improving academic achievement in all schools. They have assumed that “hierarchical” intelligence (that higher levels of government are superior to lower levels of school organisation), is the way to reform education, and that national content, standards and assessment are superior to local efforts. What has not been considered is the notion of social class and educational inequalities. As some critics have argued (e.g., large inequalities in education and opportunities to learn are more responsible for learning gaps and variations in academic performance than ineffective testing/assessment instruments. Instead of focusing on “what” (content) and “how?” (performance standards), we should be starting with “why?” or structural inequalities (as described in Mill’s classic, *The Sociological Imagination*) which generate large and visible inequalities in opportunity to learn, and reinforce the status quo, or social stratification based on power, privilege, wealth, occupation, education, and income.

Russian education policy-makers should start with inequalities in learning opportunities in order to achieve the real qualitative and quantitative outcomes. There are dramatic inequalities in education funding in the Russian Federation, with wealthy regions spending four or six times as much as poor ones. The resultant differences in academic achievement are visible in the contrasts between dilapidated and inadequately funded schools in poor districts of rural and urban areas of Russia’s 89 regions, and generously funded schools in affluent neighbourhoods. Other equity issues include inequalities in students’ access to high-quality schools, curriculum and highly qualified teachers. Differences in school achievement can be attributed to the effects of substantially different learning opportunities to privileged and disadvantaged students (Barr & Dreeben, 1983; Oakes, 1990).

As a consequence of social and school-based inequalities, students are not only “at risk” from class, social stratification and poverty, they are placed further at risk by the schools they attend, and the teachers who teach them. In many poor and disadvantaged schools (especially in rural areas), because of teacher shortages, and inadequate financing, low-income students are taught by inexperienced, poorly-paid, unmotivated, and under-qualified teachers. The differences in teacher qualifications across schools, account more than any other factor for the differences in academic performance (Ferguson, 1991). These factors have a dramatic effect on learning.

Consequently, there are numerous education policy issues that would need to be resolved for successful implementation of the qualitative dimension of education reform in Russia. They include:

- Levels of Interpretations and Implementation—bureaucratic inertia and “appearing to implement” quality education reforms
- Structural Inequalities in Learning Opportunities
- Improved Teacher Training, Knowledge, and Skills
- Defining Student Outcomes – differences of opinion and priorities
- Evaluation at Regional Level (monitoring performance) – lack of resources and expertise
- Assessment and Testing Systems – lack of expertise
- Quality and Standards Criteria – conflicting perceptions at local, regional, and national levels.
- Local/regional financing of education (problems of equity among richer and poorer regions/localities).
- Accountability to local school and community.

## 5. MAJOR ISSUES IN EDUCATION IN POST-COMMUNIST RUSSIA

### 5.1 *Educational goals, priorities and policy*

Stated educational goals in policy documents frequently, and Russia is a very good example here, throw light on the problems policy-makers face and suggest how these problems can be solved. Stated goals of education reflect “what people think education ought to be about and what contribution it ought to make” (Holmes, 1983: 19). In the case of Russia, educational reforms were driven by the newly created political and economic imperatives, characteristic of a society undergoing radical political, economic and social transformations. In most countries, and Russia is no exception, the three key objectives of education are:

- developing the individual in accordance with the human rights,
- providing the necessary knowledge and skills, and
- contributing to social change in society.

The idea of competence, work and citizenship beyond the post-compulsory education is central to the politics of education reforms in Russia and elsewhere. Evans (1998) addresses the notion of effective education in *Shaping Futures: Learning for Competence and Citizenship*, which is applicable to education in Russia as well. She argues that competence and citizenship have assumed a prominent place in the discourses about the post-compulsory education and training curriculum in Britain, and that “future-oriented” education should be transformative, not reproductive (p. 130). Equality in education had been the goal of many democracies, including the new Russia. In examining educational inequality critical sociologists had focused on the four major factors, which are applicable to Russia:

- social class lifestyles,
- the characteristics of school and families,
- the relationship between home and school, and

– differences between individuals.

Class inequality is reproduced by the unequal distribution of socially valued commodities, including cultural capital. Bourdieu maintained that the reproduction of social inequality, which he called “symbolic violence”, lay at the heart of education. Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory is relevant to today’s Russia. Current educational reforms in Russia, seem to be more reproductive (in terms of the correspondence theory, and cultural reproduction, see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Bowles and Gintis, 1976) than transformative. Conflict and critical theories are particularly relevant to education in Russia, where, it is argued, the new dominant ideology of private enterprise mystifies people and legitimates the status quo (as it did in the past, under the Soviet regime) and where divided schools—private and public now reproduce class inequality.

Apart from the new hegemony in Russian education and society, there are now also visible signs of social divisions, defining the new and fast growing underclass and the rich. Pierre Bourdieu states that the primary function of education is cultural reproduction. The major role of education in Russia is the contribution it makes to social and “cultural reproduction”, by means of, what Bourdieu calls, “cultural capital”, and the ensuing reproduction of the distribution and relationship of power and privilege between social classes (p. 73).

This rather culturally deterministic macro-sociological view of schooling in Russia can be challenged from the interactionist, and postmodern perspectives, which have redefined “causes” and truths, by rejecting, in the case of postmodernists, the Grand Narratives and totalising truths. The interactionists, unlike the class-conflict sociologists who examine the macro-sociological nature of educational inequality, tend to focus on the micro-sociological context of the classroom interaction, and characterised by the “potentials” that a given situation has for the people in it (Connell et al., 1982, p. 193). What Connell and others have argued is that education has a dual role: one of continuing cultural reproduction of social inequality, the other instilling the spirit of empowerment and emancipation. In this way, the utilitarian goal of schooling becomes one of transforming the individual and society in an emancipatory and revolutionary way. One needs, however, to accept the potential role of education as one of “equipping people with the knowledge and skills, and concepts relevant to remaking a dangerous and disordered worlds” (Connell, et al., 1982, p. 208). For Russian educators this could lead to a re-discovery of the role of education as an agency of social change and cultural transformation.

### 5.2 *Social Stratification and Education in Russia*

The work of Marcuse and his concept of a shallow “one-dimensional” man, who, as a creature of conspicuous consumption, is seduced by consumer commodities is also relevant to the dramatic rise of consumer culture in the new Russia after 1991. In his *One Dimensional Man*, Marcuse, inspired by Marx’s concepts of alienation, reification and false consciousness, argued that modern societies reproduce the



“slaves” of false needs and desires: “The people recognise themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobiles” (Marcuse, 1964, p. 9).

In Russia during the 1990s, the new entrepreneurial culture, and consumer commodities, popularised by the mass media have affected students’ needs, desires, aspirations and their attitudes towards schooling. Just as Marcuse had predicted, even the post-communist Russia had been transformed by the glitter of consumer culture. Numerous signs attest to this – from the Rolls-Royce showrooms in Moscow to student drop-outs, who prefer business activity (ranging from peddling newspapers to playing the stock market) to further education. The ubiquitous sign of upward social mobility is the omnipotent presence of the US dollars among the new rich, who deal in and live off US currency in Russia. The discourse analysis of Foucault is also applicable to the critique of the politics of education reforms in Russia. According to Foucault the instruments for keeping control were individualisation, or the fragmentation of the community into individuals, followed by complete control through surveillance and supervision of individuals’ activity (Foucault, 1997, 1980). In particular, Foucault’s notions of power, discipline, and “regimes of truth” can be used to analyse the inequality debate in Russian education and society. Russian schools are now very clearly divided by social class, privilege and wealth. There exist a new hierarchy of schools – both private and public. Independent private schools are very expensive, and aim to provide a quality education for children of the rich, just as it was done a hundred years ago in the tsarist Russia.

Michel Foucault claims that education is engaged in regulating selective social discourses. These views consider educational systems as cultural conduits that maintain power relations in society.

Public schools are now characterised by a new dual system consisting of selective and elite high schools – lyceums and gymnasias, attracting “intelligentsia” children and other well-off students, and state secondary schools (Grades 4-11) offering complete secondary education for the masses. The number of State lyceums and gymnasias had grown tenfold between 1990-2000-1, 726 institutions (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 30 May, p. 6).

The existence of a social hierarchy of schools in Russia reflects the emerging and visible class system, where the most privileged students receive the greatest amount of education. It can be hypothesised that the school retention rate in Russia, as in other countries, is now dependent on family income – the higher the family income the greater the percentage of young people who stay at school beyond the compulsory years. Recently, it has been found that upper secondary education has experienced the “largest declines”, with the enrolment rate dropping from 66 to 59 percent. This has been due to the fact that more secondary students were dropping out of school early in response to “economic pressures and the need to find employment” (Canning et al., 1999, p. 31).

A longitudinal sociological survey conducted by V. Olshanskii (Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences) between 1982-1999, involving senior high school students in Moscow, revealed that the topic “Work and income” became a significant issue in the 1990s (29.8 percent talked about it, some even mentioned new social classes “*novye Russkie*” and “*nishchie*” – beggars, compared with 8.8

percent in the 1982 sample). The ideal profession, according to them, was the one “with a good income, allowing to live well” (56.8 percent of the Moscow students’ sample). If in 1982 students were much more idealistic, wishing to bring peace in the world, to be useful to society, and be good to others, now it was money – having it or not having it (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 January, p. 14).

It may take decades before compensatory education programs like Title 1/Chapter 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965/81 in the USA (annual funding of \$5.3 billion in the 1990/91), or the Disadvantaged Schools Programme, which begun in Australia in 1974 (funded at \$46 million in 1994) are introduced in Russia. These programs were designed to achieve meaningful equity, equality and excellence in education (Passow, 2000, p. 85).

### 5.3 Rural Schools and Educational Inequality

The vast majority of schools in Russia are located in rural areas which are currently experiencing incredible financial hardship. In 2000 there were 45,547 rural schools in Russia, compared with 20,853 urban schools, or more than two thirds of the total. Some 2,010 schools were closed during the 1996-8 period, due to decreasing student numbers and the perilous state of schools’ buildings. Some 693,000 teachers teach in rural schools. Due to shortage of space, 17.5 percent of rural schools have two shifts, and some have three shifts. More than one third of schools are in need of major repairs. Only half of schools (53.7 per cent) have water, 38.2 per cent lack in heating, and 64 per cent do not have sewerage.

A recent sociological survey (March, 1999) covering 7 regions and involving 800 rural school principals revealed that the vast majority felt that their schools were socially disadvantaged. One in every six wished to transfer to the city (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 14 March, p. 8).

There are numerous examples of disadvantaged rural schools in Russia. At the Elantsinskoi secondary school, the Olkhonski region (near Irkutsk) 80 teachers and 240 parents, representing over 1,000 pupils wrote to the regional governor, asking for help. The school operates three shifts:

The first bell rings at 8AM, and the last at 9.20PM! Recess is 10 minutes. Of the 89 teachers, 63 work 3 shifts . . . Adults and children are running from one building to another. The room temperature is 10C [this was during winter—JZ], as the heating system is in need of major repair. The floor is rotten. More and more children and pedagogues succumb to chronic illness . . . In such conditions it is impossible to talk about the quality of knowledge and pedagogic creativity (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 25 February, p. 7).

In a letter “Youth is running away from the school” we are told that fewer and fewer young teachers are interested in teaching in rural schools:

Today the salary of a young specialist [teacher] is 250 roubles. Who can live for a whole month on this money? . . . It is very rare these days to find young pedagogues in schools. They seek happiness in other spheres . . . Educators of the Dmitrov County [Moscow region] are expressing their concern regarding the critical position the education is in. . . The situation of the education system is catastrophic . . . The

government has no funds for teachers, doctors, and children (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 14 March, p. 2).

In another case, a 22-year-old primary teacher, Natalia S. had to resign from a school in the city of Berezovsk (Sverdlovsk region), because of low wages. She was unable to make ends meet on her 240 roubles monthly wage. Tired from a chronic shortage of money she found another position in the private sector, which offered 2400 roubles.

At another rural school things are no different – shortage of books, teaching aids, and computer technology. The average teacher's pay is 600 roubles and the basic living minimum income is 1,030 for the region. All the teachers interviewed said in unison: "It is very difficult to prepare a lesson of a high quality . . . We only have in our arsenal – chalk, a duster and our voice (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 15 February, p. 13).

In the Chuvashiia region more than 70 per cent of schools are located in rural areas: "The rural teacher is limited [by geographic isolation] in access to teaching literature. There are fewer opportunities for the upgrading of qualifications (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 April, p. 9). Classes are much larger than the recommended maximum of 25 pupils, and range between 30 and 35. The teacher's average salary is 20 per cent less compared to those teaching in urban areas.

The closure of smaller schools is beginning to hit some rural areas. As one school principal writes (Aleksandr Sushchi, Principal of the secondary school in the village of Revenskoe, Briansk county), children are forced to travel many kilometres:

The rural school somehow survived . . . We do not need the reform. At our village school the boarding school was closed. The battle was terrible, by the county bureaucrats won the day. Now the children from the near by villages travel between 10-15 kilometres. Every day they get up at 6AM. Who is better of from such "reforms"? (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 29 August, p. 2).

The above represents a small sample of typical and widespread economic, social and administrative problems affecting the rural school. The vast majority of rural schools are socially and economically disadvantaged. Equity and access issues are particularly relevant here. Early specialisation and the streaming of students in the upper secondary grades have equity implications. The SES factor (and cultural capital) and the absence of explicit mechanisms for compensatory funding in economically depressed rural areas would create increased and new social inequality.

## 6. ANALYSIS OF CURRICULUM REFORMS IN RUSSIA

### 6.1 *Obstacles to Education Reforms in the Russian Federation*

Despite the renewed impetus of education reforms in the Russian Federation during the 1991-2000 period, implementing education reforms, for political and economic reasons, remains as difficult as ever. President Yeltsin's first degree in

June 1991 was the infamous Decree No. 1, devoted to education. The teachers were promised that their wages would be the same as the average salary in industry. Russian teachers have long since given up on this and other reform-inspired promises. Political and economic obstacles continue to paralyse and distort well-intentioned reform initiatives. To understand the probability of education reform adoption in Russia it is necessary to consider at least three common political and economic obstacles to reform. They are particularly applicable to Russia's ongoing reform.

(a) Concentrated Costs

In a cost-benefit analysis, some scholars have argued (e.g., Wilson, 1973) that policy adoption vary according to the extent to which their costs and benefits are either distributed or concentrated. If it generates concentrated costs (i.e., when the costs are limited to a small number of institutions or organised groups, the more difficult the adoption). This is because negatively affected interest groups have a much stronger incentive to oppose the reforms than beneficiaries have to support them. Using Wilson's matrix, education reforms in Russia can be analysed in terms of access and quality reforms.

Access education reforms call for increasing the availability of educational programs and opportunities (as with the introduction of the Basic Curriculum). Such reforms involve investment to increase the number of schools, classrooms, teachers' salaries and teaching resources.

Quality education reforms involve efforts to improve the efficiency of invested resources (as with the introduction of the national examination for the final year of secondary schooling in Russia), with the goal of improving the academic performance, and monitoring performance (increasing teacher accountability). Used in this sense, "quality" education reforms imply real or perceived losses for some stakeholders (both teachers and students in disadvantaged schools in Russia's *glubinka* – remote rural schools), in sharp contrast to access education reforms, which result in gains for some or all parties and losses for very few. Quality in education is difficult to define, let alone measure. An adequate definition would need to include student outcomes, and the nature of educational experiences that help produce those outcomes (especially the learning environment). An important indicator of the quality of education is also the value added of schooling – a measure of outcomes. The value added consists of learning gain and the increased probability of income-earning activity (Lockheed & Hanushek, 1988).

To sum up, Wilson's cost-benefit/interest group matrix, which can be applied when evaluating the politics of education reforms in Russia, suggests the following:

1. Access education reforms signify educational policies that generate concentrated benefits and diffused costs.
2. Quality education reforms, on the other hand, produce diffused benefits and concentrated costs. Russian society at large and the political elite draw some benefits (e.g. a more educated Russian society). These benefits are too general, spread across a large number of actors, with the long-term gains.

The analysis of such reforms points to several political, economic, and administrative problems. Quality education reforms generate concentrated losers, who are unlikely (especially in Russia) to organise effectively to block the reform.

They include members of the lower social classes, who are in no position to mount an effective campaign against the reforms. The new Russian middle and upper classes, on the other hand, who are the beneficiaries are better positioned and—often have exit possibilities, such as private schools (the elite private lyceums and gymnazia) and private tutoring. Children of the “super-rich” Russians (the *novye Russkie*) are sent abroad for their studies (see Diagram 1-JZ file). Some Russian educators have already written about social inequality.

(b) Policy Entrepreneurs in Education

A solution to the political problems associated with education policies that produce concentrated costs and diffused benefits is what Wilson (1986) labels “policy entrepreneurs”. These are actors, usually at the cabinet or ministerial level, with close links to the president or the Prime Minister office. They find a way of pulling to gather a legislative majority on behalf of interests not well represented in government. Policy entrepreneurs “dramatise an issue, galvanise public opinion, and mobilise support” for policies that would not otherwise be approved (Wilson, 1986: 440). Dneprov’s “manifesto” *Rossiiskoe obrazovanie v perekhodnoi period: programma stabilizatsii i razvitiia* (Russian education in the transitional period: The program for stability and development) (1991) was a vivid example of such a successful strategy in orchestrating a crisis in values, *vospitanie* (upbringing), and the quality of schooling.

(c) Decentralisation

Whole new political and economic problems emerge as a result of education quality reforms that entail some form of decentralisation, as is currently the case in Russia. Decentralisation is often defined in terms of four degrees of transfer of power and authority: deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatisation. (Rondinelli et al., 1984). Decentralisation in Russia involved the transfer of the decision-making process from the centre (Moscow) to outer or lower spheres of influence—provinces, municipalities, local councils, and school councils. One of the main thrusts of education reform in Russia is to give schools more autonomy and greater financial accountability. There are at least five basic reasons for decentralisation of education in Russia:

- Benefits the central government (e.g., relieving the government of financial burdens and shifting the revenue generation to local government)
- Improving the quality of education (e.g., increasing the relevance of programs, or matching curriculum to local needs; increasing learning outcomes)
- Improving the operations of the education system (e.g., increasing the efficiency in allocating resources)
- Changing the funding formula
- Benefits local government (e.g., redistributing political power, increasing the capacity of local governments, and increasing revenues for education to local authorities).

Of these, political, economic, and efficiency motives are central in the current discourse of decentralisation of the education system in Russia. I also believe that that for economic reasons, the government was unable to provide the necessary finance to meet demand for schooling during the reform period. (For detailed explanation of economic reasons see also Welsh & McGinn, 1999, p. 29). Hence, it was prudent to shift the financial burden to Russia's 89 regions. These regions have become stratified due to unequal distribution of wealth, income, power, and natural resources.

Some of the economically and socially depressed regions were very critical of inadequate public expenditure on education, and federal transfers in the form of general block grants have fallen during the 1990s – both in real terms, fluctuating between 3.6 per cent in 1998 and 4.6 per cent of GDP in 2000, (as reported by Aleksandr Kisiliov, Deputy Minister of Education, *Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 29 August, p. 18) and relative to what the regions need. Regional authorities distribute the money as they see fit. In some cases (as reported on the SBS Russian News *Sevodnia*, on 20 November, 2000, the teachers of Irkutsk and Vladivostok were owed between 2-3 month wages, and their case of unpaid wages was investigated, federal transfers earmarked for education sector wages had been reallocated to other sectors—housing, health, and other services.

With fiscal decentralisation in Russia, per capita spending on education is totally dependent on regional income, which varies significantly from one oblast to another (compare the oil- and gas-rich Tyumen, the diamond-rich Sakha, and other mineral- and resource-rich regions with the poorest regions, like Ingushetiia). Given the worsening financial situation, the unequal distribution of education funding between the regions, and the lack of compensatory mechanisms (lack of sufficient scholarships for the needy students etc), there is now a concern that the emphasis on educational decentralisation and diversity is contributing to educational inequality (Canning, 1999, p. 19). In short, the historical strength of Russian education, which was its professed commitment to equity and access, is now in question.

## 6.2 *Impoverished and underpaid teachers*

Impoverished, underpaid and disempowered teachers are hardly likely to support education reform. There are numerous examples of irregularities in regional budgets, involving the misuse of federal funds designated for education sector wages. In one instance, teachers in the Altai Republic were allocated 2.5 billion roubles in January 1999 to pay off teachers' wage arrears. Only 40 per cent of this amount was paid to teachers (Canning, 1999, p. 13).

In another case, teachers from the Pskov region are highly critical of the inadequate funding and decentralisation. In their open letter to the government, published in *Uchitelskaia Gazeta* (2000), they bemoan the shortage of funds for education in their impoverished region, their increasingly difficult working conditions, and miserable wages (the "living minimum" in the region is 900 roubles. The top of the teachers' salary range is only 585 roubles, or US \$21.00\*):

Our school is funded by the local municipal government. This is a tragedy, as the region has no money for us. For this reason we ask you to transfer the school funding back to the federal budget, and pay out the wages owed to us, and consider the question of rising our salaries. Such are our three simple wishes. It is a great pity that in our lakes we do not have a golden fish (a metaphor about the magic fish in A Russian fairytale “A Fairytale about a Fisherman and the Golden Fish”, granting all the wishes). (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, 2000, 11 January, p. 2).

The plight of teachers in Russia has reached a catastrophic proportion. Not only teachers are under incredible emotional stress in the classroom, but they also experience unprecedented economic hardship, caused by the economic collapse and their dwindling salaries. It is for this reason that students are no longer interested in becoming teachers. As one school principal wrote (Oleg Tsy-pin, Principal of School no.2, in the city of Tambov) in an open letter to President Putin:

Dear Mr. President,

I am forced to write to you, through this paper, as we await a complete catastrophe in education . . . Very soon everything that was achieved by the Soviet and Russian school will collapse.

Our children are choosing the professions of the economists, lawyers, and computer programmers . . . Teacher enthusiasm is not an eternal category. The end is near. Everything can be measured by “bread.” Ten years ago the teacher's one hour was equivalent to 10 loaves of bread (1.6 roubles). Now it [the lesson taught] is worth one loaf (6 roubles) . . . I feel pain for my impoverished colleagues, for the education in general, and for the nation without the future (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, 2000, 7 November, p. 2).

The November 14 headline of *Uchitel'skaia Gazeta* (2000) reads: “The teachers of Primoria are starving”. From 12 November 2000 until 1 December, teachers are on strike in the Primorskii region, schools are closed and students are at home. Teachers demand their unpaid salaries, dating back to June:

. . . In Ussurisk, 13 schools are closed. . . We have not been paid since June. . . Salary arrears [for teachers only] are approximately 200 million roubles . . . Regional budgets are insufficient to meet teacher salaries (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, 2000, 14 November, p. 4).

### 6.3 *The Politics of Decentralisation: Equity and Access*

During the 1990s, Russia's 89 regions have been granted control over their own revenues and responsibility for financing a much greater share of education spending. This was accomplished through a series of laws and decrees. The January 1992 Law on the Basic Principles of Taxation enabled the regions to exercise control over the use of resources allocated to them by the Federal Government for the first time. The 1995 federal Law on local Government spelled out the major responsibilities for education at the different levels of government. The current system does not compensate regions (of which there are many) in need – as only between 6 and 10 of the 89 regions were classified as “donors” to the federal budget. The rest qualified for transfer of funds from the federal budget.

Weiler (1990) has shown that there exists a clash between the inherent interests of states, such as the Russian Federation, dominated by a centralist authority decision-making model, and the teleological goals of decentralisation, which complicates the politics of reform adoption. Weiler argues that governments pursue decentralisation for “compensatory legitimation” (to regain legitimacy among the electorate whenever this legitimacy is faltering), and for “conflict avoidance” (whenever central governments face conflicts that they cannot resolve, and hence seek to transfer them to other entities). Furthermore, the government’s (translated into action by middle-level policy analysts) commitment to decentralisation may be questionable. Decentralisation challenges their very hold on power and authority.

The literature on the benefits and shortcomings of decentralisation is vast, suggesting that decentralisation is not a panacea. Corrales (1999) argues that decentralisation is likely to reduce, rather than increase, the accountability of the local bureaucrats, and that decentralised institutions might “reflect, rather than resolve, regressive social practices” (p. 33). This is particularly relevant for Russia’s 89 regions attempting to implement the Law on Education, offer the Basic Curriculum, and monitor education standards and certification.

Given Russia’s cultural diversity and the effects of decentralisation in education, it is reasonable to assume that equity and access would become a serious issue in postcommunist Russia. Some decentralised local schools in various regions could incorporate discriminatory practices, discouraging access to schools on the grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, and SES. In some provinces, with Muslim and other minorities, girls have been encouraged to stay at home, rather than to attend the school and complete secondary schooling.

#### 6.4 *Why education reforms fail?*

What typically are called “reforms” are educational policies announced publicly in the media (McGinn, 1999, p. 11). However, education reforms understood as social change are much more complex, and involve action, reaction and learning. Failure of education reforms could be due to what McGinn terms a “mechanistic view” of how education works. Effective schooling is equated with the officially defined outcomes. Active or passive resistance by teachers and school administrators is another reason. Many reforms fail as goals are not made clear to educators, and those responsible do not know what is really expected of them. Skills, training and resources are not always provided. Past experiences, values and biases tend to “colour” teachers’ perceptions of the reform. As Daun (1998) points out:

People act on the basis of what they hold as truths, and on the basis of their convictions and definitions of realities, regardless of the empirical basis of these truths and convictions. Educational policies cannot change such convictions (p. 318).

Another explanation of reform’s failure is attributed to low skills on the part of those responsible for reform implementation. The conventional perspective on education reforms, according to McGinn (1999) is that it is possible to anticipate all major obstacles and to plan to overcome them. However, in reality it is impossible to



predict all the consequences. Education reforms, unlike economic reforms are more difficult to implement. The four major reasons identified by Paulston (1978) dealt with the nature of education – a central concern of many diverse groups, where it would be difficult to reach consensus, the complexity of educational outcomes – varied and polarised, the lack of political understanding for utilising teachers' technical knowledge, and the need for fundamental change in behaviour – the transformation of human beings.

Education reforms, above all, necessitate a fundamental shift in philosophy, values and goals. McGinn provides a useful 12-point checklist for successful reform as a “process of learning”:

- Understand who is interested in reform, and why.
- Make sure that the reform design fits regional and local cultures
- Monitor the process or reform constantly . . . (McGinn, 1999, pp. 19-20).

Most of these can be used in evaluating education reforms in the USSR/Russia between 1958 and 2000. The reason why they have failed in the USSR during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s can be attributed to the following factors:

- The absence of a sense of ownership by all stakeholders (reforms were always from the top-down, at the Ministerial level).
- Teachers and principals were not involved.
- Need to reflect regional and local cultures.
- Lack of adequate funding,
- Lack of necessary training.
- The absence of visible benefits to students, parents, employers and local communities.
- The absence of monitoring devices (need to monitor the process of education reform constantly – changing and adapting the teaching/learning process accordingly, learning how to learn to do better).

Current education reforms in the Russian Federation may well fail for the above-mentioned reasons.

### *6.5 The Limits and Possibilities of Curriculum Reforms*

In examining the effectiveness of any innovative pedagogy and curriculum reform for transforming student knowledge, values, and behaviour, one needs to be reminded of pragmatic critique of the teaching and learning process developed by many prominent educationists (e.g., Prosser & Trigwell, 1999, Purpel, 1999, Evans, 1998, Goodson, 1997, Stoll & Fink, 1997, Cuban, 1993, Popkewitz, Tabachnick, & Wehlage, 1982, and Postman and Weingartner, 1971). They all add new insights on the epistemological and interactionist dimensions of classroom pedagogy, which are relevant for our analysis of curriculum reforms in Russia during the 1990s. For instance, Postman and Weingartner (1971) remind us that it was John Dewey, who stressed the notion “we learn what we do”, as a result of the role a learner is assigned in the learning classroom (p. 29). It is not what you say that counts. It is what you have them do. “What students do in the classroom is what they learn (as

Dewey would say), and what they learn to do is the classroom's message" (as McLuhan argued). What is that students do in the classroom? Mostly, they sit and listen to the teacher, they are required to remember, and to guess what the teacher wants them to say, and supply the "Right Answer" (pp.30-1).

Popkewitz, Tabachnick, and Wehlage (1982), on the other hand, in *The Myth of Educational Reform*, focus their attention on how school life, or the underlying institutional structures of schooling—the way a school organizes subjects, and transmits knowledge and culture, which influence the outcomes of educational reforms. They identify the following three major elements and variables of school life, namely work, knowledge, and professionalism, which also affect the implementation of educational reform and/or the outcomes of innovative pedagogy (p. 11). These findings are particularly relevant today in the education-reform driven culture that Russia has become today. The unfinished educational experiment is an apt name to Russia's on-going educational transformation.

Schools are places of work where students and teachers interact to "alter and improve their world", establish social relations, and realize human purpose. If we, like Popkewitz, Dow, Ramsden and others, attribute a great deal of importance to the nature and quality of the classroom interaction, as a significant element in the learning/teaching paradigm then we should consider micro-sociological factors inside the Russian school. Secondly, schools as the factories of knowledge, distribute and maintain a number of epistemological and developmental assumptions concerning the nature of knowledge – ranging from the psychometric to cognitivist traditions. Implicit in these pedagogical discourses are ways of reasoning, questioning and talking about knowledge and culture, and, which, some Russian pedagogues begin to take note of.

These seemingly innovative reforms in Russia could also do more harm than good, especially, what I call the "reforms for the reform's sake". For instance, in *Learning to Teach in Higher Education*, Paul Ramsden (1992) argues that we continue to use methods for improving the quality of the teaching/learning process which we know are detrimental to student learning. These include "training in techniques of getting more information into students" memories and the absurd stick-and-carrot approach to motivating academic staff represented by performance appraisal and financial rewards for good teachers" (Ramsden, 1992, p. 269). Similar arguments were used by Per Dalin (1980) in his *Limits to Educational Reforms*. Ramsden concludes that in the process of renewal and improvement we, as learners, need to accept a conception of teaching and learning as an "imaginative, arduous, but pleasurable process" and that "there can be no excellent teaching or learning unless teachers and learners delight in what they are doing". This is hardly the case in Russian schools, currently in the midst of the transitional stage (*perekhodnoi* period), experiencing at the macro-sociological level a crisis of identity, economic hardship, and stress.

These underlying assumptions are rarely seriously examined or challenged in Russia. They have become a taken-for-granted part of schooling. Russian education policy-makers are looking for quick remedies to solve some of the dilemmas of transitional pedagogy in the climate of instability and rapid change. Thirdly, teachers as trained professionals, provide legitimacy to life in the classroom, in

terms of patterns of work and conceptions of knowledge. In practice, Russian teachers who had faced the unprecedented economic hardship and deprivation during the 1990s, exhibit symptoms of alienation, loss of faith, and stress.

Russia's unreserved acceptance of diversity and pluralism in education and politics is naïve, to say the least. Just as one could not construct and implement the transition from communist to private enterprise economy in a year (some Russian policy-makers believed it to be possible during the early 1990s), it is just as ludicrous to think that the entire educational system can be reformed and transformed by virtue of hastily issued educational manifestos and decrees. In these naïve attempts to reform schooling, one detects certain signs of the earlier Soviet approach to reforms – massive and fast.

Russia's current attempts to reform the education sector reveal hegemonic vacuum and the absence of informed transformative and empowering pedagogy that would be most relevant in theorising about school curricula. For instance, Cuban (1993) provides a new insight into just how “crude a tool curriculum change is for transforming student knowledge and behaviour” (Cuban, 1993, p. 182). He argues that because of our false assumptions about the nature of curriculum, and “flawed assumptions about the connection between schools and economic productivity and about the power of curricular change to transform teacher behaviour and student learning” we fail to grasp the multi-faceted curriculum continuum that emerges during the deconstruction and the meaning-making process, involving both teachers and students (p. 183).

According to Cuban there are four different types of the school curriculum:

- the official curriculum, or what state and local educational authorities define in curricular frameworks (what teachers are expected to teach and students are obliged to learn);
- the taught curriculum, or what is taught in the classroom (teachers in the same building teach different versions of the same course);
- the learned curriculum, or what the students actually learn (which ignores the informal learning or, in John Dewey's words “collateral learnings”, where students learn from other classmates, copy teachers' habits, seek help, locate sources and avoid teachers' intrusiveness);
- the tested curriculum, or what the students learn for the examination and all assessable tasks. What students learn “does not exactly match what is in the tested curriculum”.

It seems that these curricular dimensions, together with current dominant discourses in curriculum have not been seriously considered by policy-makers and educators alike in Russia, who still are preoccupied with developing the official curriculum, judging by their curricular documents and the latest attempt to define the new 12-year school curriculum (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 13 June, p. 10), which was introduced in 2002.

More importantly, the power of pedagogy itself is ignored by the Russian reformers who believe that curriculum content is more important than teaching and teachers. At the heart of schooling, we are reminded by Cuban, is “the personal relationship between teacher and students that develops over matters of content”,

and the way “these bonds permeate daily teaching” (p. 184). Thus pedagogy itself, the art and science of teaching, is crucial to what and how students learn. Accordingly, “How we teach becomes what we teach.” (p. 185).

Pedagogy and teachers’ personal qualities are largely ignored by educational policy-makers in Russia, who invariably focus their attention on the curriculum content – to make schools more productive, efficient and competitive in the global economy, to raise curricular standards, and to improve the quality of graduates. We need, according to Cuban, “to counter the harmful (and expensive, I would add) fantasy that reforming the official curriculum will change what students learn” (p. 185).

The nature of the curriculum and teachers’ interpretation of its goals, content, skills and outcomes have an impact on student learning. This is particularly applicable to Russia, as teachers and principals alike attempt to deconstruct numerous educational policy documents and curricula.

A major problem for curriculum reform in Russia, as perceived by educators, is the absence of a widely recognised and accepted effective examination system. One has to remember that Soviet education was known for six decades for its rigid and examination-dictated school curriculum. Standards for curriculum and assessment tied up to the basic curriculum (as defined by CSF—Curriculum Standards Framework, in Australia) would need to be implemented, to counter-act a growing diversity of school-based curriculum models. The need for such academic standards has been discussed at the national, state, and local levels in the USA, and elsewhere. In response to similar trends in the West, the Russian Ministry of Education has introduced its own “*Standart*” (minimal standards of competency) document, amidst the plethora of school-based curriculum models.

Russian new policy documents on education, and standards, despite their symbolic and political power, and the innovative platforms of selected schools and teachers, have yet to deliver the new vision of quality and excellence of schooling for the masses.

Other limitations of curriculum reforms include “teaching to the test”, and combining curriculum reforms with new assessment standards. Russian teachers, as teachers in other countries, still prepare their final year students for the ubiquitous final exams in the secondary school.

Appropriate teacher preparation and effective teacher in-service education are necessary ingredients of systemic reform. This is not reflected in teacher education in Russia.

Another problem is that the academic curriculum, with its rigorous exams will uncover new inequalities among students, emphasising individual, cognitive, social class (and cultural capital), racial, ethnic, and gender differences in academic achievement, particularly examination performance.

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 teacher education research. Perceptions of economic determinism, ethnic and racial domination and political systems (which are controlled by economies, hence the inherent stratification of the world into developing and developed nations) are the key factors in pedagogical discourse and

social change. Thus, in Russia, in particular, with its 89 regions and republics, attesting to its cultural diversity, there exists the need to politicize teacher education discourse, by incorporating not only culturalist and technicist, but also social, economic and political dimensions in teacher education in the new millenium.

## 7. CONCLUSION

Russian education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century has a significant role to play in the ongoing debate confronting learning and teaching in the global culture. Maxine Green (1998) argued for a greater role for imagination and metaphorical thinking in educational research and a “greater openness to the visions of human possibility”, which, with its appeal to the blurring of borders and the fragmentation of time and social identity, has a postmodernist nuance to it:

It is time to break through old dichotomies, time to acknowledge the “blurring of the disciplines” and the role of richly multiple “realities” (p. 35).

Whether the postmodernist “blurring of disciplines” and the role of multiple “realities” capture the attention of Russian educators is debatable. One thing is certain, the place of the imagination has to be re-invented in the new Russian curriculum.

More specifically, Russian educators, apart from engaging in re-positioning the taken-for-granted assumptions about the every day world, which affect every level of education and society, would need to continue addressing significant, yet unresolved educational dilemmas concerning growing inequality, exploitation and the reification of power, domination and control in the post-communist Russia.

Recent market-driven reforms in Russia, to give a freer choice of schools to parents and pupils, or diversity of supply in schooling are problematic. School choice and school markets in Russia, and elsewhere, have many imperfections, including the perception that a “good” education is related to “access to the best jobs”, that will confer social status, position, and privilege. As Hirsch (1995) observes, school choice can bring “harm to some people created by the action of others”, especially when the rules for choosing schools, and introducing greater autonomy at the school level “fail to produce desired results” (Hirsch, p. 255-6). The application of market principles to schooling, especially in private schools, and school choice in general, seems to reflect the new trend of concentration of cultural capital and educational privilege among the children of the privileged *Novye Russkie* (the New Russian bourgeoisie).

In seeking to adopt education policies in support of local communities and popular movements, a prominent American educator suggests the need to study privilege, (to which we can add power, status, and wealth) and “how it affects the struggle for a more participatory culturally pluralistic democratic society”, to which Russia is aspiring, in its attempts to rewrite the past and reinvent the future (Cunningham, 1996, p. 183). The need for critical reflection is particularly relevant if schooling in Russia is to increase people’s consciousness of their rights and develop their skills for full participation in a pluralistic democracy.

Given the lack of adequate funding in the climate of economic and political uncertainty, and growing social inequality, one cannot but feel very pessimistic regarding the success of educational reforms in Russia. Successful school reforms in any country need to reflect concrete and feasible objectives, including adequate levels of financing and the “substance of the policy should be based on research-proven cause-effect relationships (Psacharopoulos, 1989, p. 193). The economic and political conditions for adoption of quality-oriented reforms in education in Russia continue to remain unfavourable.

By accepting the Western model education, Russia is moving away from its previously espoused egalitarianism to a more conservative and traditional schooling that places a far greater emphasis on reproduction, stratification, and social hierarchy than on equality of educational opportunity. Education and social change in Russia may prompt some young people to question the new educational imperatives and the chosen path of the nation’s future.

Levin’s (1978) earlier warnings about the unintended consequences of liberal education reforms, namely that “frustrations and feelings of dissatisfaction with both the education system and the labour market will lead to increasing manifestation of class conflict and struggle” may well be applicable to post-communist Russia, characterised by a new class structure. Like all educational reforms, the current changing nature of schooling in Russia, needs to be evaluated within the dynamics of social inequality and the polarisation of social classes, in order to understand their meaning and social consequences that may go beyond the political and educational implications.

In adopting the Western model of education, Russian policy-makers have failed to understand the inherently contradictory nature of schooling in Western Europe and its teleological goals of the upward social mobility, based on elitism, privilege and exclusion. Education reforms in Western Europe served a dual function – to reproduce “wage labour for the system of monopoly capitalism” that dominate the Western European economies (by providing a more elite education for students from wealthier and more privileged class backgrounds than for those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and to provide “equality and mobility” for the majority of the population (Levin, 1978, p. 435).

As Levin argued, there was a basic incompatibility between the “reproduction needs” of Western European economies requiring highly unequal educational outcomes, and the egalitarian spirit of school reforms designed to promote greater equality (p.436). This argument has even greater validity for Russia attempting to reposition the educational system for the global economy, and ignore the growing gap between the rich and the poor in the society during transition.

Similarly, Ira Shor (1992), protesting the vocational trend in schooling, argued:

Education should not be preoccupied with training narrow job skills . . . Students need a general, critical education that teaches them to learn how to learn, to question, to do research, to work alone and in groups, and to act from reflective knowledge. Curriculum should not be driven by business need because business policy is not made democratically at the workplace or in society (p. 143).

Given the radical transformation in Russia, education is besieged by other problems and priorities. Archer's critique of bourgeois postmodernity could be applied to Russia's intellectual elite who appear to seek:

. . . a life of postmodernist self-enrichment amid Third World poverty where the next meal is no simulacrum and the next international deal is not just a local language game (Archer, 1998, p. 10).

These words are particularly relevant to education reform in Russia, torn between the tyranny of tradition and imperatives of modernity, and currently experiencing the influx of alienated and disposed young adults. For Russian educators who are struggling to find an ethical and social basis for their methodology, it could mean adopting the following four principles:

1. Scientific rationality has to be relinquished if the intent of the Enlightenment's emancipatory project in education in Russia is to be continued.
2. education needs to be viewed in Foucault's sense of a "discursive formation".
3. education needs to reflect ethical rather than economic focus.
4. education needs to respond to a postmodernist challenge and its critique of Grand Narratives.

Ultimately, education in Russia will need to develop a new synthesis of post-modernist (and post-ideological) and post-hegemonic paradigms in educational philosophy and practice. Such education becomes what Briton calls a "pedagogy of engagement", rather than a pedagogy of vocation and capital (Briton, 1996, p. 116).

Similarly, Evans (1998) in her "future-oriented" model of schooling advocates transformative, rather than reproductive education, which is achieved through a more holistic analysis of social dynamics. Evans believes that the only way to foster the formation of empowered and participatory communities is to ensure that they consist of individuals who have "independence of mind and who are morally free" (Evans, 1998, p. 135). Unless this is achieved in Russia, young adults, especially those who come from low income families, are likely to become victims of poverty, experiencing life as "permanent transients", and unable to participate as citizens in any meaningful way (p. 133).

Post-communist Russia's haste to reform and transform its education system after 1991 (1991-2001 period), in order to shake off the hegemonic dust of the Soviet education legacy, may have planted new seeds of discontent in educational institutions, and society, largely due to an obsolete system of school governance, impoverished and demoralized teachers, insufficient in-service teacher education, and hastily written, poorly researched and untested curricular models and teaching methodologies – all taking place in the climate of continuing economic hardship, a growing inequality, and falling public spending on education.

## 8. NOTE

[1] Corrales (1999) used this term to describe education policy entrepreneurs.

The official exchange, as at 28 June 2004, was one US dollar to 29 roubles (28.4 roubles in January 2001)

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ROBERT F. ARNOVE

GLOBALISATION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION  
POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA: CHALLENGES TO  
AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF TEACHERS AND HIGHER  
EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS \*

1. INTRODUCTION

The local public radio station in Bloomington, Indiana, carries a national and international business news program “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”; and
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 Jo Ann Wypjewski pointed 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 five 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.

## 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 (Held, 1991, p. 9). Various adjectives may be used to describe the different dimensions of this process. Certainly economic and cultural globalisation are foremost among the descriptors used for the processes by which societies are increasingly linked in real and virtual time.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 programs 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.

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 term derives 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 rebound 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.<sup>3</sup>

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 has 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 is complemented by neoconservative policies that dictate curricula and textbooks. As such, current curricular policies are not responsive to local variations in socio-cultural 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 (Arnové, 1997). At a recent conference (held in Bellagio, Italy) on multicultural, democratic citizenship education for the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 judgment, 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 19<sup>th</sup> century (Carnoy, 1990, p. x). Latin America is characterised by an unusual enrollment 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. According to the 2001 UNESCO Annual Statistical Report, one in four students in Latin America repeated either first or second grade, and one half of all those who entered first grade did not complete a primary education of six years<sup>4</sup>.

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 past 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 programs 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 Shiefelbein and Schiefelbein (2000) with regard to the Chilean case, even when scores are raised for the beneficiaries of compensatory programs, 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.

#### 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, early childhood programs with supplementary nutrition and health care services; more adequate school infrastructure so that poor, rural, and indigenous children have the same amenities (schools 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 socio-economic 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-centered, more active pedagogies that involve collaborative work as well as personalised attention to each child; significantly improved pre-service and in-service teacher education and professional development programs 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 programs 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 ten-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 U.S. and European social and cultural reproduction theory, overrides the forces that would stratify students by social class, ethnicity, and gender (Levinson, 2001).

Cohen and associates' (2000) research on "equitable classrooms" underscores the importance of multidimensional and complex instruction that demand high levels of performance of all students, and encourages the development and evaluation of multiple abilities (Gardner, 1999). 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 programs, Stromquist's study of the MOVA (*Movimiento de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos*) in São Paulo, Brazil, between 1989-1993, points out that even in the best intentioned programs aimed at empowering dispossessed populations, education reforms need to take into account the particularities of individual lives, and the historical and socio-cultural context in which literacy skills are practiced. As with school-based programs 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 programs that are matched to particular contexts and that involve the collaboration of top level policy-makers and grassroots stakeholders. To return to the 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 run 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 & Ahuja Sánchez, 1997, p. 366).<sup>5</sup> 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 programs.

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, 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 recent twenty-eight 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, as well as 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 score high on declared intention to vote, data on actual voting behaviour of Colombian citizens



indicates that the voter turn out at approximately 45 percent is well below other countries, with the exceptions of Switzerland at 43 percent and the United States at 36 percent. The United States 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 Turney-Purta (1975, 1999), in no country did students consistently score high 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.

## 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. 453-55). What has been called the "Lilliput Strategy," by which hundreds of small Lilliputians in the 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 antiviral 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, 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 policy makers 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).

Thus, 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.

## 7. CONCLUSION

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. As I indicated in my Presidential Address to the North American Comparative and International Education Society meeting in Washington, D.C., in March of 2001, those working in the field of education 'should be grateful for such a challenge because there is so much we as educators can contribute' (Arnové, 2001, p. 593).

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## 9. NOTES

\* This chapter is based on a presentation made to the *Seminario Internacional sobre Prospectiva y Políticas Educativas* [International Seminar on Educational Prospects and Policies], organized by the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Bogotá, Colombia, August 20-21, 2003. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Stephen Franz and Toby Strout in preparing this chapter.

1. For further discussion, see Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. New York: Routledge; King, A. D. (Ed.) (1997). *Culture, Globalization and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; and Vayruyan, R. (1997). *Global Transformation: Economics, Politics, and Culture*. Helsinki: Finnish National Fund for Research and Development, and Sitra (2000) How globalization affects education systems is explored. *Comparative Education Review* 46(1).

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., also Dowbar, L., Ianni, O., and Resende, P.E. (1998). *Desaios da Globalização*. Petropolis, Brazil: Editora Vozes.

3. 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.

4. I am indebted to Ana Patricia Elvir, a doctoral student in education at Harvard University, for these particular statistics. Her doctoral qualifying examination is an illuminating review of the literature on the importance of quality teachers to a more equitable and excellent education systems.

5. On Colombia, see Sarmiento Gómez, A., Equity and Education in Colombia. In Reimers, F. (Ed.), *Unequal Schools, Unequal Chances: The Challenges to Equal Opportunity in the Americas* ( pp202-247). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

VAL D. RUST

## EDUCATIONAL REFORM: WHO ARE THE RADICALS?

### 1. POLITICAL GLOBALISATION

Global relations imply that economic, political and cultural activities have disengaged themselves from territorial authority and jurisdictions and have begun to transcend the nation state and function according to their own imperatives and interests (Hobsbawm, 1994; Giddens, 1995; Robertson 1992). Interpreters of globalisation have shown the greatest interest toward economic developments, but globalisation goes far beyond economic processes and includes political and cultural processes. The focus of this chapter shall be on some globalising developments within the political sphere. 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, p. 97). 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, pp. 207-9). Such a scenario seems reasonable, but actual political developments are not so clear.

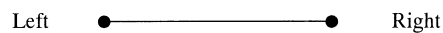
While state autonomy is apparently in decline, as yet no global political unit is in place that regulates and coordinates cultural and economic globalism. However, a more subtle kind of political globalisation is taking place. Certain interpreters, claim that an incipient common, global political culture has emerged; this political culture takes different forms, depending on the orientation of the interpreter. For example, Francis Fukayama (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 policy, reinforce his view and norms are becoming globally more and more uniform. The goal of every country is to have all children attend school for a certain period of time. The structural ideal of schools is to be vertically age-graded and divided into primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary levels. Teachers increasingly possess post-secondary teaching credentials. Essentially the same curriculum is taught in every environment. Children are trained to contribute to the global economy (see, for example, Meyer & Hannan, 1979).

In this chapter I would like to raise the question of what it means today to be politically radical with regard to educational change. Anthony Giddens (1994, p.1) reminds us that the idea of political radicalism has long been bound up primarily with socialist thought. And to be radical has usually been associated with a view that history promises innovative possibilities, that humankind can and will break away from its constraining past. Of course, some radicals have been revolutionaries, who have believed that only through revolution could a necessary sharp separation from the past be realized. Yet Giddens claims, and I concur, that the notion of revolution has never been the defining feature of political radicalism; rather it has consisted mainly of the idea of progress. History is there to be seized, to be moulded, to be developed and organised in such a way that the human condition is made better.

Because I specialised in the European sphere, much of my frame of reference must be seen from that vantage point, though some of my references will pertain to the United States and other parts of the world, which have been engaged in recent educational reform activities. However, since Louis Hartz (1955) it has been difficult to think of the United States as anything other than having a “liberal” tradition, though recent advocates of the so-called “silent majority” and the “new right” have successfully challenged such a label.

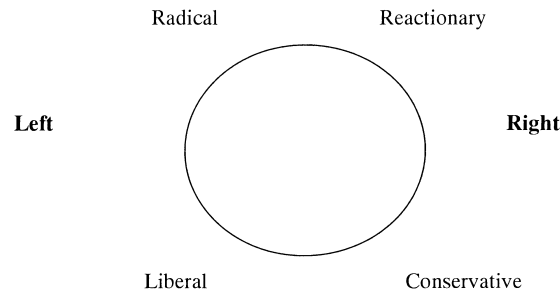
It might be useful to begin by reminding ourselves of the many political “isms” that are a part of our discourse. They might easily be compressed to five, three, or even two categories, particularly the left and right. And they might just as easily be expanded into a dozen categories. Clinton Rossiter (1982) has made a distinct contribution to an understanding of the implied continuum, whatever its number of categories, in that he does not see the political spectrum proceeding along a straight line (right to left) but around the rim of a circle, so that the first and last categories are closest of neighbours.

The conventional view of the political left and right is as follows:



**Figure 1.** The conventional view of the two-party system

Rossiter’s view is of a circle, and the line of division between any two of the categories is in fact no line at all but an imperceptible gradation, and within each category there are any number of possible minor deviations. Graphically, it might be shown as follows:



**Figure 2**

Of course, one finds revolutionary radicalism and revolutionary reactionism at the extremes of the continuum, but the Western tradition has not experienced those political extremes as much as the more tempered radicalism and reactionism. Even those representing these more tempered versions are so dissatisfied with the existing order, that they are committed to a thoroughgoing change, and thus they are willing to initiate deep-cutting reforms. The main difference in the two is that radicalism looks toward new historical designs, while the reactionaries maintain a certain reverie for the past. They believe those in the past were somehow better off than we are at present and if we continue into the future as we have been going our condition will only get worse. The solution for the reactionary is to roll back the social process, to restore certain virtues that defined society and mankind. It ought to be clear from the above scheme, that liberals and conservatives are closer neighbours with each other than they are with the so-called extreme left and right.

## 2. THE BASIC THESIS

Some fascinating and even surprising global developments have occurred in recent years that call for some elaboration. Conservatism, or at least the new right, in many of its influential guises in Europe, and to some extent elsewhere in the world, has come to embrace what it has traditionally repudiated. Although it may sound like a contradiction of terms, many conservatives are now active radicals with respect to tradition. Conservatism has become radical and it has forced socialism to become conservative.

I shall illustrate this development by describing the orientation of the former Soviet Union and the European welfare state. Following that discussion, I shall consider two educational issues: the public vs. private school debate, and the comprehensive school movement.

### 3. THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union long claimed that it epitomised revolutionary radicalism. Its leaders proclaimed they had broken from the tradition of social-class relations and were moving toward a state of equality, community, peace, and brotherly love. The revolutionary process systematically attempted to destroy almost all conventional institutions and historical traditions and reconstructed all aspects of life (Sinyavsky, 1990). Comparative education provides a good example of the extent to which the Soviets and their satellites claimed they had broken with the past. A major debate ran in the 1950s and 60s regarding the role of comparative education. Many socialists said the only legitimate use of comparative education was within the socialist sphere, because the capitalist countries were at a different (lower) level of social development. Their capitalist educational systems were incommensurable with the socialist systems and, therefore, comparison was inappropriate and useless. Indeed, they believed the Soviet Union had achieved a radical break with the traditional, Western economic, political, and intellectual model.

By the late 1920s the Soviet Union was able to expand its industrial and manufacturing base, and shortly after World War II it could claim to have the second largest economy in the world. And the economy continued to grow until the end of the 1950s. At that time the world's manufacturing system began to shift away from heavy industry toward high-value-added, knowledge-intensive, and consumer-driven industries (Kennedy, 1993, p. 232-33). The state planners of the Soviet Union were unable to adjust to the new demands and the Soviet economy began to stagnate; by the early 1980s it had reached a crisis point. Even though attempts were made to maintain the status quo, throughout the region under the control of the Soviet Union, some changes did occur. Even before Mikhail Gorbachev gained the international spotlight, certain Central and Eastern European countries had already begun charting a course that veered from the Soviet model. Such divergence became gradually public. In contrast to the Soviet Union, there was a limited private sector in the economy of Hungary, Poland, as well as the GDR, at least in the craft and service sectors. Also cultural life never reflected a total *Sovietisation*. National and regional consciousnesses were always realities and the everyday life of people in many respects remained consistent with their traditions. These activities took place, however, with a keen awareness that the Soviet Union remained the dominant regional power, and it was possible that the Soviet Union would assert itself at any time, so these reforms were always tempered by the *Realpolitik* that pervaded Central and Eastern Europe. It is for this reason that Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) are now seen to have been so significant in terms of the events of the past decade. During the early period of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Soviet Union chose to retain its commitment to the ideology it had supported for the past 70 years, and its leaders spoke of a renewed socialism, rather than of a fundamental shift in orientation. As the movement for reform gained momentum, the political leaders of socialism and communism found themselves to be on the defensive, and as the region marched toward its ultimate collapse, the leaders became symbols of conservatism. They were increasingly seen as defenders of a form of authoritarian dogmatism, deriving from a revolution



betrayed, and when the collapse began, these conservative forces were swept away in quick and rapid succession. Since that time, those associated with leadership in the former Soviet Union continue to symbolise the conservative forces on the political spectrum. The pejorative label knows them as “Conservatives”.

#### 4. THE WELFARE STATE

We understand the welfare state to denote governments that play a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. In the European context, the welfare state traces its roots back to the nineteenth century and the rise of labour movements in the various national settings. In Germany, for example, Otto von Bismarck inaugurated the world's first general pension, health, and disability insurance systems in the 1880s, as a means of accommodation, while trying to contain the movement for social welfare by banning the Social Democratic Party in the country. Thus, as early as the 1880s, the Germans made reference to the state in connection with welfare measures. The Scandinavian countries probably have the best-developed welfare states, and it is no accident that these countries also have a history of the strongest labour movements in Europe. The term “welfare state” in the English language was first used during World War II, but many English policy makers had long been engaged in attempts to engage the government in activities conducive to the welfare of the people, including the English Poor Law of 1834 (Einhorn & Logue, 1989; Wilensky, 1976).

It was only after World War II that the notion of the “welfare state” came into common usage and by 1960 it had reached its peak currency. Almost all economically “advanced countries” became committed to some form of public responsibility for the well-being of the people through welfare legislation. Even when labour governments were voted out of office, the new regimes made no attempt to dismantle existing provisions, and the welfare state became linked to the idea of ever increasing prosperity.

In the late 1960s certain basic notions of the welfare state began to be called into question. In Scandinavia, for example, conservatives claimed welfare measures undermined social morality and limited individual freedoms. In Great Britain, conservatives added to this list the claim that it undercut efficiency and productivity in the free market system (Einhorn & Logue, 1989, p. 265). In the United States, conservatives claimed government programs such as the “war on poverty” contradicted institutions considered to be central to any healthy society, including the family, the church, and the workplace (Trattner, 1984). While most of these criticisms came from the right, the left also began to call certain facets of the welfare state into question, particularly the notion that welfare programs treated symptoms and not causes (Einhorn & Logue, 1989, pp. 172-76).

By the end of the 1970s, attacks against the basic assumptions of the welfare state had been so successful, that the concept fell into disrepute, and in the past twenty years the notion that the government plays the role of patriarch in the national family has been largely discredited. According to Giddens (1994), the welfare state project has foundered in part because it came to embody the failed

aspirations of socialism. For example, one of the basic premises of socialism has been that the national wealth and resources would be more equitably distributed (Marshall, 1965). This never happened, and in fact, the middle class and even the upper classes have been the beneficiaries of welfare as much as and in many cases even more than the poorer classes, because “the welfare state actually became in some part a vehicle helping to promote the interests of an expanding middle class (Giddens, 1994, p. 149).

But the important issue in our discussion is that advocates of the welfare state have become the political conservatives. Socialists are now the defenders of the *status quo*, they have lost their role as creators of a new history, of being progressive, of moulding and organising the world in such a way that the human condition is thereby improved. Their lot has been reduced to the modest task of preserving the accomplishments of the welfare state. Of course, this is a noble and important task, but within the context of this chapter, the socialists are no longer the radicals of society, but the conservatives of society attempting to preserve the significant and valuable achievements of the welfare state.

I would like to devote the remainder of this chapter to two educational issues that illustrate and elaborate the point I have been making. I shall deal with public and private education and with the movement toward comprehensive schooling.

## 5. PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE EDUCATION

We recall that prior to the modern age in Europe, education was mainly an institution of the church. It was only with the rise of the modern nation states that education came under their control. Without exception nation states turned to formal schools in order to achieve their purposes. Schools intended to produce leaders and clerics have existed almost from the beginning of recorded history in the West. Other institutions, which provided some limited cultural or professional training, have also existed from time to time, but institutions whose sole mission was systematically to mould the lives of all the young of a culture are recent indeed. On the one hand, the nation state took on many educational tasks, which other institutions in traditional societies had carried. Wilhelm Flitner, for example, identifies four main historical roots in the German *Volksschule*. They are: (1) basic skills in reading, writing, and computation; (2) catechetical instruction, or religious and moral indoctrination; (3) enlightened learning in the vernacular; and (4) a patriotic and loyal identity with the *Volk* or nation state (Flitner, 1941). The primary schools in other Western lands reflect a similar heritage. On the other hand, the nation state turned to the elite secondary schools, such as the Great Public School of Great Britain, the *Lycée* of France, and the *Gymnasium* of the German states to prepare the future leaders for higher education studies and statesmanship. And the state would play a substantial role in this educational process. This was considered to be a radical move at the time, and those defending tradition fought against such an activist role on the part of the state.

In Germany, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1818), for example, opposed the adoption of state schools. He maintained that mass schooling could not impart

genuine education, which could only be realised within the setting of the family and household. He maintained that schooling was little more than a second-class substitute for genuine education, and that it cannot be an all-encompassing educational institution, especially for individuals. Whereas true education concentrates on the unique personality, the establishment of moral development, and inner freedom, the school will even cripple the individual. Schooling “cannot be produced like goods in a factory” (In Rust, 1977, p. 146). His model was taken from the so-called *Hauslehrer* (home teacher) tradition in Germany and consisted of individual tutoring.

Of course, private schooling was also schooling. Today a good deal of variation has come to exist in terms of the number of young people engaged in schooling in the private sector. In the Netherlands almost 71 percent of young people attend schools sponsored by non-government groups, but the European norm is less than 20 percent<sup>1</sup>. From the time of the Reformation through the early stages of the modern era, the church controlled education, and a significant element of every country’s educational history is the story of the struggle of the political leaders to overcome that church monopoly by instituting either a public monopoly or some form of public regulation of all schooling.

Eastern Europe was the most extreme in its attempts to break down private interests in education. In fact, the only countries in Europe, which eliminated all private schooling, were in Eastern Europe. All communist countries followed the lead of the Soviet Union where one of the first decrees after the revolution was to remove the schools from the control of the church and place them under the control of regional and local councils (*Soviety* or the Soviets) (Bereday, Brickman & Read, 1960, p. 51). In East Germany, for example, in the first school law to be issued during the Soviet occupation period, private schools were abolished. The communist forces held that private schools were seedbeds of privilege and represented a denial of democratic principles (Hearnden, 1974, p. 59). Not only were the churches eliminated from the schooling picture, but radical leaders of socialism claimed all private initiative in schooling was looked upon as a vestige of capitalistic free enterprise which must be prohibited in favour of a single, unified, state-run system of schooling.

No Western European country has eliminated private schools, although Norway and Sweden might be described as having thoroughgoing public school monopolies, because all private schools are tightly controlled by the state and a very small percentage (1-2 percent) of the population attends schools under private sponsorship. These countries have allowed private schools to exist, but only if they have the same general purposes as public schools and actually help the public sector to satisfy its aims. In this respect, private schools have not been considered to be genuine alternatives even though they are supported in large measure by the state, because they actually provide some stimulus to the public sector in terms of reform endeavours. Until recently, the private schools have been bound to follow school law as vigorously as the public schools and in Norway, secondary schools have only been allowed to exist as a part of general county school plans.

That is now rapidly changing. In the former Soviet Union and in Central Europe one of the main reform agendas has been to allow private institutions to come into

being. Privatisation has become attractive in all of Central Europe and in the former Soviet Union (Rust, Knost & Wichmann, 1995). The most popular alternatives are those which stem from the so-called progressive-education era, including the Montessori schools, Freinet schools, Waldorf schools, Dalton-Plan schools, etc., which have a decided orientation toward humanistic education. However, other alternatives are on the horizon, including traditionally conservative institutions such as Islamic-orientation religious schools, national-oriented schools, and community schools.

One of the dominant themes of institutions, particularly in higher education, are those, which promise to prepare young people to deal successfully with the West and free enterprise. I have been working for many years with Khazar University, in Baku, Azerbaijan, which has attempted to align itself with American higher education. The language of instruction at Khazar University is English, and the most popular subjects are those of business, English, and management. Throughout Europe, the major thrust of schooling has been to provide greater parental choice, and the most radical orientation has been to create certain variations of voucher systems, which allow parents, at public expense, to choose whatever school they wish.

The contemporary reform movement has clear new-right roots and is economically 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, 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.

This notion means, however, that the leaders of the movement today must destroy certain norms that are central to the conservative tradition. In Europe, for example, the private school tradition emphasised a humanistic, even classical, tradition, and refused to cater to the industrial imperatives of modern society (Rust, 1991). Now the mission of the school is becoming free-market driven and aligning itself with economic imperatives in ways that were previously unacceptable to the old conservative class. The opposition to the new movement includes the teachers unions, the liberal and labour parties, and other groups that have until recently been identified for their sympathies with the left. They are now the conservatives in school reform as they attempt to curb the efforts of the radical right.

In the United States, the cherished idea of the neighbourhood school is now giving way to the opportunity to choose between schools. The new radicals, including not only the Christian Coalition and Catholic Bishops, but the Republican Party National Committee, claim 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, and the neighbourhood school is about to

die. There are three levels of activity regarding parental choice. At the first level, parents are given the opportunity to decide which school within a school district their children will attend. For example, I live in a school district that has 18 primary schools, each of which is quite distinct. Two are very traditional schools that stress the basics, two are year-round schools, some might be defined as high tech schools, with cable television, extensive computer use, etc., and some stress the arts. The parents in my district are allowed to determine where their children will attend. At the second level of activity, parents may actually place their child in a school outside the school district boundary, if they can demonstrate that a particular school is important for the child's talents and interests. At the third level of activity, parents are working to obtain the right to enrol their children in private schools using public funds to pay most of the tuition costs. This is a radical departure from our historical tradition. Even in America, which has a strong tradition of separation of church and state, because almost all of our private schools are religiously sponsored, they have never been allowed to use public funds. However, recent studies have demonstrated that children who attend private schools usually perform better than those who attend public schools, so leaders of the present movement wish to make private schooling available, without great cost to parents. Such a movement, supported by the new right, has never been a part of the schooling tradition of America, and it signals a radical departure from the American tradition of separation of church and state.

Of course, the most extreme course of action parents are choosing is home schooling. This has not caught on in Europe, but it is gaining great attention in the United States. We now have professors of home schooling in certain universities and departments of education of America, and it does not seem that the trend will diminish in the near future.

The opposition to these radical proposals in America includes both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Association (NEA). Sandra Feldman, President of the AFT, in reference to vouchers, explains: "Vouchers do not mean reform – no matter what name you give them. What they do mean is a radical abandonment of the public schools and public education" (In Suarez, 1998). President William Clinton agreed that any endeavour to diminish the importance of public education had to be stopped. His Secretary of Education, Richard W. Riley stated, "Vouchers are a pessimist's response to the problems facing some of our public schools." He felt that the way to overcome these problems was to promote parental involvement in the public schools and their classrooms rather than abandoning them for the private sector (*Policy News*, 1997). It is clear that the unions and Democrats are the current conservatives in American school reform.

## 6. COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLING

From the beginning of state-supported schooling in Europe, schools were intended to address the needs and interests of a special social class. At the most basic level, schooling was divided along a dualistic frame, where the elites attended

one type of school and the masses attended another type of school. This social-class consciousness was heavily loaded with modern industrial imperatives. Even the traditional lower-class schools of pre-modern Europe were not as consciously social-class oriented as the schools of modernity. Aries (1962, p. 306) has demonstrated that even the French "charity schools did not give rise to education reserved for the lower classes." Rather, from their earliest origins, "they attracted a well-to-do clientele of craftsmen, merchants, and burgesses, and were often competitive with the grammar schools in their ability to attract pupils." It would also be inappropriate to connect the small circulating schools of rural Europe with lower class schooling. The hosts of these schools were always the holders of large farming estates, who sent their children, together with the children of tenant farmers to learn to read and become somewhat civilised.

We must connect the segmented school system of early modernity with an intentional social-class bias. With the rise of the labour movement, the major cultural symbol of educational reform in Western Europe has inevitably been some form of comprehensive school structure that would provide a common schooling experience. Following the Russian revolution and the beginnings of the Soviet regime, a single comprehensive school became a political priority, which served as the model for all of Central and Eastern Europe. In East Germany, for example, the ten-year polytechnical school became the centrepiece of the entire educational system. It advocated, to the extent possible, grouping pupils together from all social and economic levels and providing them with a general polytechnical education. That is, its intent was to prepare young people to work productively in the socialist state and to tie theoretical and academic schooling together with practical and vocational schooling.

The process of educational reform in Western Europe was much more difficult to achieve; however, Norway and Sweden adopted a common primary school even prior to the turn of this century. France made such a decision in the 1930s, and just prior to the end of World War II Great Britain joined most Western European countries by adopting a policy of common primary schooling.

After World War II the focus of liberal reform in Western Europe shifted to the secondary level, and reform also became tightly linked to research. That is, educational research was put into the service of reform. Sweden led the way when it adopted a plan for a universal basic common nine year school as early as 1949 (Boucher, 1982), and the research community worked to develop an appropriate institutional structure. Sweden was followed by other countries such as Italy, Norway, and France, and other Western European countries have engaged in comprehensive school reforms with varying degrees of success. The German speaking countries remained very reluctant, however, to move away from the dualistic tradition.

In some countries the liberal reform agenda continues to take priority, but the growing reform agenda deviates radically from the reform trends that have been the agenda of reformists for the past century and a half. The principle 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 toward 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 programs (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 *Gimnazii* (grades 5-11/12), *Litsei* (grades 8-11/12), experimental schools focusing on modified instructional approaches, free-time programs, 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 pre-revolutionary (ie prior to 1917) *Gymnasium* which attempts to identify this type of schooling with the general cultural and national heritage of the Russian people (Kondratjeva, 1994, p. 80).

Dramatic structural change is also occurring in Western Europe. Led by the model of the new states of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Germans have begun to reject the three-pronged (academic, technical, and general) school structure in favour of a dual structure. Because the *Hauptschule* is becoming a dumping ground for children in the West it is seen to have little viability. In fact, in 1996 the old German state of Saarland, took steps to abolish the *Hauptschule* altogether.

Recent developments have thrown the old socialists into the role of conservative. For example, with the fall of the Soviet Union, many socialists have come to concentrate their energies on protecting the welfare state in the face of the strains to which it has become subject. Some socialists, it is true, continue to say that authentic socialism has never been tried, arguing that the disappearance of communism is a windfall rather than a disaster. However, this thesis is threadbare, and although the educational adjustments taking place throughout the region are significant, 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 seven decades. In addition, there is uniformity even in the language of reform. It is clear that a good deal of sharing has occurred in the various countries of the former Soviet block, as they have attempted to work out their individual education reform agendas. The major obstacles to these endeavours come from those who continue to defend the old Soviet principles, although even they are giving up the rhetoric of communism in favour of a more tempered socialism.

Throughout Europe, the major victim in this political shift has been the comprehensive school, which has come to symbolise the ills of contemporary schooling, including the perceived decline in educational standards, the breakdown of discipline among youth, and the subversive ideologies which reformers claim have crept into the schools. In fact, scholars such as Achim Leschinsky and Karl Ulrich Mayer (1990) contend that the comprehensive school has not contributed to greater social equality in countries such as France, Great Britain, and Sweden. To this point, no clear alternative to the comprehensive school has been crafted but the reform thrust of this past century is clearly being called into question, and the radicals of the past education reforms have been put on the defensive as the new radicals form their own agenda.

While the old radicals of the left are cast in a defensive and conservative role regarding comprehensive schooling, it is crucial to point out that they do have outlets toward which they turn their energies in a positive way: to the new social movements, such as those concerned with feminism, ecology, peace, or human rights. But even Anthony Giddens (1994) recognised that the new social movements cannot readily be claimed for socialism. Of course, some movements stand close to socialist ideals, but they do not constitute a united front, and in fact their objectives often oppose one another. They usually reflect narrow, focused interests and their leaders rarely are able to work with leaders of other narrow, focused interests. Even feminists are not able to unite themselves into a united front, because they tend to represent radical, liberal, socialist, and other orientations (Stromquist, 1990). The “radical” groups on the left are radical in ways quite different from socialists of the more general variety.

## 7. CONCLUSION

One could conclude that the global relations of the world of the late twentieth century have turned themselves upside down. The radicals of the past are now attempting to defend their past achievements, while the radicals of the present promise to give a new and different kind of direction to history by getting rid of the welfare state and many of the traditions that characterised modern states. They are the ones who think they can take control of their own destiny and the destiny of the world. I am not convinced their mission will be successful. I certainly doubt if it ought to succeed, but I recognised the energy behind their endeavours and the curious mix of old and new in what they are attempting to achieve.

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<sup>i</sup> Some difficulty comes with using the term “private” as a label for non-government schools. To the Danes, “private” implies profit, and only non-profit bodies are now allowed to establish non-government schools. Belgians use the term “free school” to designate institutions that provide a religiously-based educational program. It is also important to keep in mind that “public school”, as Americans use the term, is inappropriate in many contexts. In Great Britain, a public school is actually an independent school which holds a special status in society. The terms “public” and “private” in this essay shall be used to refer to institutions which are sponsored by government and non-government bodies respectively.

DANIEL SCHUGURENSKY AND ADAM DAVIDSON-HARDEN

## THE GATS AND TRADE IN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES: ISSUES FOR CANADA IN THE PAN-AMERICAN CONTEXT

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A decade ago, in one of the first publications on free trade and Canadian education, Calvert and Kuehn warned that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) conceived education, as well as other social institutions, as service commodities that should be opened up to the competitive pressures of the marketplace. They also noted that the assumption that educational services could (and should) be treated as economic commodities constituted a fundamental break with Canadian traditions and presented a clear danger to our most cherished educational programs (Calvert & Kuehn, 1993). The following year, Maude Barlow and Heather-Jane Robertson published 'Class Warfare: The assault on Canada's schools'. In the section on free trade and education, they argued that free trade deals like NAFTA had been sold to the Canadian people as mere processes to liberalise trade and establish mechanisms to solve cross-border disputes. In reality, they said, "these trade deals establish a whole new framework of social and economic policy for the Americas and create an alternative non-elected continental governing structure" (Barlow & Robertson, 1994, p. 97).

Fast forward to our current realities of trade agreements, and those voices were indeed premonitory. During the last ten years, it has become increasingly clear that these agreements are not just about arbitrating cross-border disputes, but about creating a new international policy framework that, among other things, pushes educational services to the marketplace. Moreover, it has also become clear that this is not just an agenda for North America or even for the American continent: it is a project of planetary scope. Indeed, in the same year that Barlow and Robertson were publishing 'Class Warfare', a powerful international institution (the World Trade Organization, or WTO) was born. The WTO was created in 1994 to develop an integrated, viable and durable multilateral trading system encompassing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, previous trade liberalisation efforts, and the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiation. Two main goals behind the creation of the WTO were the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to

trade, and the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international trade relations. Within the context of the WTO, of particular importance for education is the General Agreement on Trade and Services, or GATS.

In this chapter, we argue that the GATS represents a significant present and potential threat to public education systems, and even to a public education system as strong and entrenched as the Canadian one. These trade agreements should be understood in the context of the implementation of neoliberal policies for over a decade. While impacting severely on less economically developed parts of the hemisphere (that is, Latin America and the Caribbean) these policies have also negatively impacted Canada's developed welfare state. Neoliberal policies combine aggregate social funding cutbacks with what may be described as a 'creeping privatisation' in many services sectors, notably health and education. This combination suggests a disturbing trend in terms of the goal of public education in engendering equity in Canadian and other societies of the hemisphere.

The neoliberal policy toward trade liberalisation and social funding cutbacks continues to affect social systems and equity across the world, albeit unequally, as is reflected in the asymmetries in development and relations between countries in this context along 'north and south' lines. Seen in wide perspective, we believe that the GATS, furthering the hegemony of the 'Washington consensus', has the potential to entrench supra-nationally marketising and privatising trends in educational reform in Canada and across the hemisphere, resulting in the danger of furthering social polarisation and inequity.

Overall, we argue that the GATS poses a tangible risk to public education systems at all levels both in Canada and in other countries. In the remainder of the chapter we attempt to show that, as it stands now, the GATS has the capacity to impinge upon states' ability to adequately fund public social programs of all kinds. This could occur if it could be determined that some element of public educational services was being delivered on a 'commercial basis' – or in 'competition' with 'one or more service providers' – as per the governmental authority exception. Under national treatment rules, vouchers as stipends directed toward families or schools could be considered unfair competition by private educational providers not included in the system. In short, any financial incentive, fee-paying scheme or tax incentive included in public educational systems in any country could be vulnerable to GATS rules. Using GATS rules, private educational providers could essentially argue for equal amounts of preference and incentive afforded to any such corresponding element of public educational systems. The result for public education would then be a serious bleeding of funds away from more universal forms of public education toward multi-tiered systems more based on the ability to pay.

In the first part of this chapter, we describe the context and the features of GATS, and examine some of the principal concerns around it, particularly in relation to education. In the second part, we discuss potential developments, with a focus on the Canadian context. There are several relevant factors which are necessary to consider in analyzing how the GATS may impact on Canadian education. These range from an appreciation of the region's history in terms of political economy and geopolitical relationships with richer nations both within the hemisphere and

without, to key organisational and corporate actors particular to the region. The discussion starts with a look at the context of the GATS and its origins as well as relationship to other multilateral agencies and regime. Following this, we look at what we feel are the most critically relevant sections of the GATS and the controversies around these, and explore some of the major features of the implications of the GATS for Canada in a broad sense. Our conclusion consists of an outline of what we feel are the critical questions and alternatives regarding the GATS and education in Canada in the Pan-American context.

## 2. THE CONTEXT OF GATS: ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION, NEOLIBERAL POLICIES AND THE NEW CONSTITUTIONALISM

The General Agreement on Trade and Services cannot be isolated from the broader context of economic globalisation, from neoliberal policies aimed at structural adjustment and privatisation, and from what is referred to as the new constitutionalism. This term indicates the transformation of international structures that provide the conditions for capital accumulation, the growing influence of these international structures that increasingly override national constitutions, and what Chomsky calls a virtual parliament of global capital.

These transformations did not occur overnight. Indeed, it is possible to conceptualise an historical account for these dynamics and shifts. During the last three decades, and particularly since the Reagan-Thatcher era, there has been a departure from post-war Keynesian economics and a shift from welfare provisions to a market approach that assumes that private enterprise is the best exact recipe for economic and social development. During this period, the traditional organisations of the United Nations began to decline in international influence and power, while the United States, NATO, the G7 and multinational corporations increased their power.

The drive toward neoliberal policies such as privatisation, marketisation and budgetary cuts has taken place since the early 70s in a time of declining profits and the fading of the great postwar boom and period of 'tripartism' reflecting collusion between government, business and labour (George, 1999; Teeple, 2000). With conventional sources of profit in a slow and sometimes-marked decline, global capitalists have turned to the vast area known as the 'services' sector in order to argue and push for the 'liberalisation' of trade in what are currently often publicly-provided services of many kinds. These trends have seen the idea of a 'Keynesian national welfare state' under increasing attack and the idea of a 'neoliberal corporate state' come to the fore, where forms of government 'intervention' into economies are transformed away from social concerns toward encouraging the development of markets and private sector roles (Schugurensky, 1999; Dale, Robertson, & Bonal, 2002).

The relentless press for expanded and 'liberalised' trade is reflected in the continual development of trade agreements globally. In the Americas, this is

reflected in structures like the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the USA and Canada, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), regional trade agreements of South and Central America such as the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) and many others, as well as the currently-planned hemispheric Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which aims at 2005 for its official launching. Related to all of these regional trade instruments and agreements is the global framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO), whose constituent agreements represent the first truly global attempt at supra-national governance and precedence of trade concerns over any other, and indeed at the expense of any other. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), powerful and enhanced successor to both the original General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the failed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), is within the WTO the currently most potent instrument in the eyes of the most powerful global corporations. The GATS is intended to be used toward leveraging governments to allow the forces of privatisation and marketisation to take hold in sectors which are still either publicly funded or provided, yet which may hold the potential for profit.

Whatever the interpretations of the historical antecedents of our times in terms of trade, the current drive toward 'opening' services markets continues at apace, putting to shame any arguments that an era of neoliberal social policy has passed. Understood within a framework of ever-expanding and reaching global capitalism (popularly termed 'economic globalisation'), the efforts of powerful international players toward further 'economic integration' represent ongoing shifts of power from public to private, and state to market with respect to influence over trade issues.

Today, more than ever before, the impact of controversy over trade agreements in Canada and the entire Pan-American continent continues to reverberate, touched off by public outcry and protest over expanding rhetoric and reach of 'free trade'. The concerns were voiced in the streets of Seattle in 1999, in Québec City in 2001, and indeed across the globe and in greater numbers and complexity. Voices of protest towards globalisations have been joined by spaces to advance proposals, like the World Social Forum of Porto Alegre and New Dheli (an alternative to the World Economic Forum held annually in Davos) and its multiple smaller, local versions in all continents.

### 3. GLOBALISATION, THE WTO/GATS AND EDUCATION

Education was not immune to the changes in the world political economy that occurred during the last three decades. Although varying in the assessment of the nature and impact of the change, most critical education scholars tend to agree that globalisation dynamics have had significant intended and unintended consequences in the world of education, and that such impact –besides a few exceptions in some areas- has been largely negative. Although it is difficult to generalise, the overall argument is that in most countries the relatively democratic and progressive public education model associated with the welfare state has been being rapidly eroded by and replaced by a business model associated with the emerging neoliberal state.

In this regard, Stromquist and Monkman (2001) point out four ways in which globalisation is affecting formal schooling. First, efficiency and productivity criteria used by private companies are being extended to schools, sometimes inappropriately. Second, the emphasis has shifted from a child-centred curriculum to job-related outcomes and vocational training. Third, education is increasingly understood not as a public good or as a right but as another marketable commodity. Finally, teachers' autonomy and control over their work is being reduced by workplace bureaucracies and standardised procedures. In higher education a similar pattern is taking place, with a push towards entrepreneurialism, applied research and privatisation. At the same time, tenure is being challenged, and more multinational corporations are engaging themselves in R&D and instruction. With increasing market imperatives and state controls, the university pendulum is shifting from autonomy to heteronomy, in the sense that its institutional mission, agenda and operational principles are more contingent upon an external logic than self-determined by its actors (Schugurensky, 1999).

Likewise, Burbules and Torres (2001) identify several areas in which globalisation is negatively affecting public education. For instance, they argue that public schools are under intense pressure to regulate educational exchanges according to market mechanisms and managerial models imported from the business world. They also contend that the economic neoliberal model associated with corporate globalisation is leading nation-states to lose autonomy in determining long-term educational policy, focusing instead in applying drastic cutbacks and in promoting excessive privatisation in the public sector, undermining the quality of public schools. Moreover, they note that the model regards citizens as mere consumers who will only obtain the education they can afford, which has the potential to produce an overall decline in the civic commitment to public education itself. At the same time, Burbules and Torres note that in spite of those 'evils' globalisation is generating some benefits in the world of education, especially through the reform initiatives supported by UNESCO and other UN agencies. Among them are a higher respect for formal democratic procedures (particularly important in authoritarian regimes), international commitments towards universal literacy and universal access to education, the recognition of educational quality as a key element of equity, the promotion of peace education, civic education and environmental education, and the positive effects of interactive communication technologies in enabling better access, distribution and exchange of information.

However, as we enter into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, UNESCO's lofty goals are becoming mere rhetorical pieces of the past, and in the real world they are increasingly divorced from concrete educational policy and practice. Indeed, one of the most noticeable trends of the last decades was the increasing marginalization of UNESCO, whose influence was practically undisputed until the 1980s. At that point, its international clout began to be replaced by the World Bank, which managed to accumulate power and influence by concentrating under the same roof educational research, policy and funding. The irruption of the World Trade Organization in the 1990s added another blow to UNESCO's already weakened capacity to influence global educational reform.

At this point some readers may wonder the connection between the World Trade Organization and the field of education. Indeed, when the World Trade Organization began operating in the nineties, any connection between this institution, the several free trade agreements that were also emerging at that time, and the field of education was usually dismissed as paranoid and unrealistic. At that time, premonitory claims like the ones advanced by Calvert and Khuen or by Barlow and Robertson in the early nineties were seen by many as too catastrophic or conspiratorial. With the passing of the time, however, it is becoming clear that with the worldwide education industry valued at \$2 trillion annually (Guttman, 2000, p. 16), investors and 'edupreneurs' are anxious to seize the opportunities and potential avenues afforded to them by supra-national agreements such as the GATS, which are part and parcel of the WTO (Dale & Robertson, 2003).

Today, educational services are being actively sought by a variety of potential educational providers. These providers, and the ideological and juridical architecture behind them, identify education as a commodity, and learners as customers or clients, wherever in the world they happen to be. If borders and sovereign states are on the way, then new legislation will be needed to erode any barriers to access them. This process represents an intensified stage of the neoliberal agenda for education, as it plays out in the global arena in forms of regional and local policy and practice. While these dynamics are heterogeneous and contested at various levels across different nations, the push to entrench trade in educational services under the WTO/GATS represents a drive reflecting the agenda of real actors with real hopes and drives to profit from this growing 'industry'.

#### 4. GATS AND EDUCATION SERVICES: AN OVERVIEW

The GATS defines trade in educational services under different categories and modes. We will come to the issue of modes after having looked at some of the agreement's major articles. The categories under which the agreement defines trade in educational services are primary, secondary (these often referred to as 'basic'), tertiary, adult, and 'other', where the last leaves room for broad aspects of services related to education, including testing services. Sinclair and Grieshaber-Otto's (2002) analysis of the GATS outline key features of the negotiations in a response to two central documents released by the OECD Trade Directorate (2001) and WTO Secretariat (2001) which attempt to downplay negative criticism. Responding to these attempts at public relations, the authors portray with clarity the ambiguity of the wording and structure of the GATS which does, contrary to efforts to play down concerns, present significant challenges to government-provided and funded public services, an area which the 'education sector' fits into. In fact, since the GATS never specifically defines what it means as 'services', its language encompasses a wide variety of areas, from everyday processes such as burial and hygiene services to education and water or electricity distribution. (Sinclair & Grieshaber-Otto, 2002, p. iv). Several of the most controversial aspects of the GATS relate to the problematic faced by Latin American countries under its trade liberalisation agenda.

One principal ambiguity and danger of the GATS stems from the relation of its preamble – which emphasises governments’ ‘right to regulate’ – as well as a controversial article on ‘governmental authority’ (I.iii), and several other key articles, including those pertaining to ‘most-favoured-nation treatment’ (MFN) (Article II), ‘national treatment’ (NT) (Article XVII), ‘market access’ (MA) (Article XVI), ‘monopolies and exclusive service suppliers’ (Article VIII), and ‘domestic regulation’ (Article VI).

All of these articles have to do with the ‘free’ trade in services, that is, with the trend to attempt to ‘liberalise’ trade in services from restrictive forms of regulation which represent either ‘technical’ or ‘non-tariff’ barriers to trade. Articles II and XVII relate to how national governments treat business or ‘service providers’ within their borders – and the imperative to not discriminate between enterprises’ business activity based on their country of origin, whether through public subsidy or other types of fiscal concessions. Article XVI refers to specific and ‘progressive’ or broadly negotiated commitments on the part of countries to liberalise trade in services in specific sectors. Article VIII attempts to lay out a rule for preventing exclusive or monopoly service provision, and finally Article VI sets out broad limits and conditions on national governments’ legislative processes insofar as they may be ‘trade restrictive’ with respect to services. Finally, the article on ‘progressive liberalisation’ (Article XIX) provides a ‘built-in agenda’ or framework for ongoing negotiations which attempts to ensure that participating countries commit to “a progressively higher level of liberalisation” with each round (Sinclair & Grieshaber-Otto, 2002, p. 28). Under Article VI it is quite possible that any government ‘measures’ could be considered barriers to trade which are ‘more burdensome than necessary’ toward achieving a particular policy objective (Sinclair & Grieshaber-Otto, 2002, pp. 63-70), whether they ‘discriminate’ on the basis of MA, or NT, or MFN rules, or not. In other words, if a WTO dispute settlement tribunal were to decide that a country’s national, regional or local regulatory ‘measures’ were ‘more burdensome than necessary’, then under the GATS a complainant country could appeal to have the offending country’s laws removed or risk trade sanctions otherwise. This would include cases where ‘service providers’ which were nationals of a complainant country alleged discrimination by a host country contrary to GATS rules.

These key articles in turn relate to four defined ‘modes of supply’ in the services ‘trade’, which include ‘cross-border services trade’ (mode 1), ‘consumption abroad’ (mode 2), ‘commercial presence’ (mode 3), and ‘natural persons’ (mode 4). These categories refer to potential actors or business in terms of trade in services to whom the GATS intends to protect from regulatory restrictions enacted by governments. For instance, Sinclair and Grieshaber-Otto note that mode two covers, for example, a foreign student studying abroad (who might ‘compete’ with other native students who could be ‘subsidised’), and mode three covers “all forms of foreign direct investment” (FDI), which includes private forms of education (2002, p. 15) in terms of firms maintaining operations in any given WTO member country. Mode one applies to cases where the service itself crosses borders; this would include distance



online education, for example. Mode four – so far the most contentious of all – deals with the movement of people for the purposes of ‘trading in services’.

## 5. CONTROVERSIES AND CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

With the GATS receiving increased scrutiny in recent times, proponents of the agreement have been seeking to defend it from critics. Arguably the most important meeting to date representing some of the key issues and concerns around trade in educational services and the GATS took place May 23-24, 2002 in Washington. This was the OECD/US Forum on Trade in Educational Services’, a meeting which served to bring together ministers of education, corporate interests, and various other officials from representative groups, including a delegation from the Council of Education Ministers of Canada (CMEC, 2002). This forum served as a major meeting and discussion point for key players in the push to liberalise education services trade under the GATS. As such, many such actors, including notably representatives from the OECD, seized the opportunity of the forum to try to downplay concerns with the GATS agenda in including education as a priority in liberalising trade in services through paper presentations (e.g., Sauvé, 2002). The meeting was organised primarily by the OECD’s Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, with assistance also in organisation coming from the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Center for Quality Assurance in International Education, the World Bank, and the pro-liberalisation American lobby group, the National Committee for International Trade in Education (NCITE). Critical voices at the forum came principally from a former president of a federation of European student unions, as well as the American Council for Education.

In the final report, which itself takes a decidedly pro-GATS tone, Hirsch, the rapporteur for the forum, outlined some controversial themes around the agreement, although stopping short of defending the GATS on what critics consider to be its most potentially dangerous footing, in the issue of the ‘governmental authority’ exclusion (Hirsch, 2002). Hirsch specifies two areas of concerns around the effect of the GATS as represented at the forum. These are, first, the issue of preservation of publicly-funded and controlled education systems, and second, difficulties in regulating foreign-controlled educational enterprises for quality assurance. Of these two areas, the first serves to focus on the most contentious issues at stake in the GATS debate around education. Specifically at issue within this area of concern is both the GATS preamble’s statement of governments’ ‘right to regulate’, as well as the ‘governmental authority’ exclusion, article 1.3.

Proponents of the GATS argue that the preamble’s recognition of governments’ ‘right to regulate’ various aspects of GATS articles which represent encroachment on publicly-funded and provided services of all kinds, including education. In addition, it is claimed by GATS supporters that the ‘governmental authority’ exclusion, contained in article 1.3, prevents specifically this type of encroachment, making an exception for services “provided in the exercise of governmental authority”, with the limitation on this exception being that such a service must not

be applied on a “commercial basis”, or “supplied . . . in competition with one or more service suppliers” (Sinclair & Grieshaber-Otto, 2002, p. 18). The authors go on to note that under this ‘limitation to the exception’, one would be hard pressed to find a ‘pure’ example in any country of a ‘public service’ which was not – at least in some facet or aspect – provided on a ‘commercial basis’ (whether in the form of fees, insurance, or so on) or in ‘competition’ with a similar ‘service provider’. Any level of education, if financed and delivered (to whatever degree) publicly or subsidised by any level of government, could be susceptible to a GATS challenge in the WTO if either of these limitations to the ‘governmental authority’ exception applied. Neither Hirsch (2002) or other recent defenders of the agreement (Sauvé, 2002) have refuted this specific concern of critics with the weakness of the language in both the preamble as well as in article 1.3. Instead, current promoters and expositors of the GATS simply point to these two aspects of the agreement, as well as to the voluntary nature of specific commitments (i.e., education sector commitments), as reason enough to dismiss the concerns of critics.

Meanwhile, the WTO secretariat itself, in a background note on education services (WTO secretariat, 1998), acknowledges that within the domain of trade in ‘educational services’, distinctions between ‘public’ and ‘private’ are unclear. While higher education is currently the focus of talks around liberalising trade in ‘education services’, as a key player the WTO has been careful not to exclude basic primary and secondary education from coverage under the GATS. Along these lines, the authors of the secretariat note admit that the protection offered by the ‘governmental authority’ is tentative and unproven at best:

Given its importance for human and social development, countries throughout the world tend to consider instruction up to a certain level – commonly primary and secondary education – as a basic entitlement. It is normally provided free of charge by public authorities and, in most countries, participation is mandatory. In addition, some degree of private participation in the supply, which varies among countries, exists as well. However, the underlying institutional arrangements may be very diverse, making the separation of public and private domains not always clear. For example, private educational institutions may be highly subsidized and provide services like, or close substitutes to, those offered by the public sector. On the other hand, certain private institutions may offer services at market conditions (e.g. language schools).

*Basic education provided by the government may be considered to fall within the domain of, in the terminology of the GATS, services supplied in the exercise of governmental authority (supplied neither on a commercial basis nor in competition).* The fact that the following presentation does not discuss this segment of the sector is by no means intended to indicate a lack of social or economic significance. However, since the purpose of this Note is to discuss trade in education services, the focus is necessarily on those segments where a relatively small, but possibly growing, number of countries allows for effective private participation.

(WTO secretariat, 1998, pp. 3-4, italics and bold added)

Basic education in this excerpt, as clarified in the text itself, refers to primary and secondary education. Given the ambiguity of the note’s language, any substantial degree of protection is doubtful, as per Grieshaber-Otto and Sinclair’s

analysis. However, the arguably ineffective and superficial assertion of primary and secondary education's exclusion from the GATS based on the preamble remains an important key to pro-GATS defences of the agreement, most of which have come from the OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). Presenting to the forum in Washington May, 2002 on the topic of the controversial preambular 'exclusion', Sauvé of the OECD directorate in Paris in a paper for the forum put the matter this way:

GATS negotiators understood this [the 'governmental authority' exclusion] to cover 'public services' broadly (if somewhat loosely) defined, including public health and education services. But public/private frontiers are inherently murky, vary significantly across countries and sectors, and are subject to change as markets, political dynamics and technology evolve. Governments have to date chosen not to clarify the scope of the GATS' public services carve-out. But ask any negotiator in Geneva and she/he would be prone to regard primary and secondary schooling, so-called basic/compulsory education, as lying outside the scope of the GATS. (2002, p. 3)

Civil society, so it is supposed, ought to rest assured that education is protected based on the fact that we could 'ask any negotiator' to confirm what the 'governmental authority' exclusion leaves hopelessly vague. Fortunately, Sauvé's overt yet perhaps inadvertent statement of the GATS' weakness here only helps draw attention to the need for a more effective 'carve-out' for public education from the purview of the GATS.

## 6. CANADA, GATS AND EDUCATION

As compared with, e.g., England and the USA, the onset of neoliberal social policy in Canada may have come slightly later, but with no less force. During the 1990s and under the tenure of the current Liberal federal government, overall funding for social programs was reduced substantially (CMEC, 2001), with approximately \$4.5 billion cut from federal transfers to the provinces (who have jurisdiction over educational matters) over the years 1995-1998 alone. This shift has led to what Fisher and Rubenson describe as a 'balkanisation' of social programs across Canada's provinces as these jurisdictions deal with – and in some cases pass on to citizens through cutbacks – the aggregate transfer cuts from the federal government (Fisher & Rubenson, 2000, p. 81).

These dynamics have progressed at the same time as privatisation initiatives have been underway across Canada, particularly with respect to postsecondary education. This trend is evidenced by movements like Ontario's legislation to approve the development of private universities enacted in 2002 (*Post Secondary Education Student Opportunity Act*, 2002), as well as through the increasing links and pressure for linkages between industry and academia in a context of developing 'academic capitalism' and 'private public partnerships'<sup>iii</sup> across the hemisphere. These trends in turn have been researched by Canadian and other scholars in an attempt to trace the increasing behaviour of university sectors across the hemisphere

along more market and corporate lines (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Newson, 1998; Fisher & Atkinson-Grosjean, 2002).

Canada's position, both with respect to the ongoing GATS negotiations and its trade relationships with other countries in the Pan-American continent, is an interesting one. While as of yet the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) has emphasised that education is not 'on the table' for negotiations (Government of Canada, 2002) in its 'Services 2000' agenda, it seems clear given the sketch of GATS controversies above that players in Canada could stand both to gain and lose from implementation and 'progressive' negotiation of the agreement. Whether one 'wins' or 'loses' must depend on one's perspective. On the one hand, Canada's well-developed post-secondary education 'sector' could be in a position to 'capitalise' on opportunities afforded by the GATS to expand into global 'markets' for education (as shall be touched on in the next section), as goes the current pro-GATS rhetoric. This type of dynamic positions Canada – ore more specifically, Canadian education 'exporters' or companies – as a collection of potentially powerful players who may be aided further by the GATS toward exploiting and exacerbating current asymmetries of trade in the region along north-south lines in terms of the hemisphere. On the other, the mass public of Canada could stand to lose substantial social gains in terms of equity of access to various levels of education, with post-secondary education the first 'target' of edupreneurs.

Canada's vulnerability is well-exemplified by seeing the matter from the perspective of hopeful exporters of education from the region's most powerful country, the USA. The U.S. negotiating proposal for education services under the GATS, quoted here by Sauvé, lists several measures taken by governments which are seen by the USA. (and its corporations) as 'barriers to trade'. This list of concerns tabulates some of the major 'points of entry' into education 'markets':

- Prohibition of higher education, adult education, and training services offered by foreign entities.
  - Lack of an opportunity for foreign suppliers of higher education, adult education, and training services to obtain authorization to establish facilities within the territory of the Member country.
  - Lack of an opportunity for foreign suppliers of higher education, adult education, and training services to qualify as degree granting institutions.
  - Inappropriate restrictions on electronic transmission of course materials.
  - Economic needs test on suppliers of these services.
  - Measures requiring the use of a local partner.
  - Denial of permission for private sector suppliers of higher education, adult education, and training to enter into and exit from joint ventures with local or non-local partners on a voluntary basis.
  - Where government approval is required, exceptionally long delays are encountered and, when approval is denied, no reasons are given for the denial and no information is given on what must be done to obtain approval in the future.
  - Tax treatment that discriminates against foreign suppliers.
  - Foreign partners in a joint venture are treated less favorably than the local partners.
  - Franchises are treated less favorably than other forms of business organization.
  - Domestic laws and regulations are unclear and administered in an unfair manner.
  - Subsidies for higher education, adult education, and training are not made known in a clear and transparent manner.
  - Minimum requirements for local hiring are disproportionately high, causing uneconomic operations.
  - Specialized, skilled personnel (including managers, computer specialists, expert speakers), needed for a temporary period of time, have difficulty obtaining authorization to enter and leave the country.
  - Repatriation of earnings is subject to excessively costly fees and/or taxes for currency conversion.
  - Excessive fees/taxes are imposed on licensing or royalty payments.
- 

*Figure 1. 'Barriers to trade in education services identified in the US submission' (Sauvé, 2002, p. 25)*

Such a list is another effective way of finding a standpoint from which to appreciate the different ways in which edupreneurs hope to breach further markets at all levels of education. As we discuss in the next section, with powerful US educational corporations at the forefront of groups like NCITE and the Coalition of Service Industries' (USCSI)<sup>iv</sup> efforts to liberalise services under the GATS,

defenders of public education would do well to appreciate these purported 'sticking points' of the marketising agenda in education.

Sinclair and Grieshaber-Otto (2002) raise the point that if interpreted narrowly, as it has been to date in WTO decision-making processes, the discourse of the GATS serves as a major potential force in essentially enshrining or entrenching neoliberal educational policies. By setting out supra-national and binding legal mechanisms such as the MFN, NT and MA rules as well as through its articles on domestic regulation, the GATS serves to act as an enforcer for the 'corporate rights' of private education providers. The GATS opens the way to powerful private actors demanding equal treatment to 'monopolistic' government service providers, whether through pursuing state subsidies comparable to public education, private student eligibility for student loans, tax incentives, or any number of measures. Moreover, through its provisions regarding domestic regulation and a 'necessity test' to determine if legislation is 'more burdensome than necessary', the language of the agreement sets the stage for a 'chill effect' toward lessening states' capacity to regulate in the public interest where it involves perceived impingement of private actors' ability to profit.

Finally, with respect to Canada's position in the region, complementary regional trade agreements (RTAs) such as NAFTA and FTAA in particular have the potential to act as a powerful complement to the liberalisation agenda of the GATS (Barlow, 2001; Dale & Robertson, 2002). The proposed FTAA seeks to extend NAFTA-style 'investor-to-state' dispute resolution (DR) rules (unlike the GATS/WTO 'state-to-state' DR system) across the Americas, and as such would constitute a serious and significant complementary force to the GATS in enforcing further commodification of education. The FTAA draft chapter on services contains the exact same wording as does the GATS article 1.3, with the added dimension that under the FTAA dispute settlement can take the form of extremely contentious and well-documented 'investor-to-state' mechanisms based on the NAFTA model.

Under a system dominated by GATS as well as FTAA rules, states' abilities to ensure publicly-funded and universally accessible education are likely to diminish, while corporate abilities to challenge states for compensation and market access will be enhanced. Both the universally applicable and immediately enforceable rules provided for in the proposed FTAA and GATS general commitments (e.g., the MFN rule), as well as the overall 'progressive liberalisation' mandate of the GATS set the stage for this type of scenario. In sum Canada looks to be both vulnerable in terms of the effect of trade liberalisation measures on the equity of education, as well as 'powerful' in terms of the ability of 'education exporters' within the country to take advantage of the GATS to expand the global reach of private educational 'enterprises' of various sorts. Regarding this type of dynamic, critics such as Alexander (2003) and the Council of Canadians (Robbins, 2002) raise the spectre of more powerful 'exporting' countries such as Canada using levers such as debt toward 'bullying' lesser developed countries into opening their services markets under the current GATS negotiations. In sum, both of these trends (i.e., potential 'vulnerability' and 'power' for Canadian actors under the GATS) pose interesting questions about how social inequity and asymmetries/polarisation – both between

peoples within countries and between countries in the hemisphere – may be further exacerbated and codified through instruments such as the GATS as they encourage educational marketisation and privatisation.

#### 7. 'EDUCATION SERVICES LIBERALISATION' IN CANADA: CURRENT PRIMARY ISSUES AND ACTORS

As alluded to previously, the weakness of the 'governmental authority' exclusion makes for a situation where countries with 'mixed' forms of educational provision (in terms of public and private roles) are likely to be vulnerable to GATS challenges which seek to leverage public funds toward private players, or eliminate the subsidy to make full-fee charging institutions 'compete' with public institutions. The social legacy which neoliberal social policy has engendered across the entire Pan-American continent, in varying degrees, has resulted in just this type of variety of 'mixed' education systems in terms of private and public provision, for-profit and fee-based education schemes. While the situation in Canada is not as polarised in terms of equity of access to education as is case in the USA, and particularly Latin American nations, these dynamics can be seen to impact – and have the potential for further significant effect – upon countries throughout the hemisphere, and indeed the globe under the GATS and complementary initiatives such as the FTAA.

Given the current amount of private sector involvement in education across the region and in these countries in particular, private actors (specifically for-profit initiatives and companies) serve to benefit from the GATS various articles and rules which seek to 'level the playing field' in service provision effectively away from public control and to the benefit of 'edupreneurs' and their initiatives. As discussed earlier, the language of the 'governmental authority' exclusion in the GATS preamble is not likely to protect public education per se, when so much of education at all levels is affected by elements of the market mechanism, whether in tuition fee 'cost recovery', ancillary fees for texts and resources, or in existing public subsidies for private education institutions. This latter type of initiative can encompass trends toward educational voucher schemes (promoted by followers of Milton Friedman and the 'Chicago School' among others) to private school tax credits and student loans for those attending private educational institutions (Grieshaber-Otto & Sanger, 2002). It is important at this point not to oversimplify the issue of 'private actors', for this may denote religiously-controlled organisations, for-profit educational 'companies', or other independent educational institutions run by private individuals or groups.

Nevertheless, the GATS could serve to facilitate any challenge to governments on behalf of enterprising 'education service providers' who seek to use these instances of public-private 'mix' as a point of entry toward similar funding as that found in public institutions, the elimination of public subsidies (both of these under a rhetoric of 'unfair competition'), or simply access to markets for services pertaining to education. Grieshaber-Otto & Sanger remind us in their case study of Canada and the GATS that the ambiguity and lack of definition of 'services' alluded to earlier works to the advantage of different companies who seek access on various

grounds – from school cafeteria management to testing services, user fees to textbook services. Any conceivable form of public subsidy to education or public procurement could be susceptible to a GATS challenge under the current framework, as shown by the weakness of the current Article 1.3 ‘exclusion’. As a growing number of Canadian school boards vie for lucrative high tuition from international students in an atmosphere of decreased government funding<sup>vi</sup>, and some school boards offer fee-based courses of various kinds to the public, the lines vaguely sketched by the ‘governmental authority’ exclusion continue to blur, painting a murky picture of significant vulnerability to the GATS as well as a furthering of educational privatisation in general (Weiner, 2002).

By far the most profitable area for the global education industry at the present day is in the general realms of tertiary and adult education (as well as ‘other’ education where it denotes forms of commercial training), although as noted above – particularly in the WTO secretariat note (1998) – ‘basic’ education (primary, secondary) cannot be thought to be excluded by any means from a consideration of potential education ‘markets’. A report surveying for-profit education globally (with particular attention to the USA, as the most active region in this regard) lists for-profit ‘market share’ of the global \$US 740 billion educational services market at \$US 70 billion (Lips, 2000, p. 2). From a marketising ‘entrepreneurial’ standpoint, one can appreciate that private educational service providers see the ‘sky is the limit’ in terms of ‘evening’ the balance between private and public ‘market share’ in provision of educational services, a goal the GATS is well-positioned at present to achieve, despite the reassurances of its defenders.

As far as present educational for-profit investment goes, GATS defenders and educational services trade promoters argue the tertiary educational sector is properly seen as an investment in ‘human capital’ which, it is argued, demands an appropriate level of ‘demand-side financing’ or cost recovery in the form of tuition fees on ‘consumers’ (students) (Wolff & Castro, 2001, p. 12; OECD, 2001 p. 15). This view accords with the shift felt in the public university sector in Canada throughout the 1990s as mentioned previously, as provincial governments’ share of funding has decreased while private fundraising and ‘deregulated’ tuition fees have correspondingly emerged as more significant sources of funding for universities (Melchers, 2001). Rises in tuition fees in this context have been shown to impact negatively on social equity and access to education in terms of stratifying access on the basis of class (Quirke, 2001). Under the GATS, of course, the more educational services, publicly-provided or not, are delivered on a commercial basis or ‘in competition’ with similar ‘service providers’, the more these services are prone to coverage under GATS rules, at least until the so-called ‘carve-out’ (Sauvé, 2002, p. 3) is strengthened and bolstered as per the suggestion of Sinclair and Grieshaber-Otto (2002) toward protecting public education.

We agree with Robertson, Bonal and Dale (2002, p. 3) in emphasising the real actors behind the agitation for neoliberal educational change as well as pushes to liberalise trade in ‘educational services’. By far the most powerful actors or ‘service providers’ across the hemisphere are U.S.-based, including Sylvan Learning Systems and the Apollo Group, both of which have made inroads into Canada, with



Apollo's 'University of Phoenix' having established a campus in British Columbia for its primarily distance education programs, as well as Sylvan's operations in tutorial and private education programs across the country. These educational corporations or 'EMOs'<sup>vii</sup> are already powerful players due to their size of 'market share' in the USA itself, which according to the OECD had a total export in educational services amount of over \$US 8.3 billion 1997, and \$10.3 billion in 2000 (Larsen, Martin & Morris, 2002, p. 7). Sylvan boasts a \$US 484.8 million turnover rate, according to Sauvé (2002, p. 5). Sylvan is active in many countries in addition to Canada, including Mexico – where it acquired an interest in a major private university – and Chile, as well as in the more lucrative developed country markets of Spain, France and Switzerland (in addition to its operations in the USA.). Unexus, a Toronto-owned and Fredericton, NB-based Canadian private online university initiative specialising in business MBA degrees, is another example of a 'homegrown' private postsecondary initiatives with exporting ambitions, with operations and partnerships with Indian training companies focusing on computers (Dopp, 2001). The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives has led the way in documenting these types of privatisation trends in postsecondary education in Canada. Shaker, for example, cites the introduction of for-profit PSE institutions into Canada in recent times, such as the DeVry institute, ITI Education Corporation and International Business Schools, (Shaker, 1999).

We have mentioned some examples of 'edupreneur' players who may stand to benefit from the 'opening' of Canada's education 'markets'. Another important example of a globally-situated higher education company – with Canadian members – poised to gain advantage from GATS rules is the organisation Universitas 21 (U21). U21 is a global conglomerate of entrepreneurially-minded 'research-intensive' universities which has made inroads into providing online (cross-border, i.e., mode 1 under the GATS) university education which boasts the credentials of its member universities, which include institutions representing North America, Europe, and East Asia, as well as Australia and New Zealand<sup>viii</sup>. U21 has joined forces with a Canada-based company, Thomson Corporation, to launch this profit-oriented initiative, dubbed 'U21 Global'. The mission of the group is made more than clear in a statement on U21 Global's website on 'entrepreneurial activities' of the organisation:

The third level of activities involves the leveraging of the *Universitas 21* international network to provide the member institutions with a role in the global commercialisation of higher education. *Universitas 21* is uniquely positioned to invest international credibility, brand recognition and quality assurance into new global educational partnerships. In an international business environment where major multinational corporations are developing strategies for accessing an increasingly lucrative global education market, a robust international network of high profile universities has major commercial opportunities. (Universitas 21, 2003)

As mentioned previously, higher education remains the most lucrative opportunity for hopeful investors in a climate of 'liberalised educational services'. However, as activity in different countries of the Americas shows, opportunities for markets in primary and secondary education continue to steadily emerge and gain footing. In the USA., K-12 private 'educational management companies' or 'EMOs' represent a significant 'market share' and level of private educational activity, as

tabulated by researchers at the Commercialism in Education Research Unit (CERU) of Arizona State University (Molnar et al., 2002). Since starting its profile of for-profit K-12 EMOs in 1998-99, the Unit profiled 13 EMOs controlling 135 schools; in its 2001-02 survey it profiled 36 companies managing 368 schools (Molnar et al., 2002, p. 3). Edison schools is the largest of these with operations in 23 states and estimated 75 000 students according to the CERU, although this company is a good example of 'market failure' with the information recently that it faces severe financial difficulties (Woodward, 2002), perhaps an indicator that for-profit private education is not always as 'efficient' as its promoters claim it is.

Nonetheless, with U.S. edupreneurs and EMOs topping the list in terms of market reach and profitability, these corporations arguably stand the most to gain from liberalised trade in educational services. For Canada, increased pressure for 'school choice' and decentralised 'charter school' initiatives and policies (with Alberta leading the way in this category) has represented the bulk of privatisation initiatives in the country's K-12 or 'basic education' sector. However, these types of trends are accompanied by increasing 'corporatisation' of university and K-12 education through 'partnership' and 'sponsorship' initiatives (Shaker, 1999) which further blur the lines between public and private provision and collusion in education. This small set of examples of actual and potential corporate activity in education serves to appreciate some of the dynamics of the real actors behind the push to liberalise educational services trade in the region.

#### 8. WHERE WE ARE NOW WITH THE GATS

Seen in general terms, it is a positive note in our view that commentators such as Stephenson of the Organization of American States (OAS) (2002) see the GATS as having had only very limited or even negligible success during the 'Uruguay round' since 1994. However, as the 'Millenium round/GATS 2000' negotiations continue, all observers are waiting to see what kind of developments emerge in terms of services trade liberalisation, while critics and supporters interested in the particular topic of education services may only speculate. At the time of writing and as alluded to above, Canada has not yet made any specific GATS commitments in its schedule pertaining to education services. Indeed the federal government's statements on the issue have emphasised that it considers education to be 'out-of-bounds', as per Article 1.3's 'governmental authority exclusion'. Meanwhile, however, initiatives of marketisation, privatisation and deregulation continue to develop and strengthen across many sectors of education within Canada, with higher education as a notable example as mentioned. A legal opinion commissioned by four Canadian education non-governmental groups (Gottlieb & Pearson, 2001) confirms that under the current GATS framework Canada's 'mixed' system of private and public education leaves the country vulnerable to GATS rules. In addition, the point has been raised that education might be vulnerable to GATS rules if educational services are interpreted under the different category of 'cultural commodities' and other related categories (Kachur, 2003). This possibility would effect a 'back-door' opening of

education to liberalised trade despite the absence of specific Canadian commitments under the GATS itself. At any rate, Currently, the conditions which stand to facilitate the GATS' potential to entrench further 'private players' in eroded public systems continue to take root. Though our governments are saying one thing about the GATS and education, reality speaks of another; citizens of Canada are familiar with the current federal Liberal government's capacity to put on a 'Janus-face' in a variety of political contexts.

Perhaps the crucial current developments are in the domain of GATS requests from prime educational services 'exporting' nations such as the USA and the European Community (EC). Negotiators from such two prime 'exporting' groups have not surprisingly been very careful to keep official statements of requests secret. However, according to leaked information obtained by various NGO groups including Education International as well as the Canadian Association of University Teachers and others, it is thought that the USA. is making sweeping requests of its Pan-American neighbours in Canada as well as several Latin American nations as well as other countries, including requiring various countries to "undertake full commitments for market access and national treatment in modes 1, 2, and 3 for higher education and training services, for adult education, and for "other" education, and for testing services" (Unknown, 2002; CAUT). An NCITE announcement confirms at least that the U.S. requests (made in July, 2002) are far-reaching:

U.S. services industry goals for these negotiations are ambitious. They include: securing the right to establish commercial operations and the right to full majority ownership, the right to be treated on equal terms with local providers, the expansion of commitments to free cross border trade, the ability to move professionals (including faculty and administrators) for short term assignments in other countries without visa and other red tape delays, a cross-sectoral commitment to transparency in domestic regulation, and in sectors where appropriate, commitments to improve the quality of domestic regulation. (NCITE, 2002, p. 1)

The only other countries known to have made requests under the GATS for education services liberalisation are Australia, Japan, and New Zealand. It is worthwhile to remember at this point that although this article deals with one specific aspect of the impact of services liberalisation in terms of Canada in a Pan-American context, the implications for accelerated trade liberalisation in general for both Canada and the hemisphere stand to have an effect on citizens of the region in more than just one particular way. The implications of liberalisation are integrated themselves in ways experienced in the lives of the citizens of countries the world over, including the Pan-American region, whether felt in terms of essential services such as energy or water supplies and prices, currency chaos, or other processes engendered by forms of services trade liberalisation.

## 9. SUMMARY: QUESTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES

The picture we have painted in this chapter accords well with the view of some critically-aimed NGO and citizen groups of the global economy, as divided into different conceptions of how trade ought to be shaped. The International Forum on

Globalization (IFG), for example – a grouping of international NGO workers and scholars, including two prominent Canadians<sup>xii</sup> – in its most recent book-length report describes the current world trade process as one dominated by ‘corporate-driven globalisation’ (IFG, 2002). In this type of setup powerful corporations stand to benefit disproportionately from international trade rules such as those embodied in the GATS. Brecher (2000) uses a similar metaphor, contrasting a corporate-driven model of “globalisation from above” with a “globalisation from below” characterised by an emphasis on social and environmental sustainability and rights.

Grieshaber-Otto and Sanger (2002, pp. 11-22) make the related point that arguments over ‘services trade liberalisation’ in education represent a growing tension between a conception of education as a public good or set of human and social rights<sup>xiii</sup> and one of education as a commodity or ‘private good’ best left to ‘the market’ and subject to trade rules and mechanisms. In Canada and the Pan-American context, these types of debates have played out in mass gatherings such as the World Education Forum (WEF<sup>xiv</sup>) in Porto Alegre as a part of the World Social Forum, a recent mass movement co-ordinated by multiple civil society organisations throughout the hemisphere to discuss alternatives to the current direction of neoliberal globalisation modelled in the GATS, FTAA and privatisation of education across the region. Within this Pan-American movement are broadly representative organisations and initiatives such as the Hemispheric Secretariat on Education (HSE, 2001), which as a part of the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) has organised to counter proposals to liberalise trade under the FTAA in particular. Within these broad coalition movements aimed at criticising and resisting the commodification and privatisation/marketisation of education, critical NGO education organisations such as labour and student federations at all levels both in Canada and across the Americas have stepped forward to criticise the GATS as negotiations continue<sup>xv</sup>. Canada’s public position has no doubt been affected by another important statement from a global alliance of educational organisations (representing postsecondary education-related federations from Europe, Canada and the USA) in their ‘joint declaration’ of 2001 which was highly critical of the GATS’ drive toward commodification of education (AUCC/ACE/EUA/CHEA, 2001).

The debates being played out and voiced by these critics, coalitions and movements reflect the gravity of the situation for public education in a time of moves toward increased trade liberalisation in all sectors of the economy, and indeed in a time of attempted reconfiguration of social goods such as education as commodities and parts of national economies *per se*. Appreciating this, one must remember that the GATS seeks to move beyond the scope and reach of regional trade agreements such as MERCOSUR and NAFTA and the complementary agenda of the proposed FTAA. The GATS’ scope is truly global, and as such represents a tremendous opportunity for ‘edupreneurs’ of all nations to break into lucrative markets, and as we have endeavoured to show in some measure, Canada as well as its hemispheric neighbours are no exception to this rule.

While neoliberal social and educational policy has effected a gradual and significant further marketisation and privatisation of education across the Pan-American continent, the GATS in effect seeks to enshrine and codify this process in

a binding, supra-national legal form. Neoliberalism has already been significantly and powerfully called into question for its effects in exacerbating social inequities, and the GATS/WTO's similar corporate agenda deserves similar and ongoing scrutiny. Never has a trade agreement, and specifically one directed at services and education, been so intrusive in its attempt to reintegrate and reterritorialise the world according to the new maps and goals of the marketplace, including the educational one. Mentioning the so-called 'bicycle theory' of ongoing WTO negotiations<sup>xvi</sup>, Sinclair and Grieshaber-Otto (2002) highlight Susan George's comment that "it would be far wiser to get off the bicycle, put our feet on the ground, and have a look around to see where we are" (in Sinclair & Grieshaber-Otto, 2002, pp. xii-xiii). We hope that by sketching some of the key players in this marketising agenda, including both in international organisations' literature and discourse and in corporate practices, we have sounded something of an alarm to citizens both of Canada and the entire Pan-American continent to stop the current 'bicycle' of the WTO/GATS process, and indeed take stock of the competing visions of education which animate the current resistance to the commodifying and privatising forces which drive the current global trade agenda for education. These competing visions advocate a strong role for the state in ensuring an accessible and good quality public education for all. We recognise that a high quality system of public education for all cannot bring by itself higher levels of democracy and equality of opportunity in society, but we believe that with it the chances to achieve those goals will be better than with a market-regulated provision.

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- i Conspicuously absent from this list are other critical voices, in NGOs such as Education International or any number of other international groups, such as the Civil Society Network for Public Education in the Americas, of the Hemispheric Social Alliance.
  - ii Incidentally, Sauvé also drafted the OECD Trade Directorate's *Open Service Markets Matter* (OECD Trade Directorate, 2001), mentioned above as one of the documents responded to by Grieshaber-Otto and Sinclair (2002).
  - iii The 'Corporate-Higher Education Forum' in Canada is one example of such a trend. 'P3s' encompass a broad array of initiatives involving corporate involvement in education, including sponsorship and funding agreements.
  - iv As well as the Global Services Network (GSN, [www.globalservicesnetwork.com](http://www.globalservicesnetwork.com)), on the world scale.
  - v Public subsidies for private education initiatives of various kinds are currently in place in Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta & British Columbia (Grieshaber-Otto & Sanger, 2002, pp 20-21).
  - vi Grieshaber-Otto & Sanger (2002) report on the 'Canadian Education Centre Networks' (<http://www.cccnetwork.org>), an organization which charges fees to Canadian school boards toward attempting to attract wealthy students from foreign countries to pay high tuition for Canadian secondary education.
  - vii This is short for 'educational maintenance/management organizations', after 'HMOs' where 'H' stands for 'health', as in the U.S. private health care system of corporate health insurance companies.
  - viii Current members include the University of Edinburgh, University of Birmingham, University of Glasgow, University of Nottingham, Lund University, Albert-Ludwigs University, University of Michigan, McGill University, University of British Columbia, University of Melbourne, University of New South Wales, University of Queensland, University of Auckland, National University of Singapore, University of Hong Kong, Peking University, and Fudan University.
  - ix All of the information presented in this section pertaining to countries GATS commitments was taken from 'predefined reports' generated by the WTO's GATS services database website facility, which can be found at <http://tsdb.wto.org/wto/WTOHomepublic.htm>
  - x These are the British Columbia Teachers Federation, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (British Columbia), the Canadian Association of University Teachers, and the Canadian Federation of Students. See <http://www.caut.ca/english/issues/trade/gats-opinion.asp> for more details.
  - xi As mentioned in the supposedly leaked U.S. document, this 'leaked' list of requests includes demands of Canada, as well as the Latin American countries Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela in the panamerican context.
  - xii These two people are Maude Barlow of the Council of Canadians ([www.canadians.org](http://www.canadians.org)) and Tony Clarke of the Polaris Institute ([www.polarisinstitute.org](http://www.polarisinstitute.org))
  - xiii This type of definition is reflected in international documents and agreements such as the as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948; Article 26) and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966; Article 13).
  - xiv This WEF should not be confused with the UNESCO World Education Forum.
  - xv Critical declarations and statements from Canada concerning the GATS have been published by the Ontario Teachers' Federation, Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Canadian Federation of Students, Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Association of University Teachers, Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, British Columbia Teachers' Federation and many other unions and organizations.
  - xvi This metaphor, the authors tell us, is used by WTO supporters to describe the idea that negotiations must proceed at a furious pace for fear the 'bicycle' slow down and fall over.



DAN O'BRIEN

## EDUCATION AND GLOBALISATION

There are at least two difficulties inherent in the notion of globalisation<sup>i</sup> when it is applied to Africa. Firstly in the eyes of some commentators, the concept has affected the African people very patchily. The elites feel at ease in a world of cars, phones and overseas travel while there remains large numbers whose lives have changed little if at all. Another group of commentators argues that Africa has always been marginal to the rest of the world or relatively new to involvement with other countries. The commonest adjective used of the continent for a considerable time was “dark” or “darkest” This could not refer to the amount of sunlight in what was known to be a mostly tropical continent but to the idea of impenetrable jungle, vast spaces unexplored (by Europeans)<sup>ii</sup>, witchcraft and black people. The missionaries propagated the idea of a continent inhabited by large numbers of “black babies” waiting for Christianity while their parents were “sunk in wretchedness and ignorance”. Africa was also the place of untold wealth hidden under the ground that the locals had not been able to exploit and that required the expertise of the European to find and utilise. The locals were regarded as incapable of farming the vast land, as it deserved, in order to feed the overpopulated European cities. European (or South African) farmers were needed to bring the earth of Africa to life. An extreme form of this view was that of the historian Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1963 “Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness . . . .And darkness is not a subject for history.”<sup>iii</sup>

Africa, however, rather than being new to the rest of the world or marginal to the interconnections of trade and culture has a long history of interaction. It is from this long history, not merely from the recent colonial period that the present structures of society in Africa can be traced. The analysis of the power of the elites and the exclusion of certain groups from participation in the new Africa must take account of centuries long involvement with outsiders; with what Bayart calls the problem of “Extraversion”.<sup>iv</sup>

Similarly Frederick Cooper, the well-known historian of Africa takes issue with what he sees as the double notion of “global” and “isation”.<sup>v</sup> He argues that, as far as Africa is concerned global impact is what he calls “lumpy” in the extreme. By that he means that the effects vary very greatly from country to country, from region to region and from group to group. As for the “isation” angle he does not see the “global” as happening now or that “this is the global age”.<sup>vi</sup> He finds, in line with

Bayart, that the concept in question does not take into account “the historical depth of interconnections or a focus on just what the structures and limits of the connections are”.<sup>vii</sup> Bayart shows that Africa, far from being marginal to the rest of the world is a part of the planet and has “never ceased to exchange both ideas and goods with Europe and Asia, and later with the Americas”.<sup>viii</sup>

Both Bayart and Cooper stress the levels at which Africans were involved from the very beginning of cross cultural dealings, not as opponents to European or Arab trade but as collaborators. Bayart quotes Thornton to make the important point: “We must accept that African participation in the slave trade was voluntary and under the control of African decision makers . . . Europeans possessed no means, either economic or military, to compel African leaders to sell slaves”.<sup>ix</sup> The wishes not only of the European slavers but also later of the colonists frequently cohered with that of individual African leaders or of major African groups. In Bayart’s words “the operation of a colonial regime was accompanied by a significant mobilisation of the societies which it held in subjection”. He quotes numerous examples from the Congo and Cameroon while in the case study below I show how the Zambian chiefs acted in concert with the colonial officials to restrain the growing nationalist movement.

This long term African cooperation with the “outsider” calls into question the “Dependency Theory” that would see the structures of modern day African elites arising out of the immediate colonial African past. Rather the elites of today are in many instances either the descendants of those who profited from outside intervention, be it trade in goods or humans or those who collaborated with the coloniser and used the skills gained to spearhead the nationalist movement.

It is not surprising that the earliest nationalists in Africa were those teachers and catechists who through the education they received were able to conduct a dialogue with the colonial administrators. The Chagga Chiefs of North Eastern Tanzania welcomed the missionaries because from an early stage they saw the benefits that education could bring. To this day the Chagga fill a disproportionately large number of the public service positions in the country. Similarly the New Britain Islanders (Papua New Guinea) it can be argued still hold down a large number of the public service positions in Port Moresby and elsewhere because they were the first to welcome and make use of German and later Australian educators.

The thrust of this chapter is only partly to make the link between former and present elites. Rather it shows that education, a feature that should lead to equal participation with all other nations in the benefits of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is in fact virtually an exclusionary force for a large proportion of Africans. In Bayart’s terms yet another example of “extraversion”. Orivel’s article shows how globalisation and the educational systems are linked to the exclusion of the poor.<sup>x</sup> He points to the facts that one billion adults world-wide are illiterate, that more than 100 million children of school age are not schooled and that the democratisation of education is often only rhetorical.<sup>xi</sup>

The BBC News of 10<sup>th</sup> December 2003 had as a news item, what it termed the growing digital divide between developed and developing countries. As an example of this I quote part of one of the second year examination papers for pre-service teacher trainees in Sydney, Australia. The examination had two parts; one with short

answer questions and the second part with essay type questions. Below are two examples of the short answer questions and two examples of the essay type questions.

**Short answer type questions:**

1. That working effectively with websites is a part of becoming literate in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
2. That Information Literacy (IL) should be a mandatory subject in schools.

**Essay answer type questions:**

- a) The Internet is “enabling a dramatic expansion to take place in the range and variety of language, and is providing unprecedented opportunities for personal creativity” (David Crystal, 2001). How do you respond to this point of view?
- b) What educational value, if any, is there in learning to create and analyse websites?

The assumptions behind this examination are that each Primary School teacher will have a level of computer and Internet literacy that will enable them to guide the students to a reasonably sophisticated level of knowledge. Allied to that is the second assumption, namely that each Primary School student in the classes being taught will have access to a computer on a regular basis. As part of their ordinary schoolwork they will become more and more computer literate as they move up through the school and that by the time they leave they will be at home in a digital world. Not only is it expected that they will be at home in the digital world but the corollary is that if they are not so at home they will be falling behind their peers and will be excluded from much of their own society’s benefits. In Africa despite efforts by UNESCO and other humanitarian bodies to bring information technology to Africa the chances of African children, or even adults, in large numbers having access to computers are slim indeed. Even in India that has one of the most computer literate populations in the world there are tens of millions of school age children not at school. At each advance made in the developed world the developing world, not only does not catch up but also falls further behind.

The education system brought to Africa was one that had developed slowly in Europe, particularly in France, Britain, Belgium and Germany and through trial and error was suited to the economies and social aspirations of the people of those countries. When offered to Africa there was no room for trial and error or adaptation to the needs of the people. The effort at “Adaptive Education” tried, but not effectively, in the 1920s was in African eyes clearly designed to keep them in a subservient position and they rejected it. A similar attempt to keep what was assumed by colonial officials to be the “status quo” through educating the chiefs and chiefs’ children foundered because the chiefs were often ineducable, nor was their position in the eyes of the people much more than merely colonial servants. Frequently chosen for the role by the District Commissioner, and equally frequently dismissed, they were known to the people as “men of the book” that is tax collectors for the colonial Government.

The group that did benefit from European education were not from chiefly families but were those chosen by the missionaries to be catechists or teachers and who were able to absorb the kind of education being offered. In many cases those

who had loosest links to traditional power structures as propounded by the District Commissioner were able more easily to adapt to the new system on offer.

In Foucault's terminology these men were able and willing to be formed by the new education system into the European mould. Frequently, as in the case of teachers turned nationalist leaders they then used their knowledge of the system against those same Europeans. By adapting to the educational system they became the type of person the colonial officials felt obliged to deal with since they spoke the same language and espoused the same humanistic ideals.

The case study below shows the level at which the developed world's educational system's logic had penetrated the Zambian mentality. Convinced as a result of their own success in the system and the rewards that had brought them the Zambian educated would not allow any change. They were adamant that "education" was the Cambridge Certificate since it gave entrée not only to the Zambian University but to overseas ones as well.

Between 1974 and 1975 the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the governing and only political party attempted to free Zambia from the hold of an education system based on a first world model. 10 years after Independence had been declared it had become evident that education was not the force for equalisation intended in the country. Instead it was seen as a major factor in creating and continuing status and income inequalities between those living in the towns and those living in the countryside and also within those two areas. Based as it was on a system leading to a final exam; the Cambridge School Certificate education in Zambia was as similar as possible to that in Britain and to other ex British colonial countries. Worldwide recognition would be given to the holders of that certificate.

The fact that such a system was within the grasp of very few Zambians had by 1974 become a social factor of major importance. In fact the Secretary General of UNIP in preparing a document for debating a new system characterised the existing one as follows. "The education system is like a single-track, single destination railway which ejects most of its passengers at sidings along the way".<sup>xii</sup> The lucky few that held their seats for the entire journey were disproportionately rewarded. In raw figures of the 73,859 who completed Grade 6 in 1971, 15,753 got places in Form I or just 22%. At the end of Form III only 7,581 went on the Form IV. These figures leave out of account the fact that of those who began in Grade I a great number either dropped out or were culled out by Grade 2 or by the Grade IV exam.

In an effort to reassert its social and political power in the country the now sole political party<sup>xiii</sup> put forward for debate an educational proposal that would be more appropriate to the needs of the vast majority of Zambians. At the same time it would free the country's education from its dependence on the almost global system represented by the Cambridge Certificate. Assessment of the students would be on nationally appropriate criteria. Zambia was not alone in this endeavour since many ex colonial countries recognised the same malaise in their own system.<sup>xiv</sup>

Visits were made to other countries that were either planning or using systems designed to equalise the results of education. It is clear from the document produced for debate that the Cuban and Chinese systems had the most influence. Cuba was making efforts to combine work and school so that the education system would be seen as relevant to post school life. In China continuous assessment and new

methods of examination and selection were being used so that academic success could be eliminated as the sole criterion for further education.

The document *Education for Development* that was produced for debate combined elements that were designed not only to deal with the ills that were manifest in the system but also a cure for the problems. It was prepared by a group of academics, politicians and public servants after studying the efforts at reform in other countries. A genuine integration of academic and manual work was to be carried out and children were to make a productive economic contribution and not be dependents. Little difficulty was seen in providing all children with Grades 1-7 but for Grades 8-10, (the proposed basic education was to be 10 years) the students would spend two terms each year in school and two terms in an out-of school system. Grade 10 graduates would be permitted to enter training as Primary School teachers, Nursing, Agricultural Assistantships, Veterinary Training etc. This was to obviate the difficulties that had arisen as a result of educational inflation whereby ever-increasing levels of certification were demanded for acceptance into training. Successful completion of the mixed type training to be offered would allow participants access to further more professionally oriented training in the University or other tertiary training institutions, should they so wish, together with those students who had completed Grades 11 and 12 in a combined school and out-of school program. As a result, if the proposals were accepted then every school student would be a worker and every worker a student.

The idealism of the document was obvious and was enthusiastically endorsed by Party leaders, especially those of lower ranks and some expatriates. However as one Zambian said to me at the time: "The plan shows little knowledge of the power structure of Zambian Society". When forty thousand copies of *Education for Development* were distributed for debate by the Zambian people the reactions showed the realism of the Zambian mentioned above. While all agreed that 10 years basic education should be the norm the rest of the proposals were submitted to an examination that left few of them intact. The 15,000 responses were then handed in 3 volumes to the Ministry of Education where they were assessed by a team of government officials, party members and academics and a final document produced.

This final document, *Educational Reform* while paying lip service to *Education for Development* bore little resemblance to it and more to the system it was meant to supplant. Nine years of education for all was to be the norm. The Primary Secondary and Tertiary divisions were to be retained. The school was to be a place of learning and not a place of economic activity. Any economic activity was to have "an educational value". The rotating intake was abandoned and it was reluctantly accepted that seven years of education was the most that could be anticipated for the majority of children. Continuous assessment was to be put aside. The Zambian Examination's Council was to be strengthened and was to take on marking the final secondary exam but the British agreed to assist and monitor the examinations so as to guarantee international acceptability.

In all after two years' effort the result was a return to the status quo ante. *Educational Reform* represented the interests of the emerging middle class, those who had benefited from the existing system, that is, those who managed to stay on the train until the last stop. In the ten years of Independence power had shifted from

the grassroots Party faithful to the educated, urbanised work force; those who wished for their children what they themselves had achieved, that is qualifications with world wide acceptability.

The outcome of the debate showed in stark fashion how international or global recognition mattered more than local relevance. What counted was that those who journeyed to the end station would be able to compete against people equally qualified from other countries. This naturally benefited the urban educated and their offspring. In this way it qualifies for the definition of globalisation put forward by David Held and Anthony McGrew:<sup>xv</sup> "Globalisation, simply put denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human organisation that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's regions and continents". Zambia, clearly needed a change in its education system as a means of social equity, but could not put that change in place because of the power of the link with distant communities and the social interaction with those communities.

The new document *Educational Reform* did not last very long nor was it capable of carrying out its promises. Despite its supposed relevance to Zambian society the 9 years of education for all, with limited progression to secondary and even more limited access to tertiary proved impossible. Even this modified version of the western or first world education system was beyond the limited means now available to the Zambian government. The 1976 document was supplanted as early as 1985 by a new plan drawn up to conform to the views of the World Bank *Provision of Education for All by the Year 2000*. This document was drawn up by a group of Zambian educationists but bore the hallmark of World Bank Planning for Education in many of its key aspects even where these did not fit in with Zambian needs.

By 1984 Zambia was in debt to such an extent that servicing that debt amounted to half her export earnings. Given that Zambia's export earnings came almost entirely from her copper industry on which she relied also for internal finance the situation was very difficult. In lending money to Zambia the International Monetary Fund (the IMF) demanded conformity to its policies. Government policy was modified to take heed of IMF strictures on government spending, on subsidies for food in the towns, on fixed prices for goods and other aspects of the economy.<sup>xvi</sup> It was recognised that these policies would impact to a great extent on the poor. As the IMF was controlling to a great extent how Zambia spent its money the World Bank in lending money for education also demanded that the system follow the commonly accepted wisdom of the day.

At the time the educational doctrine was that basic education, which could be equiparated with primary gave the greatest social and even private rate of return. Until it was achieved for all then any expansion of secondary or tertiary should be delayed. Authors both from the World Bank and independent sources stressed this.<sup>xvii</sup> The plan therefore that was produced by the Zambian team conformed in large measure to the theories of the World Bank.

The team in preparing this latest document (1986) was charged with carrying out the major demands of the 1977 plan as follows:

- a) Nine years education for all.

- b) Make sure all urban children entered Grade 1
- c) Give rural children a place in Grade 5<sup>xviii</sup>
- d) Increase the number of secondary school entrants.

This World Bank sponsored plan, *Education for All* states categorically that the country's priorities must be:

- a) The physical expansion and development of the primary sector
- b) The physical expansion of teacher training colleges for the production of teachers in the numbers needed by the enlarged primary sector.
- c) Development of assessment procedures so that these can be used in selecting the small number who will proceed to the next level.
- d) These dicta show that little attention was paid to the demands mentioned above for carrying out the 1977 plan.

Other major points were the development of curricular materials and the improvement of teacher education. However until the objectives had been achieved "All other educational targets must remain subordinate to those just outlined. Some expansion of secondary education, at both junior and senior levels, will be possible but only on a modest scale." Even the nine years basic education was reduced to a more realistic seven years and it was recognised that it would take many years before all could proceed to Grade Nine.<sup>xix</sup>

The situation in 1991 when this new plan had had five years in operation was not satisfactory. The quality of education in primary secondary and tertiary institutions was low. The availability and quality of facilities had declined. School buildings were dilapidated, unsafe or unusable. While the teachers were reasonably well qualified, they were demoralised. Teaching materials were in very short supply; no textbooks, writing materials, or even chalk for the teacher. "It is no surprise then that in terms of outputs educational quality is low: examination performance stagnating at a low rate of passing; primary school-leavers who cannot read, write or compute and who will quickly lapse back into illiteracy; secondary school leavers who are mathematically innumerate, scientifically illiterate." Under the aegis of UNESCO, Zambia then joined with other countries in the worldwide push for *Education for All by the Year 2000* instigated at a UNESCO conference at Jomtien in Thailand.<sup>xx</sup>

While there have been some improvements since 1990, the situation is not much better than it was in the mid 1970s. Structural Adjustment Programs have reduced the amount of government money available for education. Private education is on the increase and teachers not infrequently have two teaching jobs. The one in the morning is in a Government school and the one in the afternoon in a private school. The same building is used for both. There are complaints that teachers spend most of their energies on the private pupils since they see the money directly.

Since the early 1980s Zambia in common with other Sub-Saharan African countries has been obliged to beg for loans from the IMF and the World Bank. There were a number of important factors that lead to this. Firstly noted above was that in order to be the legitimate government in the eyes of the people UNIP had to be a modern state that was responsible for all its citizens unlike the colonial administration which dealt largely with the small white population. As a consequence and also because of a top heavy Government sector the expenses of the

state grew enormously. Secondly Zambia depended virtually completely on income from copper exports and in the 1980s the price of copper fell dramatically. Unlike a more balanced economy that might have restricted its sale of copper and relied on other exports Zambia was obliged to increase its production of copper and even sell it at a loss in order to pay its mining population. In order to obtain the loans the World Bank imposed a regime of structural programs on the government. Spending on social matters such as education and health was reduced. Government had to privatise many of the enterprises that it had nationalised on Independence.

Jones attributes these lending preconditions of the World Bank as an "ideological stance in promoting an integrated world economic system along market lines. It attempts to find intellectual grounding in human capital theory . . . and champions public austerity and a reduced role for government in the provision of education. In painting a picture of the preconditions for successful educational development, the World Bank is in effect depicting its view of the ideal economy."<sup>xxi</sup> Jones sees these demands as "precisely the agenda of globalisation"<sup>xxii</sup> which he characterises as "economic integration, achieved in particular through the establishment of a global market-place marked by free trade and a minimum of regulation". He contrasts this with internationalism; "the promotion of global peace and well-being through the development of international structures, primarily but not solely of an intergovernmental kind . . . the essentially pro-democratic logic of internationalism stands in sharp contrast to the logic of globalisation."<sup>xxiii</sup>

The discussion of this chapter on Education and Globalisation has centred around the level at which Zambia, in common with other African countries is part of the global system. In the opening paragraphs of this chapter it has been shown that the Zambian education system tied it to a world wide system, namely the recognised entry exam into Western Universities. Since Independence that link to a world wide system has not been diminished but rather increased as in the words of Bayart . . . "Since 1980, programmes of structural adjustment and the problematiques of reform and conditionality have in many respects enhanced the depth of Africa's insertion into the world system"<sup>xxiv</sup> It was not, as it was in the romantic notion of British colonial officials a place apart where the good natives should be left alone and not be touched by commercialism or a modern way of life. Towns even as late as 1940 were considered places disruptive to native life. "Many Native Authorities have already made orders under the Native Authority Ordinance prohibiting children, unaccompanied by parents, from leaving the rural areas for urban centres, and those who have not made such orders are being urged to do so."<sup>xxv</sup> This despite the fact that many of the miners, their wives and children had been living in one or more of the Copperbelt towns for at least five or more years and many of the children had never lived anywhere other than in a town. Bayart argues that "The process of 'civilising' the natives of Africa quite often consisted in traditionalising them, by assigning to them ethnic identities or codes of customary law which were largely invented."<sup>xxvi</sup> I have shown elsewhere that the chiefs in Zambia were in fact largely creations of the British administration.<sup>xxvii</sup>

That is but one example of how various parts of the groups who made up colonial Zambia collaborated with the colonial officials. Local chiefs frequently played off the officials against the missionaries in the belief that the officials would



guarantee them the kind of education that would enable their wards to advance up the educational ladder as against the missionary education that stressed religion. Another group that acted as the local arm of the administration was that of the “Boma” class of Zambians. Each chief in Zambia of whom there were up to 229 after the Second World War was in charge of a Native Authority. Part of his role was to collect taxes for the government such as a tax on each hut in a village. Africans earned much of this tax either through going to work in another country such as South Africa, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia), the Congo or Tanzania. As few as possible worked for local European farmers because the wages were low and the conditions bad. The chief was allowed to keep a proportion of this tax but also collected taxes for gun licenses, fines his court imposed for breaking tribal rules and other levies. Some Native Authorities even ran schools and were encouraged to do so by the Officials. Most of these schools were badly run but the Ngoni Native Authority School was very successful in producing the kind of children the Colonial officials approved of.<sup>xxviii</sup> The chiefs frequently backed the colonial officials against nationalist parties since they felt their authority was being undermined by the educated group such as teachers and others who denied the right of traditional leaders to decide on the future of the country.

D.H.H. Frost, District Commissioner, Kawambwa, reported in 1960 “Senior Chief Mushota is a loyal Chief, and I am satisfied that he is taking firm action against the UNIP organisation in his area... A number of prosecutions have successfully brought to conclusion against them in the last month or so.”<sup>xxix</sup> This was at a time just four years short of Independence. An ongoing thorn in the sides of the chiefs was the mining towns where they had little control over the behaviour of their people. This was particularly so in the matter of marriages between a member of their tribe and of another, something that would not have occurred within the boundaries of the Native Authority. Even when the mining officials attempted to bring disputes under the aegis of chiefs the miners refused to abide by decisions that were “village based not town based”.

As Cooper notes, until recently, explanations of colonial enterprises have assumed more coherence in this history than is warranted.<sup>xxx</sup> Colonisers and colonised both adapted to the situation and to each other or in the words of Memmi: “Colonialism creates both the coloniser and the colonised”<sup>xxxi</sup>. Bayart notes: “In the first place, recent research on the history of colonisation confirms the degree to which those who were colonised themselves participated in this process, and it confirms the effect of their actions on the colonial situation itself, on the colonisers and even on the metropole.” The same author quotes Cooper “European policy is as much a response to African initiatives as African “resistance” or “adaptation” is a response to colonial interventions”.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Moreover the same leaders of the nationalist parties were as much enmeshed in the western education system as the people they were opposing. They had received something of the same education as the colonial officials that enabled them to enter into a dialogue. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania had insisted prior to independence that as many as possible in his country receive as much secondary education as possible precisely so that they would be on equal terms with the officials.

### 1. HOW THE EDUCATION SYSTEMS "WESTERNISES"

The theoretical framework of Discourse and Discipline of Michel Foucault has been adopted in order to understand the process of the education system throughout the colonial period and how that system developed. Foucault had examined social institutions such as prisons, asylums and schools. He looked at the ostensible purposes or policy of these places (the discourse) and how the purposes were justified and carried out (the discipline). Each discourse was put into practice by a set of procedures adapted to that discourse. Appropriate tactics or discipline activated the strategy or discourse. A discourse, that "language of a social institution", did not occur independently of the institution of education and its practices. Such practices operated in an organised, orderly manner and in accordance with fixed rules. The combination of these organised boundaries constituted the "discipline" and both the religious and secular agencies in Northern Rhodesia shared in the dominant discourse. Education therefore became defined by the discourse in which it was embedded as "discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention".<sup>xxxiii</sup> Schooling at any one time was what the discourse proposed and it was accepted and perpetuated by both the administrators of education and the participants.

In interpreting the educational discourse, the thoughts of the participants are in the main shaped by rules or regularities that they are unaware of, so that one is less interested in the truth-value of certain statements. Instead, one seeks to appreciate the documentary value of "style" by discerning key notions, rules of combining these, and the rhetorical devices used to build up arguments.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* took account of the fact that discourse not only has a meaning or truth, but a specific history.

Between a discipline and its discourse, or more properly, discourses, the relationship is not always clear nor is it coherent. The discipline does exercise considerable control over the discourse by the continuity and some would say very rigidity of its practices. "The discipline fixes limits for discourse by the action of an identity which takes the form of a permanent re-actuation of the rules".<sup>xxxv</sup> Even though the practices or discipline may remain much the same the actual discourse may vary considerably. As a result, while the discipline of education will remain identifiable and relatively constant, the discourse will be discontinuous. Despite these differing discourses, the discipline of education in Northern Rhodesia continued and in many ways remained unchanged. Whatever the discourse, it had to be realised through the discipline's fundamental structures. Equally, what could and could not be done at a particular time was related to issues of power between the groups.

Foucault made a number of direct comparisons between the practices that were introduced into the various disciplinary institutions and the education system in the nineteenth century. He analysed the operation of the discipline of education under three headings:

### *1.1 Hierarchised, continuous and functional surveillance*

The surveillance that Foucault had in mind was of the kind that guarantees within a group there is a hierarchy of ever diminishing power of observation and punishment.<sup>xxxvi</sup> By means of such surveillance, disciplinary power became an “integrated system, linked from the inside to the economy and to the aims of the mechanism in which it was practised”

### *1.2 The normalisation process*

This notion was central to the introduction of a standardised education system in Northern Rhodesia. When applied to school pupils it assumed that if they deviated from what was considered the norm they were either punished or regarded as incapable of learning. Piaget’s developmental stages have been seen as criteria against which children are judged to be developing normally. This showed that “the practices of surveillance, observation and classification normalise children but do not seem to acknowledge or even understand the point that the developing child is an ‘object’ produced by those practices.” The education system “normalises” people, that is, it produces the kind of people who conform to a set of criteria into categories established by the social sciences as being appropriate. In normalising, the discipline on the one hand, imposes a type of homogeneity; all are students, but at the same time it also acts as a way of seeing individual differences.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

### *1.3 The examination process*

To measure the differences between individuals within the discipline, the third factor of the process is employed; the examination. Through the examination the students are individualised, that is, they are identified by their place in the hierarchy. They are then in a position to be corrected, punished or encouraged. The mark she/he gets, places them on a scale relative to their companions. The examination with all its documentary techniques turned each individual into a “case” and an object of power. These processes ensured new modes of power whereby the indigenous population could be divided into distinct categories, a process that was central to the effective deployment of other disciplinary techniques, such as classification, control and containment.

The result of an education system should be the emergence of an “educated, liberated, autonomous person”. However the type of educated person is predicated by the very system which the person undergoes. The practices of surveillance, observation and classification normalised the African children but did acknowledge the point that the developing child became an “object” produced by those practices. To use another term of poststructuralist analysis the education system trains people in a certain way, that is, it produces the kind of people who conform to a set of criteria established by the coloniser as being appropriate. They are in Foucault’s terminology “normalised”.

Yet a limited type of liberation was very clearly demonstrated in the ways in which educated Africans appropriated the discourse of education to their purposes. Julius Nyerere(Tanzania), Jomo Kenyata(Kenya), Kenneth Kaunda(Zambia) each argued against the Colonial Government that Africans needed higher education. Their reason for this was so that their people would be able to manipulate the very system that was being used to deny them access to power, that is, the discourse that the Colonial Officials, white settlers and others were operating. McHoul<sup>xxxviii</sup> notes that "If resistance is to be effective, it requires the active interrogation of the tactics employed in a struggle. But this means that one must acknowledge in the first instance that tactics are being used." Harry Nkumbula by the leader of the ANC (African National Congress) gave a practical example of this prior to Independence. At the small siding of Chisekesi in the Southern Province it was customary for Africans to buy goods through an aperture in the shop's wall but they were not allowed enter the shop. Harry, one of Zambia's more flamboyant politicians went to the "hole in the wall" and paid for a bed. To the profound embarrassment of the shopkeeper he demanded that since he had bought it through the hole, it should be given to him that way, even though the aperture was too small. The crowd that gathered guaranteed that the story went through the countryside. The question must be asked then, whether such men were in fact liberated or were "normalised" into an acceptance of a paradigm set up by the very words "educated" and "independence". While they were considered by others and considered themselves "revolutionaries" they may in have been fact conforming to the patterns which the discourses of "education" and "independence" set up for them.

Bayart also treats of the way in which the social institutions of the colonial period "helped form the discourses, the procedures, rules and, in short the "technologies of power", which have as one of their foremost targets the human body".<sup>xxxix</sup> "This is so . . . when they are groomed, educated, clothed and remodelled. The work ethic, which religious converts and salaried employees were constantly exhorted or bullied, in homilies and under threat of beatings, into assimilating into their inner selves . . . his was a major element in the process of constituting the self of millions of Africans."

Bayart however goes back further than the British colonial period to that of the slave trade, both through the West coast by European slavers and through the East coast through the Arab traders. He points to the Christianity of Ethiopia, trade with China, India, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean in pre-modern times and the constant passage of trade across the Sahara. More importantly however from the point of view of this article is his contention that "the leading actors in Sub-Saharan societies have tended to compensate for their difficulties in the autonomisation of their power in intensifying the exploitation of their dependants by deliberate recourse to the strategies of extraversion, mobilising resources derived from their (possibly unequal) relationship with the external environment." This point he expands by pointing to the manner in which the elites of various African countries have battered on their subjects either directly through denial of human rights or through siphoning off the proceeds of trade in primary products into their own pockets. Both historically and in the present day he argues that "Africans have been active agents in the *mise en dependance* of their societies." This active participation

by Africans was true of the slave trade just as it is true of the present day corruption of Government for the profit of a small group of officials.<sup>x1</sup> In the program of the BBC of 19 November 2003 (relayed in Australia on 20<sup>th</sup>) the level of corruption in Sierra Leone was examined. The legitimate trade in uncut diamonds for example was \$40m in 2002 while the real figure of diamonds traded was ten times that figure. While now that the fighting has stopped, there is a certain return to peace and quiet. Nonetheless as in other cases there are no jobs for the youth, corruption is rife and the situation could easily return to civil war if there is not a real effort to curb what people see as those in power taking the benefits and not sharing them.

The triple panacea offered by the West, of Democracy or Good Governance, Structural Adjustment in return for loans and Humanitarian Aid has in many instances merely allowed the elite further licence to remain in control and corruptly so.<sup>x1i</sup> “Since 1980 programmes of structural adjustment and the problematiqués of reform and conditionality have in many respects enhanced the depth of Africa’s insertion into the world system.”<sup>x1iii</sup>

*Extraversion through democracy* has shown its limits . . . unable to incorporate either economically or institutionally, in terms of either education or ideology, the groups we have just mentioned, namely young people and rural communities, in spite of the fact that these two excluded categories actually compose the majority of the population.

*Financial extraversion* can take the form of direct financial aid by friendly governments and multilateral institutions such as the WB, the IMF and the European Development Fund which have all made contributions to the Ugandan war effort in Rwanda and Congo-Kinshasa since 1990 in the guise of structural adjustment aid. It can also take the form of *humanitarian aid*, such as food aid or medical assistance, with the consequence that the international NGOs join the serried ranks of intermediaries between the African sub-continent and the rest of the world, often being obliged to pay local political-military entrepreneurs in order to gain access to those societies or population groups they wish to assist<sup>x1iii</sup>. “In time of war *Economic extraversion* takes place when the costs of waging war are covered by the export, including in the crudest form, of the primary products of a country in the form of oil, diamonds, minerals, hardwood, cash crops, cattle or other animals”. Zambia’s copper exports are an example of this.

The year 2001 by which time both the *Provision of Education for All* (in Zambia) and *Education for All by the Year 2000* (for the rest of the developing world) should have been completed showed some shortfalls in quantity for Zambia, but great ones in quality. The adult literacy rate was seen to be 79% while 90% males and 75% females as a percentage of the relevant age cohort completed Primary. As for quality however classrooms, books, even chalk were all in short supply. Teacher training had not improved. This is not surprising given that by 1997<sup>x1iv</sup> Zambia was classified as a Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) with an inflation rate of 48% and 63.7% of the population living below the poverty indicator of \$1 per day.<sup>x1v</sup>

In an article dealing with the relative finances apportioned to different sectors of the education system in developed countries Francois Orivel concludes with a comparison between funds available to a first world country such as France with

those available to a developing country such as Mali. In our case Zambia is not quite as poor as Mali (GDP per annum of \$370 compared with \$248). However the comparative figures will give a good appreciation of why the quality of education in Zambia is so low and how low are the chances of any improvement in the position relative to that of developed countries. As will be seen the title of Orivel's article: "Excluding the poor: globalisation and educational systems" is an apt one. Rounding up his section on developed countries he states: "Today, to have access to a good quality of education it is better to be born in a poor family in Europe than in a rich family in Sub-Saharan Africa."<sup>xlvi</sup>

There are of course different types of developing countries; some are very near the level of developed countries while others are still behind but catching up and some that show signs of developing. However as seen above Zambia belongs to the group known as the HIPC, i.e. the Highly Indebted Poor Countries, or the Least Developed Countries.<sup>xlvii</sup> The figures compiled by the UN Report mentioned above gives Mali a GDP for 1999 of \$248 while Zambia between 1980 and 1999 dropped from \$505 to \$370. According to Orivel such Least Developed countries have within their borders the major part of the 100 million school-age children who will never go to school, plus the majority of illiterate adults. Zambia does have a much better percentage of children going to school figures than Orivel uses between 1980 and 1997 the total of Primary school children enrolled dropped from 91% to 89% but that since it is the Gross Enrolment ratio does not take into account the number who drop out both at Year 4 and Year 6 as the Primary completion rate has dropped. The progression to secondary as a percentage of those who go from Primary to secondary has risen from 16% in 1980 to 27% in 1997 but this is probably as much a function of the decrease in the number of children getting to Year 6 as anything else. However, Orivel's financial analysis will help explain much of what was said above about the poor quality of Zambia's schooling.<sup>xlviii</sup>

If we take the average GDP per inhabitant in Zambia as \$370 per year, i.e. 72 times less than the \$26,692 dollars observed on average in developed countries. The gap between the two groups has doubled in the last 20 years since in 1980 the Zambian GDP was \$505 while that of the developed countries was \$18,491 that is 36.6 times greater. If the two groups had devoted the same percentage of the GDP to Education, the school resources per inhabitant would have been then 72 times weaker. But that is not the case. In the less developed countries, the part of the GDP allocated to school public expenditure is only 2.5% which is half of what is devoted in developed countries.<sup>xlix</sup> The interval resource per inhabitant is then 144 to 1. "But that is not all. The least developed countries have school-age populations relatively higher compared to the whole population. This come from the fact that demographic transition (a phenomenon through which countries go from a natural fertility of about 7 children per woman to a planned fertility that is below 2 children per woman), has not been achieved."<sup>l</sup> The population in Zambia has risen from 3.5 m at Independence in 1964 to 9m in 1999 with an annual growth rate of 2.4%.<sup>li</sup> The life expectancy rate has dropped from 51 in 1985 to 41 in 2000.<sup>lii</sup>

The dependency rate therefore has increased overall not only because of the number of children being born but also because of the drop in the average life expectancy. This dependency ratio has increased also as a result of the AIDS

pandemic which is most prevalent in the age group that would be expected to take care of children and older people. AIDS is now making huge inroads into the education system. It is estimated that 24% of the women of child-bearing age are HIV positive, that an equal number of men of the same age group are AIDS' sufferers. The traditional system whereby an orphaned child was automatically taken in by relatives can no longer continue since so many parents of young children are ill or dead. Typical is the story of Florence Namukwaya, a Ugandan girl whose parents died of AIDS, then her older brother died as did his wife. Florence had already lost 6 of her brothers and sister through Aids. At 13 Florence went to live with her grandmother who was looking after 8 children (those of Florence's brother and sister). Florence now looks after her grandmother and thirteen children. She does not intend marrying or having children; "I'm so busy worrying about all of us." Uganda has 1.7 million orphans of the 11 million in Sub-Saharan African. It is estimated that by 2010 the percentage of children orphaned by AIDS will be one quarter of all orphans.<sup>liii</sup> One of the groups suffering in large numbers from AIDS is that of the teachers. This is but another example of how Africa is part of the global system.

All other things being equal, the less developed countries have then 3 times more children to send to school than the developed ones. If we think in relation to school-age children, the resource gap is multiplied by 3 increasing it to 432 to 1. But even though the teaching inputs are cheaper in the less developed countries the figures do not work out. For example a schoolbook sold at \$43 in the US would have to be available at one cent in Zambia, something that is most unlikely. Or that a teacher who earns \$3,500 per month in the US earns \$8 per month or \$98 per annum in Zambia.

I have used Zambia to examine the concept of globalisation as it refers to poorer countries. There is no doubt that Zambia is connected to the rest of the world and has been since slavers moved through in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The copper industry has guaranteed Zambia's dependence on world markets since the 1920s but long before that at least 50,000 Zambian men worked in the mines of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania or the Congo. At the same time much of the country was untouched bearing out both Cooper's idea of "lumpy" globalisation and Bayart's concept of "extraversion". The adaptation of Orivel's education figures and finance to Zambia show how little chance the country has of providing a robust educational system. At the same time the digital divide is increasing daily as the children of the developed world become more and more computer literate and the children of the developing world fall further behind.<sup>liv</sup>

The question then is asked: What are the chances of the recent push by UNESCO for *Education for All by the Year 2015*. At first glance it would seem to have little chance of success given that the previous aim of *Education For All by the Year 2000* failed; in Oxfam's words the Jomtien target set in 1990 for the year 2000 "has been comprehensively missed".<sup>lv</sup> The report identified "inadequate financing, unrealistic target setting, and incoherent planning as central weaknesses in the *Education For All* planning process currently conducted under the auspices of UNESCO". Jones gives a persuasive argument for the inadequate financing. It (UNESCO) relies on "compulsory levies imposed by formula upon governments, the wealthiest of which

invariably combine to render UNESCO as low-cost an organisation as possible. Accordingly, the cash-strapped UNESCO can afford expansive rhetoric it need not match with funded operations.<sup>lvi</sup> As for the incoherent planning and the unrealistic target setting the Oxfam report (2002) concluded that the targets set in 2000 were unlikely to be met since a series of structural reforms in many of the countries would have to be met first. All was not gloom however as it was believed that 59 of the 88 countries at risk can reasonably be expected to achieve universal primary completion by 2015 if they bring the efficiency and quality into line. The 29 countries lagging farthest behind will not reach the goal without historically unprecedented rates of progress, international support, and overall reduction in poverty. The needs identified were; data of good quality for monitoring, sound policies, effective and sustainable delivery of quality educational services and external financing.

Both the World Bank and UNESCO recognise that financing is inadequate and that education should be “for all” not just for the “male primary school children residing in urban areas”.<sup>lvii</sup> Both too stress that “Education for all should also mean quality education not just attainment of minimum levels of basic competencies. It should also mean that what is learned is relevant to the immediate, likely and future realities of the learner.”<sup>lviii</sup> As seen above what is in the future is the reality of the digital information technology world. Whether or not the lumpy globalisation can narrow the gap in that area as well as in others between the developed and developing world remains to be seen.

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<sup>i</sup> Given the large number of books and articles on globalisation this chapter will restrict its bibliography to a consideration of some of the works dealing directly with the issue of globalisation and education in sub Saharan Africa

<sup>ii</sup> Africans had, for example known of and made use of the Victoria Falls under the name of 'Mosi o Tunya' the Smoke that Thunders' long before Livingstone 'discovered' them.

<sup>iii</sup> See Davis, R. Hunt. 'Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History.' *African Affairs*, 1971. Davis quotes Hugh Trevor-Roper's statement from 'The Rise of Christian Europe' *The Listener*, Vol.70, p. 1809, November 28<sup>th</sup> 1963

<sup>iv</sup> Bayart, Jean-Francois. Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. *African Affairs* (2000), 99, 217-267. P.218. He points to the antiquity of Christianity in Ethiopia, the spread of Islam on the coasts, the establishment of Austronesian colonies in Madagascar, regular patterns of trade with China, India, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean...'

<sup>v</sup> Cooper, Frederick, What is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective. *African Affairs* (2001), 100, 189-213.

<sup>vi</sup> Cooper, op.cit. p.189.

<sup>vii</sup> *ibid.* p.190.

<sup>viii</sup> Bayart, Jean-Francois. Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. *African Affairs* (2000), 99, 217-267. P.218. He points to the antiquity of Christianity in Ethiopia, the spread of Islam on the coasts, the establishment of Austronesian colonies in Madagascar, regular patterns of trade with China, India, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean...'

- <sup>ix</sup> Slavery was endemic in Central Africa. I have oral records recorded in the 1960s which go back into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century where older Tongans (Central Zambia) tell of the slavery of forbears taken by the Ngoni (Zimbabwe) and the Lozi (Western Zambia). This was slavery without any connection with the Atlantic Slave Trade or with the slave route across Northern Zambia leading to the coast and the Arab Slave Trade for which there are references to metzitos, ie mixed blood Mozambican and Portuguese.
- <sup>x</sup> Orivel, Francois. Excluding the Poor: globalisation and educational systems. *European Educational Research Journal*, Volume 1, Number 2, 2002. pp.342-357.
- <sup>xi</sup> Ibid p. 342.
- <sup>xii</sup> *Education for Development; draft statement on educational reform*, (Ministry of Education, Lusaka, 1976), p. 79. This was a particularly apt image as the railway running from the Victoria Falls in the South to the Copperbelt in the North was just such a railway.
- <sup>xiii</sup> The One-Party State was declared in 1972. As a result of this declaration the generation of activists who had formed the grass roots of the Party lost much of their power which had lain in their ability to get people to vote for UNIP. At the first post One Party State election in 1973 less than forty percent of the electorate voted since in the words of one informant. 'We used demand one man one vote when the British were here now it is one man no vote since we don't get a choice'.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Christopher Colclough, 'Formal Education Systems and Poverty-Focused Planning'. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 13, (1975) p. 580.
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- <sup>xviii</sup> The push out rate between Grade 4 and Grade 5 was between 68% and 80% in some rural areas.
- <sup>xix</sup> *The Provision of Education for All*.
- <sup>xx</sup> Much of this paragraph is borrowed from a speech by Professor M.J. Kelly delivered to the National Conference on Education for All on 7 March 1991.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Jones, Phillip W. Globalisation and Internationalism: democratic prospects for world education. *Comparative Education* Volume 34 No.2 1998 pp.143-155. p. 152.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Ibid. p.152
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Ibid. p. 143.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Bayart, op.cit. p238.
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- <sup>xxvi</sup> Bayart, op.cit. p. 251
- <sup>xxvii</sup> O'Brien, Dan, Chiefs of Rain, Chiefs of Ruling: A Reinterpretation of Pre-Colonial Tonga (Zambia) Social and Political Structure. *Africa* 53 (4), 1983
- <sup>xxviii</sup> The District Officer, Bradley, spoke highly of the Ngoni Native Authority School in which as he said 'Ngoni children are being taught to be good Ngoni.' Kenneth Bradley(1940) *The Diary of a District Officer* London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. For the British Publishers Guild. p.180. His cadet officer accused him of being 'potty' about the school. p.180.
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- xxxvi Richard Jones,(1990) Educational practices and scientific knowledge. In Ball.S.(ed.)(1990) *Foucault and Education*. London, Routledge.p.94.
- Jones exemplifies this by recalling the 'finely divided divisions of labour,...In order to help the teacher, Batencour selected from among the best pupils a whole series of "officers" - intendants, observers, monitor, tutors, reciters of prayers, writing officers, receivers of ink, almoners and visitors.' While schools no longer have such fine grained distinctions between students the teachers will frequently use a hierarchy in order to keep control.
- xxxvii Foucault, M., *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, (edited and translated by C. Gordon), 1980, Pantheon, New York. See also, Walkerdine, V. *Cultural studies and communications*. 1996. London ;Arnold
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- xxxix taken from Foucault, *Le Souci de Soi* (Gallimard, Paris 1984) p.138.
- xl Angola is probably the most striking example of this. Angola exports its oil to the US and receives upwards of \$6bn per annum yet there is great poverty in the country and the children starve particularly in the rural areas. Nigeria's corrupt use of the oil revenues is another example. The present Nigerian Government is trying to recover \$1.2bn from the family of deceased President Sani Abacha. After lengthy negotiations it was agreed to allow the family keep \$100m provided they returned the rest. As late as December 2003 I was receiving emails asking me to assist the Abacha family in keeping \$25m from the Government of Nigeria. The former President of Zambia elected on a platform of reform in 1990 is now answering corruption charges.
- xli Bayart, op.cit. p.227
- xlii *ibid.* p.238.
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- xliv *The Least Developed Countries Report 2002, Escaping the Poverty Trap*. (Prepared by the UNCTAD secretariat) United Nations Publications. New York and Geneva.
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- xlvi Orivel, Francois, Excluding the Poor: globalisation and educational systems. *European Educational Research Journal*, Volume 1, Number 2,2002,pp.342-358. P.356.
- xlvii The Least Developed Countries Report 2002: Escaping the Poverty Trap. United Nations Conference of Trade and Development Geneva Prepared by the UNCTAD secretariat. New York and Geneva. United Nations
- xlviii The methodology here is adopted from Orivel pp.354 to 356 while the figures for developed and developing countries are taken from The Least Developed Countries Report 2002: Escaping the Poverty Trap, pp 247-285.
- xlix I have not been able to find the figure for Zambia and have taken Orivel's general figure of half what is spent in developed countries.
- i Orivel, op.cit. p.357.
- ii The Least Developed Countries Report 2002: Escaping the Poverty Trap, p.247
- iii *ibid.* p.254.
- iiii The Guardian Weekly December 11-17 2003 p.23. The figures for orphans are taken from UNAIDS, Unicef.
- liv Zambia ranked no. 143 out of 162 countries on Human Development Indices, 1999 by the United Nations Development Programme. <http://www.undp.org/hdr2001/indicator>.

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- <sup>iv</sup> [www.caa.org.au/advocacy/education/report/repasia.html](http://www.caa.org.au/advocacy/education/report/repasia.html).  
<sup>vi</sup> Jones, op.cit.p.151.  
<sup>vii</sup> [www.worldbank.org/education/efa.asp](http://www.worldbank.org/education/efa.asp). Section 1.  
<sup>viii</sup> Ibid.

CRAIN SOUDIEN

## INSIDE BUT BELOW: THE PUZZLE OF EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL ORDER

### 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, over-determine the character of every-day 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 matter of acceptance or rejection? What educational decisions, for example, ought a Zulu-speaking family in South Africa make about their six-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? □

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, of 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 & Coombs, 1980; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Carnoy, 1974; Watson, 1982, 1984; Dore, 1976; Mangan, 1993; Tikly, 1999; Carnoy & Samoff, 1990; Bray, 1993; Freire, 1972, 1978; Brock & Lawlor, 1985; Nasson & Samuel, 1990; Fuller, 1991; Foster, 1977, and 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, for example, 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 and McGrew and Goldblatt and Perraton (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 Asian-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 globalization 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, globalization 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 interconnections" (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, 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, p. 5 & 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 Tibbett, 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., p. 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. 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.<sup>ii</sup>

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, and 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, Griffiths & Tiffin, 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, Griffiths and Tiffin (1994, 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 and 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, of oppression and exploitation. Drawing from Said, Ahluwalia (2001, p. 6) argues that whereas post-modernism 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, 1979, 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’, ‘self’ and ‘other’.<sup>iii</sup> 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 Shabaa 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 chimeras. 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, that 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 to 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 hierachalisation 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, is 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 frameworked by a trade in stereotypes – samoosas, 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 are *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 three these 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, 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 him 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 semiotic 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 Bhaba'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 centre-piece 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 two 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, p3). 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, of 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.

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- <sup>i</sup> 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.
- <sup>ii</sup> 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.
- <sup>iii</sup> Stuart Hall (1996, p. 244) says that there is a 'certain nostalgia' for the return of 'such a clear cut politics of binary oppositions.'

MACLEANS A. GEO-JAJA

## GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION REFORMS AND POLICY CHANGE IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

### 1. INTRODUCTION

That human resource development is essential to economic development is a surprise to no one and is once again illustrated by the Nigerian experience. Unfortunately, the Nigerian experience also demonstrates that the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, when misapplied, can be destructive of the educational systems that are essential to human resource development. This chapter explores that destructive experience, illustrates how the objectives of structural adjustment might have been accomplished without essentially destroying education in Nigeria, and recommends an outcome-based education approach for Nigeria which could serve equally well in other developing nations. Africa needs to decolonise her educational systems, her curricula, teaching methods and even her language of instruction. "What is needed is an educational system that seeks to enhance the full capacity and capabilities of human beings while ministering to the socioeconomic needs of Africa" [UNESCO, 1998, p. 8]. We argue for policy redirection toward the human dimension of development and seek stakeholders' reaffirmation of education as the essential tool of all development. The key message of the chapter is that the ongoing austerity programs have been secured at unfortunately high human cost-high in terms of lost output, military adventurism, social instability and declining quality of education. Therefore, we concluded that the twin institutions could have accomplished the legitimate objectives of adjustment without undermining the human resource development process in Nigeria and other African nations, to which education is such an essential contributor.

Recent economic pressures, national and international, have led to serious neglect of the human dimension in development. Unless remedied, this neglect will distort and impede the future development of at least a generation to come. [Haq & Kirdar, 1986, p. xv].

The revolution in Nigerian education since the 1960s has been as important for Nigeria's nation building as the political revolution that brought political

sovereignty in 1960. The political leaders regard education as the basic component in nation building and the foundation from which they hope the economic revolution will be regenerated. It was considered a ladder for social and economic advancement, but this has perhaps never been demonstrated so dramatically as in the recent history of Japan and the “Asian Tigers”. Today, the consensus on the contribution of education to the development process is widespread and well established. As far back as Alfred Marshall it was conceded that:

The most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings. If one of the major goals of nearly all societies today is rapid economic growth, then programs of human resource development must be designed to provide the knowledge, the skills, and the incentives required by a productive economy (Marshall, 1936, p. 208).

Identification of a systematic relationship between education expenditure, human capital and worker productivity gained for Theodore Schultz the Nobel Prize in economics (Schultz, 1959, 1961). Schmookler's (1952), and Kendrick's (1961) pioneering work on human capital stimulated a large body of research that has also attributed growth rates of national product per capita to the quality of education. Edward Denison's approach, which represents an extension of the analysis introduced earlier by Jacob Schmookler and John Kendrick, convincingly show that economic growth could not be explained by the input of labour and capital alone (Denison, 1962). The premise of *Schultz's* work was that these foundation scholars of human capital and economics of education was that education facilitates economic and social mobilisation and human resource development. Further, evidence supporting the positive and significant correlation of education, social mobilisation and development, and human resource development abounds in Khadija Haq and Uner Kirdar's edited book, entitled *Human Development: the Neglected Dimension* (Huq & Kirdar, 1986; also see the following pioneering works: Marshall, 1936; Schmookler, 1952; Kendrick, 1961; Denison 1962).

These studies linking education to economic growth influenced many developing governments, particularly the government of Nigeria, to invest in education at independence. The justification for this expenditure was that, not only is education a basic human right, but that, if properly planned, education will facilitate human capital formation and socioeconomic mobilisation. In addition to education's direct impact on productivity and social/human capital, it influences other intervening variables that have positive consequences for per capita income. For example, as the level of education in a country rises, fertility rates generally drop, the utilisation of technology increases, and productivity among workers grows, thereby elevating living standards. Whether through intervening variables or more direct effects on production, education tailored to local and national need is vital to Nation-building. The literature on the “Asian Miracle”, which proliferated in the 1990s, offered a range of explanations for the remarkable growth record of the Asian “high performance”, but almost all contributions agreed on the importance of education. (For more detailed discussion on the reasons for the Asian success, see World Bank, 1993, p. 119; Cummings, 1995, p. 67; Campos & Roots, 1996, p. 36; Ashton & Sung, 1997, p. 207).

In a recent World Bank study of 68 economies from five different continents between 1960 and 1987, analysts found that increasing the average amount of education of the labour force by one year raises Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 9 percent (World Bank, 1991, p. 43). For instance, to facilitate the process of modernisation, the Singaporean government expanded education at all levels and reoriented them toward the production of industrial, clerical and professional manpower. The expansion and improvement in education were tailored to involve the masses who were to provide the semiskilled labour, as well as the technicians and professionals who were to guide them. The results are historic. Given the widespread agreement as to the demonstrated role of education in human resource development and therefore its essentiality to economic development, one would have expected educational funding to be almost sacrosanct in every developing nation. Then why not also so in *Nigerian* African development?

## 2. EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the early post-independence years, African economies had generally strong education and economic records. The overall growth in per capita GDP was positive in most countries while education supplied the required human resources for modernisation. But then came the cataclysm. For most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, economic growth fell from 2.0 percent yearly from 1966 to 1973, to -0.7 percent yearly from 1985 to 1990, and to -0.9 percent from 1991 to 1994 (World Bank, 1996, p. 18). Many factors were involved, but the most certain were the advent of structural adjustment programs (SAPs). Government budgets were out of hand in many countries. Deficits were multiplying and international lending institutions had to be concerned, but it was certainly not necessary to institute such draconian measures as to destroy essential public services, especially investments in education and the human dimension of development. Most of the countries identified as requiring structural adjustment had numerous areas of excess expenditure which could have been cut without long-term harm. Education and other essential services such as health care simply had less aggressive protectors than, say, military expenditures and debt servicing.

This criticism of SAP policies is a matter of growing consensus. Onimode (1992), Killick (1993, p. 315; 1997), Collier et al. (1997), and the World Bank (2000), all have identified economic adjustment measures as catalysts for the destruction of embryonic institutions, the intensification of unemployment and poverty, and retardation of socioeconomic development. Several authors have specified SAP's adverse effect on education indicators (Cornia, 1987; Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991; World Bank, 2000). Other authors such as Hoogvelt (1997), Ndoye (1997), and Adedeji (1999) perceive the shortcomings of adjustment to be the causes of economic catastrophes. Adjustment has helped tie the economic natural and human resources of the African region more tightly into servicing the economies of the industrialised countries, but not to African advantage. Hoogvelt (1997, p. 179) argues that the implementation of economic adjustment has been very much tied in

with the spread of the poverty and the “new racism” which have come to underpin popular explanations for the growing political instability, inter-communal conflicts, and declining quality of education in Africa. The impact of adjustment has not been only upon Africa. In Latin America, adjustment policies are cited for “largely cancelling out the progress of the 1960s and the early 1980s” (Iglesias, 1992, pp. 112-13).

Thus, it is imperative to examine both the contradictions and the links among existing education and human resource development policies and practices and the standardised approach of SAPs. From our perspective, we argue that the scope of economic adjustment measures must be multidimensional, taking into account a larger national development framework encompassing social, political and economic factors, but with emphasis on the human dimension.

### 3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SAP

The structural adjustment frameworks were not limited to drastic limitations on education expenditures. Companion policies were the privatisation of public enterprises; reduced expenditures in the social sector in general, the reallocation of resources to putatively more productive sectors, and the introduction of “user fees” and cost recovery policies. Some of these may have been appropriate and others not, depending upon the circumstances in each nation. They were generally quick-fix responses to social and economic problems rather than components of long-term reforms. A strong bias of this often short-sighted response to complex socioeconomic problems was the presumption that all state activities are harmful and that nothing but good could come from absolute reliance on the private market. However, while essential to the pursuit of private profit and often a useful guard against hidden public corruption, such unquestioning reliance on “market forces” can often lead to sub-optimal solutions from the point of view of effectiveness and equity in public policy.

The African state, as elsewhere, has indispensable functions to perform, especially in providing economic and social infrastructures, and in creating an environment favourable to the development of human resources, leading to positive social and economic development. Education, appropriately tailored to local and national need, is the essential input to human resource development. If the state does not protect these indispensable functions, who will? Certainly, international agencies devoted to economic development should have been the most committed protectors of those critical development tools.

In this connection, it is worth noting that the widely acclaimed success stories of the economies of the “Asian Tigers”, as well as those of the industrialised countries, owe a great deal to the support and involvement of government in human resource development (World Bank, 1993, p. 119). These nations effectively coordinated not only the development but also the utilisation of human resources and involved government in manpower planning and job placement. It must be done, but it must be done wisely. This attests to the inappropriateness of cutbacks in spending in education and reduction/withdrawal of other subsidies contributing to human



resources mandated by economic adjustment measures. Yet the conditionalities of adjustment programs remain a key World Bank/IMF loan condition, making it difficult for governments to procure the lifeline they so desperately need for facilitating their development policies. Adjustment's adverse outcomes have led to increasing concern that it has failed to provide or release adequate resources, nor to promote the education and training required to meet the changing human resource needs of the economy. This has created scepticism regarding structural adjustment's economic and social efficacy. The combined impact of these outcomes too often negatively affects the quality of education while leading to deterioration in socioeconomic conditions (Cornia, 1987, p. 76). The emerging conclusion from this review is that adjustment program conditionalities have been intrusive, short-sighted, and ineffective in responding to social and economic crises in Africa.

Many of the conditionalities of SAPs threaten the very foundation of human rights and the sovereignty of nations in its compromise of human resources and economic development. Lockheed and Verspoor (1991), World Bank (1991), Reimers and Tiburcio (1993), as well as Jayarajah and Branson (1995), all show that the pattern of declining resource allocation to education has been a direct result of World Bank/IMF austerity programs. These sources provide compelling evidence that policies and programs formulated and promoted by the World Bank and the IMF during the 1980s in Africa pursued reductions in budget deficits at the direct and deliberate expense of public expenditure in the social sector, particularly on the share of recurrent expenditure going to education.

This brings into question the authenticity of structural adjustment as a "true agent" of development. According to Hoogvelt (1997) and Adedeji (1999), economic adjustment measures could well be construed as a grand design for the neo-colonisation of Africa. But one would assume that into the 21st century, after decades of colonial experience, no group of nations or international agencies would place such constraints on a nation's ability to invest in education and develop its human resources as was advocated by the international organisations. One is reminded of Paul Freire's characterisation of colonial education and development strategies as either "white racism" or "cultural invasion". (Hoogvelt, 1997, p. 179; Freire, 1998). Tuomas Takala's 1998 analysis of the formulation of educational policies in four adjusting countries (Ethiopia, 1994; Mozambique, 1995; Tanzania, 1996; and Zambia, 1996) finds that social sector and educational strategies have been heavily and negatively influenced by the World Bank's donor agenda directions as presented in World Bank publications (Takala, 1998, p. 331). His studies support the view that structural adjustment policies serve to further "Cultural invasion" in that they undermine traditional indigenous values, destroy social fabric, facilitate economic dependence, and steer education systems away from the meeting of local need.

#### 4. ECONOMIC CRISIS AND EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

In spite of the limitations of data, available statistics and numerous scholarly works, including that of the World Bank, show the havoc that adjustment has caused to Africa. Average income per head is lower in 2000 than it was in 1971: unemployment increased from 7.7 percent in 1978 to 22.8 percent in 1990, and subsequently increased to 30 percent in 2000. Underemployment is estimated to affect 100 million Africans (ILO/JASPA, 1993). Across the continent an amount two to seven times greater than that allocated for health and education combined has been spent on debt repayment (see UNICEF, 1992, pp. 18-19). For example, six highly indebted poor countries in Africa spent more than a third of their national budget on debt repayment and less than tenth on basic social services. In most cases budget cuts and reforms linked directly to structural adjustment have deleteriously impacted the quality of education, access to education, and human resource development. In other instances, these policies have undermined recipient country ownership instead of reinforcing this key factor. In Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Tanzania, and Nigeria, paid employment and purchasing power have suffered considerable declines with the implementation of adjustment policies. In Zambia, GNP fell by 16 percent in 1991. In Malawi, real wages of agricultural workers were halved. In Mozambique cashew and sugar factories were closed with tens of thousands of jobs lost as the World Bank mandated removal of protection from the cashew processing industry, in favour of theoretically available gains from exporting raw cashew nuts as a symbol of trade liberalisation. Furthermore, this policy with its primary concern for narrow financial matters pushed down cashew prices, affecting income, unemployment, and, accordingly, education quality and Gross Domestic Product. Structural adjustment has not been the sole cause of these maladjustments, but it has certainly been one of the major negative factors.

The "inducement" function conditionality and stabilisation policies have come at a particularly bad time for African nations confronted with the task of educating a rapidly growing youth population while struggling to meet the manpower needs of economic development. Even countries that have managed to maintain, though not increase, their level of education expenditures have seen per student expenditures decline drastically. Recent findings indicate that for a number of African countries the extent to which education expenditures either declined or stagnated, resulting in a general downward trend in unit cost (per pupil expenditure) as enrolments rose while education funding was declining.

Evidence has indeed been accumulating to demonstrate that education priorities did, in fact, shift since the imposing of adjustment in the 1980s, with many countries putting new emphasis on staying current on debt service. For instance, public spending per pupil in African nations declined from US\$50 in 1980 to US\$40 in 1988, compared to forty times as much (US\$2888) in OECD Europe. In absolute terms central government current expenditure on education declined throughout the 1980s. In a majority of the African countries real growth of GNP itself declined or turned negative, and there were cutbacks in public expenditure on education, often in connection with "inducement" function conditionality.

Evidence provided in UNESCO's, World Education Report, based on analysis of twenty-six African countries, shows an overall decline of 33 percent in central government expenditure per pupil, in the period 1980-88 (UNESCO, 1991, p. 37). For instance, in Zambia where education levels are falling and 60 percent of the children who reach grade six are functionally illiterate, the reintroduction of adjustment in 1994 contributed to a more than 25 percent decline in actual education expenditure within three years (Collier & Gunning, 1999). This impoverished nation spent more than 10 percent of its GNP on debt repayment from 1993 to 1996 while spending on average about 12.5 percent of its national budget on education during the same period. In Ethiopia, a mere 9.9 percent of overall recurrent expenditure was reserved for education sector funding in 1990, compared with 20.5 percent in Botswana, and 26.1 percent in Swaziland, both non-adjusting nations. 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 declining national budget to education. In Ghana, high growth and an increase in the share of GNP collected by government in revenue helped to fund higher public expenditure on education. However, the provision of education services per capita actually declined between 1989 and 1995.

Other examples abound. Reimers and Tiburcio (1993, p. 39), found that between 1980 and 1988, on average, the share of recurrent expenditures going to education in Africa increased by 8 percent in non-adjusting countries while it increased only by 2 percent in adjusting countries. As Marlaine Lockheed and Adriaan Verspoor's cross country statistical analysis showed, countries which undertook adjustment and stabilisation programs since the mid 1980s experienced a slowdown in the rate of increase of funds allocated to education, as compared to non-adjusters (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

The question of funding becomes even more important, if one considers the commitment to universal primary education and educational expansion. The share of education in African national budgets averages about 12.8 percent but falls as low as 2.7 percent in some countries, substantially lower than any other region in the world. In sum, it seems that increasing numbers of Africans are being squeezed out of an education and into factories and ghettos by structural adjustment programs, who value market indicators over human capital formation which the World Bank itself has indicated will "determine whether Africa will fall farther and farther behind the world's industrial nations".

Geo-JaJa & Mangum (1999, pp. 106-108) attribute these education crises to the inadequacies of the neoliberal adjustment models of the 1980s, which counted upon a "trickle down" effect, ultimately to facilitate the development of human resources. In a sense, SAPs constitute a low-intensity warfare that is destructive of the social sector, entire cultures and economies by assigning low priority to human capital formation while shifting attention away from basic education and health care services that are major determinants of development (see also p. 108 on sectoral allocation of aid by donor agencies). While all these externally designed and formulated policies might be necessary conditions for budget balancing, they are not sufficient without inputs into human capital formation, which was assigned low

priority in that growth process. From this, it is clear that the “inducement” function of adjustment degrades human dignity and downgrades human development to levels that no statistics can adequately describe. Thus, we call for a society-centred and long-term approach to SAPs.

Before adjustment policies, the supply of professional and semiskilled manpower was reasonably well balanced with demand as governments placed high priority in building the education system for human resource development as an integral part of the larger economic system. The resultant erosion of the social fabric is seen in the exceptional increases in crimes against property and persons, drug-trafficking, domestic violence, and numbers of street children, prostitution, and incessant military adventurism that has become catastrophic to the economy of the region. These factors, as well as the reluctant recognition of the human dimension in “austerity” measures, are some of the complications that are direct results of the mismatch between educational output and the human resources required for national development. Whatever may have been the intentions of World Bank/IMF, it becomes increasingly clear that SAPs have rolled back the education and economic progress of post-independence Africa. Thus, economic adjustment complicates and impedes human resource development and economic transformation.

Even in periods of economic crisis or budgetary cut backs, cuts in education should not be the trade-off, considering the role that schooling plays in productivity, standard of living and the utilisation of technology. A critical point is that there were other alternatives for meeting structural adjustment objectives. The Nigerian experience will demonstrate the short-sightedness of the SAP’s and the failure of the “inducements” function of conditionality. The emerging conclusion is that neoliberalism has been intrusive, shortsighted, and ineffective in improving the lot of people and the quality of education in recipient countries.

##### 5. SHIFTS IN EDUCATION AND POLICY IN NIGERIA

Education in the 1960s was considered crucial in the quantitative procurement as well as in the qualitative improvement of Nigeria’s human resources. Curricula of this era empowered citizens with arithmetic and language skills, character building, life and work experience, and attitudes and skills that were in demand. The newly independent government of Nigeria under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa, was determined not only to create a sense of nationalism amongst its people, but also to use the education system for socioeconomic development by providing trained and skilled manpower, not only to fill the jobs vacated by white men, but for the new jobs that would arise as a result of economic growth and self-determination. Accordingly, national education policy was to play a key role in providing educated professional and skilled manpower for the transition from a colonial economy to an independent expanding economy. Consequently, from 1960 into the 70s, in response to this social and economic demand for education at independence, primary school enrolment increased five-fold, secondary enrolment multiplied by more than 22 times, and tertiary education increased 84 times, demonstrating government’s desire to meet immediate manpower shortages. Therefore, pre-SAP Nigeria used education

and training to match job skills in demand for development. Early in its independence, the country experienced a rapid increase in overall school enrolments, an expansion in school facilities, and an increase in the number of teachers. At the same time, the budgetary allocation to education was specifically indexed to a sizable proportion of public expenditure. This meant that as the country's wealth grew, its commitment of revenue to education kept pace. The main education investments were directed toward the consolidation of secondary schools, averaging 40.8 percent of Ministry of Education budget. This was followed by the tertiary sector with an average of 30.4 percent. Primary education received the lowest average allocation at 21.8 percent (Onwioduokit, 2000). These budgetary allocations represented an attempt to fill the deficit in manpower requirements created by the departure of the colonialists at independence. Strong commitment to education resulted in a rising average education level for the labour force. This was the pre-SAP model in newly independent Nigeria. The high priority accorded education was supported by total government allocations.

With structural adjustment programs in place, budgetary allocation priorities, infrastructural development, expansion and enrolment have all taken different dimensions. Since the introduction of budget cuts, 'user fees', and cost recovery policies in 1986, education has been in a crisis mode. Public sector spending for education fell from 6.4 percent of GNP in 1981 to below 1 percent while enrolment was still increasing at a disproportionate pace. Annual average real per capita education spending was at 8.1 percent between 1975 and 1984, but fell to 2.1 percent during the period 1985-1989. As can be seen, while both enrolment and costs have increased rapidly over the last two decades, central government spending for the sector has not kept pace. In fact, this anomaly can be attributed to change in government policy that assigned the highest budget priority to debt servicing. Thus, debt payment as a share of government spending began to increase substantially in 1984 when the country first drew from the Special Drawing Right's (SDR) fund, leaving even less funding for education. At the peak of SAPs, debt service cost was 34 percent of government budget, averaging about 23 percent since then. It was only during the General Sani Abacha's military regime (1990-1999), when the international community sanctioned Nigeria, that education was accorded higher priority than debt repayment. The post-SAP era saw the demand for education outstripping the pace at which government has expended public schools, and private schools have proliferated at the primary level with the highest economic rate of returns. Primary education now receives the bulk of government education funding, amounting to 44 percent of estimated recurrent expenditure, followed by tertiary higher education with a share of 34 percent of education ministry's expenditure in 1990-1991.

The data provided by UNESCO show mixed signals in terms of education indicators. For instance, the total number of children in primary school has more than quadrupled between 1970 and 1995. Enrolments rose from 3.5 million in 1970 to 14.6 million in 1983, dropped to 14.0 million in 1990, and increased to more than 17 million in 1995. The number of primary schools has continued to increase, rising from 14,902 in 1970 to 38,211 in 1984, falling to 34,266 a year after adjustment

started and rising again to about 39,677 in 1995. Without a significant increase in either school size or number of teachers, enrolment in secondary school has expanded more than fourteen-fold over the past 25 years, from 356,565 in 1970 to more than 5.1million in 1995. The number of primary schools increased while that of the secondary and tertiary institutions minimally increased. Expansion in tertiary institution numbers was not commensurate to its stupendous enrolment expansion. Over the same period, despite budgetary cutbacks, enrolment in tertiary education increased from 15,560 in 1970 to 391,035 in 1995, representing a gross numerical increase of 355,475 and a twenty-five-fold growth in gross enrolment (2). With regards to teacher-student ratio, Nigerian government figures, coupled with evidence from UNESCO, show that these worsened from 1:32 in 1985 to 1:45 in 1990 for primary. The ratios for secondary and tertiary institutions on average have more than tripled and quadrupled respectively during this same period. But we note that there was great variability within states, and among localities and institutions.

The dramatic increase in enrolment at all levels from 1980 to 1995 in Nigeria was not consistent to findings elsewhere. Cornia (1987), and Lockheed and Verspoor (1991), have consistently reported enrolment declines in other adjusting economies. Nigerian parents and communities appear to have struggled to see their children educated, despite the declining quality of that education. For instance, they have assumed almost all of the incidental costs of attending public schools at all levels (expenditure on uniforms, notebooks, transportation and other school supplies, coupled with the illegally imposed fees by schools).

The adequacy of funding aside, post-adjustment education systems, as a direct result of structural adjustment requirements, promoted "modern" sector and world economic system skills rather than essential productive local skills. Thus, the question arises: how effectively do post adjustment educational systems meet the hard test of fitness? What is education's contribution to human resources for nation building? Structural adjustment era education formulation draws its inspiration from the modernisation paradigm and derives its principles from its neoliberal approach to economics. Yet, its relevance to local needs and its adaptability to local cultural and economic conditions are questionable. Thus, its inability to meet locally relevant manpower expectations emanate from the fact that its structure and curricula are almost without exception based on its focus of globalisation and generic foreign models. In many instances, the language of delivery remains foreign except in some localities that use indigenous language at some primary grade levels, and many of the faculties have been trained abroad. Unlike its Western counterparts, the Nigerian education system is not isomorphic with its social, cultural, and economic environment. Largely oriented toward the West, the values, subject matter and examination criteria at all levels assume that graduates want to become civil servants and employees of relatively modern industries or commercial establishments. In this fundamental respect, therefore, the Nigerian education system and its basic orientation seem grossly mismatched with the future needs of their students and with the development needs of society. This poses yet another problem for education in its present crisis. Dabalén et al., (2000) gives a more detail explanation of this problem.

Since the advent of SAPs in 1986, there have been growing gaps between the education programs offered in Nigerian schools and actual human resource requirements. As a result, shortages coexist with surpluses in certain key manpower need categories (Geo-JaJa, 1994). Beyond these facts are trends that show that the education system was not designed to pursue its constitutional provision of localisation, and quality improvement at all levels and type of education. Succinctly, understanding the unique features and profile of Nigeria's education situation is a precondition to designing appropriate policies to ameliorate her economic crisis and deficiencies of human resource development in the shortest feasible time. This is an important reference point for devising an educational strategy in Nigeria, and for engaging stakeholders in a constructive and informal dialogue on how best to fashion such a localised and relevant education strategy. The challenge for the government and its partners (external stakeholders), therefore, hinges on encouraging appropriate policy response at all levels of government (local, state and national) to address the following problems:

1. Declining funding along with unregulated expansion in student numbers. This has meant that education programs and products are of inferior quality.
2. Structures and services that were originally designed for much smaller populations are now having to cope with enormous post-SAP expansion in education enrolment. For example, a secondary school that enrolled about 250 students in 1973, without any addition to the infrastructure enrolled about 2500 pupils in 1997. What suffered most at this premier institution was the quality of education. Combe (1991) in his report on higher education in Africa presented a fairly representative picture of the appalling state of affairs in the Nigerian university system.
3. The withdrawal of education subsidies, the introduction of "user fees", and the imposition of the minimum number of children whose education can be subsidised meant that students, parents and others are now obliged to pay much more for services of questionable quality.
4. Practical curricula (technical and vocational training) which most closely serve the nation's human resource needs are relegated to specialised institutions which, when they exist at all, are considered as adjuncts rather than integral parts of the curriculum.
5. The contemporary education inherited from the West has remained more or less intact, generally seeking to maintain externally determined academic standards and the imposition of the language of instruction. This circumstance explains the deepening level of intellectual mediocrity and dependency, and the general devaluation of the status of the academic enterprise noticed in many institutions of higher learning in Africa, including Nigeria.

This is not a complete compilation of the issues and challenges confronting education in Nigeria. Rather, it is a laundry list of the major factors from the perspective of human resource development for promoting sustainable development. In view of these challenges, a World Bank report on the state of education in Nigeria found that the skills of graduates have steadily deteriorated over the past 15 years, making them unfit for the labour market and for the larger society. Attributing

causes of the declining quality of education to inadequate funding and unplanned expansion, the report also categorically stated that the last well-trained graduates left the system in the mid- 1980s (for detailed discussion see Dabalén et al., 2000). Total expenditure on education and related training programs had been maintained at about 16 percent of central government total expenditure before the mid-1980s. It is disconcerting to find that from 1986 when SAPs were implemented that the share of education in the total central government expenditure has been as low as 2.7 percent, and even this percentage has been declining even in nominal terms.

Thus, the question of finance becomes a critical issue if government is to attain its commitment to universal basic education and qualitative education expansion. Structural adjustment policies did not take into account the social and economic environments in the country, nor did they consider the historical and political context of colonialism on Nigeria. Consequently, without a firm commitment to transmit ownership, indigenous values, and promote mastery of relevant skills, the core of the Nigerian education system became a mismatch with the country's development needs.

This confirming evidence of the adverse impact of adjustment on enrolment and other education indicators should not be considered an illusion. There is ample documentation of rising skill requirements matched with deterioration in education outcomes, increases in unemployment rates, and higher expectations of individuals by society. The immense pressures on education could stem from the perceived high private rates of return, or better positioning in the "neither growth nor employment growth" economy. Perhaps the most dramatic expansion, however, has been youth population pressures, since in Nigerian society education can lead to upward social mobility and financial rewards, as industry and society attach a high premium to qualifications. It is certainly in line with the equation of "the higher the certification the higher the remuneration" found in almost all African societies. SAP measures have been major contributors to this situation. While gross enrolment figures at all levels are enormous, education output is still inadequate in comparison with national skill requirements. Rapid enrolment growth, the poor state of infrastructures and facilities, together with declining resources, have significantly and negatively affected education quality and human resource development in Nigeria (World Bank, 1999).

In summary, for Nigeria, expansion in education and increase in enrolment at all levels show a number of aberrations. While gross enrolment figures at all levels are immense, they conceal a number of important weaknesses, which can be identified as follows:

1. First, enrolment explosions are primarily in disciplines of secondary importance (social sciences, humanities, etc.) whose graduates have fewer chances of being gainfully employed. The skills they possess are not in demand in the emerging labour market. With the above "distortion effects", the only outcome that could be expected is the mismatch between national manpower needs and education output (for a detailed discussion of this "Mismatch Hypothesis" (see Geo-Jaja, 1989).

2. Secondly, "Western racism" continues to exert an influence on the trajectory of educational reforms through the local agents of neocolonialism. Ndoye (1997)



makes the point that the education crisis resulting from structural adjustment programs has stifled indigenous manpower and the development of African resources to meet the needs, the reasons being that structural adjustment policies undermine government structures and are sharpened by global forces in the contemporary and modern period. Of the many identified impediments and vested interests in the way of education's centrality to human resource development, the foremost is the SAP.

Thirdly, the current allocation and priority of resources to education sectors are grossly inadequate for the desired human resources. Substantial resources must be devoted to upgrading the skills and knowledge of people for living in both a localised and globalised world. Regardless of the excessive enrolment and expansion in education following adjustment programs, human capital formation remains seriously undeveloped in Nigeria as in other African countries (see World Bank, 2000; Dabalen et al., 2000). Clearly, education and human dimensions in development have suffered most as a result of budgetary cuts, methodological diversions, and flawed assumptions, which underlay adjustment policies (Huq & Kirdar, 1986, p. 3). Indeed, the effect of adjustment in Nigeria has been to undermine and compound the poor status of infrastructures and facilities, declining resource inputs, rapid enrolment growth, undermining human capital formation and government participation, and disrupting the social fabric to the point of inhibiting the development process that it was theoretically designed to facilitate. In this vein, policy reversal appropriate to the Nigeria problem should be encouraged.

#### 6. FUELLING THE MACHINE: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

To prepare the next generation of human resources for development requires a conscious end to "Western racism", the reconditioning of the Nigerian mind, and the reaffirmation of policies and priorities toward "practical education". Educational reform in Nigeria has a long, if not always remembered, problematic history. In most instances, what has been labelled "educational reform" has not always been concerned with changing education, let alone improving its quality. Rather, the practices by many, if not most developing nations with technical advice from international agencies have been problematic. The World Bank's role in Nigerian education reform dates back to 1952 when the British Colonial Government mandated the World Bank to develop a colonial education system for Nigeria. (for a more detailed discussion see Babalola et al., 2000). The involvement of industrialised countries in educational reform in Africa, including Nigeria, has continued with IMF stabilisation and World Bank's adjustment policies, though these might be interpreted and conceptualised as symbolic gestures designed to indicate awareness of problems and sympathetic intentions, rather than as a serious effort to improve the system's effectiveness in capacity-building, expanding capabilities, and increasing the relevance of indigenous people to the local environment. The main reason why these reforms have not taken more effective

action is because of the outmoded governance structures i.e., the decision-making units and practices that control resource allocation have remained largely unchanged. Impediments to educational reforms are built into the management assumptions and practices of international organisations. In that sense, the “inducement” function conditionality is a prime example of World Bank/IMF reform policy’s failure to deal with the uniqueness of the African environments.

The organisation, content and processes of educational reform as they currently stand are impregnated with a strong bias toward the needs of globalisation and of urbanised societies. This reform process has a number of potentially disastrous downsides that could shatter the post-Cold War dreams and lead to a “new anarchy”. As earlier noted, priority is given to orderly and methodical qualities at the expense of a dialectical functional link between education and socioeconomic development goals, as well as to a country’s historical conditions of life. The huge task of moving toward educational relevance requires commitment, policy reversal, clarity and leadership from all citizens and stakeholders. It is not too late to correct the course of history. Now is the time to carry out a Nigerian Renaissance through the reform of education and the redemption of universal humanism. Therefore, a significant challenge to education reform is the need for a fundamental change in the philosophy of the World Bank and IMF as external stakeholders in that they will have to give up some degree of ownership and control and allow some fundamental changes in attitude and policies. Tinkering with education structures, curriculum content, and increased institutional capacity without addressing the existence of SAPs “inducement” functions and reaffirming education fundamentals, will not resolve the problems of education inadequacies in Africa. At this stage of educational reengineering, we have to study new practical ways to go ahead with this reform notwithstanding the difficulties of reconversion and decolonialisation of school curricula, and underfunding with which we are faced as a result of situation engendered by SAPs and colonial rule, in order that this important sector for human resource development should live up to the demands of nation’s economic development.

## 7. CURRICULUM REFORMS AND OUTCOME-BASED EDUCATION

The flaws of the conceptualised reforms and the lack of serious efforts to improve the systems effectiveness in capacity-building, coupled with the identified shortcomings of contemporary education systems have informed the proposed system of Outcome-Based Education (OBE). Outcome-based education and contemporary education should not be seen as opposites, even though the latter is often applied without much reference to the peculiarities of local conditions, nor is it people-centred or society-oriented. The contrast should stimulate reflection on the appropriateness of contemporary learning programs and suggest directions for educational reform that an adjusting economy could undertake. Some standard goals of Western education remain critical in this process.

Outcome-Based Education embraces the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary for the citizen to be empowered within a complex interdependent and

rapidly changing world. The objective of OBE is to reorient education toward creating a balance between practical knowledge and academic knowledge relevant to the country in which it is applied. Such a framework de-emphasises the transmission of subject matter, the accumulation of factual knowledge, and the focus on “higher-level of outcomes”. Linked to a higher learning outcome is preparing people for the functions of symbiotic-analytic workers and technicians, developing complex forms of systemic thinking, promoting problem-solving and experimentation skills rather than restructuring to a “field independent approach”. Indeed, such methods encourage teachers to recognise the different kinds of stimulations and structure needed for cultural and diverse groups. Basically, OBE looks at individuals or groups, singularly addressing their needs in their respective local environments, thus minimising the possibilities of urban bias and brain drain. This seems to be an effective educational strategy to facilitate local human resources for local use. It is important to note that OBE does not require the discarding of contemporary curricula, but rather it is adapted and made more effective in order to achieve more relevant higher level outcome.

This blended education system provides answers to the problem of curriculum mismatches, to the need for relevance of education, to the importance of integrating schooling with immediate social, economic and cultural environments, and lastly to mitigating the social cost of adjustment in relation to human resource development. It focuses on the development of a comprehensive educational system that integrates the basic knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are the cornerstones of a sound education in ways that are more effective, more equitable, and more relevant for individual and for societal development.

As an action-oriented learning scheme, OBE calls for a reconfiguration and reconceptualisation of existing practices in order to refocus attention to a nation’s socioeconomic needs. With OBE, development activities are integrated into schools thus creating an atmosphere where pedagogy, content, and methodology of schooling are shaped and moulded first by indigenous perspective and economic development plans. Outcome-Based Education allows learning and knowledge to be applied and integrated with work time and lifetime, making all stakeholders agents of development. In short, OBE offers people the opportunity to develop employability skills, preparing them for effective participation in local, state and national labour markets through such strategic policies as remediation measures, job match guidance and vocational mobility. Fundamentally, OBE serves as a force for social integration and cohesion, as values are communicated from one generation to the next. The principal objective of OBE is to give curricula a prevocational emphasis with a view to fostering skills and attitudes that are conducive for productiveness and employability. The actual blending of contemporary education and Outcome-Based Education requires that special interest groups (both internal and external) let go a little ownership and control. The notion of letting go a little is extremely important if the impact of education reform is to be deep, widespread, and catalytic, coupled with the collaboration of all stakeholders in planning, formulating and implementing an education mix that is inclusive of all.

There are four major components to OBE: (1) school-based civic learning, (2) work-based learning, (3) information technology and informatics funnelling services, and (4) connecting activities, which include both in-country and world relevance and involve moral, economic, social, cultural, global and local development issues. The focus of connecting activities is to provide service learning opportunities to students through involvement in local, state, or international experience. Information technology and communications are provided to enable individuals to develop the spirit of inquiry and to independently provide themselves with knowledge acquisition from formal and non-formal education sources. These are some of the uniqueness of OBE that is a major shortcoming of the existing contemporary education system. Other advantageous features of an OBE program are detailed as follows:

1. OBE is a system of particularised curricula, which are maximally productive, economically rewarding, nationally and individually growth stimulating, and socially/culturally relevant. It supports shared responsibility of learning between student and teacher while integrating the education system with social and economic development plans.
2. OBE emphasises the articulation between academic and non-formal education for the purpose of synthesising together both programs. The purpose of integration is to strengthen the preparation of the next generation of graduates for productive engagement in society while reducing the flow of unskilled and de-skilled labour. OBE supports human resource development and facilitates the pursuit of "real social reform" through which all members of society can be given the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of development.

In summary, OBE as a reform package seeks to remedy the dysfunctional emphasis on education output rather than on education outcomes. It is designed to provide the trained manpower at all skill levels required to achieve modernisation and industrialisation with human dignity. OBE adapts to occupational and technological changes by enabling people to acquire portable skills that are transferable from one situation to the next, preparing them with the capacity to build the specific skills required for each new assignment. The solution of preparing the next generation of human resources does not lie in abandoning contemporary education for OBE but rather in domesticating and indigenising the two. To reinforce the ideals of OBE, it is essential to strengthen the learning environment, encourage mass participation of citizens, and create contexts where the productivity of people will be enhanced and where a culture of equity and comprise can take roots. This system of manpower development requires stakeholders' commitment to social sector funding targeted at people and the non-politicisation of educational reform tasks by major stakeholders (Geo-JaJa & Mangum, 1999).

## 8. SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE FACTS AND PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS

The Nigerian experience illustrates the drastic decline in education funding and quality and deterioration in human resources resulting from structural adjustment programs throughout Africa and other parts of the developing world. Even more

dramatic is the enormous expansion in enrolments at all levels. Within this context, encouraging appropriate policies and undertaking the necessary educational reform tasks that are backed with adequate funding is crucial to ameliorating identified education and manpower crises. A nation cannot hope to have a successful manpower policy if not localised or if left alone to market forces. From this perspective, the core of human resources, are the planning and execution of a localised policy of education and training, designed and integrated with social and economic plans to provide the required manpower at all levels of skill.

Adjustment policies are part of a continuing effort that began during colonialism in which the West dictated what language Africans were to speak, and what Africans were to learn and how this learning was to be accomplished (see Brock-Utne, 2000; Babalola et al., 2000). In its present form, adjustment can simply be called a “cultural invasion” development model that is facilitated by internal neocolonialists—the internal local elite. For instance, in many of these developing countries the language of instruction has remained foreign. With the negative elements of SAPs on education outlined in the chapter, it is suggested that actions to develop human resources must be seen across a broad front. If education is to contribute more fully to manpower and economic development, its planning cannot simply be concerned with “efficiency” or with the quantitative instrumental goals which the system produces. With the recognition that the contemporary system of education is a major impediment to producing the human resources required, we suggest OBE, which supplies an attractive package of knowledge and attitudes as well as skills, which are palatable and useful for development. To facilitate the process of education reform tasks, the following suggestions are offered:

- First, to temper the demand for formal education, consumers of education whose chosen career path is not consistent with national manpower needs should bear a larger proportion of education costs.
- Secondly, with the current budgetary pressure at a time of economic crisis, Outcome-Based Education should be considered as the vehicle for preparing the next generation of people for productive work and employability. Meeting this goal requires streamlining management assumptions and practices of international stakeholders, and the direction of their policies and priorities to give greater weight to “people-centred” or “society-centred” education (OBE). This is education with production attuned to perceived local community needs and demand.
- Thirdly, the nation’s political leaders—and those of other African nations – should reaffirm the priority of human welfare rather than non-human services by a conscious redirection of policy and planning and concrete action toward a human dimension. Public funding of education should reflect the growing importance of education to the economic prosperity and social stability of the country. This calls for human dimensions in development, and the active participation of leaders of thought, politicians, business, and educationist, as well as the public. Also, the international community needs to reaffirm and focus its efforts and resources more clearly on human-focused programs and take steps to

ensure that new programs and practices are directed to offset the dangerous tendencies of inducement function conditionality.

Progress in education reform must keep pace with our political, economic, and social progress and match the new prospects open to the nation. At this stage, all stakeholders, especially the politicians are called upon to find appropriate forms of action to conduct our education reform along these guiding lines. Sustainable national budgets which will not only allow but mandate effective investment in each nation's human resources

## 9. CONCLUSION

Over the past 15-20 years stabilisation and structural adjustment policies have attempted to balance nations' budgets to service debts by unbalancing people's lives. The budget balancing was essential but neglecting human welfare— which is the ultimate objective as well as the main instrument of development—for life-style destruction was not. It is evident that adjustment policies have failed to restore economic prosperity, failed to build human capacity and capabilities, and failed to maintain or raise education quality. The combination of these inadequacies has contributed to the difficult path toward human resource development in Nigeria, throughout Africa and in much of the developing world. There were and are other alternatives. It is time to get back to the policy drawing boards to devise an education and schooling system that will help Nigerians to understand this world, fit into their community, and awake to awareness of their duties and responsibility to themselves, and their society and country.

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GARTH MANGUM

THE INTERACTION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT,  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND NATION-  
BUILDING ON THE INDUSTRIAL STAIRCASE

1. INTRODUCTION

Imagine a planet just like this one but uninhabited. Even call it Earth if you like. Now imagine two homo sapiens, a male and a female, adult and of comparable age, newly arrived in that setting. They possess all of the very human desires to survive and to procreate. Do not worry about how they got there. Classically, the necessities of life have been designated as food, shelter and clothing. But, if they choose the right location, they can forego the latter two, at least for a time; but for survival the first is essential without delay.

Now notice the essentiality of economic development. The basic justification for the study of economics is scarcity: human wants always exceed the available supply of goods and services. Survival and peace depend upon finding means to both expand production and share shortage. Even in the once-in-a-creation-era circumstance imagined here, the necessary food is not likely to be in the location or the condition required. Even if it is, our two isolated humans – shall we call them Adam and Eve? – are likely to wish for something different while surviving on the things at hand. We might imagine their arrival after expulsion from some place called the Garden of Eden where they had developed and demonstrated skills only of picking and consuming unplanted fruits. Those skills may suffice for survival but are unlikely to fulfill their longer-term desires. Besides, in their former abode they were denied procreation. Now it is enticing and inevitable. Soon the longings for variety and the growing numbers of mouths to feed and bodies to cloth and house will demand productivity. With planet-wide locational choice and with ample fertility within reach, the material resources for economic development are there. It is the human skill to hunt and fish or plant and harvest and thereafter to store and prepare which are lacking and must be developed. Thus, human development is a necessary precedent to economic development, but the latter must follow the former for survival and, thereafter, prosperity.

How to learn? Our two earthly pioneers had opposing counsel in their previous existence and it is as yet unclear which advice was best. The counsel they followed led to their eviction from an effortless existence. But after a time would not the inevitable boredom of the Edenic circumstance have seemed like Hell? And, if they learn to handle their new environment productively, cannot it not be rewarding and satisfying as well as challenging? At any rate, whether they find means of re-contacting the more positive of their previous advisers or whether they must learn by experience, the skills of extracting survival and subsequent prosperity from the natural resources immediately available must be their first priority. Soon it becomes obvious that will not happen without supplementing human physical capacity by the domestication of animals and the invention and development of tools and equipment. In order to do so, surpluses must be produced and stored for survival devoting time and energy for developing those means for increasing productivity. Even in an agrarian world, the basic rules of capitalisation are learned: save and invest.

Copulation and procreation begins. The rules of human capital soon follow. There is a saving and investing period for that also. Children are cared for as infants and small children. But they can soon be taught to be productive and each individual can produce more than needed for personal consumption and can thereby contribute to the well-being of the family and ultimately the total society. There never comes a time when, with thought and cooperation, activities cannot be derived through which a reasonably healthy human being can produce more than personal survival requirements and thereby add to the surplus which is wealth. As our first parents develop that understanding and those skills they teach those personally and directly to their offspring and descendants. But eventually those become too numerous and distant. First, we will try apprenticeship for one-on-one passing on of knowledge and skills but eventually there will be too many for that alone. Education and training specialists must be prepared and assigned to enhance human development. A supply of human capital is being invested in and applied to essential tasks (Geo-JaJa , 1994).

Health is another essential issue in human development. Human beings must learn to maintain their physical and mental health in order to contribute productively to family and society. They must also learn to exist peacefully within that society to contribute to its well-being. Again, human development comes first and economic development follows, but each is essential to the other.

But soon our first residents, our first parents and perhaps by then grandparents learn another lesson. Inevitably, some of their descendants are going to perceive another alternative. Instead of adding productively to the well-being of family and society, they can steal or take by force that which others have produced. If older siblings are farming the more productive of the available soils, the younger have the alternatives of devoting more energy to less productive soils, accepting reduced productivity, or forcibly displacing the more fortunate. Or they can replace the skills of production with those of marauding. Shall we call the guilty and innocent demonstrators of that unfortunate fact Cain and Abel? Surely, total productivity, production and available wealth of all is inevitably diminished by such activity, but the miscreant may obtain more than his fair share thereby and think it worth the

resultant animosity. Not only may non-producers steal from and kill producers, they may enslave the producers and subsist on their labour. So to the essentials of human development and economic development must be added the social controls of rulemaking and enforcement which for want of a better term we might call governance and, after our imagined society has grown sufficiently populous, nation-building.

We also learn that, while governance can be pleasant as long as everyone agrees to the rules and obeys without protest, that condition cannot be expected to prevail. Unfortunately, humanity is not universally like that. Enforcement will be necessary and enforcement encompasses force. Rules of law must be made, either by agreement or imposition, and people assigned to specialise in enforcing those rules, protecting prospective victims from potential violators. And, unless those rules are to be made and imposed dictatorially, with all of the dangers of self-interest overwhelming community interest, people must be educated to appreciate and participate in rulemaking and trained to conduct administration and enforcement. Human development thus creates and enforces governance. We may want to see sociology and psychology developed and taught so that people can get along with each other within families and society and civics so they can participate realistically but amicably in governance. As population increases and people scatter in search for productive lands, forests and fisheries, common interests will diversify into group interests and ultimately into tribes and nations with warfare potential. The internal need for rule enforcement will grow into nation-building, external or international rulemaking and defence against invasion or violence over competing interests. All of that too will become targets of human development.

## 2. CLIMBING THE INDUSTRIAL STAIRCASE

Now back to human development's contributions to economic development. As the society grows in size the advantages of specialisation of labour appear. Just as a stick may be better than bare hands in preparing the soil for planting, a wooden plough pulled behind domesticated oxen may add even more to productivity. But what if our imagined society had iron tools and even an iron plough. To obtain those, someone must explore and experiment – find iron ore and coal and learn how to use it, and then spend time producing implements of iron. That is hardly a part-time enterprise for a farmer devoting his primary energies to crop production. So perhaps we should free up a sibling from food production, contribute sufficient food, clothing and other agricultural production to support him and his family adequately while he becomes an effective “instructor of every artifice in brass and iron”. Perhaps, in our imagination, we might call him Tubal Cain and, so life will not become too dreary, let him have a half-brother skilled in “handling the harp and organ” and let us call him Jubal. We are still in an agrarian society addressing human skills to natural resources, but we are developing supportive skills such for the primary tasks of agriculture, grazing, fishing and forestry, as well as supportive

skills for rulemaking, enforcement, defence and entertainment. All the more need for expanding our capabilities in apprenticeship and more formal education and training (Sen, 1999).

Then with the blacksmiths and others as examples, someone questions having an “old spinning wheel in every parlour” with part of each farm devoted to flax or cotton production or raising silk worms for sake of clothing. Why not have some farms devoted to those crops – each in climates and soils most productive for their unique requirements – while someone else takes the responsibility to develop and supervise a textile factory employing specialists while others spend full time turning those textiles into clothing? Productivity is multiplied amazingly as a result. The same might occur for turning the leather from animal hides into shoes. Others are specialising in manufacturing the farm equipment and tools for raising the crops and equipment for the manufacture. But again, economic development must be preceded by human development, learning the skills of engineering, design and management as well as production and distribution in order for production to successfully follow. And also, governance is involved, determining who has rights to what in all of the processes involved and what are the rules of the game for those engaged in various aspects of the production and distribution. Our partnership trio of human development, economic development and governance are essential to social and economic progress (UNDP HDR, 2002; Has & Kidder, 1986).

Note that we have now moved a step upward on an industrial staircase (Figure 1). Natural resources were key to the agrarian phase, which still predominates in our example. But capital resources – tools and equipment – which were useful supports to production from the dominant natural resources, are now the keys to productivity in the factory setting. An industrial age is emerging. It will begin with manufacturing of simple consumer products such as textiles, clothing and shoes. But soon the demands for tools and equipment will necessitate the expansion of metal mining, the development of steel mills and copper and oil refineries, and the universal availability of electricity. Those initiatives will be followed by the development of mass production of more complex assembly of tools and equipment, automobiles and tractors, then airplanes as well as household appliances.

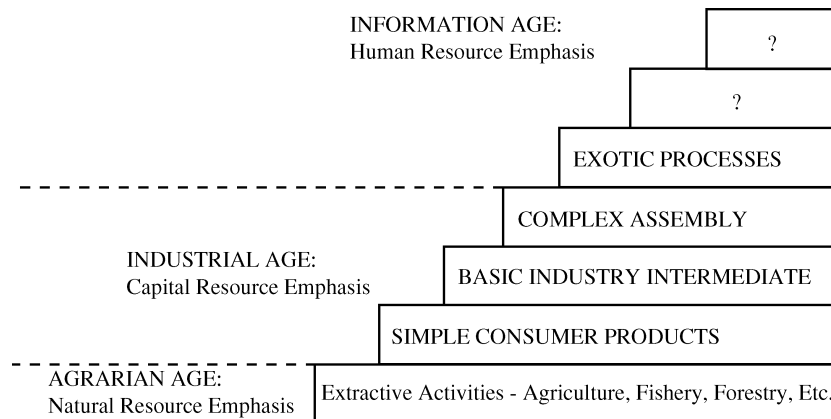


Figure 1. An Industrial Staircase.

Again, human development will have been an essential predecessor and supporter to economic development and governance will be necessary to set the rules. However, among the major resource divisions of natural resources, capital resources and human resources, it is the capital resources, which are of dominant concern to industrialisation just as natural resources were on the previous step of the staircase. The process is long and complex. Production occurs but is not immediately consumed. Coal, iron ore and limestone are combined to make steel. Steel is manufactured into tools and machinery. Factories are built to house the tools. The tools are operated to process other raw materials to become parts. Parts are then assembled to become products – say automobiles – which ultimately reach consumers. Human beings conceive the products and processes, guide the planning and production and operate the machines, but because of the long delays among savings, investment, production and distribution, the ultimate returns in consumable product are long delayed. Capitalisation is not money but the savings and investment process. Money might best be thought of as warehouse receipts representing each person's contributions to the long-delayed production and distribution process. Barter might have facilitated exchange as long as the products are few and one for one trade suffices but that trading is too complicated when the products are many. Those warehouse receipts we are going to call money can be used to purchase any combination of appropriate amounts.

### 3. GLOBALISATION AND COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE

Globalisation will also be entering our picture and even before it comparative advantage. Production will be maximised if each produces what he does best and trades with others for what they can produce better than he. Now, as populations

spread in search of the natural resources most amenable to their chosen products and techniques of production – and those areas become nations – specialised production in keeping with comparative advantage followed by trading according to need produces maximum wealth and makes everyone better off. Again, that assumes they trade in peace rather than war and pillage, thus keeping the need for defence and international governance in our picture.

All of this is combined into an industrial age with capital resources as the primary input to production. Globalisation will be intensified as some locations or nations have essential ores, some essential skills and some hungry markets. But sooner or later the predominance of capital resources gives way to the information age and its reliance on human intelligence and skills as the primary resource in more exotic processes, reducing but not abandoning the inputs of natural and capital resources. Those are still essential inputs but they are outweighed by the predominance of human intelligence. Electronic gadgetry such as computers, lasers, and fibre optics, primarily designed to process information rather than physical matter characterise the next step on the industrial staircase. Biotechnology, biogenetics, nanotechnology, genomics, neurosilicates and bio-informatics might be viewed as the emergence of a further step or an extension of the presently most advanced one. Who knows what products, production techniques and resource requirements will follow as the climb continues. What is clear is that human resources will be primary and human development increasingly essential to both economic and social development.

Production of goods and services at each step on the staircase requires a combination of natural resources, capital resources and human resources. The natural resource endowment remains constant, but further quantities are discovered while new uses and new techniques for the development and use of natural resources are constantly pursued, discovered and exploited. The combination of globalisation, comparative advantage and international trade within a context of peaceful governance make everyone better off. Capital resources not only expand with further savings but the capital equipment is put to improved and more productive uses. Human capital particularly can constantly expand and improve as new knowledge unfolds and new skills are developed. Human capital is essential at every stage of development because it governs the crucial economic and social decisions to be made in human progress (Heilbroner, 1962:89; Schultz, 1952). But its role becomes more important as more time is required for conception, design, innovation, production and distribution and therefore more capital support is needed to learn and apply the required knowledge and skills. The development of human capital has an additional advantage in that the development of the thinking ability underlying the acquirement and use of knowledge and skills can also contribute to social cohesion which thereafter can be used for good or ill.

Cohesion for good or ill raises the globalisation and governance issues once again. No economic entity climbs the industrial staircase alone. Other entities, locations and enterprises are simultaneously trying to improve their productivity and expand their production on the current step and rise up to the next more attractive one. Whoever is ahead in the economic game has three choices. (1) They can attempt to keep competitors from rising, kicking them back down the staircase or

preventing their rise by other means, subtle or forcible, or they can keep competitive goods out by tariffs or other trade restrictions. All of these blockages, of course, come at high cost to their own consumers who are denied cheaper or better product. (2) They can seek to compete more effectively with newcomers on any particular step, but eventually at the cost of lowering their own wages to compete as soon as the climbers acquire the same knowledge, skills and production techniques. Or (3) they can abandon a lower step and climb to the next, seeking to profit from their advanced position in an endless race. All of this must be done within reasonably predictable and acceptable rules of the game.

#### 4. HISTORICAL AND CURRENT EXAMPLES

Among available historical examples, England tried to keep its American colonies from manufacturing, preferring to use the colonies as sources of raw materials and as markets for goods manufactured back home in England. But the Americans successfully revolted, winning both political and economic freedom and became first pursuers, then competitors and eventually leaders in the race up the industrial staircase. Meantime, given their limited agricultural capacities, New Englanders were eager to manufacture southern cotton into textiles but reluctant to see transportation costs cut in half by moving the textile factories south adjacent to the cotton fields. Over a century later, despite its location at the peak of the current industrial staircase, the United States within the past two years has imposed new trade restrictions in favour of both its farmers and its steel industry, still on the first and second steps. By responding to the political pressures from these domestic industries, it has not only placed obstacles in the attempted upward climb of the developing world, it has imposed heavy costs on its own consumers as well as many domestic producers. Every American is a consumer of agricultural products. Less than 3% are producers thereof. Similarly, there are far more consumers of steel products, as well as users of steel as a raw material in almost every manufacturing process, than there are makers of steel or employees thereof. The losses from reimposed tariffs far exceed the gains for everyone. Europe's favouritism to its outmoded farm production is even more obvious. Much of American agriculture could compete on a competitive world market, though less profitably. Little of European agriculture could.

More serious than the burdens imposed by governments on their own consumers by succumbing to the political pressures from their own producers are the international consequences.

The governing principle of comparative advantage is obvious. Production would be maximised if every location and every individual took on the tasks for which it or he had comparative advantage. These recently imposed American farm subsidies – and like protectionist policies in other advanced nations – are specifically designed to drown first step agriculture competition from the developing world, while American steel import restrictions impede competition at the third step on the

staircase. American consumers and developing world producers share the costs, which always exceed the benefits of such policies. Closing off agricultural markets is, of course, most damaging at this point to Africa's economic development since agriculture is the source of more than 50% of GDP in many African nations. The 2002 American farm subsidy bill will undoubtedly cost Africans substantially more than the \$10 billion U.S. contribution to the eight nations' "Marshall Plan for Africa", announced during the same year.

Now carry that simile back to the nineteenth century African scene. Not only England but also much of Western Europe was ascending the industrial staircase. At the agrarian stage, there had been some advantage in slavery as a source of human capital, but primarily in the mass production though labour intensive agriculture practiced in some of the American colonies. Slavery had little attraction to the European scene, though European traders could treat slaves as products to be bought from suppliers and sold to users. But as European nations began their industrial climb, they needed raw materials for manufacturing and markets for manufactured goods, and Africa offered both. However, if Africans themselves were allowed to climb the industrial staircase, raw materials would become scarcer and more expensive on the lowest steps and competition would be created at higher steps. At least that was the perception of the imperialist producers who dominated the emerging world capitalist policy scene (Pakenham, 1991; Ake, 1981). They ignored the principal of comparative advantage, which would have added the interests of the more politically-quiescent consumers. If each was to produce that in which he had the comparative advantage, there would be more goods and services at lower prices for all—but that concept had little attraction for the monopoly producers.

Left to themselves, one would have expected African tribal societies to gradually advance to nation states. They would over time have gradually progressed from, say, raising cotton to manufacturing textiles to mechanically producing clothing and so on up the industrial staircase. Those with coal and iron ore would have ended up in steelmaking while those with bauxite would have produced aluminum. While doing so, they would have supplied to their citizens the skills essential for managing those industries and staffing those activities. They would also most likely have combined in nation-building processes among those with common heritage and interests. But they were kept from both the political and the industrial staircases by domineering European forces. Egypt, for instance, made a substantial beginning toward textile manufacturing before being cut off from that approach by the British demand for its cotton to be transported and returned in the form of clothing manufactured in England – at much higher prices, of course. Minerals were mined and the raw materials sent elsewhere for manufacture and return of finished product. The same could also be said for cocoa, palm oil, copper, petroleum, and diamonds, among other products produced in Africa but processed elsewhere. Even in this post-colonial era, the World Bank and IMF in 2002 refused to allow Mozambique to process cashew nuts, insisting instead that they be sent to India for processing (Geo-JaJa & Magnum, 2001).

Their European political masters thus suppressed African nations from the industrial climb. Only South Africa had the political freedom to make its own choice, though it reserved the privilege to its white citizens until 1994. Africans



were also deprived of practical education and industrial skills with which to begin the climb, once politically free to do so.

Present day Africa illustrates well the consequences of failed interaction between human development, economic development, and nation-building. Unlike the other latecomers, most of whom have at least some viability as nation states, former African colonies have been deprived of progress on the political front as well the economic one. Unfriendly tribes were involuntarily welded together, with some given economic and political preference over others with the inevitable building of festering animosity. Education systems were never allowed to do more than provide rudimentary skills to a few clerks. As the colonialists have departed, the victims of colonialism have lacked the human development to take over the reins of self-government. Home-grown neo-colonialists, usually educated in the countries of their former masters have become the pillagers, too often supported by remnants of those former colonial masters. Unprepared to lead their people through the time-consuming processes of human development, economic development and nation-building, they grab what they can get in terms of both power and wealth. The uneducated masses are unprepared to choose among the more and less corrupt who seek their allegiance through monetary and other enticements. Artificially welded together and held there by force, they now have no alternative except to become compatible and effective nation-states. But until they are adequately educated and informed, the citizenry will remain unable to choose wisely among alternative political claimants and avoid internal strife. Until they do, and political stability is restored under leaders dedicated to societal well-being, education systems capable of building human capacity for a self-generating people capable of self-government are unlikely. Yet as long as there is no viable economy, the education system required to provide the human development necessary for both economic progress and self-government is not supportable. Nation-building, human development and economic development are thus Africa's interactive current challenges.

##### 5. CAUSES OF MALFUNCTION

Other examples can be supplied from throughout the developing world. Elsewhere in the world and in more recent years, the Asian Tigers in the post-Second World War era were largely allowed to climb the industrial staircase at their own pace, China is now chasing them up the ladder, despite political handicaps, and Southeastern Asian nations are seeking to begin the climb. In each of these cases, the necessity for human resource development – including education as well as job skill training – was discovered to be an essential prerequisite and accompaniment to economic development, as well as to pursuit of democratic governance (Ashton, 1997; Campos, 1996). And as soon as their peoples became sufficiently educated to be useful to the economy they began to demand a political voice. Latin American countries have been engaged in the same processes, though often handicapped by both political corruption and restrictions on human capital development. Eastern

European and Soviet economies were distorted by another form of corruption, until the liberalisation of their governments, their economies and, to a lesser degree, their human development in the late 1980s. They are now struggling upward, despite substantial handicaps. Many Middle Eastern nations were dissuaded from the climb by their profits from their highly-demanded petroleum raw material—essentially comfortably stagnated on the first step because of the relative scarcity of the raw material they control but rarely process.

For Africans, the absence of human development prevented successful economic development and effective self-government. Throughout the Middle East, the absence of political freedom has prevented both human development and forms of economic development accessible to the population at large. Latin American experience has been mixed, varying by country but requiring the same tripartite interactions for economic, social and political progress.

Meantime, it is the developed world, which is primarily to blame for the absence of economic progress for the developing world. The universality of the principle of comparative advantage rarely receives even lip service outside the economics classroom and hardly ever has political credence. Yet its validity is obvious. If every local economy produced those goods and services for which it had comparative advantage, the totality of output would be maximised. If potential comparative advantage was recognised and to have nuts were assisted by the haves to achieve their potential, the totality of output would be further increased. If that output were thereupon exchanged upon a purchasing power parity basis, everyone's real income and living standards would rise. Then only those incapable of a life-sustaining comparative advantage would be incapable of self-reliance and require subsidy. But how to get the developed world to recognise that it is punishing itself as well as the rest of the world by its restrictive policies? Now there is a challenge of self-communication.

Not only those in the developed world who seek to gain from pillaging the underdeveloped lands but even those dedicated to pursuing international well being seem to lack the needed vision.

## 6. PRERORATION

To return where we began, the universality of economic development, human development and nation-building possibilities and their relationship to progress up the industrial staircase should be clearly recognised. To illustrate, imagine those original inhabitants of Africa who many believe to have been the world's first homo sapiens. If they found themselves in a location where the land was not as fertile as it might be, they could merely migrate to a fertile location and there begin a combination of fishing, hunting, ploughing and planting and domesticating and herding animals. Is there any doubt that any reasonably healthy and intelligent human being could learn to produce enough to feed, cloth and shelter self and enough additional to provide for a reasonable number of kinfolk.

Now fast forward to the present but remain in an agrarian setting. Is there any doubt that anyone with reasonable managerial skills and persuasiveness, given

universal cooperation and absence of animosity and selfishness, could develop a plan such that every able-bodied African could be set at tasks capable of producing personal sustenance with sufficient left over to provide for a few nonproducers? Those nonproducers might include children not yet at a producing age but preparable for future self-sufficiency as well as those aged beyond their producing years and those of limited health. It does not require much imagination to conceive of tasks to which even many of those nonproducers could be put to make significant contributions toward their sustenance. Is there any reason to doubt that the natural resources of Africa are sufficient, if imaginatively developed, efficiently used and cooperatively shared to feed, cloth and shelter its 600 million residents? Are not the techniques of human development sufficiently well known – if applied – to provide the understanding and skills and the health necessary to achieve that objective? Would not the whole world as well as Africa be better off if that was done?

Then apply that imagination to subsequent African footsteps up the industrial staircase with output guided by comparative advantage, trading with other nations for that which the comparative advantage is not in African hands. Then leave Africa and apply the same principals by imagination to any other location in the developing world or any lagging area within the developed world. The potential results are the same. Once again, the shortage is only of imagination, organisation and cooperativeness, not productive potential. Only those willing to worsen the conditions of others to enrich themselves and confident that they can win in any contest should – in self-interest if not societal interest – choose other than the free exercise of comparative advantage. For the rest of us, the interaction of human development, economic development and nation-building at whatever stage we are currently best situated on the industrial staircase should be the preferred choice.

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BIRGIT BROCK-UTNE

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICIES AND  
PRACTICES IN AFRICA WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON  
TANZANIA AND SOUTH AFRICA – INSIGHTS FROM  
RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

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, 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 four 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; Brock-Utne, 2001; Klaus, 2001).

Yet there is hardly another socio-cultural 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, 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 five-year research project, LOITASAI (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 not 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 earning 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 (Rubagumya, 2002). 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 1400 languages are spoken in Africa in 51 countries, Barbara Grimes (1992) assesses the number of languages in Africa to be 1995ii. 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; Ffulful; 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; Prah, 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 in 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; Brock-Utne, 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 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. Sinfrey 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 neo-colonial borders creates many more problems than working across borders.

Prah claims that the sentimental glories of neo-colonial flags and national anthems maintain the fragmentation process of African languages. For the sake of 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 pre-unification 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 majority African 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 in Zambia research carried out by Robert Serpell (1980) 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 desk top 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 text-books 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 text-books 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 socio-linguist 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 Parliament, in the lower courts, in the radio and television, in the banks, 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 as 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

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 seconds) 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 don’t want to lose face. The teacher on his part waits for only about two seconds and proceeds with the next task. He doesn’t 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 good command of English (if that is the language of instruction) may use when s/he 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. (Rubagumya, Jones, Mwansoko, 1999, p. 18)

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 s/he does, s/he does not bother to make his/her students partake of this knowledge. Had the teacher insisted on an answer in English, s/he 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 the 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 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 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 Corp. 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 test/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 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 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 & 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 analyzed 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 (taken from Rubagumya, Jones, Mwansoko, 1999, p. 17) 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 mathematics 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 follows:

Tv: 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 s/he expresses him or

herself in the ex-colonial language, force 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.

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- i The LOITASA project was planned together with partners in South Africa and Tanzania in Bagamoyo, Tanzania in January 2000 to be a five year project with NUFU (Norwegian University Fund – cooperation between Norwegian universities and universities in developing countries) funding from Norway. When I returned to Norway, however, I learnt that the money for 2001 had been frozen and I decided that while waiting for the NUFU funding I could start part of the project with money from the Norwegian Research Council. This project is a four year project (1.1.2001 – 31.12.2004) entitled: An analysis of policies and practices concerning language in education in primary schools in South Africa and secondary schools in Tanzania. For the first three years of the project period I have employed an assistant, Halla Holmarsdottir, who works on the South African part of the project gathering data which will be analyzed as part of her Ph.D.thesis. Several master students from Tanzania are working, under my guidance, on the Tanzanian part of the project gathering data which have been or will be analyzed in connection with their master theses. From January 2002 I also received NUFU funding for the project called LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa). This project works in close cooperation with the Norwegian Research Council funded project. The LOITASA project, which started on the 1. of January 2002 and is going to run until 31<sup>st</sup> 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.
- ii A number of bibliographies have been published on the subject "education and language in Africa". Stafford Kaye and Bradley Nystrom (1971) have in their extensive bibliography covered the colonial period, while "Sprachpolitik in Africa" by Metchild Reh and Bernd Heine (1982) contains a vast bibliography with especially good coverage of the period from independence to 1980. David Westley (1992) has made an up-dated bibliography on the period 1980-1990.
- iii 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.
- iv The data below have been gathered by Halla Holmarsdottir as part of her Ph.D.research on the project
- v T refers to the teacher and S refers to the students.

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REINVENTING ENGLISH: TEXT LISTS AND  
CURRICULUM CHANGE IN IRELAND AND  
AUSTRALIA

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter surveys the evolution of the prescribed text lists for English literature syllabi that were read in secondary schools in Ireland and New South Wales, Australia for the last century. We use historical and comparative perspectives to demonstrate how the texts prescribed for study in these societies were a product of, and largely determined by, the interests of those in power at any given time. It is argued that the criteria used to select the literature were shaped by explicit or implicit political agendas. The text lists served to construct, either consciously or unconsciously, a particular kind of school subject and a specific type of subjectivity in the student. An examination of the ways in which these agendas operated in Ireland and Australia from colonial times reveals striking similarities and differences in how literature is viewed, how culture is represented, and how attitudes to issues such as class, gender and ethnicity are embedded in the English curriculum over time.

The prescribed texts accompanying a syllabus, at any given point in the history of a society, can suggest a great deal about the values and assumptions of that society, and at the same time provide understanding of the political and social forces shaping the choice and prescription of texts. Text lists accompanying English syllabuses are particularly useful in providing insights into views of how the subject English is perceived and valued, understandings of national identity and cultural affiliation, and a society’s attitudes towards issues such as class, gender and ethnicity. We agree with the argument of F.W. English (2000, pp. 103-4) that the adoption of a school text within a school context is ‘the single most important curriculum decision’ and that a textbook becomes ‘a validated local curriculum’. Such decision-making, initially by the syllabus developers, and then in situation, by the teacher, powerfully influences the knowledge, values and cultural perspectives that are selected and presented for students to study.

During its period of supremacy the British Empire exercised powerful control over the construction of curriculum in many of its colonies. Eaglestone (2000, p. 11) argues that the idea of using English as a means to civilise others had its origins in 19<sup>th</sup> century India where the 'literature of England was seen as a *mould* of the English way of life, morals, taste and the English way of doing things'<sup>[1]</sup>. In 1835 the English Education Act made it law for the native population of India 'to study in English and to study English literature' (p. 11). British influence of this kind continued in the educational systems adopted in the various colonies of the Empire during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the current climate of multiculturalism where the images and ideas, which shape our national identities, are undergoing radical expansion, such thinking has become increasingly alien.

Greater ease of communication through developments in transport and technologies, in the latter part of the twentieth century, has created greater access for many of the world's citizens to international exchanges and the extraordinary range of educational resources made available through the World Wide Web. This kind of international exchange, loosely viewed as part of a process of globalisation, has clearly had a powerful impact on education, particularly in recent decades, and has played a significant part in the dynamics of curriculum change.

Yet, despite global trends in other areas, as far as the shaping of curriculum within a given society goes, local politics and cultural pressures often exert an influence running counter to these global forces, and at times prove to be the more dominant. To some extent this process is affected by subject-specific considerations. In the humanities, for example, national histories, literatures and social issues tend to loom very large in curriculum matters. A recent directive for school education in NSW is for an overhaul of curriculum in years 7 -10 including an emphasis on what it means to be an Australian, and the compulsory study of Australian literature, and the experiences of Australian soldiers in World War I. The Gallipoli campaign in World War I has long been part of Australian history syllabuses as a consequence of its being perceived as representing a defining moment in the shaping of the Australian and New Zealand national identities. On the world stage, however, the Gallipoli campaign, though seen as an episode of major significance in the War, does not loom large in most other national histories. Similarly in Ireland, the Easter Rising celebrated in its history and literature is likely to remain a dominant part of Irish history and culture, and to influence perceptions held by the Irish peoples of their identities and place in the world. But, again, a defining moment in national history does not feature largely in global history. Perceiving the world as a global village may have little or no power in altering how perceptions of national identities are reflected in a nation's curriculum.

This chapter presents an account of the texts selected for study in Ireland and Australia up until the present time, and provides an overview of some of the forces influencing text selection in these two countries. The analysis of Irish and Australian curriculum change demonstrates the nature of the evolution that has occurred and examines some of the tensions between global and local forces as they have impinged on the processes involved in selecting texts for study. The likely impact of these choices on students' perceptions of personal, national and global identities is also explored.

## 2. THE IRISH EXPERIENCE

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Ireland was still under British rule, the text lists accompanying the subject English were mainly made up of works by British male authors. The content of the selected texts tended to glorify British culture, or at least not to adopt a critical stance towards it, and to emphasise the authority of the monarchy. The Shakespearean texts most often included in the lists at this time were *Julius Caesar*, *Henry IV Part 1*, and *Macbeth*, plays, which focused on the power of the monarch. The literature studied at this time had the aim of the anglicisation of the Irish mind and the eradication of all difference. However it was not that simple and as one Irish historian has put it,

. . . the government certainly intended the national school system to perform a massive brain-washing operation obliterating subversive ancestral influence by inculcating in pupils a proper reverence for the English connection, proper deference for their social superiors defined according to the exquisite English concept of class. The subsequent history of Ireland, and of the Irish abroad, suggests that the pupils proved too retarded to recognise their betters. (Lee, 1989, p.28)

After the 1916 revolution and the subsequent war of Independence, a new Irish state was established which took control of the state system of education. Two ideologies – nationalism and Roman Catholicism – held sway and both were fired by a strong anti-British sentiment. The revival of the Irish language became an important rallying cry and was given pre-eminence in Irish school curricula. English Literature, as it had been, fell into some disrepute as a subject and retained this lowly status for a considerable length of time. Anglo-Irish writers such as Synge, O’Casey, Yeats and Joyce, who were perceived as traitors for writing in English and for challenging Irish values and beliefs, were banned from text lists until the 1960s.

This anti-British attitude became even more extreme when the highly nationalistic politician, Eamon De Valera, was elected to Government in 1932. In De Valera, the two ideologies found their unyielding champion and he encased Irish education in their unrelenting iron grip for the next thirty years. Perhaps the most striking statement of these views is contained in the following taken from a Roman Catholic journal in the 1930s:

English Literature in the mass, even as done in our schools and University Colleges today, is a poisonous substance, nationally and religiously considered. Its whole line of writers, from Bacon to Macaulay, and from Spenser to Wordsworth, Tennyson, Masefield, drips at every pore with intellectual and moral poison. (Malone, 1935, p. 200)

In spite of this ideological stance, however, many of the texts on the lists were similar to those of earlier times. Shakespearean texts, though bowdlerised to some extent, escaped censure, and British male poets and essayists were included partly because it was quite difficult to find suitable texts to fill out the lists. By the 1960s the Leavisite ideology with its emphasis on developing ‘good taste’ through reading ‘good literature’ (that of authors anointed by Leavis as forming ‘The Great Tradition’ – George Eliot, Henry James, Jane Austen, Joseph Conrad and D.H.Lawrence) was proving to be a powerful influence in English speaking

countries. Ireland also succumbed to this influence with the result that British authors were once again centre stage in text lists.

Although there was some change in text lists from the 1960s onward, the change was essentially minimal and the same power groups – the government Department of Education, the Roman Catholic Church (although weakening at this stage), and latterly university academics, retained control and determined the content of the lists. This was so despite the revolutionary move in Irish education in the mid-sixties that made free state secondary education available to all. That move occasioned a major increase in the secondary school intake of students and also enlarged significantly the diversity of students in the schools by way of class, background, ability and, inevitably, expectations. However although some recognition was paid to this diversity, there was a significant increase in 'safe' Anglo-Irish texts especially in the area of the short story and the inclusion of more contemporary modern fiction.

The authors who dominated the text lists from 1970 until 2000 included Shakespeare, Emily Bronte, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, Henry James, G.B. Shaw, Oscar Wilde, Sean Casey, and John M. Synge. As the years went by other authors, generally from the twentieth century were introduced. Brian Friel and Arthur Miller were significant and successful additions. The representation of female authors and authors from other cultures remained minimal. It was to take until the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for the real change to take place and for the heterogeneous nature of Irish society to be given due recognition within the literature prescribed for schools.

The reasons for this static situation were largely economic, although the inherent conservatism of much of the teaching profession also played a part in keeping the situation as it was. Throughout this period the Irish economy was on a downward spiral and the minimum of financial support was available for such areas as curriculum development and the in-career development of teachers. The small number of curriculum development projects that did take place ended up as reports whose findings and recommendations were not implemented because of their cost implications. One of the most dramatic illustrations of the lack of curriculum development in Ireland during this period is to be found within the subject English. An anthology of verse entitled *Soundings*, originally published in 1970 and described optimistically in its sub-title as an 'Interim Anthology of Verse' remained the major poetry text within the Leaving Certificate English programme for the next thirty years.

### 2.1 *Irish text lists in the 21<sup>st</sup>*

When real change in the English curriculum was finally achieved it was due to a new body being established, the Curriculum and Examinations Board (later to become the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment), a democratic representative body that included all the public involved in education. From that Board, new administrative and executive structures developed in which representative and democratic subject committees were set up to revise and redesign



syllabi. These committees attempted to ensure equitable treatment for all on the syllabus, particularly in the choice of texts and the approaches advocated. Two major ideological and structural changes ensured the possibility of this happening. The control and narrow prescription of texts by a central agency was stopped at the Junior Cycle Level: teachers were free to choose texts that suited their own students and related to their world. While there were some general guidelines, control of the content of the Junior Syllabus was essentially given over to the professional responsibility of the teachers. As a result the whole field of contemporary literature for young people including local poets and writers became an important domain of the literature course. Thus literature escaped from the academy and became a voice that talked more directly to the students' inner worlds and helped them to make more sense of the challenging world that now surrounded them. Culture was no longer a commodity to be received with due reverence but a way of living to be explored and enriched. The new Junior Certificate English Syllabus was introduced to schools in 1989 and the first examination took place in 1992.

However it was in the new Leaving Certificate Syllabus that the most significant changes occurred. This was initiated in the secondary schools in 1999 and the first examination took place in 2001. The new Ireland of the nineties was a radically different place where the apparent homogeneity, which had been assumed in syllabi and text prescription, was no longer acceptable or credible. Therefore the new list of English texts had to take account of the range of new social classes that were clamouring for recognition.

After much negotiation the following criteria were agreed on to determine the composition of the text lists. Each list would have some texts chosen from the following categories or a combination of these, and teachers were relatively free to select texts for their students from within these:

1. Classics (from the canon)
2. Shakespeare
3. Anglo-Irish literature
4. Other cultures/European and world perspectives
5. Accessible texts
6. Feminist texts
7. Local authors
8. Students' recreational reading
9. Media contexts: Film.

This was a most radical series of categories and criteria in the context of the subject English in Ireland: the traditional academic, Leavisite monolith had been rejected and in its place a diversified, democratic view of literature and the sources of literary experiences had been constructed. Literature had been rescued from the museum and was potentially positioned to become a real experience in the life of school students. The new lists presented the opportunity for teachers as the new syllabus stated "to initiate the students into 'the conversation of mankind'".

By way of illustration the list of texts in 2005, which includes a total of 67 texts (eight occur twice) across two English courses, is as follows:

**Table 1** Texts recommended for Leaving English level in Ireland, 2005

Achebe, Chinua	<i>Things Fall Apart</i>
Angelou, Maya	<i>I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings</i>
Ballard, J.G.	<i>Empire Of the Sun</i>
Barker, Pat	<i>Regeneration</i>
Bielenberg, Christabel	<i>The Past is Myself</i>
Binchy, Maeve	<i>Circle of Friends</i>
Branagh, Kenneth (Dir.)	<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i> (Film)
Brontë, Charlotte	<i>Jane Eyre</i>
Brontë, Emily	<i>Wuthering Heights</i>
Chang, Jung	<i>Wild Swans</i>
Costner, Kevin (Dir.)	<i>Dances with Wolves</i> (Film)
Eliot, George	<i>Silas Marner</i>
Friel, Brian	<i>Dancing at Lughnasa</i>
Gordimer, Nadine	<i>The House Gun</i>
Huston, John (Dir.)	<i>The Dead</i> (Film)
Ibsen, Henrik	<i>A Doll's House</i>
Kingsolver, Barbara	<i>The Poisonwood Bible</i>
Leonard, Hugh	<i>Home before Night</i>
Lurhmann, Baz (Dir.)	<i>Strictly Ballroom</i> (Film)
Madden, Deirdre	<i>One by One in the Darkness</i>
Malouf, David	<i>Fly Away Peter</i>
McGahern, John	<i>Amongst Women</i>
Mehta, Gita	<i>A River Sutra</i>
Miller, Arthur	<i>A View From the Bridge</i>
Moore, Brian	<i>The Statement</i>
O'Casey, Sean	<i>Juno and the Paycock</i>
O'Hanlon, Redmond	<i>Into The Heart of Borneo</i>
Oz, Amos	<i>Panther in the Basement</i>
Proulx, E. Annie	<i>Heart Songs</i>
Radford, Michael (Dir.)	<i>Il Postino</i> (Film)
Shakespeare, William	<i>As You Like It</i>
Shakespeare, William	<i>Hamlet</i>
Sophocles	<i>Oedipus the King</i>
Spark, Muriel	<i>The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie</i>
Steinbeck, John	<i>Of Mice and Men</i>
Syngé, J.M.	<i>The Playboy of the Western World</i>
Tyler, Anne	<i>A Slipping-Down Life</i>
Twain, Mark	<i>The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn</i>
Weir, Peter (Dir.)	<i>Witness</i> (Film)
The following poets are represented (20 by single poems): Armitage, Simon;	
Boland, Eavan; Cannon, Moya; Carson, Ciaran; Coleridge, Samuel Taylor;	

Dickinson, Emily; Eliot, Thomas S; Fanthorpe, Ursula Askham; Grennan, Eamon; Heaney, Seamus; Herrick, Robert; Jennings, Elizabeth; Kavanagh, Patrick; Kennelly, Brendan; Kinsella, Thomas; Lawrence, David Herbert; Levertov, Denise; Longley, Michael; Mc Gough, Roger; Mc Neice, Louis; Milton, John; Muir, Edwin; Olds, Sharon; Rumens, Carol; Thomas, Dylan; Williams, William Carlos; Wordsworth, William; Yeats, William Butler.

In terms of representation of authors from different cultures (in approximate percentages) and of their gender, the composition of this list is as follows<sup>1</sup>:

**Table 2.** Representation of authors in terms of country of origin and gender in the text list for the 2005 English syllabus in Ireland

<b>Country of origin of authors</b>	<b>Percentage of texts included</b>	<b>Gender representation</b>
Ireland	31%	25% male; 6% female
England	30%	18% male; 12% female
America	22%	10% male; 12% female
Other cultures		
Australian	4.5%	12% males; 4% females
S.Africa	2.5%	
China	1.5%	
Greece	1.5%	
India	1.5%	
Italy	1.5%	
Israel	1.5%	
Norway	1.5%	
Total	16%	
		<b>TOTAL</b> 65% male; 34% female

The variety of texts that had been planned by the syllabus committee for inclusion was to a great extent achieved. Traditional tendencies, whether these found expression in colonial, nationalistic or cultural elitist modes had been counterbalanced by the inclusion of a broad range of texts selected on the basis of other, more democratic, criteria.

The new syllabus is very much a product of what might be loosely described as postmodern thought. This is understood to mean a stance that questions the adequacy of traditional overarching cultural narratives and relativises the value systems of all cultures. The syllabus focused specifically on this by including a comparative study element in its prescribed approaches: texts from different cultural contexts are to be compared and analysed from various perspectives. Furthermore

the syllabus challenges the traditional demarcation between high culture and popular culture and attempts to explicitly involve these in a dialectical relationship by encouraging the comparative study of both popular and classical texts and written and film texts. Finally another important influence informing the approach of the new English is the prominence it gives to reader response theory emphasising that the meanings of texts are not self evident and readers can construct varied and contesting interpretations from their encounters with the same text.

It had taken some time but at last by the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the need for the literature syllabus to reflect the diversity of Irish society in various ways had been realised. But even now there is a new challenge to be faced. Immigrants from east European and African nations are moving into Ireland in significant numbers and changing its cultural texture. Inevitably the need to keep texts list up to date and speaking to the new multicultural Irish society as it evolves is becoming an important issue. In this new world there is little certain except the need to change.

### 3. THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

Powerful tensions between different religious and secular bodies (including State educational bodies) characterised the Australian educational system in the early days of the colony. In NSW in 1848, and later in other States, a dual system of education was institutionalised through the establishment of two boards to control education – a Denominational School Board responsible for the distribution of government subsidies to church schools, and a Board of National Education charged with establishing a separate system of public schools and teacher training. Federation in 1900 confirmed State control of Education with the States often following English educational policies, or each other's policies, as they became institutionalised. Australia, like Ireland, was to prove a fertile ground for the transplantation of the British educational system.

When more literature began to be included in school curriculum in Australia in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its status was similar to that in the Universities where its female following and perceived lack of rigour ensured its lowly position. In the schools, literature tended to be taught to girls along with their needlework and sketching (often of British flora, fauna and landscapes) while they waited for marriage. Boys were given grammar, and composition, but very little literature (Watson, 1996, p. 27). It was obviously seen as having scant educational or vocational value.

The numerous recollections about the curriculum offered to children in Australia, up until the 1950s, and even beyond, which are included in *The Oxford Book of Australian Schooldays*, illustrate how powerfully the imperial model had taken hold. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century unfolded, the Australian child found his or her educational diet to be a large and unalloyed dose of British imperialist culture replicating both the content and the value systems imparted in British public school education. Joan Colebrook (Niall & Britain, 1997, p.111) at school in the 1920s recalls marching 'like a small soldier of the great British Empire' to the sound of a kookaburra laughing in the playground of a one room schoolhouse in North Queensland;

Geoffrey Dutton (p. 191) at school in the thirties, recalls wearing huge stiffly starched Eton collars as part of his uniform in the heat of an Australian summer's day; and there are many other recollections recording regret for the absence of Australian history, geography and literature. Several historians have described Australian public schooling of the earlier part of the twentieth century as 'jingoistic and middle class' (*Whereas the People*, p. 165) and whether the 'racist' tag can also be added is at least debatable. An imperial education favoured Latin, Greek and the classics with Literature accorded a lower status and including mainly male writers from the literary English tradition – a similar situation to that in Ireland at the time.

After federation each of the Australian States followed its own educational system though the kinds of texts used in schools in NSW were reasonably representative of those selected in other States. What is remembered about schooling in Australia in the early and mid twentieth centuries is the focus on Empire and the lack of an Australian perspective, yet the formal shift away from sole reliance on a British education did have its beginnings quite early in the century, a mark distinguishing it from the march of events in Ireland. The 1922 NSW primary syllabus encouraged:

regard for history other than English or Imperial, the object being to broaden the outlook of the pupils, and to encourage respect for the point of view of other races than our own. (NSW Department of Education, 1922)

This goal in educational policy terms was ahead of its time but it is not an ideal necessarily made evident in the choices of texts that accompanied English syllabuses for much of the twentieth century.

Conceptions of the subject English continued to develop as mass schooling was introduced in Australia in the late 1950s and 60s and the Wyndham Scheme saw increased numbers of senior students proceeding to the Higher School Certificate. As the nature of the students changed, challenges emerged to the previous narrow conceptions of English. By the mid 1960s there was a clear need for more inclusive teaching practices and curriculum to cater for the students. Various factors assisted the expansion of English that occurred including a more student-centred pedagogy, a model of language based on personal growth, and the acceptance of less traditional texts for study.

An analysis of text lists for high school students in English in NSW between 1955 and 1982 reveals an emphasis on Shakespearean tragedies and History plays. The choice of Shakespearean plays has much in common with those selected by the Irish Board from the 1880s. *Julius Caesar*, *Henry IV Part 1* and *Macbeth* surprisingly, or perhaps not so surprisingly, feature prominently. The essay – mainly English essays in this period (e.g., *Three centuries of English Essays* was a common choice) also has a high profile. Poetry and drama were included in the text lists, though as second order genres. A first Australian inclusion in 1955 is Stewart's radio play *Fire on the Snow* – a text which recurs often in these lists, and in 1969 *The Doll* made its debut followed by plays by Buzo, Kenna and, towards the 1980s, Williamson. This contrasts with the situation in Ireland where some significant contemporary Irish authors were not represented in text lists at this time. In fact

Australian text lists in the 1990s included works by Heaney and other Irish writers who continued to be excluded from Irish text lists – an anomaly only recently corrected.

Texts of mainly English origin, though, surprisingly, with an increasing number of Australian choices – up to a third towards the early 1980s – are included throughout this period. They are primarily by male authors, though with an occasional female Australian writer such as Henry Handel Richardson being included. The poetry texts shift from being anthologies (e.g., *Boomerang Book of Australian Poetry*) to single author texts (e.g., Dawe, Wright, and towards the end of this period Murray). By the mid 1970s nearly half of the fiction is by Australian writers with Lawson, Porter, White and Kenneally commonly represented.

In NSW in the early 1980s new senior English syllabuses were constructed and these were to remain in place until 2001. In these syllabuses English is seen as a predominantly literary study, with language involving the development of skills taught mainly through the study of literature (see Michaels, 2001, p. 184ff). As was the case in Ireland, the F.R. Leavis school of thought favouring close textual study, belief in meaning being revealed from within a text rather than through its context, and approval for canonical texts, proved strongly influential in the choice of texts and the shaping of curriculum in this period. Over the next twenty years the syllabuses remained unchanged but the text lists were altered every few years and there were discernible shifts in both the text lists and the nature of examination questions.

A fairly typical example of text lists used in the nineties in Australian classrooms is provided by the 1995 NSW HSC English text list. (Western Australia's list was something of an exception in that it provided an extensive recommended list of non-fiction, feature articles, literature, stage drama, documentary films and videos, and feature films.) The NSW list includes a total of 118 texts (nine occur twice) which are divided between the four English courses that could be studied at that time. A count of the countries of origin and the gender of the authors reveals the following:

**Table 3:** Representation of authors in terms of country of origin and gender in the text list for the 1995 English syllabus in NSW

<b>Country of origin of authors</b>	<b>Percentage of texts included</b>	<b>Gender representation</b>
Australia	46% (including 8% by Aboriginal writers)	24% male; 22% female
England	30% (most pre C20 <sup>th</sup> texts here)	23% male; 7% female
America	12%	7% male; 5% female
Other cultures		
Ireland	5%	7% males; 5% females
S.Africa	3%	
Canada	1%	
India	1%	
Africa	1%	

New Zealand	1%	
Total	12%	
		<b>TOTAL</b> 61% male; 39% female

Knowledge of the relationship between a writer's work and the biographical and cultural contexts from which it evolved was not important in examination answers at this stage and as a consequence it was rare for these links to be emphasised in the classroom. Many of the authors studied in the last 30 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Ireland are on these lists but it is noticeable how much greater a proportion of texts written by Australian authors are included than those written by Irish authors in the Irish text lists of the same period.

### 3.1 *English text lists in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*

The introduction of significant reform to the Higher School Certificate in New South Wales in 2000 was accompanied by radical changes to what is referred to as the Stage 6 syllabus for Senior English. This syllabus was written against the changing literary and theoretical climate of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and reflects these newer perspectives in its content, terminology, and text prescriptions. English is conceived in this syllabus as encompassing an eclectic range of elements including a cultural studies model, a pedagogy that utilises critical literacy as well as the more traditional close study of texts, an equal emphasis on students' own composing as well as on their responding to textual material, and an opportunity for the exploration of a greater diversity of texts. The syllabus is also designed to respond to the wider range of student needs as more students stay on at school for the post compulsory years.

There has been considerable debate about the views of English presented in this new syllabus both within education circles and in the wider community. Many teachers, trained in the Leavisite tradition or more familiar with the views of the New Critics, have questioned the validity of the syllabus' theoretical underpinnings and have described the content as populist and anti-intellectual. What is clear is that the traditional model of English, which had a heavy reliance on a cultural heritage perspective and which privileged canonical texts over other works, has been reinvigorated and reshaped by the broader inclusions of the new Stage 6 syllabus. Previous notions of the transcendent power of a literary text or of its capacity to retain a fixed, unalterable meaning on the page have been overturned by a curriculum directive to view and value texts as productions of both contextual and cultural factors.

The influence of Post Structuralist theory on the syllabus is very clear. Literature is seen as a social construction, texts are a product of context and culture, readings can be multiple and based in varying ideologies. With direct application to the prescriptions of the new syllabus, a range of texts and types of texts may be valued.

Further, accompanied by this thinking is the nature of the rapidly changing world of the emergent 21<sup>st</sup> century. The dynamic impact of globalisation, shifting national borders, increasing cultural awareness, and expanding information communication technologies, are driving changes in ways in which the subject of English and the study of texts are being conceptualised. The complexity and uncertainty of the contemporary lived experience are reflected in the sorts of textual practices now encountered in schools.

Significant changes to the current syllabus include expansion in the number, range, and nature of the set texts, and changes to the ways in which their study is approached. There is a total of 127 texts prescribed across five English courses (Standard, Advanced, ESL, Extension 1, and Extension 2). The criteria for text selection includes merit and cultural significance; catering for the needs and interests of course candidature; providing challenging teaching and learning experiences; and the texts being available at a reasonable cost. The list of texts, *Prescriptions* is available along with a suite of related documents on the NSW Board of Studies website (<http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au>).

No longer is the approach to studying the texts centred on the discrete study of a single text as an example of a particular genre: i.e., poetry, novel, drama, or Shakespeare. The structure of the English Courses has been completely redesigned and a much broader framework for study developed. Texts are now arranged in Modules – with a particular conceptual focus – and these Modules are then further structured into Electives. There is only one Module out of the four compulsory ones in each of the main Courses for study that allows for a single text to be selected and examined as a separate entity. All other texts are placed within a specific Modular and Elective focus with a rubric description framing the ways in which they are to be studied. These texts are also to be connected to other texts and related textual material, frequently of the students' own choosing.

In terms of representation of authors from different cultures (in approximate percentages) and of their gender, the composition of the text list for 2001 is as follows:

**Table 4.** Representation of authors in terms of country of origin and gender in the text list for the 2001 English syllabus in NSW

Country of origin of authors	Percentage of texts included	Gender representation
Australian	49% (including 4% Aboriginal authors)	32% male; 13% female (and 4% websites)
England	21%	16% male; 5% female
America	13%	12% male; 1% female
Other cultures Italy	3%	12% males; 2% females



Greece	2.5%	
Canada	1.5%	
France	1.5%	
India	1.5%	
Ireland	.8%	
New Zealand	.8%	
Norway	.8%	
South Africa	.8%	
Vietnam	.8%	
Total	14%	
		<b>TOTAL</b> 72% male; 21% female (and 4% websites)

The main differences between this present text list and that of 1995<sup>ii</sup> are the expansion in the types of texts included, the reduction in texts of English origin and the corresponding increase in texts of culturally diverse origins, and the higher proportion of Australian material; there is, however, a less balanced gender representation in this syllabus than in the 1995 syllabus. The forthcoming prescribed texts for 2004 and 2005 offer a similar selection but with an even greater increase in visual texts. For Australian and Irish students of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the multiplicity of textual representations now available for study in English is both a welcome and exciting prospect.

#### 4. CLASSROOM REALITIES

Just as text lists produced by a syllabus committee reflect the values and beliefs of its members, and of the historical and social context in which it is constructed, so individual teachers will choose texts from the list according to their own preferences and choices and a range of contextual factors. Research suggests teachers tend to favour texts they are familiar with or have taught before rather than choosing to experiment with new texts or new areas of study<sup>iii</sup>. Thus it would be foolish to think that recommending a text list<sup>iv</sup> ensures that the perspectives it offers will necessarily be made available to those for whom it is designed.

New syllabuses may in themselves offer a new or different way of viewing a subject, which reflects global shifts in how that subject is perceived. But as Eaglestone stresses in his book 'Doing English', how we read is as important as what we read. And it is individual teachers who 'read' and interpret the syllabus and who ultimately determine how their students 'read' in the classroom. Factors such as the nature and quality of the in-servicing the teachers receive, the socio-economic background and gender mix of their students, and the cost and availability of useful

resources to support their teaching will continue to play an important part in what actually happens in individual classrooms.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of the construction of English syllabuses in Ireland and Australia in relation to political, cultural and social contexts from the early 20th century to the present day. It has explored similarities and differences in the ways English has been perceived as a school subject in the two countries and the nature of texts chosen to accompany its teaching. Current text lists reflect the diversity of both Irish and Australian societies in ways that offer those who study them more relevant and meaningful perspectives on their world than have been available in the past. As the social and political climate changes again, as it inevitably will, so new pressures will be brought to bear on those constructing and driving curriculum.

There is evidence of what might be termed global trends in the most recent Irish and Australian text lists, such as considerably less reliance on British authors and the inclusion of a higher proportion of authors from other cultures, an increase in the number of texts offered for study, and the introduction of a wider range of text types, including film texts. But the differences between the lists are also quite striking: the NSW list has a greater number of texts from which to choose (127 as opposed to 67<sup>[iv]</sup>); it has a wider range of texts than the Irish list (websites, speeches, essays, and multi-media are included for study); and there is a higher proportion of texts by Australian authors in the Australian list (49%) than Irish authors in the Irish list (31%) reflecting a trend that has been consistent since the 1980s. On the other hand the Irish list has a higher representation of female authors (34%) than has the Australian list (21%). It must be stressed that this kind of statistical analysis glosses over a range of factors and that it is mainly useful for indicating broad trends or changes that take place over time.

This discussion makes clear that global, political, social and cultural forces have made a major impact on the construction of English syllabuses over the last century and that there is a growing consciousness of the ways in which such contextual factors influence the choice of texts set for study. However, we have found that other factors specific to local contingencies and national histories and cultures, also exert a significant influence on curriculum and text lists, sometimes in ways, which run counter to global trends. In short, globalisation has profoundly affected the ways in which English is studied in schools. But national forces and relatively random factors of personal choice and events also continue to play their part in study of a subject in which the sense of place, or as Shakespeare says, 'a local habitation and a name', has always been significant.

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- <sup>i</sup> Categorising texts in terms of their origins raises all sorts of difficulties (how is an Anglo-Irish or Greek-Australian author to be counted, for example?) An author may be born in one place but grow up and live in another; a book may deal with the concerns of a particular culture but be written by an author born outside that culture. There are numerous permutations possible. As a rule of thumb we have chosen to view authors as representing the culture of their birthplace.
- ii It is interesting to note that the recommended test lists for 2005, which accompany the UK's General Certificate of Secondary Education and the General Certificate of Secondary Education Advanced courses, have much more in common with Australia's lists from the 80s and 90s than with its 2004 list. There is a greater preponderance of texts by UK authors and a considerable proportion of pre-twentieth century texts in the UK list. But while there is an expansion in the categories of texts included, and in the diversity of authors represented, it does not come close to the range and diversity of the current Australian list.
- iii This research is part of K.A.O'Sullivan's PhD research. It is based on questionnaire results and interviews of English teachers in relation to the HSC syllabus introduced in 2000.
- iv Some courses are accompanied by advice as to the categories of texts to be studied but leave the choice of texts to the teacher's discretion. See, for example, the English (Higher) course provided by the Scottish Qualifications Authority, and the English Language Arts curriculum provided by the

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Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation. This means that individual teacher's backgrounds; experiences and values are likely to have an even greater influence on the texts that are chosen.

- v Twenty of these texts are single poems, which could be said to make the gap between the number of Australian and Irish texts more significant than the figures at first suggest. It is interesting to note that the poets in the Irish list are either Irish, English or American born with no representation of poets from other cultures.

ALBERTO ARENAS

## DECENTRALISATION OF EDUCATION POLICIES IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s the role of the state in the management and finance of education has been transformed remarkably. Policies, infrastructure, and ideologies that in the past supported centralisation, universalism, and top-down decision making have been replaced to a certain extent by decentralisation, localism, and bottom-up strategies. These changes, which originated in North America and Europe, are rapidly being adopted by governments in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe, due in great part to the influence of multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Arnové, 1997). Decentralisation occurs through the transference of authority and financial responsibility from a central government to regions, municipalities, or directly to schools, coupled in some cases with an increase in the private provision of schooling through market strategies. The main reasons cited for decentralisation are the deepening of the democratic process at the local level, and an improvement in the quality, access, and efficiency in the delivery of schooling – ironically, similar reasons have been cited in defence of centralisation (Hanson, 1995).

As a strategy, decentralisation defies easy characterisation for three reasons: First, the actual form of decentralisation varies significantly from country to country and even from school to school in the same town, depending on a variety of factors. While some decentralisation efforts constitute little more than the transfer of work (but not power) from higher to lower levels of organisation (what is generally known as deconcentration), other efforts entail a genuine devolution of power to communities and schools with the purpose of giving them considerable latitude in hiring personnel, adopting curricular programs, and making financial decisions. Second, even governments that have adopted radical decentralisation policies still control key aspects of education, including teachers' salaries, national curriculum, and increasingly, national assessment. Third, most studies of decentralisation outside of Europe and North America have focused mostly on the policies and structures that enable decentralisation, whereas fewer studies have focused on the daily

happenings at the school level and the relationships among the main school stakeholders (for some exceptions, see Rivarola & Fuller, 1999; Zogla, 2001).

To untangle these issues and to expand on others, this chapter has been divided into four sections: Section 1 differentiates among the three main ideological supports for decentralisation (i.e., neoliberalism, populism, and participatory democracy); given that there are different and contradictory rationales for decentralisation, it is vital to understand how these ideologies parallel and diverge from each other. Section 2 focuses on perhaps the most contentious issue surrounding decentralisation: how to determine how the financial burden should be shared among the central (or federal), regional, and municipal governments (or districts), and the schools, and what should be the balance between public and private sources of finance. The next two sections focus on the micro-practices at the school level. Section 3 explores the participation (or lack thereof) of three main players in educational decentralisation: parents, teachers, and headmasters, and offers some suggestions as to how participation can be increased. Section 4 offers some perspectives on curricular changes and the importance of bringing regional and local content into the school. This section touches upon how centralised systems of evaluation often hinder the possibility of exploring in-depth this more particularistic content.

## 2. RATIONALES IN SUPPORT OF DECENTRALISATION

While at the national level the main ideological impetus behind the decentralisation process has been described as “neoliberal” due to its strong privatisation agenda (and thus conservative because it challenges basic tenets of the welfare state), at the community and school levels it receives support from across the ideological spectrum. For this reason, it is important to unravel the polysemous nature of decentralisation and the various and often-contradictory rationales that support it. Three main systems of thought currently defend decentralisation (Lauglo, 1995a): neoliberalism, populism, and participatory democracy. Although these are abstractions, they help explain why the push for dispersed authority comes from distinct and at times opposite political ideologies. Elements of one or more of the rationales may appear in an educational system because reasons other than those manifested publicly can have a strong influence on the course of events (i.e., a compromise reached for pragmatic reasons or paradoxical imprints on the educational system left by conflicting pressure groups). In the USA and Canada, the charter school movement finds ideological support from all three rationales (Abowitz, 2001; Fuller, 2001; Taylor, 2001).

**Neoliberalism.** As a rationale for decentralisation, neoliberalism is the strongest contemporary influence on systems of education. It derives its most obvious influence from eighteenth-century classical liberalism as a defence of individual rights against the arbitrary power of monarchical rule and religious orthodoxy. In support of freedom from constraint, neoliberalism defends an individualist tolerance of social diversity. This tolerance considers the invisible hand of the market as the most effective economic strategy for promoting individual freedom and containing

the power of the state. As such, it supports a strong local government and the use of market forces to provide 'choices' to individuals through privatisation. It assumes that the market is the most effective mechanism for distributing resources and meeting human needs. In contrast to populism and participatory democracy, it values individual mobility over collective advancement, and believes in the power of education to achieve such mobility. Despite its label, neoliberalism is described in common parlance as 'conservative' because of its focus on market solutions to address social needs. In secular societies there has been a convergence of interests between neoliberal policies and conservative populism in the form of religious fundamentalism (Apple, 2000).

**Populism.** This ideology speaks more directly to political control by ordinary people at the local level. It rejects the political and economic dominance of central governments, and instead defends the direct exercise of government (and other institutions) by popular will. Thus, a fundamental value of populism is to 'empower' the local community to speak its voice. Populism can be defended by both conservatives and progressives. In education, the resurgence of religious fundamentalism (both Islamic and Christian) in various parts of the world and its call for purging the curriculum of liberal and modern scientific ideas is an example of populism's conservative strand, while the nineteenth-century rise of common and egalitarian schools controlled by local communities in Scandinavia is an example of progressive populism (Lauglo, 1995b). Both forms of populism are reactions against large state governments and bureaucracies that appear unresponsive to local needs. Whereas the liberal view of education focuses on the transmission of rational, professional disciplines of knowledge, populism values the experience and knowledge of the community (even non-scientific knowledge), and favours skills that can be readily transported to realms outside of the school. Teachers and administrators are viewed as public servants who serve the larger will of the people through their support of cultural values that are already in people's homes and local institutions.

**Participatory Democracy.** Participatory democracy supports decentralisation based on the idea that schools are learning communities where all stakeholders (teachers, administrators, students, parents, and community members) should take some part in the decision-making process. Like the two other philosophies, it also argues that there should be minimum control from outside forces. In its purest form, this system of thought is heavily influenced by anarchism and socialism. Anarchism works toward a non-hierarchical, non-coercive society organised from the bottom up, based on mutualism and self-management. Socialism emphasises the well-being of the group as long as the rights of individuals are not violated. For all the members of the working collective, equal participation in decision-making helps prevent alienation from work and lessens authoritarianism. In education, outside small-scale experiments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these ideas were particularly prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, when social activism pushed for an egalitarian distribution of power among workers in schools. Participatory democracy frowns upon the imposition of outside models wholesale and advocates shared problem solving through open debates. As an ideology, participatory democracy has had little

influence on policymakers. Rather, its imprint is felt on colleges of education and normal schools worldwide that train teachers and other social service providers who in turn attempt to implement these ideas in their workplaces. While this rationale does not support educational privatisation, it may support some radical forms of decentralisation within the public school sector (e.g., charter schools).

Two aspects of the above categorisation must be emphasised. First, as mentioned previously, most systems of education will display more than one of these rationales. The state is a terrain where conflicting and contradictory groups exert pressure (more so in liberal-democratic societies than in theocratic or secular authoritarian ones), and consequently the educational system will tend to display similar tensions (Nownes, 2001). Second, the state is not simply a neutral terrain but also an actor with its own agenda. Thus, the state may decentralise for the espoused reason of improving the technical efficiency of education but in fact be more concerned with strengthening its own position in society (McGinn & Pereira, 1992). Change thus often occurs from top to bottom rather than from the grass roots up. Nicaragua started a process of educational decentralisation in the 1990s whereby the state imposed a neoliberal model for educational finance alongside allowing conservative and Catholic values in the schools themselves (Gershberg, 1999).

### 3. DECENTRALISATION OF FINANCE

The decentralisation of finance is manifested through two main mechanisms: the transfer of financial responsibility to lower governmental entities and academic institutions, and an increase in cost sharing by communities and parents (Bray 1998). In both cases the market and open competition play dominant roles. As a result, the distinction between private and public schooling becomes blurred, potentially to the detriment of low-income families.

***The Privatisation of Public Schools.*** In the context of diminishing educational budgets, central governments are giving more financial autonomy to local authorities, in an attempt to increase the efficiency and quality of education. A tame form of transfer occurred in Colombia, where national contributions for education were frozen at about 85 percent in the 1990s and any educational expansion beyond that level had to be met by municipalities and regional governments through local taxation and donations (Hanson, 1995). Thus, if a municipality wants to hire more teachers than the basic number approved by the Ministry of Education, or to build new classrooms, authorities have to raise the funds locally. More radical decentralisation took place in Nicaragua and Russia, where funds now go directly to the schools and where school administrators have great latitude in deciding how to spend the money (Gershberg, 1999; Maskin, 1996).

However, given the state's failure to provide schools with sufficient educational funding, especially in developing countries, parents are being obliged to pay larger and larger sums out of pocket to guarantee their children's schooling. In some countries – where parents have to pay for textbooks, school supplies, athletic uniforms, footwear, and extra tuition – parental contributions have become so exorbitant that some parents are unable to send their children to school. A dramatic



case is found in Guangdong Province, China, where low-income families devote 29% of their total income to education, a percentage almost double that paid by middle- and high-income families (West, 1995).

To minimise educational spending and to provide more choice to parents, an option that has been variously called “charter schools” in the USA (Lane 1999), “self-managing schools” in New Zealand (Fiske & Ladd, 2000), and “grant-maintained schools” in Britain (grant-maintained schools were abolished in 1998 and replaced with a variety of options (see Anderson, 2000), is becoming increasingly popular. Charters are free public schools that are given considerable autonomy in terms of personnel, curricular, and organisational matters in exchange for accountability. In a typical scenario, charter schools receive 85% to 100% of the standard public school per-pupil allocation for each student enrolled; central governments or districts save money by not having to pay for school maintenance of teachers’ salaries and benefits. To keep their status, charter schools need to demonstrate adequate academic standards. How charter schools fit into the label of “privatisation of public schooling” varies from developed to developing countries. In developed countries, parents seldom have to pay fees or tuition for public schooling from their own pockets, but they may end up paying indirectly through a decrease in available funding for traditional public schools (because financial formulas are often based on the number of students in the school) and through an exodus of highly motivated students that leave behind the more undisciplined and less academically oriented students (Kuehn, 1995). In developing countries, the rise of institutions equivalent to charter schools often result in parents having to pay a large percentage of their household income for schooling to offset the low funding that schools receive from the state, as in the case of China, mentioned before, and in Nicaragua and Russia (Gershberg, 1999; Shchetinin, Musarskii, & Savelev, 1998). Moreover, public schools themselves are forced to raise revenue to compensate for low funding, including renting out school buildings, running business enterprises, and making items for sale (Bray, 1998).

***The Public-isation of Private Schools.*** The opposite phenomenon occurs when private schools start to receive public funding. This strategy is not new. It has been used for a long time in European countries (e.g., Holland) as a political compromise between Catholics and Protestants to allow public funding for religious schools. The more recent efforts, however, are based not on religious compromises but on a neoliberal political ideology. The rationale for supporting private schools is that the competition posed by private schools will improve the quality and efficiency of public schools (World Bank, 1993). One key mechanism for increasing competition is through vouchers, monetary entitlements given to parents to enrol their child in the private or public school of their choice. Vouchers were first proposed by Milton Freedman as a way to increase school quality through competition, empower parents through choice, and limit public spending through the privatisation of education (Friedman, 1962). Recent policies in Chile, the USA, Denmark, Sweden, and Colombia exemplify to varying degrees this approach, whereby the voucher is used to pay all or part of the fees charged. Chile’s voucher program has been one of the programs studied most intensely, given that it was one of the earliest introductions

of vouchers as part of a neoliberal strategy to privatise public education on a large scale (Carnoy, 1998; McEwan, 2001). Implemented in 1981 under the Pinochet dictatorship, the Chilean program is considered radical because it extends vouchers to *all* students, regardless of family income, and allows them to be used in both religious and secular schools. Two other notable aspects of the program was that schools were allowed to implement the curriculum they felt appropriate without regard for the national curriculum or national standards, and that teacher contracts were privatised and national teachers' unions eliminated as bargaining units, so that even headmasters of public schools could fire teachers at their discretion. A less drastic version of vouchers is found in Colombia, where more than 125,000 students receive a voucher for the secondary-level education (Angrist, Bettinger, Bloom, King, & Kremer, 2001). The main difference between this program and the one in Chile is that the funding is restricted to low-income students and the voucher is awarded through a lottery system.

Another form of public-isation of the private system is a variant of the charter model applied to private schools. One country where this approach is widely in place is Russia, where private schools (including religious and foreigner-owned schools) receive the same per pupil funding as government schools (Bray & Borevskaya, 2001). As a result, the educational system in Russia was transformed from being one of the most centralised in the world (during the former Soviet Union) to being one of the most decentralised. The decentralisation has been so intense, in fact, that a knowledgeable student of Russian education remarked, "Freeing education from central control was interpreted as a requirement to prevent such control from being reinstated; break it quickly and thoroughly so it cannot be put back together" (Heyneman, 1997, p.334).

*Effects of Finance Decentralisation and of Market Tools.* The effects of these movements can be seen in three main areas: First, national funding for education decreases while parental contributions increase. Second, there is a swelling in ethnic and class segregation. Third, although improved academic standing of students is a main justification for these measures, the evidence on their effects is inconclusive.

In terms of a *decrease in national funding and a swelling in parental outlays*, these have affected disproportionately poor parents. In Chile in 1985, the government contribution accounted for 80% of total educational spending (5.3% of the GNP); in 1990, that contribution dropped to 68% of the total (3.7% of the GNP). The reduced availability of funds affected municipal public schools more negatively than subsidised private schools, because private schools charged additional fees to parents in the form of "voluntary" contributions that parents had no option but to pay (Carnoy, 1998). In other countries, it became apparent that regional funding was discriminatory against the poorest regions. In Russia, for instance, per-student spending in Chukotskyi Autonomous District is 18.5 times higher than in Tumen District (Bray & Borevskaya, 2001). Equally worrisome is an ongoing ideological shift: During the decades after World War II, education was assumed to be a basic right that should be provided for free, especially at the level of basic education for poor students; currently, however, this view is being challenged in ways that affect low income families unfairly, as in the cases of Chile, Nicaragua, Russia, and China. While scholarships are made available for the poorest families, often the amount

provided does not cover a 100% of educational expenses or not enough families receive them (Bray, 1998).

In terms of *segregation*, evidence seems to point to a concentration of lower-class and ethnic minority students in the poorest schools. In Chile, the majority of students who transferred to private schools as a result of the voucher program belonged to the higher income brackets (Carnoy, 1998). In terms of ethnic separation, Cobb and Glass (1999) found that in the state of Arizona, which has 25% of all charter schools in the USA, charter schools not only contained a greater proportion of White students, but comparable nearby traditional public schools had a 20% lower enrolment of White students. Similar evidence was found in New Zealand, where the entire public system had become a giant marketplace. Hard-to-teach students, disproportionately poor and minority, were turned away from the more desirable schools and were effectively forced to return to their schools of origin (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). Consequently, the traditional public schools became significantly more polarised along ethnic and socioeconomic lines. Given these unintended effects, the central government decided to pull back this marketplace experiment started a decade earlier.

In terms of *academic achievement*, the picture is mixed. Most studies have found that students in private voucher schools or charter schools do not necessarily perform better than students in traditional public schools (Carnoy, 1998; Fiske & Ladd, 2000). However, McEwan (2001) found that in Chile Catholic voucher schools had a small advantage over most public schools, and Angrist and colleagues (2001) concluded that in Colombia voucher recipients had marginally significant improvements in academic and educational attainment compared to non-voucher receivers.

#### 4. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND SCHOOL-BASED MANAGEMENT

While the main ideological support for decentralisation efforts at the macro level has been neoliberal in bent, neoliberalism has little to say about the role (if any) of various community and school stakeholders in managing the institution. In fact, when compared to the anti-authoritarian socialist ideals that undergird participatory democracy, neoliberalism is less collectivist and egalitarian and as such attaches no particular importance to who should participate or how locally. However, given the antagonism that classical liberalism has towards most forms of state intervention, proponents of this philosophy end up supporting school-based management (SBM) and a rationalistic approach to change. Populism and participatory democracy, on their side, are clearly ideologically aligned with widespread popular participation in local institutions, including the use of SBM. Populism prescribes strong local control (including active parental participation) that leaves a distinctly local flavour on the purpose and activities of the schools. Participatory democracy also advocates weak control from outside forces but strong collaborative participation of key school players, including the involvement of parents and other community members insofar as their participation does not hinder basic principles of social justice (e.g.,

protecting the rights of ethnic minorities and girls). Mature learners, particularly those at secondary and tertiary levels, would be welcome to participate as well.

To truly understand the effects of decentralisation at the local level, one must go beyond the ideological justifications for community participation and institutional autonomy, and study local policies and structures (e.g., site-based councils) against the micro-dynamics among the main actors at each worksite. Without a clear understanding of the day-to-day practices, motivations, and objectives of key constituencies – namely parents, headmasters, and teachers – SBM is likely to be a monumental failure (Fullan & Watson, 2000).

*Parents.* A common characteristic of failed SBM projects is the lack of active engagement on the part of parents, which observers have attributed to the incapacity of schools to energise the parents into believing and acting in support of the school (Coleman, 1998). One of the more radical examples of decentralisation is the Nicaraguan Autonomous School Programs (ASP), which combines SBM with fees paid by parents to the school (Gershberg, 1999). In addition to giving principals considerable economic power (they receive funds to pay for teachers' salaries and benefits, among other things), the ASP created School Councils (*Consejos Directivos*) that grant parents substantial authority. These councils are composed of five to seven people, half plus one of whom are parents. The School Councils can hire or fire personnel, including the principal; adjust teacher salary incentives; select textbooks; and collect student fees. Rivarola and Fuller (1999) asked parents from 12 Nicaraguan schools about their responsibility towards their children's school; parents would invariably speak highly of the autonomous schools but would complain about the lack of preparation they received in how to make their participation meaningful. One parent compared the greater autonomy to first communion. "We have to get more training. It is like my child's first communion. You have to get guidance to know what to do. With more training we would know our functions, our obligations" (as cited in Rivarola & Fuller, 1999, p.510). This insecurity as to their role could partially explain parents' lack of participation in general, beyond those in the School Council.

Another reason for the lack of parental involvement is the centralism that characterises many developing countries, where there is little expectation that parents will actively participate in deciding the direction of the school. One poignant example was given by parents in a school in northern Colombia that started as a private school (Arenas, 2000). The school was founded with the active support of parents, who provided enough funds and human capital to pay teachers' salaries, build the school campus, and do the maintenance. After a few years of economic hardship, school authorities and the community decided that the school should become public. Once the school attained public status, parental involvement diminished considerably, and teachers have had difficulty in bringing up parental support to the level of pre-public years. According to parents, it was no longer their responsibility, but that of the state, to ensure the school's welfare.

Another possible reason for the lack of parental enthusiasm is the relatively high fees that parents have to pay to enrol their children in some decentralised public schools (especially at the secondary level). The feeling is, "If we are already paying a not insignificant portion of our household income for education, why do we as

parents also have to participate in school affairs?" This sentiment appears to be prevalent in Nicaragua as well as in other developing countries. In Burkina Faso, sending one child to primary school costs parents between US \$10 to US \$35 a year (Maclure, 1994). In light of the fertility rate of 6.5 births per woman in the country and a rural income that is lower than the average per-capita GDP of US \$290 annually, it becomes prohibitively expensive for a rural family to send all their children to school. This economic disincentive may alienate parents from the school.

Based on some successful case studies, it appears that all of the preceding challenges can be overcome successfully. Research uniformly admonishes schools to actively strengthen ties with the local community, especially around issues that have a direct bearing on the well-being of children (Coleman, 1998). As these interactions are amplified and become an integral part of school life, the quality of the relationship is transformed from one of detachment and superficiality (albeit friendly) to one of inclusion, trust, and active engagement. As an example, the Mombasa School Improvement Programme in Kenya was effective in transforming the culture of the school by mobilising parents and other community members (Fullan & Watson, 2000). A key means to its success was to personalise relationships with parents through a community development officer (CDO) who served as the parents' advocate at the school. The CDO also trained teachers and school administrators in how to be more responsive to parental input and to actively seek it out. Once the barriers of distrust fell down, it was much easier to institutionalise these relations.

It should be noted that parents who have more control over their children's education (including being able to move their children to the school of their choice and having the option of participating in school affairs) feel better off (Carnoy, 1998; Fiske & Ladd 2000; Lane, 1999). This finding coincides with the ideological premises of neoliberalism (freedom from restraint), populism (individuals want to foster their own set of values), and participatory democracy (change occurs from the bottom up).

*Teachers.* While teachers (through their unions) have generally been opposed to decentralisation policies that affect their salaries and benefits (e.g., see Arnaut, 1999; Lemieux, 2001), in most countries they have generally been open to the idea of improving their practice through decentralisation efforts. In the case of Nicaragua, teachers generally welcomed their new autonomy to implement curricular strategies that before had been off-limits. As a Nicaraguan teacher said (quoted in Rivarola & Fuller, 1999, p. 510): "With autonomy the teacher needs to be more accountable, to be on time, to plan her classes better, to teach better." But they, just like parents, clamour for additional training. Given teachers' tradition of working in isolation from their peers, with little or no participatory input on what they teach or how, a new process of acculturation needs to take place that values group work and collective decision making. Fullan and Watson (2000, p. 456) emphasise the fostering of "professional learning communities" wherein as teachers come to embrace a wider role in the decision-making at the school level, they may also experiment with new practices, including becoming more comfortable with giving and accepting input among colleagues. These added responsibilities and this radical

conceptual shift, however, exact a large physical and emotional cost from some teachers, possibly even leading them to withdraw from the school, as studies in the USA have shown (e.g., see Little, 1999).

An interesting conundrum posed to teachers regarding their acceptance or rejection of decentralisation policies relates to their role as social service providers who seek the common good. Given that decentralisation policies have weakened the power of the welfare state (but not necessarily of the capitalist state, as explained by McGinn & Pereira, 2000) through privatisation and free-market efforts, including the slashing of basic health and education services, teachers see themselves as caught in the middle among three different viewpoints: the logic of working on behalf of the public interest; the logic of defending business principles that support efficiency and the bottom line; and the logic of advocating community values and personal growth within a given cultural, spiritual, and ethnic environment. Nowhere are these conflicting values expressed as intensely as in France, where historically centralisation policies were implemented to reign in the political and economic abuses of the church and nobility (Lelièvre, 2000). The republican system of education was very heavily centralised precisely because of the deep suspicion against the Ancien Régime and local interests. "To ask teachers in France to accept diversity over homogeneity and local concerns over general, central, or national ones is to go directly counter to all their intellectual and historical references," says Lelièvre (2000, p.8). The fierce reaction by French teachers against decentralisation is understandable given that the long-standing centralised tradition is seen as progressive by its very large number of public servants (more than four million). This tradition contrasts with other long-standing centralised traditions that were seen by its subjects as oppressive, as in the case of the former Soviet republics. Latvian teachers, for example, whose educational system was controlled from Moscow for 51 years, tend to view decentralisation in an extremely positive light (Zogla, 2001). While it is too early to foretell the future of decentralisation given that the current movement is relatively recent, if it becomes more radical (including differentiated curricula, professional standards, and hiring practices), teachers in France and elsewhere would be forced to confront head-on the antagonisms set by the opposition of the nationalistic political project embodied by public schools as a whole and the particularistic agendas set by individual schools.

*Headmasters.* Just as parents and teachers have additional responsibilities as part of SBM, headmasters also have full plates. While headmasters do not necessarily enjoy these additional tasks, for the most part the increased authority has been welcomed. As a Nicaraguan headmaster commented, "We are depending less on the ministry. We are deciding our own issues. We are like a little ministry, especially the [School] Council" (as cited in Rivarola & Fuller, 1999, p.511). Some of the specific positive aspects mentioned were that teachers got paid on a timely basis; poor teachers could be let go, which increased accountability for all parties; there was more direct communication with parents; and parents encouraged their children to attend school more regularly (the last two aspects should not be confused with increased parental participation because, as we saw, this is still quite limited). Although Nicaraguan headmasters and School Councils have great power, how much the responsibilities of headmasters change depends greatly on the SBM model

fostered by the central government and the one implemented in a particular school. A useful four-model taxonomy of SBM approaches is provided by Leithwood and Menzies (1998): administrative control (headmaster as dominant figure); professional control (teachers as dominant figures); community control (parent and community members dominate); and balanced control (headmaster, teachers, and parents co-direct). While on paper the balanced-control SBM model tends to be the one favoured by most ministries of education, in practice a combination of the first two models tends to be the norm.

A key reason for this limited outside participation is that leadership-driven reforms often fail to appreciate the conditions under which local capacity can be developed (Senge, 1999). Given that most decentralisation efforts are generally imposed on schools, the headmaster has the primary responsibility for motivating others to join in; if the leader does not strike the necessary balance between delegating meaningful authority and providing adequate capacity building to parents and teachers, participation will continue to be lacklustre. Simple exhortations will not do, as Senge (1999) reminds us: "Leaders instigating change are often like gardeners standing over their plants, imploring them: 'Grow! Try Harder! You can do it!' [But] if the seed does not have the potential to grow, there is nothing anyone can do to make a difference" (p. 8). Creating the conditions for the seed to germinate involves creating a collaborative culture that focuses on student well-being (beyond increasing academic achievement in the abstract), establishing a participatory and transparent political process, being sensitive to the economic needs of parents, and providing for local capacity building. In support of these elements, Rivarola and Fuller (1999) concluded: "When a school's authority structure was already dedicated to raising student performance and the political structure was fairly participatory, autonomy was well received. But in schools surrounded by severe family poverty or beset by organisational ills, autonomy may further limit the school's efficacy" (pp.518-519).

##### 5. CURRICULUM AND EVALUATION ISSUES

Influences on curriculum vary greatly depending on practical compromises and the philosophical perspectives of those involved in the curricular decisions (Lauglo, 1995a). Neoliberalism, which finds its influence in classical liberalism and Greek tradition, emphasises the development of the mind through rational thinking and disciplined knowledge. Learners are invited to question critically received knowledge and use the tools of science to uncover truth. It is an individualist view of learning that cultivates the mind. Populism, in contrast, seeks to develop skills that can be applied to practical tasks and problems outside the school, in the home, the work place and the local community. Populism believes in learning from experience and places a high premium in vocational education. Participatory democracy views the curriculum as negotiated knowledge between teachers and students. It is strongly anti-hierarchical and anti-formal, and tends to reject grades and the individualistic pursuit of credentials. In contrast to neoliberalism, it advocates the inter-disciplinary

pursuit of knowledge (not just single discipline mastery) and the use of a variety of written sources beyond canonical works. It shares with populism the notion that knowledge found in the community is as valid as that codified in books.

Curricula in schools today embody elements from all three ideologies, but since the 1990s there has been a global tendency to centralise the secondary curricula in certain disciplines, mainly in math, science, and language arts. This centralisation, manifested through national curricular standards, is predicated on the idea that schools constitute an important training site for future employees. Given the prestige of the industrial and electronic sectors and the cultural emphasis on competition and economic development, curricular contents that can potentially contribute to these areas are seen as in need of standardisation and improvement. This technocratic vision also has a strong influence in developing countries where there are powerful symbolic and policy commitments to economic growth via industrial and agricultural modernisation (Kamens, Meyer, & Benavot, 1996). In terms of evaluation, the current tendency is to focus on standardised quantitative assessment (i.e., tests), to focus on outcomes, and to stress comparative testing between schools and between nations. In this sense, the curricula centralisation follows a strict neoliberal ideology of preparing students to be economically competitive in the global marketplace.

One of the main criticisms posed to this form of education is that it limits the potential role that public education can play in strengthening democratic and community life (Apple, 2000). It ends up promoting the interests of private enterprise and macroeconomic indicators over other, more community-oriented concerns, such as human rights education or environmental education. While neoliberal proponents claim that their goal is to instil in students democratic and community values, the effects are that the curriculum becomes more homogenised and the market determines the quality of education that is offered, strategies that arguably curtail the democratic mandate of public education.

An interesting example of a decentralised curriculum and evaluation that has shown to strengthen democracy at the local level is that presented by the *Escuela Nueva* (EN) model from Colombia (McEwan & Benveniste, 2001; Psacharopoulos, Rojas, & Velez, 1993). EN is in fact a centralised model promoted by the ministry of education but with decentralised elements germane to this discussion. EN is a successful model for primary rural schools (but increasingly used in urban areas) that has been adopted by thousands of schools worldwide. In terms of curriculum, EN adapts the national curriculum to regional and local needs, and encourages the practical application of what is learned to school and community life. It brings together school and community by having parents share their knowledge and experience in school, and by taking children into the community and surrounding natural environment so that they can collect oral histories, engage in vocational activities with local adults, and study local flora and fauna. In terms of evaluation, teachers ascertain students' advances using a progress control book; once a student finishes an activity he or she shows it to the teacher for assessment and authorisation to commence a new activity (the model uses self-pace academic growth). The book allows teachers to control students' advances for each learning module. Once a student meets the minimum educational objectives, he or she is promoted to the next



level (which can take longer than an academic year). EN suffered a period of decline after 1986 because it became more and more standardised and inflexible in responding to local and regional needs (as a result of a lack of funding and by using a kit format to be exported elsewhere), thus the more populist and participatory democratic elements of EN can be seen in what has been called EN's "golden era" from 1975-1985 (McEwan & Benveniste, 2001, p.554).

Both in curriculum and in evaluation there is a need to find a balance between following national guidelines (but not mandates) and respecting the educational decisions of local constituents. This is particularly true for evaluation, which often ends up driving curricular content. When evaluation is defined by standardised tests, it takes a particularly high toll on experiential forms of learning whose benefit is difficult to quantify through pencil and paper examinations. Ultimately, this system of evaluation ends up measuring what matters least and taking power away from school members to decide what matters most to them (Kohn, 2000).

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Governments worldwide have embarked on educational decentralisation for reasons of political convenience and ideology. In terms of ideology, decentralisation receives support from a variety of philosophies that are often at odds with each other in terms of mechanisms and purposes. In this ideological battle, neoliberalism clearly dominates high-level macroeconomic decisions, manifested by the gradual strengthening of market strategies that privatise both the provision and finance of the service. One of the effects of this policy is to affect negatively poor families through user fees (despite the availability of scholarships). At the same time, there has been a parallel centralisation process of curricular and assessment standards that prevents schools from experimenting with alternative subject matter, pedagogies, and assessments that might make schools vastly improved places for learning and might bring together the school and the local community (an important exception has been the worldwide introduction of heritage languages in school curricula). In other words, these dual and opposing processes are increasing the gap between the rich and poor and worsening the school experiences of children worldwide. The adoption of some principles of populism and participatory democracy could assist in reversing these trends. Three courses of action are suggested:

In terms of education finance, some key functions should remain centralised, such as the control of teachers' salaries and benefits. At the primary level, user fees should be eliminated (even so-called "voluntary contributions"), and at the secondary level, if free education cannot be extended to all, the poorest families should be able to access a comprehensive program of scholarships and grants (not loans). This need not prevent local governments from increasing the efficient use of resources or even raising revenues through non-user fee schemes. Equitable school financing formulas should accompany these strategies.

As it relates to community participation and SBM, school officials must patiently and persistently build a collaborative culture among parents (and other community

members), teachers, and administrators. This is particularly true in contexts where there is no tradition of local democracy. To foster such a culture, an infrastructure needs to be in place that provides training and support to strengthen local capacity (as in the case of the community development officer in the Kenya example). Just as with decentralisation, community participation is not an end in itself. It is a strategy to improve the learning conditions for children and to give community members, especially parents, a sense of belongingness towards the school.

With regard to curriculum and evaluation changes, the current trends towards centralisation are misguided. While the national government can (and should) provide a basic framework of core content to ensure equity and quality, regional differences ought to be reflected in the curricula of local schools. Ministries of education should support curricular efforts that promote and rescue local histories, languages, and cultures, without neglecting the importance of a common national foundation that supports the public good. This curriculum should seek to integrate academic and vocational education, and encourage learning in sites outside the classroom. Equally, ministries of education should allow schools to create their own evaluation tools, as long as other forms of accountability are in places that prevent short-changing the quality of poor students' education.

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## EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALISATION: RHETORIC OR REALITY? – THE CASE OF ONTARIO, CANADA

### 1. INTRODUCTION: THE ONTARIO CONTEXT

The need for a sound educational system as a basis of a healthy and productive society is indisputable. As the Ontario grass-roots group, “People for Education” note:

What happens to our schools affects us all — parents, grandparents, those without children, businesses and communities. We all pay taxes for the privilege of living in a strong, safe, well-functioning society. Public education enhances economic and societal stability for everyone. (Press release, April 15, 2003).

More recently while speaking at the Toronto City Summit Alliance, a former (moderate Conservative) Premier of Ontario, William Davis passionately defended public education and teachers. He said:

There is no more important commitment that a government can make than to education.

I take exception to those who would view public education being...fragmented by vouchers or charter schools. I take exception to the view of some people that the public education system in this province is not of quality, because it is....I am prepared to say and go on record as saying that the teaching profession deserves our support. They are competent. They are not underworked and overpaid. They are in many respects the most relevant profession we have in the province of Ontario....I can tell you the economic success of this province and of this country will be determined by the priority, the resources and the encouragement we give to public education across Canada. (Speech, June 5, 2003, as quoted in *The Toronto Star*, June 6)

The fact that William Davis, a high-profile Conservative, felt the need to make such an emotional appeal in support of public education, –and on several occasions – shows his deep concern for the state and future of education as a basic pillar of society in Ontario. However, in recent times with the shift towards the political right influenced by neoliberal faith in the power of the market which supposedly will ensure high standards, excellence, productivity, and efficiency, the notions of what constitutes a good education, and how it should be governed, funded and delivered have altered. In this chapter, the complex arrangement of the governance of

education in Ontario is discussed examining the balance between central control and divestment to arms length agencies and the private sector.

There is strong evidence of a shift in how education is governed in Ontario, particularly since the 1995 election of the Progressive Conservative Party led by Mike Harris on the basis of a platform to bring about a “Common Sense Revolution”. Key planks in the Common Sense Revolution platform included returning Ontario to its solid middle class values, fiscal responsibility, elimination of wasteful government spending in all sectors, tax cuts, and deficit reduction, along with promotion of free enterprise to ensure Ontario’s place as economic engine of Canada. One government minister was given responsibility for Privatisation with the task of selling off costly crown (publicly owned) corporations to the private sector. In terms of education, the promise was made not to remove money from classrooms, but to eliminate wasteful spending by bloated education administrations. A neo-conservative social message was in play as well: education was “broken” with too much violence in schools, too many drop-outs, students not meeting expected standards nationally or internationally; and parents not having enough choice and voice in the kind of education their children would receive. As will be seen below, the problems were exaggerated, but the scare tactics worked. As the first Education Minister in the new Conservative government, John Snobelen (himself a school drop-out) put it, there was a need to create a crisis so that the government could implement its agenda of restructuring and refinancing. In hindsight, one can note some seeming contradictions in the education agenda – on the one hand promoting entrepreneurship, partnerships with business and industry to lead to “state of the art” technology in schools and direct preparation for the workforce, along with a rigorous new curriculum focusing on literacy, numeracy, science and technology. On the other hand, in an appeal to the traditional right wing, there was a recognition of parents’ roles in determining values their children would be taught in schools, and hence promises to provide financial support for private (often religious) schools which are allowed to function without the academic accountability required in the public system.

There are many elements of free market values and traditional Conservative mores that are mutually exclusive and unworkable in an educational agenda. Michael Apple (1999) in a paper “How the Conservative Restoration is Justified”, has shown that such is not necessarily the case. He argues that neoliberals and neo-conservatives have joined forces and have produced an ideological message that finds favour with:

- a) dominant neoliberal economic and political elites intent on modernising the economy and institutions connected to it;
- b) economic and cultural neo-conservatives who want a return to “high standards”, discipline, and Social-Darwinist competition;
- c) largely white working-class and middle-class groups who mistrust the state and are concerned with security, the family and traditional and especially religious knowledge and values..., and
- d) a fraction of the middle class who may not totally agree with these other groups, but whose own professional interests and advancement depend on the expanded

use of accountability, efficiency, and management procedures that are their own cultural capital. (pp. 114-115)

There are enough people in Ontario who could identify with one of the above groups, that an unlikely coalition was formed that resulted in two majority Conservative governments in Ontario since 1995, and a steady implementation of reforms that have seriously undermined the infrastructure of the provincial public education and health systems. Certainly the Ontario public accepted the message the conservative government was sending that there was something seriously wrong with Ontario schools that needed fixing. In a 1999 Canada wide poll, Ontario residents registered the lowest level of satisfaction with schools in Canada (Leithwood et al., 2003, p. 6). More recently however, Ontario residents although concerned about education in the province do not see the need for more radical changes to the system, and express concern for those the system has undergone.

## 2. NEO-CONSERVATISM/LIBERALISM COMES TO ONTARIO: IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

Promises of centralisation and privatisation certainly formed significant parts of the Conservative agenda for reforming Ontario education, although the overwhelming focus was rather on raising standards, preparation for the workforce and fiscal responsibility. After almost eight years in power, it is interesting to look at all the changes that have taken place and then judge to what extent reform has resulted in more centralisation as opposed to changes that have actually brought about devolution of power or authority from the Ontario government and Ministry of Education and training.

Before addressing that issue, however, it is important to set the context of the Ontario school system. In Canada's confederated system, the responsibility for education is borne by the provinces although the Federal Government does contribute a certain percentage in areas such as aboriginal education, official languages education, and research money at the tertiary level of education. Hence, education systems across the provinces can exhibit a fair degree of difference. Given the fact that the responsibility for education under Canada's confederation falls to such a great extent to the individual provinces as compared to national administration of education in, for example, France, Canada is regarded as having one of the most decentralised educational systems in the world (See Astiz et al., 2002). Ontario is the most populous province with almost 12,000,000 people, over one-third of the Canadian population of about 31,000,000 (Statistics Canada, 2001 census). Toronto, the capital of Ontario, and its immediate environs, at 4.7 million is Canada's largest city and is moreover a magnet for immigrants. Hence, the school population in Toronto and the greater Toronto area ranks among the most diverse found anywhere in the world. Ontario has approximately 2 million students, 4,800 schools, 72 school boards (down from 129 prior to restructuring), 118,400 teachers, and an annual expenditure of \$14.3 billion on education. (Leithwood et al., 2003, p. 14) In Ontario, Public and Roman Catholic Separate Schools in both English and

French speaking school boards are funded and regulated by the Provincial Ministry of Education and Training.

As mentioned above, the Conservative Party gained power in Ontario with a platform that appealed to both neo-conservative and neoliberal factions in Ontario. With regard to education reform, the neo-conservative initiatives involved centralising financial control over education and wresting the part of funding that local boards previously could raise through local taxes. A uniform core curriculum from Kindergarten to Grade 12 was established coupled with standardised testing in reading, writing and arithmetic at grades 3 and 6, and a standardised mathematics test in grade 9, as well as a literacy test in grade 10 which students must pass in order to gain a secondary school graduation diploma. In addition, Ontario now has a standardised report card, and schools are staffed according to a standardised funding formula. The regulation of teachers has increased with the establishment of the Ontario College of Teachers, which registers teachers, grants certification to those who have successfully completed an accredited teacher education program, and who have passed the licensing qualifying teacher's test. To maintain their certification, teachers are also required to complete a professional learning program every 5 years that consists of 14 courses available from approved providers: 7 in mandated areas plus 7 additional courses in areas chosen by the teacher.

Initiatives in education reform which would speak to neoliberal concerns have been more evident in the language used in curriculum documents; e.g. the rationale of every course includes a statement as to how the particular subject or course will contribute to helping students succeed in the global economy and will prepare them for the work-force. Education is viewed as a commodity with pupils as clients, and parents and the community as stakeholders. The section in the Education Quality Improvement Act (Bill 160) that removed principals and vice-principals from the teachers' unions speaks to a neoliberal notion of school administrators as quasi-business managers rather than their traditional role of curriculum leaders.

The establishment of school councils made up of parents, community members and members of the business community (but not teachers or close relatives of teachers) addresses a neoliberal concern for local accountability and a supposed shift from government control to local autonomy. In reality, school councils have had very little impact on school programs and are regarded as ineffectual. Because of funding cuts and the local boards' inability to levy taxes for education costs, there has been a considerable increase in fund raising by parents as well as sub-contracting for janitorial and transportation services. These too could be seen as fitting the neoliberal agenda. Annie Kidder, president of the grass-roots pro-public education group "People for Education", reporting on her group's 2002 Ontario Schools Tracking Reports, notes that in 2002, parents raised \$48 million for elementary and secondary schools, a substantial amount of which was directed to supplies, textbooks, computers and library books: 52% of elementary schools report fundraising for classroom supplies, a 68% increase since 1997; 24% report fundraising for textbooks, a 14% increase since 1997, and 62% report fundraising for library books, up 11% since 1997. The 2003 Tracking Reports show that conditions continue to deteriorate in public schools with fewer specialist teachers, fewer schools with libraries staffed by a teacher-librarian, fewer educational



assistants, along with more students on waiting lists for special education services, more ESL students but fewer teachers and programs to address needs on non-English speaking students, more fund-raising by parents, higher fees for community use of schools, and more schools reporting urgent need for renovations and upgrades that will not be carried out because of lack of funds. (2003, pp. 5-6). The People for Education group attribute the problems to an inadequate funding formula for education. The government is aware of the problems because of its own commissioned report, discussed below (see Rozanski, 2002), but has done little thus far to remedy the situation.

The establishment of arms length agencies to support the reforms – so-called “quangos” (quasi autonomous non-governmental organisations) such as EQAO, the Education Quality and Accountability Office, which oversees the development of the standardised tests for Ontario schools, and the Ontario College of Teachers responsible for the licensing, discipline and development and maintenance of professional standards of the teaching profession represent two more neoliberal initiatives and speak to a certain amount of decentralisation.

A most controversial element proposed by the Conservative government has been the “Equity in Education Tax Credit” announced May 2001. Under this plan parents (or legal guardians) with children attending an eligible independent school will receive a non-refundable tax credit equating to ten percent of the eligible fees paid up to a limit of \$350.00 per child under 6 years of age or \$700.00 per child for children over six years of age. The amount would increase over the next four years to cover up to 50% of eligible fees paid to a maximum of \$4350.00 per child (Paquette, 2002, pp. 146-47). The Ontario government has long supported Roman Catholic Separate schools in Ontario but has resisted pressure from other private (religious) schools for public funding until now. This initiative would derive from both neo-conservative and neoliberal agendas. Neo-conservatives like it because they see it as official sanction for their religious schools where their particular religious beliefs and values can be taught. Neoliberals see this as a support for privatisation and choice. Public school supporters have been highly critical since they see such a move as a way to further undermine the cash strapped public system. As children are removed from the public system, their per-pupil standard grant will be removed as well. The government will end up ahead financially as the tax credit is less than the standard per pupil grant the government provides to boards in its funding formula. Public school supporters are also concerned that since private schools can be selective in the pupils they admit, whereas public schools cannot, the public system will be adversely affected by having the best and brightest students skimmed off to private schools. The public schools will be left with a disproportionate number of special needs children and those with behavioural problems while having less funding to accommodate them. The scheme also is only appealing to the comfortable middle class. Even with a \$3500.00 tax credit, parents in the lowest socio-economic levels would not have the money to send their children to private schools.

Strong public opposition to the “Equity in Education Tax Credit” has kept this initiative on hold up to now. However, with a coming election, and a ruling party

that is trailing in the polls, the option has been raised again under the guise of providing parents with more choices, and the amount of the tax credit per child has been raised. It will be interesting to see to what extent the government will be able to implement this very questionable piece of legislation (passed June 25, 2003) before the election is finally called and whether, as the Conservatives cynically hope, it will assure their re-election by parents who are convinced that the public system really is broken, and that their children would be better off in a private school. A further election promise that seniors who do not have children in the school system would not have to pay the portion of taxes devoted to public education, if implemented, will cause further damage to the beleaguered public education system.

### 3. HOW MUCH DECENTRALISATION IS THERE REALLY IN THE SYSTEM?

In balance then, although in the macro picture of educational systems around the world, Canada does have a decentralised system, in the micro-level of Ontario at least, despite a government espousing a neoliberal agenda, and certain initiatives designed to relieve the Ontario government of financial responsibilities for public education, decentralisation and privatisation have not yet taken hold to any great extent.

If there is any area that shows evidence of decentralisation and even privatisation in Ontario and generally in Canada as a whole, it is at the tertiary (university) level. In recent years, as government funding has been cut back drastically or at best frozen to universities, student fees have risen dramatically, such that in Ontario, for example, student fees in the core faculties of arts, social sciences, and sciences account for 40% of the cost per student, up from 20% or less just over a decade ago. In professional programs, the increase in fees has been phenomenal, resulting in heavy debt loads for students and a suspicion that soon entry to professional faculties will be possible only for the very wealthy. Another indication of decentralisation and even privatisation lies in the growing number of partnerships with industry and the private sector that universities are encouraged to pursue to meet their research agendas. A serious consequence of this is the amount of control exacted by the private enterprises especially in areas of medical and pharmaceutical research, and in a number of cases the control has compromised academic freedom and possible ethical considerations. In the past, Canada distinguished itself from, for example, the university system in the United States by having no private universities. That too is beginning to change, no doubt influenced by clauses in the NAFTA, as well as a neoliberal push towards privatisation in general. The universities have seen the most change with regard to creeping decentralisation and privatisation. As for the elementary and secondary education systems, the changes are more subtle. The rhetoric of decentralisation is rampant, but the reality has seen, in fact, a move to more centralised control with more rigid regulation. It is useful to employ a model described by Roger Dale (1997) in his article "The State and the Governance of Education: An Analysis of the Restructuring of the State Education

Relationship”. He argues that although “shifts away from ‘state control’ towards privatisation and ‘decentralisation’[are seen] as the commonest responses to the new problems that education systems are facing”, (p. 273), actually these terms mean very different things in different countries, and in fact, education systems have not been fully privatised anywhere in the world (except perhaps in Chile). He has established a table representing the governance of education that includes: governance activities of funding, regulation, and provision/delivery on one axis and the coordinating institutions: the state, the market and the community on the other. He admits that the table cannot fully capture all the complexities of the state and private arrangements for governance. Still, it does allow us to begin to grasp how the control of educational systems overlaps between public and private sectors.

**Table 1.** The Governance of Education

	Coordinating Institutions		
	State	Market	Community
Governance Activities			
Funding			
Regulation			
Provision/Delivery			

(adapted from Dale, p. 275)

### 3.1 Funding

In the case of Ontario education, it is quite clear that the central government holds the power because of its rigid funding formula. In the student-focused funding formula, the government allows for a Foundation Grant which accounts for over 50% of the total amount allotted to school boards to cover the general expenses per pupil along with a number of special purpose grants including a local priorities amount, a special education grant, a language grant, geographic circumstances grant, learning opportunities grant, continuing education and other programs grant, teacher qualifications and experience grant, early learning grant, transportation grant, declining enrolment adjustments, administration and governance grant and pupil accommodation grant (Rozanski, 2002, Appendix I). Out of the Foundation Grant – decided according to the number of pupils in a school system, boards are to cover the costs of classroom teachers, teaching assistants, textbooks and learning materials, classroom supplies and computers, library and guidance services, professional/paraprofessional supports, prep time, in-school administration, classroom consultants and local priorities amount (People for Education, 2003, p. 77). However, it is the central authority – the Ontario MET that determines how much each board will get; the boards have limited flexibility in applying the monies they receive to areas they deem requiring special attention. If the Ministry has decided that certain areas of the special purpose grants do not apply, the board will not get that money. A board like Toronto with large numbers of students requiring

support for ESL classes will still get the same proportion of the standard grant per pupil for the language grant that a board with far fewer ESL students will get. (In fact, in recognition of this inequity, the Ministry has injected extra funds for ESL classes into the Toronto Board but the funds are still not sufficient.)

The government provides funding for boards to purchase texts and materials and pay for teachers' salaries. However, since the funding formula has not been changed substantially since 1997, most boards simply have no money to offer any increments to their teachers. The standardised funding formula also removes flexibility from boards in hiring specialised teachers, or in keeping small schools open. According to the formula, elementary schools should have an average of 364 pupils in order to have a full time principal and secondary schools require a minimum of 909 pupils to warrant a full-time principal. The fact that over 60% of elementary schools in Ontario have fewer than 364 pupils and 55% of secondary schools have fewer than 909 pupils has not moved the government to adjust its formula. (Rozanski, 2003, p. 61, n.22) The result has been local boards forced into the unpopular decision of closing perhaps the only school in a community, and a growing number of schools that have to share a principal. Although Boards no longer have any control over the funding they have at their disposal to manage their system, it is their legal responsibility to maintain a balanced budget (deficits are not allowed), hire the personnel needed and maintain their schools. The formula, as mentioned above has not been changed since 1997 despite a rise in the cost of living especially in terms of maintenance and energy costs. Many boards simply do not have the funds to conclude successful collective agreements with their teachers that will allow for even minimal increments in salary. It is no coincidence that during the 2002-03 school year, the secondary teachers of the largest boards in Ontario worked to rule and threatened walkouts because their boards could not offer sufficient salary or benefit packages.

The three largest public boards in Ontario declared they could not balance their budget in 2002; in each case the Minister revoked the power of the elected board members and appointed a financial supervisor charged with balancing the budget. The Minister tried to argue that 69 boards did manage to balance their budgets, but neglected to mention that most of those boards did so by making cuts to librarians, guidance counsellors and special education staff, balanced the budget without consideration to any changes in cost for concluding salary negotiations with the teachers, used up all contingency funding and noted in their budget reports that they would not be in a position to balance the budget the following year without further money from the government. The three large boards that could not balance their budgets are urban boards with older schools and they have not been able to do needed repairs and maintenance on their schools. To summarise the funding issue, we can see centralised control, but imposed in such a way that the blame for problems that arise in the system and in relationships between boards and teachers will largely fall on the local boards and teachers' unions and be diverted away from the central government although those receiving the blame have virtually no room to manoeuvre because of the draconian Education Quality Improvement Act (Bill 160). As part of the proposed Conservative platform for the upcoming election, the party proposes to outlaw teacher strikes and work-to-rule, along with board lockouts, thus

restricting further bargaining power of the Ontario teachers' unions and school boards.

Despite or perhaps because of the central control of public funds for education, and the spending cuts the system has endured (close to 2 billion dollars removed from the system) money has been sought elsewhere from the market and the community. The People for Education Tracking Report for 2002 mentioned above details how parents raised \$48 million, a significant amount of which went to provide classroom supplies, textbooks and library books. Partnerships between private enterprises and schools are also encouraged, whereby the companies will provide the schools with computers or other supplies, but in return, the schools have to use their programs or advertise their products. There is an equity issue at stake here since clearly the more affluent areas are better equipped for fund-raising, and the private companies seem to prefer to enter into partnerships with schools in upper middle class areas. In a time when government funding has been reduced in the system as a whole, the disparities between "have" and "have-not" schools and students will only grow.

### 3.2 *Regulation*

In this area as well the Ontario Government has tightened the reins over teachers as illustrated by the "Qualifying Teacher's Test" and the Professional Learning Program (PLP) that all teachers are required to take every 5 years to maintain their certification. The centrally established curriculum, the standardised tests and report card are further examples of centralised control and regulation. However, there is an element of privatisation or market intervention at play in this area in that the process of developing the curriculum documents was subject to tender by private groups. The Ministry provided a template and strict guidelines and timelines that the curriculum committees would have to follow, but it was up to the private organisation that won the tender for the curriculum contract to organise the committee of teachers responsible for writing the documents, overseeing that the 'deliverables' were submitted to the Ministry on time (or risk a monetary penalty), and paying those employed to write the curriculum. The textbooks to match the new curriculum were developed in a similar way. This produced an interesting blending of the public and private systems: the government provided templates and outlines of the way the documents were to be developed; the private entrepreneurs who won the contracts for the curriculum documents treated the whole process according to business and market practices, but ultimately they hired practising educators to write the documents and so teachers after all had much input into the process and ultimate outcome. For this reason, teachers are in general in favour of the new curriculum that has been produced, at least the documents and programs developed for the academic and university-bound streams. Problems are already surfacing for the applied streams geared to students who will go directly from the secondary school into the workplace or into apprenticeship programs. Still, most agree that the restructured curriculum and materials were put into place too quickly without any

chance for field-testing. Even the public and community had some input in consultation sessions where members of the business sector as well as representatives of parent groups were invited to be present when the Ministry official presented the outline of the restructuring plan and reported on the curriculum as it was being developed. Ultimately though, the control remained with the government and few suggestions from the consultation groups were taken into account. It is interesting that now that the new curriculum is about to be evaluated, the government again put out tenders to the private sector to complete the task but could find no takers. Thus, they have had to approach the provincial faculties of education to find assessors.

The private sector plays a role in some of the regulatory features of the restructured education system in that the standardised tests are developed not by the Ministry, but by the quasi-autonomous arms length Education Quality and Accountability Organization. EQAO also hires markers for the standardised literacy, language and math tests from the public at large. Relatively few teachers participate in marking the provincial standardised tests.

The Ontario College of teachers is another arms length “qango” made up of members elected by the teachers of Ontario; however, almost half of the college members are appointed from the business and private sector by the MET. The Qualifying Teacher’s Test was contracted out to the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in New Jersey. The Ontario Principals’ Council (OPC), another qango provides local input into the test content related to educational law in Ontario, which the ETS would be unaware of. Still the test is coordinated from New Jersey, a situation that has caused education students no little grief because of assigned locations for writing the test, often far away from where individual students are located, inflexibility as to when the test may be written, and unexpected weather conditions that in 2003 made it impossible for some students to arrive at the test location on the fixed date for the test. A report from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Leithwood et al., April, 2003), assessing the impact of the restructuring in education the province has faced since 1995, is extremely critical of the licensing test:

The evidence is quite clear that paper and pencil tests required for entry into the teaching profession contribute little to the improvement of teaching and cost a good deal to administer. A more cost-effective alternative for ensuring accountability and high quality in beginning teachers would be to review, and if necessary revise, the ways in which faculties of education currently assess the extent to which their graduates meet the necessary standards. (p. 22)

Even the Educational Testing Service officials admit that the Qualifying Teachers’ Test cannot predict future success in the classroom, but must only be viewed as a licensing test, a view that would lead one to ask why the necessity of such a costly enterprise in the first place?

### 3.3 *Provision/Delivery*

This area is again mostly controlled by the central Ministry of Education in that it is the teachers certified by the Ontario College of Teachers who deliver the curriculum. Recently, however, the Minister of Education has announced that paraprofessionals (without teacher certification) with expertise in specialised areas such as art, music and physical education will be allowed to teach their area in the public schools. The unions are crying foul because these uncertified lower-paid teachers may take up places of qualified teachers in the special areas. As mentioned above, the curriculum is standard across the province and all schools use a standardised report card as well. There is little room for an adapted curriculum that might be more suitable to aboriginal students, or immigrant student who require ESL classes. The textbooks used are those approved by the Ministry for the various subjects and schools are expected to purchase materials from the grants the boards receive. However, as the People for Education group report, many schools do not have sufficient textbooks – students have to share or do without (Tracking Surveys, 2002, 2003). This is where community fund raising comes into play. The equity problem is obvious since clearly some communities are much better able to raise money for texts and supplies than others. The children in schools in the low socio-economic areas are falling further and further behind.

The market may provide materials when partnership arrangements have been set up with certain selected schools, but the input is fairly minimal – and certainly does not work to help those in the poorest or most isolated schools.

## 4. EVALUATION—SOME LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL?

To recap then, education in Ontario has undergone massive restructuring in the last eight years. The provincial government with its “Common Sense Revolution” has developed an agenda for education that speaks to both neoliberal and neo-conservative beliefs. It seems hardly necessary to comment that the history of the past 8 years in Ontario has mirrored what already took place in other English-speaking countries of the world – in England under the Thatcher policies, in the United States under Reagan, in New Zealand, and Australia, and in other provinces of Canada, notably in Alberta and more recently in British Columbia. The policies followed, especially with regard to attempts to move certain responsibilities in the educational sphere away from public governance toward private arenas, seem to mirror transnational agendas of such “international financial, economic, and trade institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and G7/8” (Dale & Robertson, 2002, p. 14). Simply put, the governments espousing neoliberal policies hope to secure for themselves a place in the global economy, but to do so they have had to make compromises with regards to areas such as education. Under the NAFTA agreement, for example, public goods, such as education are considered “as goods that might also be provided by

the market” (Dale & Robertson, 2002, p. 22), hence an impetus to try to privatise education as much as possible. However, public education is a dearly held value in Canada and in Ontario as can be seen from former Premier Davis’ impassioned plea on its behalf cited above. So there has been a tension between those in the Ontario government who want to privatise and those who sense public opposition to this radical move.

The Ontario government has thus found itself in a quandary, wishing to promote decentralisation, less government control and privatisation. The rhetoric of such a direction is evident, but the reality has seen in fact more governmental control, more centralisation, and more rigid governance of the public system. Why is this the case? Is it because this is the only way they can enact their agenda? Is it because the government recognises that some of its supporters of the neo-conservative stripe are not ready for total divestment of public education? Perhaps it all comes down to a question of cash flow. The government needed to remove money from the education and health systems in order to carry out its plans for tax reduction and deficit cutting. In order to accomplish that it had to enact complicated legislation that would remove the power of local school boards to raise money through local taxes and place full control with the central ministry that would set a funding formula allocating a fixed amount per number of student to the boards. This at first found favour with the public that was persuaded that the business people in government were fiscally responsible and knew how to cut wasteful spending, manage the education system while promoting productivity. People actually believed for a time that less was more. This is no longer the case.

The grants have not been adjusted substantially since 1997, and the situation is reaching crisis proportions in some schools. The public has been growing restive and is concerned about the hostile relations between teachers and the government. Finally in 2002, the government set up the Education Equality Task Force and appointed Dr. Mordechai Rozanski, President of Guelph University “to review the province’s student-focused funding formula, and to make recommendations on ways to improve equity, fairness, certainty and stability in the funding of Ontario’s students and schools” (p.3). He saw his task as one that would “affirm and strengthen Ontario’s publicly supported education system.” (p. 14) The Ontario conservatives may have hoped to introduce more privatisation into the system, but the public never bought into that notion; the government’s chosen reviewer of the funding system did not see privatisation as a viable possibility either. Dr. Rozanski carried out massive consultations with individuals and organisations (900 individuals and 882 formal submissions) around the province, and tabled his report in November 2002. To no one’s great surprise, he found that the public system was seriously cash starved, and in 33 recommendations urged the government to inject 1.8 billion dollars back into the education system – almost exactly the amount that had been withdrawn, and that did not include money he projected would be needed to complete collective agreements with teachers and school staffs, nor money for school maintenance across the province. Although he does not recommend that power be returned to local boards to raise taxes for education, he does recognise disparities in education around the province and makes an interesting distinction between equity and equality:



Equity means fairness. All Ontario students deserve equitable access to education and to the financial resources necessary for a high-quality education. Equity is not equality. Equality is not always equitable. One size does not fit all. (p. 19)

This is a serious criticism of the Ontario education funding formula. He notes that “the funding system should support every reasonable effort to remove or . . . to mitigate conditions that impede a student’s reasonable chance of success in school.” (p. 19) He sees one way of achieving this is by introducing more flexibility into the funding system “to allow boards and their schools a certain amount of discretion in assessing their local needs and spending part of their funding allocations to address those local needs.” (p. 20) His comments show that in his view, the system has become too rigid and centralised and that some autonomy should be granted to the local authorities that can better appreciate the needs of their communities.

The Rozanski report is highly critical of the financial restrictions the government has imposed on Ontario education, and confirmed what teachers and parents had been arguing for years. The government set up the Task Force and Rozanski had to work within the mandate given to him. As such he was restricted to commenting on education in terms of the funding formula in place; although he recommended that the money already removed from the system be returned, he could not make radical suggestions for major changes.

However, another report, “The Schools We Need” (Leithwood, Fullan & Watson, 2003) prepared by researchers at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and tabled in February of 2003 with a final version released in April 2003 does go beyond commenting on the current policies for education, and identifies five conditions necessary to achieve improvement of the system. They believe that in order to realise “the schools we need” in Ontario the government must have vision, reconsider the current policies of governance providing a balance of central and local authority, rely on research evidence concerning how to improve student learning, support teachers by collaborating with them, their federations, the College of Teachers, and other stakeholders, rather than simply implementing policies in a top-down fashion, and, finally, provide adequate and flexible funding, including discretionary funds at the local level.

Implied in their report is a strong belief in public (not privatised) education, a need for less rigid central governance and a criticism of the mixed vision of neoliberal and neo-conservative values that resulted in the muddled vision we have for education in Ontario today. Although they approve of the new curriculum, they note problems with the speed of implementation as well as with too much attention to basic expectations of education (literacy and numeracy) and not enough on more complex outcomes such as responsible citizenship, ability to make critical and moral judgments, and the development of creative and critical thinking skills. They note: “There is nothing helpful to be gained by proposing a one-dimensional concept of excellence for a multi-dimensional world (p. 17).

## 5. CONCLUSION

The school system in Ontario is still in some jeopardy, but there is some room for optimism. The mood of the public is changing to support once again the public system and its teaching force. The government recognises the need to work with and not against the teachers, and seems prepared to be slightly more flexible in its policies. Already, they have begun to return some money to the crumbling system but it is only a start. And then there is an election that must be called within the year. Let us hope that better times for education in Ontario lie ahead. It is time!

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ERWIN H. EPSTEIN

## EDUCATION AS A FAULT LINE IN ASSESSING DEMOCRATISATION: IGNORING THE GLOBALISING INFLUENCE OF SCHOOLS

As governments of various kinds have professed democracy as a fundamental goal, some rival definitions of democracy, in the face of globalisation, have gained prominence. “Democracy” is widely valued, but what some view as democracy is not at all what many others see. Even authoritarian governments often avow “democracy” as a value.

Governments’ provision of schools is often done in the name of democracy. Capitalist countries profess to build schools in good part to prepare citizens for political participation in the policy making process. Socialist and some authoritarian governments place greater emphasis on the provision of education to equip citizens with skills needed by, and to imbue them with an attachment to, the collective whole. Whether a government emphasises participatory democracy or distributive justice and well being, it uses schools to inculcate allegiances to, and values consistent with, the form of democracy it promotes. As a government uses schools to spread its form of democracy, education becomes part of globalisation, incrementally penetrating into communities remote from the cultural mainstream and transforming indigenous worldviews and practices. My purpose is to describe this process and to show how failure to consider the full meaning of democracy has often led political scientists to ignore education as a critical “fault line” in assessments of democratisation, and therefore, as I will show, of globalisation.

### 1. GLOBALISATION

Since the 1980s, globalisation has referred to the growing complexities of interconnectedness and interdependence of people and institutions throughout the world, and scholars have produced a large body of literature to explain what appear to be ineluctable worldwide influences on local settings and responses to those influences (Sklair, 1997). Such influences touch aspects of everyday life. For example, structural adjustment policies and international trading charters, such as the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) and the Asia Pacific Free Trade Agreement (APEC), reduce barriers to commerce, ostensibly promote jobs,

and reduce the price of goods to consumers across nations. Yet they also shift support from “old” industries to newer ones, creating dislocations and forcing some workers out of jobs, and have provoked large and even violent demonstrations in several countries.

The spread of democracy is part of globalisation, giving more people access to the political processes that affect their lives, but also, in many places, concealing deeply rooted socioeconomic inequities as well as areas of policy over which very few individuals have a voice. Even organised international terrorism bred by Islamic fanaticism may be viewed by some as an oppositional reaction, an effort at *deglobalisation*, to the pervasiveness of Western capitalism and secularism usually associated with globalisation. Influences of globalisation are multi-dimensional, having large social, economic, and political implications. The massive spread of education and of Western-oriented norms of learning at all levels accompanying democratisation in the twentieth century can be considered a large part of the globalisation process (Ramirez & Boli-Bennett, 1987).

### 1.1 Globalisation Theory

Globalisation is both a process and a theory. Roland Robertson (1987) views globalisation as an accelerated compression of the contemporary world and an intensification of consciousness of the world as a singular entity. Compression makes the world a single place by virtue of the power of a set of globally diffused ideas that render societal and ethnic identities and traditions irrelevant except within local contexts.

The notion of the world community being transformed into a *global village*, as introduced by Marshall McLuhan in an influential book (1960) about the newly shared experience of mass media, was likely the first expression of the contemporary concept of globalisation. Despite its entry in the common lexicon in the 1960s, globalisation was not recognised as a significant concept until the 1980s, when the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the process began to be examined. Prior to the 1980s, accounts of globalisation focused on a professed tendency of societies to *converge* in becoming modern, described initially by C. Kerr et al., (1960) as the emergence of *industrial man*. Although the theory of globalisation is relatively new, the process is not. History is witness to many globalising tendencies involving grand alliances of nations and dynasties and the unification of previously sequestered territories under such empires as Rome, Austro-Hungary, and Britain, but also such events as the widespread acceptance of germ theory and heliocentricism, the rise of transnational agencies concerned with regulation and communication, and an increasingly unified conceptualisation of human rights.

What makes globalisation distinct in contemporary life is the broad reach and multidimensionality of interdependence, reflected initially in the monitored set of relations among nation-states that arose in the wake of World War I (Giddens, 1987). It is a process that before the 1980s was akin to *modernisation*, until the latter as a concept of linear progression from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* (Toennies, 1957), or traditional to developing to developed, forms of society became viewed as

too simplistic and uni-dimensional to explain contemporary changes. Modernisation theory emphasised the functional significance of the Protestant ethic in the evolution of modern societies (Weber, 1978), as affected by such objectively measured attributes as education, occupation, and wealth in stimulating a disciplined orientation to work and political participation (Inkeles & Smith, 1974).

The main difficulty with the modernisation theory was its focus on changes within societies or nations and comparisons between them – with Western societies as their main reference points – to the neglect of the interconnectedness among them, and, indeed, their interdependence, and the role played by non-Western countries in the development of the West. Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) was among the earliest and most influential scholars to show the weaknesses of modernisation theory. He developed *the world system theory* to explain how the world had expanded through an ordered pattern of relationships among societies driven by a capitalistic system of economic exchange. Contrary to the emphasis on linear development in modernisation theory, Wallerstein demonstrated how wealthy and poor societies were locked together within a world system, advancing their relative economic advantages and disadvantages that carried over into politics and culture. Although the globalisation theory is broader, more variegated in its emphasis on the transnational spread of knowledge, and generally less deterministic in regard to the role of economics, world system theory was critical in shaping its development.

### *1.2 The Role of Education in Globalisation*

As the major formal agency for conveying knowledge, the school features prominently in the process and theory of globalisation. Early examples of educational globalisation include the spread of global religions, especially Islam and Christianity, and colonialism, which often disrupted and displaced indigenous forms of schooling throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Epstein, 1989; White, 1996). Post-colonial globalising influences of education have taken on more subtle shapes.

In globalisation, it is not simply the ties of economic exchange and political agreement that bind nations and societies, but also the shared consciousness of being part of a global system. That consciousness is conveyed through ever-larger transnational movements of people and an array of different media, but most systematically through formal education. The inexorable transformation of consciousness brought on by globalisation alters the content and contours of education, as schools take on an increasingly important role in the process.

Much of the focus on the role of education in globalisation has been in terms of the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and other international lending organisations in low-income countries. These organisations push cuts in government expenditures, liberalisation of trade practices, currency devaluations, reductions of price controls, shifts toward production for export, and user charges for and privatisation of public services such as education. Consequently, change is

increasingly driven largely by financial forces, government reliance on foreign capital to finance economic growth, and market ideology.

In regard to education, structural adjustment policies ostensibly reduce public bureaucracies that impede the delivery of more and better education. By reducing wasteful expenditures and increasing responsiveness to demand, these policies promote schooling more efficiently (Daun, 2001). However, observers have reported that structural adjustment policies often encourage an emphasis on inappropriate skills and reproduce existing social and economic inequalities, leading actually to lowered enrolment rates, an erosion in the quality of education, and a misalignment between educational need and provision (Samoff, 1994). As part of the impetus toward efficiency in the expenditure of resources, structural adjustment policies also encourage objective measures of school performance and have advanced the use of cross-national school effectiveness studies. Some have argued that these studies represent a new form of racism by apportioning blame for school failure on local cultures and contexts (Hoogvelt, 1997).

To be sure, the school figures prominently as an instrument of structural adjustment policies. However, its most important role in globalisation lies in its capacity to influence consciousness, a necessary process in the development of social democracy.

## 2. DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATISATION

Democracy appears simple as an intellectual construct, with its emphasis on broad citizen participation. It is derived from the Greek term *demokratia*, coined in the fifth century B.C.E. Discourse on democracy can be traced at least as far back as Plato and Aristotle. Yet the appearance of a construct emphasising broad citizen participation is deceptive. Few would view the old Stalinist East German regime as permitting broad citizen participation; yet that regime called itself the German *Democratic* Republic (GDR). Indeed, Marxist theory views communism as the purest form of democracy, though communist governments have been notable for permitting very little citizen participation in policy making.

Why is democracy so unamenable to common understanding despite its seeming simplicity? A reason may be because it refers to both a process and an ethic, and the two are often conflated. Giovanni Sartori (1987) provides a useful discussion about why democracy has been so difficult to grasp. Essentially, he argues, democracy has taken on several meanings associated with distinct forms. Of these forms, three are most notable here: *political democracy*, *economic democracy*, and *social democracy*. And, of these, political democracy, emphasising the *process* by which broad representation of citizens in making policy is achieved, must be “first and foremost.” Sartori contends that non-political forms of democracy may and should accompany political democracy, but without the latter these other forms degenerate into perverse arrangements. For example, Marxian democracy is a type of economic democracy — one that calls for workers’ control over the economy to ensure a redistribution of wealth and an equalisation of economic opportunities — that displaces political democracy. Emphasis here is not on a process that allows a

people to participate freely and broadly in how they are governed, but on the condition of economic equality. The result, claims Sartori, is little different than an equality among slaves.

Other than committed Marxists, few would disagree with Sartori that political democracy is primary. I contend, however, that most political scientists have erred in the other direction. In their assessments of democracy they have obscured other forms in favour of a concentrated focus on the political form. In particular, I argue that most political scientists have failed to address sufficiently the importance of social democracy. In so doing, they have given scant attention to the role of education as a means of spreading democracy and in advancing globalisation. As I will show, education is a leading agent of social democracy, if not other forms. If this is so, social democracy, of all forms of democracy, plays the most critical role in globalisation, and scholars who ignore social democracy tend also to overlook education in their assessments of democracy. These assessments, I contend, are always flawed.

### *2.1 The Role of Education in Social Democracy*

Sartori attributes the concept of social democracy to Toqueville, who was impressed by the “spirit” of democracy – social equality in terms especially of status, manners, and customs that permeated American society. He conceived of democracy as a state of society rather than as a political form. Similarly, J. Bryce (1888, 1959) viewed democracy more as an ethos and way of life, as a style of society, than as a form of political structure. Such an ethos gives rise to a strong network of small communities and voluntary organisations that contribute to the society’s welfare. In Sartori’s words, social democracy provides “the societal backbone and infrastructure of the political superstructure” (p. 9). To put it another way, social democracy places more emphasis on political culture that promotes social equality than on political structure that allows for broad political participation. Social democracy never displaces political democracy (as economic democracy displaces political democracy in Marxist theory), but political democracy without strong social democracy will be weak and susceptible to ruin.

Of all institutions in society, none is more crucial to building a strong social democracy than the school. A political culture that emphasises voluntary association in the cause of social equality is at the core of social democracy. What is required in forging such a political culture? Individual motivation is certainly an essential component. Individuals must be imbued with a consciousness congenial to social and political democracy. And, they must possess both a common identity central to voluntary collective action in behalf of social equality and a sense of liberty to make personal choices. In democratic societies, schools are mandated to instill in children such an identity.

The way education builds identity is key to understanding the place of democracy in globalisation. Democracy is a normative system of legitimation and an

organisation of political power allowing for free and widespread participation of the citizenry. As an ideology, it can succeed over the long term if it becomes part of collective consciousness. This can happen if it is widely taught and accepted in schools. Understanding how schools perform their role in building a political culture can explain why democracy does or does not work in a given society.

Schools inculcate ideological values against the backdrop of the larger political environment. If this environment is ambiguous, as it often is in culturally and politically transitional states, government through the medium of schools will have difficulty constructing a coherent set of norms for the ideological orientation of its citizens.

## *2.2 Democratisation and Globalisation*

Globalisation and democratisation are both penetrating processes. Globalisation opens communication channels and encourages the infrastructure, including education delivery mechanisms, which allow democracy to spread. As globalisation looms large, the expansion of education contributes to democratisation throughout the world. Schools prepare people for participation in the economy and polity, giving them the knowledge to make responsible judgments, the motivation to make appropriate contributions to the wellbeing of society, and a consciousness about the consequences of their behaviour. National (such as the U. S. Agency for International Development) and international (such as UNESCO) assistance organisations embrace these objectives. Along with mass provision of schools, technological advances have permitted distance education to convey Western concepts to the extreme margins of society, exposing new regions and populations to knowledge generated by culturally dominant groups and helping to absorb them into the consumer society (Jarvis, 2000).

As described earlier, a policy of using schools as part of the democratisation process often accompanies structural adjustment measures. However, encouraging user fees to help finance schooling has meant a reduced ability of people in some impoverished areas of the world to buy books and school materials and even attend school. In this way, structural adjustment policies can enlarge the gap between rich and poor and impede both the participatory and distributive justice aspects of democracy. Even in areas displaying a rise in educational participation, observers have reported a reduction in civic participation. Increased emphasis on formalism in schooling could plausibly contribute to this result. An expansion of school civics programs could, for example, draw energy and resources away from youths' active engagement in political affairs, whether within or outside of schools (Welch, 2001). Increased privatisation of education in the name of capitalist democratisation could invite greater participation of corporate entities, with the prospect of commercialising schools and reducing their service in behalf of the public interest.

Nevertheless, education is the necessary ingredient in forging a liberal society marked by a concern for social equality. By shaping the consciousness of children, education advances democratisation and concomitantly promotes globalisation. We recall that globalisation is more than an extension of capitalist structures; it is also a



compression of consciousness and a transformation of culture in the far reaches of the world. It can be, in particular, an expansion of social democracy, the range of individual choice in social as well as political spheres, and knowledge attendant with making meaningful such choice among an array of alternatives. To be sure, as Tyler Cowen (2002) points out, cross-border cultural exchange is part of globalisation, making people more alike, but, ironically, also increasing diversity within societies through their absorption of new ways of life and thinking. Such exchange is both physical, in the form of movement of people and goods, and mental, in the form of people's heightened exposure to other cultures through mass media and, most systematically, through schooling. An education that embraces the ideals of social democracy makes that exposure a sensitising experience.

Thus, assessments, whether favourable or not, of the role of education in globalisation must focus on elements of *social* democracy. I contend, however, that most scholars who study democracy focus only on *political* democracy, and, by so doing, fail to acknowledge education as a key ingredient in understanding both democratisation and globalisation.

### 3. NEGLECT OF EDUCATION IN ASSESSMENTS OF DEMOCRACY

The school, indeed, is the instrument most systematically used by governments to instil democratic (or other ideological) values, so the tie between democracy and education is palpable. It seems natural that those who study democracy as a form of government – most notably political scientists – would place education foremost among their interests.

Yet that has not been the case; in their analyses especially of democracy and democratisation, most political scientists routinely ignore the school's socialising role in the development of political culture. A few examples, mostly relating to Latin America, should suffice.

No mention of education is made at all in the volume entitled *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela (1998). Education is left out in Joseph Tulchin's compilation on democracy in Latin America, even, astonishingly, in a chapter entitled "Building Citizenship: A Balance Between Solidarity and Responsibility" by E. Jelin (1995). Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey Stark, in their compilation on "fault lines" of democracy in Latin America, similarly ignore education, even, amazingly, in a chapter entitled "Democratization in Latin America: A Citizen Responsibility" by Augusto Varas (1998). Jennifer McCoy (2000), in her chapter entitled, of all things, "The Learning Process," in her edited volume on political learning and re-democratisation in Latin America, observes that "the dynamics of learning by a group is still under-specified in learning theory" (p. 3), and goes on to say not a word about schooling! Indeed, similar to most such compilations, none of this book's chapters refer to schools. Robert Pinkney, in his comprehensive review of the literature (2003), discerns seven explanatory conditions advanced by social scientists for the development and

survival of continuous democracies in developing countries, not one of which includes education.

Where education is mentioned, it is usually done in passing or as an afterthought. Only one among 19 chapters in Kenneth Bauzon's edited volume on development and democratisation examines education, and even that chapter, by Najafizadeh Mehrangiz and Lewis A. Mennerick (1992), concentrates merely on school enrolments, ignoring the agency of schools in the process of democratisation. Martin Needler (1987, 34, 83-84), in his book on democracy in Latin America, limits his remarks on education to a brief mention of the spread of education after the Prussian victory of France in 1870 and to achievements during the early years of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. In their volume of 10 extensive chapters, Larry Diamond, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset chose only two that make any mention at all of education. One on Venezuela, by Daniel Levine and Brian Crisp (1999), alludes to the role of the school for neighborhood groups (*Escuela de Vecinos de Venezuela*) in promoting the nation's neighborhood movement. The other, by Daniel C. Levy and Kathleen Bruhn (1999) on Mexico, limits the place of education to only one among a variety of institutions that serve the privileged elite.

Scholars who address the connection between democracy and education, especially the use of schools in developing a democratic political culture, are rarely political scientists. Noel McGinn and I compiled a two-volume set of such scholarship (McGinn & Epstein, 1999; Epstein & McGinn, 2000). Particularly noteworthy in understanding the re-socialisation process in creating ambiguities in political culture are the anthropological works of Laura Rival on Ecuador (1996) and of Brad Levinson on Mexico (1999). David Plank (1990) has done outstanding work on clientelism in education and its impact on political culture in Brazil. Alex Inkeles and Donald Holsinger (1973) produced important findings on the nexus among education, citizen participation, and authority patterns.

Political scientists who do research on democracy and democratisation are, on the whole, failing to benefit from crucial research on education by scholars largely outside of political science. They practice disciplinary myopia in their analyses of democracy, lavishing exclusionary attention on legislatures, political parties, interest groups, the Church, the military, and the judiciary, with nary a glance at schools.

It was not always this way. Political scientists in the 1950s and 1960s often linked democratisation to modernisation, viewing education as essential to that linkage. Most notable in this genre is the work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1980) on civic culture. To be sure, there has been somewhat of a resurgence of interest in the influence of education on democratisation, sparked mainly by the end of the cold war. Yet here too it is an interest pursued mainly by scholars outside of political science [see, for example, Mintrop (1996); Slomczynski & Shabad (1997); and Lisovskaya (1999)]. Non-political scientists have also produced a large body of research on civic education [see especially Torney-Purta & Schwille (1986)].

This is not to say that all political scientists ignore education. There are some who have taken a keen interest in the relationship between schools and democracy, but these are few and far between [see Niemi & Hepburn (1995)]. Arguably, Russell F. Farnen and Jos D. Meloen (2000) have conducted the most outstanding political

science research on this relationship. In their survey of 44 countries and in secondary analyses, they found that less economically developed countries not only suffer from high levels of authoritarianism but also have schools that are less effective in inculcating democratic attitudes. With few exceptions, scholars who have included education as a key element in democratisation have acknowledged that schools transmit basic social values, political information, unwritten rules of political ideology, and allegiance to an authority structure.

In brief, although some political scientists have in the past included education in their analyses of democracy (and authoritarianism), and there has been some resurgence of this interest, they have generally ignored the school as an institution worthy of their attention. Their negligence is in the face of some fine scholarship, mostly outside the discipline of political science, that would inform significantly their understanding of democracy and democratisation and in turn the process of globalisation.

#### 4. EDUCATION AND GLOBALISATION AT THE PERIPHERY

Thus far I have discussed scholarship on the relationship between education and democratisation largely as it applies in the industrialised world. However, a discussion of this relationship as it affects globalisation must also view it at the world periphery. Globalisation, after all, involves a world expansion of consciousness, and nowhere is this expansion more problematic than in those areas where education has been newly introduced.

Before entering school, a child becomes conscious of the political world as mediated by a variety of social groups. Within these, the child learns to accept certain pre-dispositions toward authority and the limits of submissiveness and dominance. Somewhat later in development, the child learns to distinguish between membership in primary groups and other groups whose members are not in intimate and frequent contact.

How a child learns to have a national consciousness or identity depends in good part on whether the norms of behaviour and expectations of primary groups are consistent with those of more socially distant, impersonal secondary groups, and with the larger society overall (LeVine, 1960a). When these are consistent, primary socialisation tends to play a binding role in shaping the individual's national identity (Levine, 1965), and the school may function as an extension of the family in achieving that objective. If, however, there is an incongruity of norms and values between the larger society and the child's primary groups, the child may find it difficult to generalise from allegiances and behavioural patterns learned within family or tribe to national political objects and symbols.

When such instances of incongruity are common in a society, the school is often mandated to perform a re-socialising function. This may occur, for example, when children of immigrants or those who belong to unassimilated ethnic groups are suddenly exposed to the national cultural mainstream. It may also occur when the

society experiences abrupt social change, as in war or revolution – circumstances that shatter the congruity between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*).

In transitional societies, discontinuities between the political values of family and local community on the one hand, and of nation on the other hand, are likely to arise with an influx of schools (see Foster, 1962; Nash, 1965; Hagstrom, 1968). The school, as the agent of government and the larger society, forces a wedge between home and child by reorienting the child to national political realities that are incongruous with values of the local community. Ironically, coercion in the form of compulsory education is often used to inculcate non-coercive democratic values. Yet, however ironic this may be, and however disorienting schooling may be to children exposed to abrupt social change, this re-socialisation process may be critical to the life of a country struggling to unify unassimilated ethnicities or urban and rural subcultures, and seeking to define its national character.

A collective sense of nationality is critical for binding a nation together. It emerges as nationalism as national character becomes the predominant measure of collective power. National character can be associated with ethnic or civic features, or both (Ignatieff, 1993). When ethnicity defines national character, nationalism may be driven by charismatic leadership, often combined with primordial or socially constructed cultural features. When defined by a people's civic orientation, nationalism arises from a shared sense of rules, procedures, and values based on law. In the extreme, ethnic nationalism degenerates into a "metaphysics of racism" (Morganthau, 1955). By contrast, in culturally heterogeneous countries, civic nationalism is the platform for democracy. That is, if people strive to be democratic, they do so because they learn to do so in school – as a civic duty and expectation – not because of any primordial yearnings or wish to elevate particularistic ethnic values.

#### 4.1 *The Cultural Proximity of Schooling*

Scholars have long observed instances of educational expansion contributing to political instability (see Abernathy, 1969; Young, 1976). I have already noted that if there is an incongruity of norms and values between the larger society and a child's primary groups, the child will find it difficult to generalise from allegiances and behavioural patterns learned within family or tribe to national political objects and symbols. The theory of stimulus generalisation posits that a conditioned response will be elicited not only by the stimulus used in conditioning but also by a variety of similar stimuli (see Murdock, 1950). Robert LeVine (1960b) reasons that the fewer the stimulus elements common to the distal political environment and the proximate family environment, the less likely individuals will be to extend their family response patterns to the larger political sphere of action.

Stimulus generalisation theory has grave ramifications for education, because it suggests that the more pupils are attached to particularistic ethnic values and the more ethnically homogeneous they are, the less likely schools will be to succeed in socialising them to nationally oriented allegiances and behaviours. This implies a

reduced efficacy in the school's ability to inculcate democratic values associated with civic nationalism. By extension, relative deprivation theory suggests that individuals outside the cultural mainstream will display rising discontent and contribute to political instability by virtue of, among other things, their lesser access to schools (Runciman, 1966; Williams, 1975; Monchar, 1981).

My empirical research, however, shows that stimulus generalisation theory is of limited value in explaining schoolchildren's sense of nationality in communities newly experiencing abrupt change. Specifically, I found that pupils whose families have fewer stimulus elements in common with the larger society actually displayed more acculturative tendencies, a result directly contrary to what stimulus generalisation theory would predict. In other words, children attending schools more distant culturally from the national mainstream actually had more favourable views of, and expressed a stronger attachment to, the nation – its history, traditions, language, and way of life – than children in schools closer to that mainstream. I collected findings showing these tendencies in Peru, St. Lucia, and Puerto Rico.

In my study (Epstein, 1971, 1982) of Quechua and Aymara-speaking schoolchildren in the Puno area of Peru, near Lake Titicaca and bordering Bolivia in the high Andes, I found that the more rural the schoolchildren the more likely they were to display attitudes favourable to acculturation. Indeed, more acculturated children – those in more densely populated areas and more exposed to the trappings of mainstream Peruvian culture – displayed less attachment to national symbols than children living in more remote and sparsely populated areas.

Results for the Caribbean island country of St. Lucia are similar to those for the Peruvian highlands. The findings are based on a survey I conducted in 1968 (Epstein, 1997), one year after the island achieved autonomy in the form of “associated” statehood with Britain. St. Lucian “mainstream” culture is essentially British, with the government and civil infrastructure modelled on the mother country's institutions. Those institutions are most evident in Castries, the island's capital and principal city. Although Castries schoolchildren are the most acculturated to British ways, they displayed the weakest allegiance to British nationhood. Indeed, the more rural and culturally distant children were to Castries, the stronger was their sense of British nationality.

Puerto Rico represents a somewhat different acculturative environment than Peru or St. Lucia. However, I found the same acculturative tendency in that island commonwealth of the U.S. In Puerto Rico, acculturation is with North American norms and values. Schoolchildren in private schools in which English is the medium of instruction are the most acculturated students. Yet in my study (Epstein, 1967) comparing attitudes of private and public-school children, pupils in these private schools were less inclined to identify with North American culture than children in the public schools, where Spanish was the medium of instruction for most subjects.

#### 4.2 *The School as a Filter of Social and Political Reality*

Clearly, the results of my research cannot be explained by stimulus generalisation theory. Indeed, that theory would predict results directly contrary to my findings – that children more remote from the dominant cultural mainstream would display less acculturative tendencies. How, then, can my findings be explained, and what implications do they have for understanding the role of the school in democratisation and globalisation?

It is important to note that the children whom I surveyed closer to the mainstream were nevertheless not at the mainstream centre. In observing the difference between centre and margin, I refer to cultural, if not physical, distance. All three societies were experiencing abrupt and pervasive social changes at the time the studies were conducted. Although these changes were pervasive, they were felt most palpably not at the remote margins, but in the towns and regions closer to the centre. It is nearer the centre, after all, where the institutions (such as law enforcement, employment, and welfare agencies; medical clinics; and businesses) that represent the mainstream are newly prevalent and most powerfully challenge traditional community values. In Peru, these would be the towns, especially in the highlands, where Spanish as well as Quechua or Aymara are widely spoken. In St. Lucia, these would be Castries, the capital, and, perhaps, Vieux Fort, the second city – where Patois is still spoken but where English is pervasive. In Puerto Rico, these would be largely the private-school enclaves of San Juan, where children and their parents are bilingual in Spanish and English and come most in contact with North American ways.

I contend that it is easier for children living in more remote areas to accept myths taught by schools regarding the cultural mainstream. By contrast, children living closer to the mainstream cultural centre – the more acculturated pupils – are more exposed to the realities of the mainstream way of life and, being more worldly, are less inclined to accept such myths. It is not that schools in different areas teach different content; in all societies that I studied, schools, whether located at the mainstream centre or periphery, taught an equivalent set of myths and allegiances to national symbols. Rather, it is that schools at the margin are more effective in inculcating intended political cultural values and attitudes – because they operate in an environment with fewer competing contrary stimuli. Children living in more traditional, culturally homogeneous and isolated areas tend to be more naive about the outside world and lack the tools and experience to assess objectively the political content that schools convey. Children closer to the centre, by contrast, having more actual exposure to the dominant culture, are better able to observe the disabilities of the dominant culture — its level of crime and corruption, its reduced family cohesion, its heightened rates of drug and alcohol abuse, etc. That greater exposure counteracts the favourable images all schools convey about the cultural mainstream, and instead imbues realism – and cynicism – about the myths taught by schools.

Research by David Post (1994) supports my filter-effect theory. Post found that in Peru, Quechua speaking male secondary-school leavers who more frequently read newspapers had lower earnings expectations than those who were less frequent newspaper readers, indicating a greater realism of individuals more in touch with the

larger world. Post shows that imagined benefits of indigenous boys with some education decline rapidly if they are even minimally connected with mass media. Moreover, the effect of good grades in enhancing students' faith in the larger social system was most pronounced in the indigenous population, those whose home language is Quechua rather than Spanish and who were the most marginalised. Mary Jean Bowman (1982) reported similar findings in Japan in regard to views of marginalised rural youths, who had unrealistically high expectations of future salaries compared to their urban peers having more links with informal information networks.

#### *4.3 Implications for Analyses of Democracy and Democratisation*

What can we now say about analyses of democracy and democratisation commonly made by political scientists – analyses that ignore education? A consideration of Felipe Agüero's discourse (1998) on "fault lines" in assessments of democratisation can make this clear.

Agüero uses the fault line metaphor to propose a focus on the "uneven development of democracy in post-authoritarian regimes." The metaphor draws on the idea of geological fractures to suggest friction between "tectonic plates" that causes pressure to be applied in different directions, along and across democratic arrangements at different levels of depth. These "plates" or levels confront, for instance, legal formality with actual shallowness in the rule of law, leaving a rift through which corrupt and clientelistic practices sift in and through which overtly unconstitutional behaviour by state officials is tolerated. These fissures also reflect the opposition of well-assembled judicial structures at the top that, although occasionally effective in basic constitutional functions, are only feebly deployed throughout society, denying access to justice to large segments of the population. Through these cracks, violations of human and individual rights find their way in. The fault lines imagery permits the visual image of a breach between the normal operation of representative national institutions and the disintegrated structure of organised interests in civil society or the weakening of participation. It also depicts the breach separating the goal of promoting universal norms and procedures in the public sector as part of state reform, with, for instance, the actual toleration of exceptionalism and autonomy for the armed forces.

Agüero contends that observing fault lines helps to overcome ambiguities raised by scholars in their many conflicting evaluations of democracy, especially in post-authoritarian regimes. He gives a large array of examples to show that conflicting assessments of democratisation shape the research agenda. He also furnishes examples of research showing fault lines that give clarity to assessments of democratisation, such as studies that reveal fissures within the law and judiciary that allow citizens "empowered with a new conscience of rights and grievances [to] face a judiciary powerful enough to overrule government decisions but incapable of satisfying basic human demands" (p. 10). Taking a page from Linz and Stepan

(1996), he notably argues that conceptualising democracy's arenas will enhance the productivity of research on democratisation: conceptualising fault lines from the perspective of democracy's arenas "may be viewed as expressing a disjuncture among these arenas in ways that block the actual exercise of citizenship" (Aguero, 1998, p. 11).

Agüero's metaphor can be of considerable value in assessments of democratisation, but comprehensive assessments of fault lines will not lead to conceptual clarity unless all important arenas are included. Agüero gives us a truly useful tool but fails to deliver on its promise when he overlooks education as an essential arena. Research on education and marginality has shown the disjunctures – the fault lines – that societies create when they use schools as a primary instrument of democratisation under conditions of abrupt and pervasive social change.

As an implication of my research on Peru, Puerto Rico, and St. Lucia, consider that children closer to the dominant cultural mainstream are likely to be more sensitive to the allocation function of schools. They know that schools socialise prospective graduates for roles commensurate with their anticipated heightened status and competence. Yet, by the same token, they know that the socioeconomic prospects for non-students and students not expected to advance socio-economically are diminished. This knowledge is itself part of their socialisation to accept a reduced sense of social and political efficacy (see Meyer, 1977). Inasmuch as even students closer to, but not at the mainstream cultural centre (especially in countries like Peru and St. Lucia), often have little opportunity to advance much beyond primary school – that is, to a level that can make them socially mobile – they have no choice but to accept a passive role in society. Here, as children learn to aspire in school to break out of their sphere of traditional behaviours and seek status in the cultural mainstream, they concomitantly become conscious of their relative deprivation, making them passively cynical at best or visibly rebellious at worst, resistant to "democratisation" and contributing to instability in the political culture.

The main issue here is the critical neglect of a particular area of study, education, a neglect that compromises a primary arena of analysis, democratisation, of a major social science discipline, political science. I am reminded in this regard of complexity-theory physicists' attempts to explain evolution (see Bak, 1996), and reaching errant judgments by virtue of their failure to take account of paleontological evidence (Kirchner & Weil, 1998). Recently the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement found that students in the only two Latin American countries surveyed – Chile and Colombia – came dead last among 28 countries in a study of students' knowledge of democratic principles, concepts of democracy and citizenship, skills in interpreting political communication, trust in national institutions, and expected participation in civic-related activities (IEA, 2001). Ignoring such findings in comprehensive assessments of democratisation can only result in hazardous conclusions.



## 5. CONCLUSION

Schools play an essential role in democratisation and democracy's durability. It is a role that is far more complex than is commonly recognised. The school is widely regarded as a citizen-building institution. However, schools can produce effects contrary to those intended; they can actually elevate the level of political instability and defeat avowed efforts to build democracy. If Agüero, and political scientists generally, view education as not worthy of consideration as a fault line in the assessment of democratisation, we should be dubious of both their breadth and depth of vision.

This neglect of education makes obscure the role of schools in globalisation. In particular, without accounting for education there can be no genuine understanding of how globalising institutions penetrate the cultural periphery and how Third World peoples surrender to the acculturative pressures of the West. This applies particularly to the global spread of democracy. If that spread is read solely in terms of the political form of democracy, without regard to social democracy and the transformation of social consciousness, education will perforce be ignored, and so will its role in globalisation.

By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries and colonialism had brought core Western ideas and practices to many parts of the world. With contemporary globalisation, penetration of the world periphery is accomplished mainly in other ways, especially as schools are conscripted as part of structural adjustment and democratisation projects. Some scholars claim that people on the periphery are "mystified" by dominant ideologies, and willingly, even enthusiastically and without conscious awareness of implications, accept core Western learning and thereby subordinate themselves to the world system (e.g., Woodhouse, 1987). By contrast, there is considerable research to suggest that people at the periphery develop a variety of strategies, from foot dragging to outright student rebellion, to resist the dominant ideology as conveyed in schools (see especially Clayton, 1998; Foley, 1991).

My own research indicates that these strategies are probably not developed at the extreme periphery of mainstream societies, but in communities that have moved somewhat toward the centre. Whether in communities that are at a new or at a receding stage of penetration, research that shows how schools penetrate such communities and schoolchildren's reactions to penetration is essential for understanding the globalising and democratising impact of education. Without a grasp of such research, political scientists in particular will be ill equipped to assess the overall processes of democratisation, and, by extension, globalisation especially in emerging nations.

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LYNN DAVIES

## THE EDGE OF CHAOS: EXPLORATIONS IN EDUCATION AND CONFLICT

### 1. INTRODUCTION

There are no signs that the world is becoming less conflict ridden, on the contrary. Nor is there any evidence that education has made any much impact on achieving peace – again, on the contrary. Those countries with long-established formal education systems are no less likely to be aggressive and to initiate war than those with a shorter history of schooling or with less widespread access. This chapter summarises the arguments and conclusions of my recently completed book *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* (RoutledgeFalmer, 2003), which explores the links between conflict and education. These links can be seen in a number of ways. Firstly, one can look at the roots of conflict such as inequality, ethnicity or gendered violence, and see where schooling is implicated in such social phenomena. Secondly, one can look at the effects of violent conflict on education itself. Thirdly, one can look at the direct impact of school curricula and organisation on conflict - in war education as well as peace education. Fourthly, one can look at strategic educational responses to conflict – post-conflict reconstruction as well as conflict resolution within the school. Finally, one can set out a vision for the future and how things could be different. The book tries to do all these things. It also tries to set the issues within a suitable theoretical framework, and explores the potential of complexity theory for the task. This all may seem hopelessly over-ambitious, but my view is that it is actually an urgent international endeavour if we are going to start the process of enabling education really to work for peace instead of the reverse.

Conflict is a complex and non-linear area, but until we get fully interactive web-based productions of ideas, our papers and books have to be written in a linear way. This chapter begins first with a very brief outline of the relevant aspects of the complexity theory, before moving on to roots, effects, responses and prognoses.

## 2. COMPLEXITY THEORY AND CONFLICT.

There has been a neglect of theorising to explain the contribution of education to national or global tension. Reproduction and labelling theories as well as different psychological theories of aggression can provide some clues, but we lack a suitable theoretical framework to explain macro issues of how education can reproduce conflict on a global scale, or conversely, how some educational arenas are active in the struggle for peace and how some schools in conflict zones are resilient while others crumble. Complexity theory can provide a number of insights into such puzzles. Complexity is of course not just one theory, but also a collection of often-disparate fields of study, including artificial intelligence, game theory, computer science, ecology, evolution and philosophy. A central feature is the study of 'complex adaptive systems' (CAS), otherwise called dynamic or non-linear systems – such as the weather, the brain or the economy. I have selected six features of such systems.

*Non-linearity*, firstly, refers to the phenomenon that components of a system are interdependent, so that change in one part intricately – and unpredictably – affects operation in another; change is not smooth, ordered or predictable but often rapid, discontinuous and turbulent. Systems can be 'nested' in each other, and interdependent, such as schools within community and community within wider society. The stressors of political violence, for example, interact, so that individual characteristics of the interpretation of events and ability to cope interact with the family networks, the economic context and the material and ideological structure of a society (Gibson, 1989). Complex nested systems can be near-equilibrium, or they can be 'dissipative' or far-from-equilibrium.

*Sensitive dependence on initial conditions*, secondly, refers to the phenomenon that the slightest change in one place can produce disproportionate effects somewhere else – often referred to as the 'butterfly effect'. These amplification mechanisms have enormous implications for conflict, with what seems like a small event leading to riots or turbulence on a massive scale. While it can take only one or two people to fan the flames of violence, unfortunately the converse seems less true, that one or two people can spark a sustainable peace. Yet the notion of amplification and initial conditions does give grounds for hope to education, that a small action could have larger impacts for good elsewhere.

A third important area is that of *self-organisation*. Complex adaptive systems 'self-organise' – not necessarily with a leader – into ever more complex structures. People organise themselves into economies, through myriad acts of buying and selling. There need to be just enough rules to limit randomness, not so many that they stifle creativity, or remain in a state of equilibrium. Complex adaptive systems make predictions based on 'models' of the world – just as the brain does when we try to picture where a new sofa might go in our sitting room. Anything that we call a 'skill' or 'expertise' in an implicit model – a huge set of operating procedures that have been inscribed on the nervous system and refined by years of experience. The issue for us is that morality is not necessarily part of such self-organisation – when a CAS changes, it does so for survival and new order. Competition may improve a

species, but then as others compete again, none is better off. This is the classic phenomenon of the arms race.

Most complex systems, fourthly, exhibit what are called '*attractors*', states into which the system eventually settles. A dynamic system has 'multiple attractors'; and cultural evolution has attractors equivalent to bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states. The connection with conflict is how different attractor states are in tension; and how societies with the attractor state of social exclusion may be more likely to be conflictual ones. Linked to attractor states is the notion of bifurcation or polarisation, where, in educational terms, a polarised pattern of inequality, and the tendency to reward high achievement and penalise failure, operates as a 'positive' feedback loop to intensify social divisions.

Fifthly comes the importance of *information*. This is critical in complex systems and their ability to survive. Everything from bacteria to trees responds to information – whether chemical or other languages. The brain has millions of neural connections and information pathways, but is not just a 'computer made of meat'. In human information, there is room for emotion, intuition, music, as well as information *about* information – truth and rumour. The power of information links to networks and networking, and the importance of connectivity in an organisation.

Lastly is the concept of the '*edge of chaos*'. In the search for adaptation or survival, systems get to 'self-organised criticality', otherwise called the edge of chaos, or phase transition. This is the delicate balancing point between stability and total mess, one where change and better order is possible. Apparently features such as the eye are difficult to explain through natural selection or random mutation. These are evolutionary breakthroughs rather than incremental development. Chaos is not then randomness, but highly complex information – leading to new patterns. These can become 'frozen accidents' – chance events from the past becoming an integral part of life. Formal education systems may, like the QWERTY keyboard, be just such frozen accidents.

I take an example of Al-Qaeda to demonstrate complexity. It is *non-linear*, in that the whole is certainly greater than its parts, with different rationalities combining for 'success'. It has '*strange attractors*', building on group identity, the need to join the cause. It exhibits *self-organised criticality*, searching for supremacy, and co-evolving. It understands *amplification and initial conditions*, with the attack on the World Trade Centre being a classic example of a huge effect – still not fully played out. It has highly effective *information systems* across all the cells and networks. And it operates at the *edge of chaos*, searching for emergence, a new world order.

In contrast – or parallel – how can we work towards a CAS dedicated to peace and to non-violent forms of conflict resolution? We will need different sets of attractors, but the same faith in small turbulences. We will need to harness the power of information, understanding the causes of conflict and networking with others for peace. We would need a value system, which is international enough for acceptance and yet is flexible enough to bring us to the edge of chaos and a new world order. My question is whether education can operate or contribute in this way given its

current structures. My conclusion initially is not optimistic, as the following analysis summarises.

### 3. ROOTS OF CONFLICT

The antecedents to conflict are, by definition, complex and interdependent, but for the purposes of the discussion, I distinguish three main areas in order to pinpoint the role of education. First is economic or class relations. Real and perceived economic injustices can generate conflict; and those conflicts that appear to have a religious or cultural base can often be traced back to an economic root, such as unequal access to power, employment, housing or water. Education has an ambiguous role here. On the one hand is the conventional human capital analysis that education can serve to lift a country out of absolute and relative poverty (and therefore implicitly ameliorate poverty-related conflict); on the other hand is the argument that education produces and reproduces – or actually exaggerates – social divisions, therefore contributing to the likelihood of tension. Within this second strand of analysis is however the palliative function of education as acting to legitimate inequality – that is, by attributing economic inequality to ‘ability’, people do not challenge their position. The book argues that the reproductive role of education is the strongest, and provides examples from many parts of the world of how education systems have served to increase marginalisation and social exclusion. Globalisation and simplistic market economics (in which education has joined) have added to such divisions and to the frustrations of the economically abandoned. Class conflicts internal to a country have added to bifurcation, polarisation and social exclusion. Nonetheless, there are seeds of hope in some of the models of participatory democracy in education, as can be seen in Brazil (Hatcher, 2002). These enable grassroots control of education and the re-integration of the working class into educational decision-making.

A second antecedent to conflict is that of gender relations. Women have a different relationship to some of the elements, which link to conflict, such as environmental degradation, poverty and human rights violations. Women, with few exceptions, have not taken part in the management of international security. While there are many ways to be masculine – just as there are many ways to be feminine – dominant masculinity in many countries is that characterised by toughness, misogyny, homophobia, confrontational sport and use or threat of violence and fighting (Connell, 2000). Dominant masculinity is closely linked to militarism, the cult of the ‘hero’ and, at the extreme, the use of the rape of ‘enemy’ women to signify power and humiliation. While describing some of the women’s peace movements ‘across the divide’, the book also however gives examples of how women can have a role in violence; complexity theory enables us to see how class intersects with gender to find women carving out political spaces which use aggression, as well as seeing how men can be active in peace movements. Complexity theory is important in the challenge to stereotyping and ‘essentialist’ views of male and female. Nonetheless, analyses of how schools act to reproduce gender relations and how they can be sites for gender-based violence do not paint a



comfortable picture for schools. Homophobia is still rife, as is the sexual abuse of girls by fellow students and by teachers. Research has found that the themes in societies which lead to interpersonal and inter-societal violence are war-like ideals for manhood; male public and economic leadership; female invisibility in politics; gender segregation; and emotional displays of male virility (Kimmel, 2000). I suggest a counter to these, of the promotion of differing ideals of manhood and femaleness; encouragement of female participation in politics and economic life; coeducation; and education for emotional literacy for both sexes.

A third, and equally important area of analysis is that of pluralism or diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, tribalism and nationalism. While pluralism characterises virtually all societies, this can be positive and harmonious; but a large number of armed conflicts are those defined by ethnic or other forms of 'difference'. Our concerns within education would be around questions of identity, and what sorts of collective identities schools transmit or reinforce. There is a need to look at religious schools as well as nationalistic curriculum. How do schools construct 'us' and 'others'? What messages does segregated schooling provide about the need to be educated apart from others of different faiths, or from others taking a secular position? Do schools prepare for the political mobilisation around identity, which is the cornerstone of mistrust of others? Sometimes this is 'violence by omission' (Salmi, 1999) – a reluctance or refusal to tackle the racism or intolerance which may be endemic outside the school. Sometimes it is actual institutional or system-wide racism (as in the old South African apartheid schooling); or it may be at least a similar bifurcation to that of social class, through the de facto ethnically segregated schooling that results from population movements and housing allocations. There have been many analyses of whether multiculturalism and/or anti-racism can act to promote 'tolerance'; my view is that there are still dangers of this 'tolerance' constructing images of 'the other'. I prefer – in line with complexity theory – the recognition of hybrid identities (Babha, 1994). This celebrates not just the multiple identities in all of us, but that of the fusion between them: we are all unique in the ways that different histories combine in our identity, albeit sharing with others the fact that none of us is 'pure' in a nationalistic way. Citizenship education has the potential to celebrate hybridity, as long as it is not hijacked into nationalistic civics or into a narrow form of values education, which is not based on international conventions on human rights. School organisation is implicated here: a significant area in learning how to treat others is that of revenge – a key driver of reprisal attacks and cycles of retribution. Schooling, through its punishment regimes, may promote revenge as a viable option in its 'discipline' procedures.

#### 4. THE EDUCATION-CONFLICT INTERFACE

The above analyses derive from a somewhat indirect or even unintended role of education in contributing to the social inequalities, which in turn may generate conflict. I now turn to the more direct connections. In one direction is the impact of conflict on schooling itself. Here it is possible to catalogue a whole range of effects,

both structural and psychological. Schools and universities are not just destroyed in conflict zones, but may be direct targets, as in the University of Sarajevo. They may be taken over by the military, so that teachers or librarians return to buildings bearing signs of a complete disregard for their original function, as I saw in Kosovo. Educational records are wiped out, so that people may not even know who is missing. Teachers are killed or can be conscripted into rebel armies, and of course the phenomenon of child soldiers is a continuing one in many parts of the world. Refugees and internally displaced persons create burdens in particular regions such as the Sudan where an estimate of 3.5 million people are internally displaced (Graham-Brown, 1991). This is very different from concerns (and the complaints) about refugees in wealthier countries, although there are educational issues there about inclusion and whether/how to educate for a 'return'. Civil war can lead to a bifurcation or even a trifurcation of curricula (as in Bosnia-Herzegovina), in order deliberately and even artificially to construct the need for differentiation. Psychologically, there is the aftermath of trauma and stress in children from witnessing or even participating in armed violence. However, there are some inspiring examples of schools that have been resilient to the conflict around them, in countries such as Lebanon, Uganda, Bosnia, Nepal and Liberia. The 'parallel education system' set up by the Albanians under Serb occupation was a classic example of 'self-organisation' in complexity terms. Schools 'modelled' a future where they would be independent. 'Safe schools' projects in South Africa similarly model a better world without violence, using connectivity with other schools and with the police. Examples of resilience to the inexorable push of conflict do give hope and transferable ideas.

However, elsewhere we see evidence of schools doing the converse – of directly preparing children for war. Military training can range from the terrorist training camp to the cadet forces in 'normal' state schools. There is much still done under the label of the 'defence' curriculum in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Violent schools can be found in many violent societies, where gun cultures; drug or gang cultures and the aftermath of domestic violence permeate the school compounds; yet violent schools are not just to be found in overtly violent contexts. Epp and Watkinson's *Systemic Violence* (1996) reveals the complicity of schools in Canada in supporting violence, dehumanisation and stratification. Harber (2001) provides a complex overview of 'schooling as violence' across the globe, much of it in 'normal' authoritarian schools. Physical punishment is an obvious preparation for the idea that violence is a good solution to a problem, and there are large numbers of teachers, parents and students in countries ranging from USA to Taiwan, from Morocco to Zimbabwe, who still support corporal punishment as a viable way to 'correct' pupils. In curriculum, the preparation is by way of the legitimisation of military activity. In the history curriculum, the teaching of peace and non-violence is mainly rhetorical, theoretical and sporadic. In contrast, the teaching about struggle, war and violence is historically grounded, well illustrated and well fitted into the context of the development of civilisation (Najkevska, 2000). Children are mentally prepared for war this way. The acceptance by large segments of the USA and UK public (and MPs) of the need to go to war with Iraq in 2003 I would argue is at least partly because of this portrayal of war as part of the natural chain of events. Another

reason is the absence of critical pedagogy in many schools and the decline of political education, which would enable critical examination of political messages.

A final way in which schools prepare for war is through competition and the examination system. This instils fear and anxiety from an early age. Failure can lead to frustration and low self-esteem, predisposing to violence or tension; generalised fear shows itself in a gun culture, which insists on the right to protect oneself, as in USA. Corruption and cheating in examinations can become part of a breakdown of trust and responsibility, which ought to characterise peaceful societies. Individual competition deskills and devalues the cooperative efforts, which again ought to characterise more harmonious societies. The greed for success is fuelled by obsessions with 'standards' and winners in education. There are hence myriad ways in which a culture of testing can militate against the promotion of peace. What is disturbing is that all of this is ignored in the race for supremacy in educational achievement, and is fuelled by neoliberal market economics (Porter, 1999).

Nonetheless, I do not devalue nor ignore the efforts and initiatives that are occurring across many countries in education for peace. This ranges from the many excellent peace education 'packages' which schools and NGOs can use, to those schools that overall try to 'make sense' of the world in different ways. Peace education is – or should not be – just about 'being nice to each other' (Fisher, 2000). It is about creating a degree of turbulence in the system, by challenging the taken-for-granted realities about problem solutions and about 'difference'. Some of the peace education manuals contain highly controversial material about global justice, and use case studies of real conflict situations to enable analysis of cause and effect as well as how to take action for peace. Alternatively, or surrounding such packages, peace education can be 'permeated' through curriculum or indeed the whole school, as in the 7,400 UNESCO 'Associated Schools' which are found in 170 countries (Davies, Harber & Schweisfurth, 2003). Such schools are committed to the ideals of UNESCO in forging a culture of peace, democracy, rights and sustainable development, and they encourage students and teachers to take action in the community and beyond in pursuit of these ideals – to engage in 'daring acts'. Our review inevitably found some variation in interpretation by the schools of what this meant, and some that focussed very much on another UNESCO ideal, that of preservation of heritage (as this was less threatening); but what was valuable was that the 'badge' of a major international organisation such as UNESCO gave legitimation to peace efforts and to the inclusion of this in overcrowded curricula. This unique network can have some indirect impact on education, and indeed with effective dissemination can have an amplifying effect.

The book also runs through other ways in which peace education can be carried out – through human rights education, through the democratic organisation of the school, through fostering dialogue and encounters across cultures or across divides of a dispute. It concluded that 'emergence' comes from another three Es – of exposure, encounter and experience. Paradoxically, peace education comes from exposure to conflict, learning from people who disagree with you rather than those who agree. These dialogues often occur in humanitarian education post-conflict – to which I next turn.

## 5. EDUCATION IN CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SITUATIONS

Educational responses in societies in or 'post' conflict can be very different from 'normal' schools. Sometimes there is a desire to return to traditional schooling as a means of psychological security, but many lessons have been learned about the transformatory content and style of education needed in conflict societies which, I argue, have lessons for 'stable' societies as well. The humanitarian education work with child soldiers and with refugees is particularly salient. A complex emergency needs a complex educational response, with a combination of recreation, trauma therapy, practical skills, peace education and an integrated curriculum. It is recognised that the survival of the organism depends on the capacity for adaptation, deriving from the use of play, creativity and imagination to enable new learning behaviours. As well as 'play', of particular relevance to complexity theory is the way that much effective education post-conflict uses feedback in the shape of dialogue with and between children, and listening to the voices and histories of children and teachers and their needs.

Reconstruction post-conflict is in fact not about returning to some previous 'normality' or default imperative (which may have played a part in the conflict in the first place) but about building a new political and public culture. A culture of violence has to be transformed into a new non-violent normality (Stewart, 1998) – a new attractor state. However, different ideologies can be at play here – between modernisers and conservatives, between those wanting to reshape or dissolve boundaries and those wanting to return to ethnic or nationalist certainties. There are at least five different areas for reconstruction where education has a role: that of reconciliation and reconstructing relationships (including relationships with 'returnees'); restoring a culture of learning, in terms of libraries, museums and cultural activities as well as in formal schools; reconstructing relationships to language – including both the question of language rights and of the use of language in discourses on war and enemy; rewriting curriculum and textbooks; and reconstructing good governance, including the role of citizenship education and the role of higher education in public administration. Of significance for all of these, as with peace education is a monitoring role, which tries to assess impact. How do we know that these efforts are creating long-term change? Connectivity of education with other social arenas is key here, to look at amplification mechanisms, the 'gentle action' which leads to emergence.

## 6. CONFLICT RESOLUTION WITHIN THE SCHOOL

This leads into discussion of how we can learn from international peacekeeping activities to foster effective conflict resolution within an educational institution. I argue that there are three principles at stake here: equity (as between the partners involved in the dispute); ownership (of the conflict); and transparency (about the causes and stakeholders). In conventional forms of 'discipline' in schools these three principles are violated on a daily basis. Pupils are not seen as having equal rights in the dispute; teachers own the means of resolution through punishment; and analysis

of the problem is bypassed in favour of swift retribution. But many schools are starting to question such power-based discipline and are replacing this with skills in conflict resolution for both teachers and pupils (and sometimes parents and governors).

There are huge debates about the nature and ideology of conflict resolution, but the need for conflict analysis and conflict mapping seems incontrovertible. This leads to the analysis of different conflict 'styles', and then to specific conflict resolution techniques. The strategies would include conflict prevention through the use of various pupil forums such as school councils; the learning and practice of negotiation and bargaining skills; peer mediation; arbitration and school ombudsmen; anger analysis and management; consensus seeking methods; and the development of restorative justice programmes. Such techniques imply particular forms of training for both pupils and teachers, but also raise wider issues of policy and legislation around rule making and democracy in schools. Should there be, as in some European countries, formal legislation to ensure pupil voice and pupil representation in educational decision-making (Davies & Kirkpatrick, 2000)? The aim of 'win-win' outcomes should – as with the post-conflict reconstruction mentioned above – *not* be to return to some notion of harmonious neutrality, but to lead to new creativity and emergence in the framing a dynamic context for the surfacing and tackling of disputes.

#### 7. EDUCATION FOR POSITIVE CONFLICT AND INTERRUPTIVE DEMOCRACY

I have proposed a theory of conflict that is called 'complexity shutdown' – that negative conflict is caused by a breakdown in connectivity and in complex information processing. The paradox that emerges from my argument is that formal education in peacetime is more likely to add to conflict than is non-formal education in conflict-time. This is because much formal education results in damage to connectivity – between the wealthy and the poor, between males and females, between different ethnic or religious groups, between the 'able' and the 'less able'. Educational initiatives post-conflict on the other hand can be genuinely about inclusion: trying to heal and reintegrate the traumatised, the child soldiers, the refugees, and trying to build a cohesive political and public culture. Post-conflict education initiatives are less about selection and 'standards' and more about cooperation and 'encounters'. I am not optimistic that formal education can solve world peace. Without a massive dismantling of the examination system and a radical rethinking of the goals of education, the most it could probably do is to do no further harm (see Davies & Harber, 2003).

Yet complexity theory does talk about amplification and the butterfly effect, so let us think positive. Thinking positive in this context means actually fostering positive or constructive conflict. This is difficult for schools, with their emphasis on control and compliance – and especially in the current climate of accountability and standardisation. Fisher et al., (2000) make an important distinction between

*intensifying* and *escalating* conflict. The former means making a conflict more open and visible for purposeful, non-violent means (for example when people are doing well and do not notice or acknowledge others who are marginalised). The latter refers to situations when tension or violence is increasing (because of inadequate channels for dialogue, instability, injustice and fear). Intensifying conflict would have a purposive aim to shake people from complacency or apathy, passivity or fatalism. Cultural transformation is a norm, not a problem. Conflict plays the role of a catalyst; people are seeking consensus, not necessarily by looking for common ground, but by studying differences with no constraint on views or opinions. There is acknowledgement of diversity and that there are zones of uncertainty – ‘value-dark zones’. Nonetheless, some sort of value position is necessary to go forward, and many others and I argue that this should be based on international human rights conventions and on the ‘least worst’ form of political organisation - which is democracy.

Clearly, there are many forms and definitions of democracy; and there is no guarantee that so-called democratic countries are any less likely to be aggressive or condone war. Rather than a simple representative or even participative democracy, I argue for a form of complex democracy, which I term ‘interruptive democracy’. This forms the basis for the complex adaptive school. I define interruptive democracy as ‘the process by which people are enabled to intervene in practices which continue injustice’. It is an ‘in-your-face’ democracy – not just taking part, but the disposition to challenge. It is the democracy of the hand shooting up, the ‘excuse-me’ reflex. It is by definition non-linear, finding spaces for dissent, resilience and action. For education, interruptive democracy combines four elements: the handling of identity and fear; the need for deliberation and dialogue; the need for creativity, play and humour; and the impetus for a defiant agency.

Firstly, then, the aim is to promote a secure sense of self, but not one that is exclusionary of others. Schools are actually probably better at affirming cultural diversity than they are academic diversity, as the latter is actually impossible under their screening function. I argue for the promotion and celebration of hybridity in identity – multiple belongings and histories, combined uniquely in each of us (so that we feel special), but with belonging to a group, which is not necessarily forged in relation to something or somebody ‘different’. Belonging to the top stream is by definition exclusionary, with identity secured by not being in any other stream; belonging to the UNESCO club on the other hand does not mean an identity forged against ‘non-UNESCO’ people. We have to avoid essentialism and celebrate diversity, but this does not mean a return to a cultural relativism, where ‘anything goes’. The universal principles of rights and equity provide the mechanisms to *question* culture or claims to diversity when these appear to do harm. This is the interruptive part. A hybrid identity is also unfinished, and links to the importance of a concept of ‘unfinished knowledge’ in school as well as to ‘unfinished cultures’ outside. In dialogues and encounters across various divides, the key seems to be to replace ‘who one is’ with ‘what one’s experiences are’. A good social science or political education curriculum enables the critical pedagogy within which to discuss identity and difference.

This links, secondly, to the aspect of deliberative democracy: this means dialogue, exchanges across various 'borders', public discourses of agreement and disagreement based on attempts at mutual intelligibility and evidence. In schools this would be operationalised through school councils, class councils, circle times, pupil unions and youth parliaments as well as through various parts of the curriculum. I raise the question of whether citizenship education should be less about being a 'good citizen' and more about keeping arguments alive. Just as biological diversity is essential for evolution, an unpredictable future demands argumentative diversity (L and M). We do not know what arguments we might need. Schooling is about increasing the 'possibility space' of thinking.

Thirdly, we need to consider the place of creativity. This is one of the 'fuzzy' components of a human complex adaptive system. Its components are fresh ideas and new formulations (including metaphors, imagery, paradoxes, humour, jokes and story telling). The huge importance of play in post-conflict humanitarian education settings is not just about a nice environment, but enabling the working through of myriad emotions and new modelling of schooling. Humour is another crucial educational feature. The ability to take a joke is the sign of a healthy society, a healthy government or a healthy religion. The inability to take a joke against oneself is a sign of insecurity – which is why political cartoonists are imprisoned in authoritarian states. Humour is a classic form of cultural interruption (or non-linearity in complexity terms), and gentle irreverence is an important skill. Impropriety and attacking dogma are the hallmarks of many successful resistance groups.

But all these skills and understandings are not enough without the disposition to act. The final aspect of interruptive democracy is a sense of agency, that one can and should make a difference. Apple (2000) argues that social criticism is the ultimate act of patriotism. This has implications for teachers, who need to model the 'daring acts'. Protesting and supporting causes are seen as risky activities for teachers in some countries, but simply *telling* students to be active citizens may be as futile as telling them to behave.

## 8. CONCLUSION

Schooling on its own will not solve world peace. Nor will it be able to heal or control children living in violent or drug-related communities. I am not over-romanticising the possibilities for schools. But I think they can interrupt the processes towards more violence. I end therefore with a summary of the ten features of the interruptive school:

1. a wide range of forums for positive conflict
2. organised and frequent ways to generate connectivity, dialogue, deliberation, argument, information exchange, empathy
3. avenues for belonging which are not exclusionary or segregated and which value hybridity, not purity

4. a critical pedagogy and political education which bring to the surface inequalities and which contain language and media analysis
5. an emphasis on rights and active responsibilities to other learners
6. learning of conflict mapping and conflict resolution skills
7. acknowledge of unfinished knowledge and unfinished cultures, of fuzzy logic
8. creativity, play, humour, both to heal and to interrupt dogma
9. the modelling by teachers of protest and resistance
10. risk taking and limit testing which push the school towards the edge of chaos and to creative emergence.

I know schools, which do some or all of the above, and I am thankful for their inspiration and 'possibility space'. But they are by no means enough. I do not know whether, if we had enough complex adaptive schools across the world, this would at least *help* to avert negative conflict and produce generations attuned to alternatives to violence; but I am clear that as they are at the moment, the majority of schools will just be doing their bit for the war effort.

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MARGARET WINZER AND KAS MAZUREK

## CURRENT REFORMS IN SPECIAL EDUCATION: DELUSION OR SOLUTION?

At the most general level, special education can be defined as “instruction that is specially designed to meet the unique needs of children and youth who are exceptional” (Winzer, 2002, p. 4). Founded on the proposition that all children and youth can reach their full potential given opportunity, effective teaching, and proper resources, the overarching aim of special education is to serve students who have differences that substantially influence the way they learn, respond, or behave.

Contemporary special education draws on a long and honourable pedigree (see Winzer, 1993). At the outset, those served conformed with the normative categories of deaf, blind, and mentally retarded. In its 200 year expansion, many more groups were identified and included within the special education experience, particularly those with mild problems in learning and behaviour, generally referred to as mild intellectual disabilities, learning disabilities, and behavioural disorders. Today, new categories such as Asperger’s syndrome, Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI), and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) are gaining much currency.

Traditionally, students with special needs have been served in separate facilities that include special classrooms, special schools, and residential schools. Major challenges to such separate school addresses emerged in the 1970s. The reform movement in special education, first referred to as mainstreaming, is today generally encompassed under the terms *inclusion*, *inclusive schooling*, *inclusive education* or, occasionally, *progressive inclusion*.

In its philosophical and ideological guise, inclusion rests on very specific conceptions of social justice, civil rights, and equity. Most parents, teachers, and policy makers respond positively to the appeal of social benefits for children, the fundamental issue of human rights, and the veracity of the inclusive movement's ideological base. However, inclusion is better accepted in the concept than in the practice; when inclusive schooling is operationalised as school restructuring and a mandate to include students with special needs into general classrooms, contradictory and controversial responses are heard. Indeed, when inclusion is mentioned, few topics elicit such a broad range of emotions and opinions and few issues have received the attention and generated such a polarisation of perspectives among general and special educators, parents, policy makers, and other stake holders.

Nevertheless, the concepts have piqued the interest of educators around the world and inclusive schooling today is a global agenda (Pijl, Meijer, & Hegarty, 1997). But it is not surprising that, as different nations seek the best methods to ensure rights to students who are exceptional, important sociopolitical and economic idiosyncrasies in the various national milieus in which special education is practiced have lead to the emergence of quite different models and different styles of organisation, governance, and financing (see Winzer & Mazurek, 2004). For example, in the United States almost 96 percent of students with disabilities are served in regular school buildings (Olson, 2004) although the degree to which such students are educated in general classrooms varies greatly across states and districts. Each Australian state approaches inclusion differently. Similarly in Canada, where rapidly changing provincial and territorial legislation and policy promotes inclusive education but the implementation of inclusionary practices varies widely from province to province and even among neighbouring school boards (Winzer, Altieri, Jacobs, & Mellor, 2003).

At the same time, there are many aspects of the inclusionary debate that move beyond national boundaries, that are not confined to countries with poorly developed educational systems, and that strike at the heart of the inclusive ideology. This chapter addresses some of these encompassing issues. The analysis presented is neither a celebration or a critique of current efforts to redress the historical limitations to equity for students with disabilities through the mechanisms of inclusive schooling, nor is it a condemnation of the schools' attempts to implement inclusion. Rather, based on the premise that it is essential to attend to the matter of how ideas are generated and related to educational practices, the aim is to examine both the meaning and the means of inclusion and, as the chapter reflects on the philosophical and pragmatic bases, highlight the gap between rhetoric and practice.

Note that in such a short chapter only two specific salient aspects are addressed. We situate the discussions in the contexts of teacher attitudes and the research base, but must ignore criteria such as resources and finances, teacher training, collaboration, and instructional strategies.

## 1. INCLUSIVE SCHOOLING FOR STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

In many countries around the world, the 1980s witnessed an unrelenting assault upon the content, processes, and results of schooling that elevated school reform to a major movement. Reform, restructure, and reinvent became the rallying cries of the reform movement in general education and the literature was replete with a myriad of initiatives to change the structure and culture of schools.

Two main threads could be discerned woven into the fabric of the multiple reforms proposed. One thread sought to restore educational productivity, develop world class standards, and increased interest in the measurement of school outcomes using measurable indicators from large-scale assessments as an index of programs. It stressed improving educational outcomes for all students through greater accountability from schools and teachers; advanced academic achievement,

particularly in science and mathematics; enhanced literacy skills; and a decrease in dropout rates.

A quite separate reform strand set out to deal with new social demands on education. Reformers rejected reproductive notions of schooling whereby structural processes create inequity. Instead, they called for reconstruction of the entire education system as the solution to preparing at-risk, culturally and linguistically diverse, and other children for a global and technological society. They sought to create socially just and democratic communities by changing schools to co-ordinate and bridge programs and services so as to transform schools to places where all students belong and learn together. Equity for disadvantaged students, minority children, students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and students with disabilities meant that all should be educated together in general classrooms. In turn, teachers are called upon to nurture the affective and academic needs of all children, and the diverse needs of all children are accommodated to the maximum extent possible within the general education curriculum. The term that emerged to describe educational systems where equity was in place for all students was *inclusion* or *inclusive schooling* (see Dei, James, James-Wilson, Karumanchery, & Zine, 2000).

This school reform movement began with its focus entirely on general education practices and outcomes. Yet, in placing with new social demands on education, the reforming zeal did not pass special education by. On the contrary. By the early-1980s, it was accepted that special education was in desperate straits, tottering on the brink of chaos and failure, and in need of fundamental change. Critics nurtured a climate of skepticism and enumerated a litany of problems; rhetoric called for special education to “break the mold,” for “revolution,” a “paradigm shift,” for “fundamental reconceptualisation,” and “radical restructuring” (Kauffman, 1993, p. 10). To accommodate radical change, many educators and researchers co-opted the rhetoric of general school reform.

Ensuing discussions of inclusive schooling first appeared in the special education literature in the mid-1980s. Advocacy was rooted in a number of interrelated principles, the chief being a very specific conception of social justice and equity, bolstered by notions of civil rights and individual rights, and articulated from a moral stance. Thus, in its ideological guise, inclusion reflects recent large-scale political and social changes in attitudes toward disenfranchised and oppressed groups. The basic assumptions that undergird inclusion are fundamentally different from traditional conceptions of disablement and imply a conceptual shift that involves the way in which people with disabilities and their place in society are seen and how educational rights are provided. Ultimately, as Len Barton (1999) observes, inclusion “is about the transformation of a society and its formal institutional arrangements, such as education. This means changes in the values, priorities and policies that support and perpetuate practices of exclusion and discrimination,” (p. 58).

Ideological principles that challenged exclusion immediately mutated into operational dilemmas. These were most cogently encapsulated in a student's school address, often referred to as “the least restrictive environment.” As advocates forefronted inclusion, they challenged policies formulated on the basis of difference

which excluded people with disabilities from complete participation in society and which streamed some students into the special education system for the majority of their educational experiences. Promoters of inclusion held that students' educational experiences should promote membership in a heterogeneous group that shares primary bonds – being children and learning together – rather than being relegated to membership in a group that has a disability classification as its common denominator.

It is in this sense that inclusion at the level of realisation is not a minor reform or mere tinkering to improve basic educational structures. Rather, it is a fundamental reform that aims to transform and alter permanently the structure and organisation of schooling. Inclusive schooling attempts to entrench the assumption that a common education for almost all children is possible. It means that children who used to be removed from the general education classroom for part or most of the school day to receive special education services must now be full-time participants and learners in the general education classroom. Such school restructuring implies basic changes in the sense of who will be responsible for and be able to instruct children with disabilities; it is a fundamental shift in who does what, to whom it is done, where it is done, and how resources support what is done.

From the outset, the concepts of inclusive schooling were met with welcome by some groups, with alarm by others. Certainly, the broad ideological principles were generally embraced unequivocally, as few wished a return to pre-1980s special education when separate special programming was the watchword. Nevertheless, in the process of turning theory into practice, the concrete manifestations of inclusion divided both special and general educators into two groups and spawned troubling debates on the primary mission of schools.

One stance is held by those referred to as *full inclusionists*, who believe in “serving students with a full range of abilities and disabilities in the general education classroom, with appropriate in-class support” (Roach, 1995, p. 295). Under this model, the boundaries between special education and general education teachers and practices are significantly de-emphasised, if not dissolved altogether, so as to create fully inclusive and equitable learning environments for all students. The type and degree of disability is not germane — all students belong in general classroom settings.

Countering the view that all students, regardless of type and depth of disability, can be served in general classrooms, are *partial inclusionists* who hold that students should be placed in general settings where appropriate. They promote a full continuum of educational services which includes general classrooms, resource rooms, special classes, and special schools, all viewed as necessary to meet the needs of all students effectively. With a full continuum of services, educators base their decision on whether to place a student in an inclusive classroom or alternative setting on student outcomes. The focus is on selecting a setting in which the child can succeed and will be prepared to become a productive and active citizen.

## 2. CURRENT STATUS OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

The inclusion of students with special needs into general educational environments has been a major feature of the educational map for almost twenty years. But, while the philosophy underlying inclusive schooling has moved from idea, to conviction, to dominant ideology in special education, shifting propositions and continually moving parameters characterise the implementation process. Recently, pragmatic and cautious voices have become more assertive in critiquing the liberal trappings and emancipatory dialogue of the full inclusionists, and dismissing full inclusion as a utopian and impractical ideal.

A matrix of reasons underlie the flux seen in inclusionary efforts. First, from a research perspective, definitive answers on many aspects of the enterprise remain elusive. In spite of the fact that inclusion has been the target of many educational initiatives, and the subject of a plethora of educational studies, research has not yet identified the combination of theories, approaches, and activities that result in powerful outcomes for students and their teachers. Overviews, reviews, and meta-analyses "fail to provide clear evidence for the benefits of inclusion" (Lindsay, 2003, p. 6).

Second, school systems appear more prepared to implement the form of inclusion, but are less inclined to deal with the substance of it. For example, research in the United States and Canada finds that although inclusion for students with special needs entails a revisualisation of the organisational structures of schools on a grade scale, in general reform efforts have failed to have a great impact on traditional school structures. In the US, while initial reforms in special education have produced changes to physical access of buildings and classroom, there has been little change in curriculum or instruction practices to accommodate for cognitive access (Little & Houston, 2003). From Canada, Lupart (1999) observes that "the school structures and school support systems of most schools in Canada are hopelessly ill equipped to achieve the educational goal of fostering continuous progress and appropriate educational services for all students" (p. 220).

Finally, and very significantly, from the classroom perspective we learn that teachers' experiences serve to deflate the alluring claims about the ease with which children can be integrated. Indeed, a growing body of research suggests that both general and special education practitioners are struggling in their efforts to understand and adopt practices that enable students with disabilities to be meaningfully involved in broad-based reform (Purnell & Claycomb, 2001).

This is not to suggest that the quest for inclusive education has been abandoned. Quite the contrary. The ideas and concepts of inclusive education remain high on the agenda in many countries. However, what these findings do suggest is that inclusion as an educational reform must be approached systematically, with careful regard of the capacity of individual systems to accommodate inclusionary mandates, with a clear appreciation of the centrality of teachers in the reform process, and it must be based on a body of empirical data.

These criteria lead inevitably to a discussion of three areas — the status of inclusive education in international contexts, the role of teachers in the process, and the emerging data base. The former area has been addressed elsewhere (see Winzer

& Mazurek, 2004). The following discussion focuses on teachers' roles examined through the filter of teachers' attitudes, and then turns to the extant empirical data on the efficacy of full inclusion.

### 3. WHAT TEACHERS SAY

Despite continuing controversy and multiple discourses, students with a range of disability labels and needs are being included into general education classrooms in more varied ways and in greater numbers than ever before. Yet, as noted, support for inclusive educational placements for children with disabilities is not without controversy regarding its benefits for all children or in its acceptance by all teachers. Indeed, when implementation is considered, the movement is beset with heated debates and ideological discontinuities, and there remain varied, often contradictory, discourses.

Of the multiple strands that must be woven to ensure successful inclusion, teachers' beliefs, values, and attitudes are central. Yet a compelling body of well-designed and well-conducted research within an empirical framework demonstrates that a proportion of contemporary teachers hold negative and unsettling views and do not see inclusion as a principle that should be pursued. A matrix of covert and overt interrelated factors influence teachers' attitudes toward the concept of inclusion and toward students with exceptionalities (see Winzer, 2004).

At the pragmatic level, there is relative consistency overall in the attitudes held by general classroom teachers toward different aspects of inclusion. Such consistency has tended to endure over forty years of empirical research and is found in many Western educational systems (see Winzer, 2004). For example, Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) examined 28 survey reports of 10,560 teachers from the United States, Canada, and Australia from 1958 to 1995. They found that a majority of teachers supported mainstreaming, and a slight majority were willing to implement it in their own classes. However, a substantial minority of teachers in the study believed that students with disabilities would be disruptive to their classes or demand too much attention. Only a minority of teachers agreed that the general classroom is 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. To rehearse just a small amount of the research on teacher attitudes, an early Australian study (Gow, Ward, Balla, & Snow, 1988), found that neither regular or special education teachers were positive about integration, and identified inadequate staff training, lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate support services as some of the factors working against integration at that time. More recently, Australian teachers have reaffirmed their increased difficulties, stress, and lack of support in relation to classrooms including students with disabilities (e.g., Forlin, Haltre, & Douglas, 1966; Forlin, Tait, Carroll, & Jobbing, 1999). Australian teachers find the inclusion of students with special needs to increase their workloads (Bourke & Smith, 1994; Chen & Miller, 1997) and to cause added stress (Forlin, Haltre, & Douglas, 1996; Pithers & Doden, 1998).

In the United States, Coates (1989) found that "teachers do not agree with the basic tenets [of inclusion] or with many of the underlying assumptions" (p. 535). In a later study of general educators (D'Alonzo, Giordano, & Vanleuven, 1999), the investigators found skepticism and mixed opinion about the potential benefits and an overwhelming expectation that problems would be inherent in a unified system of education. Teachers in studies by Hardy (2001) and Allsopp (1997) stated openly that inclusion procedures would be too costly in terms of time and effort to implement independently. In Canada, a study of 1,492 Canadian teachers found that more than two-thirds of the sample believed that inclusion is beneficial to students. However, the teachers also articulated the weaknesses in the shifting propositions, identified critical problems in implementation, and showed a persistent uneasiness about the practice (see Galt, 1997).

At the level of principle, one enduring fulcrum of negative teacher attitudes is the intersection of inclusion and disability opposed to higher standards and increased accountability, which translates into a debate on the role and purpose of education on today's society. Hudson (1998) foregrounds the dilemma succinctly, asking "Should the primary goal of public education be the integration of disabled students with the required curriculum modifications, or should educators be striving for higher and more academic performance standards and more stringent discipline policies?" (p. 254).

As teachers walk an equity/excellence tightrope, they have become mediators of contrary expectations. Daily, they address a dilemma between the prevailing philosophy and social forces of change on the one hand, and an image of teaching and traditional modes joined to increased responsibilities and accountability on the other. The roles are seemingly dichotomous — that of providing appropriate instruction and meeting accountability criteria and that of providing equitable access and providing intensive instruction.

Some teachers wish to be gatekeepers to a normal environment. They do not view classrooms as sites for cultural transformation and may hold a conception of inclusion as incompatible with the academic needs of the general student population. For example, research suggests that teachers may feel that techniques promoting inclusion success interfere with the demand for extensive coverage (Armani, Mastropieri, & Scruggs, 2001; Bulgren & Lenz, 1996; Scanlon, Deshler, & Schumaker, 1996).

Another component of teacher discomfort arises from the complex challenges of difference and commonality. General educators were told for decades that they did not know how to teach students with disabilities and many teachers remember when these students were removed to segregated classrooms. Today, a substantial number of educators are unprepared to comply with the broad array of requirements, are minimally equipped to provide for the needs of those not responding to group instruction, and do not possess the breadth of knowledge or the competencies to meet the individual needs of students with disabilities. Teacher resistance, therefore, is often couched in lack of skills, unwillingness to implement alternative instructional strategies and approaches, and concerns about workload and supports.

Teachers regard students with disabilities in the context of procedural classroom concerns and many teachers express feelings of inadequacy in dealing with some

children with special needs. Overall, teacher willingness to teach students with disabilities, consistent with their support for inclusion, appears to covary with the severity of the disability and the amount of additional teacher responsibility required (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1996). Generally, the more severe the disability, the more negative the attitudes teachers have toward inclusion (Wisniewski & Alper, 1994). Teachers express concern that students with disabilities, particularly severe disabilities, will adversely affect normally developing students (Bradley & Switlick, 1997).

One of the great fears of teachers is increased behaviour problems from special education students in general; particularly, there is considerable resistance among teachers to including students with behavioural disorders. Both prospective and experienced teachers report more positive attitudes toward students who learn easily and who do not inhibit learning of their peers (Wilczenski, 1992). Many general education teachers specifically disagree with the placement of students with intellectual disabilities and behavioural or emotional difficulties in the general classroom (Taylor, Richards, Goldstein, & Schilit, 1997). Indeed, teachers respond to accepting students with behavioural disorders with varying degrees of fear and skepticism (Heflin & Bullock, 1999).

Concerns about teacher skills are most acute in relation to novice teachers. Tomlinson and colleagues (1997) noted that novice teachers typically have a narrow understanding of student differences, use an apparently random selection of solutions for commonly occurring classroom problems, and apply a relatively limited range of instructional strategies with children. At the same time, many veteran teachers broadly resist pedagogical changes and mandates to differentiate curriculum and instruction for a wide range of learners (Behar & George, 1994). For example, Vaughn and colleagues (1998) found that most teachers pointed out that they chose to teach in general education or in specific content areas, not in special education.

The attitudes of teachers toward particular students seems to be more important than the general attitude toward inclusion, which makes the nature and degree of a child's disability germane to issues of placement and curriculum. Some teachers have a continuing inclination to label and pigeon-hole children; they hold to traditional views of persons with disabilities where the problem is within the child. Research shows that many educators hold negative attitudes, which create expectations of low achievement and low social status and support inappropriate behaviour of students with disabilities (see Antorak & Larrivee, 1995).

Attitudes and interactions demonstrate a "psychological state of mind" that predisposes a person to action (Wilczenski, 1992). Attitudes and pedagogy are entwined, so it follows that attitudes intrude directly into the classroom domain while attitudes and expectations are frequently barriers to equity in schools (Duke, 1997).

General educators' willingness to include students with special needs in their classes is critical to the successful implementation of inclusive educational practice. But negative attitudes isolate teachers from students with special needs. When such students are included, teachers may tend to prioritise their responsibilities as first toward normally developing students, with the enforced entry of those with special



needs seen as a burden. Children with special needs may then be locked into a mainstream education system, where they constitute a perpetual minority, which is not primarily concerned with their interests.

Not only can differing levels of responsibility be seen in the degree to which teachers resist including students with special needs into their classrooms, but also in the type and number of students teachers refer to special education and the immediacy with which teachers initiate a referral once a student's problems have become apparent (see Treder, Morse, & Ferron, 2000). As well, teachers who hold relatively negative attitudes toward inclusion use effective inclusive instructional strategies less frequently than teachers with positive attitudes (Bender, Scott, & Vail, 1995).

#### 4. THE DATA BASE FOR INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Education has a long history of adopting new ideologies, curricula, and teaching methods with little or no empirical evidence of effectiveness. In special education, public policy changes clearly have always been driven by beliefs regarding what is considered best for persons with disabilities, not by scientific data (Bryan, 1999).

The advocacy for full inclusion began with a priori moral and desirable premises (ending discrimination and segregation) but moved from there to illogical conclusions grounded in the postmodernist stance that eschew hard boundaries between belief and evidence. Advocates adhered to the notions that logical enquiry is just a matter of social practice and that disability is socially constructed. While such a stance produced boundless propositions, images, key words, phrases, and metaphors, it also reduced theories to assertions, sloganised the language, and greatly simplified the paradigms.

Full inclusionists seized the moral ground and forwarded rationales, replete with slogans, mottos, and calls to arms, which were essentially value oriented, philosophical, and conceptual. Scientific evidence was displaced by subjective interests and perspectives. Advocates found challenges to be unnecessary distractions and often rejected the need to empirically test efficacy, arguing that the weight of ethical arguments outbalanced the necessity for data. Because the issue of what constitutes the best education could only be answered by moral inquiry, questions of location and equal rights were elevated above scientific authority. Inclusion was not a matter for scientific study, but should be promoted on the basis of moral and ethical considerations (see e.g., Biklen, 1985; Lipsky & Gartner, 1998). Sasso (2001) observes that the overriding common purpose of the postmodernist advocates was to "dismantle special education at any cost, to undermine the epistemic authority of a science of disability, and to valorise 'ways of knowing' incompatible with it" (p. 185).

Postmodernist thought, as interpreted by promoters of inclusive education, is currently being scrutinised, challenged, and deconstructed (e.g., Mostert, Kauffman, & Kavale, 2003; Sasso, 2001). Many current writers decry the contention that the new paradigm has outdated the scientific study of education as we have known it. They argue instead that reform initiatives demand empirical analysis of policy

change; that efforts to change schools, to be effective, must be based on knowledge generated by research rather than unsubstantiated beliefs or feelings; and that doubts about inclusion will be removed in direct proportion to demonstrations that inclusion can work.

Pursuing this thought, it would be useful when arguing the case for inclusion to be able to cite research in its favour. Yet public policy has exceeded, but not expanded, our knowledge base and there is an alarming absence of empirical evidence (see Fieler & Gibson, 1999). Surveys of the school domain in inclusion are being mapped but remain generally dim and ill-defined. The current empirical research is modest in terms of the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of any type of inclusive model; the experiences of children with special needs in general classrooms; or the combination of theories, approaches, and activities that result in powerful outcomes for students and their teachers. There is scant research on how teachers develop the competences that enable them to effectively teach diverse students in the general classroom. Specifics about how to instruct students with special needs in general settings are scarce, and few factors can be formatted as guaranteed improvement packages. Direct comparisons between special classes and inclusive classes are rare, the data show a range of practices, and so far there are no comprehensive studies available on students' academic gains, graduation rates, preparation for post-secondary schooling or work, or involvement in community living.

Furthermore, research findings that are beginning to emerge are not encouraging. Despite the increasing frequency of inclusive placements, positive outcomes for students with disabilities have not been consistently associated with inclusive reforms. Outcomes appear to be the most problematic for students with mild disabilities (Cook, Semmel, & Gerber, 1999). For example, one recent study found that when students with disabilities aged 6 to 12 are in a regular classroom for language arts instruction, teachers report that they are less likely than other students to participate in many class activities (US Department of Education, 2000-01).

Empirical research in the field so far fails to support the efficacy of inclusion for students with learning disabilities (see Heflin & Bullock, 1999). One study of students with learning disabilities (Zigmond, Jenkins, Fuchs, Deno, Fuchs, Baker, Jenkins, & Cauthino, 1995) failed to find academic benefits for students; rather, it found achievement outcomes to be "neither desirable nor acceptable" (p. 539). A later study (Klinger, Vaughn, Hughes, Schumm, & Elrbaum, 1998) found that students with learning disabilities in general classrooms made less than appropriate academic gains, even with atypically high levels of support.

To some, the solutions to poor academic outcomes are clear. They contend that special classes and resource rooms contribute more to the academic achievement of some types of students with special needs, especially those who are learning disabled or emotionally disturbed, than do general classrooms (Fuchs & Fuchs, 1995; Klinger, et al., 1998; Zigmond et al., 1995). Such an argument equates with selective and partial inclusion, the retention of a continuum of educational services, and well-trained special educators.

## 5. DISCUSSION

Some people speak of inclusion as if it is a universally accepted movement in special education. Certainly, in many countries, the rate of inclusion has increased consistently and substantially in the past decade, additional themes are taking their flavour from the inclusive paradigm, and previously unconvinced groups are sharing its meaning. Yet, despite the broad sweeps provided by policy statements of international organisations, the tireless presentation of the political language of inclusive schooling, and a well accepted conceptual and philosophical base, the meanings of inclusive schooling for children and youth with disabilities are not uniformly embraced. The field of social antagonisms has two sets of players. On the one side are those who hold that the general classroom is apt for all students. On the other are those who argue for selective inclusion founded on the particular needs of an individual student. Whatever the stance regarding operation, most people agree with the ideological underpinnings of the reform movement in special education. Indeed, inclusion suits the tenor of the times; its popularity rests on its concordance with wider social notions. As Thomas (1997) observes, it “chimes with the philosophy of a liberal political system and pluralistic culture” (p. 106).

But, it is not sufficient that inclusion be promoted only by a democratic political process. Implementation must be complemented at the professional level through the demonstration of democratic and inclusive procedures. Yet, school restructuring is fraught with obstacles. For one thing, enthusiasm for inclusion seems to increase with the distance from general classroom practice (Garvar-Pinhas & Pedhazarschmelkin, 1989; Ward, Center, & Bochner, 1994). Among teachers, the practice of inclusion is not entirely uncontested and concerns over practical implications on a wide scale have resulted in much divisiveness. Although enthusiasts have advocated for radical changes in teacher responsibility, they have not shown that general educators can actually support these changes or are willing to make them.

Teachers may ponder the ethical question of equal access, but they consider it in the frame of their own classrooms. Their perspectives are grounded in a social context forged within the parameters of classroom walls. For some teachers, inclusive schooling situates them in an uneasy space between inclusionists' visions of school reform and the lived world of the classrooms they experience daily. They may be sympathetic to the cultural, social, and political issues that surround the inclusive education debate, but find inclusion's simple statement of intent alien to their professional knowledge of the complexities of school life. As educators negotiate the demands for equity on the one hand, and excellence on the other, the question becomes whether teachers can hold meritocratic assumptions about schooling as well as ameliorative perspectives about disability, and can they do so in an era of expanding responsibilities and increasing calls for accountability.

Inclusion complicates the task of reaching common educational goals for all learners. Students with special needs often cannot meet the demands of the general curriculum. Achievement in many academic domains is problematic for learners with mild disabilities, and the academic competencies of general education are not within the purview of children with severe and profound disabilities. Even the most equity-minded teachers may contend that teaching that does not produce learning is

not education, mere attendance at school is not education, and a primary measure of effectiveness for instructional programs is students' academic achievement.

While negative teacher attitudes and teacher resistance form one barrier to inclusive practices, the lack of empirical data presents a second tension. The currency of special education is research findings and theory generation. Accordingly, with only a precarious link between research studies and best practice, many of the disagreements about the progress of inclusion hinge on the lack of empirical evidence.

Too often, those who advocate inclusion do not underpin their arguments with research: they would have us do what is morally right rather than what is empirically sustainable. To negotiate the maze created by postmodern deconstructivism, an empirical base is critical. Rather than philosophical arguments, what is required is scientific evidence that is data-based, replicated over time, and revolves around facts rather than ideologies.

## 6. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The imperative that school systems should provide for students with a range of needs can be supported from a relatively coherent set of basic assumptions. Therefore, as a social and educational principle, inclusion can be advocated unequivocally. However, when implementation is considered, the movement toward inclusion is not as straightforward as the powerful rhetoric in the literature suggests. They remain varied, often contradictory, discourses and a lack of unequivocal empirical support.

In the past decade, the emancipatory promises of full inclusion have come under heavy attack. The rhetoric of apologists who are uncompromisingly flattering in discussing the momentum of the inclusive movement is being challenged, deconstructed, and replaced with more cautious voices. These point out that, disquieting as the thought may be to promoters of full inclusion, it may actually be impossible to realise fully their ideals given the constraints and pressures under which teachers are working. Additionally, not all schools are amenable to a single solution; indiscriminate educational reform is tantamount to begging for failure.

Most importantly and tragically, the crack between policy and practice can swallow children until it is recognised that not every classroom is necessarily an effective learning environment for students with disabilities. Indeed, in many areas, inclusion is now regarded as an organisational rather than an educational intervention: it is not a place where students with disabilities receive services but a way to deliver services effectively. Hence, the opportunities made available by the setting, not the setting itself, become important. The critical issue is not where children sit; rather, the major placement objective is where students can receive the most effective education.

It is not possible to predict the future course of the inclusionary movement. Not only is the script for educational reform constantly being revised, but current research provides only a crude indication of the success or appropriateness of inclusion. At this point, the extant research literature cannot tell us whether inclusion

is effective or ineffective. The solution to such uncertainty cannot be simply to dismiss the challenge to conduct proper and comprehensive empirical research into the efficacy of full inclusion. Quite the opposite. Inclusionists argue for their vision and practices from a moral/ethical basis. In consequence, they have a further moral and ethical responsibility — to empirically demonstrate that the children whose needs they claim to be meeting are in fact having their needs met.

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LAURIE BRADY

## SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS IN AUSTRALIA : TENTATIVE BEGINNINGS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Barber (2001) claims that there will be a revolution in schooling over the next decade, attributable largely to the impact of globalisation. Initial improvements in providing support for students, ensuring access to information about best practice, demanding appropriate accountability, and intervening when necessary, will be followed by more far-reaching transformations involving expansion in the provision of technology, an overhauling of the teaching profession, and the establishment of world performance benchmarks.

Commentators agree that highly efficient education systems comprise a high degree of school autonomy; the demonstration of best practice; and the capacity to introduce innovation in the face of change. Apart from these educational imperatives, there is a need for the society to value education.

Throughout the 1990s, there has been an increasing emphasis in North America, Europe and Australia for universities to work collaboratively with schools, and this trend is likely to accelerate with the growing impact of globalisation, and the demands for more efficient schooling. There is a growing recognition that universities are able to provide the professional expertise that schools require.

It is not surprising that most school university partnership initiatives in Australia involve the teacher education faculties of universities. Collaboration between schools and teacher education institutions has the potential to improve learning outcomes for school students; enhance the education of prospective teachers; and promote professional development for both practising teachers and academics. As the title of this article indicates, the relationship between schools and teacher education has not involved the structural changes that it has in the UK or USA. The significant increase in school governance in Australia over the last decade involving more autonomy for schools in management, professional development and staff appointments, supplemented by more government support, has not involved the intervention or support for teacher education that exists in the UK.

There is however a pervasive theme in the international teacher education literature arguing the need for robust school and university partnerships. As early as

1994, Goodlad (1994) commented facetiously that the advocacy of school and university partnerships was *de rigueur*: not to have one could be dangerous to your health. The same claim is becoming more relevant in Australia as teachers and teacher educators collaborate to narrow the gap between schools and universities, particularly in the education of prospective teachers. There is also a note of caution about partnerships in the Australian literature (Peters, 2002; Grundy, Robison & Tomazos, 2001; Smedley, 2001), which typically focuses on cultural and structural differences between schools and universities. Smith (2000) warns against school university partnerships being regarded as a panacea, indicating that partnerships should not delude teacher educators into believing that the current criticisms of teacher education have been addressed.

Until the 1990s, the only significant expression of partnership involved a loose form of *de facto* relationship under which schools assisted teacher educators in implementing the practicum component of teacher education programs. Smedley (2001, p.189) suggests that these two sites for teacher education (the university and school) were equated with 'theory' and 'practice' and "retained their separate guises". Academics provided the theory from their own research, knowledge of the literature, and their own classroom experiences; and schoolteachers coordinated the practice in schools. The two settings are increasingly being drawn together as is the integration of theory and practice. There have also been further forays in recent years, most notably those involving joint participation in school based research, and shared planning for teaching, and assessment of prospective teachers.

The Ramsey Review (Quality Matters)(2000) has arguably given further impetus to partnership initiatives in its recommendations about the role of the Institute of Teachers. Partnerships between schools and universities is described in the role of the Institute as fostering collaboration in the development of criteria, processes and procedures for the accreditation of those schools providing professional experience for student teachers, and the definition of respective roles in the induction of teachers. Apart from these more formal, or institutionalised recommendations, the review is not explicit as to how schools and universities should collaborate. This article provides a brief overview of school and university partnership practice in Australia; identifies what the partners seek; and discusses the dimensions and constraints of partnerships.

## 2. PARTNERSHIP COMPARISONS

School and university partnerships have been slow to evolve in Australia for 'structural' reasons. In the UK the 1987 Education Reform Bill prompted the restructuring of teacher education, and promoted partnerships between schools and universities in both pre and in-service teacher education. Schools have been given more autonomy in site-based management and in determining priorities and the allocation of resources. More significantly, they have been given a voice in determining teacher education programs, and the power to recruit universities to assist in implementing their own programs. Teacher education students spend a relatively lengthy period of time undertaking their training in schools.

In the US, the focus of partnerships involves professional development schools, which exemplify an even greater degree of relationship between school and university. While there are numerous models, the California University model is typical whereby professional development schools are affiliated with the university, and a management team of schoolteachers and academics collaboratively develop programs. Strategies include team teaching (teachers and lecturers); daily professional development on site; university courses taught by academics and teachers; a resident university supervisor at each school; and the training of cooperating teachers (see Sandholtz & Finan, 1998).

The bulk of partnership literature centres on professional development schools, and the more recent of that literature focuses on the participants, the dynamics of the schools, and how their impact can be evaluated.

In relation to the impact of professional development schools on participants, there are studies on school teachers, particularly those focusing on leadership and empowerment (Gonzales & Lambert, 2001; Lecos, Cassella, Evans, Leahy, Liess & Lucas, 2000; Walling & Lewis, 2000); principals (Foster, Loving & Shumate, 2000); pre-service teachers (Burley, Yearwood, Elwood-Salinas, Martin & Allen, 2001); school students (Sandholtz & Dadlez, 2000) and university staff (Tom). This latter article is salutary as it investigates the destabilising effects of partnerships on academics.

Partnerships are often examined in terms of the dynamics of collaboration (Himel, Hall, Henderson & Floyd, 2000; Schack, 1999; Walker, 1999) and more generally in terms of partnership development. El-Amin, Cristol & Hammond (1999) describe the process of developing a professional development school as analogous to that of building a house. The title of Teitel's (1998) article, comprising the metaphors of divorce, separation and open marriage, denote what follows: a detailing of partnerships that disintegrate and reconfigure to include new partners. The professional development school literature also examines issues of evaluation in terms of its impact on teachers and academics, and student learning (Knight, Wiseman and Cooner, 2000); in terms of the need for credible, systematic documentation of professional development school impacts (Teitel, 2001).

### 3. PARTNERSHIP PRACTICE

In the absence of significant government intervention and restructuring to accommodate collaboration, partnership initiatives in Australia have been more modest. The most enduring expression in Australia since the mid 90s has been the Innovative Links project initiated by the national schools network to investigate ways in which teacher educators in universities might provide professional development for school teachers. The project involved a consortium of 14 Australian universities working with over 100 government and non-government schools across Australia. The project was organised around roundtables whereby teachers engaged in school research with the assistance of an 'academic associate' from the host university. Each Roundtable was guided by a steering committee consisting of up to

three academic associates, two representatives from the affiliated schools, one representative from the principals of those schools, and members from the education department, union and NSN (Yeatman & Sachs, 1995). Schools participated voluntarily, and their research was context-based, school-initiated and school led.

Grundy et al. (2001, p.205) indicate a uniqueness about this new form of partnership in that academic research in schools “has tended either to exploit the knowledge of teachers for the benefit of the academic’s career, or to vilify teachers by presenting their work as . . . entrenched in mediocrity”. It was into this potentially hostile context that the Innovative links project was introduced. Academics were necessarily committed to facilitating action research within the school setting through a process of collaboration.

The project demonstrated that teachers could conduct research in their schools that led to meaningful change and enhanced teacher professionalism (see Sachs, 1997; Yeatman, 1996).

The work of Johnson, Johnson, Le Cornu, Madder and Peters (1999) and Peters (2002, 1997) built on that of the Innovative Links Project in developing collaborative initiatives between the University of South Australia and schools. Peter’s (2002) evaluation of the Innovative Links Project in South Australia involving six schools and seven academics revealed that for the academics, the project expectations proved to be problematic as they were based on invalid assumptions about the prevailing school and university conditions.

- some academics had little knowledge of the substantive area the school wished to investigate, even though effort had been made to match participants ;
- some academics had little knowledge or experience of action research, and therefore lacked the capacity to introduce teachers to the process ;
- some academics were aware of a credibility problem (the need to win acceptance from school teachers) ;
- academics were committed to principles of collaboration and shared decision making, yet found that schools expected them to act as ‘experts’
- academics were committed to reform through rigorous action research, but many teachers saw the process as one involving the solution to immediate problems.

Subsequent projects in South Australia have drawn on these findings on collaborative ventures. In the Middle years of Schooling Authentic Assessment Project, there has been substantial funding to release academics and to enable project administration. More specific ways of working together were also articulated, with materials development being the main focus of collaboration. The School-Based Research and Reform project, funded by the department of Education, Training and employment (DETE) didn’t require academics to work as partners. They were funded to work as consultants to plan and facilitate roundtable meetings for participants. The purpose of these meetings, according to Peters (2002, p. 239) was “providing participants with opportunities for sharing, critical reflection and professional development”.

Apart from partnership initiatives involving universities assisting schools in action research or change projects, the majority of partnerships involve reciprocal relationships by which the universities provide professional development, and the

schools assist in the education of respective teachers. One such example is a project developed by Deakin University (Victoria) in which final year teacher education students worked in local primary schools in self-selected teams of three or four to complete a school-based curriculum project. The schools invited to participate were asked to nominate curriculum development projects relevant to their needs, and were in turn given information about the student's interest and expertise. The program involved campus based lectures and school-based workshops in which students met with teachers,

The project aims reflect the broad nature of the vision: to benefit students in developing curriculum in a school setting; to benefit academics in understanding current school developments; and to benefit teachers in understanding teacher education programs. Sealey, Robson & Hutchins (1997, p.87) summarise the benefits:

The partnership was one in which a shared vision for student teacher learning was worked out in two separate locations: in the classroom and in the university. We found that effective learning occurred when teachers (and university teachers) provided time for discussion with student teachers, provided regular feedback and provided appropriate levels of support.

The Teacher Renewal Through Partnerships Program (Perry, Komesaroff & Kavanagh, 2002) is another partnership initiative based at Deakin and Melbourne Universities and funded by the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria. It involves university facilitators meeting with school teams as critical friends and mentors in the development of school projects. In this three-year project beginning in 2001, facilitators meet together within and across universities, and school teams meet in clusters.

Brady (2000) reports on a variety of partnership initiatives between the University of Technology Sydney and a local primary school that include a variety of research, teaching, professional development and support/enrichment activities:

- academics promoting action research according to the Innovative Links model by which projects are school-based and school-driven;
- academics and teachers team teaching (or cooperatively teaching) teacher education students on the school site;
- teachers teaching teacher education students on campus;
- teacher education students mentoring on a one-to-one basis school students who are challenged in specific learning areas;
- teachers, academics, teacher education students participating in community based professional development on educational issues like assessment, reporting or classroom management;
- teacher education students providing support for the school in assisting at athletics and swimming carnivals, and drama students performing concerts;
- an increasing diversity of practicum experiences enabling students to negotiate areas of practice with the school.

School and university partnerships are no longer rare in Australia. Many education faculties in universities have them. Merritt and Campbell (1999) report on the developing partnership between the University of Sydney and Kurri Kurri High school; and Woodward and Sinclair Gaffey (1995) relate the ongoing partnerships at the University of Western Sydney (Macarthur) involving in-school experiences, teachers as tutors, teachers as students, and joint research projects. Other proposals for partnership links include the secondment of teachers to universities as either clinical staff or part time lecturers; the appointment of researchers-in-residence in schools (often part time); seminars shared for teachers and academics; and joint advisory boards.

However, while partnerships may have become more common, they remain structurally constrained.

#### 4. PARTNERSHIP NEEDS

A global world requires more effective schooling, and this can be achieved by promoting the quality of teachers; enhancing the training of respective teachers in universities; and improving the learning of school students. One pervasive theme in the partnership literature relates to the different cultures of schools and universities, and the need for a shared vision. So what do the respective partners want? As early as 1992, Rudduck (1992, p.160), speaking as an academic, commented:

We have to recognise that what teachers as partners in the enterprise of training can offer is practice-based knowledge rooted in sustained experience of a particular setting. What higher education tutors can offer is an analytic perspective that is fed by observation in a range of classrooms and sharpened by the evidence of research.

While written about the English context over a decade ago, the same applies now in Australia and elsewhere. As Smedley (2001, p.191) comments, “there is general agreement that the education of the student teacher is enhanced through the successful functioning of the triadic partnerships, supported by a cohesive school/tertiary network”. In a commitment to quality teaching, academics acknowledge the wisdom of working more closely with schools in the provision of learning experiences for their students. Such a belief is reflected in the development of internships for final year teacher education students involving increased time for planning, teaching, observation, reflection, and involvement in the culture of the school.

To ascertain the support of schools for school university partnership initiatives, Brady (2002) surveyed all 1800 state primary school principals in NSW on 25 different partnership activities between schools and universities. The items were grouped into six broad sections: supervision and mentoring, teaching, research, professional development, shared planning, and school support and enrichment. The choice of principals as respondents rather than teachers, was based on several considerations: the principal’s power in determining and implementing policy; the greater knowledge of the principal about partnership activities; and the influence of the principal as transformational leader in changing the culture of the school. The preamble to the 25 items asked principals to indicate support for the listed

partnership activities on a five point Likert scale 'given an ideal resourcing base.' Among the unsolicited comments expressing excitement about potential partnerships, this requirement of responding to the ideal rather than the real also provoked comment, typified by:

What support would you give assuming an ideal resourcing base. This is the key. (We're) tired of being expected to do more with less. Teachers are currently overwhelmed with the expectations of their role. It would be very difficult to implement this new strategy without adequate time and reward-based strategies.

The main finding was the uniformly strong support for school and university partnership initiatives. When means were determined for the 25 items from 'full support (m=1.0) to 'no support' (m= 5.0), they ranged from 1.3 to 2.2. Numerous respondents gave a rating of 1.0 (full support) for all 25 items. In the broad sections identified, the sequence of most to least support was school enrichment and support, professional development, shared teaching, and research. It was difficult to rank the other two categories, as they comprised a range of means.

The high support for school enrichment and support was not surprising, particularly given the examples provided, viz student teachers performing drama for school students and helping at swimming carnivals. These activities directly benefit the school and are not invasive. The relatively low ratings (though still expressing strong support) for research in schools are arguably an expression of invasiveness.

Typical unsolicited comment, expressing enthusiasm, included "I can only applaud the above philosophy"; "great stuff"; "this sounds wonderful"; "when can we start"; "I would love to be involved in any such activities which boost the professionalism of our teachers"; and:

I believe that the sooner teachers can become involved in, committed to and aware of the total school/teaching environment the better. Teachers seem best placed to support the in-school training of their colleagues. The more collegiality, shared responsibility and practical support teachers, lecturers, schools and universities can provide the better.

There were no significant differences in the views of principals according to their age, school type or their distance from a university (some schools in NSW are several hundred kilometres from the nearest university).

## 5. PARTNERSHIP DIMENSIONS

Various writers have specified conditions for effective collaborative school university partnerships. Some of the conditions include:

- the need for democratic partnership and the avoidance of relationships that favour one source of expertise over another (Gore, 1995; McCullough & Fidler, 1994)
- the need for trust among partners (Grundy et al., 2001; Smedley, 2001; Gore, 1995)
- the need for credibility (Grundy et al., 2001; Grundy, 1999)
- the need to recognise the interests and features of each partner (MACQT, 1998; Fidler, 1994; Whitehead et al., 1994)

- the need to acknowledge problems associated with limits on rewards and recognition of individuals engaged (Berry & Catoe, 1994; Goodlad, 1994).

In her evaluation of the Innovative Links Project, Grundy et al., (2001) comments on two conditions: credibility and trust/rapport. Her brief discussion of credibility relates more to the participant's feelings about their own credibility, rather than credibility evaluated by another. For teachers, as well as their credibility as practitioners, their academic credibility in having something to offer the partnership was perceived by them to be important. Academics, while believing they have credibility in terms of expert knowledge, were keen to break down their image as gurus and to "develop their credibility through having some expertise to offer on the basis of their own responsiveness" (p. 214). Goodlad (1994), while arguing the need for the breaking down of the image of the academic as guru, also believed that the partnership should acknowledge hierarchical relationships when expertise is at a premium. Trust and rapport are also necessary conditions for partnerships. In the Innovative Links Project, rapport was deemed essential in the academic role of facilitating the research relationship, and enabling teachers to maintain their control over the project. Beyond the specified conditions, there are obviously further elements in effective partnerships. The need for effective communication between all participants is foremost. The project of Sealey et al., (1997) at Deakin University found that communication between teachers and academics was problematic throughout the project. He argued the need for regular communications between university and school to ensure that university expectations are being met. As many partnership activities, apart from the individual supervision of students, involve working in teams, training in the skills of planning, communication and even conflict resolution would enhance group operation.

Brady (2000) suggests a further list of elements that are more a guide to process in forming partnerships than necessary conditions:

- develop a vision by clearly articulating shared goals;
- create and describe a range of strategies to ensure that there is scope for all interested participants to be involved;
- ensure the commitment of leadership at the highest levels;
- make the process official( formalising the process in writing may be psychologically or symbolically significant);
- develop an administrative structure;
- ascertain ways of acknowledging staff contribution.

## 6. PARTNERSHIP CONSRAINTS

The greatest constraint to the effective operation of school and university partnerships involves the different working cultures of the respective partners. Universities value scholarship and research that is often demonstrated in books and refereed journal articles, which are often the product of rigorous data analysis and critical examination over months or years. Relatively recent funding changes in universities have increased the importance of developing research profiles.



Conversely, schools value practical solutions to immediate problems. This critical or reflective orientation of academics, and practical or action orientation of teachers is often characterised as a theory-practice dichotomy. While these different working orientations may not produce mistrust, as some commentators claim, they may be a potential barrier to understanding.

Schools operate in a hierarchical fashion with decisions regarding all school programs being made by executive staff. System policy directives and executive decisions are 'passed down' to teachers. Grundy et al., (2001) reporting on the Innovative Links Project, found that principals or other executive staff initially assumed the responsibility for determining the school's project.

In universities, the type of involvement required by partnerships is not formally recognised as teaching or research, and therefore has no status in workload allocation. The development of partnerships cannot continue to rely on the goodwill of academics (or teachers): there needs to be recognition of the legitimacy of this work. In their analysis of partnerships, Grundy et al., (2001) used the metaphor of 'interruptions' to describe a challenge to the established order, claiming that the major and generic interruption involved 'taken for granted' relationships. Smedley's (2001) examination of partnership concerns, often 'interruptions', is classified as organisation, division of labour, time constraints and apprenticeship orientation. This classification is used in the following discussion of constraints.

Organisational constraints on partnerships are ubiquitous. The frequent presence of student teachers in schools poses organisational difficulties for teachers in having to arrange teaching practice, supervise, and adapt their own teaching program accordingly. There is also the related constraint of academics having to adapt their campus teaching to allow opportunities for student practice. The pool of teachers available to supervise the teaching of teacher education students or to engage in other partnership activities may also be limited, as the teachers with greater experience and expertise may already be heavily involved in administration or curriculum development. While teacher-training universities may have the luxury of access to innovative schools, they are not able to nominate, or conversely blacklist teachers with whom they wish their students to work, or not work. The traditional practice employed by principals in selecting supervising teachers for teacher education students is to call for volunteers. A related problem is the reluctance of some parents to accept a non-qualified or student teacher teaching their child.

Partnerships have created the need for a new division of labour involving the redefinition of roles. As previously indicated, the literature underlines the need for democratic partnerships; interdependence and recognition of what each brings to the partnership; and trust and rapport. As there have been no significant structural changes in Australia, teachers and academics have not been required to start afresh; with the advent of partnerships, the changes to their working roles have been accommodated to their existing work roles. Nonetheless, partnerships require teachers to shift from a relatively separatist role in which they move from teaching their own class, and work with same stage teachers, to one involving supervision and collaboration. In recent years there has been a growing emphasis on mentoring

which arguably foreshadows a movement from the triadic partnership of teacher, academic and student teacher, to the dyadic role of teacher and student teacher.

Possibly the greatest constraint threatening the success of partnership development is time. In the absence of structural change and support, partnerships still rely on the additional time given by both teachers and academics. Both parties would acknowledge that their primary responsibility is to their own students. Work demands in Australian schools have increased markedly, particularly with relatively new accountabilities involving teaching and assessing by outcomes, and a variety of system policies and 'perspectives' to be included in curricula. Similarly, work demands have increased in universities, notably through the increase in research required. Making a commitment to two masters may mean feeling that you please neither. Quite apart from the work required in partnerships, significant time is needed to establish them. They do not emerge from the stroke of a pen.

A final barrier to school and university partnerships involves the different forms of learning that the teacher education student gains from the school and university respectively. As the student's time in schools dramatically increases (as has been the case in the UK), there is a resultant concern about the 'technical' orientation of schools as opposed to the critical orientation of universities. The limited time spent in schools by Australian teacher education students should not pose a problem to the breadth of their learning and the requisite integration of theory and practice.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In an increasingly global world, children need to be educated with the skills and values required to function effectively. Such an education requires a community approach to schooling in which all stakeholders are dynamically involved in promoting student learning. Arguably a major stakeholder in schooling who is capable of making a real difference is the education faculty of universities. Robust school university partnerships can improve the learning of school students; promote teacher education; and provide professional development for practising teachers. While school and university partnerships are less well developed in Australia than in the UK or USA, there are valuable expressions of practice. The Innovative Links Project and its current expansions have demonstrated that teachers can initiate and drive school-relevant research projects, thus finally putting to rest the residual claim reported by Stenhouse as early as 1975 that teachers cannot articulate what they do; that subjectivity in the research role condemns them to bias; and that they are theoretically naïve. Shared or team teaching of teacher education students at schools, an increase in time spent in schools, and a greater diversity of school experiences, is helping teacher education students achieve a better integration of theory and practice, and at the same time is providing teachers with a stronger understanding of teacher education programs. A variety of partnership initiatives like those reported by Brady (2000) including research, teaching, community based professional development, mentoring, and school support are promoting awareness of the scope of possible partnership initiatives.

However, for these desirable partnership activities to flourish, there needs to be structural provision to support collaboration. This may include administrative support and release from the normal workload, finance for additional resources, and time to plan strategic outcomes and activities. In the current context, partnerships rely on donated time, and frequently founder when leadership changes or working roles are redefined in the school, university, or system. Some staff in faculties of education throughout Australia feel that they are tinkering with partnerships: they see the educational value of different forms of partnership but are constrained by the separateness of schools and universities, and by their own university work allocation. Cultural differences between schools and universities need to be progressively identified and taken into account when planning. Such planning should involve a consideration of the different values associated with theory and practice, and how they can be best integrated. Finally, the personal beliefs, values and skills of all participants needs to be acknowledged as a starting point for negotiating expectations and developing partnership processes. This sharing should lead to ends that enhance the professional development of each partnership participant.

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PAUL CARLIN AND HELGA NEIDHART

## ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGE OF PRINCIPALSHIP IN AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Relentless global, social, cultural and economic change has been translated by governments into a continuous stream of complex reforms aimed at restructuring schools. The pressure on education systems to adapt to change and improve outcomes has created new challenges for schools. (Silins & Mulford, 2001, p. 1).

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In a global society characterised by fear of terrorism, confusion, and powerlessness, many authors (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003; Caldwell, 2003; Marginson, 2002; World Bank, 2001b), contend that education is a vital element of a purposeful response. In the face of these changes and tensions:

We must ensure that our spiritual values and moral goals are consonant with the rapid growth of economic and social relations which are taking place. Education plays an essential and pivotal role in such dialogue. Educational leaders are a vital building block for constructing tomorrow's bright future (Akashi, International Principals' Conference, 2001, p. 5)

These complexities challenge all schools in the Western world, government and non-government. For principals in Catholic schools there are additional factors. Due to a shortage of priests and the declining numbers of people attending church on a regular basis, schools are expected, both by parents and church authorities, to play a larger role in the religious education of students. Commenting on Catholic education developments in Australia, McLaughlin (2002, p. 15) concluded:

I think the Australian sociological history of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, when it is written, will conclude that the unofficial, pragmatic, pastoral leadership of the Australian Catholic Church slid from the Catholic clergy to Catholic principals and teachers.

In response to these trends – increasing complexities and expanding religious role for Catholic principals, the Catholic Education Authorities in Victoria, commissioned the Flagship for Catholic Educational Leadership at Australian Catholic University (ACU) to undertake major research into leadership succession. This extended an earlier study undertaken of Catholic schools in New South Wales. Catholic education authorities in the other two south-eastern states, South Australia

and Tasmania, accepted the invitation to participate, and the resulting project became known as VSAT (Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania). The research population comprised principals and senior leadership staff in all Catholic primary and secondary schools in the three states. Senior leadership was defined to include deputy principal, curriculum co-ordinator and religious education co-ordinator. This chapter is based on the key findings from the study.

## 2. THE STUDY

The VSAT study (Carlin et al., 2003) used quantitative data (questionnaires) and qualitative data (follow-up focus interviews) to collect and analyse data related to the two research questions. Questionnaires were distributed to 1380 senior leaders, and 395 were returned – a response rate of 29 per cent. The questionnaire comprised four key areas:

- demographic;
- intentions to apply or not apply;
- identification of factors which would *encourage* or *discourage* applying for principalship; and
- several open-ended questions to enable respondents to elaborate.

A mixed-mode research methodology was used. This provided breadth and depth of data. Data from the questionnaires were analysed first. This helped to identify the issues that would benefit from further investigation in interviews. Participants were invited to comment on:

- changes to the role and structure of principalship that would make it more attractive and manageable;
- provision of a broad-based preparation process relevant for principals of Catholic schools in all dioceses in 2002;
- issues related to Government or Catholic Education Office (CEO) accountability that are a cause for concern;
- issues related to the Catholic identity of the school, and the principal as religious leader of the school community;
- and
- impact of principalship on personal and family life.

Focus group interviews were conducted in all seven dioceses with 8 and 12 senior leaders. These interviews, together with the open-ended questions on the questionnaire, provided the qualitative data to supplement the quantitative data. The purpose of focus group interviews was to:

- validate questionnaire findings;
- extend and deepen questionnaire data;
- and

- invite participants to recommend preferred solutions to issues raised.

The researchers followed Kreuger & Casey's (2000) recommendation that two people conduct the interviews: one to ask the questions; the other to record responses and note interactions and non-verbal clues. This ensured that the interview records were accurate and comprehensive.

The process was a collaborative one, with Directors of Catholic Education Offices and senior staff working with ACU researchers. Researchers met with directors and their senior staff early in the process to clarify the scope and purpose of the project. Another meeting was held towards the end of the project, where initial findings were presented and discussed. Directors were invited to nominate issues they deemed relevant and important. This was to ensure directors could participate in the initial shaping of the project, and add their comments to those of the other key stakeholders in the later stages, in the hope of increasing ownership and commitment to implementing recommendations.

### 3. THE CHANGING SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT AND ITS IMPACT ON PRINCIPALSHIP

Today's changing social, economic and political context has critical implications for leaders of educational institutions. The issue of educational leadership has been problematic in most western nations for a number of years. It is a central focus in the identification of failing schools in the U.K. and U.S.A. At the same time, commentators such as Caldwell (2000) have highlighted the shortage of applicants for the principalship in many countries. One of the reasons for this shortage is that a significant number of principals will reach retirement age in the next five years. Following rapid developments in a global world, there have been numerous changes in educational policy over the past fifteen years (Marginson, 2002; Fullan, 2001, Hallinger, 1999). This has resulted in increased emphasis on outcomes-based education, greater accountability, broadening of course offerings in senior secondary education and increased risk of litigation. Some consequent demands on schools are spelt out by the World Bank (2001b, p. 18):

Adapting to the changing environment is not only a matter of reshaping institutions and applying new technologies. It is equally vital to ensure that students are equipped with the core values necessary to live as responsible citizens in complex democratic societies. A meaningful education for the Twenty-first century should stimulate all aspects of human intellectual potential.

During these fifteen years, student populations have also become more diverse and complex, as Leithwood and Riehl (2003, p. 1) point out:

Principals must respond to increasing diversity in student characteristics, including cultural background and immigrant status, income disparities, physical and mental disabilities, and variation in learning capacities.

As schools are becoming more demanding due to policy changes, accountability requirements and more diverse student populations, many countries are experiencing shortages of teachers, in particular specialist teachers (Preston 2002; Ingersoll 2001; Clare, 2001; Santiago, 2001). This ever changing and more demanding landscape for principals of schools is causing an increasing number of teachers and leaders to rethink their aspirations for principalship.

The contextual factors listed above, have significant implications for the role and emotional demands of principalship. Education authorities and school governing bodies are attempting to respond to these changing demands, and so the principal's role in implementing the school's mission or charter in accord with relevant education policies, has become multifaceted and constant. A number of writers have commented on this, among them Flockton (2001, p. 20) who describes the expanded role of the principals as follows:

Many of today's schools feed, counsel, provide health care for body and mind, and protect students, while they also educate and instruct. The principal is expected to be legal expert, health and social services co-ordinator, fundraiser, diplomat, negotiator, adjudicator, public relations consultant, security officer, technological innovator and top notch resource manager, whose most important job is the promotion of teaching and learning.

Such complexities are an increasing cause of concern for teachers and leaders in schools and, for many, this has become a major disincentive in terms of aspiring to principalship. The principal's role has a number of significant dimensions. One is to reinstate teaching and learning as the primary responsibility of principals. Hill (1999, p. 1) supports this:

... powerful forces have also emerged that appear to require principals to refocus on the core business of schools and to have a highly structured and very deep knowledge of teaching and learning.

As chief executives of self-managing schools, principals regularly encounter dilemmas and tensions that have significant ethical, political and resource implications. According to Day, Harris and Hadfield (2001, p. 36), leaders of successful schools in the U.K. demonstrated their capacity to exercise another dimension of leadership:

The characteristics of successful leaders and their ability to be simultaneously people-centred whilst managing a number of tensions and dilemmas highlight the complexity of the kinds of *values-led contingency* leadership exercised by successful heads.

These multiple dimensions of leadership are usually beyond the capacity of one person, particularly given that the managerial and marketing roles of principals of self-managing schools are taking up more time. School leadership, with its constant dilemmas and tensions, requires the development and support of a team of leaders who, share the vision, and have the skills and courage to exercise 'values-led contingency' leadership in all aspects of the school and on a continuing basis. In summary, principalship today requires people with vision, commitment, multifaceted abilities, and intellectual and emotional stamina. If schools are to enable young people to gain the knowledge, strategies, values and emotional resilience to become responsible and informed citizens, they will require committed



and competent leaders who share the same vision working together at different levels throughout the school.

Principals of Catholic schools, in addition to the responsibilities listed above, have other expectations. The Catholic Education Commission of Victoria's Policy Statement on Lay Principals Under Contract in Catholic Secondary Schools (September 1993, p. 4) articulates their leadership role in these terms:

Catholic secondary schools exist in the context of the Church's official mission to proclaim the Gospel message and to promote the formation of its members. The leadership of these schools involves the principal more directly and officially in the Church's mission. Hence the role of the lay principal is an integral part of the church's official educational ministry and involves obligation to give witness both sacramental and general to that ministry.

Due to declining attendance at church by students and their families, the Catholic school has now become the major experience and presence of Church for an increasing number of young people. As a consequence, the role of the principal as faith leader, as well as educational leader, of the school community has expanded (d'Arbon, Duignan & Duncan, 2002).

#### 4. FINDINGS

With regard to senior leaders' intentions regarding application for principalship, data from six categories were combined into three, and provided the following findings. Thirty four per cent of respondents were applying, or intend to apply, (*Willing*); 35 per cent either had not applied, or did not intend applying (*Unwilling*); and 25 per cent were unsure (*Unsure*). In the unsure category, the size and location of the school were nominated as important determinants. While these figures do not suggest a crisis regarding future applicants for principalship, they tend to mask the fact that an increasing number of competent and experienced senior leaders are choosing not to apply. This trend needs to be monitored carefully, given the importance of a quality education, and the expectation that principals are key leaders in the provision and enhancement of an education that will equip learners to be competent and responsible leaders in the knowledge society.

There was strong agreement among senior leaders about factors that would encourage them to apply. The highest ranked incentive was the capacity to make a difference in the lives of children and families. Other major incentives included:

- the opportunity to contribute to the educational mission of the Church; and
- the capacity to build the competence and confidence of staff to provide quality education for children.

These results were very similar to principals' responses regarding aspects of their role, which provide high levels of satisfaction and fulfilment (Neidhart & Carlin, 2003).

There was also significant agreement about factors that discourage senior leaders from applying (see Table 1). In making decisions about their career choices it is

clear that many in the teaching profession place a higher value on quality of life issues, hence the unanimous ranking given to the first of the three key disincentives:

- ‘personal and family impact’;
- ‘recruitment issues’ – especially selection and appointment procedures;
- and
- ‘unsupportive external environment’.

When data were analysed to show the ‘gender by leadership role by aspiration to apply’ cross-tabulation, they revealed that, irrespective of school type (primary/secondary), the percentage of females *unwilling to apply* was more than double the percentage for males (see Table 2). Given that females constitute the majority in the teaching force, this is an important issue and requires further investigation. Another finding of concern to Catholic education authorities was the high percentage of religious education co-ordinators – male and female – who expressed unwillingness to apply for principalship. It is expected that people with this specialised knowledge and leadership experience would be well-represented among applicants for principalship, especially in primary schools.

**Table 1.** Data from Scales to Assess Disincentives to Applying for Principalship

Scale Name	Rank by Scale Mean (full sample)	Rank by School Type			Rank by Intention to Apply for Principalship		
		Prim	Sec	P-12	Unwilling	Unsure	Willing
Personal and Family Impact	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Recruitment Problems	2	2	2	2	5	2	2
Unsupportive External Environment	3	3	5	5	2	4	5
Loss of Close Relationships	4	6	3	4	4	5	3
Systemic Accountability	5	4	4	3	3	3	6
Male Bias	6	5	6	6	6	6	4
Lack of Expertise	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Religious Identity Demands	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

**Table 2.** Gender by Position by Leadership Aspiration

Gender & Position	Leadership Aspiration (row percentage)		
	Unwilling to apply	Unsure about applying	Willing to apply
<b>Male</b>			
Deputy Principal	24.2	29.3	46.5
REC	57.1	14.3	28.6
Other Coordinator	23.8	23.8	52.4
Male total sample	24.6	29.1	46.3
<b>Female</b>			
Deputy Principal	46.6	19.4	34.0
REC	75.0	0.0	25.0
Other Coordinator	57.4	21.3	21.3
Female total sample	56.2	16.7	27.1

These findings raise a number of important issues that will be explored in the remainder of the chapter.

## 5. ISSUES AND POSSIBLE RESPONSES

At a time when the global world exhibits a disturbing range of contradictions – rapid and quantum technological developments and major advances in medical science on the one hand, and on the other, a world consumed with concerns about terror, increasing levels of mental illness and a growing divide between those with capacity to enhance their lives and those who are dependent on others, the need for strategic and compassionate leadership has never been greater. Singer (2002, p. 219) describes it as an imperative:

The twentieth century’s conquest of space made it possible for a human being to look at our planet from a point not on it, and to see it, as one world. Now the twenty-first century faces the task of developing a suitable form of government for that single world. It is a daunting moral and intellectual challenge, but one we cannot refuse to take up.

Akashi (2001) made a similar case for the critical role education has to play to enable the world to find its way into a period of greater equilibrium and moral well-being.

In the VSAT study (Carlin et al., 2003), senior leaders expressed real concerns about their perceptions that the workload and emotional stresses on principals today limit their capacity to enjoy and protect their preferred quality of life. Principals of Catholic schools today have significant responsibilities as educational organisational, community and religious leaders. In an era where governments are placing greater accountability demands on schools, and regulations such as occupational health and safety have become more detailed, the skill, time and energy required to both manage these aspects, and to lead the school in its core mission,

makes principalship a very challenging role. Many senior leaders reported in focus interviews that these perceptions are reinforced by principals who comment much more about their challenges and frustrations of the role than their achievements.

Two major disincentives from the VSAT study were 'recruitment issues' and 'unsupportive external environment'. Males and females nominated both, but recruitment issues were perceived as a significant problem for female senior leaders. Since women constitute the majority of staff in both primary and secondary schools, their under-representation at the principal level warrants serious action. With regard to the situation in Australian Catholic primary schools, Power (2002, p. 93) comments:

The influence on the interviewing panel of the parish priest – usually a non-educationalist – and members of the local community – who may also be non-educationalists – are causes of unpredictability for applicants. It may seem logical to think that lay women would have replaced religious women when principalships became available, but statistics show an increase in males appointed.

Many interviewees identified this factor as the most significant disincentive.

Issues related to recruitment identified by both male and female respondents included:

- lack of transparency in the process;
- concern about the capacity of panel members to know the skills and attributes required of principals of Catholic schools ;
- lack of constructive feedback to unsuccessful applicants;
- and
- a perception by female respondents that males were advantaged in the appointment of primary principals.

The disincentive 'Unsupportive External Environment' was raised by many respondents. It was described in interviews as the intense scrutiny that parents, community members and the media apply to schools. Because parent expectations are high, more individuals and lobby groups are assessing schools in terms of self-interest criteria, without acknowledging, or respecting, the multiple interests and collective good that principals are required to address. There is an increasing disposition for disaffected people to use the threat of legal action to achieve preferred outcomes. For an increasing number of principals, this is an added pressure, which appears to undermine the effort and skill invested in achieving other important outcomes.

When these disincentives – 'quality of life', 'recruitment issues' and an 'unsupportive external environment' – are taken together, it is understandable why female senior leaders are not enthusiastic applicants for the principalship. This, however, is only part of the explanation. The leadership culture in many schools is very masculine. A succession of male leaders have defined culture in particular ways. Power (2002, p. 91) argues this is both subtle and pervasive:

Hegemonic masculinity, unconsciously and consciously, involves a specific strategy for the subordination of women. It is useful in explaining the situation in which lay women

find themselves in Catholic schools where oppression is perpetuated in a male-dominated hierarchical organisation. Hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy maintain dominance by claiming authority.

If more females are to be encouraged to apply for the principalship, education authorities will need to address these issues.

Another disturbing finding was the high percentage of religious education co-ordinators who were unwillingness to apply for principalship –males (57 per cent) and females (75 per cent). Catholic schools are an integral part of the Church's mission, so leaders with this appreciation and experience are valued members of the pool of principal aspirants. However, the VSAT findings, together with the work of Fleming (2002), confirm there is a real reluctance by many religious education co-ordinators to aspire to principalship. Catholic education authorities need to address the key reasons, and introduce leadership succession strategies that will encourage more of them to become competent and willing candidates for principalship.

Although there is no immediate crisis in applications for principalship in Catholic schools, these findings pose important challenges for Catholic education authorities. Given the importance of the role, and the fact that a significant number of principals are likely to retire in the next five years, the breadth and pressure of the principalship needs to be reviewed. Current principals also need to be mindful about how they communicate the successes and challenges of the role. Is it really a role that is dominated by frustrations and high stress, or is it, more accurately, a role that regularly makes a positive difference in the lives of many students and families? In addition, in order to ensure an adequate pool of capable and committed leaders who are willing to take on principalship, authorities need to review their provisions for leadership succession.

Leadership succession is a frequently used, but loosely defined, term. It has been defined as:

... more than fingering a slate of replacements for certain positions. It is a deliberate and systematic effort to project leadership requirements, identify a pool of high potential candidates, develop leadership competencies in those candidates through intentional learning experiences, and then select leaders from among the pool of potential leaders. (The National Academy of Public Administration, 1997, p. 1)

Leadership succession programs will be strongly influenced by the model of leadership they are intended to serve. In the VSAT focus interviews, data suggested that the heavy allocation of leadership responsibilities to a small number of people was part of the current problem. Interviewees recommended that a strong emphasis be given to developing and legitimising team leadership so that the workload could be shared, and the talents to exercise leadership expanded. Elmore (1999) also suggests this.

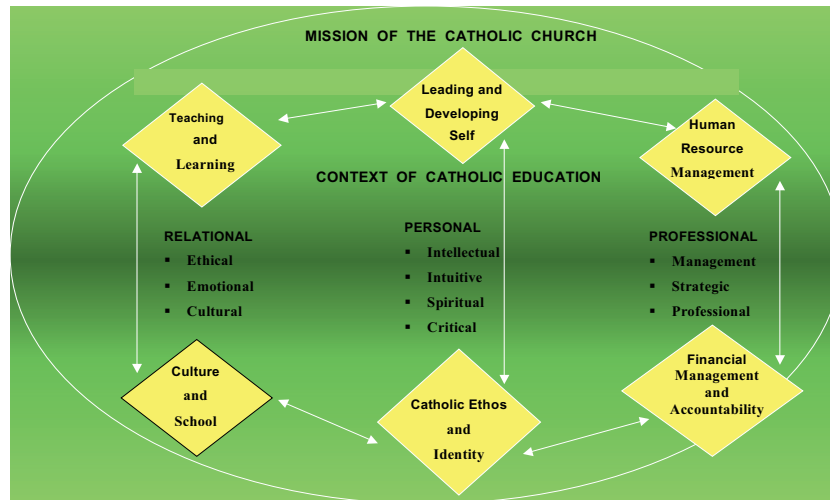
For Catholic schools the acquisition, analysis and synthesis of knowledge is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve a more meaningful, moral and purposeful life, thus the term 'leadership formation' is often used to encompass both a professional and religious dimension. Leadership formation has the capacity to improve the understanding and performance of leaders in their current roles. Through additional study, the completion of work-based projects, reflection and

principal feedback, they can expand their intellectual and ethical leadership. A leadership framework has been developed by Duignan, Kelleher and Spry (2003), described in Figure 1, that integrates the dimensions and capabilities. The preparation of leaders needs to take account of the multiple dimensions of leadership in schools today, and to provide them with an ethical compass and skills to ensure that management strategies are used to serve the core values and purposes of the school's mission.

## 6. THE LEADERSHIP FRAMEWORK

The framework has three components, each of which is described below.

- Context of Catholic Education
- Leadership Dimensions; : and
- Key Capabilities of Leaders



**Figure 1.** Leadership Development Framework for Catholic Schooling

### 6.1 *Context of Catholic Education*

The mission of the Catholic Church provides the ethos and purpose of Catholic schooling, and is the priority focus for the formation and development of school leaders. As already stated, this role has expanded recently, especially in the area of the religious and faith development of the school community. These changed circumstances require authorities to monitor the expectations held of Catholic principals, and to work with principals and governing bodies to ensure the

role remains manageable, and is not perceived as a major disincentive by school leaders.

### *6.2 Leadership Dimensions*

The multiple dimensions of leadership, as set out in the framework, are essential tools for principals and leaders of mission focused educational institutions. The importance given to ‘Leading and Developing Self’ is central to the other dimensions. This emphasises one of two key aspects of leaders: who the leader is as a person and what (s)he stands for. The second focuses on the actions of the leader. Hesselbein (2002 p. 3) reinforces this:

All the how to’s in the world won’t work until the “how to be’s” are defined, embraced by the leaders, and embodied and demonstrated in every action, every communication, every leadership moment.

Who the person of the leader is, is the source of authenticity, and the basis for defining and building the ethos and culture of an organisation.

Within the mission and ethos of a school, the core business is teaching and learning. Thus the dimensions of ‘Human and ‘Financial Management and Accountability’ are at the service of the core business. Principals need to be recognised and respected as leading teachers and learners. They need to be seen as engaging in teaching and learning, and being co-researchers with teachers to enhance staff and student learning, and to find ways of reducing barriers to learning – pedagogical, structural or cultural. In order to generate and protect time for this core dimension, it may be necessary for leaders to engage in strategic review and abandonment. That is reviewing all current functions and responsibilities and identifying those, which can be reduced or abandoned, because they are no longer pivotal to the central mission. Hesselbein (2002 p. 22) confirms this.

### *6.3 Key Capabilities*

The efficacy with which the dimensions are exercised will depend in large part on the capabilities that are possessed and applied by leaders. The three capabilities – personal, relational and professional – outlined in the framework need to be an essential part of any leader or principal preparation process. These capabilities go beyond the technical aspects of leadership. The VSAT study (Carlin et al., 2003 p. 53) expresses it this way:

They (leaders) also have the capability to make sensible and wise judgements when faced with complex situations involving dilemmas and value conflict. Many leaders who seem to have the skills in, for example, interpersonal relations, conflict management, even decision making, do not, necessarily, perform well in these areas. They seem to lack the confidence, courage, commitment, character and wise judgment to apply these skills in unfamiliar, uncertain and rapidly changing circumstances.

This comprehensive framework (Figure 1) has the capacity to be a valuable instrument for the purpose of principal and senior leader reviews, and the selection of personal and professional development processes for both advancement and renewal.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The VSAT findings (Carlin et al., 2003) supplement other research and anecdotal evidence to convince education authorities that urgent action is necessary to expand the factors which encourage senior leaders to apply, and reduce those that discourage experienced senior leaders from applying for the position that is deemed to be the most important leadership role - namely principalship. It seems that a larger number of senior leaders would like to have the opportunity to lead a school community and to make a difference in the lives of students and their families, if certain conditions were met. The key conditions identified were:

- to restructure the role so that the range of responsibilities could be reduced, for example, by the appointment of a senior administration manager who would take responsibility for the administration of property and occupational health and safety issues; and, by distributing the responsibilities among more senior leaders;
- that Catholic education authorities ensure that selection panel members have a sound knowledge of the dimensions and attributes required of principals of Catholic schools in the twenty first century; and
- that principals be provided with improved services and training to assist them to manage the more serious criticisms and complaints that come from parents, community members and the media.

The senior leaders interviewed acknowledged that the complexities and pressures were an integral part of principalship, but for too many, its intensity and constancy, and the consequences that go with it, were more than they were willing to take on. Quality of life, and the capacity to exercise a reasonable level of balance across the various dimensions of their lives, were the deciding factors in making career decisions about principalship.

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## EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY: SOME BASIC DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS, AND CLARIFICATIONS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, education theorists and comparativists have expressed renewed interest in the relationship between education and democratisation. Indeed, it has become one of the “hot” topics in the field. This renewed interest came on the heels of a relative decline in the 1970s and 1980s of research on political socialisation and other relevant areas. Recently comparativists have asked, “Is it possible to have a genuinely unbiased notion of ‘democracy’ and of ‘education for democracy’?” “What are the criteria for a democratic society and how can they be achieved through education?” In order to answer these and other questions, we need to first clarify definitions and measures of democracy, and what we mean by democratic outcomes, processes, and institutions. What exactly do we mean when we talk about democratic schooling or education for democratisation? What assumptions do we make when we talk about the relationship between democracy and education? Does the current discourse about the relationship favour some key concepts of democracy but ignore others? Similarly, does the current discourse favour some educational practices and structures at the expense of others?

### 2. DEMOCRACY: DEFINITIONS AND KEY CONCEPTS

Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many political parties have embraced democracy, and since the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it is safe to argue that “... given the slightest weakening of resolve by their rulers, people anywhere will struggle for freedom and political equality.” (Green, 1993a, p. 14) At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, few people indeed would argue that democracy is anything but a positive word. Some have even argued that democracy has become the final political arrangement that the world will agree is best (Williams, 1993, p. 19). Yet this has not historically always been the case. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, democracy had negative connotations of mob rule, proletarian or peasant domination of the propertied class, and uncontrolled popular tyranny (Williams, 1993, p. 19). In the classical era, Aristotle associated democracy with poor people.

The concept of democracy has many facets and is often difficult to define simply and precisely. As the political theorist Raymond Williams notes, "Democracy is a very old word but its meanings have always been complex." (Williams, 1993, p. 19). The most basic definition of democracy is representative government based on elections and civil liberties. This is the liberal definition of democracy, and it has come to be the predominant version in political science theory. When political leaders and theorists now speak of democracy, they are primarily concerned with regular elections that are free from corruption and that routinely offer an exchange of leadership and power, and with civil liberties such as freedom of expression and assembly, rights which are fundamental to ensuring open elections as well as being basic rights in and of themselves.

Democracy has also become a commonly used adjective to describe social relations outside of strictly political arenas. Thus, we speak of democratic schools, workplaces, marital relationships, and childrearing techniques. Williams notes that in this usage, democratic means to be "unconscious of class distinctions, acting as if all people were equal, and demanded equal respect." (Williams, 1993, p. 22) At the root of this use of the word is the notion of egalitarianism. A second, related dimension to this definition is an emphasis on choice and decision making. Schools are said to be democratic if students are treated equally, relations between teachers and students are egalitarian, and students are able to decide important issues. Marriages are democratic if both spouses have equal status, and workplaces are democratic if employees are treated with equal respect, hierarchy is downplayed, and decision-making is diffused to all levels.

Democracy embodies a constellation of key concepts, the first of which is equality. In a modern democracy, all citizens must be equal before the law and have equal access to the right to participate in decision-making processes. All citizens, regardless of gender, race, or socio-economic status, should have the right to vote, run for office, and participate in any other way possible in the democratic process.

Equality of opportunity is one of the most fundamental aspects of democracy in the modern era. This means that there cannot be discrimination based on a person's race, gender, ethnicity, or religion. The basic tenet is that in order for individuals to be truly free to participate in democracy, there must be no barriers to their participation based on individual ascriptive characteristics over which the individual has no control. Moreover, since inequality prevents equal access to participation, discrimination that contributes to inequality must also be addressed. Institutions of modern democracy that flow from the notion of equality of opportunity are universal suffrage, mass schooling, affirmative action, and anti-discrimination and civil rights legislation.

Even if there is formal equality of opportunity (e.g., it is unlawful to discriminate based on a person's gender, race, or ethnicity), there are often structural factors in a society that prohibit true equality of opportunity. Some countries have expressed commitment to equality through governmental action to redistribute wealth since financial resources are a key determinant of an individual's ability to participate in a democracy. Many European countries since World War II have actively attempted to promote equality via the redistribution of wealth and the elimination of an underclass, the welfare state, and affirmative action for women and minorities. The

U.S. as well has initiated programs such as affirmative action to promote equality because it was believed that some groups were denied equality due to structural factors such as racism and sexism.

Social and material inequality is a problem in a democracy because it prevents individuals and groups from having true equal access to participation. As Philip Green notes, "... the greatest obstacle to widespread citizen equality has been the existence of social and economic inequalities that render access to democratic institutions - the vote, the press, communication with representatives, the right to organise - either difficult or meaningless." (Green, 1993, pp. 9-10). Thus, Green and other theorists from Aristotle to Lipset argue that societies need to address inequality if they want their democracies to be more than formal "pseudocracies," or even oligarchies. Even Almond and Verba, theorists sometimes criticised as being overly conservative, state that "as long as full participation in the political system and access to the channels of social betterment are denied to significant segments of the their [American and British] populations, their democratic promise remains unfulfilled..." (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. vii).

A second key concept of democracy is participation. Democracy is fundamentally a political system of self-determination and broad access to decision making. Participation in a democracy includes voting, running for office, attending meetings where political decisions are discussed or decided (e.g., town hall meetings, school board meetings, etc.), communicating with representatives, being a member of a voluntary organisation, and being informed of political issues. Participation also includes strikes and protests. Green argues that democracy in general is more than institutions and "abstract attitudes," but also "a series of moments: moments of popular insurgency and direct action, of unmediated politics." (Green, 1993, p. 14). Democracy is about popular struggle. Green notes that most major democratic accomplishments, such as universal suffrage, the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s, and the 1989 revolutions in the communist Eastern Bloc countries, were initiated by public protest and action, not legislation.

Some democracies emphasise the importance of participation at all levels of the political system. For example, decentralised, local decision making is frequently assumed in the U.S. to be the best possible scenario wherever it is feasible. Thus, American metropolitan areas are made up of numerous municipalities rather than one large city, an arrangement more common in other parts of the world. Allowing communities to retain their municipal status rather than being incorporated into the larger metropolis enables more people to be involved in local decision-making. Another American example is the heavy reliance on local funding of schools, a rare arrangement in the rest of the world.

Conceptions that favour broad access to participation frequently assume that a decentralised system of decision-making is more democratic than a more centralised system. Decentralisation has become somewhat of a buzzword since the Third Wave of democratisation. Many donor organisations such as the World Bank have actively promoted the decentralisation of social institutions, including education, in an attempt to make both the particular institution as well as the broader society more democratic. Only rarely have some scholars argued that decentralisation can have

decidedly undemocratic effects. McGinn and Street's analysis shows that decentralisation without a relatively equal distribution of wealth leads to increased inequality rather than increased participation (McGinn & Street, 1999).

A third key concept of democracy is the notion of choice. Within the bounds of the law, individuals should be able to pursue their interests and abilities as they see fit. The absence of choice is one of the most graphic facets of totalitarianism. The communist regimes denied individuals choice in many aspects of life, including where their children went to school, where they lived, and how and where they worked. One of the first reforms that all of the post-communist countries initiated in the early 1990s was to remove the state monopoly on education by allowing private schools to be established.

Democracy's key concepts are sometimes mutually contradictory. For example, it is possible that equality of opportunity can be in opposition to participation. Local governing bodies often create institutions that deprive individuals and groups equality of opportunity. Historical examples from the U.S. include local and state governments' denial of equal opportunity for African-Americans in voting, housing, and education. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the federal government decided that equal opportunity outweighed individuals' right to make decisions at the local or regional level.

Individuals, cultures, and nations often favour some key concepts over others. Moreover, groups may favour a particular variation of democracy for some institutions while favouring another version for other institutions. In the U.S., a key facet of democracy that is often favoured over others is participation, especially at the local level. In the area of school funding and administration, this concept is especially favoured. In the area of civil rights, however, equality of opportunity is favoured over local governance. Thus, which key concepts are favoured in a particular instance may vary by historical period, culture, or institution. It is not possible to say that a version of democracy that places greater emphasis on one key concept such as participation is more democratic than a version that emphasises choice or equality. Rather, it is natural that democracies throughout the world vary in their emphasis on key democratic concepts.

### 3. MEASURING DEMOCRACY

Related to differences in definition and emphases on one or the other key concept is the issue of measurement. If we measure democracy by the basic definition as the presence of civil liberties and free elections, then we can use an index such as that compiled annually by Freedom House. Although the index takes into consideration a wide variety of factors, such as business corruption and media independence as well as the presence and functioning of democratic institutions, parties, and processes, it does not include measures of individual behaviour such as voter participation rates. Because Freedom House's index of democracy is based on the basic definition, diverse countries may share the same ranking. For example, many former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe share the same ranking as more established democracies like the U.K. or France (Freedom House,

2001). The other option is to use a more detailed measure that may give us more information about degrees of democratisation. Using such a measure assumes that countries that are equal on basic indexes of democracy such as Freedom House may nevertheless be unequal on more sensitive or nuanced measures of democracy. Indexes that measure degrees of democratisation could include rates of citizen participation in voting or voluntary organisations, or levels of citizen trust in democratic institutions. Using these definitions assumes that higher levels of participation and membership in voluntary organisations or higher levels of avowed trust equals higher levels of democratisation. This is a problematic assumption, and one that not all theorists hold. For example, Almond and Verba note that too much citizen participation may limit government's responsibility to act, just as too little citizen participation may result in oppressive government. Likewise, rates of voter turnout are affected by the degree of democratic stability, economic performance, and perceived threat. For example, voter turnout was extremely high in most of the post-communist countries in the first round of democratic elections. After more than a decade, voter turnout has gradually tapered off and now approaches rates to those found in established democracies. Does this mean that the Czech Republic or Bulgaria was more democratic in 1990 than in 2001? Few would agree with this claim.

Measuring degrees of democratisation by the level of trust in or loyalty to democratic institutions is also problematic. Many of the post-communist countries have lower levels of trust in democratic institutions than the established democracies. From this some theorists have concluded that democratic consolidation would be more tenuous or fragile, that these countries were somehow less democratic, or transitionally democratic, and even that they could revert back to communism (Rose, 1996). And yet democratic institutions and processes continue to exist, despite lower levels of citizen trust and affect. Moreover, many European countries in general report lower levels of trust and loyalty to government institutions in comparison with the U.S. individuals in these same countries often profess higher commitment to democratic behaviour, however (Almond & Verba, 1989; Torney-Purta & Schwille, 1986). It is possible that many European countries, including the post-communist nations, express their democratic attitudes through a commitment to social justice than patriotic symbols or sentiments.

#### 4. EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY/DEMOCRATISATION

When we speak of the relationship between education and democracy, we are speaking of two separate things: educational structures and practices that promote democratisation in the broader society, and schools that function democratically. The first speaks to things such as widespread literacy and mass schooling that are not "democratic" in and of themselves but that are correlated with societal democratisation. Classic modernisation studies by Almond and Verba, Lipset, and Inkeles and Smith have found that literacy and mass schooling are correlated with societal democratisation and with individual democratic behaviour (Almond &

Verba, 1989; Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Lipset, 1981). The relationship between educational attainment and individual behaviour is positive and linear: the more schooling an individual has (including years of higher education), the more likely he or she is to vote, be informed about political issues, and participate in a voluntary organisation. The correlation between mass schooling and literacy and societal democratisation is also strong. All the countries that are considered democratic by measures such as Freedom House, for example, are also countries that have high levels of literacy and educational attainment through the secondary level. This correlation does not mean that mass schooling is sufficient or necessary for democratisation, nor does it mean that mass schooling causes democratisation. It does mean, however, that a country with mass schooling and literacy is more likely to be democratic than a country that is not. Economic development is also highly correlated with both societal democratisation and mass education. How these three variables interact with each other is not clear, however. Economic development may be a cause and/or an effect of mass education, both of which may affect democratisation in a variety of ways. Thus, structures that contribute to mass schooling, literacy, economic development, and modernisation (all of which are highly inter-correlated) may foster broader societal democratisation. Pakistani educational leaders have recently voiced similar arguments in their discussions of the lack of secular primary and secondary schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan and its possible relation with a lack of support for democratic beliefs. Indeed, support for the Taliban is highest among the rural population (where there are few schools) and quite low in the urban centres, especially among the educated middle class.

In addition to the modernisation theory with its emphasis on mass schooling, literacy, and economic development, educational structures that decrease inequality also contribute to societal democratisation. Since equality of opportunity is a key democratic concept, educational structures that foster equality of opportunity by definition foster democracy. This is a position argued by theorists from both ends of the political spectrum. For example, both Diane Ravitch and Jonathan Kozol argue that the American educational system fails its democratic potential because it does not adequately educate many of its minority and low-income students, thus reproducing an unequal and undemocratic social order (Kozol, 1991; Ravitch, 2000).

Most conceptions of democratic schooling by contrast emphasise micro-level processes rather than the macro-level structures favoured by modernisation theory. Some theories stress curriculum, both explicit and implicit. For example, education for citizenship, human rights, democratic tolerance, or some other form of political socialization is concerned with textbooks and cognitive concepts as well as teaching methods, school climate, and teacher-student social relations. As such, it is centered in the school. Emphasis then is placed on designing curriculum and textbooks, changing teaching methods to foster active, participatory learning, and making schools more “democratic” and less “authoritarian.”

We have studies that show individuals who were exposed to certain school practices (e.g., student government, particular curriculum, etc.) are more likely to act democratically. For example, Torney-Purta et al.’s latest study of schooling and political values shows that certain educational practices are correlated with higher

rates of participation (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Even here, however, the findings are complex: no one educational practice is correlated with a complete set of individual democratic behaviour and values. Rather, students vary cross-nationally by civic engagement, knowledge, and attitude. Moreover, there are no clear-cut lines between the new and old democracies. Students in Poland, Colombia, and the U.S. all had high participation scores, and students in the Czech Republic, Norway, and Hong Kong had high knowledge scores.

It is sometimes assumed that democratic schools, however they may be defined, can promote broader societal democratisation, but this assumption is problematic because it is rarely empirically proved. We do not have any studies that show in-school practices such as a particular civics education or political socialisation program (e.g., human rights education) are correlated with higher rates of societal democratisation. Thus, it is not possible to argue that schools in democracies are more likely to teach a certain type of political socialisation, have a certain type of classroom or school atmosphere, or use a certain type of pedagogy. Likewise, it is not possible to argue that the absence of particular in-school practices is a sign that a country is undemocratic, semi-democratic, or transitionally democratic.

Whether or not the discourse on the relationship between democracy and education is ethnocentric or culturally biased depends on how we conceptualise the relationship. If we limit the discourse to micro-level, in-school aspects of democratic schooling, then it is likely that we will judge some countries as having more democratic schools, or even having a political system that is somehow more "democratic." For example, some North American theorists and policy makers may be tempted to conceptualise their educational practices as more democratic than others because of their emphasis on multiculturalist textbooks, constructivist pedagogy, and informal, anti-hierarchical school social relations. Yet, if we broaden the discourse on education and democracy to include the concepts of equality and choice, national systems of education that provide equitable resources and freedom of choice to *all* students could also be considered democratic. The post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe are frequently assumed to be in need of Western guidance in their efforts to reform and democratise their educational systems, yet a broader conceptualisation would show that there is much that foreign theorists of education and democratisation can learn from these countries. Most of the post-communist systems equitably educate all of their students regardless of social class, ethnicity or race, and provide a freedom of school choice that is nothing short of radical to an American perspective.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Education for democracy is a complex field of research. The best way to prevent theory and practice from being a tool of imposition or cultural imperialism is to broaden the discourse to include all the key concepts of democracy, not just participation, and to not make facile assumptions about the correlation between



in-school practices and societal democratisation. Insights from the sociology of education, democratic theory, and political sociology show that education can foster democratisation through macro-level processes such as literacy, modernisation, choice, and equal opportunity. Understanding that education for democracy is more than “education for human rights,” “education for tolerance,” or “education for diversity” enables us to see that many national systems of education that are frequently assumed to be democratic actually contain some highly undemocratic aspects; and vice versa, that many systems often considered quasi-democratic are highly democratic.

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JOSEPH ZAJDA AND REA ZAJDA

## THE POLITICS OF REWRITING HISTORY: NEW SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN RUSSIA

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the representations of Imperial Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet history in official school textbooks and curriculum materials used in Russian upper secondary schools. As we will see, the new textbooks portray a new, post-Soviet, national identity that indicates a radical ideological repositioning and redefinition of what are seen as 'legitimate' culture and values in Russia. As will become apparent, the textbooks and other materials particularly set out to overturn the Soviet emphasis on orthodoxy in historical interpretation by encouraging a critical consciousness among students. They do this by approaching history from multiple perspectives and inviting students to confront certain chapters in the country's past in a questioning and analytical manner (for other discussions of post-Soviet educational reform in Russia, see McLean & Voskresenskaya, 1992; Kaufman, 1994; Zajda, 1998, 1999, 2002). It can almost be argued that in the textbooks, pluralism, and critical awareness replace Marxism-Leninism as the new dominant discourse.

These dramatic changes in the history curriculum have been motivated by the major political, economic and social transformations that have occurred in Russian society since 1991. The collapse of the totalitarian USSR and the formation of the Russian Federation signalled the beginning of liberal reforms, and hopes for the development of civil society. The 'Soviet' mentality, so carefully nurtured in schools, universities, unions and soviets now had to be replaced in every sphere of society. The new Law on Education (1992, revised in 1996) provided the definition of a new post-Soviet education structure. Since then new curricula, new textbooks, and methodologies have been gradually implemented in schools as soon as they became available.

## 2. CHANGING PERCEPTION OF RECENT HISTORICAL EVENTS IN RUSSIA

The break-up of the USSR and the resultant collapse of communism in 1991 necessitated, among other things, the rewriting of school history textbooks, which, for seventy years had been dominated by Marxist-Leninist interpretations of historical events. This chapter evaluates the new post-Soviet school history textbooks in upper secondary schools, giving particular attention to the way the models for a new Russian (non-Soviet) identity presented in the new textbooks redefine what is seen as legitimate culture for students. Attention is also given to the multiple perspectives on history that school textbooks and other curriculum materials emphasise. These new methods contrast with the Soviet grand narrative that dominated the study of history before 1991.

Beginning with *perestroika* (restructuring) era in 1990, extending through the collapse of the communist system in 1991, and continuing on into the contemporary post-Soviet era, a process of rewriting history has been undertaken in Russia. The new history textbooks for schools which have been published in Russia are one of the major outcomes of this process. This chapter and the book (forthcoming) were partly inspired by the authors' early conversations with Eduard Dneprov, the then Minister of Education, Vladimir D. Shadrikov, then Deputy-Chair of the Ministry of Higher Education in 1992, and with other key players in the process of change and revision in the following years.

In a world familiar with a post-Soviet Russia for over a decade, it is necessary to stress that the intensity and the suddenness of political and economic transformations were overwhelming for most citizens. 'Culture shock' is not too strong a way of describing the feelings of Soviet citizens, who became ex-Soviet, virtually overnight, on the dissolution of the USSR in December 1991. The attempted formation of a democratic society, the adoption of a new constitution, the introduction of a multi-party system (for the first time since 1917), and freedom of the press, have created a totally different *milieu* in Russian society and education. The ensuing avalanche of information in the form of thousands of post-Soviet newspapers, journals and books, all reflected the much awaited diversity and pluralism.

If after, seven decades of the ubiquitous Soviet totalitarian regime, hegemony, and censorship, many now ex-Soviet citizens suffered individual crises of civic identity, history teachers faced a double burden. They were charged with mastering the new approaches to history themselves, as well as interpreting them to their students. Vinogradov (1996) attempted to explain the intellectual turmoil in the following way<sup>1</sup>:

Russian society is going through a period of painful reflection on its historical ways and basic values. [The Russians] are trying to understand Russia's past and present, and to look into its future with the help of history and political science (p. 7).

This chapter, using an approach based on Foucault's notion of discourse, examines the shifts in ideological and cultural representations of history's narrative in core Russian school history textbooks. It will be argued that the new history

schools textbooks represent a new form of hegemony and disciplinary practice. We also argues that Russian school textbooks represent a new post-Soviet hegemony or 'regime of truth' depicting a distinctly Russian interpretation of pluralist democracy, nationalism and presidential rule.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 *Discourse analysis as applied to history textbooks*

A critical discourse analysis of school history textbooks is employed. Discourse analysis can be found in Foucault's books *The Order of Things* (1970), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), and *Power/Knowledge* (1980). As an approach it has been applied to the production of knowledge. Foucault (1984, p. 110) suggested that dominant discourses are determined by power struggles:

Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the power for which and by which there is struggle; discourse is the power, which is to be seized.

It was Foucault who alerted us, in a post-structuralist sense, to the politics of the text and the knowledge-power connection. According to Foucault (1980, p. 68):

Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.

The term *discourse*, as employed by Michel Foucault, involves an intertwining of ideas, themes, forms of knowledge and also positions held by individuals in relation to these (Hudson, 1984). Furthermore, these meanings can be 'embodied in technical processes, in institutions...in forms for transmission and diffusion and in pedagogical ideas' (Foucault, 1977a, p. 200). In this sense, discourse can refer to not only statements, but also to social and institutional practices through which the social production of meaning takes place or is embodied. This leads to the construct of '*discursive practices*', or activities which are systematically subjected to a certain (attempted) regimentation and patterning by one or more dominant discourses (Minson, 1985, p. 124). Textbook activities encourage students to approach history critically, and 'persuade' teachers to abandon the earlier, more rigid teaching styles of the Soviet era in favour of innovative and diverse approaches. The critical aspect of discourses challenges the accepted *hierarchical* structuring of *authority* concerning knowledge and the *neutrality* of knowledge and ideology. It asks questions about the historical and cultural conditions in which discourses emerged.

### 4. DATA COLLECTION

Ten school history textbooks were subjected to a critical discourse analysis. Post-Soviet school history textbooks were represented by core text published

between 1992-2001, and approved by the Ministry of Education. Of these, 8 were published by the State publishing houses (*Pedagogika* etc). The problem of sampling did not emerge as officially prescribed school history textbooks were used uniformly throughout the country. For example, one of the texts analysed *Istoriia Otechestva* (History of the Fatherland), which was a prescribed text for the final year secondary history curriculum, has a circulation of 3, 018, 000 copies.

In our discourse analysis of the new versions of Russia's post-Soviet school history textbooks, the focus was on:

- critiquing the *new* interpretation of social and political change,
- the representations of significant *events* (political transformations, especially revolutionary politics, as represented by the 1917 October revolution and the Civil war),
- leadership (the contribution of key individuals and players during the 1917-45 period),
- ideology (transformation from Soviet Marxist-Leninist hegemony to democracy) and continuities (how the State preserved social and political aspects of Russian society throughout the centuries, and the importance of cultural heritage and traditional values).
- *ideological reproduction*, or an ideological re-positioning of post-Soviet representation of the historical narrative with the emphasis on cultural heritage, tradition, and patriotism – as an attempt to create a new hegemonic synthesis, and a new form of the control of meaning (here Foucauldian notions of ‘discipline’ and the ‘regime of truth’ are particularly relevant in the discourse).

These reflect the central themes in the post-Soviet reinterpretation of the past of Russian society. Only those segments of history textbooks were analysed which represented new interpretations of historic events, and leaders.

To summarise, in our discourse analysis of textbooks the emphasis has been on *value-laden* historical and political *constructs* that consistently appeared in reinterpretation of events, leaders and other major actors on the historical arena.

##### 5. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN RUSSIA SINCE 1991

In the 1990s, education policy reforms in developed and developing economies have emerged as a top-priority political, economic, and cultural issue. Improving the quality of education in the new Russia has become associated with the following three key goals of post-industrial states. First, improving the quality of education is linked to international economic competitiveness. This is highly significant for Russia, one of the global military super powers, currently undergoing a painful transitional period. Second, quality education is a necessary condition for development and higher living standards. Third, the *affective* dimension of education reforms is a catalyst for transforming and changing attitudes and values. The new history curriculum in schools is likely to reflect these global goals – at the civilisational, political and cultural levels.

### 5.1 *School History Textbooks and Ideology*

Education in the Soviet Union always carried an ideological agenda. As early as 1958, during a major overhaul of the school system, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union defined the socialising function of education thusly: “Upbringing must inculcate in the schoolchildren a love of knowledge and of work, and [a] respect for people who work; it must shape the communist world outlook” (cited by Grant, 1979, p. 25). In a sense, this vision for education was a continuation of Lenin’s ideas. It was Lenin who reminded his audiences at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Communist Youth Organisations (2 October, 1920) that the goal of schooling was the creation of a communist morality:

The whole task of upbringing, education and learning of contemporary youth should be the cultivation of communist morality.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality stems from the class struggle of the proletariat... We say that morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite the tools around the proletariat, which is creating a new, communist society. (Lenin, 1977, 155-159).

What “ideology” meant in Soviet education was not as problematic as in the West. Whereas in the West “ideology” may refer to a form of “false consciousness” that distorts one’s perception of social reality and serves the interests of the dominant class, in the Soviet Union it was used to refer to a system of ideas, beliefs, and values about communism. More specifically, it referred to Marxist-Leninist ethics. Direct, centralised, and systematic teaching of the Marxist-Leninist ideology of socialist reconstructionism, based on the proposition that desired schooling can promote desired social change, took place in history and other school subjects; it was also reinforced in school-based children’s organisations like the Komsomol, the Octobrists, and the Pioneers (Zajda, 1994, p.166).

However, the values and ideas that pervaded Soviet schools could not be explained by the Marxist-Leninist belief system alone. Despite the hegemony of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet state had a strong affinity to the heritage of the Russian Empire. Particularly during the darkest days of World War II (July 1941-1942), when dozens of Soviet armies were either defeated or captured, the state propaganda machine advanced a Soviet identity based on a combination of nationalism and patriotism. World War II came to be referred to as “The Great Patriotic War,” for instance, and the Soviet Union became a metaphor for “Our Motherland” (*Nasha Rodina*). Soviet media treated the war as a sacred crusade to save not just the Soviet system and communism, but Mother Russia herself:

During 1942 the war was presented as a war to save historic Russia [and as] a nationalist war of revenge...The words “Soviet Union” and “communism” appeared less and less frequently in official publications. The words “Russia” and “Motherland” took their place. The “Internationale,” the anthem of the international socialist movement played on state occasions, was replaced with a new national anthem. (Overy, 1999, p. 161-162)

The Soviet regime also employed other strategies and techniques to emphasise the great heritage, power, and tradition of Russia and Russian civilisation. In the

teaching of history, great leaders and national heroes predominated. Aleksandr Nevsky, Peter the Great, and Catherine the Great, to name a few, made up for their ideological differences by means of their significant contributions to the building of the Russian Empire. Grant (1979) observes that the Soviet authorities used nationalism and patriotism as a “prop” for securing further loyalty to the regime and that they enjoyed “considerable success” in this project (p. 32). Stalin’s famous broadcast on 3 July 1941, for example, began with “brothers and sisters” and “friends” – words that were foreign to his normal political and public vocabulary – and went on to invoke the great heroes of the Russian past who had fought off invaders (Gevurkova & Koloskov, 1993; Stalin, 1944). Stalin’s appeal to popular patriotism and nationalism, rather than Soviet citizenship, was a vivid example of the shift in official ideology.

During this same period, the film *Aleksandr Nevsky*, a masterpiece by Sergei Eisenstein (music by Prokofiev), became essential viewing and a morale booster; the film depicted the heroic exploits of Aleksandr Nevsky, a Muscovite prince who defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1242. Another film, *Ivan Grozny* (Ivan the Terrible), was also made. A brilliant masterpiece, this film examined the power, control, and discipline exercised by the autocratic Muscovite prince during the initial stages of the building of the Russian Empire. These films signalled a shift in thinking in the Soviet Union – from international communism to national consciousness, traditional values, and Russian patriotism (Billington, 1970).

A similar shift occurred in the military. The tsarist-era Nevsky military order was revived, new medals commemorating the great military heroes of Russia’s past were struck, and tsarist officer uniforms – complete with the hats, gold braids, and shoulder boards that revolutionary mobs had torn off soldiers in 1917 – were redesigned and worn. The new uniforms provided a psychological boost to the officer corps, particularly at the end of the battle of Stalingrad, and officers could not wait to get their hands on them. After this watershed battle, political commissars (the dual command/authority structure) were abolished, and the tsarist term for “officer” replaced the familiar egalitarian “comrade” (Overy, 1999).

The reinvention of tradition did not stop with past heroes and new lexicons in the media and military. The power of religion was also rediscovered. Beginning in September 1941, antireligious publishing houses were closed. The Russian Orthodox Church, suppressed and persecuted by the Soviet regime’s atheistic and militant ideology for two decades, was “suddenly rehabilitated” (Overy, 1999, p. 162). In 1943, Stalin invited Metropolitans Aleksei, Sergei, and Nikolai to the Kremlin and agreed to the election of the Patriarch of All Russia, a seat that had been vacant since 1924 (Werth, 1992). Ultimately, Patriarch Sergei was invited to lead the Church. The word “God” began to appear in *Pravda* with a capital letter. In the final analysis, religion was allowed to flourish in the Soviet Union during the Second World War not because Stalin was an ex-seminarian, but because it served a larger purpose for the Soviet regime: It gave ordinary citizens a sense of belonging to – and a commitment to – a community that was under threat from foreign forces.

## 6. NEW NARRATIVES IN HISTORY SCHOOL TEXTS

### 6.1 *Grades 10 and 11 history school textbooks*

In the 2001 prescribed history textbook for Grades 10 and 11 (recommended by the Ministry of Education), *Rossiiia v XX veke* (Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, fifth edition), which is one of the key texts, judging by the print run of 100,000 copies, Russian 16 year-olds are urged to take, which is new, a more *analytical* and critical approach to history:

History, according to Kluchevski, is not a teacher but a mentor, *magistra vitae*. She does not teach anything, yet punishes for lessons not learnt...

The crucial periods of the past will pass by our reflective gaze: Russia with her bright and dark pages of life prior to 1917 . . . the depressing shadow of massive repressions...the growth of our Fatherland, with great achievements and unforgiving errors...More than ever before it is necessary for you to explain...the inner logic of a historical process, and find the answers to the questions why such events occurred...You need to be guided by the principle . . . Sine ira et studio – learn without hate or passion. You need to understand historical facts for what they are, rather than guessing and rushing to categorise them in ideological schemes (pp. 3-4).

The new school textbook has eight chapters and 20 themes, covering the period from the early 1900s to 1997. Nearly half of the book, which covers over 100 years of Russian modern history is taken up by the wars and revolutions, reinforcing the image that Russia's history is one of blood, suffering and anguish, resulting in the needless sacrifice and death of tens of millions of people during the two World Wars alone, not to mention the Civil War and the subsequent Red Terror, and Stalinism. An analysis of the representation of major events in Soviet and post-Soviet history in the latest books shows that students are now given access to facts and documents relating to major events which were excluded from any public representation, particularly in textbooks, during the Soviet era.

Theme 1 'Socio-economic development of Russia at the end of XIX to the beginning of XX centuries' introduces the students to monopolies, power, foreign capital in Russia, and the backwardness of the rural sector, whereas the theme 'The cardinal changes in the country' examines the formation of the 'Presidential Republic' (pp. 339-348) under Yeltsin, who in March 1993 issued a decree defining 'a special order of governance', which gave the President the unlimited power and control, or dictatorship. In September 1993, Yeltsin issued another decree – number 1400, which dissolved the Upper House (*Verkhovny Soviet*) and the Congress of People's Deputies, creating a constitutional crisis. Students now learn that the Deputies refused to leave and, as a result, Yeltsin ordered the army to use tanks and fire on the 'White House' (p. 341). Despite the reiterated stress on the need for a critical approach to history throughout the new school textbooks, students are not invited at this point to question whether such an action was appropriate in a modern democracy? However, students are told that, after the *spetsnaz* stormed the building,



the Deputies, together with their leaders (including Ruts koy), and their defenders were arrested. This passage illustrates the way traces of the ambivalent legacies of the Soviet and Imperial past, where might was ruler, can still be found in the texts.

Likewise, it is difficult to imagine what the 17 year-old students were supposed to make of the 'storming' of the 'White House' in October 1993. Anyone present at that event would have observed a small war being waged, as the tanks moved in and began firing on the parliament house or *Bely Dom* ('White House'), and the bullets whistled by. The textbook does not ask students to debate the implications of this episode. When we asked Moscow locals about the *Bely Dom* battle a few months later, they were reluctant to discuss it. It was a case of 'characteristic amnesia'.

As we glance back to the October Revolution of 1917 in the section *Shturm vlasti* (the Attack on Power) this crucial moment in the world history, which brought the Bolsheviks to power, is now described as a low-key event, in radical contrast to the accepted Soviet versions, which typically portrayed it as one of momentous significance. In contrast to Soviet pictorial representations of the mass-storming of the Winter Palace, students now learn that in fact, only small detachments, organised by the Military-Revolutionary Committee (which was directed by Trotsky, whose role is finally acknowledged in this post-Soviet climate) actually 'seized' the Winter Palace. The Provisional government simply 'ceased to exist' and its ministers were arrested. However, students are not invited to reflect further on the reasons for such different versions of the same event, nor to consider that while the coup itself was not a mass event, it did set in train drastic and far-reaching changes in the structure and culture of Russian society.

The students discover that representatives of other influential parties, following the Bolshevik coup, left the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Soviet, held on 25 October. Of the 670 registered delegates only 300 were Bolsheviks, which meant that they had no overall majority. The new Soviet government of 1917 includes Trotsky, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

. . . the new Soviet government was formed – the Soviet of People's Commissars (SNK). Lenin was the chairman. Prominent Bolsheviks were members of the SNK (L. Trotsky—*narkom* (People's Commissar) of Foreign Affairs, A. Rykov – narkom of the Ministry for the Internal Affairs, A. Lunacharsky, narkom for education, and I. Stalin – narkom of the Ministry for Ethnic Affairs) (p. 113).

Contemporary students are asked to judge whether the October 1917 was a *coup* (*perevorot*) or the revolution, as previously represented. This is a new and critical approach to analysing the October Revolution, which in the Soviet textbooks was always regarded as the culminating phenomenon of the victory of the Bolsheviks, depicted in the dramatic *sturm* (storming) of the Winter Palace. Now the students, based on their research of available documents and publications are encouraged to offer their own interpretations:

Many contemporaries regarded the October 1917 events as another political *perevorot*, which temporarily brought to the top one of the Russian parties, which "won" over the other parties by arming itself with popular slogans and by using conspiratorial and forceful tactics . . .

The Bolsheviks were quick to declare the October Revolution as the socialist one...But did this third revolution bring in the end the creation of the socialist society? We will find the answer when we analyse further events in Russia (p. 116).

Here is an attempt to encourage students to consider competing dominant ideologies in Russia between 1917 and 1920. Students are asked, on the basis of their research, to come up with their own interpretation of the ideological struggle. Prior to that there was only one accepted version of the Civil War, the one written by the ‘winners’. The ‘losers’, despite their equal claim to history in the war of liberation, were, until now, written out of history.

A more controversial fact, which the students discover (and which was not presented in a such a critical manner before), is Lenin’s direct role in the creation of the secret police (not unlike the tsarist *okhranka*, but more deadly), when he appointed F. Dzerzhinski as the first Director of the *Vserossiiskaia chrezvychainaia komissii* (VCHK—All-Russian Extraordinary Commission—the predecessor of the NKVD and KGB):

On 7 December 1917, on Lenin’s initiative the organ of direct political repressions was formed – *Vserossiiskaia chrezvychainaia komissii* for combating the counter-revolution and sabotage...At first, the VCHK’s role was to prevent open anti-soviet demonstrations . . . But a few months later this punitive organ acquired unlimited powers, including the right to sentence and carrying it out (p. 123).

The students now learn that Lenin, who presented himself as a great democrat had another darker side to him (not unlike some of leaders of the French Revolution) – ruthless dictator, who was not afraid of using the notorious secret police – the ChK (and *chekisty*) and the Red Terror to consolidate his grip on power, which, as we now know, was contested even before the outbreak of the Civil War. The voice of opposition is captured in F. Dan’s (leader of the Mensheviks) speech prior to his expulsion from the “parliament”:

“You will not frighten us by any *okhrankas* (Secret Police – JZ) and repressions” he shouted in anger at the meeting of VtsIK. We fight and continue to fight by means of agitation during the elections and re-elections of the Soviet. The most evil lie in relation to the working classes is when you say that the Soviet are different from other democratic organs in its ability to mirror the contemporary life of the proletariat...You have the arrogance to write that if the workers do not approve of the government of Lenin and Trotsky, or the government of SNK, they can re-elect it. This is a lie, because in the present regime it is impossible to re-elect not only Lenin and Trotsky but even a rank and file communist. (p. 127)

The students also learn that during the first ever parliamentary election, the Bolsheviks were defeated and the new *Uchreditelsoe sobranie* (Constituent Assembly), consisted of 60 per cent of seats won by the socialists of various factions, and 17 per cent of seats were won by the bourgeois parties:

Immediately after (the election – JZ) the Bolsheviks took measures . . . to soften their political defeat. At the end of November 1917 Sovnarkom approved the decree denouncing the Cadet party as the “party of the enemies of the people”. By doing this it negated the mandates of this influential party...The arrests of the prominent Cadets followed. Earlier on, the decree of 27 October closed the press “which was poisoning

the minds and which brought confusion in the conscience of the masses” (some 150 prominent oppositional newspapers and magazines were closed).

The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, held on 5 January 1918, was chaired by V. Chernov, leader of the right faction of the Socialist Revolutionaries. He was elected by the majority of deputies. Delegates refused to ratify the VtsIK Declaration of the workers rights, which would sanction the October coup and Soviet decrees that had been issued. Many had left the meeting and there was no quorum:

Even though the Constituent Assembly had no quorum it approved the draft resolutions, which were read in a hurry by V. Chernov . . . On 6 January, the VTsIK decree dissolved the Constituent Assembly, accusing it of ‘non-compromising attitude towards the tasks of the creation of socialism’

The Civil War is now described as the struggle between the ‘two evils’—the Reds and the Whites, which resulted in the death of 8 million people, who perished as a result of famine, the Red Terror, or were killed on the battlefields:

For Russia the Civil War became the greatest tragedy. The damage done to the economy was in excess of 50 billion gold roubles. In 1920 the industrial output was seven times less than it was in 1913 . . . (p. 165).

One of the questions students are asked is: “In your opinion, of the ‘two evils’—the Whites and the Reds, why did the majority of the population of the former Russian empire choose the latter? ‘Was there such a real choice’, the textbooks authors ask? It may have been, the authors suggest, that the ‘multimillion mass of peasantry was in the state of complete indifference towards the Reds and the Whites and was unable to organise the opposition against one or the other’. This is an attempt to re-think the role of the masses during the Civil War and to suggest that the victorious Bolshevik army (which grew from 300,000 in 1917 to 5.5 million in 1920) was not necessarily representative of the masses.

New is also the inclusion of documents describing the political ideals and manifestoes of the Whites. In the section ‘The ideology of the White movement’, students learn, for the first time in history, about the Whites and their slogan ‘*Za edinuiu i nedelimiuiu Rossiuu*’ (For the united and singular Russia), a slogan that is more applicable today in the post-Soviet Russia (p. 156).

The collapse of the USSR is described in less than 3 pages. The students discover that during the first ever referendum held in the USSR in March 1991, 76.4% still voted for the ‘preservation of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics as a regenerated federation of equal and sovereign republics’ (p. 320). But on 8 December 1991, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia (B. Eltsin, L. Kravchuk, and S. Shushkevitch) ‘announced the dissolution of the USSR and the creation of the *Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv* (SNG)’. Gorbachev was outmanoeuvred and displaced. On 25 December, M. Gorbachev, now defacto leader, resigns from the post of the President of the USSR (p. 323).

### 6.2 Grade 9 history textbook

Similar events are covered in the new core history textbook for Grade 9 (fifteen year olds) but with less depth and detail. They are introduced to a more critical approach to the history of major events through us of the technique of inviting them to offer other possible scenarios to the course and outcomes of events. In their newest 2001 edition of *Istoriia Rossii* (History of Russia, the seventh edition) – the latest core history textbook for Grade 9 (recommended by the Ministry of Education), which is one of the key school texts, with the print run of 200,000 copies, Russian 15 year-olds learn about the ‘Silver Age of the Russian Culture’ (pp. 72-81), ‘Russia in Search of Perspectives’ (part 2), ‘Stalinist Modernisation of Russia’ (part 3), the history of the Soviet Union between 1939-1991, the *perestroika* years of 1985-1991, and ‘The New Russia: 1991-1998’ (pp. 322-336). The text focuses on the twentieth century Russia (1900-1998).

The events of February and October 1917 are described on pp. 82-91. The October Revolution of 1917 is described in less than two pages. Fifteen-year-olds now learn that the tsar Nicholas II had ‘missed his last chance’ of transforming the ‘revolution begun from “below” into a less painful for the country revolution from “above”. Instead, he issues a decree on dissolution of the Duma, thus depriving the liberal movement of any hope of the transition to a constitutional monarchy (p. 82).

In the section ‘The Bolsheviks seize power’ (pp 89-91), (part 2, ‘Russia in Search of Perspectives – 1917-1927’) the students learn of the true role of Lev Trotsky (Lev Davidovich Bronstein—the textbook also contains a brief bio on pp. 89-90), who, as an elected chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in October 1917 and the chairman of the Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee, played a critical role in taking over the power and arresting the Provisional Government, located in the Winter Palace:

L. D. Trotsky is elected the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet...On 12 October 1917 the Revolutionary-Military Committee (*Voенно-revolutsionny komitet*, or VRK) is created within the Petrograd Soviet...In reality, Trotsky was in charge of VRK...On 24 October the armed detachments of the Red Guard and the revolutionary soldiers of Petrograd began to seize bridges, post office, telegraph and railway stations. No one opposed them in the slightest...A slow delay occurred during the seizure of the Winter Palace, which was defended by a Junker (cadets) detachment and a volunteer women’s battalion...Kerensky, prior to the storming of the Winter Palace, left for the front. The remaining members of government were arrested. The total losses during the “armed uprising” consisted of six dead (p. 90).

One of the questions at the end of the chapter is: In your opinion, what variants of possible scenarios were possible after February 1917? This question already demonstrates a more critical and reflective approach to teaching history in schools.

The section ‘The Red Terror’ (*Krasny terror*), in less than a page, describes the September 1918 decree, following the assassination of M. Uritski, the Chairman of the Petrograd Extraordinary Committee (the forerunner of the NKVD), which resulted in the execution of 500 hostages (p. 115). Trotsky’s role is described as follows:

In the armoured train where Trotsky travelled across the various fronts there was working the military-revolutionary tribunal with unlimited powers...The first concentration camps were created . . . (p. 115).

In yet another section 'The Liquidation of the Romanovs is now described as one of the most 'evil' chapters of the "Red Terror" – the extermination of the former tsar's immediate family and other members of the Imperial family:

On 16 July, evidently by the order from the Sovnarkom, the Ural regional Soviet had decided to execute Nikolai Romanov and his entire family. During the night of 17 July . . . a bloody tragedy occurred. Nikolai, together his wife, his five children and servants were executed (p. 115).

The chapter fails to mention that Yeltsin, who was the party boss of the city of Sverdlovsk during the 1980s, and a hard-line communist, did everything to destroy every trace of the house where the Royal family was executed.

What is new is the inclusion of documents (which, for political reasons, were not available before) brief bios and photographs of prominent leaders, like G. Lvov, L. Trotsky, M. Alekseev, A. Kolchak, A. Denikin, P. Vranghel, and M. Tukhachevsky, seen for the first time ever after a seventy year period of 'air brushing.' The author during his schooling in the USSR never saw these photos.

In the 'Political System of Stalinism (chapter 26), Russian 15 year-olds learn about the excesses of totalitarianism, which is defined and explained in great deal, especially the notion that the political system of the USSR was a 'unique form of totalitarianism' during the 1930s, when the Party constituted the 'nucleus of the totalitarian system' (pp. 169-170). In the section 'Repressions' (less than 2 pages) students learn that the entire leadership group of Lenin's faction – Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin (the 'Party's favourite'), and later Trotsky (who was murdered in Mexico) were executed:

During the early 1930s the final political trials were held and the accused were the former opponents of the Bolsheviks . . . Most of them were either shot or sent to prison and concentration camps (p. 172).

According to 'official sources', between 1930-1953, some 3,778,234 individuals were accused of 'counter-revolutionary' and 'anti-government' activities and were sentenced, including 786, 098 who were executed (p. 173). The students now learn the 'cult of Stalin' began in earnest in 1929, which coincided with Stalin's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary:

All the newspapers, for the first time, published Stalin's photos and numerous articles. Stalin is cited as the 'leader of the global proletariat' . . . Stalin's deification continues. The 270-page pamphlet *Comrade Stalin* appeared...There were 700 greetings, and 'shouting' slogans: 'To the Leader of the World's Revolution' . . . The Organiser of the Victories of the Red Army' . . . It seems that comrade Stalin is higher than Lenin, and above the entire Party...Where is the humility demanded by Lenin? (from the *Diaries* of A. Sokolov, pp. 174-5).

World War 2 (Part 4: The Soviet Union during the World War Two) is described as a tragedy, which cost 27 million lives (including 10 million killed in the Armed Forces). Zhukov was appointed Deputy Commander-in-Chief in August 1942 (Stalin's number 2 man). He is still regarded as a great military leader, who 'saved'

the country. What the students are not told that there were many other great commanders, who together contributed to the defeat of Germany: “In the people’s memory, G. Zhukov has remained as the Victory Marshal, the Great Russian leader, who had saved the Fatherland from the enemy’s enslavement” (p. 206).

One of the documents included is a fragment of Stalin’s speech of May 1945, delivered at the reception of the Red Army officers. It refers to government’s earlier mistakes during the conduct of the war and the incredible heroism of the Russian people (other minorities are not mentioned) in defeating the enemy. Stalin concludes his speech with these emotional words: “Thank you, the Russian people, for your trust (in the Soviet government)” (p. 240).

During the early 1990s there were two attempts by the opposition to change the course of history. The textbook presents a very incomplete and sketchy picture of 19<sup>th</sup> August 1991, an attempt by the pro-Soviet Union preservation group, which included Vice-President Yanaev, and the Minister of Defence Yazov to stop the transformation of the USSR into a federation of autonomous republics. Gorbachev was still hoping to sign a new agreement at the August meeting ratifying the new federal structure of the Soviet Union:

In the absence of Gorbachev (on holidays in the Crimea—JZ), on the night of 19<sup>th</sup> August 1991 the State Committee for Extraordinary Situation (Gosudarstvennyi komitet po chrezvychainomu polozheniiu, or GKCHP) was formed...They introduced in some regions the ‘extraordinary regime’, dissolved the government structures that acted contrary to the 1977 Constitution, closed the activities of oppositional parties and movements, meeting and demonstrations were strictly forbidden, established the total control over the mass media, and ordered the Army to enter Moscow . . . (p. 306).

The students are told that due to Yeltsin’s role in organising a rally, which surrounded the White House, in order to defend the government, the Putsch was crushed, and soon as President Gorbachev returned to Moscow, the leaders of the GKCHP were arrested. Gorbachev was forced to create a new union – *Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv* (SNG): “Initially, the union united 11 former union republics (without Georgia and the Baltic states). In December 1991 President Gorbachev resigns. The USSR had ceased to exist” (p. 307).

The above is a small fragment of the power struggle that went on in 1991, involving Gorbachev, who was elected to the new post of President of the USSR in March 1990, and Yeltsin, President of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics – now Russian Federation).

The other event, mentioned briefly in the history textbook, refers to a mini uprising of 2-4 October, staged by members of the Upper House, who opposed Yeltsin’s autocratic presidential rule. Yeltsin decided to dismiss the entire government – the House of Representatives (People’s Deputies) and the Upper House (*Verkhovny Soviet*). Both the Speaker of the Upper House Khasbulatov and Vice-President Rutskoy led the parliamentary revolt against the Presidential *ukaz* (decree):

The Speaker (of the Upper House) Khasbulatov, and the majority members of the Constitutional Court declared the President’s actions unconstitutional and relieved him of his duties. Vice-President Rutskoi assumed the office of President and commenced

the formation of the parallel government . . . President Eltsin issued his ultimatum (to the opposition) to leave the 'White House' before 4 October . . .

On October 4, the 'White House' was subjected to artillery bombardment, which resulted in catastrophic fire and the deaths of people. In the end the building was occupied by the army and the leaders of the opposition were arrested (p. 331).

What the students are not told is that this incident was far more serious than we are led to believe. Yeltsin's style of leadership, which became increasingly undemocratic, autocratic and totalitarian, was, unsuccessfully contested by his own government—in the opposition. More people were killed during the October 1993 'crisis' than during the storming of the Winter Palace back in 1917. This event became another form of 'characteristic amnesia'. By the end of 1999, Yeltsin retires from his office and appoints his Prime Minister Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, his protegee, as a caretaker President. In March 2000 Putin was elected President of Russia. No mention is made of the strings of Prime Ministers and other members of the Cabinet that Yeltsin kept appointing and firing. In short, this is a very uncritical and incomplete account of the events.

## 7. HEGEMONY AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

The manipulation of ideas and identity that occurred in the USSR since the 1920s, but especially during World War II in the Soviet Union, constitutes an experiment in social engineering that later became known as "cultural reproduction." Starting with Marx and Engels' (1965) famous dictum that "[the] ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (p. 61), the reproduction theorists of the 1960s and the 1970s in the West examined hegemony as the process of achieving consent to a dominant ideology in society (for example, Apple, 1979; Aronowitz, 1973; Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1977; Livingstone, 1976; Willis, 1977). More specifically, they analyzed patterns of reproduction with reference to dominant values, cultural capital, norms, and attitudes transmitted by the institutions Gramsci (1971) referred to as "civil society" – particularly schools. Because of their bourgeois origins, cultural reproduction theories were not taken seriously by Soviet sociologists (officially there were no social classes or class antagonisms in the egalitarian Soviet society), who in particular rejected the view that cultural reproduction integrated with social reproduction — that is, with the perpetuation of economic inequality.

The concept of cultural reproduction is, however, relevant to our analysis of school history textbooks. Central to the process of rewriting history is the notion of ideological repositioning – which involves the interplay of socialisation, the hidden curriculum, and school or curricular knowledge in the production (or reproduction) of "legitimate culture" (see, for example, Apple, 1979). The questions for us, then, become: What ideological repositioning are history textbooks in post-communist Russia facilitating? More specifically, what culture are these texts producing or reproducing as legitimate, and how?

#### 8. A NEW RUSSIAN IDENTITY

In some ways, Russia's post-communist transitional period has been more difficult than in other Central and Eastern European countries because it lacked that unifying surge of social solidarity and patriotism that accompanied the sense of freedom from the Soviet Union's dominance. In other Central and Eastern European states, the sense of a battle for self-determination having been fought and won buoyed public consciousness in difficult times. For Russia, however, change meant only economic chaos, poverty, loss of international status and influence, blame and guilt for the repressions of communism, and a moral and political vacuum. Thus, in the transitional period, a search for historical models for the new nation's identity became imperative. Now, instead of interpreting history through the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the writers of Russia's new school history textbooks had to disclaim the Soviet narrative of identity (post-communist texts are in general very critical of Stalin and the Soviet past, for instance). More importantly, they had to embark on a process of "rediscovery" of what it means to be Russian. What sources would be found for the nation's new identity?

Nation builders rarely make new myths. Rather, they mine the past for suitable heroes and symbols. Just as Lenin (and later Stalin during 1941) resorted to borrowing religious symbols and myths from the Russian Orthodox Church and giving them a socialist interpretation to attract peasants (Tumarkin, 1983) and Stalin reopened the churches during the darkest days of World War II in order to boost morale, so too did Russia's immediate post-communist leaders and intellectuals turn to Russia's cultural past in an effort to redefine national identity.

In their Grade 8 textbook, *Istoriia Otechestva* (History of the Fatherland), of which 2.6 million copies were circulated, Russian 14 year-olds examine maps and charts to learn about the contributions made by both the Romanov and the Rurik imperial dynasties to the growth of Russia's territory (Rybakov & Preobrazhenskii, 1993). *Istoriia Otechestva* also devotes much space to Peter the Great and his major social and economic reforms (Rybakov & Preobrazhenskii, 1993). Although the students learn that under Peter tsarist rule became absolute, he is portrayed as a great builder of symbolic power. His innovation was the design of the Imperial Coat of Arms, the now-renowned two-headed eagle symbol that was resurrected after the fall of the familiar hammer and sickle in 1991 to decorate official Russian documents and the new parliament house. They also learn about his great administrative and modernising contributions to Russia's strength as a European naval and military power. His contribution in building St. Petersburg is described, but a significant omission is any reference to the means he used. In fact, Peter's use of the forced labour of tens of thousands of serfs was not unlike Stalin's use of forced labour—in the latter's case, of tens of thousands of political prisoners—in the great projects of the 1930s.

Reliance on this particular historical figure in the search for national identity had further developed by 1995 when the textbook treatment of Peter the Great grew almost to the point of cult-fostering proportions. In the 1995 prescribed history textbook for 10<sup>th</sup> grade, *Istoriia Rossii, Konets XVII-XIX Vek* (History of Russia, 17<sup>th</sup>



to the 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries), students learn that Peter the Great's reforms were so significant that they mark a watershed in Russian cultural history, with Russia's past being divided into pre-Petrian and post-Petrian periods. In fact, according to Kliuchevski, a famous 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian historian cited in the text, "the whole methodology of our history [is] based on the evaluation of the reforms of Peter the Great." Further, for Soloviev, another major historian cited in the history textbook, Peter was a "revolutionary on the throne," and the changes he initiated in Russia constituted "revolution from above" (Buganov & Zyrianov, 1995, p. 4; all translations from Russian language documents are the authors).

A post-communist revival of Eurasianism, which stresses Russia's distinctive mission as a nation leading the Turkic peoples (see Paramonov, 1996), also surfaces in the contemporary search for the sources of national identity. An example emerges in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade textbook *Istoriia Rossii* (History of Russia) (Sakharov & Buganov, 1995). In this text's all-important method-defining introductory chapter, 16-year-old readers are told that "Russia is regarded as the only Eurasian country in the world" (Sakharov & Buganov, 1995, p. 8). Russia's distinctive mission in interpreting and translating between the cultures of East and West is emphasized by the authors, who note that Russia is "a distinctive world bridge where two global civilisations meet – Europe and Asia—and [where] their active interaction is realised" (Sakharov & Buganov, 1995, p. 8). To ensure that the readers do not miss this point, the questions at the end of the introductory chapter include the following: "Russia is a Eurasian nation. Explain what this means. What effects has this Eurasian identity had on Russia's history?" (Sakharov & Buganov, 1995, p. 14).

#### 9. A NEW HISTORICAL CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

While the new history texts mine Russia's and the Soviet Union's past for models for post-communist identity, they also seek to instill in students a critical consciousness regarding historical events. The 1993 syllabus *Planirovanie Prepodavaniia Istorii* (Planning of Teaching History), for example, contains detailed course and lesson plans for 5<sup>th</sup> through 11<sup>th</sup> grades (Zakharova, Starobinskaia, & Fadeeva, 1993). The 10<sup>th</sup> grade course "World History and the History of the Fatherland" covers events between 1917 and 1920. Lessons 63-77 (on the creation of the Soviet State) have the following topics: "The Soviets – People Power or Totalitarianism?," "October 1917 – Revolution or Counterrevolution?," and "A Step Towards Progress or Reaction." An 11<sup>th</sup> grade course discusses more recent history. Lesson topics include: "The Essence of 'Perestroika,'" "The Collapse of the USSR – A Necessity or Accident?," "The Causes and Outcomes of the Collapse of the USSR," "The Russian Constitution: Presidential or Parliamentary Model of the Republic," "Political Parties and Factions," and "The Need for a Spiritual Renewal of Society." These topics indicate that both teachers and students are meant to develop a more informed and critical understanding of Soviet and Russian history.

Further examples of these critical expectations for students are found in *Uchebnye Materialy k Teme: Velikaia Otechestvennaia Voina Sovetskogo Soiuza*

(1941-1945) (Teaching Material for the Theme: The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-1945). This particular manual for teachers, published by the Russian Academy of Education, is a collection of documents and other primary sources (some never published before due to their “highly secret” classification) covering the World War II period (Gevurkova & Koloskov, 1993). In one of the secret protocols, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade history students read:

1. Germany withdraws its claims to the parts of Latvia, mentioned in the Secret Supplementary Treaty of 28 September 1939.
  2. The Soviet Government agrees to compensate Germany for the territory depicted in the protocol by paying Germany the sum of U.S. 7.5 million gold dollars, equivalent to 31.5 million German marks. (Gevurkova & Koloskov, 1993, p. 14)
- Another document (labeled “Strictly Secret: Must be Returned”) deals with the 1940 execution of some 21,857 Polish prisoners in Katyn and other parts of the Soviet Union by the NKVD (Narodny Kommisariat Vnutrennykh Del, the Soviet secret police). The largest mass grave was in the Ostashkovski camp (Kaliningrad region), where 6,311 prisoners were executed. The official Soviet version that circulated at that time implicated Germany in the executions. In 1956, Khrushchev was advised to destroy all documents related to this event. The students’ questions on this topic include:

1. Based on facts detailed in documents, formulate your own opinion [on the execution of Polish prisoners of war].
2. Why do you think these documents were secret for such a long time?
3. When was the question of the Katyn issue first mentioned? (Gevurkova & Koloskov, 1993, p. 32)

On the basis of secret documents from Moscow’s Military Commandant, students study the panic and despair that swept Moscow in October 1941, as the German army was approaching the capital. Tens of thousand of citizens fled Moscow. On 1 October, orders went out to evacuate the government to the city of Kuibyshev, some 800 kilometres to the east. Lenin’s embalmed body was transported to Tiumen. Stalin ordered that all archives and art treasures, together with his own library and his family, were to be evacuated. His papers were sent ahead to Kuibyshev, and his personal train and a fleet of aircraft stood by (Overy, 1999). Panic gripped the city. Theft and robberies were the norm, and empty shops, apartments, and offices were looted. Over one million roubles were stolen from state enterprises by fleeing managers and workers. As one observer recalled, “The general mood was appalling” (cited by Overy, 1999: 97). Ultimately, however, Stalin decided not to evacuate. On 17 October, he went to his dacha, which had already been mined by the NKVD. He had the mines cleared, and he directed the NKVD to restore order and to shoot looters and *panikiory* (panic merchants).<sup>ii</sup>

Information about the 1941 panic, particularly that plans were made to evacuate the government, was not available prior to 1991. Contemporary Russian students are asked to answer the following questions about this period of Soviet history:

1. What kind of concrete-historical situations are depicted in these documents?

2. How do they correspond to the official propaganda that existed in the country during the pre-war years?
3. Why did these facts become available only recently? (Gevurkova & Koloskov, 1993, pp. 67-68)

The critical consciousness that the new history texts intended for students emerges perhaps most clearly in the foreword of *Istoriia Otechestva 1939-1991* (History of the Fatherland 1939-1991). Accentuating pluralism, tolerance, patience, and a romantic, quasi-humanistic perception of history, the author advises students to consider the complex and contradictory past of the nation during its past decades:

Today the events of those years have become the subject of sharp, at times angry disputes. In our history we have [witnessed both the] heroism and tragedy of the Soviet people, their hopes and disappointments. . . . We hope that you, having learned new facts and opinions and either agreeing or disagreeing with us, will find it necessary to work out your own viewpoints. In this [pursuit], other books, periodicals and newspapers, TV, and radio will help you. Remember, many of those who lived during those years [and] who have created history are still around you. Ask them. (Ostrovskii, 1992, p. 4)

In this “advanced organiser,” pupils are being taught the complexity of historical events and the plurality of perspectives and approaches involved in the study of history. In suggesting that they develop their own “viewpoints,” the text encourages students to approach history critically.

Similar approach to a critical analysis of historical phenomena is found in the foreword of *Rossia v XX veke* (Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, fifth edition) of the latest Grades 10-11 history school textbook:

You will have the opportunity to encounter contradictory viewpoints concerning the same facts, events and phenomena. We hope that you yourselves will attempt to formulate your own viewpoint, either agreeing or disagreeing with the textbook’s authors and other historians. The textbook’s methodology is directed to such an approach to the study of Russian history (Levandovsky & Shchetinov, 2001, p. 4).

In another textbook, *Istoriia Otechestva 1900-1940* (History of the Fatherland), a popular Grade 10 school textbook, the authors advocate the discursive analysis of history, focussing on the analysis of the theme of ‘progress’ and a new multi-paradigm approach to the study of history:

We have attempted to depict the specifics of history as a humanistic discipline to be viewed through a personal perspective. For this reason there is no need to be afraid of incorrect answers. . . . Questions are designed for discussions during lessons and do not require the singular ‘correct’ answer. It is not the answer to the question that is important but rather the importance of the question that leads you into other questions and reflection (Mishina & Zharova, 1999, p. 3).

There is also an attempt to teach feeling and emotions, and the love of one’s country in the study of history in school textbooks. This is clearly defined in the foreword of the newest Grades 6-7 textbook *Istoriia Otechestva* (History of the Fatherland, seventh edition), of which 200, 000 were circulated. Here, Russia’s 12 year-olds study narratives, maps and charts to learn about the greatness of the Russian state and its imperial past:

Knowing the history of one’s *Rodina* (Motherland) is important for every human being. History is correctly called the people’s memory and the teacher of life. . . . The most

important thing in the study of history of one's Motherland – is learning to love her. To love the Fatherland means to love the country, the geographic space where a person was born. To love the Fatherland means loving one's people, norms, customs, culture and native tongue.

... You need to be able to answer the question: Why this even occurred? Only when you can answer such a question will you be able to *understand history* . . . Understanding history will enable you to understand how it influences our cotemporary life (Preobrazhenski & Rybakov, 2001, pp. 5-6).

#### 10. THE POST-SOVIET HISTORY NARRATIVE

The reinterpretation of Soviet history has become part of the struggle among various strata of the post-communist elite in Russia. The new democrats like Yeltsin of the 1990s tended to portray the communist regime of Lenin and Stalin as a tragedy never to be repeated. The new humanist-communists like Ziuganov, on the other hand, have nostalgia for the past, for the old golden era of the Soviet Union as a superpower brimming with social and economic stability and security, and for the moral purity of the communist regime in relation to the contemporary world of bourgeois individualism and capital.

This struggle over the past emerges also in history classrooms in Russia, where students are presented with models for a new Russian identity ranging from Peter the Great, to Nicholas II, to Trotsky. To use the terms introduced earlier in this chapter, rewriting history in post-communist Russia involves an ideological repositioning and a redefinition of legitimate culture. Judging by the models chosen for the new Russian identity and the way they are presented in post-communist history textbooks, we suggest that this legitimate culture links with Russian heritage, tradition, and patriotism. More specifically, legitimate culture derives largely from – and thereby established continuity with – pre-Soviet Russian history.

But students in new Russian history classrooms are not simply being presented with historical models to inform their contemporary identities. In fact, through the structure of the curriculum, they are being invited to adopt a critical consciousness about history by looking at events from multiple perspectives. What this seems to reflect is the loss of the grand narrative privileged during the Soviet Union—from a single or orthodox version of history, to an historical perspective characterised by plurality and heterodoxy. In a recent article, Suppes, Eisner, Stanley, and Greene (1998) speak directly to this issue. Endorsing an “openness to the visions of human possibility” in education, they argue for a greater role for imagination and metaphorical thinking in classrooms. “It is time to break through old dichotomies,” they conclude, “time to acknowledge the ‘blurring of the disciplines’ and the role of richly multiple ‘realities’ (Suppes, Eisner, Stanley, & Greene, 1998, p. 35).

## 11. EVALUATION

In evaluating the new versions of Russia's post-communist history taught in schools, especially the interpretation of social and political change, significant events (looking for possible new biases and omissions), leadership (the contribution of key individuals), and continuities, as demonstrated by the above, we can draw the following tentative conclusions:

1. The notion of '*continuities*' or how people in the past tried to preserve social, cultural, and economic aspects of the society, especially between 1917 and 1945, especially the importance of cultural heritage, and traditional values (e.g., religious revival during World War II and since the 1990s) occupies a very important place in post-Soviet history texts.
2. *Leadership*, or the contribution of key individuals in politics, war and the arts continues to be a significant theme in all history texts. Students now have a greater access to primary sources, particularly documents, which are used during classroom discussion of the events, and key leaders.
3. *Change*, especially political, economic and social transformations, and the impact of change on people's lives is also addressed. The text and other material used in schools attempt to compare different perspectives about a significant event, or a key participant.
4. *New Ideology*, or the transformation from communism to democracy, and the impact of political events on people, their values and attitudes is also given a far greater prominence. The notions of patriotism and nationalism, as before, continue to occupy a central part in the new post-Soviet consciousness.
5. *Ideological Reproduction*, or an ideological re-positioning of post-Soviet representation of the historical narrative with the emphasis on cultural heritage, tradition, and patriotism is an attempt to create a new hegemonic synthesis, and a new form of the control of meaning through Foucauldian 'discipline' and the 'regime of truth'. The new ruling class, as Marx had predicted in *The German Ideology*, has given its ideas the form of universality, and authenticity.

Since 1992, the Russian society has experienced a painful and disruptive transition from Soviet Marxist-Leninist hegemony to pluralist democracy. The nostalgia for the 'Great Power mania' and the feeling of belonging to 'great-Russians' that existed before the collapse of the USSR is still 'very much alive' (Bogolubov, et al., 1999, p.525).

In some ways, Russia's post-Soviet transitional period has been more difficult than in other Central and Eastern European countries because it lacked that unifying surge of social solidarity and patriotism that accompanied the sense of freedom from the Soviet Union's dominance. In other Central and Eastern European states, the sense of a battle for self-determination having been fought and won buoyed public consciousness in difficult times.

For Russia, however, change meant only economic chaos, poverty, loss of international status and influence, blame and guilt for the repressions of communism, and a moral and political vacuum. Thus, in the transitional period, a search for historical models for the new nation's identity became imperative. Now, instead of interpreting history through the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology,

the writers of Russia's new school history textbooks had to disclaim the Soviet narrative of identity (post-Soviet texts are in general very critical of Stalin and the Soviet past, for instance). More importantly, they had to embark on a process of "rediscovery" of what it means to be Russian.

## 12. CONCLUSION

In general, school history textbooks continue to emphasise the historical greatness of the Russian State. Added to this nostalgia for the past is the new concern for teaching the concepts of participatory democracy (never experienced by the ex-Soviet citizens), national identity (Russia has not yet become a 'real nation state'), active citizenship, and patriotism (Bogolubov, et al., 1999, p. 532).

The new history school textbooks attempt, in their limited ways, to address some of these issues. Much of the archival and statistical data are still not available. Very limited time has been made available to the study of history in schools. Given this, evaluation of the past events and leaders (the October Revolution, wars, Lenin, and Stalin) in schools has been somewhat uninformed, biased and superficial. However, there is a tendency, as demonstrated by our discourse analysis, to present different views, and different interpretations of the events.

Given that the students are exposed to so many heroes and role models – from Aleksandr Nevsky to Putin, which values are they to internalise on their journey of discovering democracy and citizenship in the Russian Federation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? Russia is not alone in discovering the current post-Soviet absence of a sense of cohesion or a sense of belonging to the civic culture. Similar discoveries have been made in other societies (Torney-Putra, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999, p. 14).

An unresolved tension is found in the problem of both achieving a synthesis between the Western and Russian reform in the government-dictated quest for modernity and democracy and the imperative to define elements, which are uniquely Russian and contribute to a new and authentic Russian national identity. As illustrated above, the source of "Russianness" is usually sought in the pre-communist past, so the Russians find themselves in the paradoxical position of trying to embrace both tradition and modernity. More specifically, Russian history textbooks, apart from repositioning the taken-for-granted assumptions about the everyday world that affect every level of education and society, will need to address significant, yet unresolved historical dilemmas concerning the reification of power, domination, and control in contemporary Russia and the effects this reification has in terms of the growing inequality in society.

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**Table 1.** The Structure of the Secondary School History Curriculum 2001

Grade	Hour per week/ per year	Hour	
		First half year	Second half year
5	3/102	Rasskazy po narodnoi istorii (Stories about the history of our land) 51 hours	Istoriia drevnego mira (Ancient history) 51 hours
6	3/102	Istoriia drevnego mira (Ancient history) 51 hours	Istoria srednikh vekov (History of the Middle Ages) 51 hours
7	3/102	Istoria srednikh vekov (History of the Middle Ages) 51 hours	Istoriia otechestva s drevneishikh vremion do kontsa XVIII veka (History of the Fatherland from the Antiquity to the end of XVIII century, 51 hours
8	3/102	Istoriia otechestva s drevneishikh vremion do kontsa XVIII veka (History of the Fatherland from the Antiquity to the end of XVIII century), 51 hours	Novaia istoriia: 1640-1870 (Modern History), 35 hours
9	5/170	Novaia istoriia: 1640-1870	Istoriia otechestva XIX v.



Grade	Hour per week/ per year	Hour	
		First half year	Second half year
		(Modern History), 37 hours The Law and the Student, 35 hours Istoriia otechestva XIX v. (History of the Fatherland: 19th century), 13 hours	(History of the Fatherland: 19th century, (43 hours) Istoriia otechestva: konets XIX-nac. XX veka (History of the Fatherland: the end of 19th century-beginning of 20th century), 29 hours Novaia istoriia: 1898-1918 (Modern History), 33 hours
10	4/138	Noveishaia Istoriia. Mir v nachale XX v. (Modern History: the beginnings of the 20th Century), 34 hours Istoriia otechestva: pervaiia pol. XX v. (History of the Fatherland; first half of the 20th Century), 35 hours	Istoriia Otechestva do 1945 goda (History of the Fatherland up to 1945), 36 hours Noveishaia istoriia: 1918-1945 (Modern History: 1918-1945), 33 hours
11	5, 170	Istoriia Otechestva: 1945-1990 (History of the Fatherland), Noveishaia istoriia: 1945-1990 (Modern History) 52 hours, Obshchstvoznanie (Civics), 34 hours	Istoriia Otechestva: 1945-1990 (History of the Fatherland), Noveishaia istoriia: 1945-1990 (Modern History), 50 hours, Obshchstvoznanie (Civics), 34 hours

<sup>i</sup> This chapter draws on ethnographic research conducted by the authors over the course of the last 10 years. One of the authors, Joseph Zajda, experienced not the usual “one world of childhood” described in Bronfenbrenner’s (1971) Cold War-inspired *Two World’s of Childhood*, but three quite different school environments: the first in the Soviet Union until he was 12; the second in Poland as a young teenager; and the third in Australia, where he finished his schooling. As a former Soviet school child and Pioneer and later as an Australian teacher, he was accepted as a researcher by Russian teachers as “one of us.” A large reservoir of shared experience and memories between him and the Russian teachers facilitated this ethnographic research.

<sup>ii</sup> Vinogradov, V. (1996). *Modern and Newest History*, 5 (in Russian).

<sup>iii</sup> The atmosphere of absolute panic and disorder in Moscow during those difficult days was captured vividly by war correspondent Konstantin Simonov in his novel *Zhivye i Mertvye (The Living and the Dead)* (1960).

JOHN POLESEL

## CHANGE AND THE “LAPSED REFORMS”: SENIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ITALY

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A growing inability to satisfy labour market demand for trained technical workers (Capecchi, 1993), continuing inequality in access to different sites within the senior secondary curriculum (Cobalti & Schizzerotto, 1993) and persistent weaknesses in the interface between secondary and tertiary education (Capano, 2002, Secchi, 2003) have long pointed to the need for major reform of senior secondary schooling in Italy.

Longstanding attempts to reform this system have focussed on the need for a modern and comprehensive secondary school sector to cater for the needs of the economy and of the new populations entering secondary schooling since the creation of the *scuola media unica* (common junior secondary school) in 1962. However, attempts to reform the system have been largely thwarted by an inflexible centralised bureaucracy, by political dissent and by legislative paralysis. Added to this, the fragmentation of vocational training (located both in the centrally administered secondary schooling system and in the regionally-based adult training centres) has contributed to an inability to conceptualise and integrate the offerings of the various agencies working in the post-compulsory sphere.

The desire for reform of senior secondary schooling has largely focussed on the need for a comprehensive common system of senior secondary schools (CEDEFOP, 1999; Benadusi, 1989; Merritt & Leonardi, 1981). Italy's tracked approach to post-compulsory schooling is one, which is common in European settings and in many others around the world, but in Italy the extent of specialisation and differentiation approaches the extreme. This is true even if we ignore the largely compensatory role played by the regions in vocational training. Students move from junior secondary schooling (*scuola media unica*) into a wide range of institutional settings, in which various curricular options are offered, depending on the pathway chosen. Within this approach, vocational education and training play a crucial role, with the training for many occupations embedded in senior secondary schools rather than in the tertiary education sector.

Issues regarding the nature of secondary schooling, the role of vocational education and training in schools, and the relationship between academic and vocational learning in schools are of sharp relevance to most modern industrial societies and, indeed, to many emerging economies. Yet contemporary debates focus almost exclusively on the English-speaking world (or on the German Dual System). Germany has been the subject of much observation (e.g., Keating et al., 2000; Ashton, 1997; Dougherty, 1987; Green & Steedman, 1993 and Streeck, 1997), while post-compulsory education in the UK, the USA and elsewhere has also attracted attention (e.g. Grubb & Stasz; 1992, Steedman, 1999; CEDEFOP, 1999b). The role which schools in these nations should play in the delivery of academic and vocational learning (and the balance they should aim for) has also generated significant and heated debate (e.g. Sweet, 2000; Blunden, 1996; Hickox, 1999; Bagnall, 2000) and the results of all these research efforts are readily available to English-speaking researchers. Italy, however, remains relatively opaque to the outside world.

The focus of this article on Italy is an attempt to redress a deplorable neglect in the literature of the educational system of one of the world's most powerful economies, as evidenced by Italy's G7 membership. This article traces the history of recent attempts to reform and modernise senior secondary schooling in Italy. It presents an argument that important changes have occurred in the way schools see their role, with many technical and vocational schools seeking to broaden their role to include university preparation, despite the absence of major structural reforms to "comprehensivise" the system.

## 2. THE ITALIAN SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The highly differentiated system of secondary schooling which exists in Italy today has a long history, with the Casati legislation of 1861 (the year in which the unified Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed) sanctioning the broad segmentation of secondary schooling into general academic studies on the one hand and technical studies on the other (CEDEFOP, 1999). The Gentile reforms of 1923 further refined this structural approach to secondary schools – an approach which located university-preparatory education in the *licei* and vocational education and training in a range of other secondary schools.

Until as recently as 1962, this form of tracking applied from the end of primary schooling. It was not until the introduction of the *scuola media unica* (common middle school) in 1962 that the common core curriculum was extended beyond the primary school years. These reforms deferred the tracking of secondary students until they had reached 14 years of age, but did not question the principle of "sealed, homogeneous tracks" for students in the post-compulsory years, as Baudelot and Establet (1971) have described such educational structures in the French context.

Since the creation of the three-year *scuola media unica*, the system of senior secondary schooling into which the junior secondary school leads has remained a bewildering and complex array of highly differentiated institutions (*scuole secondarie superiori*). These institutions play a range of specialist roles, preparing

students for university (*liceo classico*, *liceo scientifico*, *liceo linguistico* and *liceo artistico*), or for technical and administrative occupations (*istituti tecnici* and *istituti professionali*). Other *scuole secondarie superiori* include the primary teaching school (*istituto magistrale*) and the applied art school (*istituto d'arte*). These institutions typically operate courses ranging from three years (for clerical and other vocational courses) to five years (for university-preparatory and technical courses).

In the period since the establishment of the *scuola media unica*, many attempts to “comprehensivise” part or whole of the senior secondary cycle have been made, but all have failed. This article argues, however, that significant change has nevertheless occurred, much of it finding expression in *Decreti del Presidente della Repubblica* (DPRs) – administrative decrees which allowed experimentation or localised reforms at particular sites, while leaving the centrally determined structures of educational delivery untouched.

### 3. “LE RIFORME MANCATE”

Predictably, the tracking of senior secondary students in Italy has taken on class and gender dimensions, reinforcing inequalities based on these attributes. Nine in ten students in the *istituti magistrali* (primary teaching) are female, while six in ten students in the technical schools are male (Cobalti and Schizzerotto in Shavit and Blossfeld, 1993). Children of middle class families are more likely to make the transition from junior secondary to senior secondary schooling (Cobalti & Schizzerotto in Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993) and are strongly over-represented in the university-preparatory schools (*licei*) (De Francesco, 1980; Buffoni, 1993). Barbagli (1981) describes this segregation as a means of socialising the proletariat while at the same time barring their access to higher studies. Attempts by legislators over the years to “comprehensivise” or unify the senior secondary schools have sought to redress these inequalities by deferring the social fragmentation which occurred in the existing system for as long as possible and by providing a basis of general, compulsory education for all up to the age of 18 years (Benadusi, 1989).

However, while moves towards “comprehensivisation” of secondary schooling (and more recently back towards social stratification in some cases) in many western countries have been watched with interest in Italy, little change of a similar nature has been implemented. The reform of the schooling cycles (*il riordino dei cicli*) has been fiercely debated for forty years and, while minor legislative adjustments to the system have been made, the extent of real change may be summarised in the epithet given to the process over the years – *le riforme mancate* (the missed reforms). In Italy’s centralist system of political administration, where relatively little responsibility for educational policy making is devolved to the regions, processes of reform have been largely dependent on the ability or inability of the central government to pass legislation and then, following this, to implement it.

However, political turmoil, frequent changes of government and the continuing formation and dissolution of unstable and unlikely coalitions of parties have resulted in virtual paralysis at the level of the legislative process, with legislation failing to

be implemented either because of the impossibility of reaching consensus or because of the abrupt demise of the governing coalition. Similarly, the absence of an independent public service to formulate and implement policy has further contributed to a lack of progress (Jobert, 1997). Benadusi (1989) has described the absence of a capacity for mediation and compromise among the major political parties and the necessity for majority approval in two houses of parliament as the major stumbling blocks to reform. On the latter issue, it should be pointed out that the Italian bicameral system bestows equal power on the two houses of parliament – the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies – thus requiring full support from both rather than support from one and review from the other. The effect, as one commentator has noted, is that “bicameralism becomes little more than a device for delaying the passage of legislation” (Zariski, 1998).

The legislative changes proposed over the years (at least until recently) have varied in degree but not in their essential nature. Following the implementation of the reforms to junior secondary schooling (*scuola media unica*) it became clear that senior schools needed to be modernised to cater for the needs of new populations entering secondary education. In addition, changing economic needs – namely, the requirements of industry for a highly educated and technically proficient workforce – were seen to be ill-served by a system which prepared one small section of the population for university studies and confined vocational education to the school sector (Italy has no tertiary vocational sector of any significance).

Reform, then, focussed on the need to “comprehensivise” or “unify” senior secondary schooling, with the aim of delivering a higher level of general education to all students and deferring specialisation (and vocational training) for as long as possible. In the 1960s, gradualist approaches to legislating for reform, seeking incremental change and experimentation, were attempted. However, early proposals to “comprehensivise” gradually the structure of secondary schooling, beginning with the first two years of the senior cycle only and anticipating more broad-ranging reforms later on, floundered due to legislative instability and party disagreements.

More radical legislation proposed in the early 1970s explicitly sought to devotionalise secondary schooling and to defer vocational qualifications to the tertiary sector, although provision was made for the studies leading to such qualifications to commence during secondary school. However, this law (aiming for no less than a complete unification of senior secondary education) and many similar to it also failed to gain the support of sufficient numbers of parliamentarians (particularly those from the centre and the right-wing parties).

As the process of reform became increasingly politicised (or “hyper-ideologised” as Benadusi (1989) puts it), the likelihood of any reforms being passed became ever less likely. Even proposals of a less radical nature and calling for more gradual reform failed. Repeated attempts to introduce legislation which would open up the process of reform with the comprehensivisation of the first two years of senior secondary schooling (*biennio unico*) floundered on the basis of lack of support from the Communists (*Partito Comunista Italiano – PCI*) who believed the reforms did not go far enough.

Other proposals of a more cautious nature and involving experimentation and research were also put forward. The Biasini Commission in 1971 sought to

implement a plan involving the *biennio unico* in the first two years followed by three experimental models for the final three years – a fully comprehensive system, a two-tracked system and a three-tracked system. Designed to simplify the existing multi-tracked system, this “cautious” approach nevertheless sought to defer a final decision on reform until data could be collected and analysed on the advantages and disadvantages of the three options. Again, the PCI opposed the plan on the grounds that anything less than a single co-ordinated centralist approach to reform would plunge the education system into chaos and betray the subjects of the experiment – the students themselves (Benadusi, 1989).

As time passed, the rigidity of the far left intensified and the PCI came to demand nothing less than a complete and immediate change to a fully comprehensive system. The willingness of the Socialists (*Partito Socialista Italiano* – *PSI*) to negotiate a gradualist or experimental approach became then largely redundant, since this approach (even with the uncertain support of some conservative delegates) failed to achieve majority backing in both houses. Thus proposals for reform, whatever the degree of radicality, consistently failed to make the transition to legislation and implementation.

Teacher unions and other organisations representing teachers (e.g. subject associations) were similarly at odds. As long as significant numbers of teachers sought to preserve the “integrity” of the *licei* in the face of the perceived lowering of standards, which would accompany the introduction of comprehensive schools, a common position on the reforms from the teaching profession would remain as elusive as a common political position.

Other reforms, dealing with access to university and the extension of the role of vocational schools to include the delivery of a five-year university-preparatory education, were also proposed in the late 1960s. Happily, these proposals succeeded, in an era when gradualist approaches were viewed somewhat more sympathetically by the far left and when the gradual movement towards comprehensivisation was regarded as inevitable, if somewhat slow to arrive. It is these reforms which have provided the framework for some of the real change which has occurred in Italian senior secondary schooling and these will be discussed in the following section.

More recently (in 2003), legislation has been passed which proposes to further differentiate vocational and general schooling. While the intention is to fully devolve responsibility for vocational education and training to the regions, while leaving “academic” schooling within the control of the central bureaucracy (in an expanded range of *licei*), the impact this legislation will have on the current structures cannot yet be gauged. It is not clear, for example, whether the *istituti professionali* will now become the responsibility of the regions, with their role confined to the delivery of a vocational qualification. Even more unclear is the future role of the *istituti tecnici*, which have long played a role in delivering both vocational and university-entry qualifications. One interpretation of the legislation is that they may be “upgraded” to the status of *licei tecnici*, a new category of *liceo*. But it is also likely that some aspects of their current curricular activities will be deemed “purely” vocational and removed from their menu of offerings. As a consequence of these reforms, the long and fiercely contested fight to impose a

common curriculum base on the first two years of the senior secondary cycle will become effectively redundant, since it will apply only to the existing and newly-formed *licei*, having no relevance to what will be a more narrowly work-oriented curriculum in the regional vocational centres. The implementation of this reform would coincide with another new development – *l'obbligo formativo*, a period of compulsory training for all persons aged 15-18 years. This development would require all people in the designated age bracket to participate in education or training of some kind, either in schools, in work-based training or in regional training centres.

However, these reforms are still a long way from being implemented and what cannot be stated with any certainty is either their final form or impact. At present, what remains in place is a highly differentiated system of specialist senior schools, each preserving its specialised function and narrowly defined pathway. It has become clear that the raising of the school leaving age and the increasing diversity of users of secondary school are challenges, which require innovative responses and flexible options. This issue is at the heart of the continuing need for broader reforms. Just as the *scuola media unica* brought new populations into the senior secondary schools, so too it is to be hoped that any proposed reforms will encourage more students to remain at school beyond the compulsory years, rather than simply sort them into academic and vocational streams. Cerini (1998) stresses that highly differentiated pathways in separate settings (as represented in the existing system) are not in themselves the answer to this challenge. It is even less likely that the proposed further differentiation of academic and general schooling will provide such answers.

#### 4. REFORM BY STEALTH

Benadusi (1989) argues that the disastrous process of reforming secondary schools failed, in part, due to a rigid view of reform as centrally driven, narrowly conceived (focusing almost exclusively on the structure of the senior secondary cycle) and inflexibly administered, with little scope for on-going evaluation, feedback and improvement (in the action-research sense). Yet, the absence of any formal reform over the years (with the exception of the minor changes which have been noted) does not mean that change did not occur. In fact, the extent of actual reform is illustrative of the manner in which the central actors in education (teachers, communities and the users themselves) have appropriated opportunities within the existing structures to initiate change outside the formal policy constraints of the state.

It is acknowledged in this article that wide-ranging reform cannot be effected without changing the highly segmented secondary school system which exists in Italy. Yet changes very similar to those described by Benadusi (1989) as necessary for implementing effective reform of the senior secondary structures (notably incremental and gradualist ones) have in fact occurred over the years. These have included an increasing willingness on the part of the central bureaucracy to extend to regions and to schools the freedom to introduce “experimental” and minor programs

of reform, by means of the aforementioned decrees (DPRs). While these changes have been slow to happen and have not been universal, they are nevertheless indicative of the willingness of Italian schools to exploit small opportunities to the maximum extent. In some cases, it can be shown that the willingness of students and schools to exploit the possibilities available to them both within the secondary schools and in the regional training framework have had a real effect on the pathways available to senior secondary-aged students. In the context of a highly differentiated senior secondary system, which has remained unchanged for forty years, there are two main developments which have affected the delivery of education and training to young people in Italy.

#### 4.1 *Comprehensivising the senior secondary schools*

The first may be described as “comprehensivisation by stealth”. While the *licei* (*classico, scientifico, linguistico* and *artistico*) have been the traditional providers of a five-year pathway to university, legislation introduced (and successfully passed!) in 1969 allowed students in many of the other providers of senior secondary education to have access to university upon completion of a bridging program (one or two years added on to the vocational program they had completed). Vocational schools have traditionally offered a three-year or four-year program of studies leading to the award of a vocational certificate (in accounting, drafting, etc.) while technical schools offered five-year programs (in technical and trade areas). The 1969 law (*liberalizzazione degli accessi*) allowed them to extend this to a five-year program (or a program with supplementary studies) leading to a technical or vocational *diploma di maturità* which, with regard to access to university, was of equivalent value to the qualification from an academic school. Only the *scuola magistrale* (the early childhood teaching school no longer in existence) and the *istituto d'arte* (applied art school) were excluded from this development.

It is notable, however, that the programs of studies offered in technical and vocational schools (even if we take account of the university-preparatory extension studies) are significantly different from the offerings in an academic *liceo*. In the first two years, for example, the curriculum comprises general studies and practical and laboratory work related to the occupational stream in which the students are enrolled. Although programs vary widely, the principle of delivering the vocational qualification first before allowing students to “upgrade” to general university-oriented studies has been important in their design. As Benadusi (1969) has noted, this constitutes a significant departure from the traditional method of gaining university access, especially in the delivery of a program which has the potential to lead learners from the concrete to the abstract, beginning with the specialised vocational qualification and ending with a more general program of academic studies. This reversal of the long-established acceptance that general studies should always precede more specialised vocational ones is of significance.

From a curricular point of view, it could be argued that this was as crucial a reform as any restructuring of the senior secondary cycle, given its potential to



include new populations in a program of studies allowing access to university. Certainly in the twelve years following this legislation, the proportion of students in senior secondary schooling, expressed as a share of all students in school, rose from 19.1 percent to 26.7 percent (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 1985).

There were also good economic reasons to support this “*quinquennilizzazione*” (extending to five years) of the vocational school program. The previously terminal-track programs of vocational schools were originally designed to provide qualified young people with a direct entry to the labour market. However, the rapid decline in youth employment opportunities, which characterised western economies through the 1980s, particularly in some regional contexts such as the south of Italy, made such a transition a hazardous process. The opportunity to participate in a five-year program provided a real answer to the predicament of young people who were qualified but unable to obtain employment, and furthermore allowed them to qualify for their *maturità* – the school-leaving certificate. In this way, graduates of the vocational schools were able to obtain the same qualification as their peers in the academic *licei*, and thus to qualify for entry to university. Such extension programs became common in all *scuole secondarie superiori* except the kindergarten teacher training institutions, thus extending to most of the senior secondary school system a mandate to prepare young people for university entry. It is notable that current promotional and publicity statements issued by vocational schools emphasise both the vocational qualifications they deliver and the access to university, which they provide.

The significance of these reforms is that they have retained vocational pathways through secondary schooling without removing access to university (as in Germany for example), which is the usual effect of differentiated pathways. The effects of the reform are, however, difficult to assess. On the one hand, they have provided in Italy real access to higher education for groups traditionally under-represented in the transition from school to university and have represented a significant democratisation of the schooling process. It can be shown that participation has increased, although whether this is due to other factors is difficult to ascertain. It can also be shown that the increase in the take-up of general studies fits in with a broader European trend, described as “academic drift” by Green et al. (1999), whereby post-compulsory schooling has become increasingly concerned with providing a university-preparatory qualification (like the *Arbitur* in Germany or the *maturità* in Italy). Giving vocational schools the mandate to deliver such qualifications is a factor likely to have assisted this trend in Italy.

On the other hand, problems are emerging in relation to university selection, and questions remain as to the success of students from the non-academic schools once they arrive at university. Teese (2000) has argued in the Australian context that reforms to secondary education cannot succeed without reference to higher education’s mechanisms of selection and its own pedagogical methods. A notoriously low completion rate for university students is the reality of higher education in Italy. Over-crowded lecture theatres, degraded physical resources, poor access to lecturers and an impersonal, student-hostile approach to teaching and learning have affected the survival rates of all students entering university since the “open-door policy” was introduced – sixty percent do not complete their degree –

but students from vocational schools are affected more savagely than those from the *licei* (Moscati, 2001). Formal access does not always translate into real equality of opportunity. It has also been argued that the absence of selection at the end of senior secondary schooling has been replaced by rigid procedures of selection at the end of the first year at university – procedures designed to fail large numbers of students and to protect academic standards against the decline resulting from the “inadequate cultural background of newcomers to higher education” (Moscati, 2001:103). And increasingly, individual university faculties, overwhelmed by demand, are setting their own entrance examinations or examining means of selecting students other than that embodied by the *Diploma di Maturità* (Secchi, 2003).

The problem is exacerbated by lack of diversity in the tertiary sector. This operates in two ways. Firstly, universities (and the equivalent status polytechnics and university institutes) dominate the tertiary scene. With the exception of a small number of specialised non-university establishments (teaching, for example, fine arts or music) there is no tertiary-level vocational sector. Secondly, universities have until recently largely confined their offerings to the five-year *laurea di dottore* (degree), an intensive and highly specialised program the difficulty of which contributed to its low completion rate. Without diversity of institutions or of programs to accommodate the increasing numbers of university entrants, the capacity of the tertiary sector to cater for them was compromised.

Nevertheless, the scope and impact of these grassroots reforms have been significant and yet are barely acknowledged in official policy circles. Cerini (2002) notes that the recent Bertagna Commission paper on the reform of Italian education fails to acknowledge developments such as these at all, ignoring the real elements of change which have sprung from communities and schools and which have flourished outside the framework of official policy and structures, particularly those reforms made possible by DPRs allowing experimentation at individual sites. Lack of acknowledgment is accompanied, significantly, by lack of consultation on future planning and so the teachers and school communities most experienced in effecting reform in the past are denied a voice in planning it for the future. The recent legislation which seeks to downgrade the status of vocational education and training by removing its potential as an alternative pathway to university and to further isolate the valorised track to university through the *licei* is ample evidence of this.

#### 4.2 *The adult training centres*

The second avenue of reform has been found outside the national schooling system altogether, which, as we have noted, is highly centralist in its policy making and administration. In response to regional calls for greater autonomy, particularly at the interface of vocational training and the labour market, regions were given the autonomy to establish regional adult training centres in 1978. These centres, funded by the *Ministero di Lavoro* (Ministry of Employment) and by the supranational European Social Fund, rather than by the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (Ministry of Education), are given substantial autonomy. Designed for adults, their

mandate has been to respond to regional training and labour market needs and to help redress the substantial disparities in employment opportunities and economic activity between different regions.

Although their role was intended to focus on adults already in the labour market, there has always been a view that their role in preparing post-compulsory aged students should be considered carefully in any debate on the reform of the secondary schools. Indeed, some actors, notably the conservative Christian Democrats and some parts of industry (notably big business), argued that these centres should form a parallel pathway through the post-compulsory years. Legislation formalising this view was never passed, although recent legislative changes could have a similar effect. Yet, in the same way that vocational schools adapted to simulate comprehensive providers, so did the adult centres make significant inroads into the 15-18 year-old territory of post-compulsory schooling. Nearly one in four people attending these regional training centres is an early school leaver (aged 14-18). An important component of their offerings is a selection of entry-level vocational programs designed for clients who have completed no more than the compulsory years of education. It is hardly surprising, then, that these centres have come to play an important role in catering for the diversity of needs of young people. They circumvent the rigidities of a nationally-administered system of schooling and have the potential to forge links with and create pathways to local labour markets.

Again, however, a note of caution is necessary. The success of the centres is highly dependent on external local factors, such as the robustness of the local labour market, the quality of training and the value of the qualifications they accredit (Jobert in Jobert et al., 1997). Regional inequality in Italy has been well-documented and is evidenced in indicators ranging from GDP per capita to unemployment rates (OOPEC, 1999a, OOPEC, 1999b). Why these regional training centres have produced success in the north but not in the south highlights the issue of the north/south divide (Sarchielli et al., 1991) and calls for a closer investigation of the political, social, cultural and economic factors associated with educational outcomes. The extreme variability of these factors, particularly as between the north and the south, raises the need for measures to ensure national standards of delivery and accreditation (but within the context of regional responsiveness). Furthermore, the qualifications delivered by these centres do not approach those offered by the *scuole secondarie superiori* in status, playing as they do a compensatory rather than equivalent role relative to that of the schools. And despite the increasing profile of early leavers among the clientele of these regional centres, they do not yet play a major role in the delivery of services to young people. These centres remain, to date, minor players in terms of their overall size in the educational landscape.

A further problem is that the devolution of responsibility to these regional centres has led to inadequate monitoring of outcomes and a relinquishing of commitments to equity and funding according to need. While a commitment to national goals and outcomes (within the context of nationally accredited senior secondary qualifications) applies to young people attending senior secondary schools, those in the cohort who are attending the regional training centres are excluded from this commitment. The point has been made that these centres operate completely independently from schools and from the tertiary sector (Carpecchi,

1993) and it is evident that there is no integration of objectives or roles, despite obvious overlap between schools and regional training centres in the delivery of vocational education and training.

These concerns are also expressed in the context of the recent legislation to increase the role played by regional training centres and the broader debate between centralists (the traditional left and centre-left parties) who argue for the maintenance of a national curriculum committed to a unified national approach on the one hand and regionalists, such as Umberto Bossi of the *Lega Nord* (the separatist-tending Northern League) who argue for a curriculum tailored to the cultural and economic needs of the specific region it serves. That the argument over regionalism has now moved from the adult training centres (ground long conceded to the regionalists) to include schools themselves is an indication of how quickly new political imperatives can render old policy debates meaningless. It is an indication of how far this debate has come that the European Social Fund and the European Regional Development Fund recently co-financed a program targeting secondary schools in Italy (MIUR, 2002).

## 5. CONCLUSION

In the end, a picture emerges of slow but significant reform at the level of schools, unacknowledged by policy makers and accompanied by policy deadlock in the buildings of the Education Department in Rome. Cerini (2002) speculates that the real reforms Italy has always wanted had perhaps already begun to happen, planned and implemented by dedicated and innovative teachers and supported by communities only too aware of the needs of their young people. Whether these reforms will be derailed by new initiatives to strip the national system of secondary schooling of its vocational role remains to be seen.

While commentators such as Benadusi (1989) may have lamented the inability of the Italian legislature to implement reforms allowing experimentation and flexibility, with inbuilt processes of review and adaptation, it is possible that these analysts failed to envisage the significant reforms which might arise from the relatively innocuous change to the regulations governing university entry and which allowed vocational schools to considerably expand the ambit of their delivery. Similarly, it is likely that the extent of the development of adult training centres and the role that they would come to play for early leavers from school was neither planned nor expected. In both cases, a niche role has been filled and a need in the system has been addressed.

It can also be argued that there are aspects of the systems of provision, which have been influenced by industry bodies. For example, the expansion of the role played by the adult training centres for young people has been an important aspect of industry's contribution to the debate. In pushing for the maintenance of vocational education and training within the schooling framework (in the *scuole secondarie superiori*) and in arguing for its expansion outside (in the adult training centres), it can be seen that industry bodies sensed an advantage in maintaining the

rather fragmented system of education and training, rather than one which confined secondary schools to general education and deferred vocational training to adult sector providers. This was seen as guaranteeing the delivery of skills training in two different sectors. For industry, the debate between supporters of a comprehensive system and those of a tracked system was increasingly seen as an abstraction or, at best, a political game, given that their needs were best served by the existing diversity of provision.

However, the shortcomings of these reforms must also be acknowledged. Without clear national goals and a unified vision of the role and aims of the post-compulsory agencies – it would be optimistic to refer to a post-compulsory “sector” in Italy – it is difficult to monitor and assess educational outcomes for students from different social, gender or other equity groupings. The nature of these piecemeal reforms (including the most recent ones) also calls into question the nature of the government’s role in education. Those aspects of education which must remain centralised and national and those, which are best devolved to the regions, have not been fixed. Should moves towards greater regional autonomy, for example, overtake the schooling sector, many of the old arguments over the structure of secondary schooling will become obsolete. Such ideas inform the rhetoric and policy of the current Berlusconi government. Should they be adopted, the imperative for change will be shifted to the local level and the state could largely abrogate its role in directing and shaping reform. Within such a decentralised system, it is likely that models of senior secondary provision will be many and diverse and directed to regional economic and cultural needs. The nature of the impact this would have on the weaker regions has not been fully debated. And the likelihood that the traditional academic curriculum of the *licei* will be further “sanctified” by the Italian state, while VET becomes the responsibility of minor regional or even provincial bodies will do little to enhance the status of VET or promote parity of esteem.

There is also the relationship with the higher education sector to consider. Recent reforms to the Italian higher education system contain both good and bad news for Italian schools. On the one hand there is evidence of some diversification within the sector. While universities remain the main providers of tertiary studies, two types of initial degree are now offered – a three year *laurea* and a five year *laurea specialistica* – instead of the one five-year degree previously. It may be noted that an initiative to introduce two-year undergraduate diplomas to address the problem of students leaving university after two or three years or more of study without a qualification has met with little success. For these reasons, in an environment where a majority of students withdraw from their university degree and in which many of those who do complete take considerably longer than five years to finish their studies, the potential benefits of a course of studies which can be completed in three years (and which still carries the status of a degree) are considerable. Similarly, the expectation that the shorter degree will be less demanding (the dissertation is no longer required in the *laurea*) and taught in a more accessible manner is regarded as a potential solution to the extraordinarily high rates of non-completion at university.

On the other hand, Capano (2002) suggests that much of what is being offered now under the auspices of a three-year degree is little different in content or pedagogy from the traditional *laurea* it replaces. With no change in content or

approaches to teaching and the continued downward pressure on funding further reducing the likelihood of innovation, it is not to be expected that secondary school graduates will find a much more welcoming environment in universities than their predecessors have done. Moreover, there has also been a change in how these new degrees articulate with the school sector. While the three-year *laurea* remains accessible to all holders of the *diploma di maturità* – the secondary school certificate – universities will be able to select entrants to the five-year *laurea specialistica* on the basis of their perceived suitability.

A broader integrated view of the role of senior secondary schools in Italy, then, remains elusive. On the one hand, this sector is expected to continue to prepare students for entry to university – a role that will certainly attract new emphasis in the context of the newly introduced selective-entry *laurea specialistica*. On the other hand, there is a continuing demand for vocational education and training, with the role of secondary schools in delivering this almost certain to diminish in the future. Reforms designed to unify the diverse system of senior secondary schools have consistently failed to make the transition to implementation, but paradoxically have led to an accommodation of sorts, which had appended the role of university preparation to the traditional “work-readiness” mission of the technical and vocational schools. Recent legislation for change, despite its grim appearance, requires fair and rigorous appraisal and it should be remembered that the steps required to implement it will require enormous change and are therefore not guaranteed to produce the results expected by the legislators. It remains to be seen whether reform can be backed up by flexibility and pedagogical renewal, or by further fragmentation of an already disparate system of educational institutions.

As in most Western nations, secondary schooling in Italy is caught between the conflicting and competing demands of many interests. The skills needs of industry, university preparation and the civic demands of society must all be accommodated in a system, which, although fragmented, has remained stubbornly resistant to change, or renewal. What is required is an examination of those locations where elements of change have managed to take hold and produce success. We might begin by scrutinising the vocational schools where a technical/vocational curriculum has formed the basis for general studies, rather than the reverse. We might also examine the adult training centres, with an eye to assessing both their success in skills formation and their ability to engage and stimulate the disaffected young school leavers who are making their way there in increasing numbers. We would be well advised to examine carefully the localised work of teachers, schools and other vocational providers for it is here that innovation and experimentation – feared and vetoed in state-level proposals for reform – have had their chance to blossom over the years. It may well be the case that the seeds of effective and consistent reform at the national level already exist in these diverse but largely unacknowledged sites of originality and change.

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## GLOBALISATION AND POLICY REFORMS: SCIENCE EDUCATION RESEARCH

### 1. INTRODUCTION

It is interesting to note that while most globalisation theorists would acknowledge education is, or should be, implicated in accounts of globalisation (Fitzsimons, 2000), its literature does not explore the relationship at any length (exceptions are Beck, 2000; Scholte, 2000). Globalisation theorists' preoccupation with elaborating the political, economic, legal, civic and other material and cultural dimensions of globalisation unfortunately seems to have marginalised education as a key field within these categories. This is somewhat surprising given the centrality of knowledge to globalisation, and its obvious intersection with education as a major player in its production, rationalisation and allocation (Delanty, 1998). It is also surprising considering education's powerful ability to explore different thinking of whatever persuasion. Consequently, it is left to the discourses of education to explore the way globalisation constructs contemporary education, and education represents and circulates globalisation. These discourses draw together around the two main positions of globalisation commonly identified by theorists like Jameson (1998, p. 56) as the "twin, and not altogether commensurate, faces" of the universalising and hegemonic economic-political globalism, and the fragmented, diverse and opening cultural form (see also Delanty, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999; Wilson & Dissanayake, 1996). The rapidly growing educational policy literatures for example, have begun to investigate questions of global economic and political restructuring and the implementation of various reform agendas (see for example Apple, 2001; Ball, 1997; Lingard & Rizvi, 1998; Morrow & Torres, 2000; Wells, Carnochan, Slayton, Allen & Ash, 1998), while globalised cultural flows, and growing diversity have been explored within comparative and multicultural education discourses (see for example Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 1997; Stoer & Cortesao, 2000).

Educational policy scholars have largely argued that the discourses of neoliberalism and neoconservatism have dominated the agenda of educational reform precipitated by globalism (see for instance Apple, 2001; Morrow & Torres, 2000; Wells et al., 1998). Educational reform is the consequence of the extension of

globalism's enterprise form to all areas of sociality, including education. Pertinent here is the dynamic relationship between the nation state, neoliberalism and globalism, as it is usually at the level of the nation state that educational reform policies and procedures are produced and enacted. Neoliberalism's imperatives of reduced governance and the rule of the markets has meant for the nation state restructuring around the twin tendencies of centralisation and decentralisation. Decentralisation is achieved through devolution of administrative and other structures to the local site, while centralisation reconstitutes selected areas of strategic control with procedures for increased surveillance and accountability. In effect, this has generally meant there are fewer restrictions on educational institutional infrastructures with fiscal and other responsibilities being assumed at the school level. At the same time, control over areas like teacher autonomy and professionalism, and the curriculum, which were once at the discretion of school communities, have been tightened and centralised. Control is also exerted through standardised testing and auditing procedures across a range of student and teacher performance indicators, constituting schools as performative spaces providing increasing amounts of feedback upwards. These practices take place within an educational rhetoric that has become constructed around discourses of competition, fairness and equity for all, flexibility, wider choice and higher standards to be assessed against international measures. It is aimed at improving performance and efficiency, and so promote better results for the national goals of education.

While educational policy scholarship is expanding as it inquires into the complex manifestations of globalisation, other educational literatures remain relatively silent on the whole question of their relationship to globalisation. Gough (1999) has identified curriculum theorising as a case in point, with McLaren and Fischman (1998) suggesting the same of teacher education. For McLaren and Fischman (1998), many categories of educational debate are much as they have been for the previous two or three decades, reflecting education's deeply rooted dependence upon restricted social and cultural forms. Science education is another category I suggest, that has paid scant attention to globalisation. With few exceptions (see for instance, Gough, 1999; Ninnes, 2001), there is little exploration of globalisation in the science education literature. This apparent reticence to explore the changing global landscape is ill considered, as not only does it ignore a range of issues prominent in contemporary inquiry, but it also means that opportunities to better theorise what science education is, and could be, are likely to be missed. Moreover, the obvious and mutually productive relationship between advances in science and technology, and globalisation, holds profound yet clearly unexplored implications for science education. Consequently, there is a need for science education to inquire into the ways in which it is shaped by globalisation, and in turn, the ways in which it represents and circulates globalisation, so that it can engage in dialogues about key issues that are practically and intellectually urgent, and which will advance science education as a discipline (after Lemke, 2001).

In this chapter, I argue that globalisation is indeed implicated in the discourses of science education, even if the relationship is underacknowledged and underexplored. To this end, I begin with a brief overview of science education and its current areas of research. Globalisation is clearly at work as 'absent presences' in the conceptual

language science education uses, and is particularly apparent in its more recent policy and practical transformations. I thus go on to argue that the latest *Science for All* policy reform movement and its development of scientific literacy as the universalised goal of science education, is a case in point. I conclude that the *Science for All* reforms are a hegemonic move to convergence that reiterates Jameson's (1998) narrowing and universalising economic-political dimensions of globalism as one of the twin faces of globalisation.

## 2. AN OVERVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE EDUCATION RESEARCH

Science education is a vast and diverse field that has developed its own areas of concern distinct from those of scientists, educational researchers or science teachers, only since the curriculum reforms of the early 1960s (Fensham, 1992). Its interests range from classroom-based teaching and learning, curriculum, teacher education, student-related factors, historical perspectives and so on, to policy development and implementation, and to the more theoretical concerns of epistemology, philosophy and sociocultural influences in the nature of science itself. While these categories are predominately conceptualised from normative, mainstream positions, a small body of science education scholarship adopts more critical and oppositional perspectives (see for example, Calabrese, Barton & Osborne, 1998; Kyle, 2001; Weaver, Morris & Appelbaum, 2001).

One way of obtaining some sense of the current preoccupations of science education is from a quick review of the types of manuscripts submitted for publication to the *Journal of Research in Science Teaching (JRST)*. *JRST* is a leading science education research journal and the flagship of the world's largest science education research organisation, the United States-based National Association for Research in Science Teaching (NARST). It attracts a broad range of scholarship from those who aspire to international recognition of their work. In the period January to December 2001, the editors considered 139 articles from 21 different countries for publication, two thirds of which came from the United States (see Lemanowski, Baker & Piburn, 2002, *Editorial: report from the editors*). Research on teachers, their education, and their knowledge and beliefs, and investigations into learning and learning theories accounted for about forty-five percent of all the submissions. Studies designed to investigate the science education's relationships with its broader social, cultural, political or global context were few in number. Indeed, Lemanowski et al., (2002) did not even include such as a category for their manuscript reviews. Other submissions included 'as expected' studies on curriculum development, achievement, and so on, indicating I suggest, that the traditional and mainstream trajectories of science education continue to hold a great deal of sway in its research agenda.

But these manuscripts do not tell the whole story. In terms of centralised policy development and implementation, science education in many parts of the world has recently undergone an era of major reform. This latest phase of reform began with the American reports, *Project 2061: Science for All Americans* (American

Association for the Advancement of Science, 1989) and the National Academy of Science's *National Science Education Standards* (National Science Council, 1996). These documents were produced in response to the perceived crisis in science education and its implicated role in international challenges to the techno scientific supremacy, and the subsequent declining economic fortunes, of the United States during the 1980s. Together with other similar reports, *Project 2061* and the *National Science Education Standards* reiterated the prevailing orthodoxy in place since the Second World War in national policies of all sorts, that of 'science, and by extension science education, for economic development' (see Drori, 2000). This model established the causal link between the amount and type of science taught and the objectives of national economic development. It took a utilitarian view of science, and assumed that a systematic programme for the development of a scientifically and technologically skilled workforce would lead to greater economic progress. Despite the dominance of this developmental model, Drori (2000) has shown that its policy assumptions have been rarely tested, and any evidence provided by the small number of studies investigating the connection between science education and economic development are at best, inconclusive. Nonetheless, *Project 2061* and the *National Science Education Standards* have been highly influential within this conceptual model, and through their international dissemination have in effect, crystallised the directions for the curricula and teaching reform agendas for science education globally.

Like many countries, Australia was influenced by these and comparable British reports into science, technology, economic development and education. Consequently, Australian science education developed very similar national standards to those produced by the American National Science Council on the substantive content of science education (Dekkars & de Laeter, 2001). In general terms, these standards promoted the mastery of scientific knowledge, and changes in teaching and learning practices. For example, in the Australian state of Victoria from which I write, the official school curriculum now comprises standards-based, planning documents known as the *Curriculum and Standards Framework (CSF)* (Board of Studies 1995, 2000), organised into eight key learning areas, two of which are science and technology. They are the basis for curriculum planning and implementation, and student reporting, for the compulsory years of schooling (Preparatory – Year 10).

Science standards like those of the *CSF* and the American National Science Council are usually couched within a benign rhetoric of access, equity and diversity but are conceptualised in precise and predictive terms, and are benchmarked against international 'best practice' and performance through state, national and international testing regimes. Hence, not only have we seen regular standardised testing in Victoria through the Assessment Improvement Monitor (AIM) that attempts to use testing as a mechanism to improve student performance, but the National Education Performance Monitoring Taskforce (NEPMT) established in 1999 is planning to implement a national monitoring of primary science achievement (Goodrum, Hacking & Rennie, 2001). In addition, like the other Australian states we have also participated in the recent Third International Maths and Science Study (TIMSS), and will participate in 2006, in the OECD's

Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD/PISA) evaluation of scientific literacy in the 15-year-old cohort. Goodrum et al., (2001) suggest that the OECD/PISA assessments represent a new commitment by OECD countries to monitor outcomes of education systems in terms of the functional knowledge and skills. Participation in these assessments indicates the increasing acceptance of tests of student knowledge as a means of providing information for range of purposes, including surveillance, auditing and accountability. In the context of science education, they are underpinned by the conceptual model that embraces science and technoscience (and hence science, technology and mathematics education), as a means of national economic development and competitiveness in the globalising world (Drori, 2000).

### 3. THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENTIFIC LITERACY

*Project 2061*, the *National Science Education Standards*, the *Victorian CSF* and other similar science education reform documents aim to achieve their purposes through the development of scientific literacy as the main goal of science education. Embodied within the slogan of *Science for All* by which these reforms have become known, scientific literacy is regarded as an essential characteristic for living in a world increasingly shaped by science and technoscience. It argues equity considerations demand all should have available to them an education in science of an appropriate type and standard. First coined as a term in the 1950s, scientific literacy has not always been regarded as an important goal for science education. Earlier science curricula and practices contextualised within the political and economic agendas of the Cold War, and an unbridled confidence in the social benefits and utility of science, were explicitly aimed at training the small and elite group of vocational scientists and engineers. Over the decades, however, this approach proved to be in tension with a more general education required by the diverse learners staying on longer at school. Consequently, scientific literacy that aimed at producing better informed general citizenry, gradually grew in prominence alongside other ideas as more appropriate goals for science education. Fensham (1997) in Australia, Millar and Osborne (1998) in England, and Bybee and DeBoar (1994) and Hurd (1998) in the United States have documented the changing goals and consequent struggles of science education over these decades.

DeBoar (2000) argues that despite its widespread endorsement, the meaning of scientific literacy has remained highly contested, and can be interpreted across a range of complex conceptualisations. He has traced its historical pathway through a number of significant government position papers, policies, reports, scholarship and calls for reform. He concludes there are up to nine meanings of scientific literacy as a goal for science education including understanding science as a particular way of examining the natural world, exploring science as a culture force including multiple views of science, learning science as part of a liberal, humanist education, being able to apply science to socially-just and redistributive ends, learning science as preparation for work, teaching students to be informed citizens who are able to utilise scientific and technological everyday applications and make judgements

about media reports, teaching students enough science to sympathetically support its continuing progress, and so on. DeBoar (2000) uses this overview of scientific literacy to argue that the vision of scientific literacy adopted within the American-based and contextualised *Project 2061* and the *National Science Education Standards* was particularly narrow. It is based on the achievement of sets of content standards of scientific knowledge, with scientifically literate students becoming those able to meet these standards. He draws from the documents themselves to show that this version of scientific literacy was built on the belief that all students needed scientific knowledge to be able to make choices, to engage intelligently in public discourse, to develop the appropriate technological and intellectual skills for rapidly altering jobs, to produce a citizenry capable of competing in global markets, and to share in the excitement of learning about the natural world.

It seems then, that within the current centralising policy reform climate fostering the proliferation of these science education reform documents, a contracted meaning of scientific literacy has come to prevail. In these documents, scientific literacy has been conceptualised and conflated with the mastery of sets of readily implementable, content-based standards and habits of mind. Moreover, these standards are drawn from a narrow interpretation of what knowledge can constitute science, legitimating only that which commentators like Gough (2003) identify as modern Western science. Modern Western science for Gough (2003) and others (see for example Harding, 1998; Weinstein, 1998) is that endeavour produced in Europe during a particular historical period, and whose cultural characteristics have endured, as a consequence of Western cultural imperialism, to dominate and regulate the boundaries of global understandings of science. It systematically marginalises and excludes all other views of science, including indigenous and local knowledge systems. This perspective on modern Western science has developed from literatures collectively known as the sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK), and famous for their role in the so-called 'Science Wars' (Ross, 1996). SSK explores the nature, history, production and sociocultural location of European and ethnosciences, and has broadened the debate within science education research on what school science should contain. Despite allowing those like Snively and Corsiglia (2001) to argue for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge systems as part of multicultural science education, the curriculum standards reforms have largely ignored the SSK findings, and have constructed scientific literacy only in terms of canonical Western science.

Some indication of the extent to which this narrow meaning of scientific literacy has grown to become *the* overall goal of science education comes from its inclusion as one of three domains in the OECD/PISA programme of international testing scheduled for 2006, along with reading and mathematical literacy (Harlen, 2001). Goodrum et al., (2001) comment on the similarities between OECD/PISA's version of scientific literacy and that of *Project 2061* and the *National Science Education Standards*, arguing it represents strong international agreement about the nature and importance of scientific literacy as an outcome of schooling. The OECD/PISA programme defines scientific literacy in a way that allows it to be easily testable internationally. It will require students to demonstrate an understanding of thirteen major scientific concepts, and scientific processes including recognising scientifically investigable questions, identifying evidence needed in a scientific

investigation, drawing or evaluating conclusions, and communicating valid conclusions. In this context, it is hardly surprising that Australia too, has adopted an attenuated version of scientific literacy as its overall goal of science education. The recent report for the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA) *The Status and Quality of Teaching and Learning in Australian Schools* by Goodrum et al., (2001) argues scientific literacy “is fundamental to quality teaching and learning in science” (p. 11), and of national importance in the promotion of public acceptance of scientific and technological change, flexibility, and economic growth. Goodrum et al.’s (2001) report is significant in the Australian context because it outlines future directions for science education here.

#### 4. GLOBALISATION AND SCIENCE EDUCATION

The preceding overview of science education brief though it is, nonetheless serves to indicate that science education has been relatively silent on the whole question of the practical global transformations, and conceptual refashioning of contemporaneity expressed within it, and by which it is shaped. Its focus has remained largely preoccupied with conventional categories of analysis including classroom-based teaching and learning, alongside a growing interest in better ways of implementing the now apparently universalised goal of scientific literacy within reforms embodied by the slogan *Science for All*. Analyses within the science education research of the decentralising and centralised tendencies recognised within the educational policy literatures as indicative of globalisation, are rare. Drori (2000) for example, is one of a handful of studies that investigates the implications of devolution and macro systems-level reforms on science education. While there are more analyses of the centralising tendencies of standards, testing regimes, and accountability, these too are relatively infrequent. Indeed, as editors of *JRST*, Gallagher and Richmond (1999) have repeatedly called for more scholarship on the science education reform agenda (also Gallagher, 2000; 2001). Some examples include the discussion of standards-based curricula in various Australian states (Cross, 1997; Ninnes, 2001), within Canada (McNay, 2000), America (Rodriguez, 1997), and in England and Wales (Donnelly, 2001), moves to inquiry-based pedagogies (Keys & Bryan, 2001), comparative international testing (Harlen, 2001), and TIMSS (Olson, 1999). Even within the large scientific literacy literature that acknowledges the social contexts of science and argues for students to better understand and make critical judgements about science as a cultural (and now global) force, the complexities of our increasingly globalised world and technoscientific society are presented as a type of sedimented common sense, a normative state in need of little further probing (this is obvious in accounts by De Boar, 2000; Goodrum et al., 2001; Hurd, 2002; Millar & Osborne, 1998).

Although overt analyses of the relationship between globalisation and science education remains elusive, that science education like other educational fields has come under the influence of globalisation can be readily seen in a number of ways. For instance, referring again to National Association for Research in Science Teaching (NARST) as the world’s largest science education research organisation,

David Treagust (2000), in his outgoing presidential address, developed and celebrated the themes of internationalism and diversity. The growing non-American membership of NARST numbering just under thirty percent, and the increasing ease of communication and travel enabled Treagust, as a Western Australian science education academic, to fill the leadership role and oversee policy and planning meetings held a hemisphere away. Treagust welcomed such internationalisation and looked forward to a broadening collegiality and diversity in scholarship from all parts of the world. The new president, Sandra Abell (2001) went on to clarify the ways NARST saw itself and its future reform imperatives. Somewhat reminiscent of the sentiments of performativity, Abell suggested NARST's potential was underdeveloped and its members needed to identify research problems connected with real problems of practice. Recently released American reports like the teacher reform focussed *Before It's Too Late: A Report to the Nation from The National Commission on Mathematics and Science Teaching for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* could help establish a research agenda, she argued, that would "impel reform in science education in the U.S. and around the world" (p. 2).

While neither Treagust or Abell refer to globalisation as such, it is nonetheless clear that globalisation is at work in their sentiments; as 'absent presences' in the conceptualisations of internationalisation, hegemonic universal beliefs and practices, performativity, diversity, and so on that constitute their remarks. These conceptualisations are among the lexicon of key terms Ozga (2000) uses to link education with globalisation. While much science education literature could be similarly analysed for the presence of globalisation, the clearest manifestation of globalisation within science education is in the recent growth of the science education reform agendas embodied within *Science for All*. These reforms can be viewed as part of the larger discourses of neoliberal and neoconservative education reform, extensively described in the educational policy literatures as a consequence of the globalism's extension of the enterprise form to education. The same questions of global and political restructuring precipitating such reform also abound in science education, even if they remain largely underacknowledged, and consequently undertheorised. The same neoliberal desire for strategic control through increased centralised surveillance and regulation, and the same neoconservative nostalgia for 'real knowledge' is manifest in the science education curriculum standards. Their focus on scientific literacy as the universalised generalised goal of science education, the conflation of scientific literacy with the mastery of content standards and measurable outcomes, and the privileging of this meaning of scientific literacy to the exclusion of others, refigures it as a type of shorthand for the progression and sedimentation of the reform agendas. Hence, *Science for All* and its development of scientific literacy becomes a narrow and instrumental construct universally able to be implemented and tested, and consequently able to meet the requirements of globalism's strategic control through procedures of surveillance and accountability.

That these tendencies remain largely unacknowledged within science education research exemplifies, I suggest, Britzman's (1998 p. 80) "passion for ignorance". Derived from psychoanalytic theories of education, Britzman's (1998) formulation of a subject's capacity to be unencumbered by what it need not know or cannot tolerate, by its 'passion for ignorance', act to construct normalcy, she argues, as the



great unmarked within educational sites. The collective 'passion for ignorance' displayed in the paucity of particularly critical science education scholarship on reform, acts to normalise the reform agendas and discourses within/of science education, ensuring they become the 'great unmarked', and consequently underacknowledged and undertheorised. There is a naturalisation of globalisation's shaping forces, influencing and changing science education in ways that remain opaque. While there may be a number of ways to account for this, I suggest science education as traditionally constituted and in its mainstream trajectory, predominantly inhabits a realistic paradigm that means it not only lacks self-reflectivity, but also tends to ignore a range of issues in contemporary social and cultural analysis prominent in the broader social sciences of which it is a part. (I recognise the smaller critical and oppositional literatures within science education are exceptions to these comments.) The issues I refer to here are those that have emerged from the critical and postmodern/poststructural approaches interested in a closer examination of the normalising, regulative and productive aspects of power/knowledge relationships of dominant discourses. Such perspectives are crucial for recognising and analysing the impacts of globalisation on education, and the ways in which education constructs and circulates globalisation. However, as Lemke (2001) suggests, with their backgrounds predominately in cognitive psychology, science education researchers do not know enough about these fields. Hence, their focus is limited to a narrow range of traditionally framed concerns. In a similar vein, Kyle (2001) argues science education lacks an interest in questioning its foundational canons and revising any of its frameworks. Consequently, there is a conceptual difficulty, as well perhaps as an unwillingness, to move beyond science education's conventional categories of analysis and explore the impact of the changing theoretical and global landscape. It is clear that science education like other educational fields needs to inquire into the relationships between itself and globalisation, so as we can address the many gaps in our current understanding and advance it as a discipline.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Here, I have argued that globalisation is indeed implicated in the discourses of science education, even if it remains underacknowledged, and consequently undertheorised. To this end, I briefly reviewed science education and its current areas of interest. While my review was not exhaustive, I have been able to identify and cluster tendencies in the science education research literature. I see them as the continuation of science education's previous trajectories, and the growing evidence of significant reform.

Science education, it would seem, works somewhere in the spaces between globally influenced nation state policy production, and local sites of practice, strongly influenced by self-referencing, continuing trajectories of normative science education research on teaching and learning. Although science education's traditional categories continue to dominate the research agenda, the growing emphasis on reform indicates globalisation is clearly at work in the conceptual language science education uses, as well as in its more recent policy and practical

transformations. This is apparent particularly in the latest *Science for All* policy reform movement and its development of scientific literacy as the universalised goal of science education.

The universalising and centralising tendencies of neoliberal and neoconservative reform agendas permeate, and are enacted, in science education by the increased surveillance and regulation of the curriculum standards and testing regimes. They work to reinscribe teachers and students, and to (re)produce Western canonical scientific knowledge. Science education hence, like other forms of education, has been (re)constructed by the enterprise ethic of globalism, reiterating part of Jameson's (1998) globalisation dialectic as the narrowing, universalising and hegemonic economic-political dimensions of globalism, and the fragmented, diverse and opening cultural characterisation.

There remains a clear need for further scholarship within science education to inquire into the ways in which it is shaped by globalisation, and in turn, the ways in which it represents and circulates globalisation, so that issues which are practically and intellectually urgent can be debated.

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LAWRENCE J. SAHA

## CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

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 (permanent dispositions) (Madigan, 2002).

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 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, Vaughn, & Ensel, 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 explicitly used the concept 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 analyse 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.

From the above discussion it should be clear that the concept of social capital has become central to much sociological 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. While much research has focused on social objectives such as occupational attainment, 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 & 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 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 life style 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 & 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 3000 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 non-technical school subjects was almost as important as measured ability. DiMaggio (DiMaggio & 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 of 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 constitute 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, 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, Chavez, & Tai, 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 & 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 GLOBALISATION

Globalisation 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 globalisation 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 globalisation, 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 globalisation in a different manner. Social capital is embedded in social relationships. Clearly the globalisation 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.

However another manner in which social capital can be affected by the globalisation 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 globalisation, and the rise of the global village, have 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 cybernetworks 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 cybernetworks may represent a "bottom-up" globalisation process since the networks are not dependent on any dominant group.

Lin argues that cybernetworks 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 cybernetworks 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 cybernetworks and their implication for education, are part of the globalisation 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 globalisation 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 cybernetworks. However little research has been conducted on this most current change in the globalisation process, and therefore many of the arguments remain to be tested.

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