

Joseph Zajda *Editor*

Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research

 Springer

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Education and Policy
Research

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Joseph Zajda

Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus

Melbourne, Australia

ISBN 978-3-030-66002-4

ISBN 978-3-030-66003-1 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1>

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This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

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

Foreword

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

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

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

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

- The special challenges of global “appearances”;
- The encroaching homogeneity of global culture, which has the potential to reduce adaptability and flexibility;
- The fit of the rapidity of change through globalisation with expected outcomes;
- The purposes of globalisation considered against the emergence of a fragile sense of community identity; 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 USA, China, Nigeria, Canada, UK, Israel, Australia and elsewhere. Understanding the interaction between education and globalisation forces us to learn more about the similarities and differences in education policy research and associated reforms in the local-regional-national context, as well as the global one. This inevitably results in a deeper understanding and analysis of the globalisation and education *Zeitgeist*.

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

It has also been argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their capacity to tangibly control or affect their future directions. Their struggle for knowledge domination, production and dissemination becomes a new form of knowledge, occurring as it does amidst Wilson’s “white heat of technological change”.

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

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

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

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

Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

Peter W. Sheehan

Preface

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

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

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

The *Handbook* as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in education, provides a timely overview of current changes in comparative education and policy research. It offers directions in education and policy research, relevant to visionary and transformational educational leadership in the twenty-first century (Zajda, 2020a). Equality of educational opportunities, called by Coombs (1982) as the “stubborn issue of inequality” (Coombs 1982, p. 153), and first examined in comparative education research by Kandel in 1957 (Kandel 1957, p. 2) is still with us (OECD 2018; UNESCO 2018; World Bank 2017; World Development Report 2020).

The OECD’s reports on income inequality, *Divided We Stand* (2011), *Inequality rising faster than ever* (2013a), and *Crisis squeezes income and puts pressure on inequality and poverty* (2013b) documented that the gap between rich and poor in OECD countries had widened continuously over the last three decades to 2008, reaching an all-time high in 2007. According to OECD report (2013a), economic

inequality had increased by more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also noted that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2013b). The widening economic and social inequalities in education, are due to market-oriented economies, governance and schooling. Social inequalities, based on economic and cultural capital, and socio-economic status (SES) and exclusion, are more than real (OECD 2018b; World Bank 2019; Zajda 2011; Zajda 2020c). A significant gap in access to early childhood education was documented in about half of the OECD countries back in 2001 (OECD 2001, p. 126). Access and equity continue to be ‘enduring concerns’ in education (OECD 2001, p. 26; OECD 2013a).

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

1. Globalisation, Education and Policy Research
2. Globalisation and Higher Education
3. Globalisation, Education Policy and Change
4. Globalisation and Education Policy Issues
5. Globalisation, Education Policy and Curricula Issues
6. Curriculum and Policy Change
7. Globalisation, Education Policy and Reform: Changing Schools
8. Curriculum in the Global Culture
9. Globalisation and education futures: Human rights

The *Handbook* contains 59 chapters, with each chapter containing 6000–10,000 words. The use of sections served the purposes of providing a structure and coherence and sharing the workload between section editors. The general editors and section editors ensured that each draft chapter was reviewed by at least two (at times three) reviewers who examined the material presented in each manuscript for the content, style and appropriateness for inclusion in the *Handbook*.

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

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

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

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

Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus
Melbourne, Australia

Joseph Zajda

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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:

Harmen van Paradijs, Editorial Director, Springer, Yoka Janssen, Publishing Editor,
and Marianna Pascale, Springer.
Nikolai Zajda, Publisher, James Nicholas Publishers

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

Ari Antikainen, University of Helsinki
Beatrice Avalos, National Ministry of Education, Chile
Karen Biraimah, University Of Central Florida
Martin Carnoy, Stanford University
Phillip Clarkson, Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus)
William Cummings, State University of New York (Buffalo)
Holger Daun (University of Stockholm)
Kassie Freeman, Southern University System
Deborah Henderson, Queensland university of Technology
Yaacov Iram, Bar Ilan University
Michael Lee, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Andreas Kazamias, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Henry Levin, Teachers College Columbia University
Leslie Limage, UNESCO
Macleans Geo-JaJa (Brigham Young University)
Amal Madibbo (University of Calgary)
Kas Mazurek, University of Lethbridge
Marcella Mollis, University of Buenos Aires
Adam Nir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Anatoly Oleksiyenko The University of Hong Kong
Carlos Ornelas, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana
Louisa Polyzoi, University of Winnipeg

Gita Steiner-Khamsi, Teachers College, Columbia University
Donatella Palomba, Universita di Roma
Val Rust, UCLA
Sandra L Stacki, Hofstra University
Nelly Stromquist, University of Maryland
Ronald Sultana, University of Malta
Ron Toomey, Australian Catholic University
David Willis, Soai University (Japan)
John Whitehouse, The University of Melbourne.
Vincent Wright, Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus).

And all other reviewers who preferred to remain anonymous.

Finally, we wish to thank the section editors (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. We are particularly grateful to Harmen van Paradijs, Publishing Editor, Springer, Bernadette Ohmer, Springer, Marianna Pascale, Springer, who supported this project from the very beginning, and who took the responsibility for the production process, and whose energy and enthusiasm ensured that the Handbook was published on time.

The final preparation of the camera-ready manuscript for publication was facilitated by the outstanding and creative work of Nikolai Zajda.

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Contributors

Sadiq A. Abdullahi is an Adjunct Professor of Curriculum Development, Improvement, and Sustainability, and Global Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning at Florida International University. He is also a secondary social sciences teacher with the Miami-Dade County Public Schools district. He represented his country Nigeria in tennis at the 1988 Seoul Olympics in South Korea; a member of the 2020 National Sports Industry Drafting committee and member of the Kaduna State Tennis Association; an advocate of human rights, social justice and peaceful co-existence. He has written and published articles and book chapters. He teaches tennis and is currently the CEO of Sadiq Abdullahi Sports Enterprises Inc., a youth sports development organisation.

Abdeljalil Akkari is a Professor and the Director of the research group on international education at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. He is also Visiting Professor at the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan. Abdeljalil Akkari is a regular consultant for UNESCO and other international organisations. He was the Dean of research at the Higher Pedagogical Institute HEP-BEJUNE (Bienne, Switzerland). His main experience and major publications include studies on international cooperation, educational planning, multicultural education, teacher training and educational inequalities. His principal research interests are currently centred on intercultural education, teacher education and reforms of educational systems in a comparative and international perspective.

Marko Ampuja (University of Tampere) teaches in the Department of Social Research. He specialises in globalisation studies and media studies. He has published a number of works in the areas of globalisation. His latest book is *Theorizing Globalization: A Critique of the Mediatization of Social Theory* (2012).

Robert F. Arno (Indiana University) is the Chancellor's Professor Emeritus of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the School of Education Indiana University, Bloomington, where he teaches Sociology of Education. He is past President of the Comparative and International Education Society. His publications

and creative productions include 11 monographs and edited books, 2 documentaries and some 70 articles and book chapters, including *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global & the Local* (2003).

Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite is an Affiliated Scholar and a Lecturer at the University of California- Berkeley and San Jose State University. She is also an Adjunct Professor at the University of San Francisco, Saint Mary's College of California and Notre Dame de Namur University where she teaches Language, Culture and Human Rights as well as Critical Thinking and French. She has taught courses and workshops in the USA, Norway, Japan, India, France and Nigeria on issues related to language and culture and human rights. Her research interests include Language and Human Right in Education, Comparative and International Education, Bilingualism and Multilingualism. Through her recent research projects, she has developed an interest in the pedagogy of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) putting the "A" for Arts in STEM and building the evolution of the acronym into STEAM. She has written numerous articles published in tier one academic journals, contributed chapters for many books and recently authored two monographs entitled *Language Development Aid and Human Rights in Education*, published by Palgrave Macmillan, and *Local Languages as a Human Right in Education*, published by Sense Publishers, both in 2015. She also published *Promoting Human Rights in Education through STEAM: Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics*, Springer (2019). Her new Anthology entitled *Learning Critical Thinking Skills beyond 21st Century Literacies for Multidisciplinary Courses*, 2020 is already in print with an Active Learning Platform (see: Cognella, Academic Publishing, San Diego, California). She is fluent in French, English, Norwegian, Japanese and Berber with basic knowledge of Arabic, Portuguese, German, Spanish, Swahili and Igbo. (Email: z.b.wilhite@berkeley.edu and/or zehliab@gmail.com)

Iris Bendavid-Hadar is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Education Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Dr BenDavid-Hadar holds a BA in Economics and Statistics from Tel-Aviv University and has earned her PhD at Bar-Ilan University, previously a visiting scholar at Stanford University. She is a Member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Journal of Education Finance* (JEF), and a Member of the Board of Advisors of the National Education Finance Conference (NEFC). Her research foci are education finance policy, justice and the relationship between redistribution mechanisms and state competitiveness and cohesiveness. Her papers have been published in journals such as *Education Economics*, *Education Finance* and *Education and Society*.

Mark Bray is Emeritus Professor, and UNESCO Chair Professor in Comparative Education, Social Contexts and Policies of Education. He was the Director of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) from 2006 to 2010. He has researched and published numerous works in the area of comparative About the Contributors xxv education, including policy-making, financing and planning of education systems, and shadow education.

Birgit Brock-Utne (University of Oslo) is a Professor of Education and Development and the Director of the M.Phil. study in Comparative and International Education at the Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo. From 1987 until 1992, she was a Professor at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She has written 10 books and more than 100 book chapters, and journal articles. Currently, she directs three research projects dealing with the language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa and the research network NETREED (<http://www.netreed.uio.no>).

Samuel D. Brown is director of International Student and Scholar Services at Brigham Young University. He also serves as the Principal Designated School Official and Responsible Officer over F-1 and J-1 students, respectively. Dr. Brown's areas of research include trust, ethics, and moral development, specifically in international and diverse cultural contexts.

Sarah Burris completed her Masters in Social Work from Salem State University. She works with Professor Yvonne Vissing in the area of Human rights education (HRE).

Melanie Burton is an academic and career advisor for the Academic Support Office at Brigham Young University. She assists students on academic standing, serving as office liaison for international students. She also led advisor training across campus, works closely with diverse and marginalized student groups, and teaches student development courses.

Niranjan Casinader is a Senior Lecturer in Education (Curriculum and Assessment) at Monash University, Australia, teaching in undergraduate and postgraduate units across primary and secondary teacher education. His research interests and publications reflect his primary interest in the impact of historical and contemporary globalisation on education, with particular reference to curriculum, pedagogy, culture and thinking. He has published a number of works, including *Reconceptualising transnational perspectives within the Australian school curriculum: A prism for the future, not a mirror of the present*. In H. Chi-Kin Lee & N. G Gough (Eds), (2020) *Transnational Education and Curriculum Studies*. Routledge; Casinader, N. (2020). *Global Citizenship and Teacher Education in Oceania*. In D. Schugurensky & C.C. Wollhuter (Eds), *Global Citizenship and Teacher Education*. Routledge; Casinader, N. (2020). *Transculturalism and Teacher Capacity: Professional Readiness in the Globalised Age*. Routledge; Walsh, L. & Casinader, N. (2020). *Translating the International Baccalaureate within different educational contexts: the benefits and constraints to teachers sharing a common lexicon*. In H. Johnson & V. Anderson (Eds), *Migration, Education and Translation: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Human Mobility and Cultural Encounters in Education Settings*. Routledge.

Ning Chen is Lecturer at Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts (China) and a PhD candidate at the University of Helsinki (Finland). His research interests include well-being in higher education and Chinese Minzu “minority” education.

Yin Cheong Cheng (Hong Kong University of Education) is a Professor and Director of the Centre for Research and International Collaboration, the Hong Kong University of Education. He holds a doctorate from Harvard University. He is also the Head of the Asia-Pacific Centre for Education Leadership and School Quality. He has published 15 books and nearly 180 book chapters and articles. His publications have been translated into Chinese, Hebrew, Korean, Spanish and Thailand languages. A number of his articles were awarded “Citation of Excellence” by the ANBAR Electronic Intelligence of UK. He is the Editor of the *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and Development*.

I. Gusti Ngurah Darmawan (University of Adelaide) is a Senior Lecturer/Associate Head (International) and the Coordinator of Higher Degree Research Programs within the School of Education at the University of Adelaide. His research interests are wide and varied. From a strong initial interest in ICT, Science and Mathematics Education, he has extended his field of inquiry in these areas to cross-national and comparative perspectives, and consequently developing a strong interest in quantitative methods and measurement. He currently collaborates with leading academics and researchers from Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia in a program designed to investigate ways to improve the literacy and numeracy performance of students in the Asia-Pacific Region using the large body of data collected by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) through their international assessment studies.

Holger Daun (University of Stockholm) is a Professor in Comparative and International Education and the Director of the Institute of International Education (since April 2003) at the University of Stockholm. He received his PhD in Political Science in 1974 and in Comparative and International Education in 1992. He has published numerous articles and books, including *Muslim Educational Strategies in the Context of Globalization* (2004). He has conducted many research projects on globalisation, citizenship education and education reform.

Lynn Davies (University of Birmingham) is Emeritus Professor of International Education and Director of the Centre for International Education and Research at the University of Birmingham. Her research work included Kosovo, Bosnia, Palestine, Malawi and the Gambia, as well as working with UNESCO on their associated schools. Current research includes global citizenship, schooling for democracy, conflict and education, gender and human rights.

Antoon De Baets is Professor of History, Ethics and Human Rights at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. He is the author of more than 200 publications, mainly on the censorship of history, the ethics of historians, and the history of

human rights. This includes books such as *Responsible History* (New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009) and *Crimes against History* (London: Routledge, 2019). Since 1995, he has coordinated the Network of Concerned Historians.

Fred Dervin is a Professor of Multicultural Education at the University of Helsinki. He holds different Distinguished and Visiting Professorships around the world. Dervin is the author of more than 200 publications.

Erwin H. Epstein is Professor in Cultural and Educational Policy Studies and coordinates the Comparative Education Program at Loyola University Chicago. His research focuses mainly on Latin America, and he is the former editor of the *Comparative Education Review*.

Karen Evans, Professor of Education, is currently Chair in Education (Lifelong Learning) at the Institute of Education, University of London. She has held that position since 2001, having previously been Director of the Postgraduate Centre for Professional and Adult Education and Chair of Post-Compulsory Education at the University of Surrey (1982–2000). She has been active in international and comparative education for most of her academic and professional career, and currently, she heads the rich and diverse School of Lifelong Education and International Development at the Institute of Education, University of London. She has researched many aspects of learning and work. Her recent books include *Learning and Work in the Risk Society* (Palgrave, 2000), *Working to Learn* (Kogan Page, 2002) and *Reconnection: Countering Social Exclusion through Situated Learning* (Kluwer, 2004).

Macleans Geo-JaJa (Brigham Young University, Utah) is a Professor of Economics of Education at Brigham Young University. He holds a PhD in Labor Economics. He is also the Director of the Graduate in the Department of Educational Leadership. His many publications include works in the area of education reform and human resource development, decentralisation, globalisation and economic development in Africa. In 2013, he guest-edited a special issue of *World Studies in Education*. He has served as consultant to UNDP, USAID, IFAD, IDRC and the World Bank, on topics dealing with educational planning and finance, decentralisation, human resource development and education reforms in Africa.

S. Gopinathan (*National University of Singapore*) was a Professor of Education and the Vice-Dean (Policy) of the Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice at the National Institute of Education in Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He was the Dean of Foundation Programmes in the same institute. He is an Adjunct Professor at Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. He has served on various MOE review committees and was a Resource Specialist for the Government Parliamentary Committee on Education. His research interests span teacher education, professional development, higher education, values and citizenship education and education development. He has been a consultant

with the World Bank, UNESCO and several universities including the University of Bahrain, Hong Kong Institute of Education and the University of Brunei. He also helped establish the Emirates College for Advanced Education (UAE), the Bahrain Teachers College and the Sampoerna University's School of Education in Jakarta, Indonesia. His 100 plus research publications are a key reference to policy and practice in Singapore education.

Pamela R. Hallam is an Associate Professor and chair of the Educational Leadership and Foundations Department at Brigham Young University. Her areas of academic interest include the role of trust in educational leadership, development and function of professional learning communities, and women in education. Dr. Hallam has formerly served as a public schoolteacher, principal, and district office administrator. She is author and co-author of numerous journal articles.

Deborah Henderson (Queensland University of Technology) is an Associate Professor of Education in the School of Curriculum, Faculty of Education and has a background in History with a commitment to citizenship education. Her research interests include the development of historical thinking, intercultural understanding, developing Asia Literacy and values education in the curriculum. She has published extensively on globalisation, Asia literacy and pre-service teacher education.

Brendan Hyde is Senior Lecturer, Education (Pedagogy and Curriculum) at the Melbourne Burwood Campus of Deakin University, with research interests in student voice, phenomenology and how children's spirituality can be nurtured through education. Brendan is a member of the Australian College of Educators and a Fellow of the Centre for the Theology of Childhood (Denver, Colorado, USA). He is the author of *Children and spirituality: Searching for meaning and connectedness* and co-author of *The Spiritual Dimension of Childhood* (both published through Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London and Philadelphia) as well as numerous academic articles in peer-reviewed journals. His latest article "The entanglement of knowing and being: Hegel, ontology and education in the 21st century" (2021) is in *Educational Practice & Theory*, 43(1).

W. James Jacob (University of Pittsburgh) is the Director of the Institute for International Studies in Education at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Education. His research focuses on program design, implementation and evaluation; HIV/AIDS multisectoral capacity building and prevention; and higher education organisational analysis in developing countries with geographic emphases in Africa, East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. He has authored numerous articles and books and serves as a Co-editor of Palgrave Macmillan's *International and Development Education Book Series* and Sense Publishers' *Pittsburgh Studies in Comparative and International Education Book Series* and as an Associate Editor of the journal *Excellence in Higher Education*.

John P. Keeves (Flinders University of South Australia) is an Emeritus Professor of Education at the Flinders University of South Australia. He was Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research (1977–1984), research fellow at Australian National University and Stockholm University and secondary school mathematics and science teacher in Australia and England (1947–1962). He was involved in IEA studies since the 1960s, serving as a national research coordinator for the First International Mathematics Study (FIMS), Steering Committee member of the First International Science Study (FISS) and project council chair for the Second International Science Study (SISS). He was Chair of the IEA Technical Executive Group (1982–1989). He is author or editor of many IEA-related publications.

Stephanie Kim (Georgetown University) is an Assistant Professor of the Practice in the School of Continuing Studies and the Faculty Director of the Master's in Higher Education Administration. She has over a decade of experience as a scholar, educator and practitioner in the field of comparative and international higher education. A former Fulbright scholar, she is an expert in international student mobility flows and the movement of students between the United States and countries in Asia. Her scholarship appears in a number of journals and edited volumes and has received awards and extensive media coverage. She is currently writing a book (under contract with MIT Press) on international student mobility amid novel admissions pipelines emerging across California and South Korea. Outside of Georgetown University, Dr Kim serves as an Associate Editor of the *Journal of International Students* and the Vice President of the Fulbright Association National Capital Area Chapter. She holds a PhD in Education from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Gregory Lee (University of Canterbury) is a Professor of History of Education and Education Policy in the School of Educational Studies and Leadership, College of Education, at The University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. Gregory was the Head of this School from 2009 until mid-2011. He has published extensively in his specialist field of educational history and is the author of several books and large-scale academic monographs. Gregory's more recent publications include analysis of comprehensive models of post-primary schooling; secondary education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and internationally; knowledge and subject contestation within a national curriculum framework; national standards and testing regimes; academic and practical intersections between philosophy and history of education; and managerialist orientations within universities. He is on the editorial board of several education journals, was joint editor of the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, from 2000 until 2005, and *Teachers and Curriculum*. He has written, edited and co-authored some 350 articles in his 33-year academic career.

Howard Lee (Massey University) is a Professor of Education in the School of Educational Studies, Massey University. After teaching and researching for 25 years at the University of Otago, Dr Howard Lee was appointed as a Professor of Education

Policy and History of Education at Massey University College (now Institute) of Education, Palmerston North, New Zealand, in 2007. From 2008 to 2013, he also was the Head of the School of Educational Studies. Howard has published widely in his specialist areas of assessment and public school examinations; comparative education; curriculum theory and policy; educational history, policy and reform; educational policy analysis; intermediate and middle schooling; outcomes-based and standards-based education; post-primary education; rural education; and technical- and tertiary-level education. Throughout his 33-year academic career, Howard has authored and co-authored four books and monographs and written more than 250 book chapters, journal articles, archival articles, reviews, opinion pieces and conference papers. In December 2006, Howard was one of ten academic staff members who received the Outstanding Thesis Supervisor of the Year award from The University of Otago. Howard is on the editorial boards of several journals and is a regular reviewer for many national and international journals.

Michael H. Lee (*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*) teaches in the Department of History in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He formerly served as Instructor in the Department of Educational Policy and Administration of the Hong Kong Institute of Education and Research Associate in the Comparative Education Policy Research Unit of the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong. His publications cover education reforms, comparative education, privatisation in education and globalisation.

Petra N. Lietz is a Principal Research Fellow at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER). She has more than 25 years of extensive international research experience on projects conducted for the OECD, UNESCO and the IEA as well as large-scale Australian surveys such as the Australian Child Wellbeing Project (ACWP) and the national component of the OECD's TALIS. Petra has published extensively on various aspects of survey design and methodological issues in internationally comparative research, which she has also taught at undergraduate and graduate levels in universities in Australia and Germany.

Jie Liu (University of Hong Kong) is a Research Assistant at the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, and the Production Editor of the *Journal of Comparative and International Higher Education* (Comparative and International Education Society, USA). Her research interests include cross-border higher education and internationalisation and innovation of higher education in Greater Bay Area (China), Tokyo Bay Area (Japan) and San Francisco Bay Area (USA). She spoke on the emerging research agenda in the field at the 2019 Lingnan-Peking-Wisconsin Education Forum *Higher Education, Talents, and Employment in Bay Areas: Comparative Perspectives*. She holds MEd (Higher Education) degree from the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong.

Amal Madibbo is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Calgary and a Visiting Professor at the University of Ottawa in Canada. Her current research focuses on global migration, Africana studies and equity in education. (Email: amadibbo@ucalgary.ca)

Suzanne Majhanovich (University of Western Ontario), PhD, was the Associate Dean and a Professor of Languages in the Faculty of Education, at the University of Western Ontario. She also teaches courses in theories of education, language acquisition and second language teaching and learning. Her current research interests include globalisation and educational restructuring, decentralisation and privatisation. She is currently involved in a major study on the history of women teachers in twentieth century Ontario.

Valerie Margrain (Karlstad University) is a Professor of Educational Studies at Karlstad University, Sweden and an Adjunct Professor at Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia. She has formerly worked at universities in Australia and New Zealand, and as a teacher in primary schools, early childhood, special education and Reading Recovery. Her current research focuses on young gifted children and internationalisation in teacher education

Kas Mazurek (University of Lethbridge) is a Professor of Education at the University of Lethbridge, Canada. His research interests overlap the fields of comparative education, multiculturalism and minority group relations and the social contexts of educational ideas. His recent book (with Margaret A. Winzer, and Czeslaw Majorek) includes *Education in a Global Society: A Comparative Perspective*.

Elisabeth Mellgren (Gothenburg University) has a PhD in pedagogy, and is working at Gothenburg University, Sweden. She takes part in the research group in Early Childhood Education (ECE), in the theme *Policy, Quality and Children's Learning*. She has a background as a preschool teacher and her research mainly deals with early literacy learning, transition and quality issues in the context of pre-school and pre-school class.

Sarah Nailer is a doctoral researcher at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). She has taught in secondary schools for over a decade and held a range of leadership positions. Since 2013 she has worked in teacher education in a range of teaching, research and partnership roles. In 2018 Sarah was awarded a Faculty of Education and Arts Excellence in teaching award. Her current research focus is on the discourses of School-University Partnership in Australian Teacher Education. Her recent publication includes Nailer, Sarah & Ryan (2018) The case of the Catholic Teacher Education consortium: Using the STEPS framework to analyse a school-university partnership. In L. Hobbs, C. Campbell and M. Jones (Ed.), *School-based partnerships in teacher education: A Research informed model for universities, schools and beyond* pp. 219 – 229). Springer Nature.

Jia Ying Neoh teaches in HSIE and Study 1 (MTeach Foundation). Her key research interest is in citizenship education. She is interested in understanding the citizenship curricula of schools, focusing on the preparatory processes of citizenship. Her PhD research focused on the practice of civics and citizenship education, within the context of the HSIE learning area, in NSW primary schools. On a broader level, she is also interested in understanding how teachers' pedagogies and interpretations of various curricula reflect the links that teachers make between education and the broader society. Much of her research work is based on qualitative case study research, using multiple data sources. (Email: jjaying.neoh@sydney.edu.au)

Anatoly Oleksiyenko (University of Hong Kong) is an Associate Professor in Higher Education and the Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong. His research focuses on agency of internationalisation in higher education and dilemmas of governance and leadership in neoliberal and post-Soviet research universities. His papers on these issues were published in journals such as *Higher Education*, *Studies in Higher Education*, *Higher Education Policy* and *Higher Education Quarterly*. Oleksiyenko's paper *On the Shoulders of Giants? Global science, resource asymmetries, and repositioning of research universities in China and Russia* (*Comparative Education Review*) received the Best Article Award in Higher Education from the Comparative and International Education Society (USA) in 2016. His book *Global Mobility and Higher Learning* (Routledge) won the Best Book Award from CIES' SIG International Students and Study Abroad in 2019. Recently he has published a critical inquiry on glonacality of international partnerships – see volume *Academic Collaborations in the Age of Globalization* (Springer). He also co-edited a book *International Status Anxiety and Higher Education: The Soviet Legacy in China and Russia* (CERC-Springer) and two special issues: “*Higher Education and Human Vulnerability: Global Failures of Corporate Design*” (Tertiary Education and Management) and “*Freedom of Speech, Freedom to Teach, Freedom to Learn: The Crisis of Higher Education in the Post-truth Era*” (Educational Philosophy and Theory).

Carlos Ornelas is a Professor of Education and Communications at the Metropolitan Autonomous University. He is currently on sabbatical at the Centre for Regional Cooperation for Adult Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. He is working on a book: *Globalisation, neo-corporativism, and democracy: The struggle for education*. He publishes regularly in Mexican and international journals. He also has published chapters in edited books. (Email: carlos.ornelas@icloud.com)

Sev Ozdowski is a Professor (University of Western Sydney). Seweryn (Sev) Ozdowski is a human rights advocate, educator and social researcher, and former senior civil servant. He played a major role in the development of federal multicultural and human rights policies and institutions in Australia. He is known for his support for Polish Solidarity movement in the 1980s, his defence of human rights of

refugees, especially child asylum seekers detained in Australia and people with disabilities and mental illness as well as for his contribution to multicultural policies in Australia. As the Australian Human Rights Commissioner, Ozdowski authored *A Last Resort?*, the 2004 report of the National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention, which talks about the human rights of the children who arrived by boat to seek refuge in Australia. As Disability Discrimination Commissioner, in 2005 Dr Ozdowski conducted the National Inquiry into Mental Health Services *Not for Service* that resulted in a major change in provision of mental health services. Currently he is Vice-Chancellor's Fellow at Western Sydney University, and an Honorary Professor at the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, the University of Sydney. He is an Immediate Past President (2006–2019) of the Australian Council for Human Rights Education, and initiator of annual International Human Rights Education Conferences series and convenor of biannual Australian Community Cohesion conference series. Dr Ozdowski was recognised through various Australian and international honours, including an appointment as Member in the General Division of the Order of Australia (2016) for his contribution to human rights and multiculturalism. Since 2014, Dr Ozdowski is the Chair of the Australian Multicultural Council.

David Phillips (University of Oxford) is a Professor of Comparative Education and a Fellow of St Edmund Hall, University of Oxford. He has written extensively on comparative education, is a former Chair of the British Association for International and Comparative Education, edited the *Oxford Review of Education* for 20 years and sits on the boards of various journals with an international orientation, including *Comparative Education*. He is an Academician of the British Social Sciences Academy and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Risto Rinne is a Professor of Education and the Vice-Dean in the faculty of Education and the Head in the Department of Education and in the Research Centre of Lifelong Learning and Education (CELE) at the University of Turku, Finland. He is also the Director of *The Finnish Multidisciplinary Doctoral Training Network on Educational Sciences (FinEd) and the doctoral programme 'Educational Policy, LLL and Comparative research on Education'* (Koulutuspolitiikan, elinikäisen oppimisen ja vertailevan koulutustutkimuksen tohtorihjelma KEVEKO). He is a member of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters and has published over 500 publications. His main interests include sociology of education, international comparative education, educational policy and history of education as well as the field of transmission the educational knowledge base in Europe and globally. Recent publications include *Shifting discourses of equality and equity of basic education: an analysis of national policy documents in China* (2018) *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 4(3), 168–179; *Changing expertise and the state (Politics of Quality in Education: Routledge 2018, 91–114)*; *Cultural Capital, Equality and Diversifying Education*. (2017) In K. Kantasalmi & G. Holm (Eds.). (Email: Rinne@utu.fi)

Val D. Rust (University of California, Los Angeles) is a Professor of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles. He received his PhD from the University of Michigan. He is the UCLA Education Abroad Program Director and was the Associate Editor of the *Comparative Education Review* (1998–2003). His recent works include *Alternatives in Education*, *The Democratic Tradition and the Evolution of Schooling in Norway*, *The Unification of German Education*, *Education and the Values Crisis in Central and Eastern Europe*, *Toward Schooling for the Twenty-first Century*. Most recently, he co-authored a book with Joseph Zajda, *Globalisation and Comparative Education: Changing Paradigms* (Springer, 2020). (Email: valdrust@gmail.com)

Josephine Ryan is a Senior Lecturer in English/Literacy Education at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). Her teaching and research have focused on English curriculum as well as in understanding and implementing effective approaches to teacher education. She edited with Mellita Jones *Successful teacher education: Partnerships, reflective practice and the place of technology* (Sense); and in 2017 she co-edited with Brandenburg, Glasswell & Jones *Reflective theory and practice in teacher education* (Springer). Her recent publication includes Nailor, Sarah & Ryan (2018) The case of the Catholic Teacher Education consortium: Using the STEPS framework to analyse a school-university partnership. In L. Hobbs, C. Campbell and M. Jones (Ed.), *School-based partnerships in teacher education: A Research informed model for universities, schools and beyond* (Springer Nature).

M'hammed Sabour (University of Joensuu) is a Professor of Sociology (Knowledge and Culture) at the University of Joensuu, Finland. He has authored and edited numerous books and published widely in international journals. His main fields of research are higher education, intellectuals, cultural globalisation and minority exclusion. He is the Managing Editor of the *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*.

Lawrence J. Saha is the former Head of the Department of Sociology (twice) and the Dean of the (former) Faculty of Arts at the Australian National University. He has published mainly in the fields of comparative education, education and national development, student aspirations and expectations and political socialisation among youth. His current research interests include student aspirations and expectations, the student sense of justice in the classroom and race, ethnicity and educational achievement. Among his important works are *Education and National Development: A Comparative Perspective* (with Ingemar Fagerlind), *The International Encyclopedia of Sociology of Education*, *The Untested Accusation: Principals, Research Knowledge and Policy-Making in Schools* (with Bruce Biddle), the two volume edited work (with A. Gary Dworkin) *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching, Youth and Political Participation* (with Murray Print & Kathy Edwards) and *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education* (with Joseph Zajda & Holger Daun). He was a resident fellow at the Rockefeller

Foundation Bellagio Study Center in Italy. As a visiting academic, he has lectured and/or given courses at the University of Stockholm, the University of Oslo, The Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre, Brazil) and the University of Otago (New Zealand). He has been visiting fellow at Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada), Stanford University, the International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO, Paris) and the University of Houston. In 2010 he was awarded the Distinguished Service Award from the Research Committee of the Sociology of Education, of the International Sociological Association. He is currently Editor-in-Chief of *Social Psychology of Education: An International Journal*.

Jonathon Sargeant (Australian Catholic University) is a Senior Lecturer and Researcher in Inclusive Education, Classroom Management and Children's Rights in Education. Dr Sargeant joined ACU in 2010 and has taught across many Education Undergraduate and Postgraduate programs. He was recently instrumental in the establishment and coordination of the Graduate Certificate in Safeguarding Children which was awarded a Vice Chancellor's Citation in 2017. Previously Dr Sargeant has served as Coordinator of the Master of Education, has supervised PhD, EdD and MEd Research and served as Education Studies Discipline Leader (Vic) from 2014 to 2016 and has represented on a number of committees within the school including Teaching & Learning. Dr Sargeant's current research focuses on the child's participation rights from their perspective on their lives, educational experience and future. He is particularly interested in supporting provision and policy that incorporates young peoples' perspectives through ethical, voice-inclusive practices. Other research interests include school-age children's wellbeing & safeguarding, behavioural enhancement and social skills development.

Yusuf Sayed (University of Sussex) is a Professor of International Education and Development Policy, the South African Research Chair in Teacher Education and the Founding Director of the Centre for International Teacher Education (CITE) at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), South Africa. Previously he was Senior Policy Analyst at the EFA Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, Team Leader for Education and Skills, the Department for International Development UK and the Head of the Department of Comparative Education at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He is an international education and development policy specialist. His research focuses on education policy formulation and implementation as it relates to concerns of equity, social justice and transformation. He has published extensively on education quality and teacher education, exclusion and inclusion; education governance; private education and public-private partnerships in education; equity, social justice and social cohesion in education. He has recently completed an ESRC/DFID-funded project *Engaging teachers in peace building in post conflict contexts: evaluating education interventions in Rwanda and South Africa*. He is currently engaged in several large-scale studies about teacher professionalism, teacher education and continuing professional development in South Africa and globally including an EU-funded study *Safe and quality education for girls and boys in displacement situations in Ethiopia and Somalia*.

Anne L. Scott (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus), is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education and Arts. She teaches undergraduate and postgraduate units as well as supervising postgraduate research students in the School of Education. In 2009, she won the Faculty of Education Excellence in Teaching Award and in 2010 an Australian Learning and Teaching Citation. She continues to work closely with teachers in the areas of literacy and numeracy education. In particular, her focus of research not only identifies key similarities and differences between these disciplines, but also investigates the effective uses of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) for learning them.

Margaret Secombe (University of Adelaide) is Senior Lecturer and teaches in the Graduate School of Education. Her current research interests include multicultural education, bilingualism, language policies, and cultural pluralism. Her recent book is *J. J. Smolicz on Education and Culture* (co-edited with J. Zajda, 2004).

David J. Settle was Dean of Admissions and Records at Brigham Young University-Hawaii, and Associate Director of International Student and Scholar Services at Brigham Young University for 16 years before retirement. He has also served as Principal Designated School Official for F-1 students at BYU, and Responsible Officer for J-1 students and scholars at BYU-H and BYU. He has published research on perceived trust of pharmacists, and determinants of student academic success at schools of pharmacy.

Svi Shapiro was Professor of Cultural Studies and Education at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and past Director of the PhD program in Education and Cultural Studies. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of London, a Master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania and his doctorate from Boston University. He is the author or editor of 11 books on educational reform, social change and the moral dimensions of education. His most recent books are *Educating Youth for a World Beyond Violence* (Palgrave, 2010); *Education and Hope in Troubled Times: Visions of Change for Our Children's World* (Routledge, 2009); and *Losing Heart: the moral and spiritual miseducation of America's children* (Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006). He is a nationally recognised voice on the damaging effects of current educational policies on American education, and the need to re-envision the goals of schooling around democratic practices and values.

Ashley Simpson lectures in language education at Moray House School of Education and Sport, University of Edinburgh. He is also the Vice-Director of Shanghai University of Finance and Economics – University of Helsinki Joint Research Centre on Intercultural Studies.

Ustinia Simpson is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Helsinki. She specialises in inclusive education from a sociological perspective in Russia and in Finland.

Kelly J. Smith is currently living in the American Southwest after spending 16 years as an environmental educator at the elementary school level in the Midwest before beginning his doctoral studies as part of the Teaching, Learning and Sociocultural Studies department in the College of Education at the University of Arizona. His current research examines the integration of culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogies, environmental education, and digital literacies.

William C. Smith is a Senior Lecturer in Education and International Development at the University of Edinburgh. As part of his current post, he coordinates the MSc in Education (Comparative Education and International Development) pathway. Formerly, William worked as a Senior Policy Analyst at UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report and a Thomas J. Alexander Fellow with the OECD. His research explores the role of education in social and economic development with specific strands related to governance and accountability, population health, and the role of international organisations. His work has resulted in over 40 publications, including his edited book, *The Global Testing Culture: Shaping Education Policy, Perceptions, and Practice*.

Jerzy Smolicz (University of Adelaide), AM, was a Professor of Education and Director, Centre for Intercultural and Multicultural Education. He has published widely in the areas of multicultural education, bilingualism, language policies, cultural pluralism and the impact of globalisation on human rights and minorities.

Crain Soudien (University of Cape Town) is formerly the Director of the School of Education at the University of Cape Town and currently a Deputy Vice-Chancellor. He is a Joint Professor in Education and African Studies. He has published over 160 articles, reviews, reports and book chapters in the areas of social difference, culture, education policy, comparative education, educational change, public history and popular culture. He is also the co-editor of three books on District Six, Cape Town, a jointly edited book on comparative education and the author of *The Making of Youth Identity in Contemporary South Africa: Race, Culture and Schooling*, the author of *Realising the Dream: Unlearning the Logic of Race in the South African School* and the co-author of *Inclusion and Exclusion in South Africa and Indian Schools*. He was educated at the University of Cape Town, South Africa and holds a PhD from the State University of New York at Buffalo. He was a former President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies and had been the Chair of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation in Higher Education. He has served as the chair of three Ministerial Committees of Enquiry, including the Ministerial Committee on Transformation in Higher Education and the Ministerial Committee to Evaluate Textbooks for Discrimination. He is a fellow of a number of local and international academies and serves on the boards of a number of cultural, heritage, education and civil society structures.

Jennifer Vernick has completed her Masters in Social Work at Salem State. She works with Professor Yvonne Vissing in the area of Human rights education (HRE).

Yvonne Vissing is Professor and Policy Chair for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Founding Director of the Center for Childhood & Youth Studies and Chair of the Sociology Department at Salem State University in Salem, Massachusetts USA. Dr. Vissing has also created a nonprofit organization to assist communities to advocate for improved community, child and family services. Author of five books with several others near completion, Dr. Vissing has presented her work at international and national meetings and is engaged in work that has both an international and a domestic focus. A true child advocate, she has trained thousands of professionals and students in a framework that is based upon the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child to work with, and for, children's rights. As the research director for the Department of Sociology, she conducts both quantitative and qualitative research, and coordinates her region's annual research conference. Her main areas of concentration have focused upon economic well-being of children and families, education, health, legal rights, and community obligation and comprehensive services. Vissing worked to create a national peace conference for youth, has been a major contributor to *Oxford University's Encyclopedia of Peace*.

Duncan Waite (Texas State University-San Marcos) is a Professor in the education and community leadership program. He is editor of the *International Journal of Leadership in Education* (Routledge) and Director of The International Center for Educational Leadership and Social Change. He has published articles in the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, *La Revista Española de Pedagogía*, *International Studies in Educational Administration*, *Education & Society*, *The Urban Review*, *Journal of Leadership Studies*, *Journal of School Leadership and School Leadership and Management*, among others. He has chapters in *The Handbook of Research in School Supervision*; *The Practical Critical Educator: Critical Inquiry and Educational Practice*; *The International Handbook on Globalization, Education, and Policy Research*; *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* and numerous others. He has given keynote addresses at professional conferences in Barcelona, Granada and Cordoba, Spain (in Spanish); Samara, Russia; Ankara, Turkey; Glasgow, Scotland; and Aveiro, Portugal. Duncan sits on the editorial boards of 12 journals. His current interests lie in corruption in/of education, instructional supervision, critical educational policy analysis, organisations and hierarchies, anthropology, language, school improvement and teaching qualitative research.

Susan F. Waite is a faculty member in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Texas State University, where she teaches in graduate programs including Talent Development and Creativity Studies in Education. Her research interests include conditions of possibility and impossibility, the frameworks through which we see, liberation, departure, modes of experience and the coming of a never-seen-before form.

John A. Whitehouse is a Senior Lecturer in History/Humanities in the Melbourne Graduate School of Education at the University of Melbourne. A Fellow of the Australian College of Educators, he is the recipient of the Barbara Falk Award for Teaching Excellence (The University of Melbourne) and a national Award for Teaching Excellence (Australian Learning and Teaching Council). His research interests include discipline-based pedagogy in history, curriculum studies and historiography. He is international consulting editor for *Learning and Teaching*. His research appears in leading publications such as *Educational Practice and Theory* and Springer's *International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching*. His recent publications include: Whitehouse, J. (2021). Teaching historical causation in a global culture. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *The third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*. Dordrecht: Springer; Whitehouse, J. (2018). Critical Analysis of Sources in History: Developing Historical Thinking. *Education and Society*, 36(2), 5–14, 2018; Zajda, J. & Whitehouse, J. (2017). The Russian Revolution in School History Textbooks. *World Studies in Education*, 1(18), 59–86; Zajda, J. Henderson, D. & Whitehouse, J. (2017). The portrayal of John Curtin as Australia's wartime Labour Prime Minister. In J. Zajda, T. Tsyrlina-Spady & M. Lovorn (Eds.), *Globalisation and Historiography of National Leaders: Symbolic Representations in School Textbooks*. Dordrecht: Springer; Whitehouse, J. (2015). Historical Thinking: A Framework for Learning and Teaching History. *Educational Practice and Theory*, 37(2), 51–58.

Margret Winzer (University of Lethbridge) is a Professor of Education at the University of Lethbridge, Canada, where she teaches in the areas of early childhood education and special education. She has researched and written extensively in these fields, especially on comparative studies in special education. Her scholarly achievements are internationally recognised. Most recently she was awarded her university's Medal for Distinguished Research and Scholarship, and the Division of International Special Education Services of the Council for Exceptional Children honoured her with a Lifetime Achievement Award.

Alexander W. Wiseman (Lehigh University) is an Associate Professor of Comparative and International Education in the College of Education at Lehigh University. He has more than 18 years of professional experience working with government education departments, university-based teacher education programs, community-based professional development for teachers and as a classroom teacher in both the USA and East Asia. Dr Wiseman conducts internationally comparative educational research using large-scale education datasets on math and science education, information and communication technology (ICT), teacher preparation, professional development and curriculum as well as school principal's instructional leadership activity, and is the author of many research-to-practice articles and books. He serves as Series Editor for the International Perspectives on Education and Society volume series (Emerald Publishing), and has recently published in the

journals *Compare: A Journal of International and Comparative Education*, *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *Journal of Supranational Policies of Education* and *Computers & Education*.

Vince Wright is an educational consultant and was, until recently, an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts, the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specialises in Mathematics Education with a special focus on effective teaching of mathematical concepts such as algebra, multiplication and division, rational number and proportional reasoning. His interest also extends to the politics of curriculum change and assessment within a globalisation theoretical framework. He has 25 years of experience as a curriculum developer and teacher adviser. He has been developing mathematics resources for teachers and students in his native country, New Zealand. (Email: vince.wright.3.14@gmail.com)

Aki Yamada is an Assistant Professor at Tamagawa University. Her research interests include globalisation, contemporary Asian immigration, transnational identity, STEM&STEAM education and internationalisation of higher education. Her research methodology focuses on qualitative studies, with an emphasis on ethnography in particular. She has published a number of significant comparative studies on higher education trends in Japan and the USA. In 2018, Aki co-edited a book that Palgrave MacMillan published as part of its International and Development Education series (a series for which John Hawkins, Reiko Yamada and W. James Jacob served as co-editors). She attended Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, with a Bachelor of Arts in Policy Studies. She continued studying at Doshisha University and received her Master of Arts in American Studies. During her Master's program, she studied at Stanford University for 1 year as a Freeman Spogli Institute Visiting Researcher. Aki began her doctoral studies in education at the University of California Los Angeles in 2011, pursuing research on New Japanese living in the United States, under the direction of advisor John Hawkins. After graduating she worked 4 years as an Assistant Professor in the Empowerment Informatics leading graduate program at University of Tsukuba.

Kevin Wai Ho Yung is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the Education University of Hong Kong. He received his Ph.D. degree in Education at the University of Hong Kong with a focus on senior secondary students' second language selves in shadow education. He is involved in assessment work in the HKEAA and the Civil Service Examinations Unit of the HKSAR Government. He is also a trainer for English teachers in Hong Kong and Mainland China. He has recently led a research project funded by SCOLAR in the Education Bureau investigating learners' transition from secondary school to university studies.

Mariama Zaami is a Lecturer at the Department of Geography and Resource Development at the University of Ghana in Akra, Ghana. Her research areas include educational inclusion, gender and poverty, migration, health, ethnicity and livelihood change and African immigration into Canada. (Email: mzaami@ug.edu)

Joseph Zajda (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne) is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He is a Fellow of the Australian College of Educators. He received Vice-Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching and Peter Sheehan Excellence in Research Award (Faculty of Education) for his high quality of research activities, and which celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He is also a recipient of the Australian Awards for University Teaching for his innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication. He has written and edited 51 books and over 130 book chapters. He specialises in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education and values education. Recent publications include: Zajda, J. (Ed). (2021). *3rd International handbook of globalisation, education and policy research*. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J. & Rust, V. (2021). *Globalisation and comparative education*. Dordrecht: Springer; Zajda, J (Ed). (2020a). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer, Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020b). *Human rights education globally*. Springer, Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020c). *Globalisation, ideology and education reforms: Emerging paradigms*. Springer; Zajda, J. & Majhanovich, S. (Eds.). (2021). *Globalisation, cultural identity and nation-building: The changing paradigms*. Springer. He is also the editor of the thirty-six volume book series *Globalisation and Comparative Education* (Springer, 2009 & 2025). He edits *World Studies in Education, Curriculum and Teaching*, and *Education and Society* for James Nicholas Publishers. His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 11,000 university library holdings globally. He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Monash University) for 2011-2015 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia (\$315,000). Orcid iD <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4422-9782> (Email: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au)

Rea Zajda had been the Publisher and Managing Director of James Nicholas Publishers (Melbourne, and San Francisco) for the last forty years. She was Managing Editor of seven scholarly journals: *Educational Practice & Theory*, (formerly *New Education*), *Curriculum & Teaching*, *Education and Society*, *World studies in Education*, *Political Crossroads*, *Learning and Teaching and Information, Theory and Society*. She graduated from Monash University and the University of Melbourne. Her latest book is *The Calculable Woman: Discourses of the Self and Sexuality*. She was awarded the Frieda Cohen prize for the best dissertation in the Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne.

Matthew D. Zbaracki is Senior Lecturer at the Australian Catholic University, where he teaches children's literature and literacy classes in teacher education courses. His areas of interest include children's literature, boys and reading and reading engagement.

Zheng Zhang is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada. Her research interests include curriculum studies of transnational education, literacy and biliteracy curriculum, internationalisation of curriculum, multimodal literacy, cross-border teacher education undergirded by new media literacies and multiliteracies pedagogy in culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. These primary research areas have addressed pertinent educational challenges in the era of changes with increasing cultural and linguistic diversity, rapid global connectivity and fast-paced technological changes. (Email: zzhan58@uwo.ca)

Chapter 1

Overview and Introduction



Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter analyses current emerging research trends in education reforms globally. The chapter critiques and evaluates a neo-liberal and neoconservative education policy reforms. It discusses meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education, dominated by standards-driven culture and students' academic achievement. It analyses discourses of globalisation processes impacting on education and policy reforms, both locally and globally, designed to promote economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity through education reforms. The chapter critiques standards-driven and outcomes-defined policy. The analysis of education policy reforms, and the resultant social stratifications in the global culture, demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms – where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand, globalisation is perceived, by some critics at least, to be a totalising force that is widening the inequality, and the socio-economic status (SES) gap and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and bringing power, domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations.

1.1 Global Trends in Education and Academic Achievement

Since the 1980s, globalisation, marketisation and academic standards driven reforms around the world have resulted in structural, ideological and qualitative changes in education and policy (Appadurai 1996; OECD 2020; Zajda 2020a). They including an increasing focus on the UNESCO's concepts of knowledge society, the lifelong learning for all (a 'cradle-to-grave' vision of learning) representing the lifelong learning paradigm and the "knowledge economy" and the global culture. In their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, governments increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students'

J. Zajda (✉)

Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_1

academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the ‘internationally agreed framework’ of the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes (see Zajda 2020b). To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in co-operation with UNESCO, is using *World Education Indicators* (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals.

The 2011 OECD and 2019a, b reports address the importance of achieving quality and equality of educational outcomes, through ensuring equity, and supported by a fair allocation of resources, to achieve quality of education for all (See OECD 2020). This policy goal has become a dominant ideology in global educational standards (Zajda 2020b). The report also refers to factors which affect educational outcomes, including ‘attending a school with positive student-teacher relations, certified teachers, and a strong infrastructure’ (OECD 2011, p. 454). Furthermore, the significance of inclusive school systems – those that support diversity among all learners was already highlighted in the *Education at a Glance* (2011), which stated that: ‘school systems with greater levels of inclusion have better overall outcomes and less inequality’ (p. 455). Schools systems tend to be inclusive when experienced teachers and material resources are evenly distributed among schools:

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

The 2011 and 2013 OECD’s reports on income inequality, *Divided We Stand* (2011), *Inequality rising faster than ever* (2013a), and *Crisis squeezes income and puts pressure on inequality and poverty* (2013b) documented that the gap between rich and poor in OECD countries had widened continuously over the last three decades to 2008, reaching an all-time high in 2007. According to the OECD report (2013a), economic inequality has increased by more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also notes that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2013b). The widening economic and social inequalities in education are due to market-oriented economies, governance and schooling. Social inequalities, based on economic and cultural capital, and socio-economic status (SES) and exclusion, are more than real (OECD 2018; World Bank 2019; UNDESA World Social Report 2020; Zajda, 2011, 2020a). Access and equity continue to be ‘enduring concerns’ in education (OECD 2002, p. 26, 2013a, 2020).

1.1.1 Comparative View of Academic Achievement

The OECD's PISA international survey presents an encyclopaedic view of the comparative review of education systems in OECD member countries and in other countries. It assesses the competencies of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science in more than 90 countries and economies. At least half of the indicators relate to the output and outcomes of education, and one-third focus on equity issues (gender differences, special education needs, inequalities in literacy skills and income).

The chapters in the *Handbook* comment on education policies, outcomes, differences in participation, competencies demanded in the knowledge society, and alternative futures for schools. Only a minority of countries seem to be well on the way of making literacy for all a reality. For the rest, illiteracy, as confirmed by the OECD study, was at the time, "largely an unfinished agenda" (OECD 2002, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 67).

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

1.1.2 Schools for the Future

One could conclude with six scenarios for tomorrow's schools (see OECD 2002, *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 2002, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 119).

Education policy issues raised by Michael Barber (2000) in his keynote address 'The Evidence of Things not Seen: Reconceptualising Public Education' at the

OECD/Netherlands Rotterdam International Conference on Schooling for Tomorrow (see CERI website at www.oecd.org/cer) include the five “strategic challenges” and four “deliverable goals” for tomorrow’s schools:

Strategic challenges

- reconceptualising teaching
- creating high autonomy/high performance
- building capacity and managing knowledge
- establishing new partnerships
- reinventing the role of government

Deliverable goals

- achieving universally high standards
- narrowing the achievement gap
- unlocking individualisation
- promoting education with character

The questions that arise from the strategic challenges and deliverable goals framework, and which are useful in delineating the policy challenges and the goals pursued, centre on the issue of equality, or egalitarianism (rather than meritocracy) in education. Specifically, one can refer to the different cultural and political environments, which affect the nature of schooling. Diversity and uniformity, with reference to equality of opportunity 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.

1.1.3 Educational Policy Goals and Outcomes

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

comparative data, especially performance indicators, as current outcomes reflect “biases as to the goals and objectives” of lifelong learning (p. 69).

1.2 International Studies of Educational Achievement

Psacharopoulos (1995) questioned the validity and reliability of international comparisons of education policies, standards and academic achievement. In examining the changing nature of comparative education he offered a more pragmatic educational evaluation of policy, which is based on *deconstructing* international comparisons. He commented on the controversy surrounding the validity of international achievement comparisons (IEA and IAEP studies on achievement in different countries), unmasked 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 suggested 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).

1.3 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 valued commodities in the global culture (OECD 2013a, b, 2020).

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*, is 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 (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020).
- 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 (2002) model of the knowledge society, and associated strategic challenge’ and ‘deliverable goals’ (OECD 2002, p. 139),
- UNESCO-driven lifelong learning paradigm, and its relevance to education policy makers globally,
- Different models of policy planning, and equity questions that are raised by centralisation/decentralisation, diversity/uniformity and curriculum standardisation issues,
- The ‘crisis’ of educational quality, the debate over standards and excellence, and good and effective teaching.

By addressing the above themes, it is hoped the *Handbook* will contribute to a better and a more holistic understanding of the education policy and research nexus – offering possible strategies for the effective and pragmatic policy planning and implementation at the local, regional and national levels. The *Handbook* by examining some of the major education policy issues provides a more meaningful concept map better of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education, ideology and policy-driven reforms (Zajda 2020b).

Perceiving education policy research and globalisation as dynamic and multifaceted processes necessitates a multiple perspective approach in the close-up study of education and society. As a result, the authors in the *Handbook* offer a rich mixture of globalisation discourses on current developments and reforms in education around the world. Understanding the ambivalent nexus between globalisation, education and culture – constructing similarities and differences in education reform

trajectories is likely to result in a better understanding of the globalisation process and its impact on educational institutions.

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

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

Examining the politics of rescaling and the emergence of the WTO as a global actor enables us to see how education systems are both offered as a new service to trade in the global economy and pressured into responding to the logic of free trade globally...the WTO becomes a site where powerful countries are able to dominate and shape the rules of the game, and in a global economy some countries increasingly view opening their education systems to the global marketplace as a means of attracting foreign investment (Robertson et al. 2002, p. 495).

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

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

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. In the global culture the university, as other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution (see *Globalisation and the Changing Role of the University*). Such a managerial and entrepreneurial re-orientation would have been seen in the past as antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university of

providing knowledge for its own sake. Delanty (2001) noted that ‘with business schools and techno science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy.. the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled than strengthened as a result of globalisation’ (Delanty 2001, p. 115).

It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector, and education in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology (Zajda 2020a).

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 (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020). Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing world, where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty and alienation. Jarvis (2009) argued for 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 2009, p. 295).

The above reflects both growing alienation and a Durkheimian sense of anomie in the world “invaded” by forces of globalisation, cultural imperialism, and global hegemonies that dictate the new economic, political and social regimes of truth. These newly constructed imperatives in educational policy could well operate as global master narratives, playing a hegemonic role within the framework of economic, political and cultural hybrids of globalisation (Zajda 2020b).

1.4 Multidimensional Aspect of Globalisation

While there is some general consensus on globalisation as a multi-faceted ideological construct defining a convergence of cultural, economic and political dimensions (‘global village’ now signifies and communicates global culture), there are significant differences in discourses of globalisation, partly due to differences of theoretical, ideological, and disciplinary perspectives. Multidimensional typology of globalisation reflects, in one sense, a more diverse interpretation of culture – the synthesis of technology, ideology, and organisation, specifically border crossings of

people, global finance and trade, IT convergence, as well as cross-cultural and communication convergence. In another sense, globalisation as a post-structuralist paradigm invites many competing and contesting interpretations. These include not only ideological interpretations but also discipline-based discourses, which include the notions of the homogenisation and hybridisation of cultures, the growth of social networks that transcend national boundaries supranational organisations, the decline of the nation-state, and the new mode of communication and IT that changes one's notion of time, and space.

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

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

1. Globalisation and education reforms: Main trends and issues
2. Globalisation and education policy reform
3. Globalisation and education policy: Comparative perspective
4. Globalisation and education reforms
5. Globalisation and education futures: Human rights

The *Handbook* contains 59 chapters, with each chapter containing 6000–8000 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*.

1.5 Globalisation, Education and Policy Reforms

In the opening section of the *Handbook* there are eight chapters that address the nexus between globalisation and education. The leading chapter *The futures of education in globalization: Multiple drivers* (Yin Cheong Cheng, The Education University of Hong Kong) analyses the changing paradigms in globalisation and the futures of education reforms. The next chapter discusses globalisation, meta-ideology and education reforms. The chapter that follows analyses the future of global education politics. The fourth chapter examines the future of education reforms in post-apartheid South Africa. The fifth chapter discusses the impact of globalization on education and policy reforms in Latin America. The sixth chapter analyses the nexus between globalisation, meta-ideological hegemony and education. The seventh chapter examines discourses of globalisation and neo-liberalism. The concluding chapter evaluates the impact of globalisation and policy borrowing in education.

1.5.1 Globalisation and Higher Education

This section, containing seven chapters examines globalisation and higher education, and its impact on the reform in the higher education sector. The introductory chapter examines the impact of globalisation on the higher education and the work of the neoliberal university. The chapters that follow, analyse globalisation and higher education policy reforms, a drive for a world-class economic and educational performance in the Greater Bay area of China, the impact of globalisation on university rankings, higher education developments in the Arab region, globalisation in higher education: Bridging global and local education, and finally, the impact of globalisation on the mission of the university.

1.6 Globalisation and Education Policy Reform

This section contain 14 chapters, divided as follows:

1.6.1 Globalisation, Education Policy and Change

This section has six chapters. The lead chapter analyses PISA, ideology and a paradigm shift in education and policy and the problems facing educational institutions and policy-makers alike. The chapters that follow examine the nexus between globalisation, culture and thinking in comparative education, critical explorations in education and conflict, inclusion and globalisation in Russian education, tacit skills and occupational mobility in a global culture and globalisation and coloniality in education and development in Africa.

1.6.2 Globalisation and Educational Policy Issues

This section has eight chapters. The introductory chapter in this section, examines globalisation, culture and social transformation. The chapters that follow analyse minorities and education policies reforms in Central Asia, globalisation and Islamic education, globalisation, teachers and inclusive schooling, critical cosmopolitan literacies: Students' lived experience in a Canadian offshore school in Hong Kong, a new global lens for viewing children's literature, globalisation, cultural diversity and multiculturalism, and globalisation and pedagogy of peace.

1.7 Globalisation and Education Policy: Comparative Perspective

This section contains eight chapters. The introductory chapter examines development of moral and ethical reasoning: A Comparison of U.S. and international university students' moral reasoning skills. Other chapters analyse educational efficiency in New Zealand schools, globalisation and the case of civics and citizenship education in Australia, globalisation and improving basic education in Brazil, the language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa: policies and practices, globalisation and the National Curriculum reform in Australia: The push for Asia literacy, education policy in the age of global migration: African immigrants and ESL education in Canada, and how higher education sector adapts to globalisation in Canada.

1.8 Globalisation and Education Reforms

This sections contains 13 chapters discussing globalisation and the expansion of shadow education, or private tutoring, what policy lessons can be learnt from high performing education systems of Singapore and Hong Kong, globalisation and educational policy shifts, education as a fault line in assessing democratization: ignoring the globalizing influence of schools, international evidence for the teaching of reading in New Zealand, cultural and social capital in global perspective, is a critical pedagogy of place enough?: Intersecting culturally sustaining pedagogies with environmental education, Nigeria's inter-faith, inter-ideology crisis: The need for global citizenship education, philosophical and pedagogical underpinnings of globalisation and education, service learning in an undergraduate primary teacher education program and transforming lives, capital and lower case letter use in early childhood education: A comparative Australasian and Swedish study, school-university partnerships and enhancing pre-service teacher understanding of community, and teaching historical causation in a global culture.

1.9 Globalisation and Education Futures: Human Rights

This sections contains eight chapter examining education futures: Language and human rights in global literacy, academic freedom between history and human rights in a global context, critical pedagogy and rights-respecting curriculum, a critical analysis of SDG 4 coverage in voluntary national reviews, scaffolding human rights education, globalisation and human rights education in Australia, the right to education, and finally the imperative of realising the child's right to quality education.

The above analysis of globalisation, ideology and education reforms by a number of scholars, demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms. The globalisation processes taking place today are likely to legitimise the unequal distribution of socially valued commodities, including economic, cultural and social capital available. Given that cultural capital is one of the most valuable social commodities, it will continue to play a significant role in affecting social mobility globally.

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Chapter 2

The Futures of Education in Globalization: Multiple Drivers



Yin Cheong Cheng

Abstract This chapter maps out a cluster of key drivers which influence the development of education globally and locally. It also highlights the implications from the key drivers for designing the futures of education. Based on the author's long term research project on education reforms, some global trends in education are identified as key drivers for discussion and analysis, including multiple disruptions of the pandemic, global expansion of higher education, multiple developments in globalization, paradigms shift in education, application of technological advances, and multiple functions of education at different levels. From these drivers and their related characteristics, some important implications, directions and insights are drawn to direct, change and reconceptualize education for the future development of students and the society in a context of globalization after the pandemic COVID-19. It is hoped that the analysis of these drivers can provide a macro-societal picture of global trends and views for policy makers, educators, researchers, and change agents globally to plan the futures of education at different levels of their education system.

2.1 Introduction

There are increasing challenges of globalization, technology advances, economic competitions, and strong demands for local and personal development in an era of worldwide transformations. People believe, education is crucial to the future development of young people and the society, and therefore it should be changed fundamentally from its traditional approach towards a new one to meet these tremendous challenges. In the last two decades, the challenges and related impacts have been

Note: This is a paper based on the author' keynote speech presented at the Arabic Regional Dialogue "The Futures of Education after COVID-19", organized by the UNESCO-RCEP-CO Webinar on 16–17 June 2020. Some materials of this article were adapted from the author's Cheng (2005, 2019).

Y. C. Cheng (✉)

The Education University of Hong Kong, Ting Kok, Hong Kong

e-mail: yccheng@eduhk.hk

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_2

driving globally numerous reforms and changes in the design and practice of education with aims to enhance the future competitiveness and development of next generation (Cheng 2019, 2020a). In particular, while facing the tremendous impacts of multiple disruptions from the COVID-19 pandemic on nearly every aspect of human life and the rise of deglobalization movements (Irwin 2020; Browne 2020; McKibbin and Fernando 2020), policy makers, educators, leaders, change agents, and scholars would wish to reflect on the futures of education in globalization. It would be interesting to analyze and discuss what key trends and issues of education are emerging, what key drivers are dominating the future directions of education, and what implications can be drawn for designing education and its reforms for the future development of young people in the twenty-first century.

Based on the author's long-term research on the worldwide education reform phenomenon from 1990s to 2020 (Cheng 1996, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2017, 2019, 2020a, b, c; Cheng et al. 2016b), this chapter aims to address the above issues. It maps out a picture of key drivers influencing the futures of education globally and locally and highlights the implications for re-designing the future of learning systems.

In this chapter, multiple disruptions of the pandemic, global expansion of higher education, multiple developments in globalization, paradigms shift in education, application of technological advances, and multiple functions of education at different levels are taken as the major drivers for discussion and analysis of the future development of education. It is hoped that from these drivers some important directions and insights can be identified to change education for the future development of students and the society in a context of globalization after the pandemic COVID-19.

2.2 Disruptions of the Pandemic as Drivers

There are increasing huge global outbreaks from the COVID-19 pandemic to most countries, areas, communities, and schools of the world, threatening the survival and development of all human being. There are over 15.7 million people confirmed of COVID-19 including 440,290 deaths, as at 26 July 2020 (WHO, July 2020).

In order to stop the outbreaks of these disasters and related death threats, there have been all possible measures taken by governments and communities to lock down nearly all major activities of the society. It becomes global syndromes across different countries, characterized by locking down mass transportations, city and school closure, serious economic recession, huge unemployment, closing down business, increasing cultural or/and racial conflicts, politicizing the pandemic issues, and expanding international tensions (Cheng 2020b; Atkeson 2020; Ivanov 2020).

Following the influences of serious global syndromes of pandemic, there may be multiple disruptions to the infra-structures of education systems, including technological, economic, social, political, cultural and learning disruptions, creating various challenges and impacts to different aspects of education systems worldwide (Cheng 2020b; Di Pietro et al. 2020). What lessons education systems can learn to meet these challenges and redress the multiple disruptions? What implications can be drawn for designing the futures of education which can resist the negative impacts of pandemic

Table 2.1 Multiple disruptions & implications for education

Multiple disruptions	Challenges to education systems (examples)	Implications for the futures of education (examples)
Technological disruptions	Technology gaps in online learning, in new assessment modes, in ensuring quality, equity & equality....	Using ICT & platforms to redefine the nature & boundary of learning, build up ecosystems for effective learning...
Economic disruptions	Lack of crucial resources (e.g. masks, new facilities) to support school re-opening, launch new measures & online initiatives ...	Community/regional collaborations to broaden sources of support, create synergy & critical mass
Social disruptions	Social distancing & segregation , discouraging social gathering & human touch, damaging social climate & quality in schools..	Creating social support messages & activities to promote positive spirit, health knowledge & mutual support among schools & the community...
Political disruptions	Making pandemic political , creating political conflicts globally and locally, that finally affect education...	Building up local & regional partnership or alliances , working together to support education online or re-opening...
Cultural disruptions	Culturally diverse responses to pandemic, hindering the common understanding & effort in schools...	Grooming the culture of tolerance of different views, but acting based on scientific knowledge in schools...
Learning disruptions	Learning gaps & psychological barriers during school closure or re-opening, losing learning time & opportunities...	Using these disruptions as good opportunities to make changes in practice & paradigm shift in learning & teaching...

Adapted from Cheng (2020b)

disruptions and adapt to the environment of “new normal”? These may be new and crucial issues for educators, social leaders, policymakers, and researchers to consider when they re-design their education development and restructuring after COVID-19.

Table 2.1 provides a typology of multiple disruptions and their related implications. To different countries or areas, they may experience different combinations of disruptions on their education systems. Some may experience mainly the learning and technological disruptions. Some may be affected by the economic, political and cultural disruptions. It is not a surprise that most countries and their education systems are suffering from most types (if not all) of disruptions.

To different types of disruptions, the related challenges and implication for the future developments of education systems may be different. For example, suffering from the technological disruptions, people are concerned about the technology gaps which are hindering the efforts in transforming the traditional face-to-face teaching into the online learning, implementing new assessment and pedagogical models, and ensuring quality, equity, and equality in teaching and learning (Cahapay 2020; Whalen 2020; Haeck and Lefebvre 2020). This has become an important area of policy concerns in education during the pandemic. Another example, the economic disruptions on education systems are often related to the lack of crucial resources (e.g. masks, facilities, expertise, etc.) to support school re-opening, launch new measures and online initiatives, and keep learning environment clean and safe, etc. (UNESCO 2020).

In response to the challenges of these disruptions, some common lessons, experiences and solutions can also be earned for future practices in education, as summarized in Table 2.1. For example, to overcome the technological gaps, information technology (IT) and platforms may be used to redefine the nature, content and boundary of learning and build up various types of ecosystems for future learning (Anderson 2016; Boticki et al. 2015; Gros and García-Peñalvo 2016; García-Peñalvo et al. 2017; Fournier et al. 2019; Oproiu 2015).

To address the issues of lack of crucial resources, people are strongly encouraged to develop various types of local and international collaborations with government agents, NGOs, universities, business sectors and high-tech companies to broaden multiple sources of support, create synergy and critical mass of intellectual capital in dealing with negative impacts of disruptions (Kyhilstedt and Andersson 2020; Xiang et al. 2020). Another example, the social distancing and segregation as an important measure to stop outbreaks of COVID-19, seriously discourages social gathering and human touch, and then damages the social climate and quality in education process. To redress these social issues in education during the pandemic, people can create social support messages and activities to promote friendship and positive spirit, disseminate health knowledge, and provide mutual support among schools locally and globally. Local and regional partnership and alliances can be built up to work together to support development of online education and training or to prepare school re-opening. The partnership may also help to reduce the issues of political disruptions across schools, communities, or regions (e.g. Janiaud 2020, April).

As learning disruptions during school closure or re-opening, the issues of learning gaps (such as lost learning time and opportunities, disadvantaged students in online learning, individual motivation in home learning, change in learning assessment, psychological barriers of students and teachers, etc.) are in fact challenging to numerous schools and teachers (Di Pietro et al. 2020; UNESCO 2020). The solutions of these issues often depend heavily on their commitment and effort with the support from families and the community.

As listed in Table 2.1, these multiple disruptions bring not only challenges and difficulties but also implications and opportunities for the education systems and educators to make changes in ongoing practices and paradigm shift in learning and teaching for the future (Cheng 2019, 2020c). In other words, they can also be taken as important drivers of the futures of education. New research initiatives and policy concerns are needed to explore the burning issues in this area with implications from the multiple disruptions of pandemic.

2.3 Global Growth of Higher Education as Driver

To meet the increasing global and regional challenges in the new century, the development of higher education for building up competitive human resources has become an important worldwide movement in the last three decades (Lane 2015;

Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2014). This movement is evident in a continuous and tremendous growth in tertiary student enrolment in different parts of the world in the last 40 years. For example, the total global enrolment in higher education jumped from 85 million in 1997 to 182 million in 2011, representing a 114% increase in a period of 14 year (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2009, 2014). The tertiary student enrolment will be expected to further jump from 212 m in 2015 to 332 m in 2030 with 119.6 m or 56% increase (Choudaha and van Rest 2018). From 1970 to 2030, the tertiary student enrolment will have been increased 937% from 32 m to 332 m. It will continuously be a huge global expansion of higher education and its student enrolment, driving the development of education in coming years.

In such a context, what will be the impacts of this global growth of tertiary students on the future of students and the society? There will be more and more graduate competitors entering the job market to compete for their jobs seriously. As evident in the past decades, there are also various types of serious competitions at individual, institutional, society, and international levels. In order to outperform so many other competitors in job markets or other competitions, what kind of qualities or cutting edges the school/university graduates should achieve if they wish to become competitive in globalization (Arifin and Ikhfan 2018; Houston et al. 2005; Zakharova et al. 2018)? This is a crucial issue of futures of education, driven by the global growth of tertiary students and its related competitions.

The major implication from the above is whether the future education can help students to build up their capacity which can add or create more value in their performance or job outcomes than other competitors in future competitions (Cheng 2005, ch.2). Therefore, one of key aims of the future education is to groom students' creative and innovative edges for global competitions in future (Mullen 2018). In particular, students' creativity in term of creativeness (creating new ideas), innovation (creating new applications), and entrepreneurship (creating new business and industry) has received increasing attention in education reforms worldwide (Atoum 2019; Martín et al. 2017; Mullen 2018; Indrasari et al. 2018).

2.4 Multiple Developments as Drivers

Globalization is multiple, involving not only technological globalization, economic globalization and political globalization but also social globalization, cultural globalization and learning globalization, and resulting in multiple developments of the world, societies, institutions and individuals (Cheng 2005; Wikipedia 2020). Driven by the pursuit of multiple developments in globalization, the context for human development is also multiple and complex, and the classification of human nature can be correspondingly contextualized by a typology composed of technological person, economic person, social person, political person, cultural person, and learning person in the twenty-first century.

To different types of people, the characteristics of their thinking used in action and development may be completely different, as shown in Table 2.2 (Cheng 2019). There may be six types of contextualized multiple thinking (CMT) or contextualized

Table 2.2 Characteristics of contextualized multiple thinking/intelligence

Contextualized multiple thinking/intelligence	
Characteristics	Technological thinking/intelligence
Rationality	Technological rationality
Ideology	Methodological effectiveness; Goal achievement; Technological engineering; Technical optimization
Key concerns in thinking	What methods and technologies can be used? How can the aims be achieved more effectively? Can any technical innovation and improvement be made and the process be reengineered?
	Economic thinking/intelligence
	Economic rationality
	Efficiency; Cost-benefit; Resources & financial management; Economic optimization
	Social thinking/intelligence
	Social rationality
	Social relations; Human needs; Social satisfaction
	Political thinking/intelligence
	Political rationality
	Interest, power and conflict; Participation, negotiation, and democracy
	Cultural thinking/intelligence
	Cultural rationality
	Values, beliefs, ethics and traditions; Integration, coherence and morality
	Learning thinking/intelligence
	Adaptive rationality
	Adaptation to changes; Continuous improvement and development

Beliefs about action	To use scientific knowledge and technology to solve problems and achieve aims	To procure and use resources to implement plan and achieve outcomes	To establish social network and support to motivate members and implement plan	To negotiate and struggle among parties to manage or solve conflicts	To clarify ambiguities and uncertainties and realize the vision including key values and beliefs shared	To discover new ideas and approaches to achieving aims
Beliefs about outcomes	Outcome is a predictable product of right technology and methodology	Outcome is an output from the calculated use of resources	Outcome is a product of social activities	Outcome is a result of bargaining, compromise, and interplay among interested parties	Outcome is a symbolic product of meaning making or cultural actualization	Outcome is the discovery of new knowledge and approaches and the enhancement of intelligence

Adapted from the author's Cheng (2019)

multiple intelligence (CMI), including technological thinking, economic thinking, social thinking, political thinking, cultural thinking and learning thinking (Stuckart and Rogers 2017; Nigmatov and Nugumanova 2015; Schug et al. 2016; Peña et al. 2015; Greifeneder et al. 2017; DeLue and Dale 2016; Osafo 2017).

With the implication from multiple developments in globalization, multiple thinking and creativity are strongly emphasized in ongoing educational reforms and are believed to be key elements for the future development of young people. Multiple thinking represents the ability to think broadly and solve problems with multiple or various perspectives in a changing context full of uncertainties and ambiguities. Creativity refers to the ability of thinking or doing differently out of the traditional or existing ways in learning or action such that it can create new values (Cheng 2019). Both multiple thinking and creativity are assumed to be competitive edges for young generation to survive and develop in the twenty-first century (Noweski et al. 2012; Longworth 2013; Beetham and Sharpe 2013; Finegold and Notabartolo 2010; Newton and Newton 2014). According to Cheng (2005, 2019), a pentagon theory of new learning can be used to design future education and develop students' CMI or CMT (Fig. 2.1). The future education should be designed to facilitate students' development of each type of CMI, including technological intelligence, economic intelligence, social intelligence, political intelligence, cultural intelligence, and learning intelligence. Learning intelligence is the core, which can accelerate the development of other types of intelligence. In the new design of learning process, it is important to groom students' creativity and innovative ability by facilitating their thinking transfer between different types of intelligence. With the CMI and creativity, students can have the ability to be sustainably effective for multiple developments even under the serious challenges from the multiple disruptions globally and locally.

2.5 Paradigm Shift in Education as Driver

Since 1980s worldwide education reforms have undergone three waves or movements for change: the effective education movement, the quality education movement, and the world-class education movement. Each wave of reform works within its own paradigm in conceptualizing the nature of education and formulating related initiatives to change educational practices at the operational, site, and system levels. In the transition from one wave to the next, *paradigm shifts* may occur in the conceptualization and practice of learning, teaching, and leadership (Abbas et al. 2013; Beetham and Sharpe 2013; Cheng 2011, 2014; Kiprop and Verma 2013). It would be interesting and significant to explore and understand how the paradigm shifts drive the changes in conceptualization and practice of education, particularly for the future. Corresponding to the worldwide waves of education reforms, a new typology may be used to conceptualize education into three paradigms: the first wave paradigm of internal education, the second wave paradigm of interface education, and the third wave paradigm of future education. These three paradigms differ from

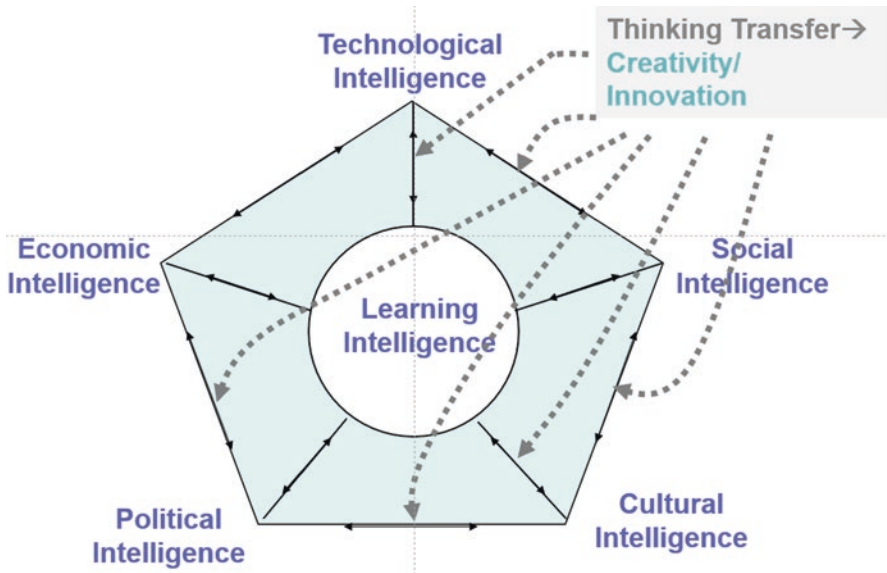


Fig. 2.1 Pentagon theory for designing future education

each other in terms of their assumptions about the environment, reform movements, the conception of effectiveness, and the nature of learning and teaching (Table 2.3).

2.6 1st Wave Paradigm

Since the 1980s, *effective education movements* have taken place in different parts of the world, including in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, and many other Asian and European countries (Townsend et al. 2007). These movements represent the first wave of education reforms aiming at improving internal processes in learning, teaching, and management and enhancing the *internal effectiveness* of educational institutions in achieving preplanned education aims and curriculum targets. In the first wave paradigm, the major role of an educational institution is the delivery of planned knowledge, skills, and cultural values to students in a stable industrial society. This paradigm assumes that learning is a process in which students are mainly *trainees* receiving a planned set of knowledge, skills, and cultural values for their survival in society. The role of the teacher is mainly perceived as *knowledge deliverer* or *instructor* (Cheng 2014). Facing the challenges of globalization and market competition in 1990s, people began to doubt how effective and valid these improvement initiatives were in meeting the diverse needs and expectations of students, parents, employers, policy makers, and other stakeholders in this era of globalization.

Table 2.3 Three Paradigms of Education

Research focuses	1st wave paradigm	2nd wave paradigm	3rd wave paradigm
Assumption about environment	An industrial society Comparatively stable and predictable Education provision under centralized manpower planning	A commercial and consumption society Unstable with lots of uncertainties and competitions Education provision driven by competition and market	A lifelong-learning and multiple-development society Fast-changing society with globalization and technology advances Education provision and content mainly characterized by globalization, localization, and individualization
Reform movements	Effective education movements To improve the internal process and performance of education institutions in order to enhance the achievements of planned goals of education	Quality education movements To ensure the quality and accountability of educational services provided by institutions meeting the multiple stakeholders' expectations and needs	World-class education movements To ensure the relevance and world-class standards of education for the multiple and sustainable forms of development of students and the society for the future in globalization
Conception of effectiveness	Internal effectiveness Achievement of planned goals and tasks of delivery of knowledge, skills, and values in learning, teaching, and schooling	Interface effectiveness Satisfaction of stakeholders with the educational services, including education process and outcomes; and as accountability to the public	Future effectiveness Relevance to the multiple and sustainable forms of development of individuals and the society for the future
Nature of learning	Trainee A process whereby students receive knowledge, skills, and cultural values from teachers and curriculum	Client/stakeholder A process whereby students receive a service provided by the educational institution and teachers	Self-initiated CMI learner A process whereby students develop contextualized multiple intelligences (CMI) and other twenty-first-century competences for multiple and sustainable forms of development
Nature of teaching	Knowledge delivery/instruction A process of delivering planned knowledge, skills, and cultural values to students	Service provision A process of providing education services to multiple stakeholder and satisfying their expectations	Facilitation of multiple and sustainable forms of development A process of facilitating capacity building for multiple and sustainable forms of development of students and the society for the future

Note. Adapted from the author's Cheng (2005, 2011, 2019)

2.7 2nd Wave Paradigm

In response to concerns about educational accountability to the public, education quality that satisfies stakeholders' expectations, and the marketization of education provision in the 1990s, a paradigm shift from the first wave to the second wave of education occurred in different parts of the world. Various education reforms were initiated to ensure the quality, accountability, and competitiveness of education provision to meet the needs of internal and external stakeholders (e.g., Goertz and Duffy 2001; Headington 2000; Heller 2001; Mahony and Hextall 2000). In the second wave, the role of educational institutions is the provision of educational services in a commercial and consumer society, with quality satisfying the expectations and needs of key stakeholders—students, parents, employers, and other social constituencies. This wave emphasizes *interface effectiveness* between educational institutions and the community, typically defined by stakeholders' satisfaction, accountability to the public, and competitiveness in the education market. Learning is assumed to be a process for students as *clients or stakeholders* who receive a service provided by teachers and then become competitive in the job market. The teacher is perceived as an *education service provider*. The 2nd wave policy initiatives may not be explicitly or directly relevant to students' self-initiative, sustainable learning, and multiple developments in globalization. It is often too market driven or competition oriented, deviating from the core values and meanings of education.

2.8 3rd Wave Paradigm

To ensure that younger generations are able to overcome the future challenges of rapid transformations to a society of lifelong learning and multiple forms of development in a new era, many social leaders, policy makers, and educators worldwide have advocated a paradigm shift in learning and teaching (Noweski et al. 2012; Yorke 2011). They have advocated a fundamental reform of the aims, content, practice, and management of education to enhance the relevance of students' learning to the future (Beetham and Sharpe 2013; Longworth 2013; Ramirez and Chan-Tiberghin 2003). Since the turn of the new century, a 3rd wave paradigm for education reforms has been emerging, with a strong emphasis on *future effectiveness*, often defined as the relevance of education to the future development of students and the society. Given the strong implications of globalization and international competition, the new wave of reforms is driven by the notion of *world-class education movements*. Educational performance is often studied and measured in terms of world-class standards and global comparability to ensure that the future of students is sustainable in this challenging and competitive era. The 3rd wave paradigm embraces the key elements of CMI/CMT, creativity, globalization, localization, and individualization in education (Cheng 2005). Many initiatives pursue new aims in

education, develop students' CMI or twenty-first-century competencies for sustainable development, emphasize lifelong learning, facilitate global networking and international outlook, and promote the wide application of ICT and ecosystem in learning (Finegold and Notabartolo 2010; Noweski et al. 2012; Salas-Pilco 2013; Kaufman 2013). In the third wave, *learning* is treated as the process whereby students as *self-initiated CMI learners* develop their CMI/CMT and high-level or twenty-first-century competencies to participate in multiple and sustainable development in a fast changing era. The role of the teacher is a *facilitator* of students' multiple and sustainable development. Teacher effectiveness refers to *future teacher effectiveness*, which represents the contribution of teachers to capacity building for the future development of students and the society.

A paradigm shift in learning from the traditional 1st or 2nd wave paradigm of *site-bounded learning* to the new 3rd wave paradigm of *CMI-triplized learning* is emerging. "Triplized learning" is learning that integrates globalized, localized, and individualized learning to create unlimited learning opportunities to develop students' CMI, which is relevant to technological, economic, social, political, cultural, and learning developments in both local and global contexts. Individualization, localization and globalization in education can be taken as drivers to direct and promote new initiatives for the future of education.

Individualization in learning, particularly with the support of IT, can help to maximize the motivation, potential, and creativity of students with diverse learning needs. Educational programs are tailor-made to meet the individual needs of students. The learning targets, methods, and progress schedules for students can be individualized by interactive AI technology. The curriculum can be more flexible and diverse to meet students' diverse needs. In curriculum design, students' self-initiated and self-regulated learning is considered as a major factor. And also, mobile learning and e-learning can be used as major tools to optimize learning opportunities for individual students.

Localization in learning aims to maximize local resources, community support, and cultural relevance to broaden students' learning experiences and knowledge about the community. It may cover a wide range of activities with various purposes: (a) to ensure that the aims, content, and process of learning are relevant to the local context; (b) to bring in local resources, such as physical, financial, cultural, social, and intellectual assets, to support students' learning activities; and (c) to increase parental involvement, community partnership, and collaboration with various social agents or business sectors in creating opportunities for students and teachers in education activities (Cheng 2005).

Globalization in learning targets at maximizing learning opportunities for students on a global scale with innovative arrangements and activities (Webb and Reynolds 2013; Wastiau et al. 2013; Kamylyis et al. 2013). It may include activities such as global networking, international sharing through e-platforms, international immersion and exchange programs, international partnership in various learning projects, video-conferencing for international interaction among students, sharing world-class learning materials, and adopting global issues in the learning content. In brief, the paradigm shift towards the 3rd wave including individualization,

localization, and globalization in education should be a key driver for designing the futures of education, as discussed above.

2.9 Advances of It as Driver

Advances in information technology (IT) since the 1990s have increased the use of IT in education (Webb and Reynolds 2013; Wastiau et al. 2013). Following the 1st wave paradigm, The role of IT can be perceived as a delivery tool to improve effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of knowledge and skills from teachers and the curriculum to students (Cheng 2006) (Table 2.4). Numerous IT initiatives of first wave have been conducted to drive the improvement in the environment and processes of learning, teaching, and management in knowledge delivery (Redecker and Johannessen 2013; Fu 2013; Kamylyis et al. 2013). Following the 2nd wave paradigm, IT is used as a competitive tool for enhancing the quality of education services in meeting the expectations of key stakeholders and ensuring accountability in the market (Table 2.4). Given the advances in IT, it has been used increasingly to drive and support quality assurance and school monitoring and review in some countries (e.g., Law 2013; Srivathsan et al. 2013).

In designing the futures of education with the 3rd wave paradigm, the role of using IT is to build up an innovative learning ecosystem of facilitating students' globalized, localized, and individualized learning and CMI development in a networked environment. It can redefine and optimize (a) the boundary and nature of the learning context from "site-bounded" to "unbounded"; (b) the composition of players involved in the learning process from "limited internal teachers and peers" to "unlimited local and global experts and peers"; (c) the format, speed, and nature of communication and feedback to learning in a much more interactive, efficient, and effective way to enhance students' globalized, localized and individualized learning; and (d) the generation, management, sharing, and utilization of knowledge in a much creative, powerful, and efficient way to serve diverse needs during the learning process (Cheng 2006; Rajasingham 2011). Driven by the advances of IT in education, the notion of the classroom or learning environment becomes non-traditional in the third wave. It should be built up as an unbounded, open, flexible,

Table 2.4 Role of IT in education

1st wave paradigm	2nd wave paradigm	3rd wave paradigm
<p>A delivery tool: To improve the effectiveness and efficiency of delivery of knowledge and skills from teachers and the curriculum to students</p>	<p>A competitive tool: To enhance the quality of education services in meeting the expectations of key stakeholders and showing accountability in the market</p>	<p>An innovative learning ecosystem: To create unlimited learning opportunities for students' globalized, localized, and individualized learning and development of their multiple and sustainable capacities for the future</p>

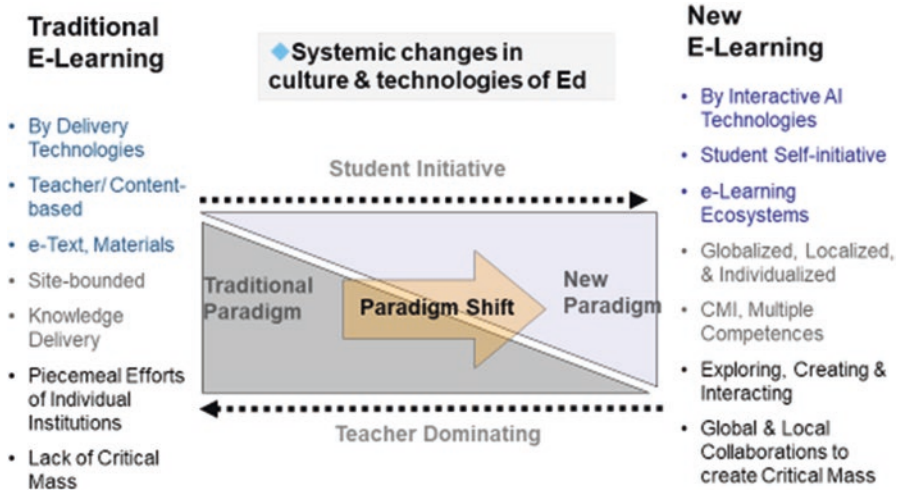


Fig. 2.2 Building up ecosystem for new e-learning

and locally and globally networked learning ecosystem, providing unlimited opportunities for world-class learning. Students can learn from world-class teachers, experts, peers, and learning materials worldwide through a learning ecosystem including various networks, platforms and innovative programs. The third-wave paradigm and the application of innovative IT drive the development of learning environment as a learning ecosystem (Fu 2013; Özyurt et al. 2013; Ray et al. 2012; Redecker and Johannessen 2013; Wastiau et al. 2013; Webb and Reynolds 2013).

As shown in Fig. 2.2, there may be two types of e-learning. The traditional e-learning of 1st wave and 2nd wave is characterized by the delivery technology, “teacher-centered”, “content-based”, provision of e-text and e-materials, “site-bounded”, focus on knowledge delivery, piecemeal effort by individual institutions, and lack of critical mass in the formation of learning ecosystem. But, the new e-learning is characterized by the interactive AI (artificial intelligence) technology, student self-initiative, e-learning ecosystems being globalized, localized, and individualized, aiming at developing CMI or multiple competence, process of exploration, creation and interaction, and global and local collaborations to create critical mass of expertise in building learning ecosystems or platforms. As a short term measure to deal with the delivery issues in teaching and learning during school closure in the pandemic, the traditional e-learning or online learning may be useful and helpful for students to maintain learning to some extent in such a difficult time during the pandemic. But if as a long term measure for grooming students’ CMI, creativity and multiple competences, it may be insufficient, limited and unable to create unlimited opportunities for individualization, localization and globalization in learning. For designing the futures of education after COVID-19, the education systems should be driven by a paradigm shift from the traditional e-learning of the 1st and 2nd waves to the new e-learning of the 3rd wave. It will induce systemic changes

not only in the employed technologies but also the culture and vision of learning and teaching among all those concerned.

2.10 Multiple Functions of Education as Drivers

As discussed above, there are issues and challenges from multiple globalizations, multiple developments as well as multiple disruptions in different aspects of the world. To a great extent, the future of education functioning needs to tackle these issues and meet the related challenges. It means that the futures of education should have multiple functions including technological functions, economic functions, social functions, political functions, cultural functions, and learning functions at not only the individual and institutional levels but also the society/community and international levels (Table 2.5) (Cheng 2019; Cheng and Yuen 2017). These multiple functions of education systems can serve the purposes of creating sustainable multiple developments against multiple disruptions or other unexpected disasters in coming years. Therefore it will be important for the policy makers and educators to understand and apply the multiple functions of education as the drivers in designing the futures of education after the COVID-19 pandemic.

For illustration, the learning functions of school education are taken as a driver to discuss the futures of education below (Table 2.5). At the individual level, it is important for schools to help students achieve CMI (learning intelligence and skills in particular), learn how to learn, and pursue lifelong learning. At the institutional level, schools serve as a place for systematic learning, teaching, and disseminating knowledge, and as a center for systematically experimenting and implementing educational innovations and developments. At the community/society level, schools provide service for different educational needs of the local community, facilitate developments of education professions and education structures, disseminate knowledge and information to the next generation, and contribute to the formation of a learning society. In order to encourage mutual understanding among nations and build up “a global family” for the younger generation, schools can contribute to the development of global education, and international exchange and cooperation. In the new century, there has been a growing worldwide trend of internationalization of education under which schools and their students can play an active role in the globalization of learning around the world (Cheng et al. 2016a).

For a further example, economic functions of school education can also be taken as a driver in designing the future of education with contribution to the economic development and needs of the society at multiple levels. At the individual level, schools can help students develop economic intelligence, knowledge and skills and plan their future career with the necessary job competence and attitudes for survival in a competitive economy (Henning 2016; Schug et al. 2016; Peña et al. 2015). At the institutional level, schools are service organizations providing quality education services to meet expectations of clients and stakeholders, and serve as a work place for their staff and those concerned. At the community/society level, schools serve

Table 2.5 Multiple functions of future education at multi-levels

	Technological functions	Economic functions	Social functions	Political functions	Cultural functions	Learning functions
Individual	Development of technological intelligence & skills Technology literacy STEM thinking	Development of economic intelligence & skills Career planning Job competence & attitudes	Development of social intelligence & skills Psychological development Emotional intelligence	Development of political intelligence & skills Civic attitudes and skills	Development of cultural intelligence & skills Acculturation Socialization with values, norms, & beliefs	Development of learning intelligence & skills Learning how to learn & develop Lifelong learning
Institutional	A place for technological imagination A center for technology transfer	A work place A service organization	A social entity/ system A human relationship A social network	A place for political socialization A political coalition A place for political discourse or criticism	A center for cultural transmission & reproduction A place for cultural re-vitalization & integration	A place for learning & teaching A center for knowledge transfer and innovation in education
Community/ society/nation	Development of an intelligent/smart city Infra-structures & capacities with innovative technologies such as AI, big data, et al.	Provision of quality labor forces for economic growth Modification of economic behavior Contribution to the manpower structure & planning	Social integration Social mobility/ social class perpetuation Social equality Selection & allocation of human resources Social development & change	Political legitimization Political structure maintenance & continuity Democracy promotion Facilitating political developments & reforms	Cultural integration & continuity Cultural reproduction Production of cultural capital Cultural revitalization	Development of a lifelong learning community Development of learning ecosystems for the future Learning society for the twenty-first century

<p>International</p>	<p>Technological globalization Pervasive application of innovative knowledge and technologies...</p>	<p>Economic globalization International competition Economic cooperation International trade</p>	<p>Social globalization Global village Social cooperation International exchanges Elimination of national/regional/racial/gender biases</p>	<p>Political globalization Global political alliance International understanding Elimination of international conflicts</p>	<p>Cultural globalization Appreciation of cultural diversity Cultural acceptance across countries/regions</p>	<p>Learning globalization Global education International exchanges & cooperation in learning Internationalization of education</p>
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Adapted from the author's Cheng (2019)

the economic or instrumental needs of the local community by supplying quality labor forces to the economic system, modifying or shaping economic behaviors of students (future customers and citizens) and contributing to the development and stability of the manpower structure of the economy. At the international level, school education supplies the high quality labor forces needed in economic globalization, international competition, economic cooperation, and international trade.

The typology of multiple functions of education at different levels can provide an overall map for driving the design and direction of futures of education. To different countries with different backgrounds, they may have different emphases and priorities on the multiple functions of education. For example, suffering from weak performance in economic competition, some countries may strongly emphasize the development of technological and economic functions as the major aims to drive the new initiatives and changes in their strategic plan of education. Some other countries, which wish to continue their cultural tradition and strengthen their political stability, may take the cultural and political functions as the top drivers in designing the futures of education. It is not a surprise that many countries may take all the multiple functions as the key targets or drivers to direct the all-round developments across different levels and drive the design of general education in school education.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter maps out a cluster of key drivers which influence the development of education globally and locally. It also highlights the implications from the key drivers for designing the futures of education. Based on the author's long term research project on education reforms, some global trends in education are identified as key drivers for discussion and analysis, including multiple disruptions of the pandemic, global expansion of higher education, multiple developments in globalization, paradigms shift in education, application of technological advances, and multiple functions of education at different levels. From these drivers and their related characteristics, some important implications, directions and insights are drawn to direct, change and reconceptualize education for the future development of students and the society in a context of globalization after the pandemic COVID-19. It is hoped that the analysis of these drivers can provide a big picture of global trends and views for policy makers, educators, researchers, and change agents worldwide to plan the futures of education at different levels of their education system.

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Chapter 3

Globalisation and Neoliberalism: A New Theory for New Times?



Marko Ampuja

Abstract The chapter discusses the general nature of globalisation theory and identifies the key arguments. After that the chapter points out the centrality of media and communications in several noted globalisation theorists' work, calling into question their preoccupation with new media technologies and their assumption that the impact of those technologies is historically so significant that it necessitates a complete renewal of social theory. A consequent point, developed in the final two sections of the chapter, is that at the same time as globalisation theorists have diverted attention to new communication technologies and networks, they have shown a massive disinterest in powerful political and economic forces that continue to shape the society. I will argue that this feature is not unrelated to the specific historical conjuncture in which globalisation theory rose to prominence, that is, the post-1989 period characterised by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the global triumph of neoliberal capitalism. Besides analysing the contours of globalisation theory, the chapter also addresses its political implications, namely the question of whether or to what extent neoliberalism, as a political ideology, has affected the focuses and ways of reasoning that are typical for globalisation theory.

3.1 The Concept of Globalisation

As far as intellectual fashions go, the concept of globalisation has been a phenomenal success. Popularised in the financial and business press in the 1980s, the concept became the staple of academic conversations in the 1990s, especially in the social sciences. While globalisation cannot be singled out as the only concern among contemporary social scientists, it is one of the most popular topics of the past couple of decades, having been described as a 'near obsession' (Ritzer and Goodman 2003, p. 569). Such epithets are not based on mere impressions. For instance, in the Oxford Libraries Information System (OLIS) database, which contains over five million titles (mainly books and periodicals) held by over one hundred libraries

M. Ampuja (✉)
University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland
e-mail: marko.ampuja@tuni.fi

associated with Oxford University, there are over 2500 titles with the word ‘globalization’ or ‘globalisation’ in them, published between 1988 and 2008. For comparison, this leaves even the key concept of the 1980s, postmodern (and its derivatives), behind, together with a more recent contender, namely social capital (Fine 2010, p.15; see also Ampuja 2012, p.12; Scholte 2005, p.xiv).

Besides this huge volume, another characteristic of academic globalisation literature is its inclusiveness. Rather than being tied only to changes in the economy, it ‘might be better’, so argue a team of researchers that have been crucial for establishing globalisation discourse in academia (Held et al.), to conceive globalisation ‘as a highly differentiated process which finds expression in all the key domains of social activity (including political, military, the legal, the ecological, the criminal, etc.)’ (Held et al. 1999, p. 12). No wonder, then, that globalisation has become a central theme in widely different fields of social science, including sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology, education, communication studies and political science. Yet the capacity of globalisation to appear in innumerable scholarly contexts is a double-edged sword. Several commentators have pointed to the indeterminacy and lack of specificity of ‘globalisation’, characterising it, for example, as a concept that creates ‘an accumulation of confusion rather than an accumulation of knowledge’ (Van Der Bly 2005, pp. 890–891). In light of such suspicions, a remarkable feature of globalisation discourse has been its resilience, its continuing capacity to generate debate within and across different disciplines.^{1,2}

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

¹This chapter is based on my book *Theorizing Globalization. A Critique of the Mediatization of Social Theory* (Ampuja 2012), with later updates.

²In the 2010s, academic interest in globalisation waned in tandem with a political turn towards nationalism across advanced industrial countries, which supports Justin Rosenberg’s (2005) thesis that the huge interest in globalisation was a conjunctural phenomenon of the 1990s (and early 2000s). Yet, books and articles on the subject continue to be published in large volumes and there are many journals devoted to the topic.

a whole (functionalism, Marxism, etc.), no longer provide the means by which we can understand the economic, political, social and cultural logics of our time.

Globalisation is the most important keyword of this intellectual movement, but it is closely accompanied by many other catchwords and metaphors that are used to define contemporary society, such as flows, networks, hybrids, cosmopolitanism, mobility, connectivity, speed, time-space compression, uncertainty and contingency. These concepts have become dominant in the social sciences, to the point of establishing a new theoretical orthodoxy that we can define as globalisation theory. Globalisation theory thus refers to a renewal of social theory, to a claim that we need a new theory for new times that explains how and why complex and geographically expanded social forms, qualitatively distinct from previous ones, have emerged. As I will note later on, such explanations rely heavily on arguments about technological developments, especially the so-called information revolution that has attracted much interest in social theory in recent decades.

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

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

3.2 Globalisation Theory as the 'Spatio-Temporal Reformulation of Social Theory'

Academic discussions concerning globalisation took off in the period between late 1980s and mid-1990s. Advocates of the idea that globalisation should take the center stage in social theory stressed the importance of increasing interconnectedness

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

A more analytically differentiated definition of globalisation was offered by David Held et al., for whom it referred to 'a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power' (Held et al. 1999, p. 16). Such a definition gave globalisation a truly extensive scope. Synchronically, Held and his associates analysed globalisation in a way that could, in principle, include all imaginable material and non-material processes, provided that they could be demonstrated to be about 'interregional flows' that give rise to ever more complex global social interactions. Diachronically, it transpires that globalisation, thus understood, has a broad time frame, stretching far back in human history, although the authors emphasised the intensity and velocity of contemporary 'thick' patterns of globalisation against their previous forms (Held et al. 1999, pp. 429–431).

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

While Albrow's proposition here is extreme in its indeterminacy, it marks a general difficulty in mainstream sociology of globalisation: a lack of analytic precision. It is quite common for academic analyses of globalisation to end up claiming that it

is such a broad and multi-dimensional process that one cannot define who or what is driving it forward; it is therefore symptomatic that Anthony Giddens (2002) has written of globalisation as a ‘runaway’ phenomenon, or that globalisation theory has mixed up with theories of complexity which propose that the future trajectory of society is so open-ended and indeterminate ‘that current phenomena [may] have outrun the capacity of the social sciences to investigate’ them (Urry 2003, p. 38).

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

In this way, Scholte gives a more concrete picture of what drives globalisation than many of his colleagues. However, Scholte (2005, p.135, p.154) admits that his explanation is ‘an eclectic synthesis’ that refers to ‘an intricate combination’ the named four dynamics, none of which has primacy over the others. Because of this, he does not want to analyse how these forces are connected vis-à-vis each other. Such an analysis would lead to a theoretical discussion of, say, the kinds of relationships between capitalism and the rise of instrumental rationality or between recent changes in political regulation and capitalism in its neoliberal phase. Without this kind of theoretical discussion – which is not attempted primarily in order to avoid the charge of this or that form of determinism (Scholte 2005, pp. 153–154) – even the kind of causal framework of globalisation that Scholte puts forward is bound to remain more or less vague, which is a recurrent and, indeed, intentional feature of mainstream globalisation theory.

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

This is a significant distinction. Rosenberg (2000, p. 3) has noted that any attempt to involve globalisation in the explanation of social change has two alternatives: either it must rely on pre-established social theories (i.e. classical sociological theories of modernity or capitalism) in order to provide an answer to the question of

what globalisation is, how it is being caused and with what consequences; or it must try to claim that the concept of globalisation *itself* denotes a new kind of social theory that will make these changes comprehensible. Rosenberg argues that in the first strategy, 'globalisation' remains a descriptive term, something to be explained by other means; only in the latter it becomes 'the *explanans* of the argument', and it 'can legitimately function as such only insofar as a spatio-temporal reformulation of social theory succeeds' (Rosenberg 2005, p. 12).

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

Already quite a while back, Giddens (1979, p.54) lamented that their importance was neglected in social theory and demanded that it 'must acknowledge, as it has not done previously, time-space intersections as essentially involved in social existence'. He didn't have to wait for long, as the rise of globalisation as an academic topic in the 1990s answered to his call perfectly. In the burgeoning globalisation literature, references to the spatial and temporal restructuring of society became frequent, and we have witnessed a surge in discussion concerning 'the annulment of temporal/spatial distances' (Bauman 1998, p. 18), the demise of the nation state, the deterritorialisation or hybridisation of culture, the formation of 'Empire' (Hardt and Negri 2000) that displaces former imperialist power struggles, and so on.

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

3.3 Globalisation and Communications Technology

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

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

Arguably the most influential sociologist of the new millennium, Manuel Castells, repeats in many different variations the key argument of globalisation theory, according to which place-based social structures give way to networks and flows that give rise to a new economy, new kinds of social and power relations and new cultural experiences, together with providing new frames for political action. In a passage towards the end of the first volume of his famous trilogy, Castells sums up his position, arguing that 'as an historical trend, dominant functions and processes in the Information Age are increasingly organised around networks' and 'that this networking logic induces a social determination of a higher level than that of the

special social interests expressed through the networks; the power of flows takes precedence over the flows of power' (Castells 2000, p. 500). This constitutes his 'overarching conclusion' (Castells 2000, p. 500).

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

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

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

In the age of globalisation, people and ideas come into contact with each other in a way that is less determined by their immediate locality or their national 'home', and this opens up new imaginations and new subjectivities. Appadurai emphasises that none of this would be possible without the media and communications, arguing that '[u]ntil recently, whatever the force of social change, a case could be made that social life was largely inertial, that traditions provided a relatively finite set of possible lives, and that fantasy and imagination were residual practices, confined to special persons or domains, restricted to special moments or places' (Appadurai 1996, p. 53). However, 'in the past two decades, as the deterritorialization of persons, images, and ideas has taken on new force', and '[m]ore persons throughout the world see their lives through the prisms of the possible lives offered by the mass media in all their forms' (Appadurai 1996, p. 54).

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

In his more recent writings Castells has been more aware of the limits set by the state and capital to internet-based political emancipation. However, he remains confident that in the new regime of what he calls ‘mass self communication’, exemplified by blogs, the ‘exercise of power relationships is decisively transformed’, ‘new opportunities for social change’ have opened up, and audiences are more autonomous than ever before, ‘at the origin of the process of cultural change’ (Castells 2009, p. 4, p. 126, p. 413). The same techno-optimistic belief, according to which internet-driven ‘horizontal’ economic, political and social networks undermine ‘vertically’ organized hierarchies and concentrations of power, is present also in his newer analysis of social movements in the internet age (Castells 2012; see Brym et al. 2018).

A media-technological optimism characterises also the cultural globalisation theory of Appadurai (1996), who sees the media as a harbinger of a ‘post-national’ world. Since the media, due to their new technological properties, are increasingly able to bypass national boundaries and make cultural expressions available in more spatially expanded and complex ways than before, they are undermining Western cultural domination and offering new sources for identity everywhere. Giddens agrees: ‘globalisation tends to promote a renewal of local cultural identities’ (Giddens 2002, p. xxiv). Even though academic globalisation theorists do not subscribe the kind of simplistic enthusiasm that features in mainstream business commentary on globalisation (e.g., Friedman 2006), they associate the concept of globalisation with diversification, expansion, egalitarianism, pluralism, reflexivity and liberation. Arguments concerning media and communications are crucial for the utopian imagination of globalisation theory, in particular the idea that globalisation brings about the downfall of the sovereignty of the nation-state and, consequently, helps to realise the vision of a more de-centred and democratic political and cultural order.

3.4 Critical Reflections

How credible is the emancipatory vision of globalisation theory and how should we assess its theoretical foundations? Even though the space here does not allow for a comprehensive treatment of this subject, some critical comments are in order. First, one may question the notion that globalisation today signals a qualitative change in the spatio-temporal constitution of society (the coming of a new social form determined by networks and ‘supraterritorial’ relations). In response to Castells’s (2000, p. 508) claim that ‘the network society represents a qualitative change in the human experience’ it can be argued, as historical sociologist Michael Mann (1986, p. 13) does, that ‘overlapping interaction networks [spanning over long distances] are the historical norm’ – for example networks related to trade and religion.

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

Thus whatever one may think of the difference regarding the intensity and extensiveness of the mentioned technological processes today, the fact remains that a similar ‘structural logic’ of ‘spaces of flows’ to which Castells refers – the absorption of distinct locales into networks that link them together and the extension of communication beyond nation state borders – was well established already in the earlier period. The notion that electronic media networks obliterate former barriers of time and space is hardly a new theme for social scientists who have made similar comments for at least 150 years (Mosco 2004).

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

technological issue, but ‘something intrinsic to capitalist social relations themselves’ (Rosenberg 2000, p. 33) – in other words, it is a concept that describes rather than explains social change.

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

The problem with these arguments is that they tend to assign too much causal power to the development of communication technologies alone, at the expense of looking at how their uses (or non-uses) are embedded in their social contexts. Castells, following McLuhan (1962, 1964), reasons that the properties of media and communications technology allow different things in different stages of history, and we can analyse their societal and cultural effects primarily by looking at those properties. It is not that Castells would leave enduring social and economic dynamics out of his analysis, but the force and logic of technological innovation is ultimately decisive for him. Yet a belief in the revolutionary technological nature of the internet as a prime force of democratisation shrugs off persistent inequalities in internet access, class differences in internet use (Turner 2010, p. 134) and material advantages possessed by powerful commercial corporations in the development of online content, which also translates into advantages in terms of which sites receive most of the online attention (Fuchs 2009; Foster and McChesney 2011). Recently, the rise of ‘pro-capitalist nativism’ (e.g., the Brexit movement and Donald Trump’s electoral victory), strongly assisted by social media networks and data analytics, has seriously undermined Castells’s core theoretical assumption, namely, that the internet is a democratising force (Brym et al. 2018).

A similar problem is evident in Appadurai’s argument concerning the liberation of imagination through deterritorialised media flows: there are major differences in how culture, including media, are consumed between classes and thus one cannot analyse the consequences of media proliferation merely in terms of the assumed technological potentialities of these media. Also, Appadurai leaves out of the picture the question of how imagination today is increasingly geared towards advertising and different types of marketing that are practically ubiquitous. This process does not necessarily have to be interpreted as increasing Western cultural imperialism or Americanisation, but as a more general process of ‘capitalist imperialism’

(Harvey 2003) which in the cultural sphere refers to the globalisation of commodity aesthetics (Haug 2005, p. 47). Such critical themes, however, are rarely addressed by globalisation theorists who focus on a 'radically open cultural future' (Tomlinson 1997, p. 190) promised by deterritorialisation and cosmopolitanisation.

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

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

Following the global financial crisis of 2007–8, the relationship between the markets, the state and democracy has become ever more volatile. In such conditions, it is justifiable to ask how much insight one can derive from the notion that the weakening power of the nation state will open the gates to a more cosmopolitan global order.

No doubt, there are examples of countries that have witnessed dissolution of exclusive national identities in recent decades, both officially and in every-day culture. Furthermore, it is not to be doubted that the media and new means of communication have provided a variety of resources for 'experiments with self-making', as Appadurai (1996, p. 3) claims. Yet it is far from clear if changes in the media are fundamentally responsible for such increasing reflexivity, or, conversely, if the recent surge in xenophobia and right-wing populist parties in many countries can be reduced to a cultural question of how nation states try to maintain exclusive ideologies of ethnic purity. The capacity of citizens to be tolerant of difference and resistant to populist-nationalist rhetoric seems to be much more intimately intertwined with changes in the balance of power between sovereign states and the markets: in the current conditions of neoliberalism in which international markets increasingly dictate what is politically acceptable, the whole liberal democratic process based on party representation and national governments is becoming unresponsive to citizens who feel increasingly powerless to have an influence on politics through electoral pressure (Streeck 2012, p. 26). Such a situation is a breeding ground for venting one's powerlessness on nationalist hatred of 'lazy' outsiders, international organisations and cosmopolitan elites who are perceived as the enemies of 'the common people'. Important as these themes seem, globalisation theorists are generally not interested in examining the specifically capitalist

dynamics that are involved in the creation such world-wide crises tendencies. This omission leads me to consider, in conclusion, possible links between globalisation theory and neoliberalism (Zajda 2020).

3.5 Conclusion: Globalisation Theory and the Neoliberal Moment

Neoliberalism has established itself as the dominant political and economic dogma throughout the world (Harvey 2005, p. 3; Zajda 2020), capable of reproducing itself even after the financial crisis of 2007–8 (Cahill and Konings 2017, p. 25). It is constituted by a forceful defence of private property, competitive markets and ‘individual freedom’, in addition to an all-around attack against the welfare state. As noted, globalisation theory is an intellectual current that has emerged in the post-1989 period marked by the hegemony of neoliberalism. What this means is that it has been developed in an intellectual milieu that was formerly permeated with, or at least much more conducive to, discourses that were critical of the political-economic power of capitalism. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, social scientific discussion has centred on issues other than the human consequences of the present socio-economic system, or is characterised by different degrees of submission to it. Although they recognise and comment on growing social and economic inequalities worldwide, globalisation theorists do so in a context of ‘capitalist realism’ (Fisher, 2009). In other words, by and large they succumb to the proposition that capitalism is inevitable and that one can only ‘remain concern[ed about] how far, and in what ways, capitalism should be governed and regulated’ (Giddens 1998, pp. 43–44). Armed with such realisation, many influential social theorists began to produce epochal diagnoses that posited a shift in the nature of modernity, namely the coming of ‘another’ or ‘late’ modernity (Beck 1992; Lash 1999; Giddens 1991) that is different from its earlier national-industrial phase. A key ingredient of these diagnoses was the claim that the contemporary period is characterised by individualisation, the dismantlement of hierarchical bureaucracies and the dissolution of paternalist forms of domination. They also promoted the idea that the whole world system has become less hierarchical and more networked, together with being politically, economically and culturally more pluralistic. Globalisation theory is an organic part of this significant theoretical transformation.

While its representatives certainly do not sing the enthusiastic praises of ‘the free market’, globalisation theory is in a crucial sense consistent with neoliberalism. Besides accepting, though critically, the inevitability of capitalism, globalisation theorists share with neoliberals a polemic against the nation state and a belief that individuals have become more autonomous of former ‘statist’ power structures and more fluent in choosing their identities themselves. A fascination with shifts in the spatio-temporal constitution of society which new media and communication technologies are said to have caused is also an expression of the same optimistic idea

that we are dynamically moving towards a new social existence that is superseding the old. When grand societal utopias have been declared impossible, and when the power of capital seems more consolidated than ever, belief in the revolutionary nature of new media and communications carries on the hope that we are still on the threshold of millennial change that is pregnant with cosmopolitan democratic possibilities. The political developments in the 2010s, such as the rise of Trumpism in the United States, have exposed the weaknesses of such simplistic utopianism. Focusing on the democratising tendencies of global ‘modernity’ or ‘network society’, globalisation theorists remain less concerned with ‘the continuities imposed by the logic of capitalist institutions’ (Bromley 1999, p.14) or the fact that ‘democratically unaccountable concentrations of economic power’ (Callinicos 2007, p. 305), in the form of transnational corporations and financial markets, have dramatically increased their influence over the rest of the society in the neoliberal period. Because of this, globalisation theory is incapable of properly addressing the ‘outrage’ (Therborn 2007, p. 113) that capitalism continues to reproduce through old and new forms of exploitation, inequality, insecurity, inauthenticity and uneven development of the world. Globalisation theory is not uncritical, but as a form of social theory it falls short from realising its critical potentials in full.

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Chapter 4

The Future of Glocal Education Politics



Risto Rinne

Abstract OECD's knowledge-based regulation tools attempt to promote orthodox professional practice and increased standardisation of professional formation and development. The strength and power of these tools lies in its apparently objective nature, in the attractiveness of the space of negotiation and debate that it creates, where experts, policy makers and other knowledge-brokers meet and position themselves, and in its capacity to define the terms of that engagement. There is going on a huge invasion of politics of standardisation. Standardisation allows building uniformity in time and space by creating common standards and establishing political control at a distance on work and communities of practice. Standardisation helps the State and public authorities to compare and rank individuals and groups and to create a common language shared by professionals, policy-makers and evaluators. Standards rely on a form of classification and measurement that defines limitations and exclusions in shaping the policy. The term "glocal" unites the concepts of global and local and underlines the situation where the position of the nation-state as the driver of the education politics is questioned. The new architecture of governance relies on the ever faster production, mobility and circulation of data. In national and local education policies there are, however, the social facts, the already existing circumstances, which include and frame the possibilities for present and future actions. They are called the "opportunity structures" and make also local spaces important. Our time is not only global, but also strongly glocal.

This article is partly connected to my previous article: Rinne, R. (2020) The unintended consequences of governance of education at a distance through assessment standardisation. In Zajda, J. (ed.) *Globalisation, Ideology and Education Reforms - Emerging Paradigms*. Globalisation. Comparative Education and Policy Research Vol. 20. Amsterdam: Springer and my keynote speech in NERA conference in Turku 2020.

R. Rinne (✉)
University of Turku, Turku, Finland
e-mail: Rinne@utu.fi

4.1 The Future of Glocal Education Politics: Introduction

It is evident that greater global interconnectedness and a nascent global educational community, mediated, translated and re-contextualised within national and local education structures is creating a certain resemblance among educational policies across nations (e.g., Lingard 2000). The waves of global policy reforms (“travelling policies”) have a tendency to diffuse around the globe and reshape socially and politically different societies with dissimilar histories. As clear is that these transnational trends and tendencies do not simply shape the regional, national or local policies but they rather collide and intertwine with “embedded policies” to be found in “local” spaces (national, provincial or local) where global policy agendas come up against existing practices and priorities. (Simola et al. 2014, p. 224). Globalisation seems to be one-way highway in the future of education politics. Globalisation has been described as resulting in the rescaling of politics and policy (Lingard and Rawolle 2011). It is walking hand in hand with further complicated rise of a new mode of governance at a distance through data, indicators and numbers (Zajda 2020). It rests on the provision and translation of information about subjects, objects and processes and brings new limits and possibilities for agents (cf. Hansen and Flyverbom 2014). New techniques and evaluation data are producing and re-shuffling the positions of the nation-states and local spaces.

The term “glocal” unites the concepts of global and local and underlines the situation where the position of the nation-state as the driver of the education politics is questioned. The new architecture of governance relies on the ever faster production, mobility and circulation of data (Ball 2016; Clarke 2012). The expanding practices of evaluation produce knowledge about education, which may also allow the nation-state to extend its capacity to govern across territory and into the classroom through standardisation, commensuration, transparency and comparison. (Rinne 2020). In addition to the intended aims this is having also severe unintended consequences to the education policies and behaviour of educational agents. Simultaneously, states are increasingly incorporated into the global accountability regime that helps the “national eye” to govern with the “global eye” (Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003). In this chapter I analyse the future trends of glocalisation of education politics in context and comparison with the history of Nordic educational politics.

4.2 Globalisation, International Organisations and Governance at a Distance

The OECD has become one of the major agent of the internationalising, globalising and thus converging education policy processes (Taylor et al. 1997; Ozga and Lingard 2007). While it is primarily concerned with economic policy, education has taken on increasing importance within that mandate of OECD. Founded in 1961, the OECD has taken on an enhanced role as a policy actor, as it seeks a niche in the

post-Cold War globalising world in relation to other International Organisations (IO) and supranational agencies (Rinne et al. 2004; Henry et al. 2001). To this end, it has developed alliances with other IOs such as UNESCO, the European Union (EU) and the World Bank to actively promote its policy preferences. (Grek 2009, pp. 24–25). Unlike the EU, OECD does not have the legal instruments, nor the financial levers, to actively promote policy-making at the national level of the member nations. Compared to, for example, the World Bank, which has power over nations through policy requirements and funding and loans, OECD is weaker. Through rankings such as the *Education at a Glance* reports, the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) and the Indicators in Education project it with the World Bank has become massive and impressive. Through PISA and national and thematic policy reviews, OECD's educational agenda has become significant in framing policy options in the constitution of a global policy space in education. (Grek 2009, p. 25).

IOs cannot be understood as “mere epiphenomena” of impersonal policy machinery. Rather they are also seen as purposive actors who are “armed with a notion of progress, an idea of how to create a better life, and some understanding of the conversion process”. They have become the “missionaries of our time” (Barnett and Finnemore 1999, p. 712). This raises the question why and how OECD has been transformed to one of the most powerful agents of transnational education governance? According to Sotiria Grek (2009) this question has been contributed substantially by Kerstin Martens (2007, p. 42) in answering that it is:

comparative turn ... a scientific approach to political decision making, which has been the main driver of the success. Through OECD's statistics, reports and studies, it has achieved a brand which most regard indisputable; OECD's policy recommendations are accepted as valid by politicians and scholars alike (Grek 2009, p. 25).

And there seems to be no need questioning beyond the label of “OECD” to justify the authoritative character of the knowledge, facts and interpretations contained therein. The role of the OECD is the leader of ‘the orchestration of global knowledge networks’ (Grek 2009, p. 25). The OECD has ‘created a niche as a technically highly competent agency for the development of educational indicators and comparative educational performance measures’ (Grek 2009, p. 25). The data defined and collected by OECD on education is contributing to the creation of a governable space of comparison and commensurability: ‘the European Education Space’ (Novóa and Lawn 2002; Grek 2009, p. 26). These developments reflect policy convergence around what Brown and his colleagues (1997, pp. 7–8) define as a new educational policy consensus:

The new consensus is based on the idea that as the ‘walled’ economies in mid-century have given way to an increasingly global economy, the power of national government to control the outcome of economic competition has been weakened. [...] Indeed, the competitive advantage of nations is frequently redefined in terms of the quality of national education and training systems judged according to international standards (Brown et al. 1997, pp. 7-8).

Policy instruments like indicators and the whole audit and performance-monitoring nexus have become a “significant element of the shift from government to the

governance of national education systems through new institutional forms” (Grek 2009, p. 27). The purpose is:

“[...] orienting relations between political society (via the administrative executive) and civil society (via its administered subjects) through intermediaries in the form of devices that mix technical components (measuring, calculating the rule of law, procedure) and social components (representation, symbol).” (Lascoumes and Galès 2007, p. 6).

The OECD has filled the niche of comparative evaluations in relation to education policy in terms of various kinds of indicators like in *Education at a Glance* and *PISA*. (Grek 2009, p. 27).

Patrick Le Galès (2004, p. 243) defines governance substantially as:

“[...] a coordination process of actors, social groups and institutions that aims at reaching collectively defined and discussed objectives. Governance then concerns the whole range of institutions, networks, directives, regulations, norms, political and social uses as well as public and private actors which contribute to the stability of a society and a political regime, to its orientation, to its capacity to lead, to deliver services and to assume its legitimacy.”

The changes in governance due to the new steering tools, usually used by the expert community, has been widely noted. The ideas of “steering at a distance” are helpful to understand that the principles of calculability and measurability, usually used at the private sector, originating from economics, were increasingly transferred to fields previously regulated by old bureaucratic statutes and professional norms, usually located in the public sector. Rose (1999, 152) refers to the new governing technology based on accountability and assessment to which the public sector is subjected as “governance at a distance”. (Rinne and Ozga 2011, p. 67). Education quality represents one key discursive justification for diverse ongoing reforms of education. Using data as a tool of governance (Rose and Miller 1992), quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) is a tool for attempting to reinforce central control at a distance while allocating more autonomy to the local actors, and simultaneously creating the need for and relying on new experts and data infrastructures (Lawn and Segerholm 2011). Governing at a distance rests on the provision and translation of information about subjects, objects and processes to the centers of calculation and power (Hansen and Flyverbom 2014; Piattoeva et al. 2018).

4.3 The OECD and the EU, Two Augurs of Supranational Educational Policy?¹

The OECD was founded originally as the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) in 1948 to support the reorganisation and stability of Europe after the Second World War. With the help of this new system, US Marshall Plan aid

¹This sub-chapter is grounded heavily on my article: Rinne, R. (2006) Like a Model Pupil? Globalisation, Finnish Educational Policies and Pressure from Supranational Organizations. In J. Kallo & R. Rinne (eds.) *Supranational Regimes and National Education Policies* –

was distributed and US influence increased in Europe. For political reasons, many European countries, Finland included, remained outside the organisation at the start (Papadopoulos 1994, pp. 21–22; Sarjala and Laukkanen 2000, p. 9). Only when the situation in Europe was further normalised was the OECD proper, under that name, established in 1961, indeed still during the Cold War.² The promotion of economic growth has been the central idea behind the OECD. From the Washington conference (1961) onwards, plans were made for massive expansion in education systems particularly in secondary and higher education. A well-organised planning policy for its part required a workable statistical and data system on which to base the new planning. A separate organisation CERI³ was founded in 1968, the function of which was to produce information on education for comparative research (Papadopoulos 1994, p. 59).

OECD member countries are the well-to-do elite of the world. The population of the OECD countries represents about one sixth of the world population, but produces four fifths of the world gross national product. In the OECDs own words, the only demands on members are commitment to a market economy and democracy, and respect for human rights (Henry et al. 2001, p. 8). The OECD has often been described as an analysing body or think tank. What the organisation is not is a legal, political and monetary power. The conclusions of its conferences do not directly oblige member countries to anything. Member countries are supposed to learn from each other mainly through peer pressure and accustom themselves to self-criticism (ibid. p. 45–46).

According to some researchers (Henry et al. 2001, p. 3), the main objective of OECD educational policy is to produce human capital for the global market. The OECD is seen as a globalising office, whose role is central to the flow of educational ideas, innovation, education and the control of information relating to education. The activities of the OECD, as those of the other supranational organisations, are often based on an ideology according to which the organisations offer orthodox solutions chiefly to the problems of rich countries (Dale 1999, pp. 1–4; Dale and Robertson 2002, p. 11; Jauhiainen et al. 2001, p. 10). In the twenty-first century, supranational influences will not overpower national states in Europe only via the OECD. The history of European educational policy cooperation goes back more or less as far the history of the OECD, about five decades (Lawn and Lingard 2002; Novóa and Lawn 2002).

The roots of this cooperation lie in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the conferences of ministers of education in the 1960s. The Treaty of Rome made it possible

Encountering Challenge. Research in educational sciences 24. Turku: Finnish Educational Research Association, 183–216.

²The founding members of the OECD were Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. Joining the organisation later have been Japan (1964), Finland (1969), Australia (1971), New Zealand (1973), Mexico (1994), Czech Republic (1995), Hungary, Poland, Korea (1996) and Slovakia (2000). (Koivula 2004).

³Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.

to suggest guidelines for vocational education and the development of degree systems. From the point of view of the convergence of European education policy, the resolution of 1976 in which the Council of Ministers defined the general plan of action and established the Education Committee was decisive. The resolution of 1976 also formed the basis for the exchange and cooperation programmes begun in the 1980s (Erasmus, Comett and Lingua), as well as the creation of a teaching and information network (Eurydice) and the development of a statistics system (Eurostat). Still at that time, education policy was felt, however, to fall mainly under nation-states own administrative and political control. It did not form part of the central area of EU policy in the same way as the economy and employment policy (Rinne and Kallo 2003).

Control of nation-states policies under the European Union, based as it is under action plans, directives, legislation and financing programmes is very different from that under the OECD. In the 1970s, the first education directives were issued, for example, about the education of the children of immigrants (EU 1977). Later in the 1980s and 90s, even more determined efforts were made to guarantee the freedom of movement of the workforce and students, and to recognise respective educational qualifications. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) finally defined education as one of the central core areas of responsibility for the European Union. This was followed by the consolidation of the European Union's education programme. The fashioning of a common educational space in Europe had begun with its zones of lifelong learning and quality education (Novóa and Lawn 2002, pp. 1–5). The central goal of the Maastricht Treaty was the creation of a European dimension in education. In the 1990s the EU had advanced from policy talk to policy practice. This has been reflected also later on in the initiation of the Bologna process in higher education, for example. The main measures of this process are removing obstacles to mobility, developing a common credit system (ECTS) and making degrees comparable (Rinne and Kallo 2003).

In the 2000s, the foothold of the EU in the national education policy of its Member States has only become firmer. The Lisbon Conference of the Council of Europe (EN 2002) decided to move towards a knowledge-based economy, recognised that the common interests of the EU area concerning education override national education interests, and approved the Education 2010 work programme. The Lisbon strategy gave the EU the mandate to strengthen the European dimension in education over the educational policy of nation-states, as a result of which a vision of the Europeanisation of education was developed (Novóa and Lawn 2002, pp. 1–5). When it is implemented, this European educational policy will extend deeply into the education systems of the Member States at all levels. Influences, which are even more extensive, but as yet only to be guessed at, will be caused by the GATS treaty which EU countries have approved. These may radically change public services and education into commercial service commodities for the free supranational market. According to the new European Draft Constitution, national decision-making on educational policy is clearly being increasingly shifted to the level of the supranational EU Parliament; at the same time the education sector is losing its independence to become part of the general economic decision-making apparatus (EU Draft Constitution 2004). It certainly seems as if the EU and the

OECD have buried the old hatchet on educational policy planning, and found common ground.

Unlike the OECD, the EU controls, monitors and regulates the education policy of its Member States. Its power, as a uniform union of states, is visible and bureaucratic, and in its approach to education, instrumental and efficient. Education is seen primarily as one part of economic growth and competitive ability. Like the OECD, the EU sits at the same tables as many supranational economic organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the WTO. The EU forms a kind of supranational complementary shield of education policy, the layers of which have become even more tightly welded together in the past decade. Under this shield, nation-states educational policy often has very little air to breathe. Nation-states often have to settle for the role of follower or imitator when directives and other recommendations land on the national table ready to be picked up (Rinne and Kallo 2003). For instance, a nation of five million inhabitants in the north-east corner (Finland) may have little to say especially after the most recent enlargement of the EU into Central and Eastern Europe.

Fruitless determinism should, however, be avoided also where the EU is concerned. All of the Member States of the European Union are not such avid followers of the education policy of the EU, or at least of the more extensive supranational organisations such as the OECD. For example, when the attitudes of education policy actors in seven European countries towards the attempts of the OECD and the EU to influence educational policy were examined, very different responses were obtained. While Greece and Finland had a very favourable attitude towards the influence of European Union educational policies and used them to legitimise education reforms, Germany in particular, but also Scotland and Britain, responded mainly with some reluctance. In Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, the response was partly positive, partly defensive, and at the same time they expected the EU to act as a kind of counterbalance to American influences (Lawn and Lingard 2002, pp. 300–302).

The steering mechanisms of OECD- and EU-educational policy are summed up in Fig. 4.1.

Recently, discussion on the European Educational Space has been the subject of extensive interest, and has advanced quite considerably particularly into the field of higher education. The European Educational Space is being shaped by supranational organisations and networks, as well as by cultural and economic projects. The European Union is continuously strengthening its central role in the genesis and formation of the European Educational Space through its attempts to create, with the help of many different kinds of legislation, innumerable directives and massive funding arrangements, a united European Higher Education Area and European Research Area. (Novóa and Lawn 2002, pp. 1–5).

The European Educational Space, subject to modifications, is being constructed at the interface between states and EU offices, between offices and sub-contractors, academics and politicians, experts and officials, consultants and researchers. In that space the most important actors are small active group and networks of experts, managers and professionals, who are engaged in constant interaction with each other in different ways. These groups are not always protected by constitutional

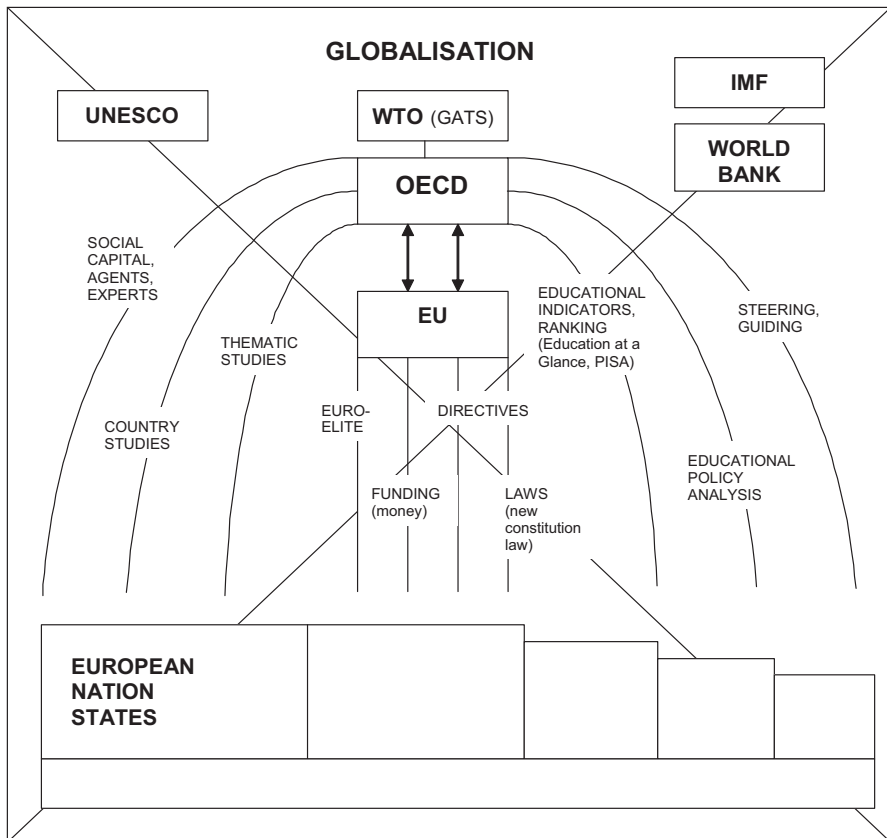


Fig. 4.1 Relationship between supranational bodies and nation-states in the field of educational policy (Rinne 2006)

status or legitimacy under the law, a specific work place or a prescribed public function, but their word is nonetheless not to be challenged.

They increasingly also attract around them talented and motivated sub-contractors, consultancy firms, EU experts, organisations and masses of enthusiastic students from all the states of Europe and all over the world. The European Educational Space attracts to itself its own supranational professional Europeans in the field of education, a new class of supranational politicians cut off from their own regions.

As Martin Lawn & Bob Lingard (2002, 292) argue, we have seen the birth of a new class of deterritorialised trans-national policy actors, a new magistracy of influence, a policy elite which act across borders, display a similar habitus, have the feel of the same policy game and are, in a sense, bearers of an emergent European educational policy and policy space.

They have in a broader social sense the habitus of the mobile global elites (ibid.).

4.4 Room for Nation-States and Localities: Opportunity Structures as Possibilities

The next Fig. 4.2 is quite interesting to describe roughly the up-scaling and rescaling of the changing position of the nation states from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century.

There are also ambivalent effects for nation states and the role of supranational organisations has been controversial compared to the role of national governments. We might say that “Nation states, IOs and markets might be hostile siblings in the governance of education” (Weymann et al. 2007, p. 238). Martens and Wolf describe this controversy elegantly using metaphors in their article “Boomerangs and Trojan Horses: The Unintended Consequences of Internationalising Education Policy Through the EU and the OECD” (2009). In their example of the EU it was just the governments who wanted to ask for advice of international organisations for their educational politics and strengthen their national reformative position at home and to defuse the domestic opposition, but by no means weaken governmental influence at any level. But the boomerangs went astray from the throwers and weakened their power.

In the example of the OECD and especially indicators and PISA, national governments wanted to make a comparison between nation states to strengthen their power, but as the unintended consequence the Trojan horse opened the gates and now these governments are in a totally new situation of regular comparative assessments of their performance in educational politics. In this respect, the new standard setting of the supranational organisations has challenged the traditional ideas of national meritocratic competition, and nation states are losing their power to define

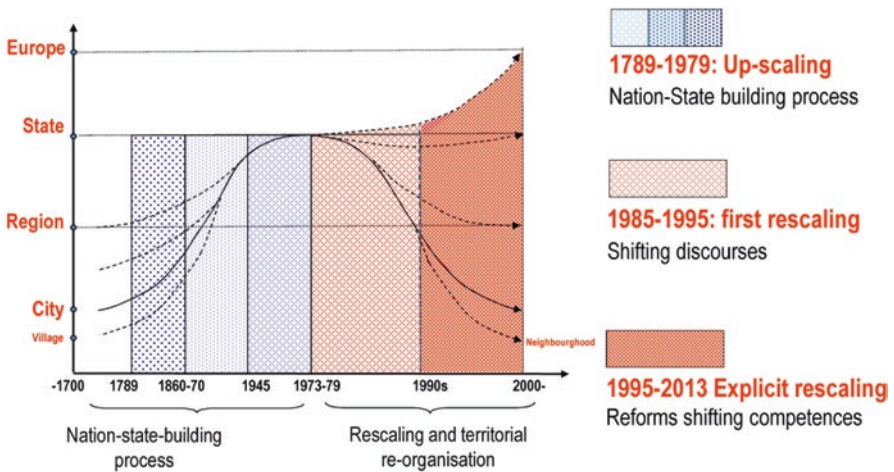


Fig. 4.2 Territorial changes: the general trend of upscaling and rescaling of Nation States (Kazepov 2013)

standards and to control the key features of their national education with all the nation state functions including the educational selection (Rinne and Ozga 2011, p. 68). Education has traditionally been regarded as the most national of activities. “It is the institution through which new members of the society are socialized into its ways and understandings, and learn the values and the rules of appropriateness of the society” (Dale and Robertson 2007, p. 217). Now the times have changed. The OECD, before the “debating club”, the “toothless tiger”, the “eminence grise” and the “global office” is rating and ranking nations and telling them the orthodox answers, how to classify, how to measure and how to produce “best practices”.

In national education systems and policies there are however the social facts, the already existing circumstances, which include and frame the possibilities for present and future actions, with some of them more powerful and significant than others. They are called the “opportunity structures”. Opportunity structures are varying from country to country and we should investigate and take into account those “national forms of discursive opportunity structures.” (Dale et al. 2016)

Opportunity structures

[...] shape conceptions of what is desirable (or undesirable), possible, feasible, etc. through existing assumptions about, or ways of talking and thinking about, or acting, what it might be possible, desirable, feasible to do in particular areas of activity.

They limit ideas of the possible, proscriptively rather than prescriptively. They frame “conceptions of the desirable and the undesirable, the possible and the impossible, the attainable and the unattainable”. More broadly, they can be seen as collections of norms, rules, institutions, conventions, practices and discourses, which restrict or enable different sets of actors in determining and executing the actions and the behaviour they intend to pursue. (Dale et al. 2016). The nature and significance of opportunity structures has been well captured by Colin Hay (2002, pp. 380–381; cited in Dale et al. 2016):

[...] selective of strategy in the sense that, given a specific context, only certain courses of action are likely to see actors realise their intentions. Social, political and economic contexts are densely structured and highly contoured. As such they present an unevenly distributed configuration of opportunity and constraint to actors. They are, in short, strategically selective, for whilst they may well facilitate the ability of resource- and knowledge-rich actors to further their strategic interests, they are equally likely to present significant obstacles to the realisation of the strategic intentions of those not similarly endowed.

There rise up significant issues around the nature and significance of national discursive opportunity structures and their profound importance in shaping education policies and practices. This also raises important scalar issues despite the puzzling resilience of nations in the context of welfare states (Barbier 2008, p. 2). The nation has to be seen as “the space” or the “bounded sphere” and the basis of the national policies and “political culture” is a kind of “historic amalgam of national discursive traditions as well as heir to institutional forms and frameworks”. The education policy is strongly framed: “Systems are anchored in territorial, material and linguistic determinations that cannot easily be circumvented, let alone dispensed with”. This clearly points to national cultural assumptions, as a clear and

indispensable, because “education systems are taken as the key repository of that culture basis of the determinations on which education policy rests. (Barbier 2008, p. 2; cited in Dale et al. 2016). As Stephen Ball elegantly puts it:

National policy making is inevitably a process of bricolage: a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, drawing upon and amending locally tried and tested approaches, cannibalising theories, research, trends and fashions and not infrequently flailing around for anything at all that looks as though it might work. Most policies are ramshackle, compromise, hit and miss affairs, that are reworked, tinkered with, nuanced and inflected through complex processes of influence, text production, dissemination and, ultimately, re-creation in contexts of practice. (Ball 2007, p. 44; 1998, p. 26).

We should understand, that “such bricolage is neither random, nor uniform in its composition and effects are themselves framed by national and local opportunity structures” (Dale et al. 2016; Rinne et al. 2018). Institutional opportunity structures (IOS) mean “the deeply ingrained conceptions about how education systems ‘work’, how they get things done, the set of rules, conventions, sedimented practices through which the system is administered.” IOS “sets limits to, and frames, but does not wholly control or shape current or future policies and practices...and these in turn set key limits to states’ capacity to shape policy and set limits to what could or should be done.” (Dale et al. 2016).

The IOSs also modify the broader discursive opportunity structures in particular ways, especially as it reflects and embeds conceptions of the nation(al) as it is expressed through arrangements for formal education. As Fox and Miller-Idriss (2012, p. 544) write: “Nationhood operates as an unselfconscious disposition; it underwrites people’s choices without becoming a self-conscious determinant of those choices.” It is at the level of the institutional framing of education that many aspects of the relationships between nation, school, and child are formed. (cited in Dale and Parreira do Amaral 2015).

4.5 Metrics and Measurement

The importance of data circulation has led researchers to call for a new sociology of numbers and quantification of education that would pay attention to how numbers are being “mobilized, circulated, consumed and contested” (Gorur 2015, p. 13). The flexibility, stability and combinability of numbers, in contrast to a written or spoken word, are said to enable them to transcend contexts and find governmental roles in new institutions, and often for purposes other than the original ones (cf. Rose and Miller 1992; Lascoumes and Galès 2007; Hansen and Mühlen-Schulte 2012; Piattoeva et al. 2018). The principles of calculability and measurability, originating from economics were increasingly transferred to fields previously regulated by old bureaucratic statutes and professional norms. Organisations that had previously been non-profit-making, for example universities and hospitals, began to be reshaped into little companies, the output of which was then evaluated and measured by different indicators. Rose (1999, p. 152) refers to the new governing technology based

on accountability and assessment to which the public sector is subjected directly as governance at a distance. With the new governing technology

[...] abstract spaces were made material through physical redesign of organizational space and then embodied in new national and supranational designations, new budget clauses, new evaluation indicators, new success curves and the whole of new public management (NPM) culture. (Rinne and Ozga 2011; Rinne et al. 2018)

Every new space subjected to assessment and measurability summons its population to evaluate and measure themselves, to translate their activities into measurable and economic language in order to maximise efficiency and income, cut waste and reorganise inefficient activities. Arbitrary rule thus becomes tamed, liberalised and acknowledged as neutral and objective calculation and evaluation (Rose 1999, pp. 152–154; Rose and Miller 1992). According to Rose, this is how we have moved into the “Audit Society”. (Cf. Rinne 2001, p. 107; Rinne and Ozga 2011). Michael Power (1999; 2003) has developed the concepts of the “global inspectorate” and “audit society” further. In his view, audits have conspicuously replaced the confidence that rulers and governments used to feel towards the wisdom and competence of professionals and expert authority. Power sees this taking place both in schools, hospitals, universities and, more generally, in private enterprise. Power observes that evaluation in a way entails “control of controls” and “rituals of verification”. (Rinne and Ozga 2011).

Romuald Normand (in press) has characterized three concurring trends in metrics for education policy. First is classification, by “bringing things closer and ordering the world”, which makes educative facts intelligible and builds a truth of representation, which shapes and guides politics, based on “knowledge produced by statistics and data collection”. Secondly there are large-scale experiments, which allow building statistical series to “qualify and classify populations according to different features and variables, and to prepare post-Welfare State politics.” Metrics serve to build large banks of data on “what works” “whose algorithmic treatments are considered sufficient to establish evidence-based reformist proposals”. Third, standardisation is a policy through which, based on metrics, “the universe of practices is harmonized and subjected to standards or ‘best practices’, disregarding cultural and contextual differences”. According to Normand (in press) while metrics as politics were born:

“New Public Management has adapted Taylorist tools by modernizing them. [...] The process of instrumental reason is a permanent quest for objectivity and truth through political claims that are constantly disproved by the irreducibility of human nature to numbers or data.”

Normand (in press) claims, that

[...] subjected to control and reinforced surveillance by the sophistication of tools considered as accurate, human beings must confront their potentialities and capacities to what is measurable at the expense of sacrificing their autonomy and self-fulfilment.

This subjection of education to governance by numbers may inevitably also limit the possibilities to consider other forms of moral agency beyond figures of

individual responsibility and expressions of competitive choice. Ultimately, according to Normand ([in press](#)) it seems that the old ideas of John Dewey (1922, pp. 61–62) have been completely forgotten by the apologists of metrics:

[...] moral equality cannot be conceived on the basis of legal, political and economic arrangements. For all of these are bound to be classificatory; to be concerned with uniformities and statistical averages. Moral equality means incommensurability, the inapplicability of common and quantitative standards. It means intrinsic qualities which require unique opportunities and differential manifestation; superiority in finding a specific work to do, not in power for attaining ends common to a class of competitors, which is bound to result in putting a premium on mastery of others. Our best, almost our only, models of this kind of activity are found in art and science. There are indeed minor poets and painters and musicians. But the real standard of art is not comparative, but qualitative. Art is not greater and less, it is good or bad, sincere or spurious. Not many intellectual workers are called to be Aristotles or Newtons or Pasteurs or Einsteins. But every honest piece of inquiry is distinctive, individualized; it has its own incommensurable quality and performs its own unique service.

Radhika Gorur (2015) wants to emphasise that the measurement is a productive rather than descriptive activity. There are two aspects to this productivity. One is that once a measurement is in place it acts upon the world by changing understandings and behaviours. The other is that it is an investment on “a character of calculability”. According to Gorur (2015) we ought not to see measurement as just imperfect descriptions but as world-making processes. Critiquing them is not just an epistemological exercise, but a political and ontological one. Citing Oakes (1986, 39) Gorur (2015) wants to emphasise, that “we cannot be unaware of the political pressure resulting from the mere existence of a set of indicators”.

It is an aphorism that “we don’t just measure what we value, but that we come to value what we measure” (Gorur 2016, p. 602). Globally, education reform appears in the “grip of a contagion and promotes competition, standardisation, test-based accountability and school choice in the service of a frenzied scramble to raise test scores and rankings.” Many other important values such as collaboration, personalisation, trust-based professionalism and equity of outcomes are by this process neglected. (Gorur 2016).

OECD’s knowledge-based regulation tools attempt to promote orthodox professional practice and increased standardisation of professional formation and development. The strength and power of these tools lies in its apparently objective nature, in the attractiveness of the space of negotiation and debate that it creates, where experts, policy makers and other knowledge-brokers meet and position themselves, and in its capacity to define the terms of that engagement. (Rinne and Ozga 2013, p. 97). According to Pons and van Zanten (2007) the knowledge-based regulation and steering tools have three main elements (cited in Rinne and Ozga 2013, 97; Rinne et al. 2018).

- They reflect particular world visions that represent the agenda setting capacities of particular interests,
- they represent a particular and politically oriented set of beliefs concerning legitimate policy in a given domain and

- they represent a wide and growing network of actors who are constantly drawn in to the process of intelligence-gathering, audit and meditative policy-making.

Comparisons across diverse school systems, which include countries with vastly differing economies, histories, cultures, goals, ambitions and social, political situations is especially problematic for PISAs bid to develop internationally comparable indicators and measures of behaviour. To make such comparisons possible, students, test items and testing and scoring processes had to be strictly standardised and abstracted on several levels in order to render them comparable (Gorur 2016, p. 603, 2011). Gorur claims that the individual student, in all his or her complexity, is lost. The complex anxieties and excitements, and the goals and dreams and motivations and interests of 15-year-olds are passed by. (Gorur 2016, 2011).

4.6 Standardisation

This world of ours is saturated with standards. They penetrate to all spheres of human life. Standards are not only ubiquitous, they are also normative. They create ideals and norms and normalities, but also the “less-than-ideal” and the abnormalities. “They produce social norms and encourage conformity to the ideal and dictate how things ought to be. They restrict decision-making possibilities, set parameters and narrow choice.” Standards also often incorporate standards of ethics, the breach of which may have legal and moral implications and sanctions. Standards (Gorur 2013, pp. 132–133)

[...] codify collective wisdom about what is acceptable in a given situation, and, explicitly or implicitly, what is not. This may create tension between individual autonomy and the codes of behaviour set by anonymous, distant others, removed from the immediate context by space, time and perhaps understanding. Standardisation is feared by some on the grounds that it promotes mechanistic behaviour, devalues tacit and professional knowledge and attacks our very humanism by voiding idiosyncrasy, individuality, creativity, intuition and emotion.

To ensure conformity, standards are often institutionalized processes involving different kinds of certification and formalisation. The more successfully the standards are mobilised and institutionalised, the less visible and noticeable they become. Many standards are thoroughly interwoven into the very fabric of our everyday lives, operating upon us in ways we scarcely recognise them. (Gorur 2013).

There is going on a huge invasion of politics of standardisation. Standardisation allows to build uniformity in time and space by creating common standards and establishing political control at a distance on work and communities of practice. Standardisation helps the State and public authorities to compare and rank individuals and groups and to create a common language shared by professionals, policy-makers and evaluators. Standards rely on a form of classification and measurement that defines limitations and exclusions in shaping the policy. They are based on scientific and expert knowledge, which give them legitimacy. “Their technicity

prevents challenges and controversies, particularly when they involve a strong mobilisation of expertise in time and space". Normand (*in press*) is emphasising, that standardisation is a strong policy instrument of power and coercion that effectively replaces traditional rules of authority, hierarchy and bureaucracy. Standards are grounded in the name of modernisation and modernity and claimed to promote "New Reason".

Standards may be called as the "recipes for reality" (Gorur 2013, p. 133). Standardisation renders the test easily adaptable to different times and spaces and thus to expansion. For example with the expectation of expanding into more than hundred nations, PISA is entering the space of middle- and low-income nations with a modified version called PISA for Development (PISA-D). The pilot study is already being planned in Ecuador, Honduras, Paraguay, Senegal, Guatemala, Zambia, Cambodia and Panama. For these nations, where more students are expected to perform poorly, PISA is being modified, but still the tests are being standardized to allow students from PISA-D countries to be compared with their counterparts in PISA. To make these assessments comparable across such a diversity of contexts, a lot of important details has to be sacrificed. (Gorur 2016, p. 603). By detaching children from around the world from their contexts,

Standardising them and converting them into numbers, the OECD is able to create sophisticated calculations, identify problems, and suggest solutions and policy advice with extreme specificity. Performance can be disaggregated on the basis of gender, migration status, social capital, location and other dimensions. Specific areas for intervention can thus be isolated. With each round of the survey producing more information, trend data create patterns of growth and decline. This is the type of calculus that 'centres of calculation' can perform from afar, sitting in a distant office, with the numbers providing a synoptic overview of the entire phenomenon, if at the expense of detail.

(Gorur 2011, 2016, p. 603)An enormous variety of things have now been converted into inscriptions on a completed form, coded according to pre-designated structures, and brought safely to the PISA offices. Citing Latour (1999, pp. 29,39) Gorur (2016, p. 604; 2011, p. 88) writes, that.

The students and their learning – indeed, whole school systems, represented by these students, have all been 'detached, separated, preserved, classified, and tagged'. The world has now been transformed into 'two-dimensional, superposable, combinable inscriptions' that scientists are able to sit in the comfort of their offices and reassemble, reunite and redistribute them 'according to entirely new principles that depend on the researcher, on the discipline ... and according to the institution that shelters them'.

The value of a "synoptic view" is that it is available "at a glance" and provides easily absorbed and easily represented information. PISA's league tables, on which 15-year-old children from distant and diverse parts of the world are "all gathered and organised into obedient rows and columns on a single spatio-temporal frame are a perfect example of such a synoptic view". (Gorur 2011).

PISA is bringing into being a kind of totally standardised school system with its calculations, policy guidance and recommendations. PISA does much more than merely provide a snapshot of how countries perform in PISA. With each round of PISA, it produces "not only the league tables with countries ranked according to

performance, but also detailed analyses which correlate practices of schooling, funding patterns and policies with performance. It provides pointers to countries on how to improve their school systems.” In addition to the PISA reports, the OECD produces thematic reports on particular topics and country reports focusing on particular countries. It advises how the countries should improve their systems, and offers consultancy to reform school systems and bring countries closer in line with PISA ideals. (Gorur 2016).

The interesting phenomenon, which Radhika Gorur (2016) calls the “Seeing like PISA” is not just about the influence of PISA on national policies. Rather, it is about a particular set of approaches and understandings that are epitomised by PISA. Seeing like PISA means standardisation, the narrowing field of vision focused on literacy and numeracy outcomes, abstraction, and the generation of standardised templates and protocols to guide practices.

As Gorur (2016, p. 612) writes:

If the cocktail of a narrow vision, widespread standardisation and abstraction, an exclusively fiscal view, a depleted curriculum, deprofessionalised teachers and market driven accountability systems which are currently in evidence continues unchecked, we can only speculate on the effects this will have not only on the economy, but also on the moral, intellectual and ethical fibre of society.

The example of German scientific forestry management practices serves as a way to understand the steps involved in making phenomena legible through a narrowing of vision, standardisation and abstraction. The picture Scott (1998) paints of the gradual transformation of forests with all their diversity of flora and fauna into the standardised mono-cultural forests standing in tidy rows and columns provides a compelling image. It may stop us to.

[...] consider the possibility of the irreversible damage we may cause if ‘seeing like PISA’ goes unchecked. It is one thing to use such maps to aid governance, but quite another when we pave the way for commercial companies to proliferate ‘schools-in-a-box’, particularly to already vulnerable populations in the global south. If it is too soon to tell whether the effects of ‘seeing like PISA’ are dangerous or damaging, it is also too soon to have unmitigated faith in such an approach. (Gorur 2016, p. 613)

4.7 Assessment and Indicators of Education

It seems that in the knowledge-based economy the supranational evaluations and rankings by numbers have very strong effects on discourses on educational policies. Especially PISA results are mentioned several times separately as pointing out by knowledge and numbers the bad and good qualities of educational systems and rankings among the countries without taking in to account the contexts. This age can be called not only age of governance by numbers but also age of “Governance by Indicators”. Major intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) such as the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD produce a vast range of new indicators each year. Quantification has been ramped up to such an extent that we even

have indicators for such intangible things as quality of life and happiness. Indicators developed by the OECD include global statistics on energy investment, “Skills for Jobs” indicators, “Green Growth Indicators”, “Trade Facilitation Indicators” and the several other widely used education, health and economic indicators. Their annual *At a Glance* series includes *Entrepreneurship at a Glance*, *Education at a Glance*, *Health at a Glance*, *Government at a Glance* and *Society at a Glance*. (Gorur 2017, p. 260).

We do not only measure a very wide range of things, we do so on a global scale, using comparative indicators. This is made feasible by the development of global indicators underpinned by odd assumptions of similarities and sufficiently universal values. Although there is critique of the use and validity of comparative measures, the import of the “taken-for-grantedness of comparison as a way of knowing”, and the use of comparisons in government decision-making is unquestioned. Gorur (2011, p. 76; 2017, p. 261) writes:

By what means does PISA gain knowledge and speak with confidence about diverse cultures and distant nations? How does it acquire a voice from nowhere’ [...] and become a modern-day Oracle that countries might consult for policy advice?

We may ask, how the OECD or UNESCO or the World Bank have come to be regarded as authoritative sources of information and how the development of global indicators and classifications have made possible these comparisons. Citing Anand (2017, p. 2) Gorur (2017, p. 261) puts it:

The dullness of infrastructure has political effects. It enables their various managerial authorities – officials in public utility commissions and departments of environmental services – to remain faceless. It allows their practices to remain illegible in opaque institutions.

The OECD’s international education indicators have become ever more influential in contemporary and very probably still stronger also in future education policies. Although these indicators are now routinely, annually published in the form of *Education at a Glance* (EAG), the calculability upon which the indicators depend was an achievement that involved the mobilisation of a huge machinery of expertise, trust, pragmatism and other resources. (Gorur 2015).

Education at a Glance’s influence derives from the vast amount of information it carries. Despite its name, EAG is anything but ‘at a glance’. On the contrary it is a long and serious gaze that examines “the quality of learning outcomes, the policy levers and contextual factors that shape these outcomes, and the broader private and social returns that accrue to investments in education.” As one of OECD officials involved in the publication of EAG at the OECD explained (Gorur 2015, p. 580):

It’s 30 indicators, it’s 230 tables, 140 charts and more than 100,000 figures. [...] It’s ‘at a glance’ but we have 500 pages, 550 in English. [...] And this is one of the flagships of the OECD. PISA is more famous because it concerns more countries and also all students pass the same exam, but in EAG you have very useful indicators on how the educational system all over the world works, and [...] we have the outcome, we have the finance, we have the input as well as the output.

Indicators are different from mere statistics in many significant ways. They are carefully selected statistics specifically designed to inform policy makers about the

state of the education system. They raise up policy agendas, anticipate policy questions and provide information for policy decisions. They often combine data from multiple sources, including data specifically collected within certain regulated, purpose-built frameworks to facilitate comparison (Gorur 2015):

Uniquely different from the usual policy-related statistical analysis, statistical indicators are derived measures, often combining multiple data sources and several ‘statistics’ that are uniformly developed across nations, are repeated regularly over time, and have come to be accepted as summarizing the condition of an underlying complex process. (Smith and Baker 2001, p. 141; cited in Gorur 2015)

Indicators are thus purposefully built up according to assumptions about how education systems function, using mathematical models that inscribe the assumed relationships. They are not self-explanatory. Their meanings are connected with the situations within which the measures are constructed often to map and represent “the combined effect of several variables, including exogenous factors”. Indicators thus wrap up complex relations into a simple shorthand. (Gorur 2015). The ever-widening reach of ILSAs has the potential to assemble new educational realities and publics:

This is not only directly through national policy reforms but also through the ways in which ILSAs enter public discourse and shape common sense understandings of what is valuable in education, what are the legitimate goals of education, who teachers and students are, what they should be doing and how it is possible to compare and know about the achievements, practices and agent’s behavior in different educational systems. International agencies and national actors alike are investing heavily in the creation of this new reality. (Hamilton 2017, p. 282)

4.8 Conclusion

Globalisation has been described as resulting in the rescaling of politics and policy. This is complicated by the rise of a new mode of governance at a distance through QAE techniques and evaluation data, standardisation and metric power and the consequent positioning and ranking of the nation-states and local spaces. This all rests on the provision and translation of information about subjects, objects and processes and brings new limits and possibilities for agents and their behavior (cf. Hansen and Flyverbom 2014). The new architecture of governance relies on the production and mobility of data (Ball 2016; Clarke 2012).

The globalisation and Europeanisation, of educational policy involve not only language, concepts, classifications and preferences per se but “entangle in their webs a shared sequence of new cultural and political myths, sagas and beliefs, produced in a new space of meanings that swear allegiance to communality and progress”. At the same time, affected by those myths, our collective understanding of education as a whole and its relationship to concepts like equality, and social justice, or economy and culture is reshaped (Lawn and Lingard 2002, pp. 299–303; Sultana 1995, 2002; Pereyra 1993; Rinne et al. 2002; Simola et al. 2002; Dale et al. 2016).

Among other international organisations (IOs), the OECD has become one of the major agent of the internationalising, globalising and thus converging education policy processes (Taylor et al. 1997; Ozga and Lingard 2007). While it is primarily concerned with economic policy, education has taken on increasing importance within that mandate of OECD, as it has been reframed as central to national economic competitiveness within an economistic human capital framework and linked to an emerging “knowledge economy”. The OECD has filled the niche of comparative evaluations in relation to education policy in terms of various kinds of indicators like in *Education at a Glance* and *PISA*. (Grek 2009, p. 27).

Although there has been also criticism towards the ideas of “governance at a distance” as a general note, it is helpful to understand that the principles of calculability and measurability, usually used at the private sector, originating from economics, have increasingly been transferred to fields previously regulated by old bureaucratic statutes and professional norms, usually located in the public sector. (Rinne and Ozga 2011, p. 67).

The principles of calculability and measurability, originating from economics were increasingly transferred to fields previously regulated by old bureaucratic statutes and professional norms. Organisations that had previously been non-profit-making, for example universities and hospitals, began to be reshaped into little companies, the output of which was then evaluated and measured by different indicators.

Romuald Normand (in press) has characterized three concurring trends in metrics for education policy. First is classification, by “bringing things closer and ordering the world”, which shapes and guides politics, based on “knowledge produced by statistics and data collection”. Secondly there is the development on a large scale experiments, which allow for building statistical series, used by experimental psychologists and economists to “qualify and classify populations according to different features and variables, and to prepare post-Welfare State politics.” Metrics serve to build large banks of data on “what works” “whose algorithmic treatments are considered sufficient to establish evidence-based reformist proposals”. Third, standardisation is a policy through which, based on metrics, “the universe of practices is harmonized and subjected to standards or ‘best practices’, disregarding cultural and contextual differences”.

There is going on a huge invasion of politics of standardisation. Standardisation allows to build uniformity in time and space by creating common standards and establishing political control at a distance on work and communities of practice. This world of ours is saturated with standards. They penetrate to all spheres of human life. Different kinds of evaluations, assessments, audits and quality assurance measures are all built upon an infrastructure of standards. Standards are not only ubiquitous, they are also normative. They create ideals and norms and normalities, but also the “less-than-ideal” and the abnormalities. “They produce social norms and encourage conformity to the ideal and dictate how things ought to be. They restrict decision-making possibilities, set parameters and narrow choice.” Standards also often incorporate standards of ethics, the breach of which may have legal and moral implications and sanctions. (Gorur 2013, pp. 132–133).

In national education systems and policies there are, however, the social facts, the already existing circumstances, which include and frame the possibilities for present and future actions, with some of them more powerful and significant than others. They are called the “opportunity structures”. They should be taken into account. (Dale et al. 2016). The nation is “the space” or the “bounded sphere” and the basis of the national policies and “political culture” is a kind of “historic amalgam of national discursive traditions as well as heir to institutional forms and frameworks”. There are heavy historical bounds and the national education policy is strongly framed: “systems are anchored in territorial, material and linguistic determinations that cannot easily be circumvented, let alone dispensed with”. (Barbier 2008, p. 2; cited in Dale et al. 2016).

4.9 Conclusion

Globalisation has been described as resulting in the rescaling of politics and policy. This is complicated by the rise of a new mode of governance at a distance through QAE techniques and evaluation data, standardisation and metric power and the consequent positioning and ranking of the nation-states and local spaces. This all rests on the provision and translation of information and brings new limits and possibilities for agents and their behavior. The new architecture of governance relies on the production and mobility of data. The globalisation of educational policy involve not only language, concepts, classifications and preferences per se but “entangle in their webs a shared sequence of new cultural and political myths, sagas and beliefs, produced in a new space of meanings that swear allegiance to communality and progress”. At the same time, affected by those myths, our collective understanding of education as a whole and its relationship to concepts like equality, and social justice, or economy and culture is reshaped.

Among other international organisations (IOs), the OECD has become one of the major agent of the internationalising, globalising and thus converging education policy processes. It has been reframed also within an economic human capital framework and linked to an emerging “knowledge economy”. The OECD has filled the niche of comparative evaluations in relation to education policy in terms of various kinds of indicators like in Education at a Glance and PISA.

There is going on a huge invasion of politics of standardisation. Standardisation allows to build uniformity in time and space by creating common standards and establishing political control at a distance on work and communities of practice. They penetrate to all spheres of human life with evaluations, assessments, audits and quality assurances. Standards are not only ubiquitous, they are also normative. They create ideals and norms and normalities, but also the “less-than-ideal” and the abnormalities. They produce social norms and encourage conformity and dictate how things ought to be. They restrict decision-making possibilities and narrow choice.” In national education policies there are, however, the social facts, the already existing circumstances, which include and frame the possibilities for

present and future actions. They are called the “opportunity structures” and make also local spaces important. Our time is not only global, but also glocal. The nation is “the space” or the “bounded sphere” and the basis of the national policies and “political culture” is a kind of historic amalgam of national and local discursive traditions and institutional forms and frameworks”. There are heavy historical bounds and the national and local education policy is strongly anchored in territorial, material and linguistic determinations that cannot easily be circumvented.

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Chapter 5

Globalisation, Education and Policy Reforms in Latin America



Robert F. Arnove

Abstract The chapter argues that 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. It is argued that 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. 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.

5.1 Introduction

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

R. F. Arnove (✉)
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA
e-mail: arnove@indiana.edu

Yes, indeed. Understanding the workings of companies like GE in the global economy is particularly pertinent to my home town. In the past, GE and other major corporations, like Otis Elevator and RCA-Thomson Electric, had moved more than 3000 jobs south of the border to the *maquiladora* assembly plants where Mexican workers were paid \$2.00 an hour without benefits, instead of the \$16 dollars an hour with benefits that American workers were receiving at the time. 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 formed a growing shadow economy.

5.2 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 happening 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.¹ Economic globalisation, the result of major transformations in the processes of producing and distributing goods and services, is integrally related to changes in

¹For 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; Vayruyan, R. (1997). *Global Transformation: Economics, Politics, and Culture*. Helsinki: Finnish National Fund for Research and Development; Zajda, J. (Ed). (2020a). *Globalisation, ideology and education reforms: Emerging paradigms*. Dordrecht: Springer.

the international division of labour (Zajda 2020a) One of the central characteristics of this highly globalised capitalism is that the factors of production are not located in close geographic proximity. Simultaneously, however, national economies are increasingly integrating into regional ones. The era of “Fordist” mass-scale production within national boundaries has been replaced by “just-in-time” Toyotism.² The fragmentation and reintegration of economies is facilitated by concurrent revolutionary improvements in telecommunications and computerisation, all made possible by quantum leaps in the production of scientific and technological knowledge. The ease with which individuals can communicate via satellite, and by which products can be assembled and disseminated, has its cultural counterparts in the so-called “Coca-Cola-isation” [sometimes also referred to as “Coca-Colonisation”] of the world, and the spread of television 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.” (Zajda 2020b). The terms 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 redound to the benefit of all. Government policies based on these notions have led to a drastic reduction in the state’s role in social spending, deregulation of the economy, and liberalisation of import policies. The educational counterparts of these policies have included moves to decentralise and privatise public school systems. The prescriptions offered by these powerful agencies are supposed to enhance the equality, efficiency, and quality of education. Although the state’s role is diminished in certain key areas of educational provision and administration, it also is enhanced in the sense of establishing norms for performance and regulatory mechanisms to guarantee accountability.

Fiscal stabilisation and structural adjustment policies associated with neoliberalism are designed to reduce a country’s budgetary deficits and external debt while

²On 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.

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.

5.3 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.³

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 (Zajda 2020b). 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

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.

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 twenty-first century, an English colleague quipped to me what decentralisation meant in Britain: “centralization of control, and decentralization of responsibility,” roughly corresponding to Hanson’s definition of “deconcentration,” which “typically involves the transfer of tasks and work, but not authority, to other units within an organization” (Hanson 2002, p. 2).

The consequences of the neoliberal economic and education policies, in my 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 nineteenth 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.⁴

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 Schiefelbein 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.

⁴I 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.

5.4 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' (Cohen 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. 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 and Ahuja Sánchez 2000, p. 366).⁵ 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

⁵On 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* (pp. 202–247). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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.

5.5 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 28 country study of civic education for the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) by Torney-Purta et al. (2001, pp. 24–25). Especially important were the competencies of teachers to be reflective practitioners, and to employ a pedagogy that encouraged discussion and the ability of students to critically examine differing points of view and beliefs surrounding important issues.

Data collected on the civic knowledge and engagement of 14-year olds pointed out some significant, 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 9th 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% is well below other countries, with the exceptions of Switzerland at 43% and the United States at 36%. 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 Torney-Purta et al. (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 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.

5.6 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 et al. 2002, pp. 26–29).

Far from being marginal to social movements aimed at social justice, at creating democratic citizens crucial to a sense of globalisation from below, universities –and especially teacher preparation institutions –are crucial for preparing present and future generations of students with the knowledge, skills, values, and ideals to understand and transform the world (Zajda 2020c). 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 nineteenth century Latin American idealists such as Andres Bello and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, as well as the internationalism of Jose Martí.

Concerned educators as public intellectuals are ideally suited to carry out the research, service activities, and teaching that contribute to an understanding of the global forces that impact economies and education systems internationally. Combined with critical analysis of current worldwide trends in economic and education policies is the need to stimulate the imaginations of teachers, students, and 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).

5.7 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. 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.

Acknowledgements The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Stephen Franz and Toby Strout in preparing this chapter.

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Chapter 6

Globalisation: Meta-ideological Hegemony and Challenges in Education



Holger Daun

Abstract This chapter offers a critical analysis of the dominant paradigms and ideologies and their positions along selected dimensions. The globalised meta-ideology was assumed to define and influence changes in education and policy reforms, both locally and globally, but other reasons for or causes of the changes in education policy might be an object of future, in-depth, research. In the past years populism has come to challenge the prevailing hegemony. Despite frequent incompatibilities with local economic structures and cultural patterns, the meta-ideology and its paradigmatic features described above are taken for granted by politicians and policymakers around the world. The educational features that have been globalized are ostensibly biased towards academic achievement, standards, cognition and purposive rationality.

6.1 Introduction

Political parties, politicians and governments in various countries around the world have in the past four decades accepted or been pushed to formulate educational policies that they were unlikely to favour earlier. They have formulated and often implemented policies that are alien or strange to their traditional core programs and constituencies. One principal reason for this is that new types of structures, cultures and challenges have emerged, to which established cultures and ideologies have been compelled to respond. As a result, ideological changes or shifts are taking place both locally and globally (Zajda 2020a). Some of the frontiers between the prevailing ideologies have been blurred (Miller 1989). Also a gap has emerged between rulers and ruled. In this vacuum populism has emerged and grows. The early modern ideologies were formed primarily along lines of the left – right division but new phenomena have emerged to be evaluated, explained and acted upon along new ideological dimensions, for instance: large-scale arrangements versus

H. Daun (✉)
University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: daun@mbox.su.se

small-scale arrangements, ‘ecologism’ versus ‘economism’, and so on. Some political and educational ideologies have revived certain of their classical elements.

Islam itself is a globalising force. Thus, we have to deal with two principal types of globalization – Western and Islamic – and may therefore use ‘globalisations (in plural), even if there among Muslims are different views on the relationship between Islam and the Western-style globalization’ (Daun and Arjmand 2018).

It is argued here that since the 1990s, ideological and policy changes are conditioned by the challenges from the globalized meta-ideology, which is hegemonic in that it determines the discourse and argues, for example, that education is first and foremost for making countries economically competitive and modern. In the second place comes education for the sake of e.g. Human Rights and Liberal democracy (Zajda 2020b). Thus, the Western globalization carries a meta-ideology with strong elements of some Western ideological features – principally individualism, the uniqueness of the individual, freedom of choice, and so on, which are among the elements that neo-liberalism and modern communitarianism share, and this common denominator may be called the *global hegemonic meta-ideology*. Ideological adaptations towards this meta-ideology have taken place in many places in the world, but since the beginning of this millennium populism has emerged as a counterforce. Populism is not a coherent ideology, but populist movements and ideas around the world have certain features in common (Mackert 2018; Stockemer 2019a, b).

The ideologies linked to Western globalization wield hegemonic power as globalization is presented as an inevitable and unavoidable process, and global competition as an indispensable feature for a society in order to progress or at least survive (Brown 1999; Burbules and Torres 2000; Cox 2000; Mittelman 1996; Spring 2009; Zajda 2015). In a similar vein as many other social, religious and cultural phenomena, Islam and its educational practices, institutions, and the manner of organizing them need to be studied in a global context. The world system and Western globalization processes challenge Islam and its educational institutions in different ways, while at the same time, Islam itself, as a world religion, is also a globalizing force (Beeley 1992; Berger 1999; Haynes 1999).

Education for children and youth, both secular and religious, has been globalized (Daun 2006, 2011; Spring 2009). During the past decades, Islam has been extended to new areas and it has been the most expansive religion in terms of new adherents, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, parts of Asia and Latin America (An-Náim 1999; Berger 1999; Martin 1999). In most contemporary Muslim societies Western globalisation has produced uneven and differentiated effects. Increased human mobility and global connectedness have resulted in greater contact between Muslims of differing orientations and has created significant Muslim communities in the West (Mandaville 2016). This chapter will analyse certain issues related to globalization and then focus on some key concepts that will be examined critically in the later sections.

6.2 Globalization

Globalization is something more than internationalization. The latter is resulting from state as well as non-state actions taken from within countries in relation to bodies and people in other countries. Western globalization is processes of compression of the world (in space and time) through ICT; economic interdependencies of global reach; an ideology (Cox 2000; Zajda 2015), or “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson 1992, p. 8). Usually, globalization processes are classified into different categories, such as financial globalisation, military globalization, cultural globalization, political globalization, and economic globalization.

The de-regulations implemented on the basis of neo-liberal ideas from the 1980s imply that multinational companies are not bound to any specific countries but may have units in different countries and they make decisions that many times ignore national borders. This fact makes them able to steer economic matters more or less independently from the states. Such de-territorialization also takes place in the case of religions.

Western globalization implies among other things: a challenge to and a questioning of national and local cultures; universalization of certain aspects of knowledge and ideas and particularization of others; a new role for the national state to mediate universalization and encourage competitiveness; and extension of liberal democracy and human rights. It is also the near-global spread of ideas, discourses, a standardized culture, institutions, organizations, technology and so on. Of particular importance is the general penetration of capitalist forms, market principles and purposive rationality (Touraine 1971). In the realm of institutionalized education, it is the dissemination of the world model – illuminated by Meyer et al. (1997), among others – that constitutes another feature of globalization.

With the dissemination of the market model, commodification and rationalization of non-economic spaces is spreading (Camps 1997; Sears and Moorers 1995). This might provoke resistance in the form of exaggeration of the importance of local ideas and traditional values (particularism). Revival movements and withdrawal from the state institutions may to some extent be seen as resistance or counter-hegemonic attempts. Complex and sometimes contradictory processes occur. Culturally, national societies and local communities experience ‘constraints to produce their own unique accounts of their places in world history’ (Robertson 1992, pp. 289–290). The taken-for-granted aspects of cultures are challenged and ‘Traditions have to explain themselves...’ (Giddens 1994, p. 23). Populism may partially be seen as one of the important responses to the uncertainty experienced due to these processes.

Western globalization contributes to new and sometimes contradictory requirements in relation to education, some of which are: religious-moral versus secular; formation of human capital versus broad personality development, competition and elitism versus equality and democracy (Benhabib 1998; Chabbot and Ramirez 2001; Hannum and Buchmann 2003). Globalisation of capitalism and the market

economy is perceived by politicians and policy-makers to require competitiveness, and the way to achieve this is by the same actors believed to be found in the world models as they are defined and studied by Meyer et al. (1997), and in the meta-ideology. The ideologies linked to the world models may be seen as part of the meta-ideology.

Among Muslims and governments in Muslim states at least four views on globalization: (i) Islam as a powerful globalising force; (ii) Islam as a potential globalising force; (iii) Islam and Muslims as excluded from the favourable aspects of Western globalisation; and (iv) Islam as threatened by the predominating (Western) globalisation forces.

These views on globalisation correspond to some extent to four principal Muslim ideological orientations: secularism, traditionalism, modernism/liberalism, and fundamentalism/Islamism (Daun and Arjmand 2018; The Levin Institute 2008; Saadallah 2018).

In the Western view, two sets of theoretical perspectives deal with the global phenomena affecting education: (i) World System (WS) perspectives and (ii) globalization perspectives. The World System perspectives include more long term and historical aspects than globalization perspectives generally do (Clayton 2004). Western globalization may be seen as taking place within the framework of a world system. Two World System perspectives are relevant in the present context: the political-economic world perspective and the neo-institutionalist world perspective. According to the former, the drive for competitiveness, profit and accumulation is the principal 'cause' of or condition for what occurs globally (Dale 2000; Elwell 2006; Wallerstein 1991, 2006). Wallerstein (2006) defines four different categories of countries or areas, among them peripheral and core areas, but practically all countries now at least pay lipservice to involvement in the drive for competitiveness. In what is labelled the Third World, differences and inequalities existing after the Second World War have since then been reinforced. We now, according to Cardoso (1993) and Castells (1993) have to count with 'four worlds': (i) Winners in the new international division of labour; (ii) potential winners (Brazil, Mexico); (iii) large continental economies (India, China); and (iv) clear losers that could be called the Fourth World. Most of Africa, the not-oil-producing Middle Eastern countries, large parts of Asia and Latin America belong to the Fourth World. Many Asian and most sub-Saharan countries, including those having a substantial proportion of Muslims, belong to the fourth category.

Economically, the position countries have in the world system may thus vary from marginalized to strongly incorporated into competitive world markets (Castells 1993; Foreign Policy 2007; Griffith-Jones and Ocampo 1999). Western Neoliberal globalization results in economic growth in some countries or places, but also results in marginalization of other countries and increasing gaps between the North and the South (Griffin 2003; Lipumba 2003). High technology activities, growth and richness are concentrated in certain geographical zones (East and Southeast Asia, Europe, Oceania and North America). Countries situated outside of the most intensive flows are indirectly influenced; their position in the world system is more or less cemented and their frame of action, even internally, is conditioned by their positions.

Economic actions and processes aim at and contribute to encouraging or compelling people to enter into commodified, monetized and priced exchanges as producers and consumers. Market forces are spreading to most areas of life, among them education. The market order on a global scale is country-wise mediated by national and local history, and politics (Bretherton 1996a; Cox 2000). Predominantly Muslim countries belong to both the highly involved category (principally oil producing countries) and the marginalized category (Beeley 1992; Daun and Arjmand 2018). From this World System perspective, education of the Western type is seen as subordinated to the requirement to contribute to competitive human capital.

On the other hand, the neo-institutionalist World System perspective, as defined by Meyer et al. (1997) assumes the existence of a world polity, which is a symbolic cultural construction and a discursive entity, including world models consisting of a complex of cultural expectations and tacit understandings, including ‘cognitive and ontological models of reality that specify the nature and purposes of nation-states and other actors’ (p. 144). The models stipulate how the relationships between e.g. the state, civil society, the citizen and education should be arranged. Beyond these relationships, this package of ideas and values or meta-ideology consists of ‘a distinct culture – a set of fundamental principles and models mainly ontological and cognitive in character, defining the nature and purposes of social actors and actions’ (Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer et al. 1997). Although merely consisting of recommendations and suggestions, the world models have enforcing characteristics. Paradoxically, while world models signal and promote plurality, individualization and multiculturalism, they also standardize and secularize cultures and ideologies (Burbules and Torres 2000).

According to this perspective, the world models embody the Western worldview and include features as diverse as, for instance, human rights, children rights, emphasizing individual autonomy and the like, modern Communitarian views, with its focus on altruism, solidarity etc., Neoliberal views (the self-interested and utility maximizing man), consumerist ideals, liberal democracy, education as a private and individual good etc. (Ahmed 1992; Barber 1996; Spring 2009; Zajda 2020a). Thus, the Western set of world models may be seen as containing or representing the market-oriented discourse as well as the modern communitarian-oriented ideology.

With regards to culture and religion, globalizations may result in intensive encounters between Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism. The world religions compete and challenge one another, each of them claiming to possess ‘exclusive and largely absolute truths or values’ (Turner 1991, p.173). The outcomes of the encounters between Islam and other globalized belief and value systems differ from one geographical and cultural area to another. In the pre-dominating world models, competing features, such as Islam and Buddhism, etc. are not considered in the same way and to the same extent as Western belief and value systems. That is, although Islam is being globalized it does not make part of the Western-oriented world models (Ahmed 1992; An-Náim 1999; Beeley 1992; Carney et al. 2012; Turner 1991).

Traditionally, culture has tied individuals, social systems and territories to one another. The local, in this sense, implies different holistic or totalitarian collectives

ranging from loose voluntary associations and networks to extended families, lineages, clans, kinships and fundamentalist groups. In areas less influenced by market forces, sections of the economy are driven not primarily by profit-seeking or individual utility maximization, but by the need for collective: extended family, clan, and tribe, and their survival. Culturally complex and sometimes contradictory processes occur around the world. Economic activities ‘remain embedded in the social fabric’ and have ‘another logic, another set of rules’ (than the capitalist) (Esteva and Prakash 1998, p. 86). Individuals make part of networks and there is a low degree of individualism (Hoerner 1995).

The spread of Western cultural features has different outcomes, ranging from revitalization of local cultures, which is particularization, to the emergence of syntheses or what Robertson (1995) labels ‘glocalization’ and Nederven Pieterse (Nederven Pieterse 1995) calls ‘hybridization’, to the elimination of local cultures (Goontilake 1994; M’Bokolo 1994; Stavenhagen 1994). When glocalization occurs, universal features are transformed and translated into local cultures, while in hybridization, the universal and the local more or less merge. Both glocalization and hybridization cover the outcomes of the encounter between global, standardized cultural aspects and local and/or value-oriented cultural aspects. According to Touraine (1971), the social has been decomposition, individualism has become the principal of ‘morality’, and society has fragmented into communities.

The market ideology and the modern communitarian orientation have a common denominator that largely corresponds to the world models. The core of the policy documents produced in and disseminated from international non-Islamic organizations (e.g. OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank) may be seen as constituting world models, although rarely explicitly. Since the world system, as such, does not have an overall physical or material world state, government or polity, governance is performed not only by nation-states but to a large extent by market forces, the enforcing characteristics of the world models and through the activities performed by a myriad of networks and organizations (Garsten and Jacobsson 2007; Messner 1997; Mundy 2007).

Awareness of one’s rights and demand for them has increased, as a result of globalization and civil and human rights have become important themes in the globalizing discourses and policies (Scholte 2008; Zajda 2020b). Global pressure for human rights and pressure from IGOs and INGOs concerning political freedom and freedom of organization have made many governments organize multiparty elections (Bretherton 1996b; Giddens 2002). However, this has not materialized at any large extent in pre-dominantly Muslim countries (Kurzman 2002). The neoliberal and human rights globalizations and the spread of the Western worldviews and lifestyles (Liberal, pluralist and market oriented) thus have come to challenge also Islamic beliefs, ideologies, institutions and way of life, which previously seemed to be valid (Ahmed 1992; Zajda 2020a). As Giddens (1994, p. 22) argued, ‘Globalization is not just about the creation of larger systems, but about the transformation of the contexts of social experience’. That is, global processes also reach the individual level. Individuals can less than before trust the immediate and experienced past and present (Robertson 1992; Waters 2001; Zajda 2020c).

6.3 Education

In regard to the influences of international and global forces on education, it is necessary to make a distinction between: (i) general processes of globalization, and (ii) direct and specific educational processes such educational borrowing (Meyer et al. 1997; Steiner-Khamisi 2004). The former includes general economic, cultural, and political forces affecting education indirectly, while the latter takes place in the domain of education and thus affects education directly. In the latter case, the spread of educational policies takes place through, for instance, borrowing, learning (from others), and imposition (Dale 1999). The Western-style modern education has been globalized through its massive expansion around the world. The changes within this type of education are taking place in the direction proposed in the world models: in overall goals, educational organization, type of governance, administration, mode of finance and organization of educational provision and delivery and regulation as well as the curriculum (Daun 2002, 2006; Spring 2009). The culture of Western-style primary and secondary education is increasingly biased towards cognitive and measurable elements, and quality is assessed in terms of achievement on test scores rather than socialization skills, personality formation or moral training. In such a context, education tends to be seen as a commodity, while moral training and ethical virtues are neglected. Expansions and changes of the curriculum and developments within the aspects of education affect Islamic education in different ways.

Western-style education is generally seen as the means to achieve a large number of goals, including development, economic growth, upward social mobility, peace, and democracy. The processes of neo-liberal globalization generally drive countries to at least attempt to make people technologically and economically competitive; and more specifically to enhance students' cognitive and technical skills. However, in reality education has maintained its different complementary as well as contradictory functions: transformation of society, reproduction of power relations, sorting, selection, qualification of pupils, and so on. Some of these features seem to apply to some types of Islamic education as well, partly because Islamic knowledge is stratified; as some groups are not entitled or able to reach the highest levels of knowledge (see Nasr 1975).

6.4 Key Concepts

In many countries a gap has emerged between, national leaders and voters (see, for example, Andeweg 1996; Bakker and Bal 2010). However, values have not changed as much, when compared with societal structures, economic patterns and technology (World Values Survey 2015). Paradigm, culture, ideology and policy are inter-related concepts. A paradigm is one of the most abstract concepts, at times defining and shaping aspects of cultures, ideologies, and major social theories, and these features are situated at the level of (a) epistemology and ontology (view of man,

view of society, view of the state, view of knowledge, and so on); (b) view of the role of education in society and for the individual, and (c) discourse and policies (Burrell and Morgan 1992; Watt 1994). Culture is an ongoing construction of shared world views, visions and meanings (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020).

Ideologies are aspects of culture(s); they are visions used programmatically to justify a certain state of affairs or vision of certain states of affair. When ideological elements are transferred into the policy-making arena, they tend to adapt to the context and concrete circumstances (Sörensen 1987). Ideologies were originally to a large extent linked to socio-economic class and material conditions of people but are now being de-linked from class structures and group interests and more and more linked to the drives for individual autonomy, competitiveness, ‘modularity’,¹ new types of governance, uncertainty, risk, etc. (Gellner 1994; Reich 1997; Touraine 1971).

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

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

It is evident that, apart from globalization processes, certain aspects internal to each country contribute to the ideological and political shifts. For example, the expansion and prolongation of education and a higher material standard of living among the populations in some areas in the world, have contributed to the changed basis and nature of ideologies (Inglehardt 1990, 1997; Norris and Inglehardt 2004; World Values Survey 2015).

Hegemony, as it was once conceptualized by Gramsci (1971), operates at the national level and implies consensus within the framework of a national, industrialized capitalist economy, based on the fact that the capitalist class is able to make the dominated class(es) accept the dominant culture and ideology as ‘common sense’ (Sears and Moorers 1995). Thus, hegemony is an ideological domination. Moreover, Sears and Moorers (1995: 244) refer to Laclau, who argues that hegemony is a

¹ This term has been coined by Gellner (1994), and means that individuals are socialized in such a way that they fit in and behave appropriately in many different situations and contexts.

discursive matter: it is the ability to extend the dominating discourse and make its alternatives converge with itself. However, hegemony can reasonably be expanded to fit a global framework, in the context of global processes.

Despite the uniform pattern of ideologies and policies deriving from the hegemonic paradigms, nation-states, education systems and schools do not adapt immediately, or in a uniform way (McGinn 1997; Meyer et al. 1997). This indicates inertia, resistance or some type of counter-hegemony (Camps 1997).

As far as education is concerned, its value tends to be perceived in two principal ways: (i) as a value in itself, or (ii) as an instrumental value. In the first case, it is seen as a human right, a basic human need or an indispensable aspect of welfare and well-being. In the second case, it is an investment and qualification for future roles in the spheres of production and consumption or a means to create democratic citizens, for instance (Colclough 1990; Cornia et al. 1987; Farrell 1992). Furthermore, the relationship between society and the education systems has, during different historical periods, been seen in four different ways: (i) Education is conditioned by and adapting to societal changes; (ii) education is the motor driving societal changes, (iii) society and education are in a mutual interrelationship, or (iv) education is more or less independent of or isolated from society (Karabel and Halsey 1977). The second (ii) view, for example, has dominated since the beginning of the 1990s and it corresponds to the liberal market view (see human capital theory). Against this background, describing globalization and its conceptual distinctions, the most common ideologies and their shifts will now be discussed.

6.5 The Most Influential Western Ideologies

6.5.1 *Liberalism, Social Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism*

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

Neoliberalism promotes two important assumptions: that everything could be marketized and that human beings are driven by their needs and desire to maximize their own needs and utility, regardless of time and place. Structural adjustment programs initiated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in a large number of countries around the world are based on the neoliberal assumptions.

Crouch (2017, p, 8) argues that neoliberalism is ‘... a political strategy that seeks to make as much of our lives as possible conform to the economist’s ideal of a free market’. (Crouch (2017, p, 8). And development aid implies that ‘the recipient countries should develop and implement policies ensuring privatisation of state-owned enterprises, deregulation, liberalisation of imports and foreign direct investment inflows and interest rates, as well as legislate to minimise the role of government intervention into the economy’ (Crouch (2017, p, 8). In the market discourse, education is seen as a good or commodity. Moral issues and moral education (honesty and other values) are assumed to be acquired through the workings of market mechanisms (Giddens 1994, Giddens 2002).

6.5.2 *Conservatism*

Contemporary conservatism is impregnated by ideas from earlier periods and its principal goal is to revive societal features and values that formerly existed. Locality and territory are important in the conservative ideology, be it the local community or the nation. For nationalists among the conservatives, it is the nation that is the context of decision-making and identity, while it is the local community among locally oriented conservatives (similar or akin to one of the early – traditional – communitarian branch) (McCarthy et al. 1981). As in liberalism, inequalities were (and are) seen to be due to inherited biological differences; differences in efforts made by the individual himself or herself; or both. Individual freedom is important but earlier as well as certain later conservatives do not believe as much as neo-liberals in individual rationality and market solutions. They see a need for moral training in accordance with specific conservative values, and, in the Western context, dissemination of Christianity. Also, there is a need for a state guarding the nation and for religious institutions and families that guarantee moral values (Held 1995, p. 139). For example, if the dissemination of Christian values and nationalist elements are perceived to be at risk, with the implementation of decentralization, then late conservatives are reluctant to accept such a reform (Lauglo 1995).

In addition, Held (1995) finds within the New right ‘severe tensions between individual liberty, collective decision-making and institutions and processes of democracy’ (Held, p. 495). Brown et al. (1997) argued along the same lines, when they, within the New Right, found argument for international competition as well as romanticization of the past of the ideal home, family and school. In conservatism, education is generally seen as promoting moral values and citizenship.

Conservatism exists also in cultures and civilizations other than the ones in Europe, America and Oceania. Among adherents to Islam, for instance, there are conservative groups, whose values and beliefs have many features in common with conservatives in the non-Muslim countries. (See Ahmed 1992; Ayubi 1991; Saadallah 2018).

6.5.3 Communism, Utopian Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Cooperative Socialism

These ideologies have one thing in common: the belief in a classless and stateless society with emancipated individuals who are collectively oriented and rational. The locus for decision-making is the local, be it a community, a factory or another collective entity. However, the means to reach this state of affairs and the solutions these ideologies suggest for reaching this utopian society differ considerably (Bakunin 1981; Kropotkin 1981; Sabine 1964; Woodcock 1962). In communism, revolution is the means to radically change society into a classless society. Anarchism implies individualism, but it is an individualism which is collectively oriented. The classical anarchists believed that individual (and sometimes violent) actions, such as sabotage, strike, etc. could make the capitalist society collapse and that an egalitarian society could be created from the ruins of the capitalist society. Utopian socialism and cooperative socialism existed mainly in England and France during the nineteenth century. These socialists were convinced that the establishment of cooperative movements and firms (not-for-profit) could lead to a better society without capitalism and a strong, central state. A general theme in syndicalism is the belief that society can change in the direction mentioned above through massive participation in trade unions and their strategic general strikes.

6.5.4 Socialism and Keynesianism

Reformist socialism eventually became Social Democracy that rejected the revolutionary way of changing the capitalist society (Sabine 1964). Instead, it was seen as possible to seize the state through general elections and then use it for societal transformation. Before reformist socialists ever came into power position, they tended to see the education system as one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, an apparatus that defended the interests of the privileged class (Althusser 1972). When they had implemented universal primary and secondary education, this view changed, and nowadays education by them is seen as a way to a more egalitarian society (even if the sorting function of education systems is still recognized to be working) (Blackledge and Hunt 1985).

6.5.5 Communitarianism and Populism

Communitarianism is not a paradigm in the same sense as the others. Rather, it consists of various ideas and practical approaches that have a certain common denominator, different from the core of the other paradigms. Communitarians have a common denominator in what Thomas (1994) calls ‘college’ (the local or

voluntary organisations as the platform for decision-making and locus of intent); decisions are made at the local level and for the common good at that level. That is, a ‘community’ or an association should be the context for decision-making and ties of solidarity. The common is not necessarily the nation-state but a ‘community’.

Communitarians argue that a strong civil society and social capital are necessary for the preservation of individual liberty and at the same time solidarity. Many communitarians do not question the state and capitalism as such. They see both as a necessary foundation for freedom and welfare per se, but reject their extreme forms, such as a high degree of state centralization and alliances between lobbying pressure groups and the state. Also, they argue that communitarianism is a third alternative – between capitalism and centralized political bureaucracy (Etzioni 1995; Wesolowski 1995). In this view both welfare bureaucracy and market forces undermine altruistic incentives and create anonymity and alienation (Green 1993; Hunter 1995). On the other hand, the state is seen as the only guarantor against the complete take over by the capitalist and market forces. Communitarians fear elitism and tend to see the Keynesian approach as suppression of difference, of individual rights and freedom. What is needed is solidarity and a feeling of belongingness (McCarthy et al. 1981).

A basic idea of early communitarianism was that the individual once belonged by birth to his/her community. Each community formed an organic whole. Such conditions of life have now, according to them, got lost and have been substituted by a direct “contract” between the individual and the state (McCarthy et al. 1981). Still today, in many places in low income countries, the community is more important than the individual. The communitarian-oriented ideology includes a traditional and a modern branch. The traditional branch is based on the idea that a geographical area and its population form an organic whole. Traditional communities are those in which people are born, or are related by religion, family or kinship. The adherents to traditional branch aim at restoring community or at least the spirit of community and see education as a holistic matter. Muslims, wherever in the world they live, tend to form communities of the traditional type, communities that are perceived to belong to *umma*.

There are thus two branches of communitarianism. One is the early conservative communitarianism, based on the local community traditions. The other branch is the late communitarianism that emerged in the 1960s. Waters distinguishes between two categories of communitarians: (a) the New Right, conservative, that is searching for an organic and integrated association between people who have many features in common; and (b) the New Left, the radical communitarians, according to which communities based on some common interests or common life styles are good for democratic participation. The New Right stress individual autonomy and the right to consume. The New Left are critical to the neo-liberal concept of freedom, as something neutral and independent of social and cultural context. They see the common good as resulting from shared activities and transmitted values but also as the context from which the individual derives his or her freedom and choice possibilities (Haldane 1996).

For some of the late communitarians, the goal is to restore the spirit of community (Etzioni 1995), while early communitarians go still further and argue for a restoration not only of the spirit but of the functions and forms of the old communities (McCarthy et al. 1981). Late communitarians do not see ‘community’ as something necessarily based on common residence or locality but as some type of ‘sameness’ (Offe 1996) or shared life style, be it ecological issues, feminist issues, gay life styles, etc. This branch seems to have been influenced by anarchism, utopian socialism and post-modernism. It is internationally oriented and defends individual autonomy and civil society (Held 1995).

Populism is understood by some researchers to be socialist, while others see it as conservatism (or even fascism). In this chapter, no attempt will be made to classify populism, but it is included here, because it is sometimes an ingredient of communitarianism, and during the past decades it has become widespread (Stockemer 2019b). Today, ‘populism’ is often used in everyday language to mean ‘opportunistic’, and folk’-oriented, etc. However, the term populism was originally used for the view that once upon a time, people lived in a ‘natural’ or ‘innocent’ state of affairs; there was no urbanization, no large scale capitalism or big state, and leaders were locally based and came into power position either by tradition or through elections at the local (village) level. Life was not very complicated, there were no national elites and people at the grassroots level knew what was best for them (Ionescu and Gellner 1969). Society is by populists seen as divided into folk and elite. Directors and owners of big companies, intellectuals and national politicians are seen the elite, that does not know and understand the desires and needs of the folk.

Mackert (2018) argues that one of the reasons for the appearance of populism is the global financial crisis in 2008, ‘All these manifestations of right-wing populism share a common feature: they attack or even compromise the core elements of democratic societies, such as the separation of powers, protection of minorities and the rule of law’ (Mackert (2018, p. 1). Crouch (2017, p. 13) summarizes populism with the following characteristics: (1) anti-establishment, (2) all the left (populist) parties are against austerity, which indicates against some aspects of neoliberalism, (3) many populist parties are anti-globalisation, (4) most right wing parties against EU, (5) all of the populist parties on the right are anti-immigration and anti-Islam. Populists ‘see themselves as neglected ... feel marginalised ... marginalisation is potentially a loss of identity’ (Crouch 2017, p. 14). Everyday life of people is impregnated by competition, ‘... individual egoism and utility maximisation...’ and ‘old social cleavages’ have been reactivated and new ones have been triggered – ‘citizens vs. migrants, old vs. young, urban vs. rural, wealthy vs. poor’. (Crouch 2017, p. 14).

According to Jakupec (2018), Trumps’s politics and policies are a variety of populism. They are ‘challenging the neoliberal ideology of the Washington Consensus institutions (e.g. World Bank, IMF, WTO)’ (Jakupec (2018, p. v). What he terms ‘Trumponomics’ is ‘based on isolationism, protectionism, antiglobalisation, anti-neoliberalism’ (p. ix). ‘...today’s populism ... a mediate consequence of neo-liberalism’s destruction of the social fabric, norms and values, and democratic

institutions of Western societies' (Jakupec (2018, p. 6). In general, populism is seen as a 'thin' ideology (Green and White 2019).

6.6 Meta-ideological Dimensions and Education

An educational paradigm is a whole package of the principal ideas concerning the ideal relationships between the political, economic, cultural spheres of society, on the one hand, and the role of education in society, on the other hand (Burrell and Morgan 1992; Watt 1994). Using ideal types, in the Weberian sense (see Gerth and Mills 1970), which directs attention towards cores of categories and emphasize differences between categories, the dominating paradigms and some of their principle themes and elements are described below. As ideal types, the paradigms correspond neither directly to any present-time political parties and various movements, nor to particular varieties of educational policies. Three paradigms, behind educational policies and surrounding educational issues, have been the most influential in many areas of the world during the past decades. These paradigms will be referred to as: the market-oriented paradigm, the etatist-welfarist-oriented paradigm, and the communitarian-oriented paradigm. However, etatism has lost a lot of its attraction since the 1980s and during the 2010s, populism has arisen as a reaction to the changes in the world, especially globalization and neo-liberal changes (Colliot-Thélène 2018).

6.6.1 *The Market-Oriented Paradigm*

The whole philosophy and terminology of this paradigm derive from liberal micro-economics (as opposite to Keynesian policy which is macro-oriented). Consequently, for the basic assumptions of the market-oriented paradigm, reference may be made to the previous description of liberalism. Market proponents believe in individualism and individual rationality, features which have been specified by philosophers such as Hayek (1960). Individualism in this context means that the individual is a utility-maximizing individual, who acts rationally (purposively) through self-seeking behaviour of the market-place (Held 1995). For the individual to be able to do so, there should be as much freedom as possible and as little steering as possible from forces (called externalities) other than the market mechanisms (Miller 1989). Tradition, family, clan and nation are externalities that are anachronistic and irrelevant for rational action or an obstacle to development to a higher stage of efficiency and material standard of living (Crowley 1987). When individuals can maximize their own utility, this accumulates and favours the development of society at large. Deregulation of markets worldwide will make the world more conducive for individual utility-maximization and, thus, higher stages of societal development (Hayek 1960).

The basic assumptions mentioned above are used in the educational domain. To base education on market principles is an idea that comes from Friedman (1962) and Schultz (1961). More specifically, education is seen as a good or commodity, and when all consumers can choose, the quality of the goods and services improves. The market paradigm has been applied to education either literally or as a metaphor. In the first case, actions and arrangements in the educational field follow the market principles. The prototype is a private agent who calculates the revenues in relation to the costs of organizing education. The owner as actor does not have any other revenue from the educational supply than the fees paid by the parents (or per pupil subsidies from the central state or from the community authorities). Marginal profit from accepting each new pupil is estimated. Unlimited choice and school fees are two of the most important features in the first case. There is competition between suppliers. In the second case, the educational field is treated as if it were a market (quasi-market). Choice among public schools is one such example. ‘Marketization’ of the field of education can, in this view, be partial – the ownership and delivery are private but the owners or their customers receive public funds. The market paradigm has impregnated the educational and other discourses during the past three, four decades. These discourses have adopted terms such as entrepreneur, delivery, efficiency, consumer, client, etc. from the market paradigm.

6.6.2 The Etatist-Welfarist-Oriented Paradigm

The assumptions of this paradigm are often not as explicit as those of the market approach. However, the following assumptions may be derived or inferred from different sources (Cuzzort and King 1976; Dow 1993; Sabine 1964; Vincent 1994). The role of the state is to eliminate, or at least reduce inequalities or inefficiencies, resulting from the workings of the capitalist system. Capitalism itself should not be abolished, but regulated (Curtis 1981; Sabine 1964). The individual is seen as a self-actualizing agent. Due to societal inequalities and different phases in individuals’ biography (childhood, for example), there are always individuals who are not able to satisfy some of their basic needs through own efforts. Satisfaction of their needs has to be guaranteed by the collectivity (the public sector) and efforts are made to optimize needs satisfaction (Doyal and Gough 1991).

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

Proponents of this paradigm suggest political means to achieve goals and political solutions to social problems. To the extent that issues are transferred to the

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

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

6.6.3 The Communitarian Paradigm and the Populist Perspectives

In regard to education, schools should be locally owned and run, either by local communities, NGOs or other associations. Communitarians argue that many children grow up without a network in which they can be properly socialized and supported. Schools are expected to repair this ‘under education’ but are today too narrow in their task and too test oriented. They should teach morals, solidarity and responsibility and produce social capital. Democracy should be learnt by experiences of cooperation, moral training, and so on, in school life (Etzioni 1995). As mentioned earlier, populism can to some extent be seen as a sub-category of traditional communitarianism. In the populist view, education should be principally locally based and owned and it should be for local purposes (Lauglo 1995).

6.7 Meta-Ideological Dimensions

From studies on values and morals (e.g. Inglehardt 1990, 1997; Norris and Inglehardt 2004; World Values Surveys 2015) we may derive or distil certain ideological features, which here are considered as dimensions of paradigms. Certain features of paradigms are highly relevant in an educational context. If we take these features to be dimensions with opposite poles, the paradigms can then be located along these dimensions. The choice of dimensions and the number of positions along them may vary in relation to the purpose of studying them. Provisionally and for heuristic purpose, the dimensions have here been scaled into seven positions. The dimensions selected here are:

- (i) Materialism/consumption vs. post-materialism;
- (ii) centralism vs. decentralism;

- (iii) big state vs. small state;
- (iv) purposive rationality vs. value rationality;
- (v) representative democracy vs. direct democracy;
- (vi) secularism vs. sacredness;
- (vii) self-orientation vs. other-orientation;
- (viii) individualism vs. collectivism;
- (ix) autonomy vs. equality; and
- (x) universalism vs. particularism.

In principle, the paradigms and ideologies can be placed along the dimensions as in Table 6.1.

Materialism/consumption vs. post-materialism: This dimension is used by Inglehardt (1990, 1997; Norris and Inglehardt 2004; World values survey 2015) in their analysis of the values in a number of countries. Materialism and consumption means that acquisition of goods and services takes place principally for its own sake. Post-materialism means that priority is given to non-material ideals (morals, ecology, humanitarianism, and so on).

Centralism vs. decentralism: This is an ‘old’ dimension that has been debated ever since the emergence of classical ideologies, but has been revived since the 1980s. It concerns the level of decision-making and implementation.

Big state vs. small state: This is also an old dimension. It deals with the legitimacy and desirability of state intervention in society. Logically and semantically, this

Table 6.1 Principal paradigm and ideology dimensions

Materialism, consumerism, materialist values	M		E		C1	P, C2		Humanistic, post-materialist values
Centralism			E	C1		P	M, C2	Decentralism
Big state	E			C2	P, C1		M	Small state
Representative democracy	E		M ^a			P	C1, C2	Direct democracy
Secularism	M, E			C2	P		C1	De-secularism
Self-orientation	M	C2			E	P	C1	Other-orientation
Individualism	M		C2	C1	P, E			Collectivism
Autonomy, freedom	M ^c , C2 ^b	P, C1 ^b				E		Equality
Universalism	M	E	C2			C1	P	Particularism
Purposive rationality	M, E					P, C2	C1	Moral rationality

M Market orientation, *E* Etatist orientation representative, *C1* Early Communitarianism, *C2*: Late Communitarianism; *P* Populism

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

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

^cIndividual autonomy

dimension does not have to accompany the centralism-decentralism dimension. That the state is centralist does not necessarily imply that it is big.

Representative democracy vs. direct democracy: This is also an old issue but it has been actualized with the new movements' demands for direct democracy. It is visible i.a. in the type of boards or councils that are implemented when decentralization (school-based management) takes place.

Secularism vs. de-secularism: This dimension should not be perceived to apply to the religious aspect only. Apter (1965) and Gellner (1994), for instance, see strong de-secularist elements in utopian ideologies as the opposite of secularism, especially in connection with revolutionary changes in a society.

Purposive vs. value rationality: Purposive rationality means that means and goals are estimated to correspond to one another in an optimal way. Revolutionary ideologies, for example, tend to be value rationalist during their early phases.

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

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

Autonomy/freedom vs equality: The attainment of the former tends to imply increasing inequality and vice versa. When resources are or are seen as limited, this dimension is articulated.

Universalism vs particularism: Universalists assume that social, political and educational phenomena are transferable to any cultural context in the world, regardless of time and place, while the opposite applies to particularists, who argue that cultures, values, etc. are local and specific.

Three of the most globalized paradigms, namely the market paradigm, the etatist paradigm and the communitarian paradigm are placed along these dimensions in Table 6.1. Populism is not a paradigm, but has been included here, because of its spread during the past decade. The placements of the paradigms in positions along the defined dimensions should be seen as approximations based mainly on the sources mentioned (see, for instance, Inglehardt 1990, 1997). Movements are not shown in the Table, but it may be mentioned that several Social Democratic and Socialist parties around the world have moved on the dimension of centralism-decentralism (in the direction from an 'etatist' to a 'communitarian' position or even to a market position. Market proponents researchers and late communitarians share position on decentralism, while early communitarianism is closed to etatism on self-orientation and autonomy. We also find that communitarians are opposite to the other paradigms on representative vs. direct democracy.

Approximations of positions of paradigms along certain, relevant dimensions can also be made specifically for the domain of education, and we once again use ideal types in the Weberian sense (Table 6.2).

Since the 1980s, certain developments in the educational policy community have laid the groundwork for the spread and main streaming of the Market paradigm to many areas of the globe. Ideological elements such as 'the agent', 'the micro' and 'the rational individual' took a leading position in the educational policy

Table 6.2 Principal paradigm and ideology dimensions in the educational domain

Education as skills formation	M		E	C2		P, C1	Education as broader personality formation
Education principally as an instrument for achieving higher productivity and citizenship competence	M		E	C2		P	C1 Education as a value in itself
Limitless choice	M		C2		E	C1	P No choice
Education run as a market	M		C2			P, C1	E Education as a public matter
Centralized governance			E		C2	P, C1	M Decentralized governance
Competition among schools and among students	M		C2		E	P, C1	Cooperation among schools and among students
National curriculum	E	M		C1	P		C2 Local curriculum
Education as individual good	M		C2		P	E	C1 Education as common good
Secularism	M	E	C2			P	C1 De-secularism
Diversified			P, M	C2		C1	E Unitarian

communities (Ball 1990; Craib 1992; Morrow and Torres 2000; Popkewitz 2000). These are typical features of the market-oriented paradigm. However, another discourse stemming from the communitarian paradigm emerged with a focus on cultural issues and human rights. The elements of these two dominant paradigms are now articulated in the form of globe-wide policies, their common denominators (See Fig. 6.1) are attaining global spread.

Much of the adaptations to the meta-ideology takes place through borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi 2004), various types of pressure from the international organizations, such as donors and lenders (Dale 2000; Mundy 2007) and/or through states' own efforts to be modern, up to-date and reliable (Meyer et al. 1997). Populism, whatever we think about it, has now come to challenge the meta-ideology, especially the neoliberal aspect of it.

6.8 Evaluation

Governments perceive themselves compelled to or have the ambition to be globally competitive and dominant, and the meta-ideology is seen as the answer to the requirements of competitiveness and modernity. This is one of the principal reasons for the ideology and paradigm shifts (Burbules and Torres 2000; Camps 1997; McGinn 1997; Meyer et al. 1997; Steiner-Khamsi 2004). On the other hand, at various levels and in different places, the meta-ideology and Western globalisation has

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

Fig. 6.1 Basic features of the market-oriented and communitarian-oriented paradigms and their common denominator

met resistance and opposition, if not from governments, than from segments of the populations and certain politicians, among them populists.

To use dimensions for analytical purpose can be fruitful in different ways: (a) we can place the policies of one and the same political party or government on the scales at different moments in time and establish if and what shifts have taken place and investigate why; and (b) we can discover what positions different political parties in a country have at certain phases in time. The dimensions make evident what positions different ideologies or political parties have at different moments in time, but also how they compare at a specific moment in time. When there are shared or close positions, there is space for ‘alliances’ and a middle position makes it possible to negotiate with both ‘sides’, such as the one between the market paradigm and the communitarian paradigm in individualism. However, in many cases unanticipated moves towards or adaptations to the meta-ideology have taken place.

Islam is being globalized; all countries with a Muslim presence have Quranic education organized by and in the civil sphere of society. Most rural areas in the Middle East, parts of Asia and in Central and West Africa and Africa’s Horn have at least one Quranic school and/or some madrassas, organized by civil forces. The spread of Western education has resulted in different educational outcomes and responses from the Islamic educational institutions: renovation, revivalism, ritualism. Efforts at integration between the Western and Islamic types of education have been and are being made in many places in the world. One principal way is when previously established religious (Islamic) schools place secular or ‘neutral’ subjects in the framework of an otherwise Islamic education, and another one is when state schools in Muslim countries include Islamic subjects in an otherwise secular curriculum. In general, globalization is likely to affect changes in Muslim and non-Muslim societies, while globalization of specific educational policies, tend to neglect or under-emphasize moral and values education.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed dominant paradigms and ideologies and their positions along selected dimensions. The globalised meta-ideology was assumed to affect changes in education and society, but other reasons for or causes of the socio-economic changes might be an object of future, and in-depth, research. In the past years populism has come to challenge the prevailing hegemony. Despite frequent incompatibilities with local economic structures and cultural patterns, the meta-ideology or paradigmatic features described above are taken for granted by politicians and policymakers around the world. The educational policy and reforms features that have been globalized are ostensibly biased towards academic achievement, global competitiveness, and purposive rationality.

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Chapter 7

Managing a Progressive Educational Agenda in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Education Public-Private Partnerships



Yusuf Sayed and Crain Soudien

Abstract In this chapter we focus on one of the more significant contemporary iterations of this discussion, that of governance and management of schools. We look critically at the public-private movement in school governance and consider how this development can be understood in the context of the country's commitment to a progressive educational agenda of inclusion and equity and the provision of quality education. The struggle to transform and render public education equitable in the context of PPPs is one of fine balance between the imperative to improve and rescue urgently failing schools, and the need to strengthen public education by and through the state. This requires, at the very least, deliberate public policy dialogue about what is desirable in education reform and how to unpack the policy common sense that is now part of the education discourse in South Africa. But even more fundamentally, it requires aligning the constitutional vision of the post-apartheid society with the realities of implementation. Bold and ambitious pilots are required, but not those which in the long term will undermine the viability and ethos of a common public education system. In such debates, the state has to be transformed to take responsibility for protecting the right of all for equitable quality education, particularly the poor. The interregnum of collaboration schools offers the space to do this and to engage with the current governance policy logic which has education reform discourses in South Africa.

Y. Sayed (✉)
University of Sussex, Brighton, UK
e-mail: y.sayed@sussex.ac.uk

C. Soudien
Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa
e-mail: csoudien@hsrc.ac.za

7.1 Introduction

South Africa's educational policy agenda, especially after 1994, has evolved in strong articulation with global trends. In this contribution, we focus on one of the more significant contemporary iterations of this articulation, that of the governance and management of the school. We look critically at the public-private partnership movement in school governance and ask how this development can be discerned in the context of the country's commitment to a progressive educational agenda of inclusion, equity and the provision of quality education. The immediate and obvious globalizing context for our focus on the governance and management of the contemporary South African school is that of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The adoption of the SDGs in 2016 by the United Nations arguably set the scene for an ambitious developmental framework in a global context of widening inequalities within and between countries, global economic crises, global and local conflicts and global climate change. Crucially in the context of this chapter, the SDGs strongly advocate for partnership. Goal 17 on partnership talks about the end for multi-sectoral partnership with target 17, with 17 specifically calling for actions to *'Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships'* (SDG 2030 <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/globalpartnerships/>).

Although the SDG goals and corresponding targets are not legally binding, the sustainable development agenda is intended as a universal normative framework designed to shape policies and practices across all UN Member States. As such, it has the potential to affect the lives of billions of people. Education, one of the 17 goals, recognised as a key driver in the sustainable development agenda, can either support or undermine these processes. The specific education goal (SDG4) reflects a commitment by its signatories to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" by 2030 (Sustainable Development Goal 4 [SDG4]). Under these guidelines, the South African government has made considerable progress with respect to access to primary education for all its children.

Whilst this global goal is a significant step, its achievement is often tied to global travelling governance reforms that reduce the sovereignty of the nation-state in favour of supra-national mechanisms whilst simultaneously affirming the nation-state as the key mechanism for education delivery. Of particular note in this context are 'new' education governance reforms which seek to transfer the management of failing public schools to Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). South Africa is not an exception in regard to this trend. In this context, this paper reviews how the post-apartheid government has (re)shaped education policy, navigating between local forms of PPPs, assessment regimes and global imperatives. In doing so, we seek to theorise the notion of the education state in post-apartheid South Africa in the global context of the 2030 SDG agenda, working towards an education policy which unpacks the alternatives currently on offer.

7.2 Rise of New Forms of Governance – Redefining the Role of the State in the Delivery of Education

Since the 1980s, the idea of the state as assuming sole responsibility for the delivery of education has come under question. One principal global reform driving this was the decentralisation of education and the concomitant increase in involvement of the private sector in education delivery. This New Public Management, as it came to be known, advocated that learners and parents in education were consumers who should have choice and control over education and health. Moreover, while the state may fund education, it does not have to provide this service.

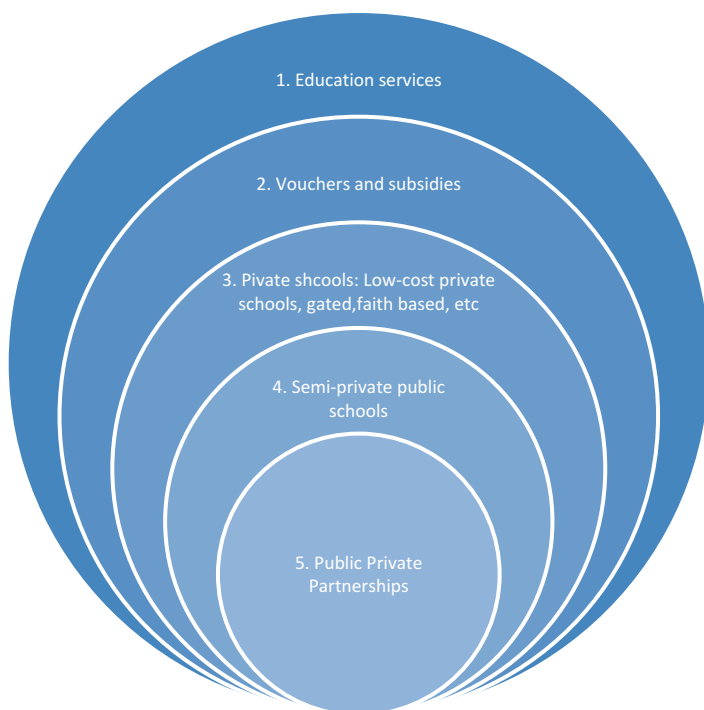
Whilst the 1980s witnessed a global shift in the governance of education resulting in an enlarging presence of the private sector in education delivery, it is important to recognise that private sector involvement in the provision of public goods is not a new phenomenon. Historically, the idea of non-state involvement in education is not new. Mission schools (the precursor to many modern faith-based education providers) and community schools provide examples of how actors outside the state have been involved in education delivery. Similarly, the People's Education Movement in South Africa and South African Council for Higher Education and Development (SACHED) during the apartheid era are prime examples of social forces engaging in education provision and policy as part of an oppositional strategy outside the state. Furthermore, even in states with full public enrolment, private intervention in financing (such as with user fees in South Africa) constitutes a form of private intervention resulting in what is referred to as 'semi-private' public schools.

But what propels a renewed interest in private sector involvement in education and in PPPs in particular (see de Kock et al. 2018, for a more extensive review)?¹ First, PPPs are recognised as a mechanism for improving delivery of public service, as PPS are regarded as inefficient and ineffective. The competition that derives from a system of parallel provision is perceived as a mechanism to improve the quality of education. Competition as the basis for improving education quality thus becomes the driver for engaging the private sector in public sector provision. Second, there is a strong view that the monopolisation of public sector provision by the state tends to 'crowd out' private sector involvement in public services. As state resources become constrained, there is a need, it is argued, to end state monopoly to 'crowd in' resources from sources other than the state. In harnessing private sector financing, it is assumed that the state can then extend the coverage and quality of public services, and arguably, as in the South African case, promote redress. Third, state provision is seen as privileging producers (state civil servants/state institutions) over beneficiaries (consumers/citizens). The needs of beneficiaries, it is argued, are best left to the market which better satisfies what individuals need, in contrast to a

¹This section draws on a review of PPPs in education and health in South Africa conducted by Tarryn de Kock, Nimi Hoffmann, Yusuf Sayed and Robert Van Niekerk as a part of the Equalities in Public Private Partnerships (EQUIPPPS) research project held by Dr. J Gideon, UCL.

system of provision in which needs are determined by the state. In ideological terms, individuals are conceived as best able to identify their needs, with the private sector the optimal mechanism for meeting such needs. Fourth, it is believed that the efficiency imperatives that govern the private sector result in ‘driving down’ the unit cost for providing public goods, as opposed to private sector provision, which is regarded as less costly.

However, private sector involvement in education is diverse and multi-layered. There is no single model of private sector involvement in public education. Below is a typology of types of private sector engagement² in education indicating that private sector provision can be viewed heuristically along a continuum in different contexts. On the one end of the continuum, the private sector engages in provision of specific services and goods such as textbooks, assessments or school feeding schemes, and at the other end, the private sector controls public schools through a process whereby the state contracts out the management of schools to the private sector, a process we call ‘public provision contractualism’.



²Adapted from de Kock et al. 2018. It is important to recognise that this heuristic framework does not imply that different forms of private sector involvement cannot coexist. Thus, it is possible, as in the case of South Africa, for the private sector to be involved in the provision of education services (1) as well as PPPs (5).

This model identifies emerging private sector intervention in public education as including the contracting out of particular education services such as curriculum materials, support services and ICT resources. Publishing also features under education services. Vouchers and subsidies are other means through which private schools feature in public education, particularly where vouchers enable learners to choose between public and private schools. But forms 4 and 5 above denote a transition where instead of operating in parallel to, and in support of, the public sector, the private sector is a more integral part of the public education system. In this way, the lines between what is public and private blur, to the extent that it is fair to characterise the emergence of a ‘semi-private’ public schooling system as in South Africa. In this way, the private sector bridges the last frontier between what is considered public and that which is considered private.³

In the framework above, the ‘PPP turn’ reflects a critical shift in the way the ideas of the public and private are conceptualised, where the institutionalisation and regularisation of partnerships blur the boundaries between public and private (Ball and Youdell 2008). In the model above, the semi-privatisation of public schools engenders internal privatisation through particular policy and governance provisions that allow public schools to charge user fees. In this context, this paper focuses on the emergence of a new form of PPP in the South African context, commonly known as the collaboration school model.⁴ But first we turn our attention to the governance trajectory in South Africa since the ending of apartheid in 1994, arguing that the idea of the private became part of the political logic of transformation for multiple reasons, as discussed below.

³ It is important to note that in the above model, private schools comprise a broad category covering both ‘for profit’ and ‘not for profit’ providers, framed by:

1. **Different forms of ownership:** community owned, individually owned;
2. **Different orientations:** secular, religious, particular value system or pedagogic approach;
3. **Different forms of financing:** grant aided, financially independent, sponsored by enterprises or political organisations, government subsidy or community. It is critical to consider hidden, indirect forms of financing such as taxes and remittances; and
4. **Different forms of regulation:** registered, unregistered, tightly regulated, loosely regulated.

⁴ We note that in this chapter we do not look at independent/private schools, concentrating our attention on the public and private interface represented by the collaboration schools model in the Western Cape whereby the private is core to public provision and does not, as such, stand outside the state.

7.3 Education Governance Trajectory in South Africa: Creating Policy Common Sense by Making the Private and Middle Class a Key Part of the Post-Apartheid Education

Whilst there has been heated discussion over why the private is a key component of the public education system in South Africa, there is less understanding of the political logic of a post-apartheid governance system in which the idea of the private as *part of* the solution to public education emerged as ‘policy common sense’. This policy common sense was constructed around three dominant ideas as to the utility of the private as a component of education governance.

The first concerns the middle-class⁵ stake in a future South Africa, in particular the white middle class and the growing emergent middle class after the transition in 1994. The middle-class stake was a result of a specific transition trajectory in which the process of ending settler-colonial apartheid rule was not determined by an outright political or military victory, a feature of many decolonial struggles in Africa. Instead, the contending forces were brought, willingly or unwillingly, to the negotiating table, determining the nature of the post-apartheid transformation trajectory. In education, the CODESA⁶ negotiation signalled, on one hand, a commitment to a semi-federal polity as a result of which the final constitution made education a concurrent responsibility between the central state and the nine provincial states’ which were largely contiguous with ethnic homelands and Bantustans of the old apartheid era. Specifically, the constitution designated school education a simultaneous responsibility in which the national state is responsible for setting norms and standards and the provincial states are responsible for providing education.

On the other hand, the intricate negotiation transition centred on the stake that the middle class *should* have in the education system in a context of dwindling state resources for transformation. One abiding feature of the transition was that the white middle class (largely racialised at that point), as citizens, should be able to maintain the kind of education quality they experienced under apartheid.⁷ This idea

⁵By middle class we mean those who are in largely professional positions of continuous, relatively well-waged employment that allows them to access private forms of provision such as private health care and have the financial means with disposable income to contribute fees to the education of their children. This would suggest, in the context of this chapter, those earning at least R25,000 per annum (http://resep.sun.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/The-emergent-SA-middle-class_.pdf).

⁶The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), beginning December 21, 1991, at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg, was the negotiating forum for the transition from an apartheid to a post-apartheid government in South Africa. It could be argued that this was largely an elite negotiation process in which the white elite negotiated with the progressive broad based black alliance led by the ANC.

⁷In effect, the South African transition was in many senses a process in which the majority black oppressed were allowed to pursue rent seeking not limited by race which determined the social, political and economic behaviors of the population. The liberation of the black oppressed as rent

was core to the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) developed by the outgoing apartheid government before the transition (ERS 1990). It proposed that education decentralisation and school-based management allow white parents to have a strong say over education delivery at the school level as a key policy goal.⁸ The idea of strong citizen (read 'parental involvement' in policy terms) was, in the contradictory dynamics of the time, an important development. This logic was, as noted earlier, rooted in the way the education struggle during apartheid was conducted. Whilst many commentators note the progressive thrust of People's Education for People's Liberation Movement, it was also a united, cross-class, cross-sector movement, founded on the idea that the public, as citizens, has the right to a voice in the control of education. This political calculus formed the basis for decentralisation and control over school governance by the public as a progressive thrust of education change and transformation in South Africa. Like the working class, the middle class, as part of the broad, progressive, anti-apartheid education movement, became a key part of the country's education settlement. And for this class, which was deracialised in post-apartheid education, the control over schooling and the associated fee-charging policy emerged as integral to the system of school governance. What thus emerged in the context of the transition was an impulse for the policy process of education decentralisation driven by both the outgoing apartheid government and the oppositional education movement which mediate, as Wells and Sayed (2012) argue, a desire for retaining and securing middle class investment in public education as well as a commitment to a popular grassroots form of democracy.

The second idea centred on the importance of retaining the presence of the middle class in the public education system in a society that was transitioning. The policy process leading to the South African Schools Act (SASA), one of the most significant pieces of post-apartheid policy, was animated by a strong desire to prevent middle class flight from the public education system. It was argued particularly by those advising the government at that time, including international consultants,⁹ that middle class flight would result in this group neither exercising its voice nor advocating for public sector reform because if they fled, they would be essentially be pursuing their self-interest in the private sector.¹⁰ The exercise of voice by the middle class is an important weapon in an education policy armoury for holding

seeking individuals was for many a key victory and not surprisingly the black middle class (sometimes referred to as 'black diamonds') is the fastest growing segment of post-apartheid society.

⁸ See the debates about the Clase proposal which generated the now ubiquitous Model C schooling systems which still runs deep in present day South African schooling (Sayed 2002).

⁹ See Sayed (2002).

¹⁰ This idea has been the subject of much research and in a sense was premised on Hirsch's idea of *voice* and *exit* which argues that those who are able, financially or otherwise, can either exit the public education system or exercise voice by making their views heard. The idea of voice is a strong argument in social democracies where it is believed that a public welfare system requires the middle class to remain with the system and exercise their voice to the advantage of all citizens benefitting from the exercise of voice by the middle class.

states to account.¹¹ To secure middle class commitment to the public education, SASA¹² allowed all schools to charge fees, thereby defining how the public related to the private, and how the state managed education from 1994 to the present. The political logic of middle class groups as advocates for public sector reform was underpinned by the assumption that the middle class has access to important cultural capital and resources with the inclination to use these for the benefit of all. More importantly, we argue that it was presumed that by sharing and experiencing the 'same' system, their self-interest for better education quality would be similar and of benefit to the working class *and* the poor. This idea of cross-class interest was, as noted earlier, a hallmark of the strong anti-apartheid cross-class alliances for change represented by the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) and similar alliances prominent in South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle. SASA thus reflected the logic of the middle class as a critical group in any process of change; their involvement secured the nurturing and strengthening of their private interest in the public schooling system. This is arguably why South Africa initiated and retained what many commentators refer to as a 'semi-private' schooling system.

But beyond the middle class as potential sources of agency and reform, the idea was cultivated that if the middle class were retained in the public education system as argued in the preamble to SASA, they could contribute more substantially to the upkeep of the system. Thus, SASA reduces the contribution of the state to schools based on the fees charged. In essence, the governance of semi-private schooling is one in which middle class users of the service pay a surcharge for education, beyond their tax contributions. The saving to the state from such schools populated by the middle class then bolsters the state with resources to distribute to poorer school. Redress as a key policy imperative thus found a natural policy alignment with the idea that the middle class could be charged fees for achieving the quality of schooling which they deemed necessary for a good educational system.¹³

Third, the political logic of the middle class as part of the state's epistemologically-constructed relationship with the private in public education extends to how the private (independent) school sector is constituted in South Africa. Seeking to retain parts of the independent private school sector within the public sector, the constitution of South Africa (sub sect. 29[3]) argued that:

(3) *Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that:*

(a) *do not discriminate on the basis of race;*

(b) *are registered with the state; and*

¹¹ See Sayed and Soudien (2005) and Sayed (2002) for critiques.

¹² This Act was amended in 2006 to create a group of schools, the majority of schools in South Africa, as non-fee paying, whilst retaining the rights of wealthier schools (Quintiles 4 and 5) to charge fees subject to certain limitations.

¹³ To date it is unclear how this idea of redress is a saving by the state on schools which charge fees operate. Personal request by the author to the state has not quite revealed how the monies which the state saves are used for redress purposes.

(c) *maintain standards not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions.*

(4) *Subsection (3) does not preclude state subsidies for independent educational institutions.*

This subsection is important as it advocates for a progressive steering or a potentially ‘pro-poor’ approach to private schooling premised on the liberal idea of human rights (Sayed 2016).¹⁴ In this approach, the private school sector is eligible for state subsidies provided it meets pre-specified criteria and, in particular, it serves the poor. The redress logic of the fee-charging system premised on the argument of liberal freedoms is extended to the operation of the private school sector in South Africa.

The logic which shaped the education governance system in South Africa represents a particular insertion of the private into the public. The private is inserted into the public as central to how the state provides education: it accrues to itself the role of determiner of norms and standards whilst dispersing provision not only to ethno-nationalist provinces but further down to individual schools. Consequently, the middle class secures the local school site as a form of semi-private schooling without having to leave the public sector and potentially growing in resources which potentially benefit the poor. The logic which drives this is that middle class retention is paramount to redress and equity, both in terms of financial resources as well as accountability and advocacy. Thus, the education governance system in South Africa was reconfigured to ensure that the private is an integral component of the state provision of education to assure quality and equity, retaining the middle class as advocates of reform and accountability. In particular, the idea of redress emerged as a powerful political argument for the state’s claim for private as a necessity and a political imperative.

This logic is reflective of several global governance trends, including the idea of decentralisation and school based management as the most efficient and accountable form of education provision, the idea that self-interest of the middle class can benefit the public system while allowing the exercise of voice and agency instead of abandoning it, similar to the idea of the third way which characterised the approach of the Blair government, that choice was key to education delivery. Education governance in post-apartheid South Africa is reflective of a neo-liberal logic which removes the state from the centre of provision and delivery according to a residual regulatory, monitoring role. In South Africa, this neo-liberal form of governance is premised on the residualist state playing the key roles of equity and redress which cannot be guaranteed by the private but which the state can steer through diverse policy mechanisms such as subsidy to independent schools, utilising the fee charging school system for redress purposes, and regulating how self-managing schools govern their affairs. This is made possible by the invocation of the post-apartheid

¹⁴This model is characterised by:

- Conditional grant systems based on equity/social redress and quality grounds;
- State oversight of such schools through the registration process and through funding;
- Adherence to the state curriculum, although this can be bypassed.

state of popular and citizen participation that characterised the anti-apartheid struggle.

7.4 ‘All Schools as Semi-private Schools in South Africa’: Turning to the Private as the Solution to Public Education Failures in the Western Cape

Whilst PPPs in the form of a model commonly known as ‘collaboration schools’ in the Western Cape Province in South Africa are touted as ‘innovative’ and ‘new’,¹⁵ this move builds upon the shifts in governance since 1994 which have increasingly involved the private in the public, as discussed above. In the Western Cape, collaboration schools¹⁶ as PPPs were officially introduced in 2015 as part of a ‘pilot’ of five schools to remedy underperforming public schools. In reality, this was anything but a pilot as not only are the number of schools growing before the results from the pilot study have been finalised, but the Western Cape Provincial School Education Act, 1997 (Act 12 of 1997), has been amended to make provision for such schools passed as the Western Cape Provincial School Education Amendment Act on 20 November 2018 (WCSEAC 2018). At present there are 14 such schools in total, including donor funded schools.¹⁷ These schools exist because of the political context of the ruling party in the Western Cape, the Democratic Alliance (DA), which, ideologically committed to the idea of private operators working in public schools, is able to use its existing power as the ruling state to introduce such schools.

It is argued here that collaboration schools are being presented as a model for how PPPs could be managed. As analysed later, underperforming schools serving the marginalised are being targeted through the intervention of an operating partner which manages the school, supported by donors who provide oversight. The operating partner functions under the ambit of a devolved contract issued by the WCED. In effect, this model transfers the responsibility for failing schools to private actors.¹⁸

¹⁵Collaboration schools (known as Partnership Schools) have not only been introduced in the Western Cape, they can also be found in Gauteng (cf <https://www.zenexfoundation.org.za/programmes/systemic-programme/item/227-partnership-schools>). This chapter only focuses on these in the Western Cape as these are the first forms of such PPPs to be introduced in South Africa so they are driven by the Democratic Alliance (DA), the opposition party in South Africa. Understanding these impulses in the provinces are key to their growth and evolution in other provinces, but which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

¹⁶These schools are now called Public Partnership Schools. However, this chapter refers to them as collaboration school in keeping with their origin.

¹⁷Talk delivered by Western Cape Provincial Minister of Education, Debbie Schafer at the Innovative Education Partnership with the Private Sector Consultation hosted by the Education Global Education Monitoring Report in December 2019 in London, UK.

¹⁸According to current provision all Operating Partner and any actor working directly in public school in the Collaboration school model should be registered as Not for Profit Organisation (NPOS). Thus, many Operating Partners which operate as consultancies have created an NPO divi-

This model involves three key players: the provincial state (the WCED in this case), the operating partner which manages the school and the donor group which provides support. Collectively, the three actors take responsibility for the failing school.¹⁹

In this model, the operating partner is responsible for running the school on a day-to-day basis. As such, collaboration school governance takes to the logical conclusion the provision set in motion by the post-apartheid government in 1994 when it began to reconfigure the management of schools. Whilst their functions vary, they play the role of manager as well as expert in providing support. They are ultimately responsible for ensuring that the test results of learners in the school increase over the period secured by their specified contract.²⁰ In exchange for ensuring improvements in results, operating partners have a wide and flexible remit, including how the curriculum is delivered, how staff is managed, and how discipline is enforced.

The collaboration school model in the Western Cape takes two forms. The first is that of the 'turnaround/transition school'. These are existing failing public school schools (usually in Quintiles 1 and 2)²¹ that are handed over to the management of private operators which are tasked with ensuring improved learning outcomes through focused additional support. Such schools retain existing teacher posts except those made vacant due to retirement or resignation, but are granted monies for additional posts as well as for managing the school subject performance criteria such as improving learner outcomes. The second model is that of new schools which, when built, are immediately handed over for management to a school operating partner. In such schools, the operating partner receives a block grant for teacher salaries as well as for managing the new schools. What is significant about the two-fold model is the intention that future schools will immediately be enrolled in the collaboration school scheme, ensuring that the future of public schools in the Western Cape will reflect the PPP approach to education provision.

sion of their activities to work as Operating Partners (OPs) in such schools. (cf. Turnaround Foundation) Further the donor group represents in the Western Cape a group of foundations and philanthropic organizations such as Michael and Susan Dell Foundation and the DG Murray Trust that provides additional funding and support to such schools. The DG Murray Trust (DGMT) also has the contract as the Managing Agent of all donors as well as some operating partners. It has also created what it terms the Pilot School Support Office, providing technical support to operating partners managing collaboration schools.

¹⁹Whilst it is not the focus of this chapter, the donor group leverages additional finances to the school which makes it difficult to determine whether the results for such a school, if it were to improve, are cost-effective and can be compared fairly to other public schools. To date, none of the contracts between the public authorities and the private entities have been made publicly available and thus remain out of the scrutiny of the public. Consequently, the actual contract details remain murky and unclear.

²⁰Personal communication with one of the operating partners.

²¹The South African Government's classification of schools in wealth-income terms for the purpose of equitable distribution of resources. Failing schools are defined by the Western Cape Provincial Government as those with low learner attainment results measured in systemic tests administered to learners in selected grades.

One significant difference between the two models concerns teachers. In the former, teachers are still nominally within the employ of the WCED whilst the latter makes teachers employees of the school on a contract basis at the beginning, albeit with conditions of service arguably the same as that of teachers in WCED schools. In new collaboration schools, teacher posts are immediately under the purview and authority of school governing bodies (SGBs), which pay their salaries through the monies transferred to them by the WCED. The state, in this case the WCED, is responsible for the payment of the salaries of all teachers based on current norms. While transition/turnaround school teachers are WCED employees directly this is not the case when staff retire or leave. When such a situation arises, the vacated post becomes a school governing body post. As a consequence, the school governing body takes responsibility for filling the vacancy and the new employee entering then immediately becomes an employee of the school. In this case, the WCED effects a transfer to the school for the payment of staff recruited by the school governing body. Over time all teachers, even those in transition/turnaround schools, will become school and not WCED employees, as is the case with new collaboration schools which give the operating partner responsibility for appointing teachers and renewing teacher contracts.

For these changes to teacher governance to be realised in collaboration schools, it is not surprising that the contract and Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) states that the school operating partner should have a 50% representation in the school governing body, a clear provision. This grants the operating partner almost full and total control over the school, a process of full devolution, a trend that is inherent in the South African School Act (SASA).

There are several noteworthy effects of the governance shift of inserting the private into the public schooling system. First, in both models, the school governance structure is significant. SASA establishes a clear structure for the management of all schools with specified representation for parents, teachers, the community and learners (in the case of high schools). The assumption underpinning SASA is that those who are most involved in and impacted by the school should have direct representation in the school governing body. In the case of collaboration schools, the operating partner is not only a member of the school governing body but also has the majority say within the body. The private operating partner has direct representation and clear control over the democratic space of school governance. The democratisation thrust of SASA is turned on its head with the private sector now securing control over school government, thereby translating management control and responsibility into democratic control.

Secondly, a key consideration of this paper concerns the political dynamics that shaped the emergence of PPPs in the Western Cape Province. It is argued that this is due to ideologies of the ruling political party in this province, the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA). DA has consistently advocated for non-state actors to play a crucial role in schooling and in addressing the problem of failing schools. For example, the DA's *Learning for Success: DA Policy on Basic Education* (2013) encourages individuals who run private schools and who have the requisite expertise to take over failing schools in South Africa.

Debbie Schafer, the MEC for Education from the DA in the Western Cape, explained,

We believe that this model can make a positive difference in providing quality education in poor communities and improving performance in underperforming schools....The pilot scheme is being tested in both new and existing schools at both primary and secondary level to provide the most useful evidence base from which to draw conclusions. The pilot is being launched with five schools in 2016, for a period of five years and will look to increase this number as capacity and resources allow, subject to performance of the partners and the schools. (<http://arkonline.org/news/supporting-new-collaborative-school-model-south-africa>)

Thirdly, the growth is fuelled by endogenous demand for PPPs. As noted earlier, the middle class and middle class schools have captured appropriately a large share of education's financial and human resources leaving the black working class parents and black schools under-resourced. It is understandable that such schools may feel compelled to respond positively to PPPs supported by progressive academic advocates who argue that this is the only choice. Chomsky, in a 2011 lecture, when discussing social security in the US, noted,

Social Security is actually in pretty good shape despite what everybody screams about. But if you can defund it, it won't be in good shape. And there is a standard technique of privatization, namely defund what you want to privatize. Like when Thatcher wanted to defund the railroads, first thing to do is defund them, then they don't work and people get angry and they want a change. You say okay, privatize them and then they get worse. In that case the government had to step in and rescue it. (<https://chomsky.info/20110407-2/>)

The justification for such schools is eloquently expressed by Jonathan Jansen, the Chair of the Institute of Race Relations, and Distinguished Professor, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa:

What if you cannot fix a school? If that school is so dysfunctional that one after another intervention has failed to "turn around" pupils' performance?

If the unionised teachers remain defiant of any attempts from the Department of Education – the employer – to get them to show up and teach every day with passion and commitment to the children? If the parents had long since given up on the school and leave their children stuck there simply because they have no other options?

If the culture of the school is so decrepit that there are no signs of social, cultural, sporting or academic life on the premises, only slow-moving teachers who do not want to be there and uninspired children who spend most of the school day waiting for something to happen?

As an incurable optimist with an emphatically affirmative response to George Count's famous question, "Can schools change the social order?", I have had to make peace with this simple fact: sometimes a school falls into such levels of organisational meltdown that trying to change that school, under existing arrangements, is a waste of time, resources and energy. Under such circumstances a new model of the school is needed, for with each passing year another generation of mostly poor, black South African youth are cast aside such that the rest of their lives are marked by educational failure and chronic unemployment, which is why I am intrigued by a new model of schooling proposed by the Department of Education in the Western Cape.

It is called collaboration schools and is modelled on the very successful academy schools in the United Kingdom. This is in essence a public-private partnership in which the government retains overall responsibility for the school, but its operations are conducted by a range of partners, including private sector companies, donors and non-governmental

organisations alongside, of course, parents and teachers. (<https://www.schoolturnaround-foundation.org.za/jonathan-jansen-bid-to-make-schools-work/>)

Fourth, one abiding feature of the discourse of education in South Africa in relation to fee charging and the hollowing of the public sphere of education is the appeal to redress and equity as a rationale for privatisation. The quote above squarely identifies the failure of the public education system as the reason why private operators can provide more efficient, quality and equitable education than the state. The support of progressive academics, policy-makers and advocates is significant in this respect. Such support, as noted above, is born out of frustration with the negligent progress to improve education for the poor. Such advocates accurately point to the sluggish state efforts for improving education quality in less-resourced school. The support for such models stems from a well-intentioned conviction and urgency to do something. The DG Murray Trust explain the rationale for such schools:

Public School Partnerships (PSP) is a collaborative approach to public school innovation that brings together government, funders, no-fee schools and non-profit education support organisations. PSP aims to bring additional expertise, resources, flexibility and greater accountability in school management into no-fee schools serving poorer communities in a bid to achieve greater equity in quality education in South Africa.

Public School Partnerships improve the quality of service offered at selected government schools that serve vulnerable communities by:

- *Strengthening the leadership and management flexibility at the school;*
- *Harnessing strong managerial resources from the non-profit sector to support operations at the school; and*
- *Embedding a robust accountability framework so that government is able to track the performance of the school.*

A notable distinction from earlier forms of privatisation is that PPPs are about retaining schools within the public system rather than arguing for the exit of poor and marginalised children to low cost public schools, as some advocate (Kane-Berman 2014). In a perverse way, the semi-private fee-charging school in South Africa is becoming the norm for the entire public system, albeit with an important difference. In existing semi-private schools, fee-paying parents are in charge, whereas in collaboration schools, private school operating partners are in charge, receiving a management fee from the state.²²

Fifth, a notable feature of these proliferating schools is the way in which global networks and global providers insert themselves into the public space. The discursive construction of PPPs in South Africa is framed within a global movement of charter schools in the US and academies in the UK which turn over public schools to the private sector as the solution to the failures of publicly provided education. In the UK, the policy of the transforming school as academies began with the New Labour government in 2000, premised on the belief that private operators are more responsive and more capable of managing and turning around schools in

²² Whilst understandably many advocates for such schools will argue that they operate as NGOs in collaboration schools, the key issue here is that such operation partners receive a paid management contract for managing failing schools.

challenging contexts. But its roots run deep to the Education Act of 1998 introduced by the Thatcher Government.²³ Such schools have expanded considerably under the successive UK governments, including the Labour Government in 1997 and coalition Liberal Democrat and Conservative Government in 2010. Many such schools have, in recent times, become Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs). Similar models to the Academies and Charter schools are beginning to emerge in other contexts, such as Bridge managed public schools in Liberia (Klees 2017). The growth of this school model is significant as it is reflective of an attempt to allow private actors to shoulder state responsibility for failing schools premised on the argument that the state is unable or unwilling to deliver quality public education. Key to such models are the freedoms granted to such schools in how they are governed, how they navigate and mediate national curriculum, and crucially who and how they recruit and manage teachers. Whilst it is not the focus of this chapter, there is little evidence that such schools do improve learner outcomes, but there is strong evidence that they lead to increased costs for the state (Klees 2017). The PPPs model is drawn from the Academies in the UK. Helen Zille, then Premier of the Western Cape, explains this global policy borrowing in the following way:

One of the most significant meetings of last week was a progress review of a new category of public school our provincial government is piloting, called Collaboration Schools.

This model is based on the Academy School, pioneered in the United Kingdom under the Labour government in 2000. The approach enables public schools to be operated in partnership with non-profits and sponsors, and has expanded in Britain under successive administrations.

When I visited some Academy Schools in London almost two years ago, I realised we had a lot to learn from them.

The Academy School model in the UK has shown what is possible. We must try to emulate this through the Collaboration School model we are piloting in the Western Cape. (<https://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/how-collaboration-can-transform-under-performing-schools>)

In South Africa, the leading sponsor of the collaboration schools is the Ark School Network. The Ark School Network explains their involvement as follows:

The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) in South Africa is piloting a new model of education to meet that challenge, known as 'Collaborative Schools', which Ark is proud to be a part of. The model draws on lessons from the UK academies programme, including Ark schools.

Led by the WCED, the pilot scheme is testing a model of schooling that will strengthen the quality of teaching and learning in public schools, which will remain no-fee and non-selective. In addition to Ark, the schools are being supported by The Millennium Trust, Michael & Susan Dell Foundation and DG Murray Trust.

These partners will ensure intensive school-level support to teachers and principals through training, additional resources, monitoring and regular feedback. The WCED will continue to hold the schools and operating partners to account as part of the public education system, and existing teachers at Collaboration Schools will remain WCED employees. (<http://arkonline.org/news/supporting-new-collaborative-school-model-south-africa>)

²³ It is interesting to note that the first Charter was promulgated in the US in 1991 not long after the Education Reform Act introduced by the Thatcher Government. Is this policy coincidence or convergence?

But who or what does Ark represent²⁴? Ark's senior management, the Chief Executive and Deputy, are both from the private sector with long histories of involvement in education. Prior to Ark, the former worked for TSL, a trade and academic publisher owned by a private equity firm, TPG Capital and Verso. The latter was a junior partner at McKinsey & Company. A review of Ark's annual statements and accounts reflect a company that, through their 'ventures', span the range of education from consultancy to school management to teacher training and recruitment, ensuring that the private sector has a voice in policy debates. Their work reflects a PPP approach in which just about every frontier of education activity is within their mandate through their partnerships with similar networks. Junemann and Ball (2013) claim that they are inserted in global private networks, offering a broad range of diversified services:

- a narrow focus on languages, literacy and mathematics with a conscious borrowing from the global successes of Singapore and China in large scale international assessment (English and Mathematics mastery Initiatives);
- a focus on extending the UK model of Academies to global contexts beyond South Africa, including Liberia and India (ppepul, STIR);
- a shift of recruitment and training of professionals from the transitional model (Fronline and NowTeach);
- a new form of professional development for teachers and school leaders (Ambition Institute and Institute for Leadership);
- creating consultancy firms (Education Partnership Group);
- creating for non-state actors the space for discussion and dialogue to attain consensus and share intervention strategies in the public sphere (Global Schools Forum);
- transforming how data is used (Assembly); and
- creating a physical presence and footprint for non-state actors (EdCity). (<http://arkonline.org/ark-ventures>)

Sixth, there is a distinct focus on a particular pedagogy in the PPP model in South Africa. This is, as noted above, a translation of global approaches pioneered in Academies in the UK and Charter Schools in the US, one which can be best described as 'scripted pedagogy'.²⁵ In earlier work, Motala et al. (2012) discussed how the pedagogic approaches in South Africa, driven by results from national and large-scale international assessments, ensured that the basics were taught and

²⁴ Whilst it is not the focus of this chapter, ARK is a prominent player in the Academy school model in the UK; their involvement has been subject to much critique (see Junemann and Ball 2013, for example).

²⁵ The idea of scripted pedagogy in South Africa is arguably also evident in national policies surrounding reading. For example, see Taylor S et al. (2018) *Improving early grade reading in South Africa* (<https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/EGRS/EGRS%20I%20Wave%203%20Report%202018.pdf?ver=2019-05-31-111222-217>).

manifest in the provision of scripted lesson plans for teachers. In a recent study of PPPs in the Western Cape, Sutcliffe, examining the forms of professional development in Western Cape collaboration schools, revealed how a ‘warm demander approach’ results in teachers being provided with prescribed training focused on delivering the curriculum, with limited room for teacher agency and autonomy in the classroom settings.

The ambition of such models of pedagogy is to provide teachers with techniques and tools they can apply routinely in classrooms – the perfect teacher-proof pedagogy. This stripped-down pedagogy, as Sutcliffe’s study reveals, is driven by a particular model of professional development which ensures that teachers are provided with scripted pedagogy to enact in their classrooms. She goes on to explain how this scripted professional development pedagogy evidenced in the Western Cape is rooted in the model from the US Charter School movement developed by Paul Bambrick-Santoyo. This coaching model called “Get Better Faster” is a “90-day plan for coaching new teachers” (quoted in Sutcliffe) offering scripted professional development whereby teachers are supplied week-by-week with specific teaching skills to apply in classrooms.

What is revealing about this form of scripted pedagogy is how support is framed. It goes without saying that support is key to teachers’ work. However, this support is narrowly prescribed, geared towards implementing skills gained, or in other words, ‘see, learn, do’, as the collaboration school studied by Sutcliffe in the Western Cape demonstrated. This model of professional development reduces the agential space of teachers and becomes compliance driven and regulatory. A deficit model of teacher professional development drives such an approach, providing teachers with only a narrow and limited range of skills for which they are constantly monitored. The approach that Sutcliffe describes is a form of professional development which arguably limits teachers’ abilities to act as transformative classroom pedagogues (Freire) and thereby works *against* equity and social justice.

Not surprisingly, such pedagogy in the classroom is accompanied by a focus ensuring that school leaders are trained in ‘*instructional leadership which focuses leadership attention on facilitating quality teaching and learning which is found wanting*’. Thus, the collaboration schools in the Western Cape are supported by the Instructional Leadership Institute (ILI), a private company which offers a school leadership development programme in South Africa designed to train a cohort of effective school principals, supported by programme coaches who work with them to implement the techniques and strategies learned in their schools. Thus it is not surprising that the ILI is run by ARK EPG:

[I]n partnership with Relay Graduate School of Education, a non-profit higher education institution which trains 2,000 teachers and 400 school leaders across the United States. Ark and Relay contribute training content they have developed over years working with school teachers and leaders in the UK and US respectively and also provide expert faculty members from Ark Schools and Relay to deliver training and coaching. Over time, Ark EPG will build the capacity of a South African team to enable the institute to become a permanent, sustainable and locally run leadership training entity. (<http://arkonline.org/south-africa-instructional-leadership-institute>)

The global connection of ILI to Ark is cemented through the Interim Executive Director for ILI whose biography shows a person from the Ark family who

[W]as previously the primary school principal at King Solomon Academy, an Ark school and the highest performing all-through Academy in England. Prior to joining King Solomon Academy and Ark, Jonathan worked for what has now become REACH2 Academies in the London Borough of Waltham Forest as a senior leader in a primary school, leading on maths and supporting other schools with their maths provision and curriculum development. (<https://www.ili.education/jonathan-molver>)

7.5 A Public and Common Good in and Through Education PPPs in South Africa

Collectively, the features described above represent a turning point in the delivery of public education in South Africa: they reflect a global policy movement in which the private sector enters the last frontier of business, social sector provisioning. The private sector begins to blur the boundaries between what is public and private, redefining 'public' in a way that brings the private inextricably into the public. Beyond the global borrowing of ideas and the blurring of the public and private, collaboration schools in South Africa reflect significant alternations in how the governance and delivery of education is conceived.

In the construction of models of PPS as evidenced in the South African context, the state responsibility for delivering the right to education shifts its shape in significant ways. The state, in the discursive constitution of PPPs, takes on the role of a contracting authority with private operators who then take responsibility for the delivery of public education services. In devolving all responsibility and authority for education services, the state recedes further into the distance, thereby insulating itself from conflict and failure. Failing public schools thus become the failure of managing agents, not the state. Conflict at the school is directed at operating partners and their partners, again, not at the state. In this way, the state eschews the idea of promoting the public good in favour of operating from a distance, invoking the public benefit rationale for bringing into the public sector private actors. Pragmatic justification masks ideological beliefs and cloaks the call for the long march to improving public education in, by and through the state.

Contractualism is writ large in the PPP model: the state becomes a steering agent managing the contract with the private agent for the delivery of education as public services. The state, in such a model, accrues to itself the regulatory burden for managing contract changing notions of accountability for the delivery of public service by private actors. And a state, such as the South African state, is likely to find itself impotent to render private actors accountable. Thus, PPPs may become not only unaccountable but may secure for themselves a foothold within the public sector in which any state, in the long run, may be unable to reign.

Underpinning the vision of PPPs in education is the privileging of particular forms of accountability. On the one hand are forms of accountability which are

largely upwards and bureaucratic in nature. On the other hand, PPPs encapsulate forms of accountability through contracts which include performance target mechanisms. Thus, the accountability is to the contract, undermining the idea of public democratic accountability which underpins education governance thinking in post-apartheid education. PPPs thus establish tension in the polity between public and private accountability. Whether such forms of accountability deepen the democratic project remains to be seen. But in the ways they are set, and the absence of such contracts open to public scrutiny, PPPs remove from public dialogue the reform of the public education system and the idea of the public and common good.

The pedagogic model of PPPs driven by contract, as in the case of the 'pilot' collaboration school in the Western Cape, ends up privileging extremely narrow metrics of performance. In this case, it is simply learning assessment. Whilst learning assessment is important, reliance on one metric runs the risk of delegitimizing other values and purposes of education. Moreover, it has the unintended consequence of gaming, in which private operators measured by their performance contract to improve learning, 'game' the system to show results by selectively recruiting students and teachers and offering a scripted pedagogy. The education project as such is open to question.

The pedagogic philosophy espoused by PPPs in South African terms is a (re)turn to the idea of leadership as the driver of change. Whilst this is clearly important, what is significant in this model is that leadership is not cast as democratic and collegial. Instead, leadership is refashioned as that of the CEO responsible for turning a failing company into a success, measured by learning results. The bottom line is that ultimately the CEO-principal reports to the operating partner to turn a profit (result improvement) for failing schools.

Whilst the focus is on governance, the PPP model represents a shift in management, in pedagogy, in leadership and in the role of the state.

7.6 Evaluation

This chapter began by sketching the terrain of the global and local emergence of the private sector in education governance in the South African context, paying particular attention to the rise of PPPs. It shows the rise of PPPs in South Africa as one of policy continuity of education governance since 1994 and arguably as far back as the last day of the apartheid government with the publication of its Education Renewal Strategy in 1990, formalised in the South African Schools Act in 1997. It also shows discontinuities in education governance policy, highlighting how the new forms of PPPs (re)shape the nature of the state and reflect the dynamics of education management in various provinces, in this case the Western Cape Province. Significantly, the paper reflects on the ways in which the middle class has been incorporated and retained in the education sector and how this has shaped, and continues to shape, education delivery. But policy formulation in education is reflective of broader trends in how the South African government manages service delivery,

for example, large infrastructure building projects, and the delivery of social services. Of interest here is the justifiable concern with the corruption of the state: this must be understood in the political economy sense of how the state seeks to conduct its work and the unintended consequence of outsourcing services to private actors. As such, it is not the state which is to be held to account. That accountability is passed on to other actors, private ones, who cannot easily be called to explain if things go wrong.

But as this chapter argues, these are not simply matters of endogenous policy formation. Education governance policy, as manifest in the PPPs, is an exogenous policy suturing, mediating and adapting ideas from broader global education governance shifts. And these global policy inflections are evident in how the PPP collaboration model in the Western Cape governs school, regulates and manages teachers, and espouses pedagogies. This policy suturing is not only an uncritical acceptance of the global but reflects a process of mediation and transformation. In particular, the ideas as implemented draw on the traditions of the political struggle under apartheid; policy ideas manifest the ways in which the transition occurred, and the relationship to the growing deracialised middle class in South Africa. In many ways, this growing emergence of private involvement in education and the insertion of the public into the private raise fundamental questions for policy-makers, activists and researchers concerning what is 'public' about public education, and if such an agenda can promote the policy goals of equity, inclusion and quality in public education.

On one hand, the movement towards PPPs in public schooling is reflective of, and argued from, a pragmatic response to the failure of the state to deliver equitable and quality education for all, particularly the marginalised. This compelling argument may be dismissed as a neo-liberal reform, but the charge remains. There is growing public frustration with the failure of public schooling for the poor more than 25 years after the end of apartheid, adversely impacting at least two generations of 'born-free' learners. Retaining faith and confidence in public education is vital to ensure access to low cost and middle-range private schools, as many advocates suggest (see de Kock et al. 2018, for this discussion).

At the most basic level, collaboration school PPPs, in their operation to date, have not provided the transparency and accountability that characterises public schooling: both their contract and operation remain outside the purview of those most affected. Promotion of such schools (XYZ) routinely invokes parent-consumer satisfaction and choice as their justification for their work. But this is hardly a credible argument in the absence of robust forms of public regulation, information and accountability. Beyond such administrative concerns lies the real challenge: that what may emerge is a public education landscape that is further fragmented and ghettoised in which different school governance structures – ranging from full public and state managed to those managed by assertive and wealthy communities (the semi-private schooling system as is the case at present), to those that are failing, managed by private operators licensed by the state. Collaboration school

governance takes to its logical conclusion the provision set in motion by the post-apartheid government in 1994 when it began to reconfigure the management of schools. In this context of increasing fragmentation, the ideals of common and shared public schooling experiences for all are difficult, if not impossible, to realise. And the ideal of the constitution of a socially cohesive, non-racial and equitable societal regulator remains illusory.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, as demonstrated above, we focus on one of the more significant contemporary iterations of this discussion, that of governance and management of schools. We look critically at the public-private movement in school governance and consider how this development can be understood in the context of the country's commitment to a progressive educational agenda of inclusion and equity and the provision of quality education. The struggle to transform and render public education equitable in the context of PPPs is one of fine balance between the imperative to improve and rescue urgently failing schools, and the need to strengthen public education by and through the state. This requires, at the very least, deliberate public policy dialogue about what is desirable in education reform and how to unpack the policy common sense that is now part of the education discourse in South Africa. But even more fundamentally, it requires aligning the constitutional vision of the post-apartheid society with the realities of implementation. Bold and ambitious pilots are required, but not those which in the long term will undermine the viability and ethos of a common public education system. In such debates, the state has to be transformed to take responsibility for protecting the right of all for equitable quality education, particularly the poor. The interregnum of collaboration schools offers the space to do this and to engage with the current governance policy logic which has education reform discourses in South Africa.

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Chapter 8

Policy Borrowing in Education: Frameworks for Analysis



David Phillips

Abstract This chapter examines policy ‘borrowing’ as a phenomenon in comparative inquiry in education, covering how it has developed conceptually and attempting some definitions of what it entails. It describes policy borrowing processes and presents in detail the models developed by Phillips and Ochs as a heuristic device to help with their analysis and interpretation.

8.1 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

D. Phillips (✉)
University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
e-mail: david.phillips@education.ox.ac.uk

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.

8.2 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.

8.3 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.

8.4 Cross-National Attraction

I begin with attempts which Ochs and Phillips (2002a) 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.

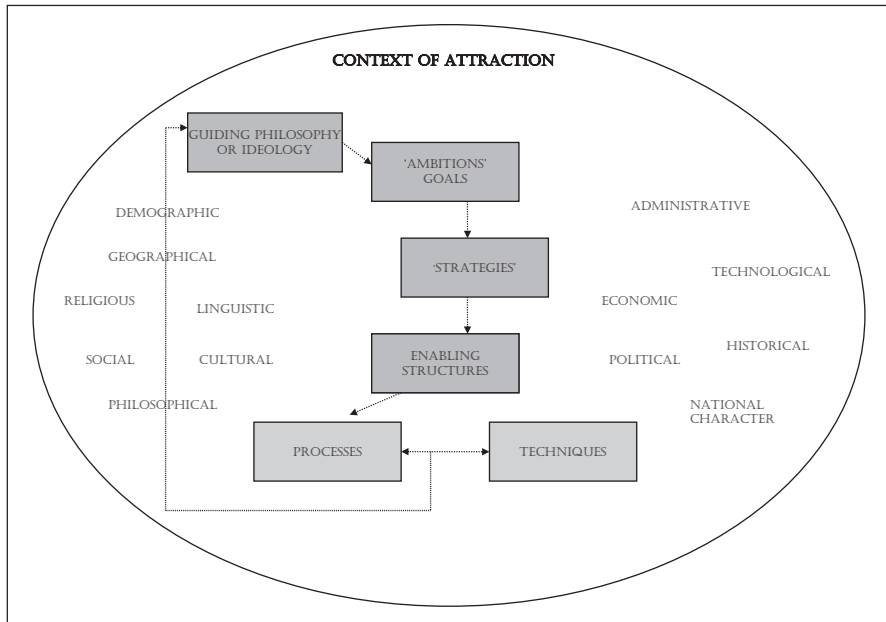


Fig. 8.1. Structural Typology of ‘Cross-National Attraction’ in Education

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, 2002a, b) (Fig. 8.1).

The purpose of this typology is to guide analysis of *both* the processes *and* the context of ‘cross-national attraction’, which the researcher can use in thinking about the discrete elements of educational policy, their 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 8.1 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.

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.

Table 8.1. Categorisation of legislation, etc. in England in terms of use of the German example, 1834–1986

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

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

8.5 Policy Borrowing in Education: A Composite Model

Our composite model incorporates an analysis of the impulses which initiate cross-national attraction; it then moves through the processes of decision-making, implementation and ‘internationalisation’ (or ‘indigenisation’ – or ‘domestication’, as it has also been called) which follow logically from any purposive attempt to borrow policy (Fig. 8.2).

(Source: Phillips & Ochs, 2003)

8.5.1 *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

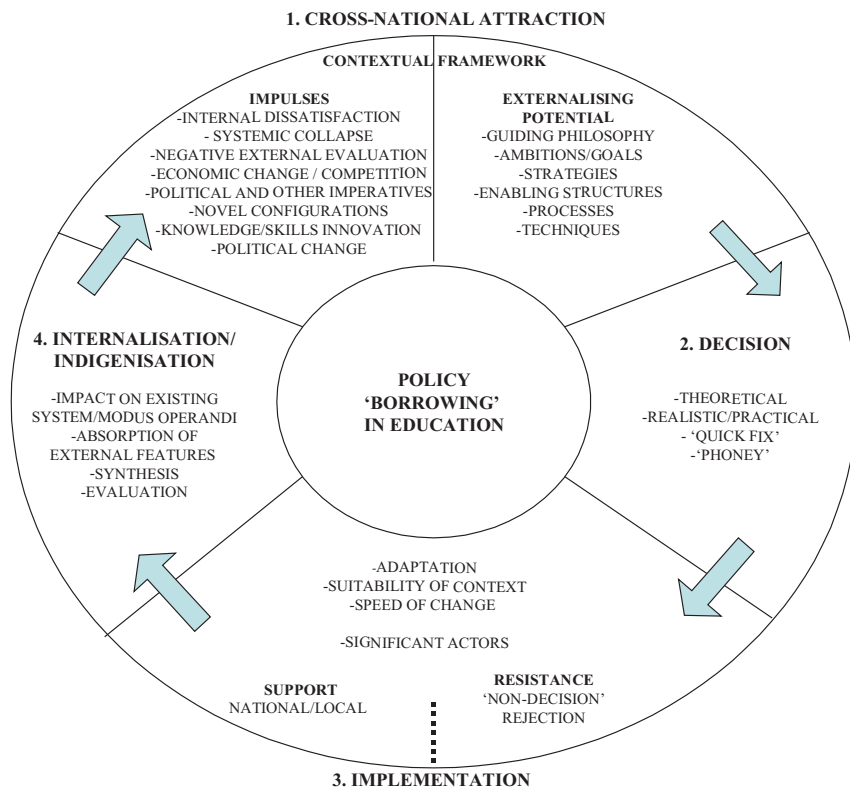


Fig. 8.2. Policy Borrowing in Education: Composite Processes

- 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.

8.5.2 *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.

8.5.3 *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.

8.5.4 *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.

8.6 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, 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).

8.7 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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Chapter 9

Globalisation, Ideology and Education Reforms



Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter offers a critical analysis of globalisation, ideology and education reforms. The chapter discusses the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely the pursuit of standards and excellence globally, equality of access and quality of education for all. It focuses on a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms, where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand, globalisation is perceived, by some critics at least, to be a totalising force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap, inequality, and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and bringing increasing levels of power, domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations. The chapter examines critically the new challenges confronting education and policy reforms, in terms of governance, curriculum reforms, democracy, social justice, and human rights.

9.1 Globalisation and Society

9.1.1 *Globalisation and Its Effects on Societies*

As a process, globalisation is associated with rapid politico-economic, and cultural transformations, and the on-going technological revolution within information and communications technologies (ICTs). Globalisation has evolved into a new dominant ideology of *cultural convergence*, which is accompanied by corresponding economic, political, social, technological and educational transformations (Zajda 2020a). Such a process is characterised by increasing economic and political interdependence between nations, and which ultimately, transforms the ethnocentric core of nation-state and national economy. This was already exemplified by Wallerstein's (1989) world-system concept map model of social change, which is

J. Zajda (✉)

Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_9

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still relevant as a major theoretical perspective on explaining globalisation, where ‘the world system’ is a network of *unequal* economic and political relationships between the developed and less developed nations. His model of the world-system is also relevant to theories of social stratification and discourses of inequality. Social stratification is defined here as *unequal* distribution of socially valued commodities, such as power, status, occupation, education and wealth.

More than ever before there is a need to understand and analyse both the intended and the unintended economic, social and political effects of globalisation on the state, political economy, educational systems, and individuals across the globe (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020). One of those developments is a growing economic inequality and social stratification globally.

9.2 The Changing Nature of Education Reforms Globally

Globally, cultural, economic and technological exponential-like growth have raised the value of education as a desirable commodity, and, consequently increased the importance of ensuring that children have access to high-standards and quality education for all. Education reforms tend to be largely political in nature. Political ideologies guiding education reforms range from conservative and neo-liberal to progressive and emancipatory. Nations like USA, China, India, and Russia wish to be major players on the world’s stage, economically and politically. All are striving for competitive advantage globally. To maintain the edge of competitiveness and dominance in the political, economic and cultural sense, they need to have education addressing these aspirations. Current education reforms need to be examined at the curriculum level and policy level.

At the curriculum level, the focus of current reforms is on improving knowledge and skills in literacy and numeracy, as well as in science, civics and history. However, in the USA, in particular, teachers are under pressure to improve standards in literacy and numeracy. As a result, teachers are compelled to spend many hours working in these areas, at times neglecting other subjects:

...teachers spend many hours a day trying to teach, especially in schools with low test scores, throughout elementary and sometimes middle school. Reading and math have taken over the curriculum in many schools, to the exclusion of subjects like history and science. (Wexler 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/nataliewexler/2018/04/09/three-mistakes-we-need-to-fix-if-we-want-education-reform-to-succeed/#1a5ad7b77592>)

At the policy level, the politics of education reforms continue to target standards, assessment, accountability, and excellence and quality education for all. As Petrilli (2018) puts it:

Together, *today’s* standards, assessments, and accountability systems provide a clear message to our elementary and middle schools: Your job is to get students on track for college, career, and citizenship by building the knowledge and skills, year by year, they will *need* to succeed (Petrilli, 2018, <https://www.educationnext.org/where-education-reform-goes-here/>)

9.2.1 Standards-Driven and Outcomes-Defined Policy Change

One of the effects of economic forces of globalisation is that educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism (Zajda 2018). Hence, the politics of education reforms in the twenty-first century reflect this new emerging paradigm of standards-driven and outcomes-defined policy change (Zajda 2015, 2018, Zajda and Rust 2016; Duncan and Spellings 2018). Some policy analysts have criticized the ubiquitous and excessive nature of standardization in education imposed by the EFA framework (Carnoy 1999; Zajda 2020a).

Whether one focuses on their positive or negative effects, at the bottom line, there was an agreement that the policies and practices of educational development had converged along the consensus built at the multilateral forum (Carnoy 1999).

Globalisation has contributed to the intensification of the orientation of education toward the global market economy, which has ‘strengthened the privatisation and commodification of education’ (Yung and Bray 2021). 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. 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 (see also Sabour 2005). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on education (Wexler 2018). One of the effects of globalisation on education in all spheres, is that it is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. This is particularly evident in higher education. The new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology (Zajda 2020b).

9.2.2 Globalisation, Marketisation and Quality/Efficiency Driven Reforms

Globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the “lifelong learning for all”, or a “cradle-to-grave” vision of learning and the “knowledge economy” in the global culture. Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis (Zajda 2008a, b, c). All of them 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, *Education policy outlook 2015: making reforms happen*). Yet, not all schools are successful in addressing the new academic standards imperatives, due to a number of factors, both internal and external. One could argue that the failure of education reforms in the USA can be attributed to lack of vision for improving education quality, ineffective school leadership, and fragmented school governance.

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 2016a, b *Education at a Glance – OECD Indicators*). The both validity and reliability of PISA data has also been the subject of much debate. The test design in PISA is based on matrix sampling where each student is administered a subset of items from the total item pool. For example, as Johansson (2019), demonstrates, in PISA, there were nearly 250 questions in the pool for the reading domain. Each student receives a test form or booklet comprising of four 30-minute clusters, assembled from two subject domains. In 2018, reading was the core subject and two clusters in every test form comprised reading items. For countries taking reading math and science there were 36 test forms and different groups of students answered these (but only one). The items in the test forms are overlapping to certain degree (Johansson 2019).

Berliner (2018) questions PISA's test validity. He is concerned with the quite substantial differences between national raw scores and the scaled scores (plausible values) in PISA. Wright (2019) also argues that PISA, as an instrument of the OECD, 'needs to provide better information to participant countries about the strengths and weaknesses of students in relation to the assessment frameworks, be more transparent about its methods, including the items used, and how measurement error is calculated, and broaden the assessment focus to include a broader range of competencies' (Wright 2019). For instance, Araujo, Saltelli & Schnepf acknowledge that the ambitious agenda of PISA to assess students' application of reading, mathematics, and science to challenging real-world contexts leaves the developers vulnerable to criticism. For example, the 2018 PISA framework for mathematics (OECD 2019) requires that students formulate situations mathematically, employ mathematical concepts, facts, procedures and reasoning, and interpret, employing and evaluating the results in context (p. 77). Seven mathematical processes are highlighted, communication, mathematization, representation, reasoning and argumentation, problem solving strategies, using language, and using mathematical tools. The complex framework is a mathematics educators dream. However, the challenge is whether it is possible to assess such complex outcomes in constrained test environments, particularly with multi-choice items. As Wright (2019) argues, PISA data, given the complexity of creating comparable assessments

across over 65 nations, ‘need to be interpreted with caution coupled with the ambitious frameworks created by PISA itself’:

It is inevitable that many questions are asked about the reliability and validity of the tests. Critique about margins of error, representativeness of sampling, comparability of translations, use of a single dimension Rasch Scale to rank nations, and narrowness of content, suggest that results from PISA need to be interpreted with caution (Wright 2019)

Even if PISA, and other large-scale assessments, meet the criteria for perfect knowledge, would it be safe to assume that the players in educational policy act rationally? (Wright 2019). In discussing the merits of PISA for educational policy, Schleicher and Zoido (2016) state that PISA has the knowledge and standards power to influence nations globally:

...that is why PISA does not venture into telling countries what they should do, but its strength lies in telling countries what everybody else around is doing and with what success. (Schleicher and Zoido 2016, p. 384)

9.3 Inequality

Inequality has been on the rise across the globe for several decades. While some countries have managed to reduce the numbers of people living in extreme poverty, in the richest countries economic gaps have continued to grow. Among industrial nations, the United States is by far the most economically unequal nation, with much greater shares of national wealth and income going to the ‘richest 1 percent than any other country’. (<https://inequality.org/facts/global-inequality/>). According to the Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report (October 2020), the world’s richest 1%, or those with more than \$1 million, own 44% of the world’s wealth. The report also demonstrates that adults with less than \$10,000 in wealth make up 56.6% of the world’s population, but hold less than 2% of global wealth. Individuals owning over \$100,000 in assets make up less than 11% of the global population but own 82.8% of global wealth. Credit Suisse defines ‘wealth’ as the value of a household’s financial assets, plus real assets (principally housing), minus their debts. (<https://inequality.org/facts/global-inequality/>).

The UNDESA World Social Report (2020), published by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), shows that income inequality has increased in most developed countries, and some middle-income countries - including China, which has the world’s fastest growing economy:

Inequality is growing for more than 70 per cent of the global population, exacerbating the risks of divisions and hampering economic and social development. (DESA World Social Report, 2020).

The challenges, dealing with solving inequalities, are discussed by António Guterres, Secretary-General of *the OECD*, in the foreword, in which he argues that the world is confronting ‘the harsh realities of a deeply unequal global landscape’, in which economic climate, inequalities and job insecurity have led to mass protests

in both developed and developing countries. He stresses that ‘Income disparities and a lack of opportunities’, are creating a ‘vicious cycle of inequality, frustration and discontent across generations.’ The study demonstrates that the richest 1% of the population are the big winners in the changing global economy, increasing their share of income between 1990 and 2015, while at the other end of the scale, the bottom 40% earned less than a quarter of income in all countries surveyed. (UNDESA World Social Report 2020). Angel Gurría (2015) argues that there was an urgent need to address inequality:

We have reached a tipping point. Inequality can no longer be treated as an afterthought. We need to focus the debate on how the benefits of growth are distributed. Our report In it Together and our work on inclusive growth have clearly shown that there doesn't have to be a trade-off between growth and equality. On the contrary, the opening up of opportunity can spur stronger economic performance and improve living standards across the board! (OECD 2015).

That the income gap between high income and low income nations had increased was acknowledged by the International Monetary Fund back in 2002:

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

At the same time, income inequality in OECD countries is at its highest level for the past half century. **The average income of the richest 10% of the population is about nine times that of the poorest 10%** across the OECD, up from seven times 25 years ago. Only in Turkey, Chile, and Mexico has inequality fallen, but in the latter two countries the incomes of the richest are still more than 25 times those of the poorest. The economic crisis has added urgency to the need to address inequality. In emerging economies, such as China and India, a sustained period of strong economic growth has helped lift millions of people out of absolute poverty. **But the benefits of growth have not been evenly distributed** and high levels of income inequality have risen further. Among the dynamic emerging economies, only Brazil managed to strongly reduce inequality, but the gap between rich and poor is still about five times that in the OECD (<http://www.oecd.org/social/inequality.htm>).

Recent data from the World Bank indicated that in developing regions, the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day fell ‘from 47 per cent in 1990 to 22 per cent in 2010. Some 700 million fewer people lived in conditions of extreme poverty in 2010 than in 1990’. (*The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013*; see also Edward and Sumner 2013). According to OECD report (2013), economic inequality had increased by more ‘over the past three years to the end of 2010 than in previous twelve’. The report also noted that inequality in America today ‘exceeds the records last reached in the 1920s. The United States has the fourth-highest level of inequality in the developed world’ (OECD 2018).

Furthermore, the evolving and constantly changing notions of national identity, language, border politics and citizenship, which are relevant to education policy, need to be critiqued within the local-regional-national arena, which is also contested by globalisation. Current education policy research reflects a rapidly changing world, where citizens and consumers are experiencing a growing sense of uncertainty, inequality and alienation. Teune (1998) argued that forces of globalisation have produced a new divide between rich and poor nations:

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

9.4 Globalisation Discourses

9.4.1 *Globalisation Discourses as a Concept Map*

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

- the *regional/civilizational* discourses, such as those of North and South America, East and West, Australasia and South East Asia
- *ideological* discourses of Left and Right addressing pro- and anti-globalization (development thesis) perspectives
- *disciplinary* discourses, within intra-disciplinary theories in major disciplines, including politics, economics, cultural studies, education, sociology and media studies (see also Robertson and Khondker 1998)
- *poststructuralist* and *postmodern* discourses of globalisation, with their critique of the Grand Narratives.

9.4.2 *Pro-globalisation and Anti-globalisation Researchers*

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

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

Anti-globalisation researchers maintain that the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world was increasing between the 1960s and the 1990s, as demonstrated by the findings of the World Bank. The UNDP *2019 Development Report* 'articulates the rise of a new generation of inequalities', revealing that the gap between the richest and the poorest nations persists and that some 1.3 billion people were still living in extreme poverty:

Inequalities. The evidence is everywhere. So is the concern. People across the world, of all political persuasions, increasingly believe that income inequality in their country should be reduced (figure 1). Inequalities in human development are more profound. These inequalities in human development are a roadblock to achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (p. 1)...The furthest behind include the 600 million people still living in extreme income poverty— and that jumps to 1.3 billion when measured by the Multidimensional Poverty Index (p. 7)

9.4.3 *Globalisation and Socio-Economic Transformations*

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

Some critics view globalisation as a process that is beneficial—a key to future world economic development—and also inevitable and irreversible. Others regard it with hostility, even fear, believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens employment and living standards and thwarts social progress.

Economic ‘globalisation’ is a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labour) and knowledge (technology) across international borders. There are also broader cultural, political and environmental dimensions of globalisation.

Globalisation, in view of its economic and cultural dominance, where progress and development are used as performance indicators to evaluate other nations and their well-being, affects and dislocates, in one sense or another, local cultures, values and beliefs. Globalisation, with its imposition of relentless and boundless consumerism, competition, and market forces, invites ideological and economic wars and conflict among individuals, communities and societies at large. Rust and Jacob (2005) believed that education and education policy change play a significant role in the globalisation agenda:

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

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

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

9.5 Globalisation and Implications for Education: Global Pedagogies

9.5.1 *Global Pedagogies*

One of the forerunners of schooling for tomorrow was Ivan Illich (1971) and in his book *Deschooling Society* he advocated a number of radical policy proposals for changing schools and pedagogy. Illich argued that schools had to be transformed, and in particular he was a visionary in foreseeing the use decentralized schooling and the use of information technology in educational settings in the future. He came to believe that information technology had a potential to create decentralized ‘learning webs’, which would generate quality learning for all:

A good educational system should have three purposes: it should provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empower all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known (Illich, 1971).

9.5.2 *The Moral Function of Global Pedagogy*

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

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

A similar concern with a moral dimension in education is present in Jérôme Bindé (2002) in ‘What Education for the Twenty-First Century?’ where it is suggested that a new paradigm shift in education should be aiming to ‘humanize globalization’ (p. 391, see also Binde, 2000). At the same time he reminds us that one of education’s future major challenges will be ‘to use the new information and communication technologies to disseminate knowledge and skills’ (Bindé 2000, p. 393; see also Zajda 2020a).

9.5.3 *The Schooling for Tomorrow Project*

More recently, one of the important works in the area of global pedagogies is *The Schooling for Tomorrow* project (SfT), which is a major CERI project in developing futures thinking in education. Schooling for Tomorrow (SfT) was launched in November 1997 at an international conference in Hiroshima. It is an international project located in OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). *Schooling for Tomorrow* offers six scenarios of schooling for the future, constructed through the OECD/CERI programme on *Schooling for Tomorrow*. The goal is to improve our understanding of how schooling might develop in the years to come and assess the potential role of education policy and pedagogy to help shape these imagined futures for schooling. Two of the scenarios cover the continued unfolding of existing models (The "status quo extrapolated"), the next two describe the substantial strengthening of schools with new dynamism, recognition and purpose (described as "Re-schooling"), while the two final scenarios depict future worlds that witness a significant decline in the position of schools ("De-schooling"). The report suggests that there is an urgent need to develop different ways of integrating futures thinking with global pedagogies more fully in education policy and practice. Global pedagogies are more likely to promote critical thinking and reflection on the major changes, such as economic, social, political, and technological, taking place in education and society (see also OECD's 2009 *A Decade of Schooling for Tomorrow*).

9.6 Issues in Education for Tomorrow

Some of the policy and pedagogy issues in education for tomorrow include 'new forms of governance and policy-making' to prepare our schools for the twenty-first Century. An innovative approach to governance and education policy is based on long-term thinking, where policy-makers are engaged in a pro-active process of 'constant learning':

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

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

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

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

In October 2009, Angel Gurría, (OECD Secretary-General) in 'Education for the future - Promoting changes in policies and practices: the way forward' described some of the changes and priorities in education for tomorrow. Some of them included the focus on 'inclusive world', the skill to synthesize 'different fields of knowledge', and the use of critical thinking to 'sort and filter information' from the Internet.

... We need to form people for a more inclusive world: people who can appreciate and build on different values, beliefs, cultures. Inter-personal competencies to produce inclusive solutions will be of growing importance. Second, the conventional approach in school is often to break problems down into manageable bits and pieces and then teach students how to solve each one of these bits and pieces individually. But in modern economies, we create value by synthesising different fields of knowledge, making connections between ideas that previously seemed unrelated... Third, if we log on to the Internet today, we can find everything we are looking for. But the more content we can search and access, the more important it is to teach our students to sort and filter information. The search for relevance is very critical in the presence of abundance of information... The 21st century schools therefore need to help young individuals to constantly adapt and grow, to develop their capacity and motivation, to expand their horizons and transfer and apply knowledge in novel settings (Gurria 2009).

9.6.1 *New Paradigm Shift in Pedagogy*

Already in *Towards Schooling for the Twenty-First Century*, Per Dalin & Val D. Rust (1996) argued that there had to be a new paradigm shift in learning and teaching for the twenty-first century. The authors discuss major transformations globally, including political, economic, ecological, epistemological, technological and moral 'revolutions' (p. 32). They stress that in a conflict-ridden world, the 'school must play a basic role in peace education' (p. 64). One could argue that the new and evolving paradigm shift in pedagogy is dictated by forces of globalisation, politico-economic change, 'knowledge society', and ITCs, to name a few (see Zajda and Gibbs 2008). As argued recently in *The Politics of Education Reforms* (see Zajda and Geo-JaJa 2010), the term 'globalisation' is a complex cultural and social theory construct and, at times, a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant perspectives and ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-systems' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of time-space distantiation' (highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal

from the immediacies of local contexts), and Castells' (1989) approaches, to globalisation by way of networking, where the power of flows of capital, technology, and information, constitutes the fundamental paradigm of an emerging 'network society', to a view of globalisation as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (see Apple 2004; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy 1999; Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2002; Ginsburg and Lindsay, 1995; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Zajda 2008a, b, c; Zajda 2009, 2020c). We have suggested that globalisation, with its political, social and economic systems, and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries and information communication technologies (ICTs) that are having profound and differential effects on educational institutions and nations in general. One of the effects of forces of globalisation is that educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism. Hence, the politics of education reforms in the twenty-first century reflect this new emerging paradigm of standards-driven and outcomes-defined policy change (Zajda 2009, 2020a).

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 (see also Sabour 2005; Zajda 2020b). Delanty (2001) notes that "with business schools and techno science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy. . . the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled than strengthened as a result of globalisation." (Delanty 2001, p. 115). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector, and education in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology.

Education in the global economy is likely to produce a great deal of discontent and conflict. We are reminded of the much-quoted words 'All history is the history of class struggle' (Marx and Engels 1848/1969). Globalisation too, with its evolving and growing in complexity social stratification of nations, technology and education systems has a potential to affect social conflict. When discussing the complex and often taken-for granted symbiotic relationship between consumer production and consumption in the global economy, it is worth considering extending Marx's famous theory of the fetishism of the commodity, to include the 'production fetishism', or an illusion created by 'transnational production loci, which masks translocal capital', and the 'fetishism of the consumer', or the transformation of the

consumer's social identity through 'commodity flows' or global consumerism, made possible by global advertising. Appadurai (1990) suggests, that through advertising in the media and commodities, the consumer has been *transformed* 'into a sign', both in Baudrillard's sense of a *simulacrum*, and in the sense of 'a mask for the real seat of agency, which is not the consumer but the producer and the many forces that constitute production' (p. 308). In a postmodern sense, a post-industrial global culture can be considered as a new hybrid of *global* cultural imperialism.

There is a trend in educational systems around the world of shifting the emphasis from the progressive child-centred curriculum to 'economy-centred' vocational training. (Zajda and Rust 2021). Although nations are vastly different in terms of politics, history and culture, and *dominant ideologies*, they are united in their pursuit for international competition in the global market. Hence, curriculum reforms and school policies increasingly address the totalising imperatives of the global economy discourse-competition, productivity, and quality (Zajda 2020a).

9.7 Evaluation

Globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the "lifelong learning for all", or a "cradle-to-grave" vision of learning and the "knowledge economy" in the global culture. Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the 'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes (OECD 2008, *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 2020, *Education at a Glance – OECD Indicators*).

Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy around the world. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises (eg the 1980s), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) and the World Bank (eg SAPs) have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all. The poor are unable to feed their children, let alone send them to school. This is particularly evident in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia, Central Asian Republics (former member states of the USSR), South East Asia, and elsewhere, where children, for instance (and girls in particular, as in the case of Afghanistan Tajikistan and rural India, to name a few) are forced to stay at home, helping and working for their parents, and thus are unable to attend school. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisation, shape and influence education and policy around the world. Third, it can be argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their power and capacity to affect their future directions, as the struggle for knowledge domination, production, and dissemination becomes a new form of a knowledge and technology-driven social stratification.

I would like to stress that one of central and unresolved problems in the process of globalisation within a postmodernist context is the unresolved tension, and ambivalence ‘between cultural *homogenization* and cultural *heterogenization*’ (Appadurai 1990, p. 295, italics mine), or the on-going dialectic between globalism and localism, between faith and reason, between tradition and modernity, and between totalitarianism and democracy.

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

If we define the global system (eg. the global economy, the global markets, the global media etc.) as referring to economic, political and social connections which crosscut borders between countries and have a significant impact on ‘the fate of those living within each of them’ (Giddens 1996, p. 520), then we are focusing on culturally and economically interdependent ‘global village’. The term ‘culture’ already includes all other dimensions and artefacts. In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of globalisation Giddens focuses on the ‘increasing interdependence of world society’ (Giddens 1996, p. 520), whereas Korsgaard (1997) and others argue that globalisation reflects *social relations* that are also linked to the political, social, cultural and environmental spheres (Korsgaard 1997, p. 15–24). The

globalisation process is characterized-by the acceptance of ‘unified global time’, the increase in the number of international corporations and institutions, the ever-increasing global forms of communication, the development of global competitions, and, above all, the acceptance of global notions of citizenship, equality, human rights, and justice (see also Featherstone 1990, p. 6).

The above critique of globalisation, policy and education suggests new economic, and political dimensions of cultural imperialism (see Zajda 2020b). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations (see Zajda 2020a). 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 and 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).

9.8 Conclusion

The above analysis of globalisation, ideology and education reforms demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms, where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights. While on the other hand, globalisation is perceived, by some critics at least, to be a totalising and hegemonic force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap, and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and bringing increasing levels of power, domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations. As demonstrated above, globalisation can be seen to be associated with socio-economic processes that define the new forms of social stratification, where the gaps between the rich and the poor are growing and expanding daily. Hence, we need to continue to examine critically the new challenges confronting education and policy reforms, in terms of authentic democracy, equality, social justice, human rights and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a social change and transformative pedagogy. We also need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely equality of access and quality of education for all, if genuine culture of learning, and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion, and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

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Chapter 10

The Work of the Neoliberal University: A Critique



Duncan Waite and Susan F. Waite

Abstract The chapter argues that within capitalist systems, universities are corporations and act as such. They are comprised of a creative cadre and a techno-administrative one, the latter having grown so large as to overshadow the more creative one. Students must try to negotiate the university's labyrinthine systems, structures, policies and practices. The capitalist and entrepreneurial university assiduously develops, promotes and guards its brand. The brand is an iconic representation of the university and the image it wishes to instill in the minds of the student and potential student (positioned as 'consumers' in neoliberalist terms), the general public, and governing bodies. Universities are of varied types. Some are public, not-for-profit. Others are for-profit and rapacious, going so far as to essentially defraud students (for whom they ought to have fiduciary responsibilities) and the government. Larger, more 'prestigious' universities have incredibly robust foundations built on the largesse of wealthy alumni donors. Many of these hide their monies in off-shore accounts so as to avoid paying taxes, like so many corporations, celebrities, sports stars, tyrannical despots and their families. A clear-eyed and fair critique of the (neoliberal) university ought to allow for its potential and promise. The chapter concludes that higher education still permits for social mobility, and mobility of other sorts. Universities still offer haven for dissidents and intellectual refugees, for those who are different and for those who seek knowledge, wisdom and fulfilment, within or despite the maelstrom of neoliberal ideologies buttressing them.

10.1 The Work of the Neoliberal University: Introduction

The modern American university benefits from a mythologization, an idealization of what a university is and should be. To be sure, American universities do what they do well, very well, that is, if consumer interest is any gauge: US universities as a group have attracted far more international students, who usually pay premium

D. Waite (✉) · S. F. Waite
Texas State University-San Marcos, San Marcos, TX, USA
e-mail: dw26@txstate.edu

tuition fees, than those of any other country (OECD 2013).¹ That is, of course, before the COVID-19 pandemic struck, which laid bare many deep-seated problems that theretofore had gone largely unacknowledged and unaddressed by many university administrators (e.g., market-driven tactics and goals, systemic racism, economic inequality), and that put dampers on international travel, including that of international students, and on international applications for admission. However, discussing the university in terms of consumer interest and other more positivistic metrics serves to perpetuate, of course, the construction of neoliberalism as the only available option for thinking the university (Zajda 2020a).

The university is a spacio-temporal imaginary, where numerous forces play out today, some of which are ideational. The ideational itself is riven with numerous forces, some ideological, most onto-epistemological: For example, the search for knowledge by students, professors and other researchers extends from onto-epistemologies. The onto-epistemological, too, has various facets. Knowledges are sought and shared, but are also hidden, obscured, erased and forgotten as times and fashions and politics change (Burke 2000). Many of those benefiting from their association with universities seldom stopped to think about the ignorance perpetuated by universities and their knowledge factories, ignorance wrought by secrecy, lies, misrepresentations and falsehoods, genocide, and more (Dilley and Kirsch 2015; Smithson 1989). Epistemologies capture students, whether they be positivist/objectivist, interpretivist/subjectivist, constructivist, or some other epistemology or blend of those on offer, and they colonize whole disciplines with their sanctioned methods/methodologies and researches (Becher and Trowler 2001).

Epistemological allegiances also become political and ideological, and fuel bloody internecine wars within faculties and disciplines. Global neoliberal and post-neoliberal political discourses (Means and Slater 2019; Oplatka 2019; Zajda 2020c) affect universities, their faculties, and students in ways that include the suppression of faculty and student dissent and criticism. For example, in the US, faculty in Texas were prohibited from criticizing the Israeli government's oppression of the Palestinians and were prohibited from advocating for the boycott of Israel. Chinese students abroad know that they are being surveilled and are not permitted to talk politics (anonymous Chinese student, personal communication, May 1, 2018).² The Chinese government and its agents have not shied away from heavy-handed measures that include coercion, harassment and intimidation of foreign professors (Graham-McLay 2018).

¹The OECD (2013) literature refers to the numbers of students as 'market share'.

²This particular Chinese student, whose identity is anonymized for his/her safety, approached the first author after his keynote at an international educational leadership and administration conference in Turkey in which he had criticized the Chinese government for its treatment of the Uighurs, stating that s/he was concerned about possible criticism from other conference attendees because s/he was the only Chinese at this conference, defended the government, showed a distorted knowledge of the situation, invited the author to come visit China so that he might see for himself, and, when pushed, retreated, claiming they were not allowed to talk politics.

Alt-right provocateurs have been active on US campuses. Neoconservatives and Alt-right politicians—those Means and Slater (2019) refer to as neoliberal reactionists (NRx), wage protests and legal battles over their ‘free speech’ right to speak on college campuses, though they themselves aren’t students at these universities, but agent provocateurs. ‘Gun rights’ activists have won the right to legally carry guns on Texas university campuses, invoking fear, anxiety and ontological insecurity in college professors and students (Janner 2016). The faculty senate of the University of Houston issued recommendations for how faculty might change their teaching and other behavior in light of the ‘campus carry’ law. Some of the recommendations included in a PowerPoint presentation produced by the faculty senate and shared with faculty included: “be careful discussing sensitive topics,” “drop certain topics from your curriculum,” and to “not ‘go there’ if you sense anger,” among others (Flaherty 2016).

Among all of the other things they are and do, universities are sites where ideological wars play out, and in which they are both pawns and aggressive players. This is the neoliberal imaginary too. And all this even before the coronavirus pandemic of 2019 laid bare, in ways that were difficult to continue to ignore, the hypocrisies, injustices and inequalities in supposedly democratic social systems, including K-12 and higher education systems (Zajda 2020b).

In the early stages of the global pandemic, universities in the US scrambled to react, shuttering their classrooms, and moving all classes but ‘necessary’ clinics online. Public universities, already poorly financed in terms of percentage of federal and state budgets, were running out of cash, as enrollments dropped and “lucrative spring sports seasons have been cancelled, room and board payments have been refunded, and students at some schools are demanding hefty tuition discounts for what they see as a lost spring term” (Hartocollis 2020, p. A1).

The uncertainty continues to be excruciating for college administrators: Will students delay education goals and defer matriculation? Will students opt for less expensive schools and universities because of their own economic uncertainty? “I just haven’t found anybody who has the best crystal ball to answer [those questions]” (Hartocollis 2020, p. A15), the chancellor of Syracuse University said (p. A15). Some ‘prestigious’ universities are well-situated to ride out the economic hit, with many sitting on huge endowments, some in the tens if not hundreds of billions of dollars. These are the universities exposed by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists’ *Paradise Papers* as hiding their monies in secret off-shore accounts and ‘blocker corporations’ to avoid paying taxes on their profits; over 100 universities such as Columbia, Duke, Johns Hopkins, Michigan State, Peking University (China), Princeton, Chicago, Queens College Cambridge, Southern California (USC), Texas, and many others; those “leaning toward the 1%” (Chavkin et al. 2017). Among universities, there are the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’, some of latter, small liberal arts colleges, will likely not survive the economic crisis caused by reaction to the pandemic. *The New York Times* reported that “in mid-March [2020], Moody’s Investment Service downgraded the outlook for higher education from stable to negative, predicting that institutions with strong endowments and

cash flow, like Harvard or Stanford, would weather the virus, while smaller ones would not” (p. A15).

The more elite, well-endowed universities are projected to survive at least the economic hit. The concentration of wealth among US universities reflects the economic inequality of the nation: 11% of US universities have 74% of the money: “‘It’s overwhelmingly weighted towards the 1 percent,’ said Dean Zerbe, former tax counsel to the Senate Finance Committee, ‘Most of the schools are the most elites in the country’” (Saul 2017, para 6).

It’s likely that in the different contexts worldwide that some changes occasioned by the pandemic are likely temporary, some more permanent. How might universities rebound from the move to all online classes? Many programs tout face-to-face, in person and co-present classes. Such is the case at Colby College, “a liberal arts school in Maine” (Hartocollis 2020, p. A15), whose president said “our whole model of education and all of its power comes from close human interaction” (p. A15). Delaying the start of on-campus classes is an option, but for how long?

As some universities look at declining applications, presaging declining enrollments, their leaders are implementing changes, such as extending deadlines for application and acceptance, shifting revenues to cover scholarships, grants and other forms of financial aid in order to attract students, experimenting with online or remote learning modules of various types as their curricula, dropping the requirement that applicants include a standardized test score (e.g., ACT or SAT) as part of their application. Still, students and potential students are reworking and reconsidering the calculus in the balance between the status of the college (so-called ‘marquee’ schools), the distance from home and/or family, the cost of tuition, any financial package offered, and the likely debt incurred. For those students from wealthier families these issues might not matter as much. But for many in the US, high tuition and fees mean taking on debt, sometimes large debt. This and the uncertainty ahead weigh in students’ decisions. According to a college applicant quoted for *The New York Times* article: “the coronavirus had made her more sensitive to price over marquee names, and to the value of being close to her family . . . ‘I would rather go to the least expensive school possible,’ she said, ‘just so I minimize my debt when I enter the work force, and I’m not in over my head in a very uncertain situation’” (Hartocollis 2020, p. A15). The pandemic has laid bare the deep and wide economic inequalities in the US and in other wealthy nations, such as in the Arabian Gulf, where countries such as Kuwait, the Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia depend on migrant workers to preform most of the retail, manufacturing, construction, domestic, and agricultural labor they depend on. Is it any wonder that universities, too, would show and suffer from such disparities?.

In the short term, potential applicants are at an ‘advantage’ as colleges scramble for students: They are not required to take and pay for somewhat expensive college entrance tests and looser requirements mean that students able to pay full tuition stand a better chance of being accepted to their so-called ‘stretch school’ (a college or university perceived to be at the limit or just out of reach by/for the student applicant) (Hartocollis 2020). However, universities that move online or offer only remote learning lose some of their appeal for certain students, those who want

extracurricular activities and engagement, such as intramural team sports, Greek organizations (sororities and fraternities), clubs and student organizations considered by some to be important aspects of student life. Neoliberalism and its consumerist ethos have so influenced (some might say corrupted) the idea of what a university is that administrators devote considerable time, energy and financial resources catering to the (perceived) extracurricular desires of students and potential students in providing state-of-the-art student activity centers or gymnasias with climbing walls, elliptical machines, natatoriums (simple swimming pools are not good enough), and even coffee and juice bars (Zajda 2020c). Student housing has been reshaped to cater to student desires for what in another age were considered luxuries, all to attract student consumers. But many, if not most, of these amenities become meaningless if/when universities move to online and remote learning in response to such events as the coronavirus pandemic: “Many current students are dissatisfied with how the virus has changed the nature of college. To some, online classes and closed student centers, gyms and science labs don’t seem worth the high prices they’re paying” (Hartocollis 2020, p. A15).

And what of student athletes? Universities across the country are dropping non-revenue-generating sports programs such as golf, tennis, diving and soccer in cost-cutting moves, though some of these student athletes received full or partial scholarships and had hoped that their university’s rhetoric of ‘diversity and inclusion’ would be more that. For the university sports that survive the cost-cutting measures, participation requires that the student athletes be physically present, for training, coaching and competing. Some sports generate billions of dollars for US colleges and universities. And though many universities have a firewall between athletics and academics, loss of those monies cannot but seriously affect whole universities. Some smaller universities depend on so-called ‘buy games’, wherein larger programs pay a smaller school a hefty amount (sometimes close to a million dollars) to come play them. This is a substantial part of these small schools’ budgets. Schools, conferences and regulating bodies have stated that if students don’t return to campuses, neither will the athletes and there will be no sports: No students, no sports; no sports, no money.

10.2 The Neoliberal Imaginary

Rather than being a laboratory for democratic skills, values and practices, universities, according to Giroux (2014), are threatened by and themselves come to pose a threat to these very democratic ideals:

What is new about the current threat to higher education and the humanities in particular is the increasing pace of the corporatization and militarization of the university, the squelching of academic freedom, the rise of a bloated managerial class, and the view that students are basically consumers and faculty providers of a saleable commodity such as a credential or a set of workplace skills. More striking still is the slow death of the university as a center of critique, vital source of civic education, and crucial public good (p. 16).

Brown (2015), too, sees the university shot through with neo-liberal rationalities which threatens democracy and the *demos*:

The heart of the crisis besetting public universities today ... [is] growing and increasingly legitimate socioeconomic inequalities and abandonment of the project of educating a public for citizenship are at once cause and effect of public divestment from universities and public universities' departure from a mission of providing broad liberal arts education to the many (pp. 179–180).

Today's university is many things: ivory tower, research laboratory, innovation incubator, commercial concern, colonizer, and more. No matter how we think of universities and their work, universities both affect and are affected by their 'environment,' the socio-political milieu of which they are part. Context matters and matters greatly. Different geopolitical contexts, for example, affect universities differently. That these contexts (e.g., historical, political, cultural) affect the university is perhaps unremarkable; what *is* of interest is *how* they are affected.

10.3 Critiques

As today, early universities—those established in the fourteenth, fifteenth centuries and later, were attractors and refuges for so-called “‘men of learning’ (*docti, eruditi, savants, Gelehrten*) or ‘men of letters’ (*literati, hommes de lettres*)” (Burke 2000, p. 19). Burke spoke of these *men* of learning as members of a group he referred to as ‘the clerisy,’ with its implicit association with the Church. The oldest universities in Europe were established in the fifteenth century, many of which originated with the Church, and/or were staffed by the clerisy (Burke 2000). In fact, some might consider the Church as the seedbed of what would later become formalized as the university, sprung from monasteries and associated with study, contemplation, and sanctuary. The concept of sanctuary was prevalent at this time (Zuboff 2019) and universities and the professors' offices within constituted a type of *sanctum sanctorum*—a quiet, reserved and reverential place for study, contemplation, learning and teaching, and an escape from the world outside. The type of teaching that takes place in the office of the university professor is personal and relational, relaxed and somewhat less formal than a lecture or seminar, partly because the office, at least more so than the classroom, resembles home.

We seldom stop to consider the accoutrements and the surroundings (the décor), the architecture and the organization of space and other technologies of the professor's office—an office in a university building among other university buildings comprising the physical, or spatial in the spacio-temporal imaginary we referred to above. What role do these offices play in the life, in the identity, in the public life of a university professor? What role do the university professors' offices play in that which is a university? Nikil Saval (2014) described the emergence of the office, the desk too, as a demarcation of work status. He noted how the filing cabinet was a tremendous technological advancement, permitting papers to be stood up vertically

rather than lain flat in a heap. This verticality facilitated archiving and searching as never before (Burke 2000). The desk spoke of and to the status of its occupant. Desks and offices took on characteristics of home (that is, of a particular conception of home). Saval (2014) noted how, in distinguishing ‘one kind of worker from another. The most obvious difference lay in the clerical desk’:

The most obvious difference lay in the clerical desk. The classic desk of the old counting-house was the Wooton—a massive, high-backed, grandiose affair riddled with cubbyholes and with foldout wings that seemed to reach around and clasp the sitter in warm embrace. This was a desk you could burrow into, a desk you could lose yourself in—one that truly signified a home (p. 42).

The layout and design, the location, the appointment and use of the office can tell us much about the nature of the work and how it is perceived, even constructed. What of the professor’s office?

Some time ago, the organizational ‘guru’ Charles Handy (2002) suggested that each of us ought to manage our work portfolio, particularly the ‘balance’ among paid work, unpaid work and non-work. He predicted that professors would not use their university office except for face-to-face meetings (with students, with colleagues, with administrators and others). At many universities, faculty offices today resemble a ghost town. Administrative staff are present, sure, but faculty are scarce. Individualism, privatization, profit-based goals, a libertarian ‘free’ market and accountability are some of the hallmarks of neoliberalism, and these map nicely on to the ‘modern’ university professors’ role, especially those professors who have attained the top-most rung on their career ladder, tenured professor. In fact, we could say that neoliberalism is or can be parasitical upon the professor role, especially the current trans-mortification of that role as entrepreneur.

10.4 Moving Out of the Office

Recent technologies have allowed universities to put academic programs online. Some have pushed enrollment limits, facilitating massive online courses (MOOCs) of upwards of 1500 students. Parents have pushed back, questioning why their student is charged the same tuition for such large classes when they are unlikely to get much, if any, individual attention. Some professors-for-hire, untenured and contracted on a per-course basis and paid according to the number of students they manage (for we cannot say teach), are able to do quite well for themselves, financially. But it’s the academic equivalent of piece work, and they usually are excluded from university governance structures.

The quality of online curricula (setting aside teaching for the moment) varies wildly, from that developed by eminent professors at ‘prestigious’ universities and bundled as part of not-for-profit consortia to the outright fraudulent (e.g., ‘Barkley

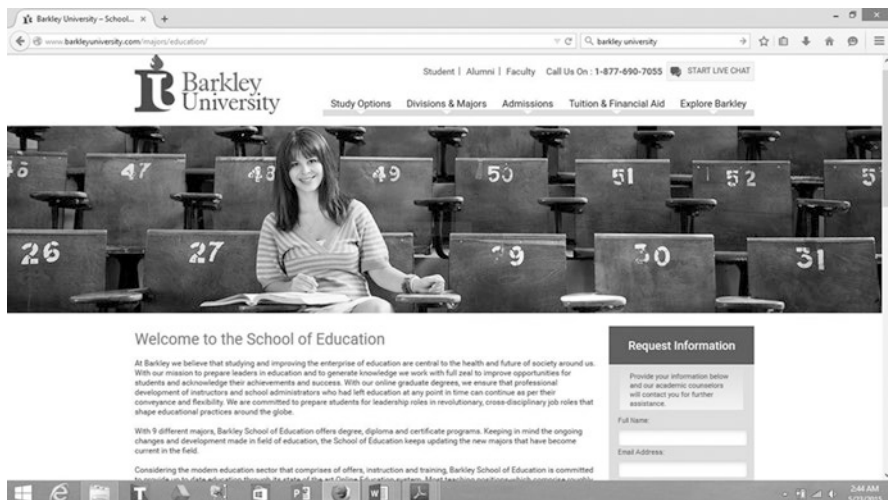


Fig. 10.1 Screen shot of the web page for ‘Barkley University’, a fraudulent ‘university’

University’; Fig. 10.1) and the rapacious (e.g., The University of Phoenix).³ Taking advantage of the legitimized university role in the qualification of people for licensed professions, a whole industry of shady and predatory online certification mills has popped up, with legitimate-sounding names and websites. Neoliberal conditions are such as to encourage corruption in persons shopping for fraudulent certificates and diplomas to qualify for advancement or salary increases. A whole industry has sprung up to respond to this need/market (Walsh 2015), with shell companies supplying not only diplomas and certificates, but transcripts and letters of recommendation as well.

Adoption or potential adoption of online curricula developed by large consortia or companies (e.g., edX, Udacity, Coursera, etc.), whether for-profit or not-for-profit, has raised concern among many academics. Regardless of the quality of the curricula on offer, they do not respond to local needs, they are and cannot be relational (see below). And, as professors at San Jose State University (Lewin 2013) protested, the consideration of such programs fails to consider “the importance of individual interaction with students” (para 8). The faculty gave voice to “the fear that the courses would widen the gap between the education that elite universities can offer, and what is available to students at most other universities” (para 8). Basically, widespread adoption of MOOCs and other mass curricula becomes a race

³ See the controversy surrounding such online offerings as Barkley University (Fig. 9.1), Rochville University, Columbian University and other ‘fake universities’ at, for example, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/diploma-mills-marketplace-fake-degrees-1.4279513> or <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/18/world/asia/fake-diplomas-real-cash-pakistani-company-axact-reaps-millions-columbian-barkley.html>

Others are of questionable quality and have been flagged as being ‘diploma mills’.

to the bottom, with students forced into becoming cost-conscious consumers, making decisions on the programs and universities they apply to not on quality of instruction, personal attention or other educational considerations, but on cost and convenience alone.

The professors at San Jose State University (Lewin 2013) were concerned that ‘if we buy them [online curricula] from edX as the basis for our classes, we would suddenly be second-class citizens. I would basically be a teaching assistant, and my students, unlike those at Harvard, could not question their professor’ (para 11). Waite (2018) suggested that, though academic units can put their programs and courses on line, no one can *teach* online. Teaching is so much more than the delivery of content (Freire 1970). Teaching is relational. For Waite, teaching assumes a relationship as a foundation. Conversely, all relations are pedagogical. Though users of Facebook, the powerful social networking platform, speak of friends, what type of friend or relationship can one have online?

10.5 Professors’ Work

Verbal communication studies and the field of proxemics focus on the relationship of those in interaction. The benefits, the surplus or excess in Derridian terms, are lost, subtracted, canceled out, erased or elided in video-conferencing, FaceTime, Skype and Zoom. Not to mention the infernal distractions the technology presents—from drop outs, to dropped calls, to glitches, and more—and the digital divide and inequalities. It is nearly impossible to be fully present in such interactions. What is accomplished? Merely phatic communion? And added to these drawbacks is that these conversations, all these interactions, can be objects of surveillance. If professors don’t work in their offices, where do they work and how does that affect the nature of their work? These are relevant issues as universities respond to the Covid-19 pandemic. Perhaps professors work from home? It might be that the question, better stated, is: What work do professors do from home and what work do they do from/in their offices? Is there a difference? And for whom? What of so-called work-life balance? What of ‘workism’ (Thompson 2019), the elevation of work into an ism, a type of religion, valued for its own sake, unquestioned and all consuming? Some might find it difficult to write in their office and therefore do most of their writing at home or elsewhere away from their office, such as a coffee shop or a co-work space. Some might find it hard to write at home owing to familial roles and responsibilities. Are there differences in how professors across different intersectional identities navigate these spaces (Bellas 1999; Hochschild 1983, 2001)?

If we consider not the office qua office—a room at the professor’s disposal, but the office as situated in the larger organization’s workplace, what are the types of work one might do there? For one, we meet and interact with colleagues at work who also are situated in some way in offices. Some of these interactions are planned, some entirely random.

Perhaps professors work at home. Unless great care is taken in the setup of the work space, and equal care given to structuring of work time (protecting that time, keeping it free from distractions), the time ostensibly set aside for work, however we think of it, can be frittered away. Digital technologies make it all too easy to spend inordinate amounts of time simply, for example, surfing the web, ‘going down a rabbit hole’ (a reference to Lewis Carroll’s *Alice through the Looking Glass*). It is in the interests of the large corporations, the vendors, to keep people online, clicking on pages, spawning a flurry of pop-up ads and ‘click bait’ tailored to the user by tracking their browsing history and massaging those data using the algorithms of Big Data and ‘Big Other’ (Zuboff 2019). Addiction is not too strong a word to describe some people’s web browsing habits, and professors are not immune.

Although the meanings of ‘work’ and ‘leisure’ are not so clear today, it is usually work that wins out in many professors’ lives—even when they do not have to or want to work. Whether this is owing to a strong urge to be part of the herd (Nietzsche 1968), or to not stand out, or to gain rewards and status, or something else, we cannot say, but the decision (or will, insight, or vision) to buck the trend is an extraordinary action to take, and is a type of leadership in itself, though in this case, the ‘leader’s’ relationship to the/a group is tenuous, amorphous, ill-defined. Is there responsibility in such estrangement?

Lingis, in his translator’s introduction to *Otherwise than Being* (Lèvinas 2011), remarked that for Lèvinas ‘responsibility . . . is the determinative structure of subjectivity’ (Lingis 2011, p. xvii). For Lèvinas, responsibility is a fact, a bond, and a form of recognition. It is the original state of being in the world, of one’s coming into the world: “it is as responsible that one is incarnated” (Lingis, p. xix). I am answerable. I am responsible: “I am responsible for the situation in which I find myself, and for the existence in which I find myself. To be responsible is always to have to answer for a situation that was in place before I came on the scene” (Lingis, p. xx). “I am answerable before the other in his alterity—responsible before all the others for all the others” (p. xx). Compare this with Arendt’s (1961) belief that a teacher, a parent or other adult must accept responsibility for a world that they didn’t create. For Arendt, the issue hinges on natality, being born into an already existing world. ‘Human parents,’ she wrote, “have not only summoned their children into life through conception and birth, they have simultaneously introduced them into a world. In education, they assume responsibility for both, for the life and development of the child and for the continuance of the world” (pp. 185–186). And later, “the educators here stand in relation to the young as representatives of a world for which they must assume responsibility although they themselves did not make it” (p. 189).

Lèvinas (1981/2011) and Arendt (1961) seem to agree on a couple of points: the uniqueness of the being coming into the world and a responsibility for that world and, for Lèvinas, a responsibility for the Other being(s) in that world. Arendt appears to put the responsibility on the adult and the educator. Lèvinas, however, appears to suggest that each, even the newcomer, the child, is responsible. As a newcomer, as a unique being (cf. Biesta 2010), how am I to negotiate my actions and my

emancipation when I have a deep responsibility for the world and for others? What is the professor's role? The university's?

10.6 The Newcomer, the Student and the University's Role in Their Emancipation

As early as the seventeenth Century we have evidence of the disaffection with university life from a leading scholar of the day (Deleuze 2001). Spinoza refused a professorship in philosophy at the University of Heidelberg in 1673. He wrote to Fabritius that 'since it has never been my wish to teach in public, I have been unable to induce myself to accept this splendid opportunity, though I have long deliberated about it.' (Spinoza's *Letter XLVIII*, to Fabritius, as cited in Deleuze 2001, p. 11). Spinoza wrote Fabritius that 'everyone who asked permission would be allowed to teach openly, at his own expense, and at the risk of his reputation' (Deleuze 'on the Spinozan conception of teaching, cf. the *Political Treatise*, chap. VIII, 49,' footnote 8, p. 11).

Deleuze (2001) noted how "Spinoza belongs to that line of 'private thinkers' who overturn values and construct their philosophy with hammer blows; he is not one of the 'public professors' (who, according to Leibniz's 'approving words do not disturb the established sentiments, the order of Morality and the Police') (p. 11). Rather, 'Spinoza's thinking is now taken up with the most recent problems: What are the chances for a commercial aristocracy? Why has the liberal republic foundered? Is it possible to change the multitude into a collectivity of free men instead of a gathering of slaves?' (p. 11). According to Deleuze (2001), Spinoza began work on the *Theological-Political Treatise* in 1665 to deal with the following questions: 'Why are the people deeply irrational? Why are they proud of their own enslavement? Why do they fight 'for' their bondage as if it were their freedom? Why is it so difficult not only to win but to bear freedom? Why does a religion that invokes love and joy inspire war, intolerance, hatred, malevolence, and remorse?' (pp 9–10). What have these questions to do with the modern neoliberal or post-neoliberal university and university professor? What role do these entities play in the individual's development, emancipation or liberation?

Rancière (1991), too, dealt with emancipation. Rancière's writing on emancipation, at least on one level, is about schooling and systems of education. The conventional system of education, which he referred to as the Old Master's, was built on stultification, whereby the master always withheld a bit of knowledge from the student. The student was thereby always in a dependent relationship with the Old Master. Society was built on these hierarchical relationships. This teacher-learner relationship was/is part of the larger system, which Rancière referred to as society pedagogicized. But according to Rancière (on one level), if equality is a point of departure, then equality has to be the 'starting' point—a firm and abiding belief in the equality of intelligences. It couldn't be some distant, idealized goal, whereby if

we gained just that much more knowledge, then we would then be free. The system was rigged, with the Old Master always one step ahead, the student always one behind, and the Old Master's trick for maintaining this dependent relation was explication. If one operates from the epistemological position of the equality of intelligences, then the teacher's 'role' changes drastically and the students' 'will' may be exercised: They can learn that which the master doesn't know. Indeed, the master can (and can only ever) teach what the master doesn't know. As Bingham and Biesta (2010, 2014) point out, this epistemology is not constructivism; far from it. There is still an important role for the teacher in such an epistemology/pedagogy: the teacher induces the student to exercise the will through posing three questions to the student. The student must be able to say 'what he [she/they] sees, what he thinks about it, what he makes of it' (p. 20). It is through this saying (that is also thinking and making) that anyone is affected, is uniquely taught. It all turns on Rancière's (1991) dictum: 'One need only learn how to be equal men [women] in an unequal society. This is what *being emancipated* means' (p. 133, emphasis in original).

This gestures at the paramount issue concerning today's university: how to be equal in an unequal society, coupled with Spinoza's (Deleuze 2001) pondering (above) as to why we fight for our bondage as if it were our freedom, and, paraphrasing, why and how we are complicit in our own bondage. We might ask how a person can be emancipated within and through such horribly unequal systems as are today's universities. With a nod to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and their examination of cultural reproduction, as universities and schools both are affected by and contribute to the wider social systems of which they are part, universities and schools today are capitalist, corporate, and colonizing entities (Giroux 2002; Waite and Waite 2010; Zuboff 2019). Capitalism is wedded to neoliberalism and its tenets of a free market, individualism and accountability, especially individual accountability; or, put in other words, individual effort (i.e., the belief that success and/or failure are dependent upon the individual's efforts alone). Capitalism, as we know, is a competitive system. It produces winners and losers, and, therefore, both produces and relies on hierarchies (status hierarchies such as class, but others as well). These hierarchies, these classes, have a certain rigidity and objectification as a reality. That is, these status hierarchies become reified and relatively fixed. This characteristic of classes in capitalist systems calls into question the belief that mobility is possible through education. Though limited mobility is possible, and in some cases can be attributable to individual effort, the reality is much more complex.

Ariely (2012) asserted that we all lie and cheat to a degree, and are relatively dishonest, some (much) more than others. We, all of us professors, are susceptible to the effects, the seductions, the colonizing hegemonic tendencies of the neoliberalist ideology; that is, we become seduced by capitalism, it's and neoliberalism's ideologies, some consciously, most probably unconsciously (Zajda 2020c). It demands attention unequally, giving these tasks over those. Today's universities demand that faculty and students become individual entrepreneurs, competing

against others in their own programs, while departments compete with each other, and our university is pitted against other universities. We are thought and positioned as simply an amalgam of individuals, competing with others in almost a Hobbesian state. Foucault (1980) noted how ‘in neoliberalism—and it does not hide this; it proclaims it—there is also a theory of *homo economicus*, but he is not at all a partner of exchange. *Homo economicus* is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself’ (p. 226). In today’s university climate, professors (and students) are encouraged to be entrepreneurial (Zajda 2020c). This is understood, though seldom codified in job descriptions and position announcements, as entrepreneurial in the financial sense, whereby the professor is expected to search out grants and external funding sources. It is no wonder then, that some take this a bit far, crossing an ethical line and become individually entrepreneurial in illegitimate, even illegal ways. As an example, we have the on-going admissions scandal in the US, involving an ‘admissions consultant’, the wealthy, famous and powerful, and admissions officers, coaches and athletic directors of some of the more prestigious universities in the US (e.g., the University of Southern California, Yale, the University of Texas, and others).

That education, and especially a ‘good’ education (or some cases, an elite schooling), is still a valued end is substantiated by this college admission scandal in the US (Taylor and Medina 2019). In this scheme, a ‘consultant’, William Singer, gamed the system and facilitated admission for the children of the well-heeled (business entrepreneurs, television and movie stars, and other wealthy individuals) through cheating on the admissions tests or outright bribery of, especially, university athletic directors and coaches who designated the admission candidate as a recruit for one of the university’s sports teams, though the student was usually not adept at (or interested in) the sport. So designated, the student got preferred treatment in the admission process, including being held to a looser academic standard, and in some cases received a full or partial scholarship. Once so admitted, the student was free to drop his/her scholarship and transfer to a different academic department, one of his/her choosing. Fifty-three people have been charged with a crime in this scandal so far (Taylor and Medina 2019). Some parents ‘donated’ hundreds of thousands of dollars (the highest documented amount, 1.2 million dollars, was paid by a Chinese family; one family reportedly paid 6.5 million dollars) to shell foundations of which the ‘consultant’ was the principal party and beneficiary. The ‘consultant’ took his share and paid the coach or athletic director their bribe, in the range of a hundred thousand dollars or more. The parents of the applicants sought admission for their children to only the elite universities in the US—Stanford, Yale, University of Southern California (USC), and others. The scandal shed light on the college admissions process, belying its supposedly meritocratic basis. Especially for a society that espouses democracy as a way of life, it also greatly increased the visibility of questions pertaining to the use of merit-based criteria for admissions to universities and some K-12 schools, and to some programs within schools (e.g., gifted education programs).

10.7 University Professors and Their Role Under Neoliberal Conditions

Universities, with professors as their agents, have been seen as analogous to the merchants of such commercial concerns as the Hudson Bay Company, India House and others—scouring the world for commodities and bringing them back to their home base, leaving (sometimes) something in trade or exchange (Burke 2000; Waite 2011). During the height of the imperialist colonial era, botanists, ethnologists, and other natural scientists would search the world for novelties and knowledges, codifying and sharing them with their scientific communities and publics (Burke 2000). Of course, knowledges traveled both ways. At home in their universities, professors played several key roles: teacher, of course, but also that of public intellectual. University professors were in privileged positions (Bourdieu 1988), likened to mandarins (Burke 2000). Foucault (1980) commented on an evolution of the professor's or intellectual's role, from the early days as a universal intellectual to that of a specific intellectual:

For a long period, the 'left' intellectual spoke and was acknowledged the right of speaking in the capacity of master of truth and justice. He was heard, or purported to make himself heard, as the spokesman of the universal. To be an intellectual meant something like being the consciousness/conscience of us all (p. 126).

But universities have been, and perhaps always will be, corporations (Burke 2000; Waite 2011); or, perhaps better said, they have always had corporate aspects. Also, universities play a significant role in the maintenance of the state. Foucault pinned the emergence of the specific intellectual to the time of Darwin and 'post-Darwinian evolutionists' (p. 129), noting 'the stormy relationship between evolutionism and the socialists, as well as the highly ambiguous effects of evolutionism (on sociology, criminology, psychiatry and eugenics, for example)' (p. 129).⁴ This 'mark[s] the important moment when the savant begins to intervene in contemporary political struggles in the name of a local scientific truth—however important the latter may be' (p. 129). Foucault noted the complex contribution of Oppenheimer in this regard, and we might mention Einstein, Chomsky, and Cornel West. Foucault noted how intellectuals were constructed:

The figure in which the functions and prestige of the new intellectual are concentrated is no longer that of the 'writer of genius', but that of the 'absolute savant', no longer he who bears the values of all, opposes the unjust sovereign or his ministers and makes his cry resound even beyond the grave. It is rather he who, along with a handful of others, has at his disposal, whether in the service of the State or against it, powers which can either benefit or irrevocably destroy life (p. 129).

University professors can be both complicit and transgressive. To understand how neoliberalism affects universities we must consider the university as a system within

⁴See also Gould 1980, 2006, on the use and misuse of Darwinism, especially as regards so-called social evolution.

We wish to thank Heriberto Arambula Acosta for help with the preparation of this manuscript.

the systems of which it is part (see Zajda 2020c). The university as a system of education is part of a larger system of education. The university stands in relation to both prior levels of education—the systems of public and private school that students transit before entering the university (though, as is becoming somewhat more common, students who are ‘home schooled’ can matriculate to certain universities without having been educated in either public or private school systems), and it stands in relation to post-graduation systems, such as the ‘world of work’ and further education.

Students in public schools in the US and other ‘developed’ countries are socialized and, in some senses, manipulated and controlled (formed), some might say domesticated (Biesta 2014), even before entering the university. But universities have had a hand in this. Foucault (1980) remarked on school discipline “which succeeded in making children’s bodies the object of highly complex systems of manipulation and conditioning” (p. 125). He noted how:

these new technologies of power needed to grapple with the phenomena of population, in short to undertake the administration, control and direction of the accumulation of men [in our case, students] (the economic system that promotes the accumulation of capital and the system of power that ordains the accumulation of men are ... correlated and inseparable phenomena) (p. 125).

10.8 Contradictions

Neoliberalism, and now post-neoliberalism (Oplarka 2019), contributes to contradictions in various social conditions—whether in diverse geopolitical contexts, different national histories, different ideologies and onto-epistemologies. And people live with them—working through them, consciously or unconsciously, to survive and prosper. Habermas (1984) distinguished the systems-world from the life-world. These different ‘worlds’ react differently when in contact with or affected by neoliberalism. Universities manifest both—the epistemological (teaching, research and learning) and the structural (how universities are structured, even how knowledge itself is structured). Epistemology, or the onto-epistemological, has undergone a subjective turn (for some, a linguistic turn), and this subjective turn, as it affects or is taken up by individuals, sometimes affects the systems-world, but often is ill-fitting, even mal-adaptive, causing dissonance in the individual, student or worker. The systems-world with its various structures shape universities as we know them, with their disciplinary allegiances, their partitioning of knowledge, their administrations. These ‘worlds’ often conflict in universities.

Mannheim (1952/2012), an early sociologist and epistemologist, observed ‘this fundamental trait ... man is the citizen of several worlds at the same time’ (p. 39). Academics are members of numerous communities simultaneously. They sit amid multiple configurations of social relations—networks, webs, rhizomes (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), entanglements (Barad 2007), nonlinear adaptive networks (Maurer 1995) and other configurations (Latour 2005). Enhanced

computer-mediated technologies such as the Internet have increased the capacities of, say, academics to establish relationships with others similarly situated around the globe; though we hasten to add that these technologies do not *deepen* these relationships. They do, however, make for more far-flung and complex networks, or rhizomes. Still, they bring with them other issues, among which are privacy and surveillance concerns and issues of so-called intellectual property (which is both a neo-liberal and capitalist concept, and a colonizing technology). The enormity, complexity, interdependency of networks keep increasing, raising the stakes and consequences of errors, mistakes, and unexpected events, as well as increasing the difficulty of not participating in particular behaviors. Such networks have deeply shaped ways of thinking about work, leisure, the private, and the public. The nature of an 'academic's' 'work' has changed such that work can be conducted anytime and from anywhere. Unless one works at it consciously, there really is no downtime. 'Work/life balance' is blurred and threatens to become a quaint, antiquated notion. And though computer-mediated technologies have led to an information age and have caused an explosion in the amount of information available and its dissemination (excepting 'throttling' and government censorship and web-scrubbing), they cannot replace personal face-to-face communication/interaction. And this flood of information cannot guarantee wisdom.

Ziman (1981) reminded us that 'ideas move around inside people' (p. 259), by which he meant that face-to-face scholarly intellectual communion is essential for the spread of ideas: 'the transfer of really valuable knowledge from country to country or from institution to institution cannot be easily achieved by the transport of letters, journals and books; it necessitates the physical movement of human beings' (p. 259). Conferences in which people gather together, visiting professorships, invited lectures and speaking engagements are important for reasons other than the neoliberal concerns of climbing the status ladder, high visibility, and measurability of worth; publication in journals and books is not comparable. For Ziman, 'published scientific work is inadequate as a basis for a real grasp of new concepts and new methods' (p. 261). Conferences and the like, however, also are a means of 'the initiation and maintenance of social contacts with scientific colleagues around the world, leading eventually to longer and more intimate occasions for intellectual association and contagion' (p. 267). And though Ziman touts mobility, free movement and human intercourse, he did note that '*job* mobility is quite restricted in practice' (p. 266, emphasis in original), citing political and language barriers as chief among the impediments. And today the global political situation is more fraught, more complex, owing, especially, to the rise of tribalism, ultra-nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment, and restrictions on travel in response to the Covid-19 pandemic and more. In these times people find themselves fleeing war, famine, and persecution in waves of migration all over the globe. Persecutions of academics and teachers in places such as Turkey have caused many scholars to seek to immigrate to other, more 'open' countries. But where are those more open societies with their universities? Do any still exist?

Chau (2007) demonstrated how historically more open countries attracted skilled workers and wealth, giving these countries such advantage that they grew to become

empires or hegemons. But this same sort of persecution and (relative) openness also exist at a more meso level, *within* societies or countries, where different geographical locales may be more or less open, tolerant, and accepting. Likewise, different knowledge and disciplines and their faculty may be more open or closed, tolerant of diverse epistemologies or more closed (Becher and Trowler 2001). Universities are perceived as being more open, intellectually, and, therefore, may become the refuges of choice for thinkers who may feel persecuted or, at least, unaccepted in other areas in a certain country. This is one reason why, in periods of reactionary upheaval, university professors are persecuted, sometimes killed, often chased off or jailed. Universities may well be the bellwethers of societal health, in terms of openness, tolerance and uncorrupt, free inquiry.

10.9 Center and Periphery Subverted

Not so long ago, the world, including the academic world, was spoken of as being laid out along east-west lines or schisms. Knowledge flowed from what Burke (2000) (problematically) referred to as the peripheries to the centers, usually established universities and other institutes. Those with means (wealthier, better-resourced universities) gathered (and exploited, stole) knowledges from other, sometimes remote areas and catalogued these knowledges in their museums, analyzed them in their laboratories, discussed them in their classrooms, and otherwise worked them, massaged and sanitized them for domestic use, for further exploitation and application and for exportation to other similarly-situated universities and centers. Sometimes these knowledges were exported them back to those from whence they had ‘originated,’ albeit in somewhat different forms, now with a ‘western’ onto-epistemological imprint. These exportations, and exterminations, were done through translation, colonization and imperialism.

And though those who heretofore been (viewed as) peripheral in knowledge production globally resisted and subverted knowledge/power inequities through post-colonial and decolonial movements, neoliberalism is seductive and non-transparent and can work unconsciously. Not usually perceived as a political ideology per se, it less easily called out and resisted, whether by nationalist reactionaries or by less astute and critical thinkers (Maldonado-Torres 2007). Neoliberalism has corrupted university intellectual life and remains a persistent threat to academic freedom around the globe.

More work of the type represented by the volume of which this chapter is part are needed to critique and exorcise the damaging neoliberal beliefs, policies and practices both threatening people’s well-being and threatening diverse knowledges and their study. Just as biodiversity safeguards the biosphere, us included, from plagues and pestilence, so too would more diverse knowledge guard against the myopia and hegemony of one or a few onto-epistemologies. Pursuit of diverse knowledge, their teaching and learning, their dissemination and uptake by new generations of

students/scholars, is best when unencumbered by neoliberal economies of mind and matter.

10.10 Conclusions

Universities are many things. The (post)neoliberal imaginary that is the university is contested space; contested within and without, at the individual psycho-political level and at more macro levels, societally and globally. Universities cannot help but play a role in capitalist (and other) systems and schemes: They are a part of them, both influenced by and contributing to these systems. Within capitalist systems, universities are corporations and behave as such. They are comprised of a creative cadre and a techno-administrative one, the latter having grown so large as to overshadow the more creative one. Students must try to negotiate the university's labyrinthine systems, structures, policies and practices. The capitalist and entrepreneurial university assiduously develops, promotes and guards its brand. The brand is an iconic representation of the university and the image it wishes to instill in the minds of the student and potential student (positioned as 'consumers' in neoliberalist terms), the general public, and governing bodies. Universities are of varied types. Some are public, not-for-profit. Others are for-profit and rapacious, going so far as to essentially defraud students (for whom they ought to have fiduciary responsibilities) and the government. Larger, more 'prestigious' universities have incredibly robust foundations built on the largesse of wealthy alumni donors. Many of these hide their monies in off-shore accounts so as to avoid paying taxes, like so many corporations, celebrities, sports stars, tyrannical despots and their families. A clear-eyed and fair critique of the (neoliberal) university ought to allow for its potential and promise. Higher education still permits for social mobility, and mobility of other sorts. Universities still offer haven for dissidents and intellectual refugees, for those who are different and for those who seek knowledge, wisdom and fulfillment, within or despite the maelstrom of neoliberal ideologies buttressing them. But universities are not the only, or even the most prominent of such locales today. Still, they are important sites of critique, of creativity and of free thought, and serve as sites or nodes in far-flung non-linear and adaptive networks of change and innovation. That is some of the work they do, the work that gets done there.

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Chapter 11

Globalisation and Higher Education Policy Reform



W. James Jacob

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

11.1 Introduction

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

W. J. Jacob (✉)
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA

11.2 Organizational Element Shifts

Universities and HEIs are among the oldest organizations on the earth. Traditionally resistant to change, HEIs can take years to begin or finalize a change process. Circumstances that impact one or more of the primary higher education organizational components—*strategy*, *structure*, *technology*, and *culture*—may take months, years, or decades to accomplish recognizable, let alone sustainable, change. These circumstances may stem from necessary changes within a HEI or from one or more external forces. The primary components of organizations do not operate within a political vacuum but rather must conform to one or more political environments. This is especially the case when it comes to the primary organizational elements of HEIs (see Fig. 11.1 below).

Strategy is positioned at the apex of the four-component figure because—at least in theory—strategy should *lead* institutional culture, technology, and structure (Jacob 2009). Most successful higher education administrators recognize the importance of a guiding strategy. Included in this strategy are HEIs’ vision and mission statements, list of core values, strategic plan, and annual operating plans. The political environment has a huge role in the direction of higher education institutional strategy. Higher education strategy traditionally hinges upon the type of HEI. If a HEI is owned and operated by a nongovernmental organization (e.g., for-profit organization or a business, an individual, or a church) then the strategy is largely based upon the sponsoring organization or individual/s’ strategy. Government HEIs generally have guiding strategies in alignment with the current political ideology (Zajda 2020a) Strategic reforms are often required to bring HEIs in alignment with the political environment (Zajda 2020b). These reform efforts may be in direct alignment or contrary to sponsoring organizational strategies.

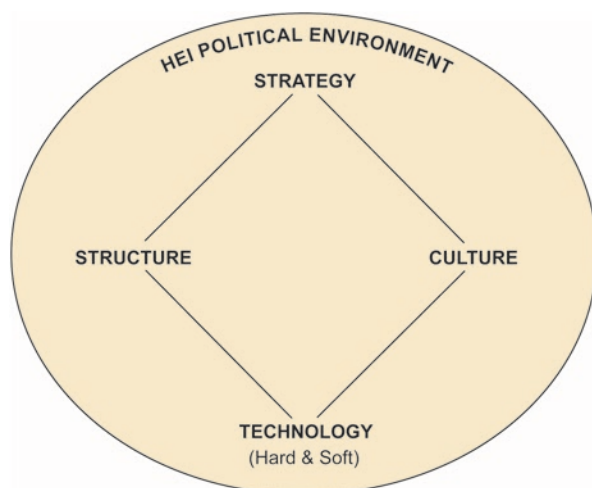


Fig. 11.1 Four essential higher education institutional com

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

Congruence of a HEI's culture with its local and global environment is essential for innovation and adaptation to market needs (Bartell 2003). A strong institutional culture has been likened to a Janusian culture, and is considered by Cameron (1984) as an appropriate culture for HEIs in a dynamic and rapidly changing environment. Incoming students from the so-called e-generation demand a curriculum that best meets their interests and market demands when seeking employment after graduation. Recent global impacts, like the financial crisis of 2007–2008, the COVID-19 pandemic, and other challenges have only exacerbated this cultural shift toward an institutional culture that better incorporates student needs and interests. But it is not always an easy or quick adjustment for every faculty member, administrator, and support staff personnel to adjust to or meet these changing needs.

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

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

Both formal and nonformal organizational structures exist within every HEI. Organizational structures include faculties, schools, departments, centers, and institutes within HEIs. Structures also include the way in which personal and institutional relationships *function* within these same organizational units (faculty

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

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

Global influences have helped change both formal and nonformal higher education institutional structures (Zajda 2014). With the rapid increase in technology communication in recent years—the modes, manners, and speed in which we can communicate with others within our HEIs and across the globe have forever changed—there is an increasing trend to branch out of traditional formal communication and reporting structures. The global financial and COVID-19 crises have implanted an indelible footprint on HEIs. Among the higher education organizational structure shifts resulting from these global disruptions include greater competition for already diminished financial resources and demands for greater outputs from already limited human resource capacity (Jacob and Gokbel 2018, 2020).

11.3 Innovation in Higher Education

Innovation depends on so many factors but the political environment is among the greatest influences that enables or prevents innovation in higher education Fig. 11.2 below provides an overview of the factors necessary to cultivate innovation at the higher education level.

The figure is based upon the overall framework introduced by Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan (1979), with a subjective-objective x-axis and a regulation-change y-axis. Ethics, core values, and human rights are essential elements in both preventive and enabling political environments and should not be compromised regardless of the innovative approach advocated by governments, HEI administrators, faculty members, students, and all others within and who have an influence

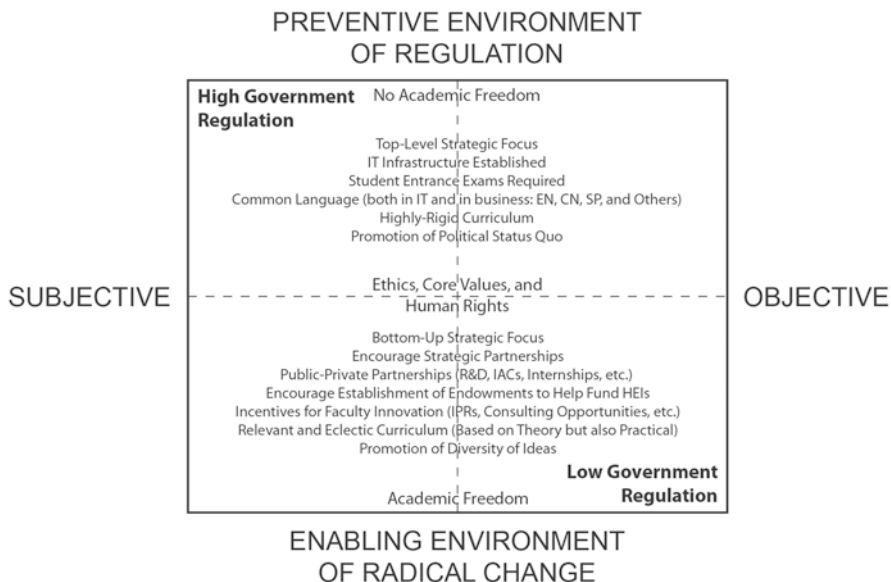


Fig. 11.2 Political environments that lead to innovation in higher education

upon higher education at all levels. Ethics include establishing institutional review boards (IRBs) that ensure all research activities are conducted in accordance to international human rights related to research as outlined in the Nuremberg Code (1948), Declaration of Helsinki (1964),¹ and the *Belmont Report* (1979). Academic freedom differs depending on the country and even within many country contexts. Some governments curtail academic freedoms for various reasons that prevent higher education faculty members and students from researching and publishing about politically-sensitive or -controversial topics, even if their research and publications adhere to the strictest scientific standards and protocols. In this regard academic freedom can be highly regulated or at the center of radical changes in virtually every field of academic study. Academic freedom is widely recognized as a key ingredient to foster innovation in higher education.

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

¹The Helsinki Declaration was subsequently revised in 1975, 1983, 1989, and 1996.

interfere too much with higher education institutional strategies often inadvertently prevent innovation because of too much strategic regulation.

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

Student entrance examinations at the undergraduate level allow the top research universities in the world to be highly selective. Too often, however, required higher education entrance examinations only widens the access and equity gap between those who *have* the ability to pay for their higher education degree/s and those who *do not have* this ability. The student entrance examination requirement is a social justice issue that leaves many ethnic minority and low socioeconomic status students at a disadvantage compared to others. Affirmative action policies help to level the access to higher education playing field but more can and should be done by governments to help the most disadvantaged student groups gain greater access to higher education opportunities.

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

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

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

As centers of knowledge production, reproduction, and innovation, HEIs are often defined by their research and development (R&D) capacity. Funding is an essential component of most research initiatives. Government- and/or private-sponsored R&D in higher education are examples of effective public-private partnerships in an enabling environment. Research is at the heart of higher education. Industry advisory councils (IACs) should be established within each faculty, school, or college within a HEI to help establish public-private partnerships with key stakeholders in industry in both the public and private sectors (Sutin and Jacob 2016).

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

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

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

increasingly needed and sought after withing community engagement relationships in higher education (Jacob et al. 2015).

It is important to note that not all government involvement regulation of the higher education subsector is deemed negative nor are all of the higher education regulation factors listed in Fig. 11.2 entirely negative (both at the subjective and objective ends of the x-axis spectrum), and in some instances greater regulation can encourage greater innovation. If left unchecked, some factors listed in the enabling environment hemisphere can lead to a higher education system that supports an inequitable neoliberal agenda.

11.4 Higher Education Autonomy

Autonomy is where an organization has achieved a state of independence, self-reliance, and sustainable self-governance. An autonomous HEI is an independent and self-reliant institution that is free to establish its own policies, guidelines, curriculum, funding streams, and governance. The goal to achieve greater autonomy is a global trend for HEIs. Many governments are struggling to deal with the task of transitioning toward greater autonomy among higher education institutions that have for decades been highly regulated. The shift toward greater autonomy rarely occurs overnight; most successful autonomy changes take into account the four higher education institutional components as depicted in Fig. 11.1.

An important part of higher education autonomy is the notion of academic freedom. Freedom of expression—both in scholarly writing and in public discourse—is a foundation goal of higher education autonomy. Varying levels of academic freedom exist along an autonomous spectrum, with some HEIs highly centralized compared to others (see the y-axis of regulation in Fig. 11.2). On one side of this spectrum there is little or no academic freedom and on the other side complete freedom. Great strides have been made in recent decades on a global scale, but freedom of expression remains an autonomy stumbling block for many students, faculty members, and administrators.

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

There are too many circumstances and intervening variables involved in the global higher education labyrinth of networks. This labyrinth includes networks from within and without each HEI that prevent even a great wall from successfully

keeping all marauding information out of reach. The global market economy only accentuates these porous borders (Zajda 2015, 2020b).

11.5 Governance Reforms in Higher Education

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

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

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

Four principles of higher education good governance deserve attention in this chapter: *coordination*, *information flow*, *transparency*, and *accountability*. Each of these elements is essential to building a viable HEI. The combination of all four elements produces a model HEI in which good governance synergy can flourish into sustainable quality improvement. The principles of good governance should be embedded in higher education institutional strategic plans and operational plans. A strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) analysis or specific,

measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound (SMART) analysis can help identify specific areas HEIs need to strengthen in order to be more effective. Failure to support and maintain good governance efforts in a HEI can lead to detrimental results. Administrators who elect to ignore these four principles of good governance will do so at their own peril.

11.5.1 Coordination

Higher education good governance starts with coordination. Nowhere is coordination needed more than by higher education administrators and policy makers. The principle of coordination is defined as leadership by example, necessity, and context. In order to be effective, coordination must be first understood (through appropriate information flow mediums) and it must be reciprocal. Effective coordination includes ensuring that diverse and multiple perspectives are included in the coordination process. Where democratic participation is essential in many areas of higher education coordination, other circumstances require alternative coordination leadership styles. The roles of higher education legislative bodies (i.e., university senate and other elected and leadership-appointed committees) are essential coordinating mechanisms within HEIs to establish ownership, stakeholder buy-in, and sustainable change. Boards of directors are important decision making and coordinating groups that can have long-lasting influence on higher education reforms.

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

11.5.2 Information Flow

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

If students are to buy-in and have ownership for higher education policies and procedures at their respective HEIs, they need to first understand the policies and

procedures. This same principle applies to faculty members, administrators, and staff members who need to be informed about their institutional requirements in order to avoid conflict of interest, legal pitfalls, and other requirements unique to HEIs.

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

If used appropriately, information flow can also help higher education administrators get a message out to all key stakeholders as well as the public. This includes helping to dispel inappropriate gossip or rumors before they get out of hand or countering an inaccurate media report about your HEI by publishing a press release or news conference on the controversial topic or issue. Successful brand name recognition comes from mastering the principle of information flow.

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

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

11.5.3 Transparency

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

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

11.5.4 Accountability

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

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

Ethical leadership is a growing field in management studies and is an increasingly important characteristic employers look for when interviewing recent higher education graduates (Cavaliere et al. 2010; Liveris 2011). In the post-Enron world

we live in, the foundational accountability characteristic of ethical leadership will continue to be a key characteristic for higher education leaders and graduates.

11.6 Quality Assurance

Global standards in higher education require HEIs to adjust and meet these standards or in many cases be left behind. Quality assurance and quality improvement initiatives are at the forefront of government and profession-based attempts to provide global national and global standards of excellence. Most countries have established national policies regulating the training of teachers, medical doctors, and lawyers. In some instances accreditation of these and other professions is maintained by government agencies. In other contexts independent accreditation agencies provide this role. In some instances both government and independent accreditation is sought after, especially for HEIs desiring to achieve world-class status (Bigalke and Neubauer 2009; Zajda 2010, 2020b).

Striving for excellence is not always an easy task and often takes a significant investment in limited resources (time, money, and leadership at all levels). Quality assurance in higher education stems from a rich literature of quality assurance programs that originated in business and medical fields (Doherty 2008). The term *quality* is context dependent and often political by nature. Sustainable higher education quality assurance initiatives should take into account the four principles of good governance and work within the framework of the four essential higher education institutional components outline in Fig. 11.1.

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

Governments with a long-term objective to join the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) must meet the requirements outlined by the European Union, which is based on the *Bologna Magna Charta*.² This is no easy task and often takes

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

substantial curricular adjustments for countries which have expressed a desire to join the European Union, including Kosovo, Romania, and Turkey. Meeting the EU higher education standards requires substantial quality assurance procedures and practices to be put in place and to ensure that all of the Bologna Process and the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) Programme standards are met for student and faculty mobility, teaching, research, articulation of coursework through the European Credit and Accumulation System (ECTS), and recognition by other EU member states of student degrees upon graduation.

National and global rankings are becoming increasingly political and are often perceived to be linked to higher education institutional quality, regardless of the methods employed by the ranking institution (Deem et al. 2009; Portnoi et al. 2010). Brand-name recognition tends to be linked in many ways to global rankings, especially for the top-tiered research universities. Among the most influential ranking systems include the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education's *Academic Ranking of World Universities*, the *Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings*, and QS Rankings by QS Quacquarelli Symonds Ltd. often influence senior administration decisions on what quality improvement foci should be made as part of strategic planning and quality assurance initiatives in the future (Hou and Jacob 2017).

11.7 Conclusion

Higher education reforms are often linked to global markets and technology changes. Global, regional, national, and local factors are all relevant in shaping the political reform efforts in higher education. In this chapter I have identified and discussed several leading higher education policy reform trends at the global level. Each policy reform must take into account certain institutional elements common among all HEIs—strategy, culture, technology, and structure. Strategy is at the forefront of most significant and sustained higher education changes. Innovation trends in higher education—where HEIs are traditionally viewed as centers of innovation, R&D, and technology transfer—as outlined in Fig. 11.2 and emphasize the need for a greater balance between government regulation and enabling environments that foster creativity and innovation. At no time should matters of human rights, research ethics, and core values be compromised regardless of the innovative outcome.

Academic freedom is central to many higher education policy reform efforts and results of academic freedom can be viewed along a spectrum of options depending on the national and institutional contexts. Quality assurance is at the forefront of

most policy reform efforts, among which include the four principles of good governance: coordination, information flow, transparency, and accountability.

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

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Chapter 12

Pursuing Policy Alignments for World-Class Economic and Educational Performance in the Greater Bay Area of China



Anatoly Oleksiyenko and Jie Liu

Abstract Regional innovation is increasingly dependent on learning from modernization-driven jurisdictions (Caniëls and van den Bosch, *Pap Reg Sci* 90:271–285, 2011; Schulte, *Nordic J Stud Educ Policy*:1–13, 2018), and the Province of Guangdong, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and Macau Special Administrative Region of China in various ways succeeded to employ experiences and links from advanced economic and education agencies across the globe (Fu, *Oxf Dev Stud* 36:89–110, 2008; Henning and Ulrike, *Asian J Technol Innov* 17:101–128, 2009; Cai and Liu, *Sci Public Policy* 42:1–15, 2014). In this chapter, we are examining how policy alignments oriented at globally-competitive performers have been contributing to innovation and how alignment of economic and education agendas has been driving the emergence of a Greater Bay Area of China (GBAC). In particular, we analyse cross-jurisdictional dynamics seeking to reinforce cumulative advantages for universities in the region. Concurrently, we outline a range of challenges faced by political, economic and education stakeholders in various jurisdictions at times when they are forced for harmonization of policies and agendas.

12.1 Introduction

Local and global collaborations in Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou and Shenzhen have been arguably contributing to a greater prosperity and innovation in the Greater Bay Area of China (GBAC) (CDI n.d; Cheng et al. 2016; SCMP, October 10, 2017; China Daily, November 29, 2017, August 10, 2018a; HKTDC, December 10, 2018b; Summers 2018). The impressive economic progress of Guangdong Province, driving the rise of China at large, is particularly indicative of what can be achieved

A. Oleksiyenko (✉) · J. Liu
University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong

through cross-border integration of ideas, talents and innovative models that pursue world-class performance. Unlike its counterparts with the legacy of closed and over-regulated economies, Guangdong (and in particular its two major cities – Guangzhou and Shenzhen) was quick in adopting the globally-competitive knowledge- and innovation-oriented market economy (also see the discussion in World Bank and Development Research Center of the State Council 2013; Zajda 2015; Wei et al. 2017; Hong 2018). Universities in Guangzhou and Shenzhen have been increasingly collaborating with the world-class universities in Hong Kong while drawing on the latter’s high-skilled and mobile faculty members, students, and knowledge products. Hong Kong used to inspire the greater region for world-class entrepreneurialism, trade, and higher learning through intense fluency in the global language of commerce, rule of law, logistics, as well as incorporation of the global standards of performance (Zajda 2020).

Alas, cross-border collaborations have also exposed inequalities in the policy agendas across the region. For example, while Hong Kongese firms and universities have developed global power and reputation, their counterparts across the border have been lagging in their internationalization to upgrade them for the world-class performance. Very few Guangdong-based universities progressed in transformations for global impact in their academic research and graduate training. While economic agencies in the province were borrowing and replicating western technologies, it appeared that the innovative S&T had no adequate ground for the growth of a “creative class” (as defined by Richard Florida), which actually flourished alongside in Hong Kong. Traditionally, most Guangdong’s universities have been playing provincial rather than global roles. At the time, when China raised its aspirations for influence in the Belt and Road partner countries, universities of Guangdong were called for a much bigger university mission (Welch and Hao 2013; Hou et al. 2014; Yang 2019). The conceptualization of the Chinese leadership globally has become increasingly important for many academic players in the region.

In this chapter, we examine how this conceptualization was evolving the educational and economic agendas in the region, how different political and economic players appeared to contribute to policy coordination for world-class performance, and what challenges they confronted on the way (Zajda and Rust 2016; Zajda 2020).

12.2 Cross-Border Collaborations and Innovation Interdependencies

Globally, economic and education agencies have been increasingly engulfed in cross-border collaborations that radically change their institutional characters (Clark and Tracey 2004; Schofer and Meyer 2005; University of Oxford n.d.; Gleason 2018; Advance HE, July 4, 2018). From being purely academic, higher education collaborations have shifted to engage industrial and governmental stakeholders at home and abroad (Helms and Rumbley 2017; de Wit 2017; Stigger 2018; Ma 2018). The triple helices emerged to restructure governance, academic

performance and student mobility in order to empower entrepreneurial solutions (Chao 2018; Hu and Chen 2018; Jung et al. 2018; Postiglione & Altbach, 2017; Shin et al. 2018; Ulrich 2018). Many agencies were bound to find strategic linkages and enhance their collaborative capacities for global competition (Hu and Mathews 2008; Fabrizio 2009; Goddard et al. 2012; Herstad et al. 2014; Nicholls-Nixon et al. 2018; Oleksiyenko 2019).

The most vexing conundrum for universities in China has been in redressing the regional inequalities and agency asymmetries. Different jurisdictions showed to have disparate capacities for innovation. Some regions were faster than others in engaging technologies and methodologies offered by global partnerships. They learned and earned more through simultaneous internationalization and commercialization of university products and services (Yang 2005, 2018). The innovative regions pushed for more institutional changes, and hence demanded a globally-competitive output in knowledge products, human resource development and cross-sectoral commitments. Offshore campuses and cross-campus collaborations became visible manifestations of strategic internationalization challenging the previous institutional norms of sporadic academic rendezvous (Montgomery 2016; Yang 2005).

In many cases, innovation appeared to evolve uneasily in the process of internationalization as university stakeholders deal with a complex gamut of competing interests: e.g., disparate industrial, cultural, and ideological commitments and demands (Altbach 2003; Barbara 2016; Fugazzotto 2012; Manning 2017). The innovation-oriented internationalization calls for sufficient absorptive capacity of both institutional and human agencies to deal with new-fangled knowledge flows which are often overwhelming or deceptive (Cohen and Levinthal 1989; Brennan et al. 2014; Aghion and Jaravel 2015). Cultural differences, institutional legacies, and competing personal interests often cause misalignments of policy development and outcomes in the glonacal agency of local and international collaborations (Jones and Oleksiyenko 2011; Oleksiyenko 2018). These complexities aggravate with the change of organizational norms and performance standards – for example, inequalities and resentment arise across stakeholder groups and trigger misalignments in the greater construct of international relations (Crescenzi and Rodríguez-Pose 2017; Oleksiyenko and Sa 2010; Oleksiyenko 2019).

Despite the challenges, most internationalization studies are hopeful about the nature of cross-border collaborations contributing to a common good. In the greater scheme of changes, research internationalization showed to be increasingly crucial for innovative learning of both university staff and students (Chao 2018; Woldegiyorgis et al. 2018). When properly designed, policies and mechanisms of international collaborations often aim at sustaining institutional reputation and increasing academic excellence (Tsuruta 2013; Bano and Taylor 2015; Adams 2017; Vabø 2017). As universities and academics reach out for strategic partnerships with renowned counterparts abroad, they also seek to develop more impact at home as much as abroad. Provided that governmental, economic and educational institutions can leverage growth/share mechanisms for the benefit of the greater region (Oleksiyenko 2012), the spread and interplay of internationalization and innovation can benefit a greater network of players in the region too.

12.3 Cross-Border Synergies: The Emergence of a Great Bay Area of China

In the beginning of the twenty-first century, many Chinese stakeholders appeared to be strategic in restructuring their resource schemes to increase productivity and improve their image and attractiveness globally (Hu and Chen 2018). Their economic collaborations with world-class corporations in the US and Europe were creating resources for prominent provinces and cities. Influential governmental stakeholders were proactive in advancing the concept of world-class performance while encouraging their universities and colleges to become more engaged internationally (Salmi 2009; Luo 2013; Shin et al. 2015). Many higher education institutions were impelled to upgrade capacity and quality of their research, teaching and service (Mok and Han 2017; Park 2018). Some sought cross-border collaborations of scientists and entrepreneurs in order to enhance world-class performance (Postiglione and Altbach 2017).

Regional collaborations were particularly viewed as a critical resource for innovative development. The regional collaborations are however complex and challenging in light of the policies and practices emerging in the cross-jurisdictional expectations and practices (Pinheiro et al. 2012). In the following sections, we illustrate this complexity through a range of alignments which were pursued structurally but were hard to achieve culturally. At the time, when we were finalizing this case, Hong Kong and China had heated debates about the genuine prospects of the whole idea of harmonization in the region. The expectations of creating a common economic and educational area, which would have global influence, appeared to wane due to the crisis caused by misalignments in public and governmental expectations of the future of the GBAC, as much as of the “one country, two systems” model. We examine these tensions at the three levels: superstructure (governmental policies), structure (institutional strategy development), and understructure (implementation at the level of academic units).

12.3.1 *Super-Structure Alignments and Misalignments*

Superstructure-level policies in GBAC have been driven by a gamut of governmental agencies that stimulated regional collaboration for innovation, while fusing the knowledge economy resources generated by Hong Kong and Macau and the manufacturing capacities of Guangdong province. The regional collaboration was viewed as even more important when Beijing aspired to benchmark the Chinese investment capacity among the countries of “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR) project seeking foreign direct investments (FDI) from the new world economy. Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macau were among very few jurisdictions in China that successfully absorbed FDI from the US and other western countries in the past. Moving westward to spread their economic influence as well as to promote the success story of

the “developing country” among other developing countries in Eurasia seemed like a profitable strategy for GBAC. Besides, China was optimistic about doing that with the help of its world cities – Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Shenzhen – the locomotives of economic growth in the country and in East Asia. Hong Kong alone could champion its global image of success regionally while enjoying for many years the status of the world city second only to London and New York (GaWC, November 13, 2018). Unsurprisingly, Hong Kong was among the first to sign an agreement on advancing the special administrative regions’ “*full participation in and contribution to the Belt and Road Initiative*” (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, November 14, 2017b). The agreement emphasized the importance of exchanges between academic institutions and enterprises in the context of OBOR international collaborations, as well as optimization of teaching and research conditions, in support of international exchange and activities.

In 2019, the PRC State Council released ‘*An Outline of the Development Plan for the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area*’ (in Chinese 《粵港澳大灣區發展規劃綱要》) encouraging international technology exchange with the help of the already established world-class laboratories and research centers in the region (Chen and Yan, January 28, 2019; China Daily, February 20, 2019a; Sharif and Tang 2014; The Hong Kong Academy of Engineering Sciences et al. 2017). The State Council also put emphasis on Hong Kong’s role as a center of excellence in international finance, trade and logistics, thriving on maritime and air-transportation, and engaging two other centers – Guangzhou and Shenzhen – through high-speed rail connection to facilitate a greater mobility of human resources, talents and innovation technologies. At the same time, the PRC sought opportunities to invest in the expansion of Shenzhen-based universities and branch campuses to increase the value added of the emerging triangle (Harbour Times, June 12, 2018; People’s Daily, March 1, 2019).

The ‘*Framework Agreement on Deepening Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Cooperation in the Development of the Greater Bay Area*’ further expanded the regional dimensions by facilitating jurisdictional collaborations, including Macao, on R&D topics of interest to the entire region: e.g., “infrastructure connectivity”, “market integration”, “technology and innovation”, “modernization and industrialization”, “quality living circle”, “international cooperation”, and “cooperation platforms” (National Development and Reform Commission et al., July 1, 2017; KPMG 2018). The emphasis on regional connectivity for innovation has also appeared in the ‘*Action Plan for Innovation of Artificial Intelligence in Higher Education*’ (in Chinese 《高等學校人工智能創新行動計劃》) (The Ministry of Education, April 3, 2018). The plan envisioned the increasing university-industry collaborations and urged investment into the following seven domains: AI Education, AI Manufacture, AI Healthcare, Smart City, AI Agriculture, AI Finance, AI Judiciary (see China Institute for Science and Technology Policy at Tsinghua University 2018; also in New America, February 28, 2018; The Ministry of Education, April 3, 2018; Deloitte, April 25, 2019).

The higher education agendas of the collaborating jurisdictions began to integrate a greater volume of rhetoric on the regional exchange of ideas and research

projects. For example, The Hong Kong SAR Government and the Government of Guangdong Province signed such agreements as ‘*Memorandum of Understanding on Strengthening Higher Education Cooperation between Guangdong and Hong Kong*’ (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, July 1, 2017a), ‘*Co-operation Arrangement on Technology and Innovation Exchange between Guangdong and Hong Kong*’ (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, October 10, 2018; Legislative Council, October 16, 2018), ‘*Agreement on Guangdong/Hong Kong Co-operation on Intellectual Property Protection (2017-18)*’ (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, November 18, 2017c) and the ‘*Framework Agreement on Cooperation between Guangdong and Hong Kong*’ (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, May 16, 2019). Higher education institutions and research centers were encouraged to initiate innovative S&T projects that could be co-funded and technically facilitated by both Guangdong and Hong Kong governments (Sharma, May 17, 2018; HKTDC, July 25, 2018a). In the follow-up, the Shenzhen Science and Technology Innovation Commission (SZSTI) invited direct applications from universities in Hong Kong for the Shenzhen/Hong Kong Innovation Circle Programme (Type D) [深港創新圈D類項目]. The scheme promised to provide up to \$3 M RMB per a research project in such areas as Internet of Things, Big Data, Cloud Computing, Artificial Intelligence, Integrated Circuits, New Displays, Information Security, 5G, Quantum Information, third Generation Semiconductors, Medical Biotechnology, Medical Devices, Technology in Population Healthcare, Water Management and Ecological Restoration, Air Pollution and Ozone Pollution, Agricultural Biological Breeding, Graphene Materials, Advanced Electronic Information Materials, Display Materials, New Energy Materials, High Performance Polymer Materials, Hydrogen Energy and Fuel Cells, Robotics and Smart Equipment, Intelligent Unmanned Systems, Additive Manufacturing and Laser Manufacturing. Excited about growth opportunities, both local and international stakeholders expressed hopes about the research projects (Deloitte 2018; The Ministry of Education, January 30, 2019; Technode, March 4, 2019).

As reporters from the seminar organized by the Department of Education of Guangdong Province (March 23–25, 2018) remarked, the synergistic development of the GBAC’s education and economic innovation was increasingly perceived as crucial to developmental strategies of the nation and the GBAC (Department of Education of Guangdong Province, March 26, 2018a; Guangdong Academy of Education, August 22, 2018). Financial and technological collaborations were placed in the center of the regional discussion emphasizing the importance of sharing tertiary education resources, the internationalization of higher education, the systematization of professional education as well as the improvement of postgraduate education in the PRC (Department of Education of Guangdong Province, August 2, 2018b, November 24, 2018c, May 23, 2019).

Whereas Chinese policymakers aspired to make a rapid transition from ‘made in China’ to ‘created in China’, there was also more stakeholder convergence expected around the PRC’s “planning optimism”. The top-down approach was however coming into conflict with the chaotic and experimental environment required by

innovation. Some analysts argued that the Chinese reformers accordingly sought to prioritize local experiments driven by ‘grassroots perspectives’. “De-administration” became one of the buzzwords aimed at reducing bureaucracy and encouraging self-governance. At the same time, the emphasis was placed on world-class institutions, implying changes in the style of management to facilitate ground-up initiatives and organizational modernization (Sharma 2017).

The collaborations of various types of institutions in the GBAC were arguably stimulating a range of innovative activities leading to commercialization of knowledge products and facilitating their ‘global competitiveness’. According to Guangzhou Daily Data & Digit Institute (September 20, 2018b), GBAC patents grew annually by 33.10% between 2013 and 2017 (see Fig. 12.1). Compared to bay-areas in New York, San Francisco and Tokyo, GBAC appeared to benefit from an upward trend regarding the total number of patents registered (see Fig. 12.2). While the increase might have corresponded with the Chinese government pressures on foreign collaborators in China to transfer their technology licenses, often beyond their will (Cai, January 10, 2019), in general we can also observe a high rate of release in patents in Hong Kong where the rule of law and anti-corruption campaigns were uncompromised during that time (see Fig. 12.3).

Despite some indicators of positive outcomes, the region also experienced an increasing concern about pressures for “cross-jurisdictional harmonization”. To surpass other bay-areas, GBAC was argued to benefit from establishing “a globally competitive economic cluster” where “tax tariffs, currencies, and legal and political systems” could be harmonized. However, the economic agenda interests largely disregarded the socio-cultural agenda concerns that significantly differed across the jurisdictions. For example, Hong Kong residents had a growing anxiety about the dilution of the city’s identity and status within the province of Guangdong (Wong, December 26, 2017; Xiao and Zhou, January 16, 2019). Some argued that Hong Kong’s post-1997 re-integration was too fast and impertinent. The 1997 Sino-British Joint Declaration facilitated the launch of “one country, two systems” model allowing for the previous capitalist system and lifestyle of Hong Kong to stay unchanged

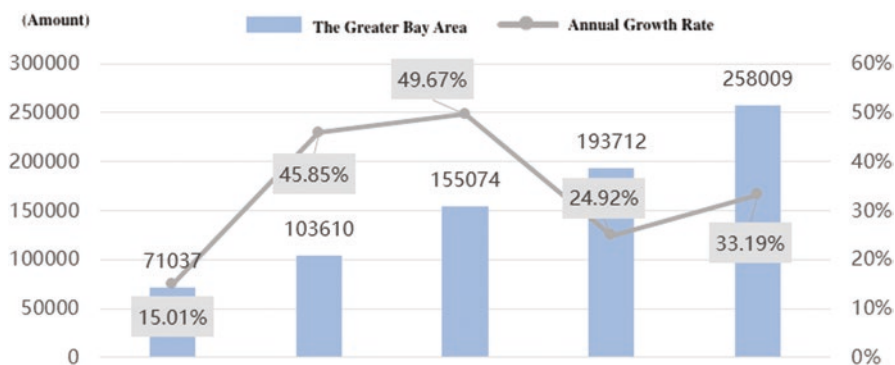


Fig. 12.1 Totality of patents for innovation: The Greater Bay Area

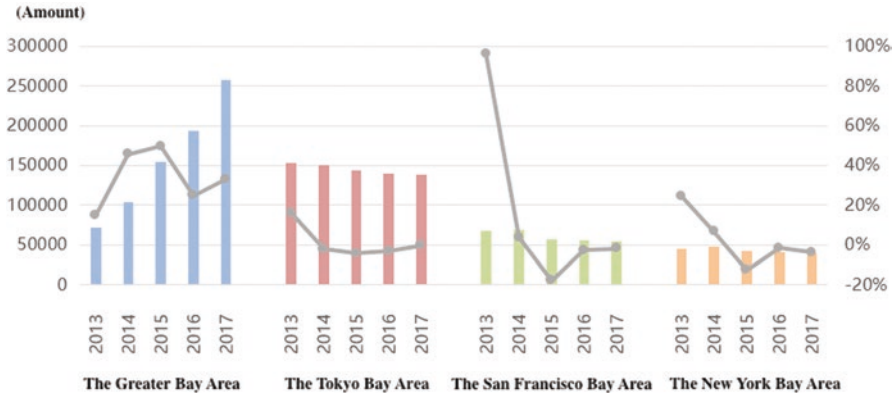


Fig. 12.2 Totality of patents for innovation: comparisons among the Major Four Bay Area in the World

Source: The Collaborative Innovation and Development Report of the Great Bay Area (2018) 《粤港澳大湾区协同创新发展报告(2018)》



Fig. 12.3 Totality of research-intelligence-related patents in different cities: The Greater Bay Area
Source: The Collaborative Innovation and Development Report of the Great Bay Area (2018) (《粤港澳大湾区协同创新发展报告(2018)》)

for 50 years upon transfer of the city under the authority of the Central People’s Government of the PRC. The process of integration appeared to be rough while the two systems struggled to harmonize political and cultural differences due to their own style (Lui 2015; Law 2019). In fact, the harmonization demands began to lead to de-harmonization as was witnessed during the 2014 Umbrella Revolution.

The divisions grew in the Hong Kongese society after the Revolution, and the debates increased about the role of education in the integrative processes. For example, the liberal arts education was challenged as a cause of the social movements, and was lobbied to leave the mandatory exam list for the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education, while giving more space for patriotic education instilling communist values (Chiu 2018; Cheung, March 4, 2019; Law 2019). Pro-Beijing stakeholders appeared to deny freedoms in interpretation of the Chinese culture, politics, religions and communities while seeding more anxiety among Hongkongese youth about the future of democracy in the autonomous jurisdiction. The pro-democracy Hong Kongers' disquiets have further grown after Beijing insisted on introducing the extradition bill which would practically begin to harmonize the legal systems across the borders and thus accelerate moving the full jurisdictional authority to the PRC. The summer of 2019 became a major battleground for democratic Hong Kong while the city submerged into violence, bloodshed and enhanced police control over the public space and mobility. Numbers of inbound international investors, visitors and students began to decline while raising concerns not only about the political future but also about the economic sustainability of Hong Kong, and the region in general.

12.3.2 Structure-Level Alignments and Misalignments

Super-structure policy alignments appeared to have corresponding changes at the institutional level. Over the last decade, we have also observed a range of policy alignments across universities in the region. The University Alliance of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao provides an interesting reflection on policy coordination in that regard. The Alliance came to life around the same time as GBAC and included 28 elite universities becoming part of 'One-hour Academic Circle' project (People's Daily, November 16, 2016; University of Macau n.d.). The "circle" implied the physical proximity of GBAC campuses allowing scholars and students to commute to each other's campuses within 1 h. According to Huang (2016a, b), the proximity meant greater "frequency and thoroughness" in the network activities. The circle was also spearheading possibilities for knowledge transfer among more advanced campuses in Hong Kong and their less developed counterparts in Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Thus the number of postgraduate students (and especially doctoral degree students) from leading universities of Guangdong increased in Hong Kong's world-class universities as the Hong Kongese government increased funding for PhD Scholarships. Encouraging the spread of the world-class research and teaching capacities in the region, the University Alliance thus emerged to position itself for powerful networking in higher learning and innovation. Macao Higher Education Magazine (2017), for example, has emphasized that the alliance intends to 'integrate and optimize' elite higher education institutions' remarkable "educational resources" in the three jurisdictions.

At a closer look, the Alliance comprised unequal partners for effective collaborations to happen. First of all, the Alliance does engage universities – 9 in Guangzhou, 9 in Hong Kong, 7 in Macao, and 2 in Shenzhen. However, the first tier of such universities (globally-ranked) includes five University Grant Council (UGC)-funded universities in Hong Kong (e.g., University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the City University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University), and only two in Guangzhou in the ‘Double World-Class’ lists (the Sun Yat-sen University and the South China University of Technology). The second-tier included the other three UGC-funded universities in Hong Kong (i.e., Hong Kong Baptist University, the Education University of Hong Kong, Lingnan University), one university in Macau (the University of Macau), and other provincial institutions of higher learning. While the PRC Ministry of Education had admitted 8 Sino-foreign higher education institutions in Guangdong Province, none of them became the member of the University Alliance. Last but not the least, the third tier consisted of less prominent regional players such as Macau University of Science and Technology, City University of Macau, University of Saint Joseph, as well as a range of provincial universities.

These three tiers were viewed as playing different roles in the collaborative design of the region. Tiering was arguably beneficial. Thus, the first-tier universities were perceived as working together to cultivate innovative talents of world-class category while setting academic standards for top-notch research and education supporting the regional knowledge-based economy (Nanfang Daily, November 17, 2018). For that purpose they could probably benefit from establishing professional sub-alliances (e.g., engineering, medicine, education etc.) spanning related contributors from across the three layers (Xu 2018; Jiao 2018). The world-class universities themselves aspired to establish collaborative research groups as well as programs to share resources (The Chinese University of Hong Kong n.d.). Through these collaborations, the second-tier and third-tier institutions could certainly improve their standing in global competition (Jiao 2018). However, the first-tier collaborators (especially in sciences) saw lesser value and more drudgery from lower-status engagements (Chan 2018; Li and Liu 2018).

The University Alliance is however more eclectic than structured. Having analyzed institutional statements of the University Alliance members, we observe growing pro-innovation and pro-collaboration rhetoric in the institutional mission statements. For example, some presidential addresses also signaled interest in the regional collaboration for innovation and some emphasized commitment to the world-class performance standards (see Table 12.1 below). In general, optimistic intentions prevail over outcomes accounts, which is explained by the early stages in making the GBAC collaborations happen.

Let us look closer at some synergy effects emerging in the first tier of the University Alliance. Hong Kong’s UGC, for example, noted that the UGC-funded universities in Hong Kong had been increasingly drawn into the orbit of the ‘tripartite’ cross-border schemes (UGC, September 11, 2018). In 2017, the UGC invested

Table 12.1 Mission statements of the alliance's members

Member	Mission statement (related to the GBAC)
Guangzhou	
Sun Yat-sen University	“cultivate more talents who are moral and innovative for the GBAC”, “initiate fundamental researches for more innovative results”, “open up and cooperate for aggregating more innovative resources” (Message from President LUO Jun)
South China University of Technology	“deepening collaborations, generating breakthroughs of science, technology and innovation and transforming them”, “SCUT Guangzhou International Campus intends to attract and cultivate talents and professors, whilst SCUT jointly establishes the Guangzhou Think Tank” (Message from President GAO Song)
Jinan University	“enhancing the strength of talents”, “proceed to collaborate with higher education institutions in the GBAC, and serve its internationalization and the ‘Belt and Road’ Initiative implementation”, “the Panyu Campus serves the innovation-oriented development of the GBAC, with numerous advanced research institutes and think tanks” (Message from President SONG Xianzhong)
South China Agricultural University	“serve the GBAC’s development, providing a historic opportunity for higher education institutions’ connotative developments”, “deepen cooperation with higher education institutions in Hong Kong and Macao”, “jointly explore new cooperation mechanisms for talent cultivation, collaborative education and research institutions developments” (Message from President LIU Yahong)
Southern Medical University	“construct channels, platforms, projects and modes to exert the foremost advantages of the GBAC”, “leverage the University’s strengths and participate in the service of the GBAC, especially in health care”, “accelerate the construction of Joint Research Center for Brain Science of the GBAC”, “aggregate talents from the three jurisdictions, and jointly initiate scientific research and talent cultivation”, “practically explore new mechanisms, methods and modes of higher education’s synergistic development in the GBAC and serve the GBAC’s development” (School News)
Guangzhou University of Chinese Medicine	“actively propel synergistic innovation and the transformation of scientific and technological results, for serving regional economy”, “leverage geographical and cultural strengths to serve the ‘Belt and Road’ Initiative and the GBAC”, “nurture talents, cooperate and conduct exchanges with universities in the GBAC, in terms of Traditional Chinese Medicine”, promote innovation and internationalization of the GBAC and itself grounded on its joint laboratories. (From the University Overview)
South China Normal University	“strengthen education and research for constructing a think tank and establishing a number of educational development institutes (centers) in the GBAC”, “serve the educational development in Hong Kong and Macao” (e. g., SCNU has been one of the three major forces of Macao teachers). (Overview)
Guangdong University of Technology	“coordinate the University’s services for the construction of the GBAC”, “strengthen cooperation with higher education institutions and research institutes in Hong Kong and Macao”, “cultivate and aggregate talents with international outlook, solid foundation and innovative competency” (Message from President CHEN Xin)

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Member	Mission statement (related to the GBAC)
Guangdong University of Foreign Studies	“exert significant influence in academic research, policy consulting and talent cultivating, via Institute of Studies for the Greater Bay Area (Guangdong, Hong-Kong, Macau)”, “cooperate with Southern Finance Media Group for establishing the alliance of think tank in the GBAC”, “capitalize the significant role of translation discipline and collaborate with higher education institutions in the Hong Kong and Macao, for establishing a research and education community of translation technology”, “explore new mechanism of talent training for industrial development, and thoroughly integrate translation disciplines and cutting-edge technologies” (School News)
Hong Kong	
The Chinese University of Hong Kong	“zealously participate in constructing the GBAC’s industry-university-research linkages”, “formulate policies and blueprints to completely achieve complementary advantages of the GBAC”, “seize opportunities and prepare for challenges”, “improve competitiveness and influence of higher education” (Message from President Rocky S. TUAN)
The University of Hong Kong	“converge internationalization, innovation and interdisciplinarity for enhance global impact (so-called ‘3+1 Is’ Vision). For instance, collaboration participation, research endeavors (innovative, translational and transformational) and professionals nurturing will ultimately enable the University of Hong Kong (HKU) to be supreme in the academic world”, “synergize rich Mainland and international strengths, experiences, and networks to augment opportunities in teaching & learning, research and knowledge exchange”, “embrace diversity, show inclusiveness, and disperse the benefit of internationalization in the GBAC” (Vision Statement)
The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	“synergistically bring its vision and teaching experience” into its Guangzhou campus and “leverage the mature industrial chain there, facilitating transformations of research achievements and innovative ideas; and encourage student exchange and resource sharing, beneficial to the science and technology development in the GBAC”, “work with Fok Ying Tung Research Institute and Shenzhen Research Institute to foster innovative talents with global vision for the GBAC”, “HKUST-WeBank Joint Laboratory” serves as “a high-level collaborative innovation platform enterprises, universities and research institutes, nurturing talents, exploring cutting-edge technologies, and promoting knowledge transfer in the GBAC” (Greater Bay Development)
The City University of Hong Kong	“extend the its research influence in the GBAC” via its “Shenzhen Research Institute”; “strengthen and leverage local, regional, and international partnerships in industry and higher education to provide more opportunities for enriching teaching and learning”, “capitalize on close connections with the Mainland government, industry and universities to collaboratively develop innovation and knowledge transfer”, “cooperate with leading companies in the GBAC and facilitate entrepreneurship, technology ventures as well as industry engagement, to not only enhance economic and societal impact of the GBAC, but also build Hong Kong as a global hub for research and innovation” (Strategic Plan 2015-2020)

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Member	Mission statement (related to the GBAC)
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University	“leverage its precursory significance and reinforce and amplify its leadership role, in mainland China, the ‘Belt and Road’ Initiative, and the GBAC”, “develop the GBAC and raise research funding from it” (e. g., the Shenzhen Base), “emphasize on strengthening internationalization and nation engagements, and further enhance education, research, and knowledge transfer” (Shaping the future: Strategic plan (2019/20-2024/25))
Hong Kong Baptist University	“optimize student experience and upgrade research excellence, evolving knowledge transfer and academic leadership for the development of the GBAC”, “provide research-led curricula, cross-cultural learnings, innovative methods, and common good for students”, “collaboratively produce world-class researches and tackle problems for the GBAC with focused resources and strategic collaborations”, “allocate resources in humankinds, management and facilities for sustaining academic excellence in the GBAC” (Strategic Plan 2018–2018)
The Education University of Hong Kong	“capitalize the GBAC network for ‘expanding its partnerships, collaborations and links’ and ‘creating opportunities for research and knowledge transfer’”, “identify research partners and develop longer-term partnerships with higher education institutions and organizations in the GBAC, and boost collaborative research especially in Education, Humanities and Social Sciences”, “expand and diversify funding sources like investments from the GBAC, for long-term sustainability” (Strategic Plan 2016–2025)
Lingnan University Hong Kong	“jointly offer a global elite liberal arts programme with elite universities in the GBAC for attracting top students”, “collaborate with elite universities in the GBAC to promote its postgraduate education and academic excellence enhancements”, “consolidate research strengths and promote closer connections with elite universities as well as ‘regional and international cooperation in attaining research excellence and the internationalisation of student learning’” (2016-2022 Strategic Plan)
The Open University of Hong Kong	“optimize learning, knowledge, and research and highlight practical and professional programmes, so as to fulfill students’ aspirations and cultivate talents for the GBAC”, “fetishize innovative teaching and utilize educational technologies to conduct world-class education, adherent to its core values – ‘fairness, integrity, perseverance, and innovation’”, “provide excellent education programmes through innovative pedagogies, preparing graduates for challenges and opportunities in the GBAC”, “encourage students to partake in exchanges to higher education institutions in the GBAC, for generating a better understanding of the state” (Strategic Plan 2019–2023)
Macao	
University of Macau	“leverage strengths in the West Bank of the GBAC to not only collaborate with higher education institutions in the GBAC, but also attain research funding from the Mainland”, “make a strenuous effort to assume the role of innovation-and-technology center and cultivating base for talents; emphasize on technology, innovation and higher education” (Message from President SONG Yonghua)

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Member	Mission statement (related to the GBAC)
University of Saint Joseph	“provide the highest international academic standards”, “foster social development, preserving the cultural tradition of Macao”, “contribute to Macao as an international platform, especially between China and Portuguese-speaking countries” (Strategic Development Plan 2019-2023)
Kiang Wu Nursing College of Macau	“development strategies for the first five years (2015–2020) comprises student-intake expansion and programme diversification, quality-assurance enhancement and management internationalization, teaching-research-service integration, and regional-cooperation-and-internationalization acceleration”, “intensify educational and research cooperation with Guangdong”, “explore teaching venue in the GBAC (outside Macao), providing programmes in international standards” (Ten Year Plan)
Institute for Tourism Studies	“provide internationally recognized training and fulfill needs in tourism and hospitality industry”, promote Macao’s position – World Center of Tourism and Leisure, “with a dynamic and innovative mechanism” (Message from President Fanny C. K. VONG)
City University of Macau	“Funded by National Philosophy and Social Science Fund, the University will conduct research projects with the commitment – ‘Rooted in Macau and Serving the Region’”, “Keeping pace with needs of social and economic developments, the University will nurture prospective pillars of society, grounded on the development of GBAC” (Video Introduction of CityU)
Macao University of Science and Technology	“recognize international tendencies and globalization as critical impetuses of innovation in higher education”, “endorse internationalization activities”, “incorporate commitment into the mission that constitutes familiar and extensive relationships and services to the GBAC”, “cooperate with higher education institutions in the GBAC in fostering pillars of society, being more independent of foreign experts” (Strategic Plan 2014–2020)
Macao Polytechnic Institute	“align with the ‘Belt and Road’ Initiative, the grand vision of the GBAC, and the development of ‘One Center, One Platform’”, “nurture talents in Chinese, Portuguese and technological innovations, gradually emerging as a talent base that enhances Macao’s international status”, “apply innovative technologies to solve language problems arising from cooperation between three jurisdictions, and jointly develop the GBAC into an ‘International Innovation Center of Science and Technology’” (e. g., the Sino-Portuguese machine translation laboratory) (Message from President Marcus S. K. IM)
Shenzhen	
Shenzhen University	“establish the ‘Shenzhen Higher Education Special Zone’ and develop the GBAC to be world-class with ‘strongest brain’ – elite higher education institutions as the foundation”, “break through barriers of cooperation mechanisms in the GBAC with the state’s policy priority to higher education”, “explore new mechanisms of synergetic innovation among higher education institutions in the GBAC, consisting in its demands for world-class”, “cultivate excellent talents in innovation and entrepreneurship who will facilitate the construction of a world-class Bay Area and urban agglomeration”, “emancipate minds and internationalize constructions for enhancing teaching, research and service and promoting innovation” (Message from President LI Qingquan)

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Member	Mission statement (related to the GBAC)
Southern University of Science and Technology	“jointly enhance the development of the GBAC and help it achieve leading roles in the new era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution”, “realize its mission as an essential part of the development of” the GBAC”, “enhance ‘urban development and knowledge transfer’”, “strengthen higher education cooperation with Hong Kong and Macau”, “promote the integrated regional development via bilaterally multifaceted communication and increasingly in-depth collaboration” (Speech from President CHEN, Shiyi)

Sources: People’s Daily Overseas (May 18, 2019), SCUT (n.d.), China Daily (May 10, 2019b), SCAU (April 30, 2019), IFT (n.d.), City University of Macau (June 11, 2018), KWNC (n.d.), PolyU (July 31, 2018), MUST (2014), MPI (n.d.), SZU (April 3, 2019), HKUST (December 21, 2018), HKU (n.d.), City University of Hong Kong (June 11, 2018), HKBU (n.d.), EdUHK (n.d.), LNU (n.d.), OUHK (n.d.), GZUCM (2019), SCNU (May 13, 2019), SUSTech (May 25, 2019), USJ (n.d.), GDUT (February 28, 2019a), GDUT (March 29, 2019b), SMU (May 10, 2019a, May 17, 2019b), GDUFS (December 22, 2018, May 20, 2019). Chinese statements were translated into English by the second author

HK\$30 million in four initiatives¹ related to culture integration, international conferences, search engines, and student exchanges (UGC, January 23, 2017; Tsui 2018). In addition, HK\$193 million were allocated to a list of cross-border projects in 2019. The list of selected projects shows below some themes encouraging the GBAC cross-border research collaboration (see Table 12.2).

Cross-institutional collaborations appeared to aim at engaging the UGC-funded world-class institutions as prime drivers in the regional innovation constructs. Thus, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) got engaged with Nansha District ‘in education, science and technology’ to jointly construct an international science and innovation hub in the GBAC (China Daily, December 24, 2018b). The collaboration sought to attract superior research teams from the GBAC and the world to promote synergistic innovation and deepen industry-university research collaborations (Wang 2018). On mainland, Sun Yat-sen University and South China University of Technology (SUSTech) argued to have intensified their international academic exchanges to increase employment competitiveness and international outlook (Qi et al. 2016). SUSTech has been the most strategic regional player in that regard, as far as its performance in patents can tell (see Table 12.3). The university apparently also placed significant emphasis on cross-border collaborations while including, for example, the research collaborations and specific projects with Hong Kong and Macao as one of the nine first-class indices for internationalization assessment (Huang and Li 2011).

¹They are ‘funding 94 student-initiated projects or initiatives that encourage multi-cultural integration’, ‘setting up a Hong Kong Pavilion in international education conferences to promote Hong Kong’s higher education sector as a united entity’, ‘establishing a sector-wide search engine to provide easier access to information of universities and programmes they offer for prospective students’, and ‘subsidising 1063 financially-needy students to travel to places outside Hong Kong for exchange activities’ (UGC, January 23, 2017).

Table 12.2 Universities' funded and on-going research projects in 2018/2019

Project	Player (s)	Duration (months)	Funding scheme	Budget
<i>'Study of Super-fast Large-area Economical Marine Reclamations for Housing and Infrastructural Development in the Guangdong- Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area'</i>	The Hong Kong Polytechnic University/The University of Hong Kong	60	Research Impact Fund	9,876,160
<i>Promoting healthy ageing through light volleyball (LVB) promotion in Hong Kong and Mainland China</i>	The Baptist University of Hong Kong/The Chinese University of Hong Kong, the University of Hong Kong	54		5,180,389
<i>Hong Kong Professional Services in the Co-evolving Belt-Road Initiative: Innovative Agency for Sustainable Development</i>	The Chinese University of Hong Kong	12	Humanities and Social Sciences Prestigious Fellowship Scheme (HSSPFS)	999,000
<i>Advancing China's Urbanization inside out: Urban Redevelopments in Chinese cities amidst accelerated urban transition</i>	The University of Hong Kong /The Education University of Hong Kong	36	Collaborative Research Fund 2016/17	2,709,115
<i>Tensor Network States Approach to Frustrated Magnets and Unconventional Superconductivity</i>	The Chinese University of Hong Kong / Southern University of Science and Technology	48	NSFC/RGC Joint Research Scheme 2018/19	1,162,991
<i>A mechanistic and clinicopathological study on the impact of invadosomes in promoting nasopharyngeal carcinoma (NPC) metastasis under the interplay of stromal macrophages and EBV infection</i>	The University of Hong Kong / Southern Medical University	48		1,164,858
<i>Investigation on the immunological cross-protection between different human coronaviruses</i>	The University of Hong Kong /The First Affiliated Hospital of Guangzhou Medical University	48		1,050,053

Source: RGC (October 30, 2017, June 29, 2018a, December 19, 2018b, January 8, 2019)

Table 12.3 Top 5 PCT applicants by educational institutions

2018 Overall position in PCT ranking	Position changed in overall PCT ranking	Institution	Nation	Totality in 2017	Totality in 2018
38	1	University of California	U.S.	482	501
108	-32	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	U.S.	278	216
119	103	Shenzhen University	China	108	201
145	192	South China University of Technology	China	70	170
147	-26	Harvard University	U.S.	179	169

Source: World Intellectual Property Organization (March 19, 2019)

While the first tier universities could be argued as benefitting from their advantageous positions in world-class research, the second and third tier universities experienced more pressure and concern about their engagement with the innovation region. Based on review of institutional literature at the lower-status universities, there appeared to be fewer international engagement projects at the second and third tiers in comparison with their counterparts at the top. Expectations about global and regional prominence have certainly soared over the last few years, and many second-tier universities aspired to cover the gap (Huang 2016a, b; Ren et al. 2017). Some analysts place high hopes, for example, on ability of the lower-status universities to learn from Hong Kong how to handle international standard development in quality assurance, institutional autonomy, and academic freedom in order to enhance their international status and outlook (Huang 2016a, b).

Regrettably, affected by the Soviet legacy, many Chinese universities had to make a big leap forward in global competition over the last few decades (Chen 2012; Oleksiyenko 2018). It is particularly hard to go global in social sciences and humanities that are lacking the tradition of international peer-review and critical inquiry, which determine global prominence of the western counterparts. Some observers express concerns about the ability of Chinese universities to catch up in the areas of institutional autonomy and academic freedom (the key drivers of free thinking). While apprehensions prevail in the fields of social sciences and humanities, STEM fields also become disadvantaged without proper support from liberal arts and humanities. At the time, when the flagship universities of the western competitor-nations seek to redefine STEM into STEAM, where liberal arts are expected to increase imagination, creativity and resilience of inquiry and learning, the Chinese counterparts experience anxiety about the limitations imposed by the Soviet legacy.

Certainly, during the last two decades, ‘the Project 985’ made a tremendous effort to develop ‘elite education and innovation research for quality’ through a volume of academic activities (‘student and faculty mobility’; ‘internationalizing

curriculum and program’; and ‘international research collaboration and partnership’) (Chen 2012; Ma and Yue 2015). However, divergent economic capacities and needs of China’s regions have produced inequalities across cities and universities. For a big country, with disparate developmental abilities, it remains a challenge to make all economic and educational institutions to be equally strategic and successful in performative capacity-building (Luo 2013; Shen, May 30, 2018). Being ambitious to catch up in the global race of knowledge development and innovation (Ng 2012; Chen 2012; Ma and Yue 2015), some Chinese performers compromised integrity and endangered the institutional environment through toxic overproduction of poor-quality papers (Yang 2016), similar to the environmental pollution observed in the big cities of China, aspiring to overcome the hegemony of Anglo-American *modus operandi*.

12.3.3 Understructure Alignments and Misalignments

At the understructure level of regional policy alignments, some policy analysts point to the rise of branch campuses, collaborative programs, and joint research institutions that embody the regional collaborative design. Thus the University of Macau built across the border a Hengqin campus and ‘the Centre for Teaching and Learning Enhancement’ in discipline construction, innovative cooperation and personnel exchanges seeking to enhance education quality in the GBAC (China Youth, August 27, 2018). Among immediate innovations, the University of Macao was said to have introduced appraisals of their professors contributing to international peer-reviewed journals, while drawing on related practices in Hong Kong (Lau and Yuen 2014).

For convenience of collaboration with mainland-based key laboratories and thus getting more funds through such collaborations, HKU has also established research centers in Shenzhen (e.g., the University of Hong Kong Shenzhen Institute of Research and Innovation, the University of Hong Kong – Shenzhen Hospital) (Sharma, February 22, 2019; HKTDC, March 27, 2019; HKU SIRI n.d.; The University of Hong Kong – Shenzhen Hospital n.d.). Moreover, HKU has jointly constructed an innovation matrix with the Guangdong Pharmaceutical University, initiating and incubating joint research projects (Xinhua, July 9, 2018). Furnishing world-class information and facilities, HKU sought for opportunities to conduct and commercialize scientific and technological research across the border in order to boost innovation there. In turn, universities in the Mainland viewed this as an opportunity to get access to internationally advanced technologies, and yield research breakthroughs. Similar aspirations soared in another cross-border collaboration involving HKU, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong Baptist University, the University of Macau’s Institute of Chinese Medical Science, Guangzhou Institute of Biomedicine and Health, Guangzhou Pharmaceutical Corporation and Guangdong-Macau TCM Technology Industrial Park in Guangdong, as well as universities and industrial

partners around the world, to advance innovation and popularization of the Chinese Medicine (University of Macau 2019).

In one such cross-border collaboration, as reported by the HKU campus media department, a “team led by HKU School of Biological Sciences Associate Professor Dr Wang Mingfu received a prize for highest investment potential at the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area High Value Patent Portfolio Contest 2019. The HKU team led a project which involved the compositions and methods for brightening skin and reducing hyperpigmentation. The report said the project, which began nine years ago, had been moved to HKSTP three years ago and had collaborated with many international brands (Wen Wei Po)”.

Several universities in Shenzhen also became more vibrant in their cross-border collaborations. Thus, South China University of Technology collaborated with Hong Kong University of Science and Technology to set up ‘SCUT-HKUST Joint Research Laboratory’ in the fields of materials, chemistry and chemical engineering, light industry, physics, biology and environment (Nature Index *n.d.*). More recently, Quacquarelli Symonds Asia News Network (April 2, 2019) reported that South China University of Technology and Lingnan University in Hong Kong jointly set up ‘Joint Research Centre for Greater Bay Area – Social Policy and Governance’ in Guangzhou. Additionally, City University of Hong Kong has jointly launched with SUSTech a ‘Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Joint Laboratory of Big Data and Intelligent Robots’ (South China University of Technology, February 26, 2019).

Shenzhen University has expressed desire to co-found ‘the Greater Bay Area International Institute for Innovation’ in collaboration with Hong Kong Polytechnic University (Sharma, February 22, 2019; World Intellectual Property Organization, March 19, 2019). The two universities plan to enhance collaborative design for recruitment of ‘global talents, post-doctoral researchers and investors’, grounded in innovation. This would allow the Institute to facilitate a greater degree of internationalization of the Greater Bay Area and commercialization of industrial research (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, July 18, 2018). Shenzhen University also launched a collaborative project with the Polytechnic University and the University of Hong Kong to address the problem of construction waste in the booming region of Guangdong. The new think-tank received a name of ‘a Waste Trade Organisation’. ‘Funded by the Policy Innovation and Co-ordination Office’s Strategic Public Policy Research Funding Scheme’, the new initiative drew in policymakers to promote, regulate and legitimate intra-regional sharing of construction waste (HKU, March 28, 2019). Inspired by the collaborative initiatives, the President of Shenzhen University called for establishing a ‘Joint GBAC University’ (Guangming Daily, March 2, 2018). Collaboratively founded and funded by the three jurisdictions, the new university would work to enhance the inter-regional, multi-campus, interdisciplinary, comprehensive and internationalized perspectives and thus generate new financial and educational resources (Li et al. 2019).

One can argue that real work can happen on the ground if it is implemented by entrepreneurial scholars who are free to seek opportunities and capitalize on the openings in the emerging markets (Postiglione 2013). The new institutions and

programmes resulting from liberalization were indeed able to engage innovative researchers and managers who approached ideas and projects unconventionally. Mainland China has certainly benefitted from entrepreneurial skills and innovative ideas. However, to grow exponentially, the innovative regions such as GBAC would need a much greater talent pool in order to be able to realize its ambition for products “created in China” (rather than “made in China”). Some universities such as SUSTech and Shenzhen University appeared to be quick to realize that they had to lead developmental opportunities rather than to be led by them. One such evidence includes the ability of these universities to use smartly Hong Kong’s human capital at the time when the world-class universities in that city were losing it. For example, some universities on mainland engaged a good number of competitive seasoned scholars from Hong Kong who became subject to mandatory retirement at the age of 60. While many leading universities of Hong Kong appeared to overlook the experience-based cumulative advantage of a university professor, the competition-oriented universities on mainland utilized the resources of the top performers (publications, networks, creative competencies) while outmaneuvering other ambitious players in Eurasia: e.g. Russia or Kazakhstan.

However, while increasingly enthusiastic about sponsoring the cross-border collaborations, the stakeholders seemed to be missing several important points about the whole idea of harmonization. First, while the policy focus in the cross-border partnerships stuck to the STEM fields, meaningful collaborations in social sciences and humanities remained feeble. Suspicious of academic freedom, many mainland scholars found it difficult to refrain from self-censorship while partaking in social science and humanities discussions in Hong Kong. Likewise, their Hong Kong-based collaborators often felt uncomfortable about compromising the integrity of conversations while raising topics and issues presumably forbidden on mainland. These tensions further grew in view of the violent suppression of civic protests in Hong Kong in the summer of 2019. This led to aggravation of resentments and invalidation of resolutions on the ground. In the case of a joint project – HKU-Shenzhen Hospital, which was cultivated by the stakeholders for years, many Hong Kongese medical students refused to go for internship in Shenzhen after the mainland China authorities began to inspect the Hong Kongers’ cell phones for evidence on their participation in the anti-government protests in the summer of 2019 (Lum, August 23, 2019). The increasing rigidity in the cross-border mobility raised doubts about the prospects of smooth collaborations. Meanwhile, suspicion and anxiety got only reinforced in the view of relentless protests.

12.4 Conclusion

Looking across the three layers of governance in the development of the GBAC idea, we conclude that alignment policies were often productive when policy-makers proceeded with optimistic and positive rhetoric of collaboration, but without trying to impose forceful harmonization. The process of harmonization in the GBAC

design and implementation was slow – however, it was also organic as observed in the policy statements and works of the collaborating institutions of higher learning and their units. When harmonization was forced and accelerated to meet the implementation-related ambitions, the integrative processes showed to be resulting in unintended consequences. In fact, this is nothing new – this case just reminds us about the importance of careful attitude to political, cultural and educational circumstances and legacies the collaborative designs, no matter whether those are of larger or smaller scale. It may often appear that policy agendas in the region, driven by innovative aspirations, were largely sporadic and aspirational. The discourse, which we were able to track down in our research, appeared to overflow with hopeful rhetoric. In expectation of immediate results, the political pressures might have appeared as essential. Time and again, however, we see that the larger scale of cross-border collaborations requires longer time, more thinking and more patience to the progress of the innovative initiatives built on substantial asymmetries in the political and cultural domains. In the GBAC case, more investigation of major challenges embedded in the structural differences in the region should have been conducted in addition to the positive rhetoric. The discussion on integration of the key principles defining the innovative agenda – decentralization, risk-taking, resilience, experimentation, critical thinking and freedom to innovate – should move to the core of the collaborative design in the region.

This also requires that world-class universities move further in developing the agenda of innovation in social sciences and humanities to propose new ideas and horizons of the rapidly changing and flourishing regions. That might require to understand why the Hong Kongese youth went on protests with demands for more liberty of expression, electoral rights, or judicial autonomy, while leaving many governmental institutions paralyzed in finding civilized and effective solutions for such a long time. Simultaneously, that would also require to delve deeper into conversation about the role of critical inquiry in attaining and retaining the world-class university status. As we know more funding or better management are not enough – it is also academic freedom (i.e., freedom to teach, to learn, and to govern), shared governance, and institutional autonomy which are essential in creating a very flexible and inspiring atmosphere for innovative and globally-influential research and teaching.

For the GBAC idea to become feasible, more trust should be placed into decentralized management of international collaborations. Empowered innovators are known to be increasing access to intellectual and financial resources locally and globally (Li et al. 2011; THE ERAC KT Group 2012; Adams 2017; Oleksiyenko 2019). Lateral regional networks can provide an excellent platform for peer-to-peer collaborations (Henderix 2016), as well as enhance conditions for sustainable attraction and retention of ‘a talent pool’ (Chan 2018; Li et al. 2019). In that regard, it is of great interest to all higher education institutions in GBAC to champion policies that allow for increased resilience, creativity and entrepreneurship, as well as cultivation of talents that could make the region more attractive locally and globally (Xu 2018; Yang and Li 2019). At the same time, there is a range of other questions that will be looming larger in the discourse of harmonization: e.g., How can

asymmetries in university capacities can be employed more creatively for regional collaboration so that second and third tier universities could perform local missions up to the global standards of research and teaching? What kinds of policy and organization alignments might be necessary to reconcile local and global expectations, assessments, and competitions? What makes a sensible approach to creating a strategic internationalization for innovation agenda to accumulate world-class standard perspectives and results? How these questions are answered and what strategies are built will determine opportunities for success of the GBAC innovation agenda and outcomes.

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Chapter 13

Globalisation and Global University Rankings



Val D. Rust and Stephanie Kim

Abstract Globalisation has been neither neutral nor uniform in its impact. It affects countries, cultures, and systems in different ways—some in positive ways, others in more negative ways. All sectors of society are being affected; and higher education is no exception. The increased importance of the knowledge industry, innovations in information and communication technologies, a stronger orientation to the market economy, and growth in regional and international governance systems, all contribute to an accelerated flow of people, ideas, culture, technology, goods and services in our globalized world. University documents and mission statements indicate the importance of higher education in the global arena. A number of issues link globalisation and higher education, including a growing demand for post-secondary education, a growing number and types of “for-profit” sponsors of higher education, and the emergence of innovative cross-border institutions. As globalisation has become the focal point of higher education, competition has become a central preoccupation. Competition is closely connected with a global free-market economy. Combined with the impact of globalisation and the development of the global “knowledge economy,” these competitive forces have resulted in the *global competition phenomenon* that is currently reshaping higher education. Many developments characterize global competition in higher education. This paper discusses some of these developments, including (1) the rise of global university rankings, (2) declarations by nations to have a world-class university, (3) the development of regional units of control and reform, (4) the development of cross-border quality assessment practices, and (5) the internationalization of universities.

V. D. Rust (✉)
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: rust@gseis.ucla.edu

S. Kim
Georgetown University, Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: stephanie.kim@georgetown.edu

13.1 Globalisation and University Rankings

In 2003 the first international ranking project was undertaken by Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education with the title: *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (SJTUIHE 2008). It was followed by the *London Times World University Rankings* in 2004 (Times 2008). The Times project differed from China's in that it aimed to put a British stamp on universities. The British claim that the Shanghai reports do not give the British the recognition they deserve. Both of these annual reports have 'triggered the transformation of world higher education' (Marginson 2010). Even though these ranking systems have been around less than a decade, other rankings themselves on the national level have a longer history (Zajda 2020b).

It is difficult to imagine a time in history when globalisation has had a greater cultural, economic, and political impact. It affects countries, cultures, and systems in different ways—some positive, others more negative ways. All sectors of society are being affected. Higher education is no exception (Knight 2008). In the past two decades, there have been dramatic changes in higher education and ideology defining standards and global competitiveness (De Witt 2008; Knight 2008; Zajda 2005, 2008; Rust et al. 2010; Rust and Kim 2011; Zajda and Rust 2016; Zajda 2020a). Combined with the impact of globalisation and the development of the global "knowledge economy," these competitive forces have resulted in the *global competition phenomenon* that is currently reshaping higher education, including.

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

13.1.1 National Rankings

National ranking systems have a long history. They are viewed as a powerful source of analysis and comparisons between universities at the national level (Labi 2010). Ranking systems of higher education institutions in the Netherlands, are highly competitive and context dependent. *Elsevier*, a weekly magazine in the Netherlands, publishes an annual *Beste Studies* that ranks bachelors, master's and doctoral programs in the country. And 'Selection Guide Higher Education' (*Keuzegid*) is an annual survey of Dutch students about their program and university.

In the early 1990s, many news magazines in Germany began to publish 'hitlists' of the 'best' German universities. At the time, the criteria for what was deemed "best" were highly controversial. However, in 2002, the Center for University Development (CHE) at Bonn University compiled a first annual comprehensive German university ranking system. It relied on about 30 indicators, including the

quality of students, the number of enrolled students, the average time to degree, the number of graduates each year, the extramural funds obtained, the quality faculty, the quality of teaching, the volumes in the university library, etc. The results of this inquiry are published in *DIE ZEIT*. Further, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation has a research ranking which measures how attractive German universities are to international scientists (Zeit Online Rankings 2010).

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

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

The ranking business in America became so complex that in 1997 the University of Illinois Education and Social Science Library set up a collection site, where they catalogued print and electronic sources concerning institutional rankings related to law, medicine, engineering, business, distance learning, community college, African American, Hispanic, activist, moral, and a host of other ranking systems for colleges and universities (Zajda and Rust 2016).

Chinese national university rankings have become common. While North America and Europe have a history of national rankings, China began the process in 1997 when The Guang Dong Academy of Management Science published its first China university ranking system (Wu et al. 1999). Now this informal institution has changed its name to Chinese Academy of Management Science and created 13 huge annual China university evaluation reports which rank 100 Chinese top universities and 36 first-class graduate schools in total, and undergraduate programs in science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, philosophy, economics, law, education, literacy, history, and management (Science 2010). Now China has more than 40 China university and China graduate school rankings set up by 15 institutions and private researchers.

13.1.2 Specific Field Rankings

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

BusinessWeek has long published international rankings of part-time, distance, and full-time MBA programs, as well as executive programs, indicating which

schools are among the top 25, and second tier 25 institutions. Some of their rankings exclude the United States, which tends to dominate most ranking systems (BusinessWeek 2010).

13.1.3 *International Rankings*

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

Criteria	Indicator	Weight
Education Quality	Alumni of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	10%
Quality of Faculty	Staff of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	20%
	Highly cited researchers in 21 broad subject categories	20%
Research Output	Papers published in Nature and Science	20%
	Papers indexed in Science Citation Index-expanded and Social Science Citation Index	20%
Performance	Per capita academic performance of an institution	10%
Total		100%

The ranking system has not been without controversy. In France, for example, the annual rankings have outraged French politicians, who note that the Université Pierre et Marie Curie, the highest ranked French institution, comes in at number 42. The French are especially unhappy that the rankings seem biased toward English-speaking institutions. Even if such a condemnation is correct, the rankings continue to influence the global flow of students, researchers, and money, and even the French pay attention to the annual international rankings, in spite of their flaws (Labi 2010).

One of the major incentives for looking at the rankings is the competition for international students. There are now more than three million international students in the world, and universities are fighting to attract them and their money to their universities. No matter what the ranking system, it is likely that the very top

universities, such as Harvard, Oxford, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will remain at the top of the list; and it is the second tier of “world-class” universities that are attempting to establish their credentials sufficiently to attract students. Because the criteria used in the Shanghai and *Times* ranking systems differ, they show quite different outcomes. The breakdown of the top 100 institutions is quite different:

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

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

13.1.4 *Building a Better Ranking System*

Both the Shanghai and the *Times Higher Education* lists seem to have as many critics as fans. The critics say the methodology is flawed, with Shanghai putting too much emphasis on scientific research and the *Times* on the opinions of people at peer institutions. More broadly, there are also fundamental questions by fellow academics about the utility of even the best cross-border assessments.

When officials of Germany’s Center for University Development tried to broaden its highly-regarded national rankings to German-speaking universities in Switzerland, the effort failed. The Germans discovered that the Swiss professors were largely ignorant of the universities in their neighbouring country. If this occurs between two neighbouring countries, the Germans contend that it is foolish for an institution in China to make decisions about universities throughout the world. Critics in Europe are attempting to fix the problem by creating their own ranking systems. French administrators support such an effort, stressing that such a ranking system would give greater weight to the humanities and social sciences, as well as criteria such as student satisfaction (Labi 2010).

The Institute for Higher Education Policy is an independent, non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C. that is trying to bring more coherence to the process by setting up an online clearinghouse to help people understand something about

the different ranking systems. According to their website the Institute focuses on access and success, accountability, diversity, finance, and global impact of their work. A similar effort is taking place within UNESCO's European Centre for Higher Education. In 2011 it assembled a group of international ranking experts who are launching a quality audit of rankings.

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

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

13.2 Developing a World-Class University

13.2.1 *National Efforts to Be World Class*

According to Philip Altbach (2003), every country 'wants a world-class university. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one. Everyone, however, refers to the concept' (Altbach 2003). The 'best' institutions are those that score high on arbitrary indicators and weightings chosen by whoever is doing the ranking. Thus, each ranking system implicitly defines educational quality and excellence through the indicators selected and the distribution of weighting mechanisms (see also Zajda 2020a).

The one thing we know is that among the tens of thousands of universities in the world, only a few are world class. And the most elite universities are located in a small number of countries. These include the United States, Japan, and the United Kingdom. In most countries, universities are stratified and differentiated, and those that are world class represent a tiny pinnacle. In the United States, of more than 4300 academic institutions, very few have managed to make their way to the top

echelons. In other countries, the number of top-tier institutions is also limited. In Germany, where the government formally has treated all universities similarly in terms of budgets and mission, a small number of institutions were invited to enter into competition for millions of Euros in extra funding. The intention is to improve Germany's international standing among universities. No universities in the former German Democratic Republic were selected to be among the elites (DW 2006).

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

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

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

In Chile, quite a different approach is being taken: billions of dollars are being set aside to send graduate students abroad to earn graduate degrees. Expressing a commitment to the development of human capital, in 2010 more than 5000 Chilean graduate students were awarded grants to study at elite foreign universities (Lloyd 2010).

China is as active as any country in the world in creating world-class research universities. On 4 May 1998, at the centennial ceremony of Peking University, Pre-President Jiang Zemin announced that China should have several world-class universities to accelerate the process of modernization (China 2009). In reaction to this announcement, the minister of education suggested that the central government provide 1% of its annual financial income to support the establishment of several world-class universities.

Even though this step signalled the origins of the well-known "Project-985" (named for its May, 1998 announcement date), prior steps had already been taken. In 1993 the country adopted the Guidelines of China's Educational Reform and

Development, which advanced the notion that 100 key universities would be designated to develop specialized and quality programs. Then in 1995 the national government initiated Project 211, designed to develop 100 key universities in the twenty-first century. Such ambitions were significant, because China had long seen itself as relatively weak in terms of its contribution to world-scale higher education. This self perception stood in contrast to its self-image as one of the great civilizations of the earth, and its quest to establish world-class universities has been both symbolic and practical. Symbolically, world-class universities would convey to the world China's value as a great civilization. Practically, higher education would be seen as essential and instrumental for social and economic development.

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

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

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

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

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

Many countries are turning to private institutions to enhance their higher education status. The United Arab Emirates, for example, has chosen to import higher

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

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

13.3 Regional Units of Control

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

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

There are other regional organizations that cultivate higher education development. The Association of Southeastern Nations (ASEAN), for example, has worked

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

13.4 Quality Assurance Practices

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

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

As international forces confront local traditions, there is inevitable stress and conflict. Anthony Welch suggests that cronyism in both Malaysia and Vietnam, and corruption in Vietnam are so endemic to bureaucracies overseeing quality assessment that it is impossible to make objective judgments about the universities of these countries. In addition, he found ethnic discrimination a persistent problem (Welch 2010). In Argentina, attempts to implement quality assurance has been very slow, mainly because such attempts confront the complexity associated with the decision-making process of collegiate governing bodies. In other words, benchmarks set up by new quality assurance standards involve a social, as well as a technical dimension (Gertel and Jacobo 2010).

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

13.5 The Internationalization of Universities

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

13.5.1 Foreign Students Enrolled

Likely the most obvious indicator of internationalization is whether a university actively and successfully recruits students from abroad. This is difficult for institutions in countries that do not have a traditional foreign student presence. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), approximately three-fourths of all foreign students are located in the US, the UK, Germany, France, Australia, and Japan. The US is far and away the primary host of foreign students, although the UK and Australia are now aggressively seeking to increase the number of foreign students. A major contributor to the US numbers is China. In 2004 there were less than 10,000 Chinese students; in 2010 there were more than 700,000.

13.5.2 Study Abroad

A second indicator of internationalization is study abroad, which involves short-term exchanges of students in immersion programs or travel study. Immersion studies genuinely expose students to a local country and its higher education, while travel study is somewhat akin to tourism, although some of the programs are more rigorous than others. The most popular study abroad program in the world is in the European Union ERASMUS Program, which was initiated in 1987 and now involves more than 4000 institutions of higher education in 31 countries. More than 2.2 million students have taken part. In the United States, the so-called Lincoln Commission

issued its report in 2005 and projected that each year approximately one million US students ought to be engaged in study abroad. This is a noble aim and indicates the importance study abroad is gaining in the country.

13.5.3 Foreign Language Instruction

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

The two most popular languages in the world are English and Mandarin, each of which have more than one billion speakers. But there is a sharp difference in the two languages. Almost 900,000,000 people speak Mandarin as opposed to only 330,000,000 who speak English as a mother language; however, 812,000,000 speak English as a second language, while only 178,000,000 speak Mandarin as a second language. However, the situation may be rapidly changing. China has recently initiated a system of Confucius Institutes and wishes to have 1000 Institutes by 2020. Already, almost one million people are learning Mandarin at Confucius Institutes, which are located at university campuses around the world.

English dominates higher education second language programs. In Korea, for example, over 3% of all courses offered by Korean universities are offered in English. And, top-tier private institutions such as Yonsei and Korea University conduct up to 30% of their classes in English and offer four-year liberal arts programs taught entirely in English. In the Netherlands, more than a quarter of all university courses are taught in English. At Maastricht nine of its 19 BA programs and all of its 46 masters' programs are in English. At the University of Amsterdam 105 of its 170 masters' programs are taught in English. At Utrecht University 89 of its 196 masters' programs are taught in English.

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

13.5.4 International Content of Courses

A fourth indicator of internationalization is curriculum content and degrees. We might, for example, assess the level of information courses contain about other countries, people, events, and places. Of course, foreign languages, area studies, comparative government and comparative literature are inherently international in scope. However, some universities are designing international programs where the

international content is traditionally not obvious. Duisburg University in Germany has an international degree in Computer Science and Communications Engineering, intended to be more meaningful not only for foreign students coming to Germany but to prepare German students to function more easily in a global environment (Schwarz et al. 2003).

13.6 Conclusion

Globalisation, internationalization, and global competitiveness have transformed higher education and are now central to university plans, mission statements, and programs (Zajda 2020b). However, a shadow side of internationalization is the tendency to establish a single set of criteria that shapes institutions: ‘all of this emphasis ... gravitates towards an ideal, a typical picture of a particular type of institution’ (Huisman 2008), what Kathryn Mohrman et al. (2008) call the Emerging Global Model (EGM) of the top stratum of research universities. Each of the internationalizing factors we have considered tends to reinforce a global model. The danger is that internationalization could remove a university from its local context and purpose and demand conformity. However, there are great universities in the world that do not conform to the standard criteria of rankings, quality assessment, etc., whose missions include spreading higher education to the great masses of the country. Standard criteria of quality might have a detrimental influence on these institutions. The *Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico* (UNAM) and *Universidad de Buenos Aires* in Argentina (UBA) provide access to a quarter of a million students or more on many sites and perform many functions in national and regional development, and social and cultural life, as well as national research leadership. This range prevents UNAM and UBA from concentrating resources so as to maximize research intensity and reputation. Most important, there is not one way to internationalize a university. The challenge confronting nations that are attempting to internationalize their institutions, such as China and Russia is to link their efforts to national criteria and local imperatives.

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Chapter 14

Higher Education in the Arab Region: Globalization, Privatization and Prospects



Abdeljalil Akkari

Abstract Impacted by both globalization and recurrent political and social instability over the last two decades, higher education in the Arab world is currently at a crossroad. Without substantial reforms, higher education in the Arab world will become deadlocked. In the first part of this paper, we highlight the “youth challenge” in the Arab region and its implications for the higher education sector. We have examined why the massification of higher education in the MENA region has failed to enhance the upward social mobility of the youth. In the second part, we have analyzed the increased privatization of higher education and reflect on the role of Arab states in this evolution. We have concluded that by identifying the challenges posed in terms of governance of higher education, there is an urgent need to rethink the current socio-economic development models in the Arab world.

14.1 Globalization, Political Instability and Youth Problem

For a long time, the Arab region experienced a certain political stability under two types of authoritarian political regimes: oil monarchies and secular political regimes. With the exception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, most Arab countries have, up until recently, enjoyed political and social stability. Globalization with all its ramifications: economic, political, technological and cultural, has put an end to this relative stability (Zajda 2020a). Arab countries are now struggling to find their place in the context of globalized economy and are confined to the role of commodity provider, in particular oil. Globalization has also impacted the democratization process by showcasing democratic practices and propagating the idea of representativeness and democratic values among the Arab citizens (Moore 2012; Hinnebusch 2015).

As a result, Arab countries have suffered from political instability during the last decades. Notably, Tunisia was the first country to experience upheavals against the authoritarian regimes in December 2010 that lead to a wave of demonstrations and protests across the region known as Arab Springs. In view of the success of the

A. Akkari (✉)
University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland

Tunisian revolution, its process is considered worldwide as an example of a pacific liberation movement. Unfortunately, other countries in the region have not fared as well in terms of democratic rights, for example, Egypt has re-established an authoritarian regime and countries such as Syria, Libya and Yemen have spiralled into deadly civil wars.

The political instability of the region is explained by three internal factors: the nature of the political regimes established following the countries' independence, the spread in mass schooling and the ineffectiveness of youth policies. Moreover, the political instability in the region is also linked to international and geopolitical factors. For long time, Western Europe and the United States supported authoritarian regimes to ensure a stable and low-priced oil supply and to secure particular sensitive areas in terms of international trade (Suez Chanel, Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea and Arab Persian Gulf) (Bromley 2005). In recent years, Islamic political movements, attempting to occupy the political space opened by popular revolts, have destabilised the region (DeFronzo 2018; Shahin 2018).

The youth as an asset frame has raised with the Arab uprisings, which was initially considered as a move towards the Western liberal model. The perception increasingly shifted back to the challenge frame in face of the huge economic challenges the region was facing which was not matched by sufficient Western financial commitment, as well as with increasing migration waves and an expanding refugee crisis in Europe (Huber 2017). During the last decade, most Arab countries have been the scene of political instability and popular uprisings asking for democracy and social justice. Arab countries have also been rattled by violent conflicts and protracted crises for years, forcing millions of people to leave their homes in search of safety and security.

Although the region is home to only 6% of the world's population, it hosts 35% of the world's refugees and 30% of the world's conflict-related internally displaced persons (IDPs). This context has put great pressure on the countries' education systems. For example, in the 2017–18 school year, Lebanon absorbed almost 214,000 non-Lebanese students in public schools, the majority of whom were accommodated by opening second shifts in 349 public schools across the country. Jordan also operates 209 public double-shift schools and provides non-formal education services run jointly by international organizations and the Ministry of Education (El-Kogali 2018). In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, more than ten million school-age children have been forced out of school due to armed conflict in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya and other countries. Most are displaced internally but others have fled across borders to seek refuge (Lewis and Thacker 2016). It is important to consider the variability of political instability in the Arab world. Yemen has been suffering political instability and a security crisis for at least two decades, while neighboring Oman has enjoyed political stability of more than 30 years. To summarize the roots of political instability in the Arab region, we can list in order of importance:

- a lack for in-depth reforms of the current political regimes;
- huge youth needs in education and employment;

- increase of global geopolitical tensions and of violent conflicts brought by violent religious extremism.

Political instability in the Arab countries make educational reforms and the achievement of the 2030 international education agenda both difficult and urgent. Difficult because rethinking education requires a certain level of political stability and urgent since more relevant learning systems who match the needs and demands of the majority of the population will contribute to political stability and higher trust in public institutions and governments. According to the World Bank (2017), the economic outlook for many countries in the region is fragile, especially those suffering turmoil. Even the oil-exporting countries are facing lower oil prices, ‘chronic’ levels of youth unemployment and undiversified economies. In general, economic growth in the Arab region has decreased and countries’ debt has increased. This situation undoubtedly has consequences on rates of employment since the economy is unable to absorb the majority of youth entering the labor market-where it has soared to 15% in 2013 (World Bank 2017).

Unemployment among youth (ages 19–24) is highest except in Kuwait, Qatar and UAE (United Arab Emirates). In some cases, it goes well above 20% such as in Palestine where it reached 39% in 2010 (UNESCO 2015). Economic insecurity leads to limited social mobility and protection and could ultimately increase political instability. Despite the significant progress made, for example, in Tunisia in terms of democratization, the persistence of youth unemployment has led to a more social and economic insecurity.

The population of the Arab region has the largest share of youth (15–29 years of age) in the world. Yet, the participation rate of Arab youth in the labor market is the lowest in the world and the rate of youth unemployment the highest particularly for women and rural areas. Far from being a development asset, the youth bulge is fueling the emigration of skilled labor, youth exclusion and continues to be a potential source of social and political unrest.

The relatively good news is that the share of youth in the total population of Arab transition countries peaked in 2010 and will decline from 20% to 17% by 2025, a reflection of declining fertility. However, because the number of youth is still expected to climb to 58 million by 2025, 12 million additional jobs need to be created by then to prevent youth unemployment from climbing even higher in transition countries (Mirkin 2013).

Social and political instability and the large number of young people in the Arab world has pushed states to use higher education as a “waiting room” for many young people. However, this strategy can be counterproductive and make the political and social situation even worse. As stated by Bourdieu and Champagne (1992), it is clear that access to the different levels of the school system for students from the most economically and culturally deprived families can not be reached, and especially at the higher levels, without profoundly altering the economic and symbolic value of diplomas. The devaluation and the multiplication of credentials and their holders make the newcomers as first victims. Students from the most culturally deprived families are likely to get a devalued diploma at the end of a long period of

schooling, often paid for with heavy sacrifices. Thus, educational institutions tend to appear more and more, both to families and students themselves, as a lure, source of a huge collective disappointment and revolt.

14.2 The Growth of Higher Education Enrollment and Blurring Border Between Public and Private

The universities in the Arab region are among the oldest in the world. Institutions like Al Zaytounah (Tunisia), the Qarawiyyun (Morocco), al-Azhar (Egypt) and Al Mustansiryah in Iraq has been founded in the period 734–984 and several universities were also established in the Iberian Peninsula during the ninth and tenth centuries. Those universities are argued to be ones of the first universities in the world ever established and most of them were funded by the Islamic Waqf (Endowment). They originated in intellectual movements such as humanism and scholasticism, which nurtured the subsequent flourishing of Western scholarship after the twelfth century. Al-Azhar University in Cairo exists in the modern day as an institution, which teaches secular courses.

Religious-inspired universities in the Arab region have been marginalized by colonization and by independent states that have turned to other models of universities. Many higher education institutions in the Arab states were founded by Europe and the United States during the colonial period as missionary universities (Romani 2012). At the time, access to these universities was restricted to the wealthy. However, higher education in the Arab region has developed rapidly since the mid-twentieth century. Before then, only ten universities existed in the whole region, including The American University of Beirut, University Saint Joseph, Cairo University and the University of Damascus. The Arab world has expanded in higher education encompassing both public and private institutions. Arab nations as a whole have, in their relatively short post independence histories, placed great emphasis on the expansion of schooling as the cornerstone of nation building. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP is higher in the Arab world (about 5.5%) than anywhere else in the developing world (Coffman 1996).

Figure 14.1 below shows the diversity of Arab countries in terms of access to higher education. The four countries with the most open access (Tunisia, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon) are not the richest in the region.

Krieger (2007) pointed out that the Arab world is experiencing a silent yet multidimensional revolution that needs to be closely evaluated: a flow in higher education, along with its privatization and its internationalization. While in 1940 there were only ten universities in the MENA countries, by 2000 there were 140 such institutions and by 2007 their number had reached 2601—two-thirds of which were founded after the 1980s. Last to participate in this academic boom have been the Arabian Gulf countries. Eight universities were operating in Saudi Arabia in 2003, but at least 100 additional universities and colleges have been created there since,

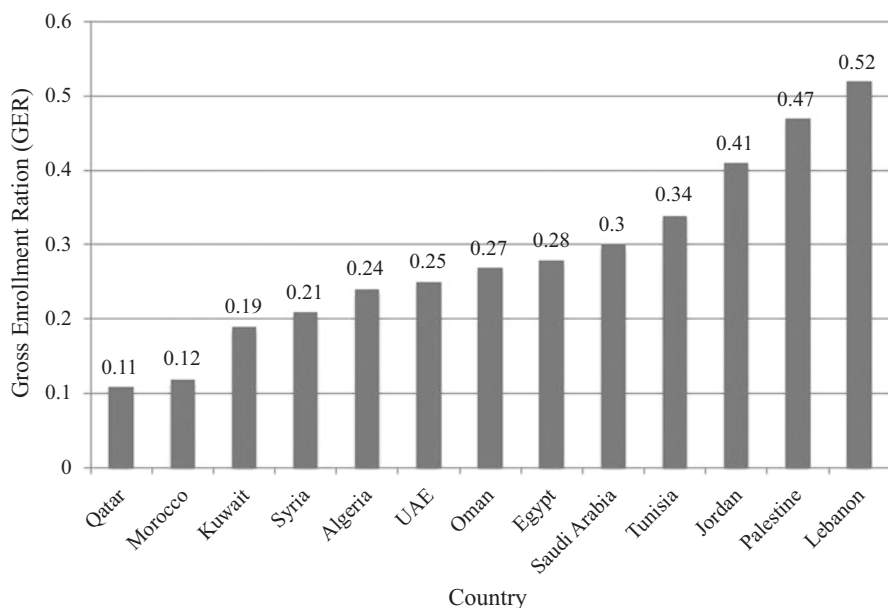


Fig. 14.1 Gross enrollment in Tertiary education in Arab countries
Source: Buckner (2011)

and the country's annual budget for higher education has reached \$15 billion, for 23 million inhabitants. The United Arab Emirates and Qatar have established 40 foreign branches of Western universities over the same period (Krieger 2007). Arabian Gulf states have attracted media attention in recent years as a new force in global Higher education provision. However, the coverage has been somewhat mixed, with an equal measure of optimism and skepticism (Madichie 2015). In addition, regional symbolic solidarity goals of common economic and educational development in the Gulf region are challenged by locally focused priorities at the level of each nation gulf state (Hayes and Al'Abri 2019).

In most Arab countries studied, a kind of vicious circle is taking place: the increase in the number of students leads to a significant devaluation of the diplomas, a process which in turn entails a tendency for these students to extend the duration of their studies in order to reach levels of study that might, they hope, protect them from unemployment (Bashshur et al. 2006).

Another major issue is directly related to the problem of student numbers; the privatization of higher education. Whether we speak of those countries with well-developed private systems (Lebanon, Jordan) or those with nascent ones (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen), privatization is on the move in the Arab world. In Lebanon, more students are enrolled in private institutions than in public ones. In

Jordan, the public universities were only able to accept one third of secondary graduates in 1989; the other two-thirds sought further education in the private sector or abroad (Coffman 1996). Since the beginning of the 2000s, there has been a clear

tendency in the MENA region to privatize higher education. The creation of the private sector is a major change in the thinking of the state since independence and represents a neoliberal response to the crisis of public higher education (Mazzella 2008; Romani 2012; Zajda 2020b).

Buckner (2018) argues that we can better understand the extent of privatization of higher education cross-nationally by investigating how receptive a nation is to the global model of *apolitical privatization* based on its historic commitment to free higher education, and how aid and access policies affect the extent of unmet demand for higher education in a nation. Moreover, it points to the importance of both historical legacies and early adopters in creating path dependencies that shape public perceptions of the status of private higher education. Buckner (2018) compared the expansion of private higher education in Morocco and Tunisia. He suggested that while both countries adopt government policies that officially embrace privatization, there is also substantial decoupling between the model of *apolitical privatization* advocated in the international development community, whereby privatization is a natural response to rising demand and government austerity, and the reality that privatization is contentious in many countries.

In Tunisia, several common goals of neoliberal privatization have been identified by Mullin (2017): expanding the market of higher education; introducing neoliberal forms of management into public higher education; professionalization of higher education; significantly reducing the resources invested by the state in education; increasing partnerships between industry and higher education institutions so that education is more responsive to the 'needs of industry' in the context of a denationalized and uprooted economy; depoliticize the students' bodies; transforming the curriculum and teaching profession in order to naturalize and standardize neoliberal economic policy (Zajda 2020b).

Findlow and Hayes (2016) used the concept of 'transnational academic capitalism', characterized by the blurring of traditional boundaries between public, private, local, regional and international, and between market-driven and critically transformative higher education visions to analyze higher education development in the Arab Gulf. They pointed out contradictory trends, which they see as strategic ambivalence pointing to country-specific readings of similar regional markets and attempts to hedge bets between rival forms of apparent capital.

In the Arab world, blurring border between private and public in higher education has different mechanism in the Middle East and in North Africa. In the Middle East, the development of private universities is most often done with the help or even financing of the States. Thus, in the entire Gulf region, dozens of offshore campuses of North American, European and Australian universities have settled mainly in the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait and elsewhere. This growth in the supply of higher education has made possible to meet both the local demand for higher education and in the same time to attract international students. However, this growth in higher education has not been accompanied by close links between private universities and the social and economic environment that surrounds them (Akkari 2014). More worryingly, a significant percentage of national tertiary graduates in the region are unemployed while gulf countries import large numbers of

expatriates. This paradox can lead to a dead end if appropriate public policies are not put in place.

According to Madichie (2015), in Qatar, Higher Education funding is mainly reliant on the government, through the *Qatar Foundation* – often covering the bulk of the construction costs, but foreign universities remain private institutions. Qatar's *Education City* has absorbed at least eight universities (two Australian and six American) since 2003, including big names like Carnegie Mellon and Georgetown. In the United Arab Emirates, financial responsibility seems more symmetrical, as international branch campuses are required to cover their own costs under a co-investment arrangement. In Saudi Arabia, however, the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology, which opened in September 2009 benefited from a US \$10 billion endowment, making it the sixth richest university in the world. In North Africa, the privatization of higher education was a later process and is not as extensive as in the Middle East. Nevertheless, private universities are better ranked in the programs of engineering and economics. Essentially French and Canadian universities set up some paid training university programs with partnership with local public or private universities. Public university' professors who no longer hesitate to provide teaching hours in private programs illustrate the increasing blurring of boundaries between the public and the private sector.

14.3 Crisis of Governance of Higher Education and Rethinking the Model of Economic Development

Over the past 30 years, Arab states adopted neoliberal economic policies to various degrees in compliance with International Monetary Fund and World Bank structural adjustment programmes that included privatising state-owned industries, liberalising ownership laws, reducing food and energy subsidies, opening up to foreign investment flows, restructuring tax regimes, deregulating the labour market and relaxing trade barriers. This shift away from state-developmental ideology to neoliberal governance has undermined the quality of public schools, eroded the teaching profession, and contributed to increases in social inequities (Morgan 2017). In line with World Bank directives, part of Arab higher education's structural readjustment consists of attacking the problem of waste and repetition. In Morocco, the average undergraduate student takes 6 years to complete the 4-year degree program; in Tunisia and Algeria, it is 7 years. Furthermore, throughout the Arab world, a very small percentage of those beginning their university studies ever obtain their degree (Coffman 1996). In Morocco, National policies to promote the use of Arabic in higher education have come into conflict with the demands of a neoliberal job market in which competence in English and French is still a prerequisite for advancement (Boutieri 2016).

Cantini (2019) suggested that reform packages in Egypt and Jordan in the 2000s included internationalization and privatization policies, as well as World

Bank-sponsored programs intended to enhance the higher education sector. These programs belong to an unquestioned center, with peripheries as receiving points of policies elaborated elsewhere. Resistances were developed to these hegemonic programs and their translations were shaped by the logics of the local contexts so that they were rarely implemented.

Education in MENA has been held back by behavioral norms and ideological polarization, which are embodied as suggested by El-Kogali (2018) in four sets of tensions: (1) *credentials and skills*; (2) *discipline and inquiry*; (3) *control and autonomy*; and (4) *tradition and modernity* (see Fig. 14.2 below). These tensions have held education back from evolving to provide learning that prepares students for their future. The four tensions are deeply embedded in the region's history, culture, and political economy, but exist to varying degrees in each country, and they largely define social and political relations. These tensions ultimately shape the educational outcomes for young people in Arab region and affect their lives, as well as the economies and societies in which they live. In an increasingly connected world, the effects of these tensions can reach beyond the region's borders. Unless they are addressed, Arab countries will not be able to reap the full benefits of education, no matter how much money is invested. Among these tensions, we suggest that the tension between credentials and skills is the most relevant and urgent to settle for higher Education in the MENA Region.

A credential in the form of a degree, diploma, or certificate is usually associated with acquiring a specific set of skills. In the labor market, credentials signal productivity based on the assumption that more years of education are associated with higher productivity. Throughout the Arab region, public sector employment was

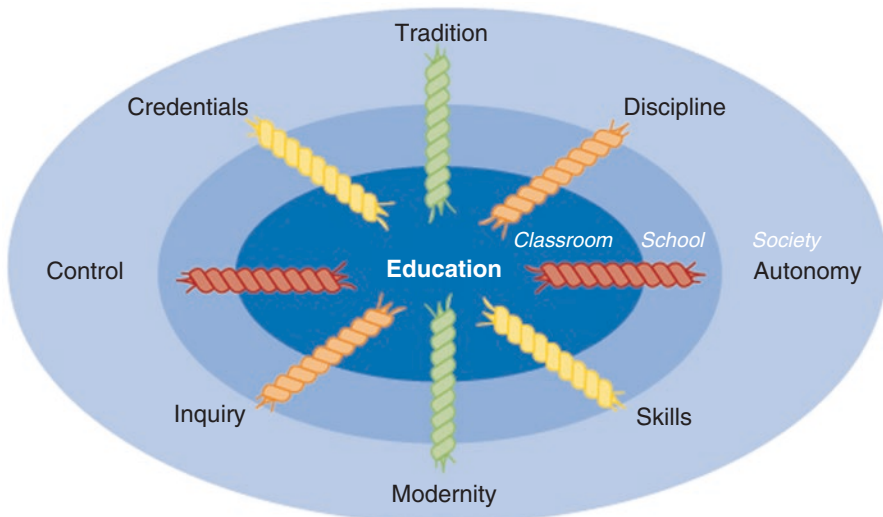


Fig. 14.2 Four tensions are holding back lifelong learning in Arab countries

Source: World Bank

historically assured to anyone with a sufficient education credential. Thus checking the credential box became more valued than acquiring skills. As a result, there is little or no link between education credentials and skills. Countries are stuck in a credentialist equilibrium,' in which a weak demand for skills and a strong demand for credentials in the labor market induce families to demand credentials from the education system more than skills.

Addressing the tension between credentials and skills is the key issue in Higher policy and governance in the Arab region. We suggest the existence some factors that aggravate this tension:

- The extractive and demand centered model of schooling: for each student and each family, the priority is to move from one grade to the next, from primary to secondary and from high school to university; the ideal is to achieve a university degree. Any other path of learning is considered as an accident, for instance, a professional orientation towards vocational training.
- The integration into the labor market is thought by learners as *graduation-based*, whereas the formal and non-formal productive sectors see it as related to individual skills and competencies.
- School selection and orientation are based exclusively on academic examination and exclude criteria such as learners' motivation and skills.
- Most graduates believe that their degrees give them a *right to government employment* regardless of the needs and opportunities of public institutions. Very few are equipped with entrepreneurial skills to generate their own jobs.
- There is a general inadequacy between the number of graduates of higher education and the needs of the economy, which are more at the level of technical and secondary diplomas.

Ultimately, the MENA region needs to review both its economic development model and the way it governs higher education. At the economic level, the exploitation of oil, natural resources or tourism is not creative activities of high economic benefit (Laabas 2017). Moreover, this model of participation in the global economy is dependent on global competition and is quite sensitive to security problems. Endogenous development based on agriculture and local economic activities must be planned. At the same time, the continued massification of higher education coupled with high unemployment among young graduates will bring additional threats to social cohesion and the fragile stability of the region.

14.4 Conclusion

Impacted by both globalization and recurrent political and social instability over the last two decades, higher education in the Arab world is currently at a crossroad. Without substantial reforms, higher education in the Arab world will become deadlocked. In the first part of this paper, we highlight the 'youth challenge' in the Arab region and its implications for the higher education sector. We have examined why

the massification of higher education in the MENA region has failed to enhance the upward social mobility of the youth. In the second part, we have analyzed the increased privatization of higher education and reflect on the role of Arab states in this evolution. We have concluded that by identifying the challenges posed in terms of governance of higher education, there is an urgent need to rethink the current socio-economic development models in the Arab world.

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Chapter 15

Globalisation in Higher Education: Bridging Global and Local Education



Aki Yamada

Abstract Over the last several decades rapid globalisation has strongly influenced most nation's economies, cultures, and societies. Educational institutions and especially higher education have also been greatly affected. Certainly, globalisation affects students studying abroad, drives students to learn foreign languages and cultures, exposes them to international students, ideas, and beyond. However, what does globalisation in higher education actually mean for students and how are they connected to this trend? In this section, I will first briefly examine how globalisation manifests for higher education students. If we ask students what "globalisation" means to them personally, and how higher education institutions have become "globalized," does that reality reflect institutional policy intentions? I will shift this discussion to how globalisation can be applied to the classroom in a concrete manner, and not just through increased institutional exposure. It is one thing to learn about foreign topics and studies, but I think it is worth considering how these studies can also be framed as foreign concerns, and yet be applied to student's local contexts. To provide a specific case study, I taught a course on intercultural education in Japan, where society and culture is generally more homogenous than other countries. The first point of this course, and the main goal, was for students to learn about modern American intercultural issues. The second, equally important point was to ask students to reflect upon and connect those learnings to their local reality in Japan. By teaching about modern and foreign American issues around topics such as racism, immigration, and political views, students can gain new perspectives and shift their mindset when it comes to how they perceive their own country. I will use this class as a case study and conceptual teaching method and proceed to discuss example cases of global issues where this can be applied. This will guide discussion of the large scope of globalisation and how it can be integrated and applied to student learning.

A. Yamada (✉)
Tamagawa University, Machida, Tokyo, Japan

15.1 Introduction

Over the last several decades rapid globalisation has strongly influenced the economies, cultures, and societies of most nations. As a core part of governance and national development, educational institutions, especially in higher education, have also been greatly affected (Zajda 2020). In this context, globalisation affects students studying abroad, drives students to learn foreign languages and cultures, exposes them to foreign students, ideas, and more. However, what does globalisation in higher education actually mean for students and how are they connected to this trend? This chapter will first briefly examine how globalisation manifests for higher education students. If we ask students what “globalisation” means to them personally, and how higher education institutions have become “globalised,” does that reality reflect institutional policy intentions? This chapter will discuss how globalisation can be applied to the classroom in a concrete manner, and not through conceptual means such as increased institutional exposure from foreign students and faculty, or other commonly used metrics of internationalisation. How can we effectively integrate globalisation into the classroom and apply it to student learning and outcomes? This chapter proposes that international studies can greatly expand student knowledge while also providing a focus for comparative learning by framing global issues against student’s own points of reference.

To expand upon this concept, this chapter presents a case study within Japanese higher education where I recently taught two courses on intercultural education, focusing on race and ethnic issues within the United States. The first goal of these courses was for students to learn about modern American intercultural issues. Japan is generally perceived as a homogeneous society and culture compared to most other countries, so the United States provides a significantly contrasting example of modern global societal and cultural issues. In particular, the U.S. has many large minority groups, represented to varying degrees in mainstream cultural topics that can be examined. The second, and perhaps equally important point of these courses, was to ask students to reflect upon and connect their learnings to Japan. By learning about modern American societal issues such as racism, immigration, and politics, Japanese students have opportunities to gain new perspectives and shift their mindset when it comes to how they perceive their own country. These courses are used as a case study and provide a conceptual teaching method within the broader trend of expanding internationalisation in higher education. By explaining how students perceived international issues and how they internalized these topics with consideration of local issues, this chapter aims to discuss what internationalisation can actually provide for students.

15.2 Purpose

This study proposes one way we can respond to internationalisation in higher education, specifically the use of international studies to help bridge global knowledge, improving student's overall perception and critical thinking in problem finding and solving (Zajda and Rust 2016). In today's society, the rapid proliferation of information and communications technologies have made it easier for us to obtain information from outside of our local communities. Technology has played a significant and powerful role with positive and negative effects, and we cannot cut these elements from our learning environments. Students can gain international information and education not only from the classroom, but from all manner of news, media, and social platforms. First it is important to make students aware of the learning opportunities that surround them on a daily basis, and help drive student awareness and interests to new international topics. Secondly, it is important for faculty to guide students with a framework for approaching international education at a university level. As educators, we need to consider how students perceive the information they learn and adapt this knowledge into their own lives. Education in international literacy and critical processing of such knowledge is an important lifelong tool that faculty can provide to students.

15.3 Historical Internationalisation of Higher Education

To provide a foundation for discussion of internationalisation, it will be helpful to briefly review its historical origins and changes over time. The internationalisation of universities can be traced back to their origins in the twelfth century, the original universities that were founded at Paris and Bologna, which quickly expanded to other parts of Europe. Using Latin as a common language, they provided training to students from many nations and were key to the accumulation and spread of knowledge from experts recruited throughout Europe (Altbach 2001). Operating under what Altbach (2001) describes as an exchange paradigm, the basis for internationalisation was the open exchange of knowledge and ideas based on mutual understanding and trust. Upon this foundation, a nation-state educational model gradually developed, Latin was replaced with regional languages, and governments became more involved in the development, regulation, and international policies of universities. During the rebuilding periods post World War I and II, and then especially during the Cold War, the importance of national foreign policy and designs on international relationships further cemented a strong government role in the internationalisation of higher education. Foreign language and area studies gained traction as dominant global powers like the United States sought to engage with foreign countries for diplomatic reasons and national security concerns (De Wit and Hunter 2015). It could be argued that World War II was a wakeup call for the United States, as its government realized they did not have the knowledge or talent to effectively manage wars in foreign domains such as countries in Europe and especially foreign

countries like Japan. During World War II, the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) recruited faculty of international fields for intelligence operations and the U.S. Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) enrolled 150,000 officers in programs to educate them in foreign languages and the skills needed for competency in international intelligence operations and diplomatic matters (De Wit and Merckx 2012). Thus, this period of history evidenced a shift to internationalisation with an intent to understand and leverage foreign language, culture, history, for diplomatic control in foreign affairs and preparation for potential conflicts. Then, in the 1980s, internationalisation saw increased competition for scientific knowledge and R&D capacity, as Japan became a prominent new rival amidst U.S. and European technological development, creating new international tensions over knowledge and intellectual property.

The last several decades have brought global massification of higher education, increased opportunities for educational and occupational mobility, and the emergence of a global knowledge based economy. Internationalisation reform and overall international mobility within academia, have become top priorities for higher education over the past recent decades (Altbach 2001; Zajda and Rust 2016). In this context, we can see many aspects of globalisation have been driven by economic and national security concerns. For instance, the economic benefits associated with international students cannot be categorized simply as open exchange and mutually beneficial agreements. There is large variance in the financial implications of international student flows between countries and institutions, for instance, the OECD (2019) found that in 2017 United States public universities charged international bachelor student tuition fees at rates approximately 2.8 times that of domestic students, approximately \$13,900 more per year. Taking into account that in 2017 the United States was by far the top destination for incoming international students, with 985,000 students, with the closest rival being the United Kingdom with 436,000 students, financial and accessibility concerns are very significant to any discussion of internationalisation (OECD 2019). Furthermore, international students make up a large presence in graduate programs, and are essential to funding of research universities and innovation in the United States. Trends for increased international student enrollment are closely related to student's economic situation at home, as shown by the growth of the Chinese economy resulting in disposable income for families to invest in educational opportunities abroad (Hegarty 2014). Another issue regarding student mobility is that developing countries are losing top academic talents through the "brain drain" phenomenon as they leave their homelands via educational opportunities, often leading to pathways toward permanent life abroad. Through this lens we can see that internationalisation of higher education has largely moved from a system of open knowledge exchange to one where governments and universities and are now competing at the international level for enrollments, talent, and R&D. Altbach (2001) succinctly describes this dichotomy as:

The exchange paradigm was based on the value of hard-to-measure long-term benefits: the virtue of reciprocity, mutual trust, transparency, improvement through cooperation, joint efforts for cost reduction, learning through mutual understanding, and so on. The [competition paradigm] involves financial gains, advertising, and distance between competitors. (Altbach 2001, p. 21)

Against this modern backdrop where internationalisation efforts are not all driven in the interest of student learning and outcomes, it is important that we still keep student perspectives in mind. There is a wide range of means that students can engage in internationalisation within higher education. To name a few:

- Studying abroad in exchange programs, and perhaps learning in courses taught in a foreign language.
- Remaining in one's home country, but taking courses and interacting with international exchange students.
- Taking courses that cover foreign area studies, language, culture, history, politics.
- International internship experience.

A strong rationale behind the importance of international exchange programs is that students can meet students of the host country and other international students from all over the world, learning their host country's culture and university life. At the same time, a host country's students also are exposed to other cultures, learn intercultural communication skills and gain experiences through interacting with international students, encouraging more interest in foreign cultures, language, and other international field studies courses. Intercultural communication is a core benefit of effective study abroad learning, as students are able to learn how to communicate and work with culturally dissimilar peers (Hinchcliff-Pelias and Greer 2004). Historically, access to international education has been limited to academic elites, while for others, most exchanges are not sponsored by institutions, but rather funded by individuals who actively choose to pursue them. As such, despite internationalisation greatly increasing in recent decades, the international student mobility rate in 2017 was only 6% on average among OECD countries (OECD 2019).

In contemporary societies, where technology plays significant roles in rapid globalisation, universities worldwide are being required to prepare an environment that can connect to skills in a knowledge-based society and there is now a global labor force and academic marketplace driving world-wide competition for human resources. Even if students do not study abroad or are not exposed to international education, the emerging global knowledge-based society has made it important for individuals to be able to cope with this trend. This chapter favors the view that internationalisation should not be measured over the short-term, but rather long-term impacts on student's outlook and perceptions. For instance, if students take courses or engage in interactions that raise awareness of international issues, changing student mindsets, perspectives, or career paths, these would be counted as successes. On the other hand, simply putting international students and faculty side by side with domestic students can, but does not guarantee, any meaningful internationalisation. One critique of the competition paradigm that has evolved in internationalisation efforts, is that outcomes are often measured quantitatively through metrics such as international students and faculty enrolled, courses taught, academic papers cited, etc. Standing alone, these metrics cannot tell us anything about actual student experiences and the long-term outcomes of internationalisation efforts. Exposure to internationalisation in university can develop students' global skillsets, broaden

their knowledge and perspectives, and provide more career opportunities, but as educators we must take steps to ensure these positive outcomes are realized.

15.4 Internationalisation of Higher Education in Japan

As this chapter presents a case study within Japan, this section will briefly review Japan's state of internationalisation of higher education. De Wit and Merckx (2012) explain that in East Asian countries with non-colonial heritage higher education largely developed to follow the traditions of Western systems, and Japan's higher education institutions were modernized "in the nineteenth century under pressure of Western economic, political and military power" (p. 45). From 1986 to 1991, Japan's bubble economy made it a new economic competitor to the United States, and newfound wealth and corporate expansions saw a dramatic increase in Japanese studying and working abroad. From 1994 to 1998 Japan was the top sender of international students to the United States, but since then it has dwindled to 8th. This decline was attributable to many factors, including Japanese workforce recruiting policies, declining student population, and a decline in push/pull factors to strongly motivate students to go abroad. According to IIE (2020a), only 115,146 of 3,456,594 Japanese students in higher education studied abroad in 2020, or 3.33%, much lower than the OECD average. Not surprisingly, internationalisation has been a top priority and hot topic within Japanese higher education policy for many years to date. The Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) is actively promoting ways to increase the number of inbound and outbound international exchange with an eye on global rankings and enhancing the global competencies of Japanese students (Fig. 15.1).

There have been numerous MEXT policies enacted to bring about greater internationalisation throughout Japanese higher education including the Top Global University project, Inter-University Exchange Project, Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development, Global 30 Project, etc. One strong rationale for Japanese internationalisation is global competition within education, often measured through world-wide university rankings. As previously discussed, internationalisation has become strongly pursued through a competitive paradigm, where enrollments, rankings, prestige, are often goals of such institutional policies.

The Top Global University project falls under this category, where 13 selected universities in its "Type A" group are believed to have the potential to be in the top 100 globally ranked universities. The second "Type B" group has 24 universities that seek to improve internationalisation. It is telling that 10 of the program's stated goals fall under internationalisation, and only three in governance and three in educational reform. These policies were built on the belief that increasing foreign and returnee faculty, increasing incoming and outgoing international students, and facilitating English study and ease of study for foreigners will lead to improved global evaluations (MEXT 2020). This program and others also tied into a 2008 initiative known as the "300,000 International Students Plan," which aimed to bring in that

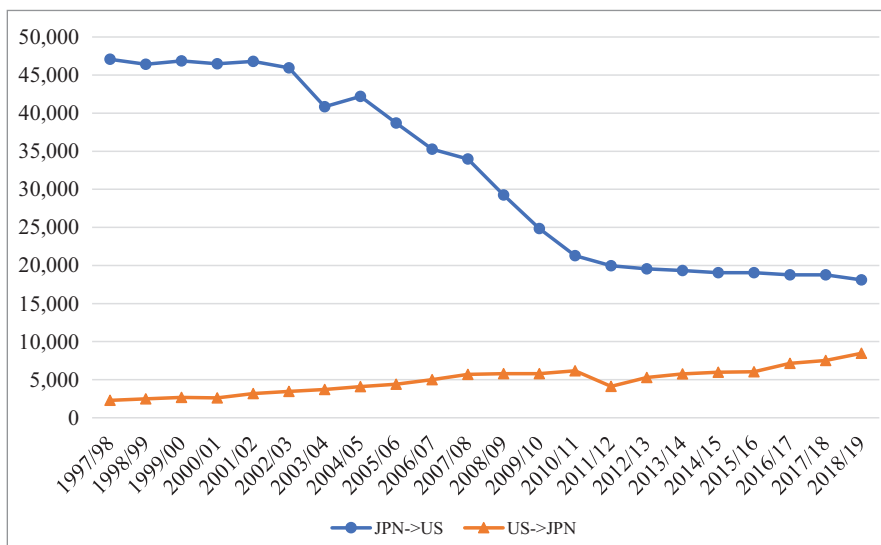


Fig. 15.1 International students studying abroad between Japan and the United States. (Adapted from IIE Open Doors data [2016](#), [2020b](#))

many international students annually by year 2020. At the time this goal was set in 2008, 123,829 international students were enrolled in Japan (MEXT [2012](#)).

To this end, within recent MEXT policy initiatives in Japan, there are many efforts being made to lower the barriers of access for foreign students, offering more instruction and support in English, etc. Yet, outgoing Japanese students still face many barriers for studying abroad, primarily with language proficiency and economic burden. When going from Asia to the United States for example, it is generally expected that exchange students will need to be proficient in English, and coursework and instruction will not be available in their native tongue.

15.5 Research Background

This research draws from two international education courses that I taught in 2020. The first was a large 97 student lecture-style course on intercultural education studies, primarily enrolled by second to fourth year undergraduate students. Of the 15 class sessions, each session covered a recent historical or current topic relating to the United States, such as culture, immigration, discrimination, etc. The second class was a more in-depth seminar-style course involving 10 students. This seminar course was based on teacher and student presentations and discussion, while the large lecture course was primarily teacher-based presentations, with less active participation from students. While covering topics in the United States, some English language media was used, but the coursework and instruction were all in Japanese.

Topics included modern issues such as immigration, illegal and undocumented immigrants, the history and treatment of minority groups like African, Hispanic, and Asian Americans, affirmative action, the Black Lives Matter movement, and more. In these courses students were given 15 weekly assignments where they provided responses on how they perceived intercultural studies outside of their own local culture and community. The primary questions asked were:

1. How do you observe and consider this matter?
2. What would you do if you were in this situation?
3. How would you propose to help resolve this type of issue?

One of the key goals of these courses was to teach students about global issues, but furthermore, the course sought to encourage them to connect these global issues to their own experiences. Pedagogically, this format was chosen to make students apply critical thinking to their understanding of international affairs, and stimulate problem solving processes. While there was instructor-driven discussion in these courses, the seminar course was very much an active learning classroom with student presentation and discussion. The lecture course was inherently more passive, but weekly writing assignments were designed to make students reflect on how international concerns may have local analogues, thus asking students to imagine how they would react or feel if they were in a such situations. Primary student responses pertaining to the courses are detailed in the appendix Table 15.1. That table supplements my own observations and conversations with students throughout the academic quarter.

15.6 Adapting Knowledge from Global to Local Contexts

Over time, we have seen rapid economic and cultural globalisation pushed through technological advances, and as a result the purpose and value of internationalisation within higher education has changed. Within the domain of international education, new demands have developed from the rise of global competitiveness and a global knowledge-based society. Higher education institutions are challenged to produce students with global citizenship, and global transferrable knowledge and skills that make the competitive in a globalised economic context. Educational institutions need to prepare an environment and curriculum that can develop these skills sets. Furthermore, international and intercultural studies shouldn't be limited to students of specific fields. These types of courses can provide benefits across the student field spectrum, as students gain skills and knowledge from which they can draw comparative perspectives and new opportunities. Through intercultural studies, students can develop such characteristics without the barriers and burdens associated with studying abroad.

Internationalisation in relation to education is somewhat unique in that it is not simply about one-way transmission of knowledge, it has indirect benefits, and can be bi-directional in the sense that both local and foreign students can learn from

each other. By pursuing international studies and being exposed to international environments, students first perceive new information, and then can indirectly or comparatively contrast this with their localized knowledge, potentially shifting their preconceived notions of local norms. Through this process, students exposed to internationalisation gain new knowledge, but also think critically and reconsider their accumulated knowledge. Evidencing this assertion, Student D explained:

by taking this course i was able to understand how race and diversity applies differently to each racial group. Even though these concepts related to people in the united states, how it applies to individual groups differs, and it made me think how this phenomenon can apply within Japan.

This student first differentiates his own Japanese positionality by studying these international topics, but acknowledges how these learnings can still apply to the student's own country. We tend to think of different cultures and issues that exist outside our local sphere, our country, as something isolated from us, and it can be difficult to find ways to connect them to our lives. However, an important aspect of studying foreign topics and being exposed to internationalisation in-depth is that we can realize there are connections and analogues that may reshape our worldview through new knowledge, comparative learning, and new perspectives. By thinking critically or having the skill to compare different perspectives, we can think in broader, open-minded ways simultaneously. As Student F responded, 'If I didn't take this course, I probably wouldn't be alert to, nor understand how some topics can be interpreted differently to different groups.' Despite the fact that we cannot truly experience the world from another's viewpoint, it is still possible for students to gain new perspective, imagine, compare, and think more critically about alternative points of view. In another person's situation, how would they react and behave, and expect others to view their situation?

While students learn about new comparative topics, they open pathways for how they can respond to international issues that are happening in their local sphere, in other words, adapting international learnings to their local contexts. By learning the complexity of intercultural issues, students can think about what elements can and cannot be used in the situations they face. The intention behind the international education courses I taught was for students to not just attain knowledge, but to incorporate it in meaningful and actionable ways in the future. For instance, Student C said:

I started to realize how the United States is complex while taking this course. I've studied about American history in a basic level, but never studied the depth and complicated issues regarding diversity and different races. I also came to realize how these complexities are important elements for me to understand as a global citizen.

This student explains how international studies helped them consider their position in the much larger state of global affairs and as a citizen of the world. By constantly asking students to learn, and self-reflect, students can realize that they are part of much larger global processes, and they can act based on that. Simply put, meaningful internationalisation motivates student to think critically, beyond their local comfort zone, compare and then take an action based on that. This process can be a

benefit of internationalisation in higher education and can open students' perspectives in new ways. Some can start to make a difference or take a personal action based on the knowledge they obtained through this course and can act locally, globally, or both simultaneously.

Students' post-graduation paths, internships, and careers can be influenced through the experience of thinking globally to locally. Some of the students in my classes shared that they became more interested to study and travel abroad after learning more about the United States. Student B stated:

Despite I am not American, nor have experience living in the U.S., the assignments made me think what I would do if I were in those situations. By thinking this way, I can apply this to my current situation and in the future, which made me aspire to study or travel abroad.

For modern generations of students in Japan, though most won't study abroad, many students have the means to travel internationally and taking international courses can help prepare them with cultural insight and knowledge. Even when students don't pursue study or work abroad, there are still opportunities for them to think and act globally within Japan. For example, Student A responded:

I came to think about how these issues can apply to the world I am living now. Geographically, I thought the United States is very far and I did not really meet nor interact with the people who were covered in this class, but now I feel I know how I should interact in the future and this course was a good preparation for me.

From Student A's point of view, it can also be understood that while foreign countries can be quite far geographically, it is possible to gain familiarity and interest without ever leaving Japan. In this sense, international education has the ability to open new doors and diversify options for students in their academic or personal lives. Internationalisation can be seen in many ways, not limited to physically stepping outside of one's culture and country and landing in a different part of the world. Before doing that, we can gain exposure and prepare, obtaining know-how knowledge. Student F suggested this, saying:

By learning international studies, this class was a bridge for me to learn beyond Japan and my personal life. I hope I can one day visit, or if not, even if I meet people from the United States, I am aware to some of their societal issues.

More broad perspectives and opportunities are provided by internationalisation and this was seen through the contextual analysis of each individual student's opinions. Another important way critical thinking and development of new perspectives manifested was when students brought up past events in their assignments. When talking about foreign subjects they just learned about, they made connections to past events and experiences that connected to these topics. Gaining new perspectives, students started to question previously held notions of normalcy, for instance intercultural issues viewed from a Japanese context. Some students started their assignments by stating how comparing intercultural issues between the United States and Japan showed them alternative approaches and solutions to similar problems, while also making them aware of the differences and uniqueness of each country. Topics like diversity, immigration, racism, all exist in Japan and America, but the way they

manifest is quite dissimilar, allowing students to reframe their personal views against new ideas. In this sense, students can reflect upon their past, finding issues they took for granted, and view them from new critical and comparative manners, sometimes finding better ways to approach and solve problems. I believe this process of reflection and consideration over a longer time-frame and broader manner is an important part of international education.

Globalisation has had drastic impacts politically, economically, and socially, and as the world changes through internationalisation educational institutions are trying to reflect this world trend at all levels including policy, curriculum, faculty, and student enrollment. We still need greater understanding and adaptation towards the rapid changes in skillsets that will be needed in the future. Internationalisation allows higher education institutions to reflect on what is missing and what their local strengths are when they juxtapose their situation to the other higher education institutions outside of their country. One of the key benefits of international studies and internationalisation is that it provides opportunities for comparative analysis and greater understanding through incorporation of multiple perspectives in problem solving. Academically we strive for students to connect their learning and knowledge to practical skills. Against the context of globalisation, how can international knowledge be applied to domestic situations? Due to the all-encompassing nature of globalisation, it will be indispensable for students to think out of their local scope and obtain diverse ways of thinking and problem solving.

15.7 Improving Literacy in Global Affairs Through Student Interests

New forms of communication have a significant role in the lives of today's students, internet, news, television, and social networking services allow them to obtain information from all over the world. Compared to the past, where news traveled via courier, shipping, airmail, or telephone, information can now spread nearly instantaneously and can be readily accessed by massive audiences across the world. It is important for educators to understand that university students frequently obtain international-minded information through such means. Despite the majority of the students in the classes I taught having never visited the United States, through means of modern technology, it is easy for them to find news, information, and knowledge from abroad. Student B explained that, 'Even though this course covered issues on intercultural education in the United States, many things I learned about were familiar to me, since they have appeared on the TV, newspapers, and social networks.' On this note, we should consider that one role for university education is to teach literacy, how to assess information, how to read an article or book and comprehend its knowledge, and how to communicate that knowledge with their peers. The value of international studies is not just in the acquisition of international knowledge. There is also value in stimulating student's existing interest in

international topics, potentially developing a life-long awareness of international affairs, or interests that may lead to students choosing to study or travel abroad for more immersive experiences. For instance, Student C remarked in this regard:

Recalling my education and memory, I did learn about the United States, however taking this course made me want to learn further beyond this class, such as reading, watching and searching for information by myself. I clearly wanted to know more about why these issues are happening and how people and society are responding to these matters in the United States.

Many students shared that they felt these classes helped change their awareness and perspective on both foreign and domestic topics. Observing students' points of view while taking these international studies courses, some developed interest in learning about global issues further and decided to take more courses in international studies. Through their assignments, it was clear that some class topics piqued greater interest and student responses.

As Student E responded, 'Especially when the class covers the topics of youth, most of the target people who appeared were similar to me, the same generation. It made me think, what if I were them?'

By having students share their own thoughts on class subjects, it provides an important point for educators to reflect upon. In this manner, faculty can also learn from students and iterate on teaching methods to improve content and knowledge transfer, but also how to cater towards student interests to make course content more meaningful and impactful for students. For instance, international studies courses can be a primer that will guide students to travel abroad and see these places and topics firsthand, not just from an academic context, and perhaps they will show interest in working and living in an international setting.

15.8 Study Limitations

This study focused on social science students and specific social science courses in international studies. The values and processes for internationalisation will not be the same across different fields and each has different challenges and benefits for internationalisation. For instance, when STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) field students study abroad it is easier for them to obtain a degree of common understanding with international STEM major students, since these fields tend to share some common language and notation, whether in mathematics, programming, physics, etc. STEM fields have become a hot topic in higher education, and there are now calls to introduce aspects of the liberal arts back into the highly technical and siloed departments that comprise the STEM fields. Internationalisation could be one means to do this, but it also raises further questions as to whether it is as applicable as compared to social sciences, which more clearly benefit from comparative points of view in studies in politics, society, culture, arts, etc. Thus, meaningful internationalisation and its value to students may differ widely between the social sciences and STEM fields.

Secondly, this study focuses on Japanese students studying American societal issues. Japanese youth have recently been associated with “inward looking” views, with less interest in international affairs, learning foreign languages, and studying abroad (Yonezawa 2014). Studying abroad can also hinder Japanese students in their job hunting due to timing issues, and many companies do not actively seek or especially value workers with international experience. It is also apparent that Japanese students face greater difficulty studying abroad than international students who seek to study in Japan. Japanese higher education policy has sought to reduce burdens for international students by including more courses and resources in English. On the other hand, when Japanese students study abroad, the burden is usually on them to become proficient in the language of their host country. Without question, there are many critical differences for incoming and outgoing international exchange students in Japan. This research topic would benefit from additional comparative studies to evaluate whether this case study paradigm of bridging global to local knowledge can be applied and used meaningfully elsewhere. What might the differences and similarities be? More in-depth studies and comparative studies across countries and fields are needed to draw from, since recent history has shown tremendous momentum towards increased globalisation.

15.9 Discussion

Growing demand for internationalisation in education is evident due to rapid globalisation and it is important to examine and predict what changes will be necessitated for higher education institutions (Zajda 2020). Looking at the historical factors and trends in university internationalization, at a macro level, there was a shift from an exchange paradigm of cooperation and shared learning, to a modern competition paradigm that pits institutions and countries against each other for global talent, financial and intellectual resources (Altbach 2001). There is great value to studying abroad, which is unmatched in first-hand experiences and authenticity, but there are also many challenges in using this as a primary path towards internationalisation. Within higher education, internationalisation and international mobility between countries evidence uneven power relationships and increased barriers for students from disadvantaged countries and homes. With low single-digit international student mobility, even in economically strong countries like Japan, it is unnecessarily limiting to view studying abroad as a key to internationalisation in education. Domestic international study courses present different types of international learning opportunities, awareness and mindsets without the typical barriers of international student mobility. Students do not have to worry about transfer credits, scheduling securing financial resources, and becoming proficient in foreign languages. Teaching international studies to Japanese higher education students, I witnessed firsthand how students perceive and respond to international studies and how they can contextualize foreign knowledge to domestic topics. I believe there is considerable value for courses in general international studies that raise global issues to

assist students to learn and engage with new perspectives as they perceive the subject matter on their own. There are several important benefits to this teaching approach:

- Exposure to a wide range of international issues allows students to think beyond the scope of their everyday life and provides them an opportunity to think critically and perceive concepts with an open mind.
- By explicitly bridging the gap from foreign to local topics, students can obtain comparative points of view and may rethink issues and consider whether their original understandings have changed. For example, students can reflect on whether global problems have local analogues, or whether a foreign approach can be applied domestically.
- Taking courses similar to international studies, particularly intercultural related issues, students can reuse and refer to previously learned topics, and over time they will build up their global knowledge and perspectives. Thus, to begin with, students may have a narrow perspective, but through coursework, students will be able explain their learnings and apply their obtained knowledge to exploration and interpretation of both global and local issues.

15.10 Conclusion

With modern technology and globalisation, students have near instantaneous access to massive amounts of information, news, media, pop culture, etc. A key role for higher education is to help students process this information, teach literacy to critically process the information they acquire, connecting it to their personal values and views of the world. The environment educational institutions provide, the faculty, and curriculum are ultimately there to help students make these connections for themselves. International studies can help students realize the global knowledge opportunities available to them, and to broaden their perspectives in the long term. However, the definition, purpose, and value of international studies and courses differs widely between each country. Comparative case study learning and having students think outside of the scope of their everyday lives is important, and by being exposed to aspects of internationalisation and globalisation students can gain different values and opportunities for learning. This study proposes that comparative international courses are an important method to develop internationalisation in higher education for a wide variety of students.

Note I would like to especially thank the students who kindly shared their thoughts and ideas during the courses I taught.

Appendix

Table 15.1 Quotes from students surveyed in the intercultural studies seminar course

Respondent	Feelings about course/keywords and findings
Student A	Even though this course was not about Japan, by taking this course I came to realize that a lot of the topics were very familiar to me, even though I'm not American. I think I can look at the news and topics related to the United States more in a different way than before taking this course.
	I came to think about how these issues can apply to the world I am living now. Geographically, I thought the United States is very far and I did not really meet nor interact with the people who were covered in this class, but now I feel I know how I should interact in the future and this course was a good preparation for me.
Student B	Even though this course covered issues on intercultural education in the United States, many things I learned about were familiar to me, since they have appeared on the TV, newspapers, and social networks.
	By taking this course and working on the weekly response paper, this class was not only lecture type, but it was more asking us what we will do if we were in this situation. Despite I am not American, nor have experience living in the U.S., the assignments made me think what I would do if I were in those situations. By thinking this way, I can apply this to my current situation and in the future, which made me aspire to study or travel abroad.
Student C	I started to realize how the United States is complex while taking this course. I've studied about American history in a basic level, but never studied the depth and complicated issues regarding diversity and different races. I also came to realize how these complexities are important elements for me to understand as a global citizen.
	Recalling my education and memory, I did learn about the United States, however taking this course made me want to learn further beyond this class, such as reading, watching and searching for information by myself. I clearly wanted to know more about why these issues are happening and how people and society are responding to these matters in the United States.
Student D	By taking this course I was able to understand how race and diversity applies differently to each racial group. Even though these concepts related to people in the United States, how it applies to individual groups differs, and it made me think how this phenomenon can apply within Japan.
	While this topic was about the United States, and even though I'm not American, but Japanese, I started to think in a more problem-solving way than just receiving all new information.
Student E	Despite I've never been outside of Japan, I became more curious about the issues in the United States related to intercultural studies. If one day if I ever go abroad, I would like to keep in mind to all the factors I learned in this course. This class was a good preparation for me.
	I started to think how their situation and my situation are not completely different, and some parts to overlap. Especially when the class covers the topics of youth, most of the target people who appeared were similar to me, the same generation. It made me think, what if I were them?
Student F	Because of this course, I want to be an educator one day. I gained knowledge on how to teach students who have different cultural and ethnical background. If I didn't take this course, I probably wouldn't be alert to, nor understand how some topics can be interpreted differently to different groups.
	By learning international studies, this class was a bridge for me to learn beyond Japan and my personal life. I hope I can one day visit, or if not, even if I meet people from the United States, I am aware to some of their societal issues.

Responses from students were transcribed and English translations are provided by the author

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Chapter 16

The Impact of Globalisation on the Mission of the University



M'hammed Sabour

Abstract 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.

16.1 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.

M. Sabour (✉)
University of Joensuu, Joensuu, Finland
e-mail: mhammed.sabour@uef.fi

16.2 The Historical Mission of the University

16.2.1 *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. It could be argued that 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 thirteenth century).

In contrast to those who consider that the kind of knowledge and training provided by the medieval universities was “... divorced from the practical needs of society”, Cobban contends that its position was relatively more pivotal and society-oriented.

Depending on their contexts and circumstances, the universities were “... socially useful, providing a range of intellectual skills that were germane to a community functioning”. These skills covered both the secular and the ecclesiastical

domains. In others words, the universities, functionally “fitted graduates both for specialised professional work and as useful members of the community”:

they formed an aristocracy of labour in medieval society. They were the opinion-makers, the indispensable propos of those who directed the energies of society. Medieval graduates furnished the trained minds which influenced political argument and shaped ecclesiastical policy. (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 seventeenth century the universal ideology gradually shifted from Christianity to the modern experimental sciences and their rationalising logic. This was endorsed by the scientific revolution and the Reformation, which changed the function of the sciences. The corporate order of the university (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*) as a guild gave 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.

16.2.2 *The Cultural University*

Based on the idealist philosophy the role of the German universities became centred on the progress of culture through the articulation of the various branches of the sciences as a “unified” totality. The disciplines also underwent a systematic rationalisation. In other words, the university implied a gathering of diverse and multiple elements within a single unity. German idealism did not conceive of the university as a corporation of scholars and students (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*) but as a meeting-point of knowledge (*universitas scientiarum*) (Renaut 1995), a systematic gathering of the various fields of knowledge and of the sciences that corresponded to them.¹

The unity of knowledge was promoted as an intellectual preoccupation. The German interpretation, whose aim was the achievement of a final rupture with the notion of the medieval university, represented an important step in the modernisation of the university, from the university as a corporation to the university as an institution of elevated and autonomous knowledge. It meant the substitution of reason for authority and tradition as the rationale for the university organisation.

¹The founding fathers of the German universities were mainly philosophers, a fact that becomes obvious when we read about the mission of this university.

von 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 nineteenth century, science and research were added to the academic mission:

"Universities were recognised as special institutions by society precisely because their goals went beyond everyday commerce." (Altbach 2001, p. 2).

16.2.3 *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.

16.3 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 (Fourastié 1971; Scott 1984; Readings 1996). Present realities demand a different approach.

The university has become a central institution in society in the twentieth century. Its intellectual, social and scientific function has imbued it with an enormous importance and a relative indispensability, and in consequence it has also provided it with tremendous prestige, affluence and power. But, as an institution whose existence, function and activities have been increasingly linked together with the ongoing changes in society, the university has been constantly expected to redefine its position and mission reflexively in the light of the current expectations and aspirations of the political paradigm, the cultural domain, the labour market and the growing mass demand for its services. This influence and power and polyvalent function, according to Nisbet (1971) has “proved to be its undoing.” He adds that:

[t]he greater the university became, the less noble it proved to be in both purpose and bearing. The greater its external power, the smaller its internal authority. The wealthier in land, buildings, and income, the more impoverished in those spiritual and intellectual resources that had made the university perhaps the West’s most cherished institution by the beginning of the twentieth century. A giant in self-esteem by the middle of this century, the university was already on its way to becoming a pygmy in fact; and, before long, the object of contempt, derision and hatred.² (Nisbet 1971, p. 240).

This kind of assessment has caused Bauman (1997, pp. 47–54) to suggest that “the ontology of the university is faced with many challenges as a result of changes in society”; it faces, in point of fact, numerous crises. However, in contrast to Nisbet, who argues that the university is a victim of its own self-inflicted “dread disease of mind” and pretentious “overweening pride”, Bauman contends that its missional problems are “only partly, if at all, of their own making.” Whatever is the case, as has been rightly underlined by Jarvis (2001, p. 2), during the last decades the “universities have been more exposed to the substructural pressures of society to change. Universities have become much more like corporations and are being forced to rethink their mission, or their function, in this changing society.” His claim is further elaborated as follows:

Universities do need to know what they are, or at least what their mission is, so that they can respond to these external pressures in an appropriate manner, but mission Statements differ from institution to institution – which actually implies that each university recognizes its own distinctive character and that we might really be discussing divergent rather than convergent forms of university. (Jarvis 2001, 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

²This scathing critique, which is mainly directed at American universities, may also find some echoes on the campuses of European universities.

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 contends, in this age of super complexity "the university no longer knows what it is to be a university". However, the biggest challenge for the mission of the university is emerging from the growing process of globalisation and neoliberalism.

16.4 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 inter-actively. Moreover, these innovations have to some extent broken the monopoly controlling the access to knowledge, which prevailed prior to the globalisation of communications and cyber technology. By the same token, a business opportunity for the university to commercialise its knowledge has also become available.³ Jarvis (2001, p. 36) claims that the fact that

... academics are now able to play a relevant role in a knowledge-based workforce also indicates that universities have lost their largely monopolistic role as producers and disseminators of knowledge, but it also indicates that they do have a major place in the global economy. Globalisation and the competitive market have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and on the universities themselves. (Jarvis 2001, p. 36).

³For example, the recruitment of international students is having a significant impact on the economy of many universities (e.g. in the United Kingdom).

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, was seen in the past as antithetical to the ethos of the university. Delanty observes, as a result of globalisation, universities today “with business schools and techno science on the rise”, and with the emphasis on entrepreneurial values are enjoying a “new legitimacy.” which is likely to stifle their critical voice of the university.

It can also be claimed that globalisation may also have a negative impact on the university as such. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university will be pressed to embrace the corporate ethos and, in the process, be rendered powerless to resist the temptations offered by the neo-liberal tendency (Zajda 2020). 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

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).

Liotard (1984), one of the leading prophets of postmodernism, argues that the university is reaching a point which “...may be its end, while the institution may just be beginning” (Liotard 1984, p. xxv). Inspired by this school of thought, Readings (1996) claims that the modern university has served its time and its ideals can no longer survive in the present bureaucratically-oriented and market-enslaved 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.

16.5 Conclusion

Currently, the universities in Finland have 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.⁴ 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

⁴A small country like Finland is very sensitive to the positive and negative impacts of globalisation. This has provided tremendous opportunities for it to export its high tech know-how, contributing considerably to its prosperity and welfare. However, the more the Finnish economy is tied to the international capitalist market and its avatars the more the funding of its institutions is exposed to fluctuations in the market. Hence, the university, as an institution financed by the State whose financial room for manoeuvre has been reduced under the impact of economic globalisation, finds itself more vulnerable than ever.

and culture.⁵ This polyvalent excellence can rarely be achieved without trivialising the very mission of intellectual activity.⁶

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⁵As 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 20 years earlier. At a more general level, the phenomenon of the global, corporate university located entirely within the private sector and usually with a strong emphasis on IT delivery and a virtual existence, is increasingly common..."

⁶Polyvalence is becoming one of the magic formulas in academia. Mittelstrass (1994, p. 49) outlines three forms of modernity, which are represented by three heroes: (i) The space of Christopher Columbus (Kolumbus-Welt). In this space man is seen as discoverer of the world. (ii) The space of G.W. Leibniz (Leibniz-Welt) where there is an endeavour to make the real intelligible and where man is the interpreter of the world. (iii) The space of Leonardo da Vinci (Leonardo-Welt) where man tries to be an artisan and creator of a world that corresponds to his needs. Mittelstrass argues that the contemporary society is in need of a 'Leonardian university' (Leonardo-Universität). In the spirit of Leonardo da Vinci (architect, engineer, artist, scholar) this university has to be a multidisciplinary polyvalent institution. (see Renaut 1995, p. 147).

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Chapter 17

PISA: Ideology and a Paradigm Shift



Carlos Ornelas

Abstract This chapter argues that PISA helps to strengthen the hegemony of the ruling groups. Still, at the same time, it generates political opposition from local actors and criticism from scholars. It displays the contents in six sections. First, it provides a brief background on the rise of the OECD and PISA and describes the content of the test. Second, it portrays the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) and the role of the OECD in its promotion. Third, it presents an analysis of how the OECD and the governments that applaud its action use the parsing of science. It aims to strengthen the ideas that good education is only one in which 15-year-old students answer questions about language, mathematical understanding, and science. Fourth, it sets the speculation that on why teachers are the main piece of the reforms' purposes and, consequently, provoke rejection and opposition to PISA. Fifth, it exhibits the case of how the Mexican government ask for the OECD help to launch an education reform in 2009. However, the Department of Education rejected the OECD proposal in 2010. Afterwards, the government that took office in 2012 made a move following the OECD commendations. Still, the new administration rejected them again in 2018. Sixth, it discusses whether PISA meets the characteristics of normal science, that is, a paradigm that helps solve problems that education did not disentangle before. Or, if it is another tool, with sophisticated methodology, to reinforce the dominant ideology.

17.1 Introduction

Three collections of essays and research reports compiled by outstanding scholars analyse the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other international standardised tests from a multiplicity of viewpoints and disciplines, mostly in comparative perspective. There are historians, economists, political scientists, educators, and policymakers who discourse on PISA and its effects. The book edited by Miguel Angel Pereyra, Hans-Georg Kotthoff, and Robert Cowen, *PISA Under Examination: Changing Knowledge, Changing Tests, and Changing Schools* (Pereyra et al. 2011), portrays the mutations that PISA provoked in many places of

C. Ornelas (✉)

The Metropolitan Autonomous University Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico

© Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_17

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the world. Although not all, but some of the authors may see the educational swaps around the planet as radical as Martha Nussbaum sees them: “nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves, criticise tradition, and understand the significance of another person’s sufferings and achievements” (Nussbaum 2010, p. xv).

The assortment made by Heinz-Dieter Meyer and Aaron Benavot, *PISA, Power, and Policy: The Emergence of Global Educational Governance*, emphasise the political aspects and consequences that PISA and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) policies convey at a global scale. Nonetheless, they also analyse social concerns produced by the PISA League Tables and its production of texts, reports, briefings, and other policy documents to form a dominant discourse about educational change and governance (Meyer and Benavot 2013). Florian Waldow and Gita Steiner-Khamsi’s book, *Understanding PISA’s Attractiveness: Critical Analyses in Comparative Policy Studies*, examines the “projections,” as in a cinema, which governments and policymakers propel for the promotion of education reforms, the perception of a crisis in schooling, or the naturalisation of policies. They do their task mostly with a base on country studies (Waldow and Steiner-Khamsi 2019). The authors of the three books share a consensus in that the OECD has a remarkable influence in designing education policies on education all over the world (see Zajda 2020a, c).

The global influence of the OECD began when it launched the PISA programme. Before PISA, the organisation’s action meant to collect and scrutinise data from member countries. With the foundation of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) in 1968 and the publication of the annual series *Education at a Glance*, it expanded its field of action. The idea of PISA was born in 1995 (or so), and its first application was in 2000. The publication of the first results provoked various reactions: from the “PISA Shock” in Germany to a warm welcome in other countries, especially in those which students showed an achievement above the average.

Not only the OECD but also the growth of other intergovernmental organisations that were pushing for reforms in education since previous decades, such as UNESCO and the World Bank, converged on an international education reform model. Such a convergence triggered a paradigm shift in terms of visions of development that may affected education and schooling systems (Lauwerier 2017). Those organisations encouraged many international test scores, but PISA offers systematic, comparable information and assessments that provide substance to make value judgments and to impel educational policy (Carnoy 2015). The OECD contends that PISA is a reliable scientific tool to measure students’ achievement, make international comparisons, and draw valuable lessons that may lead education reforms to increase the quality of education and to impulse that the students acquire “skills for life”. PISA, thus, provided instruments for conceiving and practising education around the earth. It helps in the promotion of a global education reform movement, in which teachers and schools are at the centre (OECD 2010a, b). Even though that PISA surveys included information about schools, teachers, family context and organisational matters, it did not yield enough data to evaluate the activity of teachers. Then the

Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) entered the arena in 2008, although with a smaller number of participating countries.

Sotiria Grek and Thomas Popkewitz do not use the concept of paradigm shift; yet, each one of them see a profound swing on the modes of control of the school systems: a new political technology to govern by numbers, to look for categorical rationality to arrange what and how education should be (Grek 2009; Popkewitz 2011). However, if one takes the point of view of Thomas S. Kuhn (who coined the term paradigm to categorise scientific revolutions), PISA does not contain the elements of a scientific paradigm, unless such a notion is used externally and reflects ideological visions.

17.2 The Problem

In the postscript to the second edition of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn says that paradigms are “the most novel and least understood aspect of this book” (Bird 2018). The claim that the consensus of a disciplinary matrix is an agreement on paradigms-as-exemplars to explain the nature of normal science and the process of crisis, revolution, and renewal of normal science. The function of a paradigm is to supply puzzles for scientists to solve problems. Plus, to provide the tools for their solution. A crisis in science arises, Kuhn argued, when there is not enough confidence in the ability of the paradigm to solve scientific problems, particularly worrying puzzles called ‘anomalies’ (Bird 2018) while paradigm shift refers to the time when the usual and accepted way of doing or thinking about something changes completely.

In *The German Ideology*, Marx contends that reality appears upside down in ideology, much like the photographic process provides an inverted image. The overturned image is telling; it is a recognizable depiction of reality, even if it is at the same time a distorted one. Karl Mannheim elaborated further on the idea of the complex relationship between reality and ideology by pointing to the human need for ideology. Ideologies are neither true nor false but are a set of socially conditioned ideas that provide a truth that people, both the advantaged and the disadvantaged, want to hear. Ideology exists to protect existing social conditions from attack by those who are disadvantaged by them. Members of the Frankfurt School, such as Jürgen Habermas, drew on the Marxist idea of ideology as a distortion of reality to point to its role in communication, wherein interlocutors find that power relations prevent the clear, uncoerced articulation of beliefs and values (Sypnowich 2019).

This articulation of principles and meanings are the adhesives to reinforce hegemonic thinking. Still, hegemony is a social and political phenomenon; it is not normal science. Hegemony refers to the process through which dominant social groups achieve their political authority through the incorporation of the fears, hopes, and concerns of subordinated groups. In this process of ideological integration, dominant groups appropriate symbols and concepts traditionally associated with dominated groups and insert them into their dominant discourses. Hegemony is thus a

process through which dominant groups pull together multiple—often contradictory—discourses and achieve ‘collective will’ under their leadership. Generated through ‘official’ policy-making processes, policy texts, and devices constitute part of this process of ideological incorporation (Takayama 2012): 149.

One could argue that, in effect, education in the world is full of “anomalies.” That schooling does not meet the expectations that governments and societies have created to solve development problems and social inequalities. Besides, education is not providing citizens with the knowledge to live in harmony with their fellow human beings and nature. Somebody could even say, as Philip Coombs argued since the 1960s, that there is a world educational crisis (Coombs 1968). The OECD and other intergovernmental organizations claim that international test scores and comparisons could define a global educational policy to solve such a crisis. Thus, schools’ systems claim for a revolution in education to dismantle what is obsolete. That is to say, a new paradigm for education.

- How did the OECD influence the design of education policy and promoted reforms on a global scale to make PISA part and parcel of hegemonic thinking on education?
- Is PISA a scientific instrument or one that serves to stratify countries?
- Why teachers became the main target of education reforms championed by the OECD?
- Finally, can PISA be itemized as a paradigm that completely changed things and thinking about education? Or, to the contrary, did it only create the illusion that it is a scientific, neutral, and reliable tool to measure the progress of education?

Beyond the particular answers to these questions, this chapter contends that PISA helps to strengthen the hegemony of the ruling groups, but at the same time, it generates political opposition from local actors and criticism from scholars.

17.3 Birth and Splendor

Although the World Bank continues to be the leading intergovernmental body that offers financing for education projects in line with the neoliberal vision (Stromquist and Monkham 2014), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development grows in influence and visibility as a promoter of education reforms. This influence or soft power, as Wiseman (2013) calls it, is because it has a potent instrument, the Programme for International Student Assessment. Such a programme combines two elements awkward to reconcile: it stratifies and, at the same time, promotes homogeneity among school systems. The United States and the United Kingdom were pushing for neoliberalism and states, with a social-democratic tradition, were fighting for the survival of neo-Keynesian approaches. However, from the mid-1990s—and even more marked with the founding of the Directorate of Education within the OECD, in 2002—the debates, which previously occurred in philosophical and

ideological terms, vanished and gave way to a technocratic discourse on how the OECD can better promote free market and competition (Rizvi and Lingard 2006).

The OECD was born in 1961 as a product of the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of the European economy. It is, therefore, a fruit of the Cold War, although with conducive tasks. The United States remains the country that contributes the most funds to the organization and tries to impose its views. During the first three decades of its existence, there were debates between the US version of market liberalism and the protection of several European governments that, from their social democratic vision, tried to foster a social and regulated market (Tröhler 2013).

In its origins, the OECD was an organisation whose principal mission was to design instruments for the collection of economic information and to standardise a system of statistics—indicators—that allowed the governments of the country members to make comparisons and learn from each other. Within the OECD, education was a secondary aspect; it was a section of the Office for the Training of Scientific and Technological Personnel. It was the time of the birth of the theory of human capital that already permeated the work spirit of the organisation: schooling should stress economic objectives and, therefore, promote the training of scientific personnel and the development of technology. Its first documents expressed the idea of improving and expanding the teaching of science and mathematics in schools.

The life of the organisation evolved. In 1968 the OECD founded the Centre for Research and Innovation in Education (CERI), partly because of the insistence of several European countries to recognize and affirm the qualitative aspects of economic growth and to create better living conditions for their populations. In parallel, it established a broader vision of education, which highlighted their cultural and social purposes, as well as a heavy emphasis on the search for equality and social justice. Despite the insistence of the United States, several states refused to homogenise their information systems in education; that reason delayed the educational indicators project until the mid-1980s (Meyer and Benavot 2013).

However, the idea of promoting education linked to the market economy was making its way. From the 1990s, it became clear that in the field of education, the OECD declared itself in favour of human capital formation, new ways of governing education, and a global space to make comparative studies of the performance of educational systems. It was the emergence of its education reform agenda. It was the beginning of an overhaul that some perhaps call it a paradigm shift. The periodic publication *Education at a Glance* underlined the emergence of the OECD as a power in the formulation of educational policies. Such a review is more than the presentation of statistics; it includes recommendations to improve indicators (or how to reform them), formulas to make spending more efficient, pieces of advice on teacher preparation and recruitment, and it embarks on suggestions on transparency and accountability. It presumes neutrality in ideology and politics, excludes commenting on cultural relations and national identities.

Daniel Tröhler argues that “Indeed, *Education at a Glance* and its indicators suggest cultural indifference. The cluster ‘context of education’ is clearly not meant to be a cultural context, where social meanings are constructed by human interaction. ‘Contexts of education’ are reduced to figures and statistics that are correlated with

other figures and statistics” (Tröhler 2013:156). However, *Education at a Glance* has not instrumental devices to know about the quality of education. PISA is the tool that allowed OECD to make comparisons, not only about growth and educational programmes but concerning student performance.

The OECD developed and applied the first PISA exam between 1997 and 1999 and began publishing the results in the year 2000. PISA assesses competencies and skills of 15-year-olds at the end of compulsory education, which in most of its member countries is of 12 years. They are children who begin secondary school (or the second cycle of secondary education) or enter the labour market. The exams cover areas of reading comprehension, mathematics, and scientific competence. The instruments evaluate the mastery that young people have of processes, understanding of concepts, and ability to act in complex situations. It is a cyclical evaluation—every 3 years—and on each occasion, it emphasizes one of the three domains (OECD 2010a).

The publication of the first results of PISA presented several surprises and generated broad debates. The emphasis of PISA 2000 was to evaluate reading comprehension skills. Countries like Germany and Japan, whose educational systems were reputed to be reasonable, effective, and equitable, appeared at the intermediate levels of international comparison. They suffered what some analysts call “the PISA shock”. The press took the figures seriously, and, as in the United States and Mexico, there were severe criticisms to governments and teachers (Takayama 2012; Tamez Guerra and Martínez Rizo 2012; Waldow 2009). However, both PISA and OECD policy regarding education are subject to rigorous scrutiny, not only by radical intellectuals but also by scholars who do not identify themselves with critical approaches, as Martin Carnoy extensively reports (Carnoy 2015).

Germany, Japan, and other countries responded to the stimulus of PISA and undertook reforms of various types in their education systems. PISA became the measure of all things. Several nations, including Mexico, imitated the methods and instruments of PISA, requested advice from the OECD to guide its reforms—not reduced, even if it is the dominant aspect, to establishing evaluation systems—and changes in the institutions (INEE 2015). The OECD publishes studies on education in countries on specific topics, makes international comparisons, and increasingly registers as a leading actor in the definition of what to do in school and training and where to march. The paradox is that the OECD does not have legal instruments or financial resources to prepare its studies, it depends on contracts with the governments of the member countries and those that join its projects, whose number is increasing.

Either by design or by the influence of the press or even by political will, PISA stratifies nations. Also, it stigmatises some of them, to the extent that their media calls them losers (Bolívar 2011). Nevertheless, the purpose is to standardise education and direct reform efforts towards areas that are desirable for sustained growth, support for the market economy, and promotion of democracy. Although it was not part of the original OECD framework, there is a depreciation of the social sciences, arts, and humanities.

While it is true that issues such as equity and equal opportunities remain in the OECD discourse, according to Rizvi and Lingard (2006), those are articulated far from the strong definition of social justice towards ideas of social capital and inclusion, but without the emphasis previously put in social classes. The OECD aligned itself with the imperatives of globalization and neoliberalism. To give political strength to the ideology that favours the private sector over the public, most of the intergovernmental organizations promote the New Public Management, whose canons for education imply to govern by goals and products. Nevertheless, Ulf P. Lundgren points out that PISA is mostly a political instrument which base is evaluation: “The results of international assessments draw the political view of how to govern goals and content in relation to measurable outcomes. Within education the idea of governing by goals and results was central to reforms long before the New Public Management was coined... In periods of change this is more evident than in periods of stability” (Lundgren 2011: 19–20).

17.4 PISA and Others Tools

Perhaps the success of PISA as an instrument of accountability is because it matches well with the dominant ideology, neoliberalism, associated with globalization. However, it was not a dictatorial imposition. It included worries of social groups that the education of their offspring was in decline, that the traditional curriculum no longer met the needs of the future of work and the economy. Clara Morgan (2011) reveals the United States origin of PISA. True, as other authors (like, Kamens 2013; Lundgren 2011; Tröhler 2013) pinpoint the background of large-scale assessments in TIMSS and the IEA, and the first efforts of international comparisons, especially in Europe. Still, Morgan reports how officials from the U.S. Department of Education approached the OECD to insist on the creation of a system of global indicators in education. It responded to domestic interests. The United States wanted to compare the performance of its education system with those of other industrialized countries.

Executives and experts from the United States National Centre for Education Statistics and OECD specialists designed the International Indicators and Evaluation of Education Systems (INES), which was the immediate forebear of PISA. It was under the INES project that the OECD launched the call won by the consortium led by the Australian Centre for Educational Research (ACER). ACER proposed to generate new knowledge-oriented towards life skills and literacy rather than to curriculum content (Morgan 2011: 55).

Another reason why the OECD gained prominence amongst intergovernmental organizations involved in education globally could be that its instrumental view offered empirical substance to what Pasi Sahlberg (2015) calls GERM (for Global Education Reform Movement). On the one hand, the OECD with its policy papers pushed more and more governments to use the vision and tools of the NPM or New Public Management as innovative model of governance (insert topics in the popular

agenda; design reforms in line with skills for life and free-market; implement changes on the curricula based on competencies, and assess results). It included the incorporation of concerned parties from civil organizations, teachers' unions, and officials of subnational governments. PISA was the centrepiece at the point that closes the NPM cycle: assessment. Besides, it served to open the door to information (accountability) that many state bureaucracies kept under lock, as in Mexico (Tamez Guerra and Martínez Rizo 2012).

It postulates neutrality in ideology and politics, excludes commenting on cultural relations and national identities. As of the dissemination of the results of PISA 2000, not only several governments undertook reforms, the matter entered the public arena. The press played an active role in the propagation (albeit superficially) of the results and rankings. Journalists marked a certain tendency to find guilty parties and, as the twenty-first century progressed, became a viral issue in the emerging social networks. The media pointed to two responsible actors for the failures: teachers and the bureaucracy. Although it maybe was not an OECD target, PISA increased criticism against the public school and advocated privatization. Such a subject pleased those who from the political right and the businesspeople seek to reduce the legitimacy of public education (Hernández Navarro 2013).

With the NPM came the proposals for a novel way of governance in education: school management and knowledge management. From the OECD perspective, such a path was necessary to institute models of governance able to balance responsiveness to local diversity with the ability to ensure national objectives and international competition (Burns et al. 2016). However, from critical perspectives, the OECD assessment platforms, PISA in particular, is part of a technocratic tendency to rule by numbers (Grek 2009; Popkewitz 2011). In other words, to offer the appearance of rationality, where the results of learning present no ideological biases. Its aim is improving educational systems, expanding the economy of nations and forging democratic, equitable societies, with governments that promote and respect the human rights and responsible citizens committed to democracy (Zajda 2020b).

True, these mottoes seem commendable, they generate conformity in specific social segments that may see their expectations of economic improvement and intellectual growth incorporated into public policies. It also produced debates amongst serious scholars convinced that international assessments are healthy, contribute to the improvement of education, and build new knowledge (Carvalho and Costa 2015; INEE 2015; Ravela 2011). The expectations of ordinary people and academic discussions may contribute to the legitimacy of the OECD and the governments that follow the organization's advice. It appropriates the desires of both popular segments and middle classes for a better education. PISA is already part of the ethos of global education reform. For some, it is a clear sign of the paradigm shift in education. The school world moved from a rigid curriculum to the search for life skills.

Nevertheless, other observers cited by Carnoy (2015) criticize that the OECD speaks of democracy and human rights and, at the same time, shows as triumphant pieces the results of students from Chinese cities (such as Shanghai and Beijing) and Singapore as cases of better practices. In those regions, governments neither have democratic systems nor respect for human rights. Furthermore, China and

Singapore state heavenly censure personal opinion is: “high achievement on standardized tests may also reflect a school system efficient functioning as a disciplinary mechanism, representing the absence of independent and creative thinking” (Zhao and Meyer 2013: 268).

Martha Nussbaum makes a severe criticism of the worldwide tendency to reform education. GERM implies radical removals. Although she does not use the idea of a paradigm shift, she coincides—although not as an apology—in that the emphasis that intergovernmental organisations place on literacy, mathematics, and science implies a renunciation of other dimensions of learning, just as crucial, can get lost to the detriment of humanity. “What are these radical changes? The humanities and the arts are being cut away, in both primary/secondary and college/university education, in virtually every nation of the world”.

However, despite academic and political criticism, the OECD was mounted on the global wave, its technocratic approach coincides with aspirations of governments—and many citizens—to have quality education in their countries. Moreover, the scientific language generates consensus. Numerous researchers think that PISA is a neutral instrument and that the rankings that it throws are incentives to progress.

17.5 Governing by Numbers

Andreas Schleicher, director for the Directorate of Education and Skills of the OECD, stresses the aim of PISA, as both a scientific instrument and a policy apparatus. He also points out that the ownership of PISA is not a private firm, but a patrimony of countries, and institutions, experts and educators from all over the world. PISA also changed the trend of presenting data as the years of schooling, students’ enrolments, schools’ facilities, and the number of teachers serving to measure what people learn. Moreover, although he warns that “the quality of the education a student acquires can still best be predicted by the student’s or his or her school’s socio-economic background” (Schleicher 2019) at the end, what matters for the media and most observers are the rankings. Few scholars talk about the instruments, and even of the type of questions PISA uses, what imports is the position each nation occupies in the ranking. It depends on the position if a country is exalted or impugned.

The rankings that PISA data produces stratify cultures, there are winners and losers. However, the matter is not linear. For instance, some states or regions get high scores on the tests. Though, public opinion does not glorify them since there is a suspicion that the educational policy of those countries leads to prepare students to answer the tests (Carnoy 2015). That makes it a cause for scandal. However, it shows the influence (soft power) of the OECD to promote educational reforms following the guidelines set by the same organization. Indeed Rizvi and Lingard (2006) point out that the OECD became a political actor. It plays a significant role in national education statesmanship up to the point that some reforms may be illegitimate if they do not have OECD’s blessing via an OECD policy review paper.

The OECD pursues such a governance role within many countries. Angel Gurría, the Secretary-General of the OECD, pinpoints PISA's main goal: "PISA is not only the world's most comprehensive and reliable indicator of students' capabilities, but it is also a powerful tool that countries and economies can use to fine-tune their education policies" (Schleicher 2019). Moreover, Schleicher (2019) reinforces PISA's influence on education policy and curriculum globally:

The aim with PISA was not to create another layer of top-down accountability but to help schools and policymakers shift from looking upward within the education system towards looking outward to the next teacher, the next school, the next country. In essence, PISA counts what counts, and makes that information available to educators and policymakers so they can make more informed decisions (Schleicher 2019, p. 3).

In this way, Antonio Bolivar contends, PISA acquires a growing influence in defining national educational policies. The knowledge stemming from the evaluation of competencies becomes an instrument for governing (Bolivar 2011, p. 64). The application of PISA began in 2000, with the participation of 28 OECD member countries and four non-member countries. In 2018 it was applied in almost one hundred nations. Such growth and the media diffusion of each presentation of its results made of PISA tests one of the most famous educational events. The OECD recommends contextualizing the results of these tests in the socio-economic and cultural conditions of each country to avoid reductionist interpretations. Despite this, it seems clear that the PISA rankings provide fuel to media whether to question the poor performance of their respective educational systems or to exalt their achievements.

For instance, the presentation of the 2018 results, "PISA 2018 Worldwide Ranking – average score of mathematics, science, and reading," placed 23 countries above the 500 points average, the winners, the ones that may be a reference for other nations. Other 33 obtained between 500 and 450, those with potential to become winners, but not yet. Moreover, another 56 that are below 450, the losers, according to the media of their societies.

Miguel A. Pereyra and colleagues asserted the rise of PISA as a remarkable phenomenon. "Rarely has educational information translated so fast into the word disaster—and domestic political crisis." Further, at the same time, such data presented in rankings converted PISA into the world stardom (Pereyra et al. 2011, pp. 1–2). They quote several authors to pinpoint that the growing influence of international agencies, mainly the OECD, on schooling has contributed to the marketization of education.

PISA creates "reference societies" for either scandalization or glorification. Waldow (2009) argues that it is easy enough to explain why some PISA top scorers, given conducive prior stereotyped perceptions, turn into positive reference societies. High scores appear to be an indicator of high-quality education; thus, these countries arise as models; it is attractive to emulate to improve other country results. Finland would be the best example. Still, Waldow continues it is slightly harder to explain why other top scorers turn into negative reference societies, like Korea or Singapore.

Following the presentation of the results of PISA 2000 in Germany, a reporter from *Der Spiegel* mentioned that they had caused astonishment. It became the “PISA shock.” The same in Japan after its fall in mathematics score in PISA 2003. In Mexico, the results of PISA mainly served to question the national education system, as shown in the headlines of the press, after the presentation of the results of PISA since 2001. In terms of the ways that the Finnish government and media received PISA results, it is remarkable that the Finnish press mentioned the country’s success in only eight pages. In contrast, Germany, one of the lowest performers, received 687 pages of press attention (Grek 2009: 7).

Ever since PISA first round, it became an engine to push for education reforms following the GERM. For example, in response to the PISA findings, German education authorities organized a conference of ministers in 2002 and proposed reforms of an urgent nature, such as developing standards for measuring students’ competencies upon completion of secondary schooling and the introduction of large-scale assessment testing at the end of primary and secondary education (Grek 2009, p. 8). However, Florian Waldow maintains that PISA only accelerated moves already in motion in Germany (Waldow 2009).

Still, the PISA shock in Germany was profound: “A search for the words ‘PISA study’ in the German National Library’s (DNB’s) search catalogue produced 150 hits in German that deal with all three studies – 2000, 2003 and 2006. The overarching problem that these publications examine has to do with how the country is going to recover from the shock and the reasons for the poor results.” (Ringarp and Rothland 2010). As in other nations, German authorities battle for improvement not only on PISA scores but also in the governance of their education systems.

Thus ‘local’ policy actors are using PISA as a form of domestic policy legitimization or as ideological means of defusing discussion by presenting policy as based on robust evidence. The local policy actor also signals, to an international audience, through PISA, the adherence of their nation to reform agendas), and thus joins the club of competitive nations (Steiner-Khamsi 2004: 76). Moreover, the construction of PISA with its promotion of orientations to applied and lifelong learning has powerful effects on curricula and pedagogy in participating nations. It promotes the responsible individual and self-regulated subject.

Finally, paraphrasing Sotiria Grek, PISA is a primary governing resource for many countries: it provides knowledge and information about systems and implants constant comparison within the participating states, without the need for new or explicit forms of regulation in education. With globalization as having the potential to be simultaneously a response to, as well as a conduit of world concerns, PISA seems to constitute an essential node in the complex task of governing global education. This reading of PISA supports her paper’s overarching argument about its use and meaning as a political technology: a governing resource for both the national agency and the OECD. That is to say, governing by numbers, the ultimate rationality according to technocratic viewpoints. Another ideological push to reinforce the hegemony of ruling groups says authors of radical perspectives: “Numbers are inscribed in the field of practices that, in the instance of PISA, entails the alchemy of school subjects that translate disciplinary knowledge into principles to govern

schools” (Popkewitz 2011, p. 43). Despite that, teachers and children are the centres of school life.

17.6 Teachers: The Primary Target for the Reforms

Perhaps one of the issues that provide attractiveness to the OECD in its eagerness for global education reform is that in its discourse it states that the improvement of school systems includes equity and pays attention to the lives of teachers. Its narrative in favour of equity and the quality of global education embraces demands from subordinate groups within member countries or those participating in PISA. In its language, it confronts social inequities: “The persistence of social inequities in education—the fact that children of wealthy and highly educated parents tend to do better in school than children from less privileged families—is often seen as a difficult-to-a reverse feature of education systems. Though, countries across the world share the goal of minimising any adverse impact of students’ socio-economic status on their performance in school. PISA shows that, rather than assuming that inequality of opportunity is set in stone, school systems can become more equitable over a relatively short time” (OECD 2017).

Global consulting firms, like McKinsey, joined the OECD in its efforts to persuade nations to implement teachers’ policies because—the authors argue—the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers. It is naive to assume that classroom nature would raise just because a given reform changed the structure, governance, curriculum and textbooks (Barber and Mourshed 2007). The focus of the solution—not all the outcome—depends on having “students and schools at the centre, teachers at the heart”. In its literature, the OECD conceives teachers as leaders of learning, promoters of knowledge and the locomotives of reforms in education. However: “This requires enhancing the role of teachers; setting clear standards for practice; professionalising their recruitment, selection, and evaluation; and linking these things more directly to school needs” (OECD 2010a, b: 3). The resource of resorting to teachers as architects of the future may yield certain advantages to the governing groups that push for global education reform. The diagnosis presented by the OECD is comprehensive, not linear or reductionist. It takes into account crucial aspects of school life and difficulties of a profession that requests knowledge and passion:

The demands on schools and teachers are becoming more complex. Society now expects schools to deal effectively with different languages and student backgrounds, to be sensitive to culture and gender issues, to promote tolerance and social cohesion, to respond effectively to disadvantaged students and students with learning or behavioural problems, to use new technologies, and to keep pace with rapidly developing fields of knowledge and approaches to student assessment. Teachers need to be capable of preparing students for a society and an economy in which they will be expected to be self-directed learners, able and motivated to keep learning over a lifetime (OECD 2005, p. 7).

In that way, linked to the efforts of changes in education, the OECD complemented the PISA project, with TALIS. In 2008 the OECD launched the first international series of surveys to focus on the learning environment and the working conditions of teachers in schools. The OECD suggests that TALIS offers teachers and school principals the opportunity to provide their perspectives on school contexts.

TALIS is another compendium of recipes for global reform. While the first message endeavours to reach the teachers, the recipients are the governments that participate in the TALIS surveys and pushes them to take experiences from countries that have the best practices in the training and recruitment of the best and the brightest. “TALIS data also allow countries to identify other countries facing similar challenges and to learn from their approaches to policy development.” (OECD 2014). Accordingly, TALIS turned into an additional education policy machinery to persuade governments to follow the route drawn by the OECD, more numbers but also reports that reach the core of the schools. It seems a means of ideological incorporation of subordinate groups (teachers and parents in this case) through ‘official’ policy-making processes, policy texts, and devices. Furthermore, it produces the recommendation that shows the clear intention of influencing—even determining in some instances—local policies. “Countries can then use this information to deepen the analysis of the issues TALIS examines and to aid the development of policy relating to these matters” (OECD 2014).

The OECD consolidated complete assessment programs: PISA in several modalities, TALIS, and other examinations. With them, it forms an interface of international large-scale assessments (ILSA). With such networks, the OECD facilitates diverse flows of “people, information and ideas, language, methods, values and culture” helping to constitute the very epistemic communities through which the OECD exerts its governance function in education (Lewis et al. 2016: 42). These epistemic communities use a disciplinary and multidisciplinary matrix as an agreement to explain the nature of schooling and the process of crisis and renewal; that is to say a paradigm shift. PISA and TALIS provide puzzles for governments to solve problems. Plus, to provide the implements for their solution.

The influence of the OECD on domestic affairs grows. It is, as Rizvi and Lingard (2006) warned, a robust institution which governments must take into account. The intervention of the OECD in educational reform in Mexico, for example, can illustrate the point that perhaps it exceeds the limits of soft power, as Wiseman (2013) would say. And, yet, it is highly contested.

17.7 Mexico: A Case in point

Several authors documented how the revolutionary state of the 1930s incorporated the teachers into a vertical corporatist system, a single national labour organisation, the National Union of Education Workers (SNTE) with mandatory membership (Fernández Marfil 2019; Fernández Marín 2010; Muñoz Armenta 2008; Ornelas

2010, 2018; Rivera Lomas 2016). The central government and the state authorities never asked the workers of education if they wished to belong to it. The authorities deducted 1% of their base salary as union dues. In its beginnings, in the 1940s, the leadership fought for teachers: fair wages, health services, decent pensions.

The corporatist system, as in other parts of the world, implied a rigid hierarchical structure, with powerful leaders and compliant members. The Mexican government succeeded in concentrating social groups in that system: the workers in the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), the peasants in the National Peasant Confederation (CNC), the bureaucrats in the Federation of Workers at the Service of the State (FTSE), the merchants, industrialists and bankers in their organisations; the teachers in the SNTE. And all within the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) under the command of the president in turn.

The PRI was the hegemonic party because it included popular demands, such as public safety, free education for the children of organised workers and incorporated political plurality (but only within its ranks). The regime based its legitimacy, as Max Weber would say, not in its democratic origin (it was the product of a revolution), but in an active government that delivered results (Merquior 1980). To guarantee loyalty to the regime of the Mexican Revolution, the government granted political and administrative positions to the leaders in exchange for the control they maintained over the workers. In the education sector, president Avila Camacho gave the labour organisers the administrative control of primary and secondary schools. The schools' principals ceased to be authorities to become union agents. That was in 1946. It was an incentive for SNTE bosses to demand more. They soon colonised the national inspectorate agency. In a few decades, they captured the structure of the low bureaucracy until reaching the summit in the government of Felipe Calderón (2006–2012), when he appointed the son-in-law of the SNTE leader as undersecretary of Basic Education.

The problem is not that the teachers have moved from the classroom to the bureaucracy. They knew the system and understood the tasks of schools. The setback was the corruption and control procedures. Teachers obtained benefits, but they also became prisoners of a system where they had to pay for everything: incorporation to the job, change of the job station (from a rural to an urban area, for example), or to be a school principal. Dishonesty arrived at a high point. Teachers who were close to retirement “conquered” the right to inherit their job to their descendants.

In 2008, the government signed the Alliance for the Quality of Education with the head of the SNTE. In it, the administration handed over portions of authority that by law were a monopoly of the Department of Public Education (SEP). The Secretary of Public Education, Josefina Vázquez Mota, asked the OECD for support to promote an educational reform to end those immoralities and, of course, improve the quality and equity of education. The government and the OECD signed a pact in 2009 (OECD Directorate for Education 2009), and the OECD delivered in 2010 a package of suggestions, which reflect the points underpinned by TALIS.

Fifteen recommendations repeat a lot about the best practices and lessons learned from the countries that perform best in PISA and TALIS. It had two bases: (1)

accountability and assessment, and (2) policies for teachers. Although OECD avoided discussing corruption, the eight recommendations to improve teacher capacity seemed like a recipe book to eliminate it: (1) Produce and implement a coherent, aligned set of standards for teachers and teachers of teachers. (2) Raise the bar for entry into the teaching profession. (3) Create a reliable accreditation system specific for the teachers' colleges and put in place much stronger quality assurance mechanisms for them. (4) Review the process of initial appointment to teaching posts to allow more flexibility and choice for both candidates and schools. (5) Establish a probationary period for beginning teachers during which there would be intensive mentoring and support, followed by a rigorous performance evaluation before receiving a permanent appointment. (6) Invest in identifying and training a cadre of mentor teachers. (7) Build a system of school and district-based professional development to complement the course-based system offered through the National Training Catalogue. (8) Develop and implement a rigorous teacher evaluation system, designed both to guide intervention and targeted professional development to remedy identified weaknesses, and to identify outstanding candidates for promotion to mentor teacher (OECD 2010a, b).

The new Secretary of Public Education rejected the OECD offer in 2010 (the bond between the president and the SNTE leader was a priority). However, in 2012, Enrique Peña Nieto's administration took it completely. It promoted a comprehensive educational reform whose centre was to improve quality and equity. Still, the political slogan was the requirement for success: recover the rectory (power on) of education and cease the inheritance and sale of jobs in the education sector. Public opinion applauded the reform, and the president imprisoned the SNTE leader in February 2013. He promoted changes in the Constitution and the elaboration of two new laws that, at the same time that addressed domestic matters, recovered the recommendations of the OECD: the law of the National Institute for the Evaluation of Education (INEE) and the General Law of the Professional Teaching Service (SPD). The first focuses on assessment. The second intended to bring order to a chaotic world and to impose merit over patronage. Under the justification of guaranteeing to all students a "quality education", those modifications stipulated that teachers should pass standardized assessments to obtain a teaching post, maintain their positions, and to apply for promotions (Ornelas 2018).

The SPD perhaps induced a paradigm shift, according to Del Castillo and Valenti (2014). It ended with the discretion in the granting or inheriting of teaching posts and eliminated the practice that SNTE leaders appointed school principals and supervisors. It put the merit and the teaching effort above the union patronage. However, other scholars criticized the SPD for following the instructions of the OECD (Cuevas Cajiga and Moreno Olivos 2016; Pérez 2017). The SPD affected the interests of the SNTE factions that had benefited from the previous system. With the arrest of the leader, the government dealt well with the majority faction, but not with the dissident of the left, grouped in the National Coordinator of Education Workers (CNTE) which vehemently opposed the reform. Between 2013 and 2017 the government managed to reduce the opposition of the CNTE.

However, such an organisation, allied with the opposition candidate, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), based on eliminating the education reform. AMLO won the elections and quickly buried the legislative changes of 2013. In December 2018, he sent an initiative to reform the Constitution, to revoke the laws of the INEE and the SPD, and to generate two new ones. Even with the rhetoric of change and support for teachers who asked that Mexico leave PISA, TALIS and the OECD in general, the government—which has granted countless concedes to dissident teachers—did not listen to them. Mexico continues within these ILSAs and, perhaps a detailed analysis of the new General Law of the System for the Career of Teachers will show that with changes in words, six of the eight OECD commendations remain.

Beyond that there was a radical change in the presidency of the republic—the hegemony of the PRI was exhausted, and President López Obrador tries to create a new order—more than a paradigm shift in education, Mexico maintains old guidelines from the regime of the Mexican Revolution. Though, in combination with the soft power of the OECD. Even an intellectual defender of the dissident groups in Mexico and a member of a tri-national left-wing alliance (Canada, USA and Mexico) that applauded the AMLO initiative points out:

While national and regional governments remain the employers of public-school teachers, the policies articulated by supranational institutions, including the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) are ever more influential (Bocking 2020).

17.8 PISA a Tool of the Hegemonic Thinking

Either paradigm or ideology, PISA is a tool of hegemonic groups. If one takes the issue of a paradigm shift in terms defined by Kuhn, it is not very easy to conceive that GERM resembles a scientific revolution and that it has become the standard practice (as a normal science equivalent) of educational systems. True, there are educational reforms, even some of them are profound: involve changes in structure, governance, in the preparation and recruitment of teachers, and pedagogical approaches. However, traditional structures and practices still constitute the “normality”, and they survive around the world. PISA and other ILSAs have contributed to changing perceptions on instructive rational amongst governments and social sectors. Being part of the big leagues of education became an obsession for singular governments (Rivas 2015). Successful images, including glorification, of certain reference countries, such as Finland, influence universal educational thinking (Sahlberg 2015). PISA and in general, all the activities and publications of the OECD form a body of thought and empirical data that give strength to ideas proposed by the globalization and its ideological forge: neoliberalism.

The reforms associated with GERM have certainly modified aspects of school systems, but their ideological approaches have not penetrated to become the “normal science.” While governing by numbers is a strong trend, political struggles remain the way to conquer power and maintain the hegemony of the ruling groups.

While the OECD has considerable influence—it even exercises soft power—it is far from being a controlling local political actor. However, it helps to legitimize those governments which receive its blessings on their education reforms. Furthermore, OECD studies have contributed to project the idea that the PISA path is the solution to the global crisis of education. Turner (2014) explains neo-liberalism as the ‘belief that the free market delivers benefits’:

Neo-liberalism is the belief that the free market delivers benefits and that the market should be as unrestricted as possible. Neo-liberalism involves the policies that are based on a rhetoric of personal freedom and political democracy, but which focus on macroeconomic measures, such as deregulation of markets and trade, flexible labour markets, privatization of public services, macroeconomic stability and strict financial discipline... Poverty and unemployment, on the other hand, are seen not as macroeconomic phenomena but as personal failings that can be overcome by improved training and more entrepreneurship (Turner 2014).

Zajda (2020a), on the other hand, argues that education policy reforms, influenced by the OECD education indicators and PISA’s defined academic standards, reflects a global neo-liberal ideology:

Recent higher education policy reforms globally reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism (Zajda 2018). Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than progressive democratic policy reforms. Neo-liberal political and economic policy imperatives are defined by the ideology of *laissez-faire* economics, with its cost-saving policies, efficiency, and maximizing profits, as their goal (Zajda 2020a).

PISA and other ILAS represent a collection of generally hardened concepts that provide a truth that some people want to hear. They include intellectual instruments, such as the New Public Management, which promotes institutional changes, strengthen pedagogical tendencies, and, in particular, a systematic approach to aligning teachers with rapid technological and organizational changes. Besides, it infuses the impression that teacher must be competent, disciplined, productive to the maximum of their ability and that they support—although never openly posed—capitalism. Although PISA and the OECD policies help governing groups to operate power relations through an uncoerced articulation of beliefs and values, such postures also generate resistance.

The safeguard of the existing order, especially by teachers’ unions and organized political forces, also forges ideological approaches and political organization to contest the onslaught of neoliberalism. The educational reforms promoted by the OECD, the World Bank, UNESCO and think tanks, such as McKinsey & Co, are part of the hegemonic ideology, but since it does not incorporate enough elements of the opposition groups, it has not yet become well established in many countries. Teachers have developed many ways to resist, either passive or active. The paradigm shift in intellectual dominion does not translate into reality ultimately. The reforms are a territory in dispute.

17.9 Conclusion

This chapter argues that PISA helps to strengthen the hegemony of the ruling groups. Still, at the same time, it generates political opposition from local actors and criticism from scholars. It displays the contents in six sections. It provides a brief background on the rise of the OECD and PISA and describes the content of the test. It portrays the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) and the role of the OECD in its promotion. It presents a critical analysis of how the OECD and the governments that applaud its action use the parsing of science. It aims to strengthen the ideas that good education is only one in which 15-year-old students answer questions about language, mathematical understanding, and science. It demonstrates the case of how the Mexican government ask for the OECD help to launch an education reform in 2009. However, the Department of Education rejected the OECD proposal in 2010. Afterwards, the government that took office in 2012 made a move following the OECD commendations. Still, the new administration rejected them again in 2018. Finally, the chapter discusses critically whether PISA meets the characteristics of normal science, namely a paradigm that helps solve problems that education was unable to solve before. Or, if it is another tool, with a sophisticated methodology, to reinforce the dominant educational ideology of desired educational outcomes.

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Chapter 18

The Globalism, Culture and Thinking in Comparative Education



Niranjan Casinader

Abstract This chapter examines how the modern phase of globalisation has influenced the relationship between culture and thinking in the context of comparative education over time. It argues that a ‘Western’ or Euro-American conception of thinking, which generally promotes a universal notion that is not subject to cultural variation, has dominated the way in which culture and thinking have been seen in comparative education, assisted and reinforced by the diffusion of Euro-American attitudes that has occurred as a result of the process of globalisation. The chapter then argues that, since the late 1990s, a shift in the conception of culture from an anthropological to a more psychological framework has encouraged a greater theoretical acknowledgement of the culture-thinking relationship in comparative education, particularly amongst, but not solely, researchers on the boundary of traditional ‘Western’ research. In contrast, however, the neo-liberal influence that is a dominant feature of the current phase of globalisation has continued to have an impact on the practice of comparative education at the national scale. Paradoxically, it is argued, within the practice of comparative education, cultural difference has been acknowledged as a possible influence on thinking by attempting to remove it as a factor in measures of international educational comparison in the aim of achieving objectivity in comparisons. As a result, in contrast to theoretical developments in comparative education, the assessment of culture’s influence on thinking skills within the practice of comparative education has been reduced to an empirical negative, in which the consideration of culture is made more noticeable by its absence than by its presence.

18.1 Introduction

In the history of comparative education, the concept of thinking and culture as a mutually interdependent duality has been largely a minor figure in the research landscape, more identified by its anonymity and absence than any deliberate

N. Casinader (✉)
Education, Monash University, Clayton, VIC, Australia
e-mail: niranjan.casinader@monash.edu

rational eradication. It is only in the last decade that the possibility of educational connections between the two ideas in terms of curriculum, pedagogy and educational achievement has been more openly canvassed. In that emergence, however, the space between the work of comparativist researchers and organisational practitioners has become more acute, creating tensions within a culture-thinking identity that is polarised between, on the one hand, social orientationism and, on the other, what can be termed a form of neo-liberal acknowledgement through negation.

In contemporary education, where intercultural understanding has become a more overt or implicit principle of educational systems internationally, it might be expected that such presumptions would be more challenged in the reality of comparative education, and not just be confined to its theoretical aspects. However, the very reverse is true. In concert with, or as part of, the neo-liberal atmosphere that has increasingly subsumed global society since the modern phase of globalisation began in the 1990s, both spatially and intellectually, the concept of culture-thinking in comparative education has been increasingly diminished to the point of empirical non-existence in the search for ‘valid’ bases of international educational comparability (Zajda 2020a, b). The voices of dissent, those who decry such diminution as an ideological extremity that ignores the heterogeneous reality of human society, have been marginalised, at least, for the time being.

18.2 Culture and Thinking as Individual Notions in Comparative Education

18.2.1 Culture

When considered as individual entities, reflection on culture has been more longstanding and widespread than that of thinking amongst comparative researchers. As many have highlighted (Alexander 2001; Apple 2001; Broadfoot 2000; Crossley 2000; Crossley and Broadfoot 1992, Zajda 2015; Zajda and Majhanovich 2020), comparative education, as a discipline, incorporated the essentiality of cultural influences on education right from its early years through the work of Michael Sadler, whose essential credo was that education is inevitably and inextricably connected to the cultural milieu(x) in which it takes place: “we must also go outside into the streets and into the homes of the people, and try to find out what is the intangible, impalpable, spiritual force...the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside...and govern and interpret the things inside...” (Sadler 1979, p. 49)

This centrality aside, the way in which culture has been treated within comparative education has changed with the evolving notion of the meaning of the term through broad intellectual exploration, and how educationalists have interpreted that idea. Until towards the end of the twentieth century, an anthropological view of culture dominated the approach taken by educational researchers, including the

comparativists. Writers such as Johnson & Christensen, who saw culture as "...the shared attitudes, values, norms, practices, patterns of interaction, perspectives, and language of a group of people..." (Johnson and Christensen 2004, p. 147), were in line with Edward Said (1993), who argued that the idea represented "...all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure..." (1993, p. xii), and thereby conforming to a view that culture was the embodiment of the outward vestiges of human action, such as language, behaviour, beliefs and artefacts.

Such a defined set of parameters led to culture being treated in what can now be viewed, in hindsight, to be a very outcome-oriented perspective, but it suited the framework of comparative education established by Sadler at the start of the twentieth century, in which systems of education in different countries were studied with a view to improving one's own, which Sadler saw as reflecting "...deepened [national] character as well as ...sharpened intellect." (Sadler 1979, p. 49). This emphasis on the connection between education and culture as a mutual reinforcement of national unity was one that in tune with the anthropological perspective on culture, and in that sense, is a perspective that persists. The continuing development of national curricula in myriad countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, Malaysia and South African in the first part of the twenty-first century reflects the persistence of such concerns.

The priorities of national development and the search for national unity in newly formed States during the period of post-war decolonisation in the 1950s and 60s saw the growth of 'international education', which can be seen as a 'Sadlerian' perspective on comparative education. Within this, the drive for a unifying 'cultural' identity was seen to lie in the establishment of systems of mass universal education:

Universal basic education has ... helped Australian citizens to share in the social consciousness of their country. It has also been a powerful force in the new nations of East Asia, nations born out of former colonies, out of pan nationalism and revolution, and currently in great need of a unifying force to bring their various ethnic, religious and language groups together. (Ruby 1999, p. 72)

Thus, the main arena for the study of any links between culture and education within comparative education followed this narrative, and tended to have a highly localised focus. Research typically comprised a case study of the implementation of a specific curriculum program within a particular country or region in the 'developing world': for example: Armer and Youtz (1971), Bray (1992), Ayres (2000) and Coe (2005). In the broader comparative education field, however, researchers' concerns about the process in the internationalisation of education were very much part of the post-colonial discourse, challenging the precepts of development assistance founded on the export of educational conceptions derived in the Euro-American sphere.

The post-colonial development programs, which incorporated internationalist educational initiatives, resulted in an export of 'Western' cultural values and ideas that were being transplanted into a new milieu, a process that became accelerated from the 1990s with the onset of modern globalisation. A mass educational system,

itself derived from the needs of industrialising Europe in the nineteenth century, and therefore based on the educational, intellectual, cultural principles and artefacts of the Euro American world was inevitably part of that model:

Hierarchies of knowledge and theories which had developed to account for the discoveries of the New World were legitimated at the centre. School simply reproduced domesticated versions of that knowledge for uncritical consumption. Although colonial universities saw themselves as being part of an international community and inheritors of a legacy of Western knowledge, they were also part of the historical processes of imperialism. (Tuihawai Smith 2006, p. 561)

As highlighted by O'Rourke (2000), the movement of educational ideas has been essentially one-way, from the 'globaliser' to the 'globalised', a movement in learning and knowledge that has been reciprocated within countries themselves. Once again, the principles of what 'culture' meant was not challenged in educational circles, even if the principle of cultural relevance in the export of education into different countries was a matter of debate in comparative education:

Traditionally, there is little learning taking place in a country between the central and local level, particularly rural, indigenous groups. Also, traditionally, there is little learning taking place between any external partners and countries. We need to change knowledge flows, so that learning is two-way and reciprocal. (p. 39)

Nonetheless, it would be disingenuous to ignore the willing complicity of the globalised in being drawn into the neo-colonial web of this educational replication. The newly formed sovereign States, despite the acknowledged need to relate education to local circumstances, were often inclined to follow the model of national development that had given the 'globaliser' the economic standard of living to which developing nations aspired. They saw that the States of the Global 'North' provided "...a common framework of understanding, enhancing the process of modernization" (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 30).

The process of educational, and therefore cultural, transplantation continued during, and, arguably, was even heightened, by the phase of modern globalisation that began in the 1980s and 1990s. Facilitated by factors such as the policies of sovereign States such as China, India and South Korea choosing to promote their own 'modernisation' through an aping of the experience of the Euro-American 'Centre', as well as the communications and technological revolution, and, in particular, the access to ideas and knowledge afforded by the internet, the amplified diffusion of educational ideas, policies and programs signalled a increasingly global concern for the impact of such change on local cultures and ways of life. The place of comparative educationalists within this shift was exemplified in the publication of a special issue of *Comparative Education* in 2000, as part of which the future of the discipline was reassessed.

Within this review, common themes such as reiterating the focus of the discipline on the practice of education (for example, Broadfoot 2000), were accompanied by the incorporation of two other transitions, both of which have guided a readjustment of the culture-thinking paradigm in comparative education. The first, in line with Said's expression of the inevitability and essentiality of cultures adapting to new

influences – that is, it is not an “...inert” entity (1993, p. 14) – was an acceptance that cultural (and therefore, educational) change was inevitable. To expect total insulation for local societies was unrealistic, regardless of the perceived immorality of the ‘West’ imposing its view of the world on others:

Cultural borrowing happens; it has always happened. Few countries remain hermetically sealed in the development of their educational systems.... (Alexander 2001, p. 508)

The second was a concordance with the global intellectual shift in the conception of ‘culture’, through which the anthropological framework was being challenged by a more mind-centred, holistic premise that had been developed over the two decades of the twentieth century. Cultures were more seen as being “...composed of myriad belief complexes and habitual patterns of social interaction that repeatedly shape patterns of perception and cognition...” (Letendre 2006, p. 48), or defined as being principally concerned with the interpretation of the “...webs of significance...” (Geertz 1973, p. 5) that had been created by people within a way of life. Similarly, culture is comprised of “...interdependent, self-organizing social systems that form part of the symbiotic web of life...” (Spariosu 2006, p. 33). Combined with this was an emerging sense that issues related to culture were not so much significant in their diversity, a perspective that underpinned the anthropological definition of culture, but in their points of difference:

... the problem of cultural interaction emerges only at the signifiatory boundaries of cultures, when meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated. Culture only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations. (Bhabha 1994, p. 50)

Within this cognitive flux was a reiteration by comparative educationalists that culture and education were inextricably linked, and that social context and culture were fundamental to the essential conception of comparative education: “Culture in comparative analysis and understanding, and certainly in national systems of education, is all” (Alexander 2000, p. 30). It was argued that, at the time of the New Millennium, it was time for comparative education needs to embrace a new focus on the learning process and how this was affected by the cultural perspective – “...a much more explicit recognition of education as a cultural, not a scientific project...” (Broadfoot 2000, p. 368) – if it was to maintain its future relevance as an academic discipline. It was also at this time that Alexander published his landmark comparative study, *Culture and Pedagogy* (2000), which exemplified the directness of this retrieval of the comparative education field.

Of course, this revised formulation of culture and its intellectual impact was not confined to education. It can be argued that the principles behind its formulation were to be reflected in international developments in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including such agreements as the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations 2008), which recognised the moral and legal integrity of individual cultures and their fundamental right to be acknowledged in the formulation, conduct and actualisation of local, national, regional and global societies. Researchers in other fields, such as Anghie (2005)

have also commented on the relationship between such acknowledgements of cultural difference and sovereignty; the shift away from a universal conception of international law based on purely ‘Western’ principles to one that was more inclusive of the interests of the ‘new States’ – “...new iterations of sovereignty doctrine...” (p. 199) – a transition that came with the rising power of the ‘developing world’ within international forums such as the United Nations, enabling:

... a universal standard that Third World could play a role in creating. The new field of human rights law offered one such possibility, as it was a law that develop the same time as the emergence of the new states. As such, it could not be subjected to the criticism that the new states had played no role in formulating the law by which they were being bound. (Anghie 2005, p. 210)

For comparative educationalists, these shifts in cultural thought were to open up a new possibility in the study of links between culture, thinking and education, a development that will be addressed in Sect. 1.3.

18.2.2 *Thinking*

Given the acceptance of Euro-American economic and cultural principles by both sides of the post-colonial development exchange, it was inevitable that the views held by educationalists in the ‘Western’ sphere as to the nature of thinking held sway. In this arc, thinking in education was, and remains, viewed as a hierarchical set of attributes composed of three essential components: critical thinking, creative thinking and problem solving, or a ‘triarchic theory of intelligence’ (Swerling and Spear-Swerling 1996). Similar structures have been put forward by a number of researchers, including Pogonowski (1987), Edwards (2002), Lipman (2003), and Dillon (2006). Culture was not seen to have an influence on the nature of analytical thinking – “[t]o say that thinking skills are social constructs is not necessarily to take the relativist view that what counts as a good argument or approach to a problem is defined within one or other academic discipline or culture...” (Slade 1995, p. 40)- as it was seen as being independent of human differences and inherently linked with ‘Western’ culture. As Peters (2007) summarised the argument, “There is no more central issue to education than thinking. Certainly, such an emphasis chimes with the rationalist and cognitive deep structure of the Western educational tradition.” (Peters 2007, p. 350).

In the same vein could be found other proponents of a ‘culture-less’ notion of thinking. For example, E. Paul Torrance, a leading Euro-American researcher in thinking and gifted education during the last quarter of the twentieth century, made little reference of the influence of culture. It was only in the latter stages of his career that some acknowledgement of the possibility was made:

...[i]nterest in multicultural influences accelerated as we approached the 21st century. In fact, the 21st century may be known in history as the multicultural century. It certainly promises to be such insofar as developments regarding creativity is concerned. Interest in these multicultural influences on creativity has been slow to develop. (Torrance 2003, p. 10)

The paradox of this belief, that there could be no cultural difference in how analytical thinking was perceived because only one culture was able to facilitate it, was not acknowledged at the time, and remnants of what might be considered these ancestral vestiges of neo-colonialism can still be seen in more recent comments of comparative educationalists, even amongst those who are committed to the importance of cross-cultural issues in education. For instance, Dahl (2010) puts forward the contention that rational problem-solving in 'Western' culture was inevitable because the "...legacy of individual accountability..." that accompanied the diffusion of Greek-Roman culture across Europe, accompanied by its belief in universal, natural laws, and then into North America, attended by the system of order and thought embodied in the "...higher laws of God..." and the practice of Christianity, was fundamental in creating the "... independent spirit that is part of Western society [which] lends itself very well to problem-solving and creative innovation." (2010, p. 19)

In part, this persistent disavowal of the relationship between culture and thinking, at least within the Euro American sphere, can be attributed to the rapid changes instituted by the modern phase of globalisation from the 1990s onwards. The process merely served to accentuate and reinforce the validity of the cognitive foundations of 'Western' educational thought, for it generated not only a reiteration of the value of Euro American capitalist economic and social principles in national development, but also created a new global appreciation for the necessary power of thinking skills as part of an education that would prepare young people for life in this new world society of increasingly fundamental connections:

Globalization's increasing complexity necessitates a new paradigm for learning and teaching. The mastery and mechanical regurgitation of rules and facts should give way to a paradigm in which cognitive flexibility and agility win the day. ... An education for globalization should therefore nurture the higher-order cognitive and interpersonal skills required for problem finding, problem solving, articulating arguments, and deploying verifiable facts or artefacts to substantiate claims. (Suárez-Orozco and Baolian Qin-Hilliard 2004a, pp. 5–6)

Ironically, the cogency of this new drive for globalised learning led to a more positive approach to the culture-thinking dialectic being addressed more prominently in the late 1990s and early 2000s by economics and business researchers such as Hofstede (2001) and Gannon (2008) than comparative educationalists, the economic imperative for cultural understanding being driven by economic globalisation that necessitated successful transnational corporations to employ people who knew how to conduct business in an international cross-cultural context.

18.3 Mutual Interdependence: The Intersection of Two Realities

18.3.1 *Changing Perceptions*

The relative failure of the comparative education field prior to the early 2000s to confront the possible relationship between culture, thinking and education can be seen as an effective statement of negation in respect of that relationship. However, the early part of the twenty-first century has seen a research shift in the direction of this point of debate, one that has been contemporaneous with the diffusion of neo-liberalist thought that has ironically steered measurements of comparative education in practice into a standardised numerical entity in which ‘culture-less’ principles are more prized than ‘culture-full’ ideas.

A significant factor is this change of perception has been the evolution of a new mind-centred conception of ‘culture’ (see Sect. 1.2):

During most of the twentieth century, anthropologists defined culture as a shared set of beliefs, customs, and ideas that held people together in recognizable, self-identified groups. Starting in the mood-1970s and culminating in the 1990s, however, scholars in many disciplines challenged the notion of cultural coherence as it became evident that members of close-knit groups held radically different visions of the social worlds. Culture is no longer perceived as a preprogrammed mental library—a knowledge system inherited from ancestors. Contemporary anthropologists, sociologists, and media specialists treat culture (if they use the term at all) as a set of ideas, attributes, and expectations that is constantly changing as people react to changing circumstances. This intellectual development reflects social life at the turn of the 21st-century.... (Watson 2004, p. 144)

This has created a foundation for a renewed or transformed mode of comparative education, which encourages people to have more agency in determine the ways in which they, and thus, their culture(s), react to the introduction of new ideas, including those in respect of education:

Any definition of culture as making meaning, whether focused on the meanings or on how they are made, implies that culture does not act. Culture does not do things to people; rather, people do things, and one important thing they do is make meaning. (Anderson-Levitt 2012, p. 444)

The restatement of the basis of the discipline, and its inherent relationship to culture, has continued to be made into the early 2000s, and made even more explicit:

They are also clearly visible in the influence of post-modern and post-colonial perspectives that recognise the significance of culture, context and difference in all aspects of educational research and development. (Crossley and Jarvis 2000, p. 262)

In terms of the relationship between culture, thinking and education, the reformulation of culture as the collective ‘mind’ of a body of people can be seen to have also encouraged and facilitated greater consideration of and research into thinking, as a mind based activity, being linked or influenced by the mental conceptions of culture possessed by people. Perhaps influenced by the opportunities presented by such conceptual interpretation, it was also at this time that researchers in

comparative education from outside, or, at least on the margins of, the Euro American tradition of comparative research, began to investigate and contest the traditional views on the nature and relationship between culture and thinking within education. It is only in the twenty-first-century, as educational writers who reflect the views of ‘Other’ entered the comparative educational debate, that prior assumptions of ‘Western’ intellectual dominance began to be challenged. Several began to question the previously held view that culture was not a variable in the expression and act of thinking. For example, writers such as Michael-Bandeled (1998) and Abdi (2002, 2006) have argued strongly that the differences in the basis of African society, with its primary focus on communal life and ways of thinking, are diametrically opposed to the individualistic conceptions of the basis of Euro-American culture, and that therefore local systems of education needed to be based on an acknowledgement of such differences. In doing so, they reiterated the mind-based view of culture:

...culture is simply the world of everyday life where one learns, reacts, and responds to the physical and human environment that surrounds him or her....[it] is not biologically inherited but socially learned. (Abdi 2002, p. 71)

The difference between the African and Western value of the individual is that the point of individual attainment within the Western context ends with the individual. (Michael-Bandeled 1998, p. 81)

The communal aspects of traditional African life create a collective form of thinking that is in direct opposition to the primacy of individual identity in ‘Western’ society, emphasising the “...discrepancies between the...[two] positions vis-à-vis the traditional notion of property ownership, emphasis on individualism, and the legitimized competitive nature of one person gaining at the expense of another...” (Abdi 2006, p. 66). The difference in attitude to thinking represented by seeing “...the competitive individual [being] isolated from his or her community [versus] the co-operative individual enriched by the community...” (Dei 2000, p. 76).

18.3.2 Emergence: Time of Change

Although it is arguable that only researchers outside the paradigm were able to perceive such contradictions, the shifts in the culture-thinking dialectic were not totally confined to researchers outside the old paradigms. For example, the work of Richard Nisbett (2003) was another signpost in the journey to an acceptance of the culture-thinking interrelationship, in which a comparative study of Americans and East Asians demonstrated the former’s preference for linear and independent thinking and the latter’s inclination towards holistic, interdependent thought:

The decontextualization and object emphasis favored by Westerners, and the integration and focus on relationships by Easterners, result in “very different ways of making inferences.” (2003, p. 163). In this context of transition, Robin Alexander’s *Culture and Pedagogy* (2000) can be viewed as being one of the more comprehensive and landmark studies of its time in this area, principally because of its

underscoring of the role of culture in education in ways that both demanded and required investigation because "...schools and classrooms are both cultural channels or cultural interfaces and microcultures in their own right" (Alexander 2000, p. 164).

However, even in this case, a comparative study of education in different countries based on cultural difference did not incorporate the notion of thinking as a discrete entity. The work of Alexander is, therefore, more accurately seen as being reflective of the renewed prevalence on culture in comparative education research. In this, and in other related works as Gannon (2008), Lavia and Mahlomaholo (2012), and Suárez-Orozco and Baolian Qin-Hilliard (2004b), the notion of thinking as a distinct educational entity beyond its general encompassment within the wide web of culture was not evident, perhaps no better demonstrated by the absence of terms such as 'thinking', 'thought' or even 'problem solving' from their respective indices.

In addition to these transitions in the conceptualisation of culture, there were simultaneous signs of a shift, or, at least, widening in the Euro-American traditional notion of thinking. Richard Nisbett, his colleagues and others had also further developed the initial research (Nisbett 2003) into an exploration of how the differing social orientations of cultures influenced the way in which people formulated and communicated ideas:

Cultures also differ in their social orientations... Cultures that endorse and afford independent social orientation tend to emphasize self-direction, autonomy, and self-expression. Cultures that endorse and afford interdependent social orientation tend to emphasise harmony, relatedness, and connection. Independently oriented cultures tend to view the self as bounded and separate from social others, where is independently oriented cultures tend to view the self as interconnected and is encompassing important relationships. (Varnum et al. 2010, p. 9)

and reflected on the possible educational consequences of that possible incompatibility.

Individuals in in different cultures may think about concepts and problems in different ways. The result is that teachers of one culture teaching students of another culture may not understand how their students think about concepts and problems. (Varnum et al. 2010, p. 8)

Sternberg (2007) using intelligence as a measuring point of thinking, was also acknowledging the work of this group of researchers in opening up the debate:

... some cultures, especially Asian ones, tend to be more dialectical in their thinking, whereas other cultures, such as European and North American ones, tend to be more linear. And individuals in different cultures may construct concepts in quite different ways, rendering results of concept-formation or identification studies in a single culture suspect. (Sternberg 2007, p. 8)

Other comparative educationalists were also beginning to reflect upon the possible disjuncture between Western modes of thought in societies and cultures that followed a different paradigm: "... western modes of formal schooling, and understandings of intelligence and ability, may not necessarily be applicable to all cultures..." (Elliott and Grigorenko 2007, p. 1).

Some old parameters still held strong, however, as if comparative educationalists were still ultimately attached to the umbilical cord of ‘Western’ civilisation. For instance, Sternberg, whilst beginning to promote the links between culture and thinking, was paradoxically still defining ‘intelligence’ in the traditional, tripartite Euro-American mode of linear analytical thinking:

I use the term successful intelligence to refer to the skills and knowledge needed for success in life, according to one’s own definition of success, within one’s social cultural context. One requires and utilizes these skills and this knowledge by capitalizing on strengths and by correcting or compensating for weaknesses; by adapting to, shaping, or selecting environments; through a balance of *analytical, creative, and practical abilities* (Author emphasis). (Sternberg 2007, p. 6)

Similarly, Grigorenko (2007), whilst accepting that ‘Western’ notions of intelligence were not necessarily compatible with all cultures and societies, argued that there was no need to compare different societies and cultures in terms of education because no real variation existed: “...there are no real grounds for comparison between the western and eastern educational systems, because the Western educational paradigms has successfully spread to Asian and Middle Eastern countries and was adapted by them to meet their specific cultural needs...”. (2007, p. 166)

The possibility that the adaptations may not have been effective as well as might have been hoped, or that the modifications themselves might highlight some key points of difference in the cultures, seemed to have escaped scrutiny.

18.3.3 *The Dual Reality of Now*

In spite of this partial shift of the position of comparative educationalists in terms of culture-thinking dialectic, the second decade of the twenty-first century has seen the discipline fall into a form of polarised reality between research and practice in respect of the relationship between culture, thinking and education. The educational manifestation of the climate of neoliberalism that has currently enveloped global society increasingly demands that international compatibility of educational phenomena be based on ‘valid’ criteria (Zajda 2014, 2020c). Given that the process of globalisation is inherently celebrated as an economic and societal intellectual framework that praises the inevitable primacy of ‘Western’-style socio-economic development, itself founded on rational logic and the concept of evidence, it is inevitable that quantitative measurements have been established as the only ‘valid’ base for international comparison. In the words of Arun Appadurai, the result of globalisation driven by Western principles has led to the rise in the ‘fear of small numbers’, where the value or importance of any societal condition (which must include education) can be determined by symbolic attribution. As Broadfoot (2000) commented in the early stages of the neo-liberal shift:

In a climate of increasingly intense global economic competition and a growing belief in the key role of education as the source of marginal advantage, governments have become increasingly obsessed with the international rankings of measured educational outcomes....(2000, 360)

Educational imbalance can be resolved by applying "...multiple fractions of capital [that] are committed to neo-liberal marketised solutions to educational problems..." (Apple 2001, p. 410). However the narrowness of such new vision assumes a rational logic and boundaries to education that simply does not exist in reality:

In today's increasingly globalised, fluid and fragmented world, the pressure for education to provide the international (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013) currency which will form the basis for trade in the knowledge society becomes daily more explicit. As a result, those aspects of educational activity that do not lend themselves to explicit and quantifiable measurement, are increasingly difficult to sustain. Both individuals and institutions, and even whole systems of educational provision, are necessarily becoming increasingly focused on achieving those measures which are the key to survival in the international educational competition. (Broadfoot 2000, p. 359)

In this age of neoliberalism, the response of comparative education to studies of the connections between culture, education and thinking, both in organisational practice and its related research has been to effectively disaffirm the existence of culture, by removing it, at least in Euro-American terms, from the field of comparisons and assessments. In the phraseology of Helms-Lorenz et al. (2003), cultural difference is accepted as a factor, but the solution adopted in such measurements is that researchers have to 'purify' (p. 27) culture out the quantitative instruments being used. The multiple presumptions in such an approach, including the accepted probability of making an instrument culturally 'neutral', or the methodological validity of eradicating a factor that is accepted as having some potential influence on outcomes, leave the rationale for such a strategy in question.

One of the more apposite examples of this 'negation by absence' in comparative education practice and research can be found in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which was established in 1997 by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as part of a "...commitment by governments to monitor the outcomes of education systems by measuring student achievement on a regular basis and within an internationally agreed common framework." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 13). The PISA assessments now include over 30 non-member States and economies, and address the measurement of thinking ability as part of its measurement of literacy, which is interpreted broadly, in order to "...determine the extent to which 15-year-old students can activate various cognitive processes that would enable them to make effective use of the reading, mathematical and scientific knowledge and skills they have acquired throughout their schooling and related learning experiences up to that point." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2003, pp. 13–14). However, despite the stated intention to use "...measures to achieve cultural and linguistic breadth in the assessment materials, particularly through countries' participation in the development and revision processes for the production of the items..." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 14), the nature of the instruments indicate that the reverse is the case.

In the most recent PISA comparative assessment that incorporated judgements of thinking ability (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013), the underpinning conceptual framework bears little resemblance to the issues being

identified by contemporary comparative educational researchers, with cultural difference having to defer to the practicalities and perceived objectivity of the instrument being used. Instead, the PISA methodology is designed to cater for cultural breadth through cultural neutrality (as communicated to the author by Professor Barry McGaw, formerly Director for Education at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), during a conversation on April 19th 2007), exemplifying control through "...the disciplining of culture and the body..." (Apple 2001, p. 410), or, in other words, acknowledgement through perceived eradication. Indeed, far from being culturally neutral, it is arguable that the PISA assessments are very culturally specific, but only in one particular direction.

In a mirror of the 'Western' triarchic concept of thinking, the PISA measurement of thinking ability focuses upon "...individual problem-solving competency..." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2013, p. 119), which is defined as incorporating "...the mobilisation of cognitive and practical skills, creative abilities and other psychosocial resources such as attitudes, motivation and values." (2013, p. 122) In 2003, in the first PISA assessment of problem solving or thinking capabilities, the cognitive concept had reflected the tripartite structure even more explicitly, with "...the act of problem solving [being an] amalgam of mainly different cognitive processes..." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2003, p. 59), the core of which were four types of reasoning: analytic, quantitative, analogical and combinatorial (2003, p. 58).

In 2012, the assessment instrument was computer-based – thereby eliminating the possibility of students in cultures or societies with less familiarity with such resources, knowledge or skills being able to participate equitably in the assessment – with questions that revolved around the use of culturally -specific objects such as mobile phones, computers and social media. The PISA 2012 assessment declared that no expert knowledge was required for any question, apparently ignoring the prevailing educational belief that knowledge is a social construct, arising from the culture within which it is formed and the nature of power relationships within that culture (Apple 2004; Ewing 2010). It was yet another example of a cultural disconnect that had long been discredited by comparative educational researchers:

The alienating hazards of a socioculturally detached, text-based curriculum are accentuated...by the remoteness of the factitious exercises and formal texts of the academy from the cultural practices of everyday life. (Serpell 2007, p. 25)

Similar criticisms can be applied to the work of other comparative educational organisations, such as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA):

"The critique draws attention to the importance of contextual and cultural factors in cross-national research, and to the dilemmas, long recognised by comparativists, associated with the uncritical international transfer of educational policy and practice". (Crossley 2000, p. 320)

It can thus be argued that, in the modern context, the organisational practitioners of comparative education, along with the quantitatively focused research

community who have been the beneficiaries of educational neo-liberalism, have remained trapped in the moral trap of the supposed ascendancy of Euro-American concepts of education, assuming that just because one country adopted the educational practices of another, the transplant would be automatically successful and appropriate to the needs of the recipient:

...there are no real grounds for comparison between the western and eastern educational systems, because the Western educational paradigms has successfully spread to Asian and Middle Eastern countries and was adapted by them to meet their specific cultural needs.... (Grigorenko 2007, p. 166)

In direct opposition to the principle of cultural integrity that can be seen in the United Nations agreements on human progress, such as the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights (United Nations 2008), these exclusions of the possibility of cultural difference, by paradoxically attempting to eradicate it from the field of possibility, convey a vision of comparative education as a field that deals with the skeleton and infrastructure of education in different countries, but not its substance or reality in the learning environment. The perspective of such a conceptualisation ignores the fundamental reality that education, no matter how it is approached, is concerned with the advancement of people in their psychological and physical lives, regardless of the motives involved. Schooling, and education, do not take place in a vacuum; they are a reflection of the society from which they come, as societies do not exist without human beings to create it.

18.4 Conclusion

Within the current global condition, it has fallen to the newer generation of comparative educationalists to continue to highlight the fundamental importance of recognising the synergy between culture, thinking and education, drawing upon these mutual interdependencies to reiterate its relevance at the local scale through the design of culturally appropriately relevant curriculum and pedagogy. Kim and Kim (2013) have highlighted that "...Asian audiences have seen enough distortions in the discourses on 'modern' education, which in fact means Western education".

By equating modern with Western, authors implicitly treat non-Western education is not worthy of the name of civilised education." (p. 17). The earlier work of Nisbett (2003) has been the impetus for researchers such as Casinader (2012), Singh (2013), Kumar (2013), and Zajda (2020a) to develop a branch of the comparative education discourse that not only originates largely from outside the more traditional Euro-American sources of the discipline, but also moves the study of comparative education in "... cultural concepts of intelligence ...[beyond] Asian societies and the US or Canada..." (Harkness et al. 2007, p. 115) to regions such as South Africa, Malaysia and Singapore. Thus Kumar is exploring "... the ranking and branding of education and the use of the English language in the context of Singapore..." (2013, p. 85), Singh is investigating Indian "...educational practice in

terms of the division between indigenous culture of learning on the one hand, and the formal culture of learning and knowledge systems inherited from colonial times on the other..." (2013, p. 88), and Casinader (2012) has proposed a five-part model of 'cultural dispositions of thinking' as a means of expressing the differences within which approaches to thinking varies with culture. The ultimate impact that such research will have on reversing the globalism of a culturally-neutered conception of thinking in the practice of comparative education remains, however, a distant hope, subject to the prospect that the forces of neo-liberal education might consciously and deliberately "recognise the significance of culture, context and difference in all aspects of educational research and development." (Crossley and Jarvis 2000, p. 262).

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Chapter 19

The Edge of Chaos: Explorations in Education and Conflict



Lynn Davies

Abstract This chapter argues that, in the main, formal education has a harmful impact on social cohesion and global security. While conflict and armed violence can have devastating impacts on schools and learners, schooling in turn can contribute to the continuation of conflict. It does so through its function of reproducing or amplifying social divisions, dominant masculinities and ethnic, religious or nationalistic identities. It also prepares students for war – and fear – through its control mechanisms and its competitive examination processes. The argument uses complexity theory to show how these non-linear effects combine to amplify local and international tensions, but also how small perturbations could have amplifying effects for peace. Schools need to reach ‘the edge of chaos’ in order to find emergence into more constructive positions. I argue for an ‘interruptive democracy’ in schools, to cultivate the positive conflict which, paradoxically, can foster peace.

19.1 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. The links between conflict and education 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. This

L. Davies (✉)
University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK
e-mail: l.davies@bham.ac.uk

chapter analyses the issues within a suitable theoretical framework, and discusses 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 global endeavour if we are going to start the process of enabling education really to work for peace instead of the reverse (Zajda 2020a).

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.

19.2 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 (see Davies 2004). 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.

19.3 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 (Zajda 2020b). 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 (Zajda 2020c). 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 femalehood; 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 (Zajda 2020b). 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.

19.4 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 (2002) 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 (Najcevska 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 et al. 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 7400 UNESCO 'Associated Schools' which are found in 170 countries (Davies et al. 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 done – 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.

19.5 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.

19.6 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 and 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.

19.7 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 and 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 purposeful 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 (see also Zajda 2020b).

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) argued 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.

19.8 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 overromanticising 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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Chapter 20

Inclusion and Globalisation in Russian Education: Mutually Inseparable Yet Conceptually and Linguistically at Odds



Ustinia Simpson, Ashley Simpson, Ning Chen, and Fred Dervin

Abstract The majority of research on inclusion in Russian education equates *inclusion* to *special needs education* (Oreshkina M, *Int J Spec Educ* 24(3):110–120, 2009; Khudorenko EA, *Russ Educ Soc* 53(12):82–91, 2011; Valeeva RA, Kulesza EM, *Int J Environ Sci Educ* 11(7):1619–1629, 2016). Kirillova (Rev Eur Stud 7(5):31–37, 2015) shows the development of inclusive education in Russia by explaining that the 2012 legal amendment “About Education in the Russian Federation” connects the inclusive education of children with ‘health problems’ (Kirillova EA, Rev Eur Stud 7(5):31–37, 2015: 33). We argue, this understanding of inclusion is narrow as it fails to grasp some of the issues relating to globalised economies and education systems such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, social class and so forth. This study is grounded in critical studies of inclusion in education (Biesta G, *Sporadic democracy: education, democracy, and the question of inclusion*. In: Katz MS, Verducci S, Biesta G (eds) *Education, democracy, and the moral life*. Springer, Dordrecht, pp 101–112, 2009; Biesta G, *Good education in an age of measurement: ethics, politics, democracy*. Routledge, London, 2015) and in critical studies on globalisation in education (Ball SJ, *Br J Educ Stud* 60(1):17–28, 2012; Ball SJ, *Discourse Stud Cult Polit Educ* 36(3):306–313, 2015; Ball SJ, *Br J Sociol Educ* 37(8):1129–1146, 2016) in contesting the different meanings of inclusion within Russian education. In this conceptual paper, we show how different meanings of the concept are constructed through analysing supranational reports from the European Union, national legislation on education, and a regional case study from Yekaterinburg. We show that it is important for all actors within Russian education to be aware of ideological biases and not to fall into the trap of impositions in terms of how inclusion is described and represented. In arguing for a sociological approach towards inclusion and globalisation in Russian education we discuss relevant implications and steps forward for teachers, educators and policymakers at the end of the paper.

U. Simpson · A. Simpson · N. Chen · F. Dervin (✉)
The University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland
e-mail: fred.dervin@helsinki.fi

20.1 Introduction

The *New Benchmarks of Education Policy in Russia* (Federal Centre For Educational Legislation 2020b) outlines the foundation of education policy in The Russian Federation for the period 2000–2025. The document focuses on sustainable socio-economic development; providing staff with adequate quality and quantity for fast-growing market economy integrated with global economic processes; acknowledgement of equality and free competition of all educators regardless of their organizational form and ownership; openness of education system to external demands, including consideration of the needs of community and economy in general through consultations, external accreditation, collaboration in designing educational standards, participation in management of educational institutions, amongst other aspects (Federal Centre For Educational Legislation 2020b). Although not being a full member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Russia is partner member of and participant in OECD initiatives. For example, in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), for PISA 2018, in Russia, 7 608 students, in 265 schools, completed the assessment, representing 1 257 388 15-year-old students (94% of the total population of 15-year-olds) (OECD 2019c). In PISA 2018 Russia performed on or slightly below the OECD average for Reading, Mathematics and Science (ibid).

In terms of the OECD's *Equity in Education* (OECD 2018) report the percentage of students from disadvantaged backgrounds in Russia who feel they belong in school dropped from 87% in PISA 2003 to 73% in PISA 2015 (OECD 2018). At the same time more than one in two adults in Russia believe they experienced upward educational mobility (ibid). Another example is that Russia performs above the OECD average for the mean science score among socio-economically disadvantaged students and national top-performers, and, for the social and emotional resilience of socio-economically disadvantaged students in Russia (ibid). Russia also participated in the OECD's *Indicators for Education* (OECD 2019a). On average across the OECD, 14% of adults hold a master's or doctoral level qualification. In the Russian Federation the share is over 20% and in recent years Russia has seen a decrease of 20% points in the out-of-school rate of students attending fulltime education. So, what do all of these education policies, measurements and indices really mean? From what we have described so far, the measurements and indices could loosely come under the umbrella of 'inclusive education', whereas the national level policies actually show the reproduction of globalized neo-liberal ideologies within the context of Russian Education (Zajda 2017). The Law on Education 1992 and The Federal Law on Higher and Postgraduate Professional Education 1996 set the legislative basis of inclusion in Russia. The newest Federal Law on Education in Russian Federation No. 273-FZ was adopted on 29 December 2012 and entered into force on 1 September 2013 (Federal Centre For Educational Legislation 2020a). The subordinate legislation completes the legal provisions; therefore, different regions, federal cities, and republics have their own way of organising education and this 'subsystem'. Thus, there is no singular definition, conceptualisation or

interpretation of inclusive education in Russia. Often though, inclusive education (or inclusion in education) has been interpreted as relating to psychological, emotional, or behavioural issues relating to special needs education in this context (Oreshkina 2009; Khudorenko 2011; Valeeva and Kulesza 2016).

In this conceptual paper on inclusion within Russian education, we argue it is important for all education actors (policymakers, school leaders, educators) to problematise and contest what the word *inclusion* means in the Russian education context (we will articulate the specific words in Russia in the articles) – rather than relying on definitions and instruments from supranational organisations (and the ideologies which are carried along with these definitions). Secondly, we warn against being uncritical towards supranational definitions and approaches of inclusive education as these maybe unrealistic or impractical to implement in some contexts, or, might be used to impose particular (‘Western’) ideological doctrines. Thirdly, through arguing for a sociological problematization of inclusion within the Russian educational context, we maintain that it is important to open the notion up to other aspects which should be considered when thinking about inclusion, e.g. issues of race, ethnicity, gender, language and social class.

When it comes to inclusion in Russian Education, in the age of global neo-liberal education policies, we argue there are three important aspects to consider and which are problematised in this paper:

1. *Inclusion and Exclusion in Russian education: What are we referring to and talking about?* Not all meanings can be translated from Russian to English. Therefore what are the social and political implications of the definitions used?;
2. *What are the dangers and implications of being uncritical towards (universalist) supranational definitions about inclusion?* The example of a European Union project including Nordic countries, Archangelsk and Murmansk in Russia is examined;
3. *Can inclusion be opened up from its exclusive focus on special educational needs?* An example from Yekaterinburg about language as a factor for inclusive education in Russia serves as a case study.

Often there is a misconvergence between supranational, national and regional levels in Russia with regard to inclusive education. The policies and instruments may articulate one thing, the realities in the schools themselves are completely different (Vandyshev 2016). Thus, the notion of inclusion that we are problematizing diverges greatly from region to region, city to city, town to town, within the Russian Federation – and beyond. It is not our aim within this paper to generalise one context or another, but to start an important dialogue about these issues and to illuminate some considerations for school leaders, policymakers and educators alike.

20.2 Globalization and Education Policies in Neoliberal Times

In order to examine inclusive education in Russia today, we need to start from broader discussions about education policies in global times (Zajda 2020a). Mechanisms of performativity, commodification and commitment in education under neoliberalism are widespread throughout the world, encompassing all societies and all education systems (Ball 2012, 2016; Zajda 2020a). These mechanisms function as a form of governmentality over subjects insofar that they define and construct *subjectivities* (lived experiences), *relations*, and *identities* through what is considered as being ‘good’ and ‘bad’. Ball (2016) through Scott (1996) argues, this reveals modalities of truth: the truths that we tell about our self to others, and the truths that are imposed upon ourselves. Here, power functions as a vehicle in constructing subjectivities in education through e.g., international performance league tables, national school league tables, higher education research excellence, and so forth. Ball (2016, p. 1132) quoting Foucault (2013) argues, Truth is a ‘system of exclusion’ (Foucault 2013, p. 2) and ‘a system of constraint which is exercised not only on other discourses, but on a whole series of other practices’ (2013, p. 2).

Arguably one example of truth functioning as a system for exclusion in education *par excellence* is the Organization for Cooperation and Development (OECD)’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Priestley and Biesta (2013) argue that PISA continues to exert a powerful education policy influence globally:

While PISA is presented as a system to provide countries with information about the performance of their education system so that, in principle, it does nothing more than producing information that governments might use in their policy considerations, in practice PISA has had, and is continuing to have, a significant impact on education policy in many countries. (Priestley and Biesta 2013, p. 323)

Since 2001 PISA has turned into a definition of what good education is supposed to be globally (ibid). In this sense the information contained in the OECD’s (and other supranational organizations such as the Council of Europe, The World Bank) assessments, tools and frameworks function discursively and ideologically through imposing doctrines, definitions and instruments, from macro to micro levels and contexts, worldwide (Hill and Kumar 2012). The implication these discourses have is they produce and reproduce the criteria of what can be conceptualized as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ education policy (Ross and Vinson 2013). Ball (2015, p. 307) introduces two discursive functions to problematize how education policy is enacted under neoliberal forces, ‘*Policy as text* (the ways education policy actors translate and interpret policies) and *policy as discourse*, the ways in which teacher subjects and subject positions are formed and re-formed by policy and are “invited” (summoned) to speak, listen, act, read, work, think, feel, behave and value’ (Gee et al. 1996, p. 10).

In this sense, neoliberal policy apparatuses in education function through all levels of the education system (e.g., policies at school, department and classrooms

levels and the logics of ‘improvement’ which run through each of these) (Ball 2015, p. 308). Perryman et al. (2017) argue that ‘teachers in effect become policy, but not in some visible brute form, rather in a process that hails them through ‘interest’ and ‘curiosity’ to improve themselves, become a better teacher, a ‘good’ teacher’ (Perryman et al. 2017, p. 754). Arguably this highlights the technocratic embedding of routines of neoliberal governance, whereby a select group of elite gurus and members decide the instruments, measurements and definitions of what can be constituted as ‘good’ in education. It is the decisions made by this group of people whose implications are felt throughout the world (Peck and Tickell 2002). It is important to note one aspect which runs through all aspects of neoliberal education: through focusing on global economic competitiveness and cooperation, the economic imperative becomes a major driver of decisions about the direction of education policy and practice (Priestley and Biesta 2013). Discussions about inclusive education in Russia are not exception to the rule (see also Zajda 2020b, c).

20.3 Conceptualizations and Policies of Inclusive Education in Russia

The concept of inclusive education is defined and implemented in many different ways around the world and what it seems to encompass in most contexts is a strong commitment to meet the diverse needs of all students. Gert Biesta reminds us that inclusion is not only the main point and purpose of democracy it is also one of its main problems (Biesta 2007, 2015). The main problem is who are to be included in the (definition of the) *demos* (people)? (Biesta 2009). This is an important question when we think about the ever-transforming landscapes of our societies and educational systems: Who is *really* included? Who is marginalised and for what reason(s) and purpose(s)? Bingham and Biesta (2010) argue that inclusion is the ‘core value of democracy’:

It could well be argued that inclusion is one of the core values, if not the core value of democracy. The ‘point’ of democracy, after all, is the inclusion of the *demos* – which ultimately means the whole *demos* – into the ruling (*kratein*) of society. (Bingham and Biesta 2010, p. 74)

Bingham & Biesta go onto articulate what they call the ‘quantitative conception of inclusion [meaning] the ultimate aim is to add individuals to the democratic order’ (Bingham and Biesta 2010: 81). In this sense, ‘the very language of inclusion not only suggests that someone is including someone else. It also suggests that someone is setting the terms for inclusion and that it is for those who wish to be included to meet those terms’ (ibid). Bingham and Biesta, through their critical reading of Jacques Rancière, show that the liberal democratic notion of inclusion contains an inherent paradox, insofar that in order to preserve and sustain the *demos*, exclusion is required. To put this another way, within liberal democratic societies the full inclusion of all members within a given context remains paradoxically

unobtainable – the ordering of the state, the subjectivities about the nation and the self, relations between different groups and individuals – is constituted through a politics of “us” versus “them” (Mouffe 2013). Liberal political structures and systems are blind to the complex intersubjectivities within the self and others, as Mouffe (ibid.) argues, at the heart of liberal democracy lies a politics of exteriorisation – the legitimisation of a marginalised and constantly excluded other (ibid). Despite these theoretical and conceptual arguments, in global education supranational organisations such as the OECD have been pursuing assessments, measurements and the ranking of differing forms of inclusion in education (OECD 2018). There are often synonyms used to illustrate this economic-political agenda, for example in OECD (2018), the focus is on the technocratic term of ‘equity’ in education. In this sense, this regime of numbers ‘hails us in its terms, and to the extent we turn, acknowledge and engage we are made recognizable and subject’ (Ball 2016, p. 1133).

In terms of inclusion in The Russian Federation, The Federal Law “On Education in the Russian Federation” came into force on 1 September 2013. Although the law proclaims education for people with the limited possibilities of *health* and *disability* as one of the privileges of the education system in Russian Federation, the problem of readiness of the Russian society to implement inclusive education remains one of the most debatable in the education sector (Rubtcova et al. 2016; Zajda 2017). Kirillova (2015) explains that the Federal Education Law of 2013 connects the inclusive education of children with ‘health problems’ (Kirillova 2015, p. 33). We note that in 2014 significant attempts to move towards inclusive education sparked mass protests on behalf of parents and teachers. In Moscow on 11th October 2014 parents held a demonstration against the merger of so-called correctional/special needs and general schools (Rubtcova et al. 2016). Here one can see how the apparatuses of neoliberal and globalised education function, through the instruments of measurements and rankings in this example. The parents in Moscow did not want the merger of specialist schools and comprehensive schools because there is a belief in Russia (and perhaps in other contexts too) that merging children together would result in the school’s performance in the league tables to drop, that teaching would be less effective and the ‘better’ performers in the school would be ‘dragged down’ by the so-called ‘lesser’ performers. This example also reveals the popularity of so-called ‘correctional pedagogy’ in Russia, a controversial notion based on the creation of separate schools for children with special needs, which still has a large number of supporters in Russia (Martianova and Rubtcova 2013).

As Kirillova (2015) notes, the notion of inclusion in Russia’s educational system is problematic due to its narrow focus on special needs education. In terms of other issues which may fall under the umbrella of inclusive education in Russian multicultural education has also been described as problematic and challenging. Logvinova and Ivanova (2016) also argue that pre-service teachers in Russia lack the relevant skills and confidence necessary to work in culturally diverse classrooms. There is thus an urgent need to not relegate ‘inclusive education’ or ‘inclusion’ to a distant other (in this sense, children in special needs schools). We argue, it is important to reconceptualise and problematise inclusion from a sociological

perspective which incorporates all aspects of individual and social subjectivities (e.g., age, gender, identities, ethnicity, religion, language, social class) as well as school factors and influences (e.g., geographical and spatial influences, local/regional policies and legislation, and, the demographic configuration of the school population).

20.4 Inclusion and Exclusion in Russian Education: What Are We Referring to and Talking About?

Despite the fact that supranational organizations ‘dictate’ how to define and interpret certain concepts within education (e.g., OECD 2018) the meanings need to be problematised by all actors that grapple with the notions, from national to local levels, from the caretakers to the head teachers. In English the etymology of the word inclusion is c. 1600, ‘act of making a part of, “from Latin *inclusionem* (nominative *inclusio*)” a shutting up, confinement’, noun of action from past participle stem of *includere*. Meaning ‘that which is included’ is from 1839 (etymonline 2020). The original etymology of the word in English is somewhat different from the uses of the word today, yet, the original meaning of ‘shutting up, confinement’ corresponds to the critical scholarship of inclusion as a political project within liberal democracies (e.g., Biesta 2009; Mouffe 2013). This is why certain sections of society should be ‘shut-up’ in order to be included. Inclusion therefore carries the notion of assimilation to the body politic – in the sense, that one must give themselves up in order to be included. Inclusion, in this sense, can function through exclusion by stripping the agency and voice from the included subject. These meanings seem contrary to the surface appearance of how inclusion is presented today within neo-liberal societies, where it is used side-by-side with other synonyms such as ‘respect’ and ‘tolerance’ towards the other (see e.g., the OECD’s Global and Intercultural Competencies as part of the PISA assessment (OECD 2019b)).

However, in Russian there is no direct translation of the word ‘inclusion’ which carries the same meaning. The words and their translated meanings can be found in Table 20.1.

The word *включение* (*vklyucheniye*) is probably the closest equivalent to ‘inclusion’ in English, but the word can also mean *to get included* or *turn on*. *Недопущение* (*nedorushcheniye*) could mean, on the contrary, *inadmissibility*, *the act of denying something*. *Исключение* (*isklyucheniye*) is probably closest to the English word for ‘exclusion’: Here the meaning of *exception* is understood in a more positive way that rules/norms can be changed and there is always a situation that should have an exceptional approach to it (E.g., As an exemption I was allowed not to sit my exam; An exemption was made for her/him; Everyone will go except for those who are ill). In this sense, the word does not carry the same meaning as ‘exclusion’ does in English. In Russian education the word ‘exclusive’ can mean privilege/exceptional education and is something positive. Whereas, ‘inclusive

Table 20.1 A table of Russian words and their translated meanings

Word	Meaning	Possible equivalent words in English
включение (vklyucheniye)	The word включение (vklyucheniye) is probably the closest equivalent to 'inclusion' in English, включение (vklyucheniye) means to turn on, to include, to get involved. For example, to insist on including a particular question into a daily report (gramota.ru 2020a).	To turn on, to include, to get included.
Недопущение (nedopushcheniye)	Недопущение (nedopushcheniye) can be understood as a higher (over-arching) form of exclusion, not allowing something, permitting someone from doing something, not meeting them halfway. A synonym of Недопущение (nedopushcheniye) is недопустимость (nedopustimost') which means inadmissibility (gramota.ru 2020b).	Exclusion, Inadmissibility.
Исключение (isklyucheniye)	Исключение (isklyucheniye) which is probably closest to the English word for 'exclusion' means: 1. To exclude from school, from the list. 2. A step away from common rules, from normal ways. Common Russia proverb: There is no rule without an exception. Here the meaning of exception is understood in a more positive way that rules/norms can be changed and there is always a situation that should have an exceptional approach to it (E.g., As an exemption I was allowed not to sit my exam; An exemption was made for her/him; Except for a few details I liked the story; Everyone will go except for those who are ill).	Exclusion, can also mean exception or exemption
Интеграция (intergratsiya)	Интеграция (intergratsiya) is close to its English equivalent of 'integration', Интеграция means a unification of different parts into one thing. Integrational processes (gramota.ru 2020c).	Integration

All of the Russian words and meanings included in Table 20.1 were translated by the authors

education' would be met with worries and concerns (e.g., the 2014 protests in Moscow which we discussed earlier). Parents want their children to be better off than they were; they want them to have an exclusiveness they did not have. Therefore 'inclusive' carries negative and dogmatic undertones which people do not want to be associated with. Finally, Интеграция (intergratsiya) is close to its English equivalent of 'integration', Интеграция (intergratsiya) is commonly used when discussing issues relating to migrants and multicultural/intercultural education (e.g., a newcomer in the Russian education system needs to be integrated).

Our central argument is that, by showing some of the notions in Table 20.1, users and actors of these words in local contexts in Russia need to problematise what they really mean to different groups of people (e.g., the ways teaching staff, parents, policymakers view these notions might be similar and different). There needs to be a dialogue about these issues throughout society. We note that attempts have been made in academia to open up the notion of inclusion. One of the ways that could be

useful in rethinking the notion of inclusion is through the definition proposed by Khukhlaev et al. (2015). They argue that the term inclusion denotes that *all* individuals have an equal opportunity for education:

Из этого определения следует, что вопрос о социальной инклюзии (а также инклюзии в образовании как его части) ставится гораздо шире, чем вопрос о включении в образовательный процесс лиц с ОВЗ или даже лиц с особыми образовательными потребностями. Хотя к последней категории могут быть отнесены также дети мигрантов в силу культурных, языковых и иных различий с принимающим обществом, что обуславливает возможность наличия у них подобных особых потребностей, вопрос их включения в общество и в процесс образования не исчерпывается учетом их особых образовательных потребностей. (Khukhlaev et al. 2015, p. 17)

This definition means that the question of social inclusion (and inclusion in education as part of this process) is put into much wider context, rather than inclusion of special needs citizens or even citizens with special educational needs. Even though we can put migrant children into this last category because of cultural, language and other differences in comparison with the ‘accepting side’, what means they might have similar needs and demands, a question of their inclusion in society and in the educational process is not answered simply by meeting their special educational needs.¹ We are not exclusively saying that this should be the definition or approach to be used to rethink inclusion in Russian education, insofar that this paper aims to facilitate dialogues on the very essence of what inclusion is as a starting point. We very much argue that there should not be one universal definition of inclusion (due to social, linguistic and political reason). Meanings about inclusion need to be contested and problematised in specific localities rather than being imposed on from ‘above’ by supranational organisations. Thus, it is important to commence these dialogues from local contexts in Russia rather than relying on, or exclusively using, definitions and approaches from supranational organisations which are part of the global education apparatus (Zajda 2020a).

20.5 What Are the Dangers and Implications of Being Uncritical Towards Universalist and Supranational Definitions About Inclusion?

To illustrate this example, we use the European Union research project headed by The University of Lapland (Finland) called *A School for All – Development of Inclusive Education project* funded by the EU’s Kolarctic programme² (Kesälähti and Väyrynen 2013). The project aims at promoting inclusion in schools and teacher

¹Translated by the authors of this paper.

²The Russian partners of the project were: The Northern (Arctic) Federal University, Murmansk State Humanities University, Ministry of Education and Science in Arkhangelsk Region, Murmansk regional State Educational Institution of Additional Vocational Education, Murmansk Regional

education in the areas of North Calotte and Northwest Russia (Arkhangelsk and Murmansk). The authors of the publication argue that,

we have used concepts that are commonly used by UNESCO [The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] – as the leading international organisation for education – and the European Agency for Development of Special Needs Education. (Kesälahti and Väyrynen 2013, p. 10)

The authors refer to UNESCO ‘as the leading international organisation for education’ (Kesälahti and Väyrynen 2013, p. 10). Here the authors clearly demonstrate their ideological and political bias in using a supranational entity to provide the framework in how the authors should approach their research questions (notwithstanding the fact their research was funded by the European Union – another supranational political body). These supranational discourses and ideologies are often parroted by researchers, and should be deconstructed (e.g., see Simpson and Dervin 2019). Additionally, in their project the authors use Ainscow et al. (2006) *Improving schools, developing inclusion* as the main source of defining the concepts and approach they use. This conceptualisation used by Ainscow et al. is based upon the UK educational and economic-political system – which may (or may not be) so relevant in comparing Russia to other Nordic countries, nor able to grasp the linguistic, political and social factors and influences within the context of Russia itself. Here, a UK based definition is used as an instrument to measure and judge two regions in Russia. In using Anglo-centric approaches and methods uncritically the authors can reproduce methodological nationalism (concentrating on representatives of one country rather than looking at experiences with people from other countries), and essentialisms (reducing the self and/or other to a singular narrative/essence) about the subjects contained within their research on inclusion.

At this juncture, Ball (2015, p. 311) argues, often policy is taken at face value and re-inscribing its claims to coherence in our analyses, rather than seeking to address *The Order of Things* (Foucault 1970). Thus, when researchers, educators, or policymakers uncritically use definitions and approaches formulated by supranational institutions, in turn their ideological biases are reproduced. It is people who ‘plan and produce the events and processes and institutional texts of policy in relation to others who are thus inducted into the ‘discursive patterns’ of policy’ (Ball et al. 2011, p. 630). Researchers, teachers and educators are not immune from inducting people into the ‘discursive patterns’ of policy, through the types of ideological research and teaching which is produced about inclusion. Before moving onto the final section of our paper, our argument is, that instead of parroting supranational discourses about inclusion and inclusive education educators, policymakers and researchers need to deconstruct and reconstruct current modes of thinking about inclusion and inclusive education. This movement includes problematising and contesting meanings about the notions and concepts used about inclusion in Russian, rather than simply relying on their English equivalents (which arguably

can never be fully equivalent, see notion of ‘untranslatables’). Simultaneously, this task also involves breaking the notion free from its exclusive constraints about special needs education within the Russian context.

20.6 Language as a Factor for Inclusive Education in Russia: An Example from Yekaterinburg

In his research, Vandyshev (2019) reflects on the inclusive education practices with regards to migrant children within Sverdlovsk region. The capital of Sverdlovsk region, Yekaterinburg, is the fourth most populated city in Russia. Its population is highly diverse since it’s a popular place of migration for both Russians coming from smaller towns, villages as well as foreign migrants coming from overseas, predominantly Central Asian Republics (e.g., Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). Vandyshev (2019) claims that the outskirts of Yekaterinburg have the highest percentage of migrant population because of lower rent prices, thus many schools located in those areas although they do not have this status, are frequently referred to as ‘migrant schools’. He argues that within the Russian educational sector the success of a given school is determined by how well its students perform in exams. Thus the arrival of migrants often poses a direct threat to the school’s reputation (and school league table rankings). It also represents the biggest challenge to its educators who do not usually have the right qualifications or experiences to help them work with migrants. Instead teachers judge migrant children’s academic talents and prospects by their knowledge (or lack of) Russian language. This is a common problem for many regions as there is no unified method of teaching Russian as a second language and most schools do not offer any additional classes to migrant children because of the lack of resources or finances to hire new specialists.

Currently ‘Russian as a second language’ is not an area of specialisation and no teaching qualifications are attached to it. The only way of assessing Russian is through a conceptualisation of Russian native speakerism (Suleymanova 2018). Migrant children are expected to know the same linguistic and cultural norms as local kids. Because there is no unified integration of migrant kids in Russia most educators who support migrant kids will be Russian language and literature teachers as well as phonologists rather than specialists of multicultural or intercultural communication education (Vorozhbitova et al. 2017). The main federal (2013) laws regarding accessibility of education to migrants and their children do state that all migrants of school age have a right to go to school and to receive education. However the actual implementation of those laws is not controlled on a national level. Instead individual regional governments are free to create their own underlying regulations with regards to how they will be implementing them. In addition, there is no unified consensus in the pedagogical community regarding preferred methods and policies for immigrant children education. In his research on Yekaterinburg’s schools that are labelled as ‘migrant’ schools Vandyshev (2016) recognizes that despite

encouragement from the government to create an education for all, about one third of the respondents in his study believe such children should not be included since they do not speak the language of teaching (Russian) (Vandyshev 2016).

An example from Yekaterinburg can be found in the “Игромир СловаРус” (“Playworld Word Rus”) project in the Yekaterinburg region (Rossiyskaya Gazeta 2018). “Playworld Word Rus” is a project aimed at supporting the Russian language skills of school aged children who have migrated from Central Asian Republics to Yekaterinburg. The project is not funded by the local regional government, but they support it in-kind through allowing the project to use school buildings rent free. The teachers in the project are often migrants themselves and learning the Russian language is emphasised through play, games, and, activities rather than through a standardised curriculum. The project focuses on student-centred approaches and needs aimed at understanding individual situations and contexts. We are not being naïve here, arguably projects like this, relegate the issues (and solutions) to an extracurricular issue rather than being dealt with in the schools themselves. Arguably one of the mechanisms of globalised forces within education systems throughout the world relates to the fact that the other remains the distant referential object (in this sense, migrants whose first language is not Russian), it is important for the other to remain other (excluded) so that those who are not other can feel a sense of inclusion (Petersen and Schramm 2017).

With this in mind, we argue that language should be considered as a form of inclusion (along with the aspects of disability, race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and so forth) so migrant children are not marginalised and discriminated against due to their language competences and skills. We argue for a need to train educators and teachers nationally for ‘Russian as a second language’ as a way to bridge the gap between migrant non-native speakers of Russian and native speakers. Thus, there is a need for a teacher specialisation in Russian as a second language. We do not use ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ along ethnocentric or essentialist lines, we approach these issues from the perspective that people may have multiple identities, languages and heritages. It is important not to relegate language issues to extracurricular problems or solutions, these issues also need to be dealt with in compulsory educational settings.

20.7 Discussion: The Need to Decentre Inclusion in Russian Education

This conceptual chapter on inclusion within Russian education offers a site to rework and rethink the ways the notion is currently understood and conceptualised. Through focusing on a sociological approach based upon critical approaches to inclusion in education (Biesta 2009, 2015; Bingham and Biesta 2010), critical approaches to education policy in the age of globalisation (Ball 2012, 2015, 2016) and, on current research on inclusion within Russia (Vandyshev 2016, 2019) a

broader social focus for inclusion has been argued for. The purpose of this chapter is not to fall into the same traps of neo-liberal and universalist approaches to inclusion in education, of generalisations and assumptions about; educational systems, the actors contained within the systems, and the individual and group subjectivities found within education systems (Zajda 2020a). Instead, we have not proposed one universal definition of inclusive education because, from the examples we have shown, this is perhaps impossible due to differing linguistic meanings in differing contexts.

We have also not proposed a singular definition for inclusion due to the political characteristics of the notion (e.g., Biesta 2009; Mouffe 2013). Proposing a universalistic definition, which for example is used by a neo-liberal supranational organisation in education (e.g., OECD or UNESCO), means that the actors (researchers, policymakers, educators, teachers) who use and sign up to that notion are reproducing the same liberal ideologies that lie at the heart of the notion. That inclusion requires exclusion, this has been the logic and practice of liberal democracies since modernity – a politics of exteriorisation, of “us” versus “them” (Mouffe 2013). This process involves the other staying *other* permanently through the rationalisation and normalisation of marginalisation in our societies (ibid). A point should also be made about the unevenness and unequal distribution of economic globalisation (although globalisation is not a particularly new phenomenon) – in terms of how ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ are created, those that are included and those that are excluded (Zajda 2020d). This is another perpetual problem at the heart of global education and education in global times, e.g., the obsession with ‘good’ and ‘bad’ education/ ‘good’ and ‘bad’ citizens through measurements and statistics exacerbates the engenderment of logics about so-called ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ (Biesta 2015).

Thus, inclusion as a notion needs to be decentred. Decentring involves asking three important questions: *Inclusion for whom? Inclusion by whom? Inclusion for what purpose?* Additionally, we propose the following five steps for educators, policymakers, teachers and other actors within Russia to decentre and problematise inclusion in education:

1. To problematise inclusion from a sociological perspective that includes aspects such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, and, social class within Russian education. This will move the field away from its limited exclusivity in being about special needs education.
2. For all actors (educators, policymakers, researchers, and teachers) to be critical of universalist approaches for inclusion, as dictated to and defined by, supranational organisations in Europe (e.g., the Council of Europe) and throughout the world (e.g., OECD, UNESCO). Some aspects might be useful in these documents whereas other aspects might be irrelevant or impotent for the Russian context.
3. For all actors to problematise what inclusion means in Russian education today, and what it might mean tomorrow. This involves engaging with all actors and facilitating dialogues across all inter-regional and intra-regional levels across

Russia. This will enable the actors to share practices and insights in terms of disseminating what does work and what does not work.

4. For educators who are trained in pedagogical universities in Russia to develop specialisations (programmes, courses, qualifications) based on inclusive education. With regard to the example from Yekaterinburg, to develop specialisation courses on Russian as a second language within Russian higher education.
5. For Russian education to develop its own models, approaches and definitions about inclusion in education (if possible) – thus, moving away from limited and limiting versions of Anglo-centric and Euro-centric (definitions, approaches, and concepts) which may be irrelevant or conceptually inadequate to express the particular linguistic, social and political complexities found in Russia.

Although this chapter has been about inclusion in Russian education there is much more work to be done within the field in Russia and in other countries. We aim to facilitate future studies based upon this conceptual paper in terms of problematising our research within different regions and contexts in Russia. We are also hopeful that readers of other contexts within the field will find solace in the fact that they need to be continually critical and reflexive about the notion of inclusion, today and tomorrow.

20.8 Conclusion

In our chapter we argue that one's understanding of inclusion can narrow, as it inevitably fails to grasp some of the issues relating to globalised economies and education systems such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, social class and so forth. This chapter is grounded in critical studies of inclusion in education (Biesta 2009, 2015) and in critical studies on globalisation in education (Ball 2012, 2015, 2016; Zajda 2020c) in contesting the different meanings of inclusion within Russian education. In this conceptual chapter, we demonstrate how different meanings of the concept are constructed, through analysing supranational reports from the European Union, national legislation on education, and a regional case study from Yekaterinburg. We show that it is important for all actors within Russian education to be aware of ideological biases and not to fall into the trap of impositions in terms of how inclusion is described and represented. In arguing for a sociological and critical discourse approach towards inclusion and globalisation in Russian education we discuss relevant implications and steps forward for teachers, educators and policymakers at the end of the paper.

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Chapter 21

Tacit Skills and Occupational Mobility in a Global Culture



Karen Evans

Abstract 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.

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 (Evans et al. 2001). 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 Learning¹ 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 (Zajda 2020a). The framework of concepts and issues has been published in Evans, showing how approaches to ‘tacit skills’ have multiple roots in the literatures of epistemology, knowledge management (e.g., Johnson and Lundvall 2001) work process knowledge and situated modes of

¹Economic and Social Research Council Award Number L139 225 1005 directed by Helen Rainbird, Karen Evans, Phil Hodkinson and Lorna Unwin.

K. Evans (✉)
University of London, London, UK
e-mail: k.evans@ioe.ac.uk

cognition. 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. A shift in emphasis away from institutionalised learning to workplace learning has been the key reform initiative in the last decade. A qualitative analysis by Harris et al. 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 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 ‘life-long learning’ policy (Zajda 2020a). 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. 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 and Heidegger 2001). The international partnership² identified five analytically defined model structures are shown in Table 21.1. 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.

²Partnership formed under the Leonardo Programme, Ger, UK, Greece, Portugal, Czech R, Romania, Denmark.

Table 21.1 International significance of tacit forms of personal competences (TCP): five analytical models

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
*Esteem	Very variable	High when related to standards	Low, reluctance to recognise	Rather low	Still low
*CVT	Some significant innovation	Attempts	Mostly aimed at certificates	Important: 'bilan des competences'	'Officially' little relevance
*Employability	Very important	Important	Little, except for long-term unemployed	Not much	Little
*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

Source: Hendrich and Heidegger (2001)

21.1 The Models Can Be Further Elaborated as Follows

21.1.1 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.

21.1.2 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.

21.1.3 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.

21.1.4 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*’.

21.1.5 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. 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”. 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.

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' (i.e. 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 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 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 2000)

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 et al. (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 21.1). But research on ‘work process knowledge’ such as Boreham’s 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’ (i.e. 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.

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 (2000a, b) as the technocratic or democratic visions of a ‘Learning Society’.

Table 21.2 Mayer competencies: activities performed ‘most of the time’ by work category

Asdf sdf asdf	‘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

Source: Gerber and Lankshear (2000)

The Table 21.2 above shows competences performed by work category, according to research by Billett, 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.

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 Fig. 21.1. 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

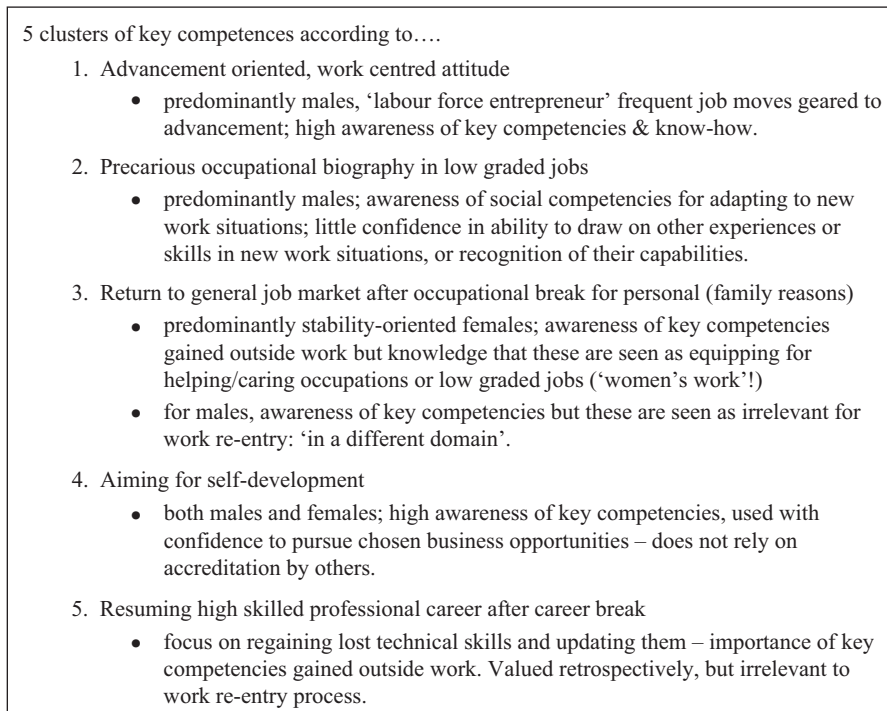


Fig. 21.1 Case studies of participants in CVT – Job change programmes, UK

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.

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 and Hodkinson (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 emphasise 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 (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. (2002) are challenging some of the more individualistic formulations and leading into a new generation of work on collective competence and collective intelligence (Brown and Lauder 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 2002). 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’etoile de mer*) for ease of international

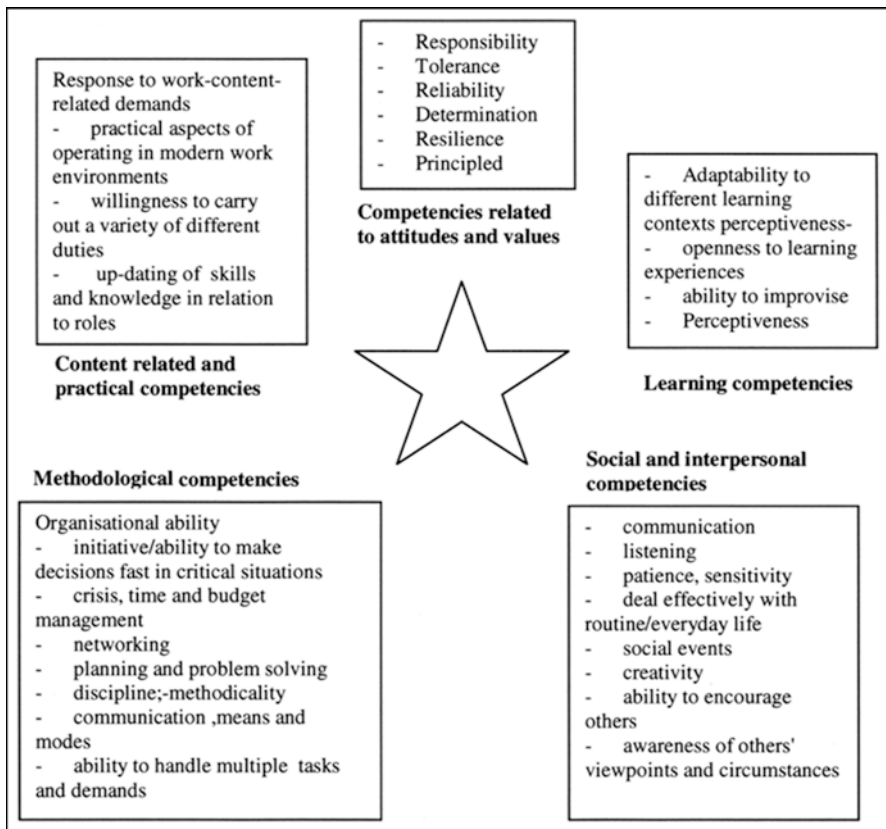


Fig. 21.2 A biographical approach: Key competences identified through biographical analysis of significant non formal learning experiences and job/role change (Starfish Model)

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 Fig. 21.2 attached.)

The ‘Starfish Model’ (Fig. 21.2) 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 Fig. 21.1).

21.2 Recognition and Deployment of Tacit Skills in Role Change

Further analysis of these phenomena 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 et al. 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.

21.3 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 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 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. as a major thematic outcome of the ESRC Research Network on *Incentives to Learning in the Workplace*.³

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.

21.4 Wider Policy Implications

Leplat 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

³ 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 2003.

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.

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 (2000a, b) 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 (Zajda 2008). 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 (Zajda 2020c). 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 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 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.”

21.5 Conclusion

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 (see also, Zajda 2020b).

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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Chapter 22

Globalisation and Coloniality in Education and Development in Africa



Macleans Geo-JaJa and Joseph Zajda

Abstract This chapter examines the process of globalisation, not in the narrow context of economics, but rather in its wider context: 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 grand narrative. This chapter first presents the opportunities and challenges that globalisation offers to Africa, and examines how public expenditure has been impacted by one aspect of globalisation—the tidal force of finance-driven reform. We then review the way the process of globalisation, associated with neo-conservative ideology is bound to reduce the ability of nations to collaborate and foster a human economic development partnership in national development (Zajda J (ed). *Globalisation, ideology and neo-liberal higher education reform*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2020a; Zajda J (ed). *Globalisation, ideology and education reforms: emerging paradigms*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2020b; Zajda J (ed). *Human rights education globally*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2020c). The chapter suggests regulating globalisation in ways that minimise its impact on education through the use of safety nets of market creation. The conclusion 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.

22.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the process of globalisation, not in the narrow context of economics, but rather in its wider sense: social 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 grand narrative.

M. Geo-JaJa (✉)
Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, USA
e-mail: Geo-JaJa@byu.edu

J. Zajda
Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus, Melbourne, Australia

Grand narrative or “master narrative” is a term first introduced by **Jean-François Lyotard (1979) to critique** the nexus between knowledge, ideology and power.

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 analyse the way the process of globalisation, associated with neoconservativist ideology is bound to reduce the ability of nations to collaborate and foster a human economic development partnership in national development (Zajda 2020a). The chapter suggests regulating globalisation in ways that minimise its impact on education through the use of safety nets of market creation. The concluding remarks show that globalisation has the potential to positively affect wealth creation and bring about social justice in education, but its current design has not allowed the achievement of these noble goals.

The grand narrative of economic globalisation, as a dominant ideology is a form of economic neoconservativism, an absolutist closed ideological discourse that valorises “the market” into an international capitalist marketplace of trade liberalisation, unfettered by national regulation. It is this economic rational that becomes the paramount organising principle to which all societies and education must become subject. Market forces are one source of the impetus of globalisation that is driven by transnational companies (TNCs) through their competitive search for profit internationally. The dramatic globalisation of social and economic activities that intensified during the mid 1980s is characterised by a powerful confluence of economic rationalism that is a threat to the values of democracy, social justice, and public education systems (Zajda 2020c).

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. World Bank indicates that in developing regions, the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day fell ‘from 47% in 1990 to 22% in 2010’. 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; see also World Bank 2017, 2019). The gaps between rich and poor countries, and rich and poor people within countries, have grown. The richest quarter of the world’s population saw its per capita GDP increase nearly sixfold during the century, while the poorest quarter experienced less than a threefold increase. Income inequality has clearly increased. Furthermore, 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 (Geo-JaJa 2003). King and McGrath (1999) 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. This economic impact of globalisation on education systems has also been examined by Zajda and Gamage (2009; Zajda 2010). 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 (Zajda 2014a). Under this socio-economic restructuring, nation states have become increasingly internationalised, in the sense that they have withdrawn from their social responsibility to provide and administer public resources to promote social justice (OECD 2019).

These new values, as reflected in the neoliberal agendas promote less state intervention in public policy and greater dependence on the market. Similarly, Arnové (1999), with reference to neo-liberal ideology, argued that economic restructuring was 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.

In essence, like supranational organisations imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP), this phenomenon is the free market ideology of economics and international politics repackaged into language appropriate to trade and education development of the twenty-first century (Geo-JaJa and Magnum 2000). 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 (see Milanovic 2016). In the education sector, it negates quality and equality between nations. As a result, key stakeholders are no longer the teachers, parents and governments but rather private institutions and international organisations (Ilon 2002a; Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2000). 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.

22.2 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 (Appadurai 1996). Whether debating efficacy or efficiency, such pedagogical phrases as ‘internationalisation,’ ‘decentralisation,’ ‘harmonisation,’ and an increasing global competition dominates the discussions between different operators (Zajda 2005, 2020b). 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 Carnoy (1995), 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. The reality is as a result of its major impact on education through financial terms. In fact, marketisation of education, and the commodification of knowledge have been associated with a deepening of education quality – an accentuation of inequalities by breaking communities into small units that are virtually powerless. As can be seen, despite a general trend in increasing wealth and flow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDIs), not all countries have been able to provide adequate funding for quality and equitable education (Oxfam 2001, p. 15). In this vein, globalisation has brought the free market into education but with serious negative ramifications and significant social and economic costs.

By linking local practices to the global, globalisation culminates in an inequitable distribution of education with enormous human costs. As can be seen, the impact of globalisation is not just limited to trade; it also impacts social culture, overwhelming indigenous educational systems with a commodified and homogenised transnational education. Giddens (1999) illustrates the discourse on this simplistic finance-driven model that drags education along as a casual outcome and not as an integral part of society:

... a complex set of process, not a single one. And these operate in a contradictory or oppositional fashion. Most people think of it as simply ‘pulling away’ power from the local communities and nations into global arena. And indeed this is one of its consequences, Nations do lose some of the economic power they once had. However, it also has an opposite effect. Globalisation not only pulls upwards, it pushes downward, creating new pressures for the local economy (Giddens 1999, p. 3).

The rhetoric in the above quotation leaves no room for positive outcomes from the perspective of social justice and democratic development. King and McRath (1999) in evaluating globalisation, enterprise and knowledge confronting nations in Africa, provide a very useful research tool for the understanding of the development of learning enterprises in Africa—which like other regions, is experiencing, in different ways, and in different places, the cumulative effects of post-Fordism, the knowledge economy and globalisation. They argue that in the global culture, ‘learning-led competitiveness’ should be the goal of education for all:

at the core of the globalisation message is the argument that pockets of activity isolated from global market are rapidly diminishing. It is essential, therefore, that policy interventions and projects that seek to help the poor survive better are closer intertwined with policies for competitiveness (King and McRath 1999, p. 11).

King & McRath bring skilfully together three major areas: debates about the impact of globalisation on development in Africa, sectoral responses to globalisation in education and enterprise, and national experiences related to globalisation, education, and training in three case study countries – South Africa, Ghana and Kenya. The authors point out to the continuing centrality of international development cooperation in African development and educational outcomes, as reflected in broader policy positions and discourses at the sectoral and intersectoral level (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.

22.2.1 Poverty and Access to Education

The economic inequality between and within countries globally continues to grow. Milanovic (2011) argued that ‘the gap between UK and India in 2009 was in excess of 10 to 1 while it was only 5 to 1 in the mid-19th century’ (Milanovic 2011, p. 12). According to his data, ‘more than 80 percent of global income differences is due to large gaps in mean incomes between countries, and unskilled workers’ wages in rich and poor countries often differ by a factor of 10 to 1’ (Milanovic 2011. See also Milanovic 2016). According to Milanovic (2007), inequality not only has increased over the last two decades, but the economic inequality between people is very pronounced:

Over the past two decades inequality within countries has increased, and the inequality between the world’s individuals is staggering. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the richest 5 percent of people receive one-third of total global income, as much as the poorest 80 percent. While a few poor countries are catching up with the rich world, the differences between the richest and poorest individuals around the globe are huge and likely growing (Milanovic 2007).

A recent study conducted by UNESCO (the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation) examined the correlation between poverty and the accessibility of education. Due to the high rates of children and adolescents who are out of school, or have not completed their education, the global poverty rate is the contributing factor (UNESCO 2017a; see also OECD 2018b; World Bank 2019).

According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), the global number of children, adolescents and youth out of school in 2015 was 264 million. From that, 61 million are children who are of primary school age. 62 million are young adolescents and 141 million are young people of upper secondary school age.

The study also demonstrated that the majority of these out of school populations are located in poorer countries. These countries generally have lower incomes and are located in regions including Sub-Saharan Africa, Northern Africa, and elsewhere. Poverty rates also have an impact on gender disparities in education, showing that more females than males are likely to be out of school in low-income

and lower-middle income countries. As the UNESCO study demonstrates, low levels of education and acquisition of that education can hinder economic prosperity, which would, in turn, slow down poverty reduction. According to the study, if all adults received two more years of schooling or completed secondary school, it would lift nearly 60 million people out of poverty. This could be achieved through effective education policies that address the issues of drop-out rates. Universal access to primary and secondary education is necessary to decrease the out of school rates, and therefore, decrease the poverty rate. (<https://www.unaa.org.au/2017/06/28/unesco-study-reveals-correlation-between-poverty-and-education/>).

Research data from the World Bank (2019) indicate that in developing regions, 10% of the world's population live on less than US\$1.90 a day, compared to 11% in 2013. Despite the progress made in reducing poverty, the number of people living in extreme poverty globally remains unacceptably high. According to OECD reports (2018a, b), economic inequality has increased:

Income inequality in OECD countries is at its highest level over the past half century. The average income of the richest 10% of the population is about nine times that of the poorest 10% across the OECD, up from seven times 25 years ago (OECD 2018b).

In the 2019 *Human Development Report* it was stated that the global 'extreme poverty rate fell from 36 percent in 1990 to 9 percent in 2018' (Human Development Report 2019, p. 35).

22.3 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. The 2011 *Human Development Report* offers important new contributions to the global dialogue demonstrating the necessary nexus between globalisation, sustainability and

equity, or ‘fairness and social justice and of greater access to a better quality of life’. The Report also stresses that ‘Understanding the links between environmental sustainability and equity is critical’ if we are to retain and institutionalise human freedoms for current and future generations (UNDP, *Human Development Report 2011*, p. ii).

22.4 Trade Term Equalisation or Marginalisation

This section reviews the region’s trade growth under the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UN-NADAF) in the 1990s. Asymmetries and distortions in the global trading system constitute serious impediments to global wealth creation and distribution and the underdevelopment of Africa (for a detail discussion see *Comprehensive Assessment of the Sustainability of these Interventions*). For example, in agriculture UNCTAD reports that while 30 countries in the region experienced declines in per capita output between 1990 and 2000, in 10 countries there was less than 1% per year increase and in 12 countries increases exceeding 1% per year was registered. There can be no doubt that this unbalanced growth can be associated with worsening terms of trade, which also play a major role in the overall growth process.

In Parkins’ (1996, p. 62) interpretation, the integration of African economies into the world system is a form of “global apartheid”. In his interpretation, there has been a net transfer of wealth from the South to the North, equivalent to six “Marshall Plans”, For instance the levels of terms of trade at the end of the 1990s were 26% below that which was attained in the 1970s. It has been estimated that for each dollar of net capital transfer to the region, some 65% has been “ripped off” as capital transfers by way of interest payments, profit remittances, and more especially from debt servicing and terms of trade losses. This process of wealth accumulating at the top while risk is being allocated to the bottom has been endemic and is related to what the authors see as the direct negatives of globalisation on the region’s education budget. That such technical development is obviously socially influenced supports the notion that the process of globalisation exemplifies the erosion of local and national capacity, and capabilities for peace and nation-building.

For example, Africa’s trade that averaged 1.1% annual growth from 1975 to 1984, drastically fell to –6.8% during the period 1985 to 1989, and then slightly recovered to an annual average growth of –0.4 in 1990s. Manufactured goods export, which stood at 32.5% in 1980, drastically fell to –2.7% in 1997 (UNDP 1997, p. 82; UNCTAD 2001a, 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.

22.4.1 *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. Stuningly, the gap in per capita income between the rich and the poor countries grew fivefold between 1980 and 1990 (Pritchett 1997). What else can be deduced from the globalisation effect when a region with about 14.5% of the world population and with an annual average population growth of almost 4% carried only 1.5% of world trade and controlled only 1.3% of the world's wealth?

The negative impact of policy on indigenous population groups was examined critically by McDowell 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.

22.5 Economic Consequences

According to the *World Development Report*, 2000/2001, of the 64 countries ranked as "low income countries", 38 were in Africa (World Bank 2001. See also World Bank 2019). For most African countries, economic growth fell from 4.0% yearly from 1996–1973, to 0.7% yearly from 1985 to 1990, and to 0.9 from 1991 to 1994 (World Bank 1996a, p. 18). Average income per head was lower in 2000 than it was in 1980; and unemployment increased from 7.7% in 1978 to 22.8% in 1990, and subsequently reached 30% in 2000 (ILO/JASPA 1993). By 1990 public sector wages had declined by not less than 90% of what they were in 1974.

However, more recently, global value chains (GVCs) accelerated the increase of international trade after 1990 and now account for almost half of all trade. This shift resulted in an unprecedented economic convergence. Low income countries grew rapidly and began to catch up with richer countries (*World Development Report 2020*).

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 (see Klees (2016). 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. See also Milanovic 2016). This unbalanced growth situation is better illustrated by a quote from an African leader speaking at a G-15 meeting held on June 19, 2000:

Our societies are overwhelmed by the strident consequences of globalisation and the phenomenon of trade liberation (African Perspective 2000).

He went on to suggest that the only option opened to them has narrowed as their increasingly shrinking world imposes on them a choice of integration or the severe conditions of marginalisation and stagnation.

22.6 Education and Policy Effect

In *Educational Planning in a Developing Country: the Sudan*, Akrawi 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 5-year plan in 1960 for educational reorganisation, including an increase in educational spending:

The first category involves economies in the present methods of expenditure and changes of policy which would result in such economies... Among the new measures may be cited an increased share for education in the national budget. This share is now 13.5 per cent and it should be possible to raise it to 15, 18, or even 20 per cent. A second measure might be sharing to a greater extent than at present the responsibility for primary education with the local councils and municipalities....

In Uganda many primary schools were found in rural areas, and both the location of schools and poor quality of teaching were the two significant factors which made it difficult to achieve compulsory primary education:

...The immediate policy is “to ensure a minimum of four years schooling within walking distance of the home of every child who wishes to go to school”. This aim, too, has yet to be achieved.

The crisis of basic education in Africa and a new basic education policy that furthers the term *nonformal education* in providing education relevant to local needs.

Psacharopoulos 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 analyzing further the link between basic education, globalisation and learning-based competitiveness, especially a ‘curriculum for competitiveness’ and personal empowerment that are likely to address globalisation imperatives (King and McRath 1999; Zajda 2014a, 2018), 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 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 McRath (1999) 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 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?

22.6.1 *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 (see Zajda 2014a). According to Apple, 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 and Mangum 2002). These consequences, while increasing homogenisation of education, also have the effect of making the universality of education and improvement in quality impossible.

In this section, through supportive evidence, we show that, indeed, trade reform regimes in developing countries 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.

22.7 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 and Magnum 2000). 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 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; Jones 1998; IJED 2002; Ilon 2002a, b).

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 or 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 Bosworeth

and Collins (1996) illustrate that expansion in skills, knowledge, and capacities of individuals built by the 'right kind of education' is critical for human economic development. However, despite the realisation of short- and long-term gains of education to human and institutional capacity building, priority assigned to education expenditure in recent decades as shares of both GDP and total government spending over the years has been low-stagnant, or drastically declining, or in some cases negative.

Demonstrated, thus far, is that when education becomes privatised and brought closer to the market, social and cultural concerns take a back seat to economic concerns. On the other hand, the impact of public expenditure cuts in education on the supply of different labour skills, and its macroeconomic and distributional consequences 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 (1998) 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 (1995) refer to such reform policy as commodification; Apple (2002) and Ball (1998) term it neoliberalism and neoconservatism and economicism respectively (See also Zajda 2014b). 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".

22.7.1 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 (Zajda 2014a, 2020a).

22.8 Globalisation, and Standardisation Tendencies as Educational Indicators

The standardisation of education reform is predicated on a human capital theory that has failed to take into consideration the important fact that education cannot be treated as a sector that can deliver the right type and adequate human economic development without acknowledging that the state has a social responsibility to see that people are well educated. As was clearly articulated by Morris (1996), education is:

One of the social structures which needs to be provided as a basis for development or it can be perceived as a vehicle for transmitting those values and attitude supportive of development (Morris 1996, p. 99).

These statements are motifs that are visible in the argument against the neoliberal focus on education as a commodity. They are also reasons why the determination of curriculum content, skill requirements, and management of pedagogy in school by forces of globalisation and the new ways of technology delivery of knowledge are troubling. As was posited earlier, the unfettered capitalistic globalisation, coupled with the influence of its prime movers (international organisations) on education agendas has led to the marginalisation of local knowledge and local initiatives, as it rewards no new thinking about education's role in acquiring knowledge for local integration. It is also argued that World Bank *Education Sector Strategy* was formulated to satisfy the labour, and provide a stock basic of education, skills and attitudes required by transnational companies whose capital and technology were well matched with lower production costs in the region (Kless 2002, 2016; Hickling-Hudson 2002). This World Bank document does not lend support to institution and local capacity building that is a necessary and sufficient condition if weak nation-states are to take advantage of their competitive edge in world trade in a globalised economy. The above rationale supports the thesis that education policies for globalisation promotes global inequalities and is becoming increasingly problematic as the pace and scope of marketisation in education intensifies.

22.9 Neoliberal Globalisation and Performative Measurements in Schools

Since 2010, the future of Africa is said to lie in its people and its education strategy. Basic education that is the key to making Africa competitive remains far from being universal and of low quality (OECD 2016). For instance, Africa is the only region where primary enrolment rates were lower in 2000 (75%) than in 1980 (81.7%), despite its high private and social returns (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, b). This greater stock of education without obvious increase in education expenditure suggests large-scale changes in the production function such as lowered quality and access, excessive repetition, and low completion rates. For instance, such internal efficiency indicators like repeaters as 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. Substantial increases in enrolment are evident except for Africa where enrolment ratios either stagnated or declined. The gross enrolment rate for primary schools, which stood at 81% in 1980, was estimated at 76.8% in 1997. Other indicators that could be relevant to the measurement of progress towards the goal of globalisation are less readily available for the region. These facts illustrate the vulnerability of household education demand as the policy of instrumental economicism leads to the replacement of intrinsic/substantive value of education with the extrinsic/instrumental value of competitiveness. The singular focus of neoliberals on performativity, rather than on social efficacy, is troubling and deceptive.

The pattern of expenditure can be examined with reference to the ratio of government expenditure on education to gross domestic product or to total government spending. Educational expenditure as a share of the GDP has been lower than then and still remained at the bottom compared to any other region. Education expenditure that averaged 5.3% of the GDP in 1980, dropped to an annual average of 2.8% between 1992 and 1994. Estimated public expenditure per pupil in Africa declined from 15% of the GNP in 1990 to 10% in 1997, compared to steady growth of 13.8 and 23% in Latin America and OECD respectively in the same year. The lower per pupil expenditure is not the result of higher enrolments but is the consequence of a sharp reduction in total spending on education. Evidence provided in UNESCO's *World Education Report*, based on the analysis of 26 African countries, shows an overall decline of 33% in central government expenditure per pupil, in the period 1980–88 (UNESCO 1991, p. 37. See also UNESCO 2018). It further shows that the share of education in African countries national budgets averages about 12.8% but falls as low as 0.7% 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.

There exists a 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. They 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 out-side support, not only to compensate for the resource drain through terms of trade losses but also to supplement a lost social safety net. The current situation has once again become precarious, particularly for human economic development and nation-building as the education contribution to them is lowly prioritised. Thus, this trend coupled with the increase in self-financed students might also demonstrate that education is being treated as a “luxury good”.

In sum, as a result of the finance-driven reform, standards are inadequate, infrastructures are either inadequate or overcrowded, and materials are lacking. Budgetary cutbacks combined with privatisation and state disengagement, particularly at the primary levels, are affecting education practices and indicators. The gains in enrolment have been subjected to erosion due to the fact that a substantial proportion of students either 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.

22.10 Country Case Studies

According to data provided by the World Bank, by the start of the 1980s, and the 1990s, a number of countries within the region—were at the verge of reaching universal primary education. The subsequent decades saw sharp reversals. As will be articulated in the following country case examples, one obvious reason for poor quality education is the limited tax base of regional governments, while the bulk of households cannot afford introduced user-payments. In Zambia, the 1990s saw the education sector beset with a myriad of problems: underfunding of the education sector, poor quality outcomes, and stagnating enrolment rates. In 1994 education spending declined by more than 25%. With government support in implementation of the *Basic Education Sub-sector Investment Program* in 1996, gross enrolment ratios were planned to increase from 84% in 1994 to 99% in 2000. In Malawi, the sharp increases in primary education enrolment rates since 1994/1995 led to a rise in the student-teacher ratio and a concomitant decline in the quality of education, all as a result of a declining national budget for education. In Ghana, and Cote d’Ivoire, primary enrolment declined after the introduction of user-payment (World Bank 1993). Primary enrolment reversed course at the abolition of user payments in

Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, and Tanzania (World Bank 1993, 1995; Oxfam 2002).

In Ethiopia, the education sector is characterised at all levels by extremely low overall participation rates (30% at primary, 13% at secondary, and less than 1% at the tertiary level). Poor quality, as a result of high dropout rates, is expected due to serious underfunding of the sector. In contrast to Ethiopia's minimal government financing involvement, Gambia in 1990 increased public expenditure in education in real terms. This led to an increase in gross primary enrolment from 64% to 77% and in the transition rate from 35% to 70% in the 1990s. Saddled with high poverty rates and poor quality education, Tanzania has continued to spend four times as much in debt repayments than the total investment in basic education. The enrolment rate has gone down from 99% in 1981 to below 66% in 1999. Dropout rates increased from 28% in 1984 to 42% in 1990. These outcomes were the result 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 serious difficulties of coping with the large increase in education demand (*African Recovery* 2003).

In the Cameroon, about a third of school-aged children were failing to complete even 4 years of primary education, because they either dropped out of school, or they never enrolled in school. According to UNESCO, primary education was on the decline during the 1990s. The number of students dropped by 2.3% per year and the internal efficiency of the education system was poor, because of a limited tax base to finance the educational system (UNESCO 1995). As in the case Tanzania, with the abolition of user payments in 2001, the public education system was 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, efficiency and cost-saving strategies, 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.

22.11 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 (Zajda 2020c). 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 are 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, glo-

balisation would continue to be less relevant for growth with development, especially in weak nation states.

In the face of the misdirected approach of globalisation, the challenge is not to stop the expansion of global markets, but to find the rules and the reinstatement of stronger governance to preserve and share the advantages of the global village. This is to ensure that globalisation works for people, not just for profits. The error is not the existence of globalisation but its ideological underpinnings and misuse thereof of its application. At the heart of our chapter is a twofold conclusion: firstly, an understanding of the impact of misused globalisation, and secondly, a response to this understanding in ways that will advance the positive potentials of globalisation on education and training. Globalisation as currently misapplied has altered education by squeezing power from governments and redistributing power to market forces. The common trends of decentralisation, denationalisation, marketisation, and 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 global competitiveness should give way to the philosophy of effective intrinsic/substantive value of education in Africa, and that the concern for efficiency must be balanced with the concern for social justice, and equity, just as the concern for economic progress must be balanced with a concern for social progress that ensures legitimacy and contributes to “education for all”.

These considerations the chapter show point to a number of aberrations about the effects of bringing education into the market system. First, the effects are much more complicated than the simple prediction of supply-side economics and depend on a number of key variables, including: the level of government participation in the economy, the level of knowledge commodification, and the degree of the supply of labour in markets where Africans subsist. Second, user payments introduce a dilemma in the choice between efficiency and efficacy. Clearly user-fees were determined to be a socially inferior means of financing education in comparison to public expenditure financed by taxation. Such benefits lead the authors to argue for strong government involvement in providing quality education opportunities, particularly in regions where globalisation has indeed contributed to increasing inequity in wealth creation. Globalisation as it is now applied is a threat to these values of social equity, national sovereignty and to public education systems that reflect and support democratic values.

22.12 Conclusion

As demonstrated above, education and policy reforms in Africa confront at least two enormous challenges. The first is to fulfil the As above demonstrates, education and policy reforms in Africa confront at least two enormous challenges. The first is to fulfil the knowledge and training tasks of the twenty-first century, offering universal basic education and secondary coverage. The second is to improve the quality of learning outcomes, social equity and cultural integration. Attainment of these new tasks depends on competition between paradigm convergence of education reforms and simple convergence of education reforms. The latter, as a process of reflexivity and a process of de-traditionalisation, is indifferent to national borders. Consequently, the identified measures propounded by neoliberal policy makers are very much alike in terminology and intentions across countries. The new educational consensus are not being shaped by its most legitimate parties, but have become more commercialised, and entrepreneurial and more driven by the needs of quick short-term profit maximisation policies and practices. The lesson is clear. For Africa, the philosophy of neoconservatism and neoliberalism is fraught with danger, as educational outcomes are now increasingly judged and measured in terms of Global North knowledge and epistemology costs and returns to investment, and international competitiveness, at the expense of more humanistic criteria. We need to focus on socially transformative globalisation policies that provide security and equipping the nation state for the future. We end this work with a call for international solidarity and the invisible heart of human economic development, not the cold hand of the colonial matrices of power market forces and its dominant neo-liberal ideology (Zajda 2020a). To conclude, we opt for a participatory development social economy, where nation-building community and human security and dignity priorities take precedence over those of geostrategic interests and the market. The lesson is clear. For Africa, the philosophy of neoconservatism is fraught with danger, as educational outcomes are now increasingly judged and measured in terms of costs and returns to investment, and international competitiveness, at the expense of more humanistic criteria. We end this work with a call for international solidarity and the invisible heart of human economic development, not the cold hand of the market forces and its dominant neo-liberal ideology. In sum, we opt for a social economy, where community and human priorities take precedence over those of the market. We demand and offer a friendly alternative vision that would challenge the de-humanising aspects of education and global markets.

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Chapter 23

Globalisation, Culture and Social Transformation



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

Abstract This chapter begins by examining briefly several aspects of the nexus between globalisation and social change, particularly, the formal drive towards globalisation and the monitoring in the future of the changes in human development and in the initial learning of the skills of literacy and numeracy by people across the whole world. This chapter argues that only through educating to a higher level all the people who occupy planet Earth can the challenge for sustainable development be met. It is necessary for the ‘globalisation movement’ that was initiated by the United Nations Organization and its agencies, particularly UNESCO, with an emphasis on education, science and culture, to continue to direct activities towards the sustainable development of the human race on planet Earth through the provision of educational services. It is only through the globalisation of education that the many challenges to the human race on planet Earth can be met.

23.1 Globalisation, Education and the Wellbeing of Humans

The most striking change during the past two centuries has been the growth in the number of people living on planet Earth. Over this short period of time in the history of the planet the human population has increased sevenfold. The reasons for this change have frequently been attributed to increased “food supply and health care, albeit unevenly achieved on a global scale” (Lincoln 2006, pp. 51–2). However, it could be argued that both of these sources, together with many other contributing factors were dependent on the establishment world-wide of formal education that developed in different countries at different stages over different times, during the

J. P. Keeves
Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia

I. G. N. Darmawan (✉)
University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia
e-mail: igusti.darmawan@adelaide.edu.au

P. N. Lietz
Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), Camberwell, Australia

past two centuries and in particular, during the past 100 years. The advancement of knowledge on food production and in the fields of health care has been largely dependent on the ways in which formal education has been provided. There was no prescribed world-wide policy for the establishment of educational services until the past two decades. Moreover, there has been little recognition or scholarly work on the changes in world education that have occurred, except by Connell (1980) that covered only part of the twentieth century. Consequently, it is necessary to examine briefly in this chapter several aspects of this change, particularly, the formal drive towards globalisation and the monitoring in the future of the changes in human development and in the initial learning of the skills of literacy and numeracy by people across the whole world (see also Zajda 2010a, 2014a, 2020a).

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

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

Fifty years ago a small group of scholars meeting at the Unesco Institute in Hamburg recognized that little was known about the educative processes which were operating across the countries of the World. There was one man who gave nearly 50 years of his life to building a body of knowledge and spreading that knowledge across the World through the preparation and publication of monographs, journals, handbooks and encyclopaedias, as well as monitoring the advancement of the outcomes of education across the World. That man was Neville Postlethwaite. After 40 years of operation, the thrust of the Unesco program shifted towards 'Education for All' following a World Conference at Jomtien in Thailand in 1990, and a World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 for a comprehensive review of policies concerned with basic education and the progress made towards 'Education for All' (Zajda et al. 2008; Zajda 2010a). The Forum reaffirmed commitment towards these ambitious goals by the year 2015. Two major political developments facilitated this movement towards globalisation in education, namely, the

removal in 1990 of the barrier that formed in Europe after the cessation of the Second World War, and the remarkable move by many countries towards democratic government during the 40 year period from the 1950s to the 1990s (Giddens 1999). The thrust of the World Conference on 'Education for All' in 1990 was not just concerned with initial education at the elementary school level. Targets were set on six important dimensions:

- expansion of early childhood care and development:
- universal access to completion of primary education:
- improvement in learning achievement:
- increase in adult literacy rates:
- expansion of provision of basic education and training in essential skills required by youth and adults and;
- increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values necessary for better living and an improved quality of life. (Maclean and Vine 2003, p. 18).

The path towards globalisation in the field of education was laid down in 1990 by Unesco and its members, that no longer viewed the countries and their people who occupied planet Earth as fragmented national groups, who fought for the rights of trade and for territory, as well as the accompanying wealth and mineral resources. Tensions still exist (Zajda 2010c, 2020c). However, there are global forces at work that seek unity and fairness among the seven billion people now living in a uniting world. The rate of growth of the world's population is now of concern for all, and the major solutions to the problems raised by the so-called 'population explosion' lies through education and the establishment of agreement among the peoples of the world that there are solutions that can be realized for sustainable development.

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

The many different agencies of the United Nations Organization monitor many of these natural and non-natural sources and causes of disasters and their

widespread harmful effects. However, the spirit of globalisation provided by the United Nations Organization is beginning to have highly beneficial effects. There are, moreover, two areas where monitoring is occurring on a world-wide basis that are directly related to the field of education, which give guidance for the programs and operations of Unesco, and that are related to the globalisation movement which has emerged in recent decades (Zajda 2010a, b, c). These two areas are: (a) the monitoring of the wellbeing of the human race through the use of the Human Development Index and the Gender Inequality Index; and (b) the monitoring of educational achievement, particularly with respect to the foundational skills of Literacy and Numeracy and the learning of Mathematics and the Sciences.

23.2 Globalisation: Monitoring Human Development

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

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

23.2.1 Index of Human Development

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23.3 Calculating the Human Development Index

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

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

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

Figure 23.1 shows in diagrammatic form how the revised human development index is constructed and how the information is used to calculate the values of the index from the data collected.

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

Table 23.1 records the Human Development Index (HDI) values for a small number of countries in which the authors of this chapter have lived for long and short periods of their lives. Furthermore, the values of the four indicators of the index are

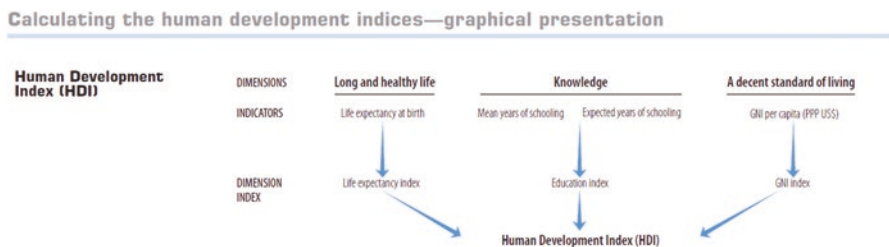


Fig. 23.1 The construction of the Human Development Index (HDI). (Source: UNDP 2010, p. 215)

Table 23.1 Human Development Indicators (HDI) for 2010

Country or Region	HDI 2007	^a Life expectancy at birth	^b Mean years of schooling	^c Expected years of schooling	^d GNI per capita	^e Rank world order
Australia	0.937	81.9	12.0	20.5	38,692	2
Sweden	0.885	81.3	11.6	15.6	36,936	9
United States	0.902	79.6	12.4	15.7	47,094	4
United Kingdom	0.849	79.8	9.5	15.9	35,087	26
Germany	0.885	80.2	12.2	15.6	35,308	10
Indonesia	0.600	71.5	5.7	12.7	3957	108
Developed Countries						
OECD	0.879	80.3	11.4	15.9	37,077	
Non OECD	0.844	80.0	10.0	13.9	42,370	
Very High HD	0.878	80.3	11.3	15.9	37,225	
High HD	0.717	72.6	8.3	13.8	12,286	
Medium HD	0.592	69.3	6.3	11.0	5134	
Low HD	0.393	56.0	4.1	8.2	1490	
World	0.624	69.3	7.4	12.3	10,631	

Source: UNDP 2010, pp. 143–146

Notes (a) in years, for 2010; (b) in years attainment; (c) in years expected; (d) Gross National Income per capita ppp US\$ for 2008; (e) for 169 countries

recorded for 2010, and the rank order for each of the countries was calculated for 2010 with respect to the 169 countries that provided the necessary information (UNDP 2010, pp. 143–6). Life Expectancy at Birth (years) is the number of years a new-born infant could expect to live if the current patterns of age-specific mortality rates at the time of birth were to remain the same throughout the child's life. Mean years of schooling is based on population censuses and household survey data compiled by Unesco and from other sources to provide benchmarks for school attainment by gender and age group. Expected years of schooling is estimated from information based on data concerned with enrolment by age at all levels of education. However, cross-national comparisons of expected years of schooling should be made with caution (UNDP 2010, p. 140). GNI per capita (PPP US\$) is the Gross National Income in US dollars expressed in purchasing power parity terms divided by the size of the population.

In addition, HDI values are recorded in Table 23.1 for six specially selected countries, for the World and two economic regions, and for the four groupings with respect to the level of the Human Development Index. The first five countries listed in Table 23.1 have very high values of HDI that are greater than 0.84 and life expectancy levels very close to 80 years, together with high levels of education and high levels of GNI per capita.

Australia has a high ranking (ranked second in 2010 behind Norway) that arises from its very high level of life expectancy as well as from its high level of health

services. Moreover, Australia has a relatively high level of participation by adults in education, many of whom are of immigrant origin, and are enrolled in university and technical and further educational institutions. The values for these five countries can be contrasted with the values recorded for Indonesia that is in the Medium Human Development group of countries. It is of interest to note from the foot of Table 23.1, that across the World, life expectancy is 69.3 years and the average GNI per capita is above US\$10,000.

Table 23.2 presents the Trends in the Human Development Index for specific years associated with the period of time for which such values are available from 1980 to 2010 for the six countries of particular interest to the authors, namely, Australia, United States, Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom and Indonesia and the World. Six aspects of the data recorded are of interest. First, all six countries over the period of time from 1980 to 2010 are shown to have clearly identifiable increases in the values of the HDI with Indonesia recording a substantially greater rate of change, and the United States recording the smallest rate of change. Second, all six countries increased over the years under consideration in the values of the Human Development Index. The United Kingdom, however, recorded a slight fall between 1995 and 2000, but recovered between 2000 and 2005. Third, Sweden declined from the value that peaked in the year 2000, but is slowly regaining in strength. Thus, growth in the value of the index under the influence of the forces of globalisation is not necessarily automatic, since the brief decline in the United Kingdom may have arisen from changes in GNI per capita and through immigration. Fourth, Germany was unified as a country in October 1990 and appropriate data were not available for 1980. Fifth, the estimated value of the HDI for the World has increase over the 30 year period from 1980 to 2010. Sixth, while the procedures for calculating the values of the index have changed over time, a hybrid form of the index has been developed to enable meaningful comparisons to be made across the 30 years involved.

Table 23.2 Trends in the Human Development Index 1980–2010

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

Source: UNDP 2010, pp. 156–160

23.4 The Gender Inequality Index (GII)

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

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

From these indicators female and male gender indexes are calculated as is shown in Fig. 23.2 and from these indexes the Gender Inequality Index (GII) is calculated. This index estimates the difference in human development arising from inequalities in female and male achievements in the three dimensions of health, empowerment, and the labour market. The index value of unity (1) indicates that women fare as poorly as possible in all dimensions, and a value of zero (0) indicates that men and women fare equally (UNDP 2010, pp. 215, 219–220).

Table 23.3 records the values of the five indicators for 2008, and where possible 2010, for the six selected countries of interest and for the developed countries, with respect to OECD membership, as well as for all countries with respect to HDI quartile ranked groups and for the 169 countries of the World for which data were available. Sweden ranks third in the world for the Gender Inequality Index, with a low Maternal Mortality Ratio and a low Adolescent Fertility Rate and a high percentage of females holding seats in parliament. In contrast, Indonesia is ranked 100th on the GII out of 137 ranked countries and a relatively high GII value as a consequence of

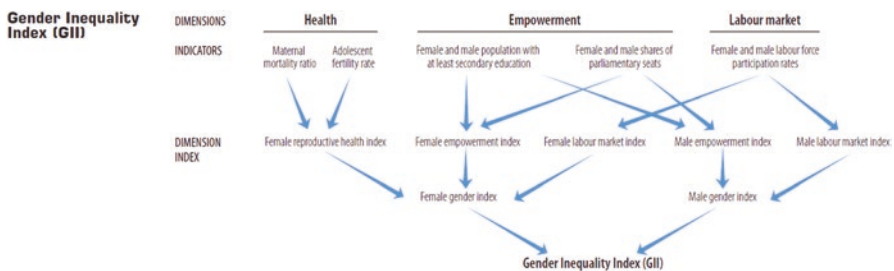


Fig. 23.2 The Gender Inequality Index (GII) and its components. (Source: UNDP 2010, p. 215)

Table 23.3 Gender inequality index and its components in 2010

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

a high Maternal Mortality Ratio and a high Adolescent Fertility Rate, as well as a low proportion of women with seats in parliament. In all comparisons recorded in Table 23.3 the percentages of males in the Labour Force exceed the percentage of females. However, it is only in the countries ranked medium and low on the Human Development Index that there are marked differences between females and males in their level of participation in secondary education, with the males having a higher percentage of the population aged 25 years and older, who had the opportunity to engage in secondary schooling. Across the countries of the World there is a 10% difference by gender in level of educational participation, with only approximately half of the women of the World having attended schools beyond the level of primary schooling.

23.5 Monitoring Educational Outcomes

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

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

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

The work envisaged was highly complex, but was able to draw on the experience of many scholars from around the world. They planned the undertaking of the

assessment and measurement of educational outcomes, the storage and analysis of data, the conduct of the sampling and processing of information, and the drawing of meaningful conclusions from the evidence and findings assembled. The scholars involved, led by Torsten Husén of the University of Stockholm, established themselves as an organization for the conduct of research that became known as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). They started their program with a Pilot Study in 1959–1961, that was followed by a study of achievement in Mathematics in 1962–1967, with the initial goal of testing the feasibility of such an investigation and the relevance of the enterprise in the building of a body of knowledge about the processes of education.

At these initial stages only 12 countries were involved in each of these two studies. The next stage involved the expansion to six areas of the school curriculum, Science, Reading Comprehension, Literature, French as a Foreign Language, English as a Foreign Language, and Civic Education. This study operated from 1967 to 1975 with 21 countries taking part in one or more areas. The findings of this research continued to contribute to the building of a body of knowledge and the establishment of the theoretical foundations for the study of the fields of primary and secondary education.

The next stage from 1978 to 1990 sought to focus on the making of policy both within and between countries with studies into the Classroom Environment, Pre-primary Education, Computers in Education and Written Composition and with replication studies in Mathematics, Science and Reading Literacy (See Degenhart 1990; Keeves 1995; Postlethwaite 2004; Papanastasiow and Plomp 2011).

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

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

23.6 The First and Second IEA Science Studies

The Second IEA Science Study was conducted in 1983–1984 and was designed as a replication of the First IEA Science Study that was undertaken in 1970–1971. Nineteen countries were involved in the first study, and 24 countries were involved

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

Of particular interest were the gender differences in science achievement in the 10 countries that participated in both studies (Kotte 1992). This work showed the improved performance of girls in all fields of Science. Keeves and Saha (1992) also examined the magnitudes of the relationships between science achievement and measures of social background between the two occasions of testing in the 10 countries involved. Marginally stronger relationships were recorded for 1984 than for 1970.

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

The performances of the students at the 10 year-old and 14 year-old levels across the countries involved on both occasions were Rasch scaled and equated across the two levels of schooling and the two occasions of testing 14 years apart. Figure 23.3 records the changes in levels of science achievement between 1970–1971 and 1983–1984, drawn on a common scale with a mean score of 500 and with 100 score units equivalent to one logit.

In a majority of countries at both the 10 year-old and the 14 year-old age levels after adjustments for the slight differences in the ages of the samples between occasions there were recognizable gains in science achievement between 1970 and 1984. Science had assumed a more prominent place in the school curriculum from the initial years of schooling in most of the countries under survey. It was argued that since this was the first occasion on which achievement in Science had been compared across time and across year levels and across countries, and because of the increasing emphasis on the learning of Science, student achievement in Science should be monitored by educational systems over time and efforts maintained to continue to raise the levels of science achievement (Keeves and Schleicher 1992, pp. 277–9).

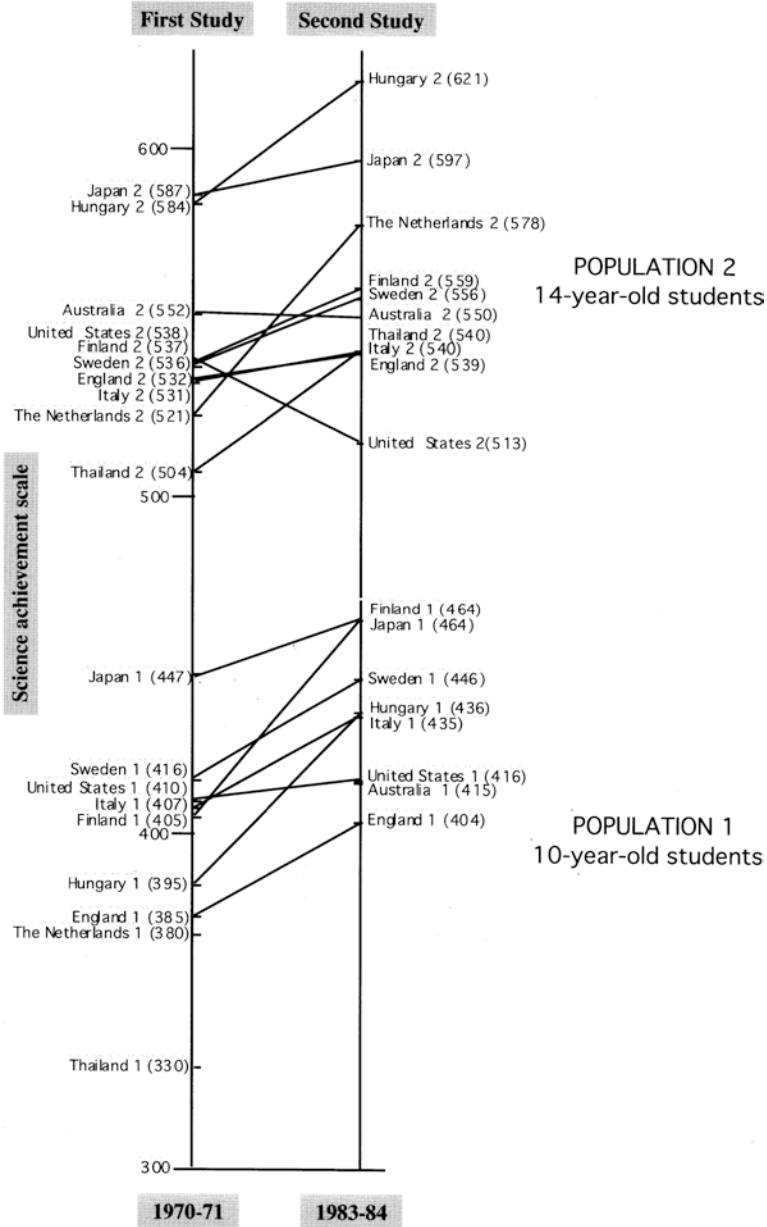


Fig. 23.3 Changes in levels of science achievement: 1970 to 1984. (Source: Keeves 1995, pp. 46-47)

23.7 The First and Second IEA Studies of Reading

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

The Second IEA Reading Literacy Study was conducted in 32 school systems in 1990–1991. The tests were constructed with the assumption of the operation of both a higher order general 'reading ability' and three component factors involving narrative, expository and documentary reading nested beneath the single factor of reading ability. This hierarchical structure of reading ability was validated by confirmatory factor analysis that supported the calculation of a total reading score as well as three sub-scale reading scores (IEA 1993). Thus, although the reading tests on the two occasions were apparently different in structure, it was shown to be meaningful to Rasch scale the test scores on the two occasions and equate the tests to compare the levels of performance of the eight countries that had tested in the two studies at the 14 year-old level on both occasions. Figure 23.4 records the change in reading performance between 1970–1971 and 1990–1991 for the eight countries on the two occasions measured on a common scale.

23.8 Globalisation and Monitoring Within Countries

From time to time there have been survey studies with soundly drawn samples that have formed trend or longitudinal investigations to monitor changes in performance over time. The first major survey study of this kind in the field of education was conducted in Scotland in 1932 and 15 years later in 1947 to examine change in intelligence over time (SCRE 1949). In England, a follow-up study of the Plowden National Survey of 1964 was undertaken 4 years later in 1968 and was reported by Peaker (1967, 1971). This study followed the same students over the two occasions. In Australia, the Australian Studies of School Performance was carried out in 1975 and again five later in 1980 with 10 and 14 year-old students in the fields of Literacy and Numeracy (Keeves and Bourke 1976; Bourke et al. 1981). However, a substantial and continuing program was initiated in 1969 in the United States in order to assess achievement at the levels of Grade 4, Grade 8 and Grade 12 in Reading, Mathematics and Science, and was named the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) (Tyler 1985). All these studies have had direct links with IEA, either in influencing the IEA programs or being influenced by the IEA studies.

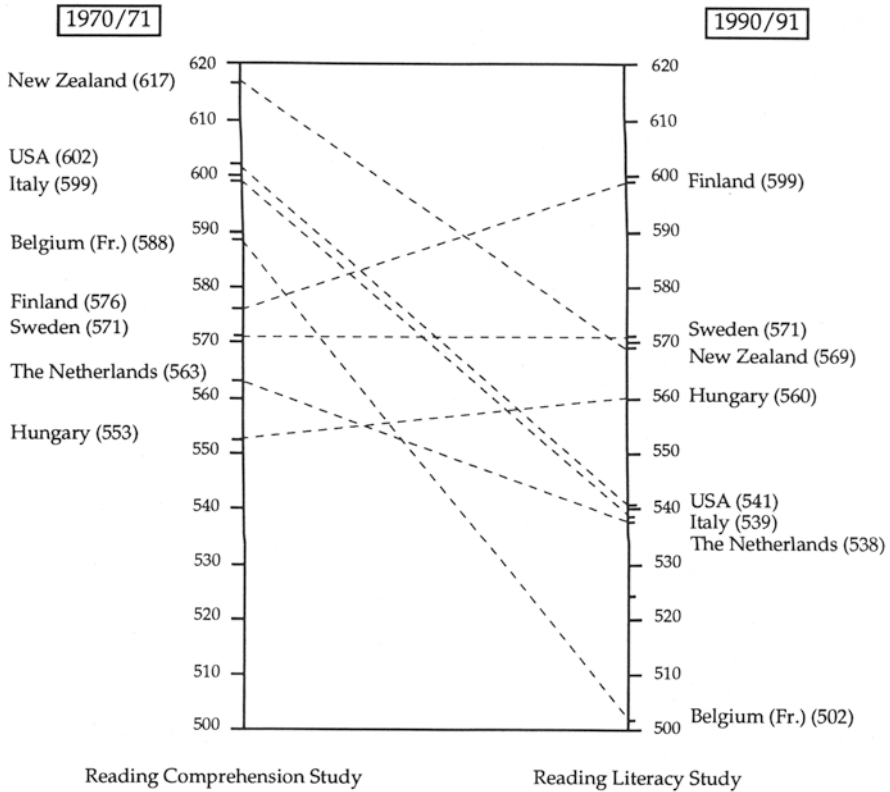


Fig. 23.4 Changes in reading achievement: 1970 to 1990. (Source: Lietz 1996, p. 182)

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

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

NAEP has assessed the educational performance of fourth, eighth and twelfth grade students annually with an assessment program that was specifically designed to meet the needs for information at the national and state levels. Figure 23.5 presents the NAEP mean scores for students in Grade 4 and Grade 8 in the subject of Mathematics on a scale of performance where the standard deviation of the national grade group is approximately 50 score units. Over the time period from 1990 to 2009 of 18 years there have been clearly recognizable gains in student performance at both grade levels. It can be estimated that for one year of schooling the advancement in the level of achievement of students on the average is approximately 10 units per grade (or 40 units across four grades) with respect to 2009 scores. Thus, over the 18 year period the Grade 8 students have improved by 20 score units or approximately 2 years of schooling. At the Grade 4 level the improvement has been even greater. These were substantial gains in achievement in a period of time of less than one generation, and this involved raising the performance of substantial numbers of students. While the expressed policy of the United States Government of ‘No child being left behind’ might not have been fully achieved, considerable progress had been made in the achievement of the basic level of performance by the Grade 8 level.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress gave rise to a short-lived program, referred to as the International Assessment of Educational Progress (IAEP). Studies were conducted under the auspices of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States. The first study undertaken in 1988 in the fields of Science

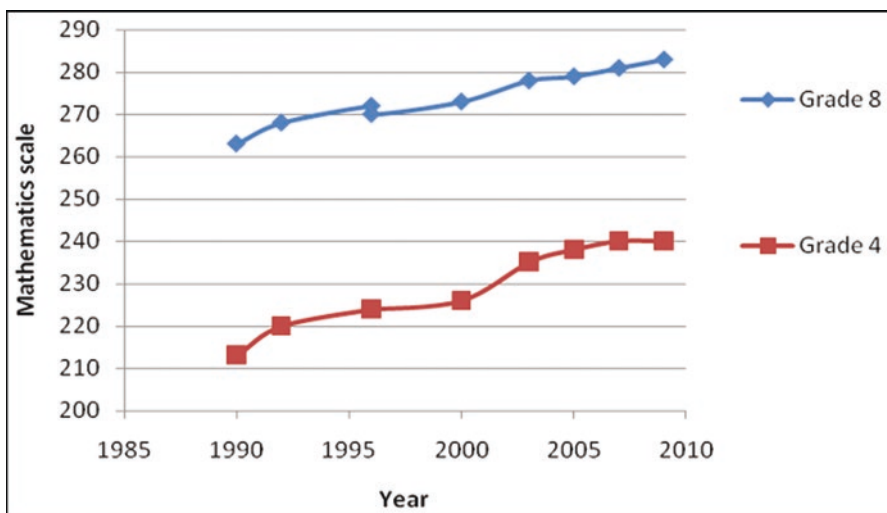


Fig. 23.5 Mathematics achievement of Grade 4 and Grade 8 students in the United States from NAEP Studies in years 1990–2009. (Data source: <http://nces.ed.gov/nationasreportcard/>)

and Mathematics involved seven countries, and a second study carried out in 1990–1991 involved 20 countries, with students tested at the 13 year-old age level. (Lapointe et al. 1989, 1992). However, this program was not sustained after testing on only two occasions.

23.10 Globalisation and the Monitoring of Educational Outcomes

Since 1990, under the guidance of Unesco and the other United Nations agencies involved in the World Conference at Jomtien in Thailand that declared a global policy of ‘Education for All’, many of the nations of the World turned towards participation in a program of monitoring achievement in education. While there are many programs currently in operation cross-nationally, there has been a drive among them towards the undertaking of monitoring achievement outcomes in education, either nationally or cross-nationally, and in many countries, both national and cross-national programs have been undertaken. Reviews of this movement from a global perspective have identified several different approaches. Benevot and Tanner (2007, p.15) in a review for the Unesco International Bureau of Education identified two major approaches, namely: “(a) an emphasis on learning outcomes and (b) an emphasis on life-enhancing educational experiences.” Kamens and McNeely (2009, p. 20), working from Stanford University in the United States contended that the operation of three principal features were involved: “(a) ideologies of education as a source of national and world progress, (b) the hegemony of science as a critical means to development, and (c) the idea that educational systems and indeed, society in general, could be managed to produce desirable outcomes”. Postlethwaite (2004), who was from 1962 to 1992 the driving force behind the IEA programs of studies, argued in simple terms that the two main reasons why Ministries of Education carried out assessment programs were: (a) “to identify the strengths and weaknesses in the system at a particular point in time, and (b) to track changes in the system over time.” (Postlethwaite 2004, p. 27).

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

23.11 The Agencies Currently Involved in Monitoring and Evaluation Programs

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

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

PIRLS in Reading (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study); TIMSS in Mathematics and Science (Studies of trends in performance); and the Civic Education Study.

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

23.11.2 The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)

This agency is sponsored by the OECD and is based in Paris. It assesses the competencies of 15 year-old students in the domains of Literacy in Reading, Mathematics and Science.

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

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

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

SACMEQ conducted its first major study in 1995.

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

This body is an assessment network and system that evaluates the quality of education in Latin America and is supported by Unesco. Its activities are coordinated through Unesco's Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the

Caribbean (UREALC). The first study was conducted in 1997. LLECE sponsored a second assessment (SERCE) study in 2007. An Internal Oversight Service (IOS) focused on the impact of LLECE, and evaluated the two assessment studies to examine their effects on the declared 22 objectives of LLECE, in the 15 countries participating in the program.

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

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

CONFEMEN was founded in 1960 and had initially 15 member states. In 2009, CONFEMEN's Office was located in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and CONFEMEN had 41 members, of whom 24 were participating in an evaluation study that examined trend data in order to promote public debate about the quality of education provided within each system.

23.11.6 The World Bank

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

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

23.12 Participation in the Monitoring Programs Across the World

In this chapter two aspects of the effects of globalisation have been examined, namely: (a) the Human Development Index and (b) the achievement of educational outcomes, particularly of Literacy, Numeracy and Mathematics and Science performance in primary and secondary schools. Approximately 193 countries and areas

could be classified with respect to the four categories of the Human Development Index and whether or not the country participated in the programs of monitoring educational outcomes conducted by the six agencies referred to in the previous section. It should be noted that the data were compiled from many sources, using information available in 2009.

Table 23.4 records a cross classification of Agency against the assigned category of Human Development, together with 11 countries that were not assigned to a HDI category in 2009. In addition, there were seven areas that were duplicated in the information provided by IEA since for example, Belgium was subdivided into the Flemish and French speaking areas, but not included in the information involving the Francophone countries. Consequently, the data recorded in Table 23.4 are provided to show a pattern of relationships rather than an estimated effect. However, approximately 70% of the countries or areas of the World were, in 2009, engaged in one or more monitoring or evaluation programs. Thus, approximately 30% of the countries or areas (54 countries) were not involved in a program, while 139 countries or areas were involved in one or more programs out of approximately 200 countries or areas. For other relationships the percentages recorded in Table 23.4 are discussed rather than the actual numbers recorded.

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

Table 23.4 Country participation in monitoring programs

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

Data compiled from many sources using information available in 2009

Nevertheless, the overall impression provided by the data recorded in Table 23.4 established that in the 50 year period from when IEA first started its program of evaluation studies in 1960 with a small number of 12 countries, the thrust towards globalisation had led to quite remarkable growth in the monitoring of educational outcomes. Moreover, this growth has been particularly strong since 1990 when IEA reoriented its program of research towards the monitoring of achievement, but without completely ignoring the research component of its work.

23.13 Conclusion

The World in which we live faces the immense challenge for sustainable development. In the past two centuries the population of the World has increased sevenfold. The greatest single factor associated with this growth has been the advancement of formal education. The effects of increased formal education are particularly noticeable from the time of the cessation of hostilities in the Second World War. However, this chapter argues that only through educating to a higher level all the people who occupy planet Earth can the challenge for sustainable development be met. It is necessary for the ‘globalisation movement’ that was initiated by the United Nations Organization and its agencies, particularly Unesco with an emphasis on education, science and culture, to continue to direct activities towards the sustainable development of the human race on planet Earth through the provision of educational services. The advancement and expansion of the tasks of monitoring educational achievement across the years of schooling in 70% of the countries of the World must be considered to be directly attributable to his lifetime of work. It is only through the globalisation of education across the World that the many challenges to the human race on planet Earth can be met (Zajda 2010a; Zajda 2020b). Neville gave his working life to monitoring the outcomes of education and the building of knowledge about the processes of education across the World towards attaining the major goal currently faced by mankind of sustainable development.

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Chapter 24

Minorities and Education Policies Reform in Central Asia



Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter argues that 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 educational policies that focus on finding solutions to ethnic discrimination. These policies attempted to regulate sub-ethnic, supraethnic, transnational and multinational identities in Central Asia. The chapter concludes 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.

24.1 Race and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Introduction

Comparative education research on race and ethnicity in Central Asia deals with the constructivist nature of culture-making and nation-building. It focuses more on conceptual aspects of ethnicity and national identity, the borders issues, inter-ethnic conflict, cultural stereotypes, discrimination and inequality. Current research attempts to solve the political, cultural and moral dilemmas of ethnic/national identity, nation-building, and citizenship (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020). In all of this, there exists the ambivalence between the desire to re-discover and construct “authentic” nations, using, among other things, meta-ideology, consensus-building cultural, political and religious slogans and texts in Central Asia (that would satisfy both local and political agendas) and embrace the imperatives of globalisation and modernity, particularly the continuation of the Enlightenment Project of the triumph

J. Zajda (✉)

Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_24

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of reason, science and progress, and the construction of a Western paradigm of the civil society. Kamrava (2020) examined nation-building in Central Asia, analysed the overall complexity of the dynamics of nation-building (see also Păduraru and Voicu 2020). 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) argued 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 (Zajda 2020b).

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, p. 51).

In 2012, there was a wave of celebration of the 20th anniversary of independence in all Central Asian states. It celebrated the nation-building process and the national identity.

However, as Fedorenko (2012), notes that while the ideology of nation-building is making its mark, the process is still developing and may well generate more pronounced divisions along the dimensions of race, ethnicity, religion and languages:

...yet their nation building process is not complete and the perception of the national identity is still distorted. By its nature national identity should bring people together and unite them around common values and goals, in Central Asian states, however; national identity, conceived on ethnic basis, is a divisive force fragmenting people along the lines of ethnicity, religion, language, birth place, and social status (Fedorenko 2012, p. 6).

In the case of 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.

24.2 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 and 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 19th century (p. 2).

24.3 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 2002, p. 11). The 60-year long taboo for using the term “indigenous people” and its replacement with the term “small-numbered” nationalities was deliberate. The official Soviet line was that the term “indigenous people” was only valid in a colonial context. Since the USSR had no colonies it had no “indigenous people”.

Historically, Russia’s Far 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, for the first time, in the last decade, the State, in support of the indigenous population in Siberia allocated 1.5 billion roubles (\$52.6 million) to help some 30 ethnic minorities, totalling 200,000 people.

24.4 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 businessmen... (p. 1).

Similar signs of educational inequality can be seen in Tajikistan, where 80% of the population lives in rural areas. In addition to urban and rural inequality, we now have the divided schools syndrome – school for the rich and school for the poor.

Parents are forced to open fee-paying schools and classes (Niyozov 2001, p.4).

There are serious equity and equality problems in Tajikistan, which are relevant to the Central Asia region as a whole. The economic collapse in Central Asia, partly triggered 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).

24.5 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, p. 6).

The Muslim elite’s representation of Islam during its reconstruction process used the idea that religion was an essential core of ethnic and national identity. In the process of the construction of ethnic identity among the former Soviet Muslim population, one needs to focus on the transformation of the social consciousness.

In the former USSR the process of education of ethnic minorities and indigenous groups was facilitated by the imposition of “standardised institutional structures” on local traditions (including the various Islamic traditions) and cultures.

Mark Saroyan (1997) argued that the Uzbek Muslim elite, which became the driving force for the homogenisation of Islam in the USSR, was forced by the Soviet authorities to impose a unitary definition of Islam, based on a uniform interpretation of “religious ritual and ideology” (Saroyan 1997, p. 18; Zajda 2014).

24.6 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 (Saroyan 1997, p. 19).

24.6.1 *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 (see Zajda 2020a, c). Consequently, one of the central policy issues in some multi-ethnic nations in Central Asia is the status and position of the official state language(s) in relation to the languages of the minorities in the school curriculum and society. So far, the state language dilemma

has not been resolved to the satisfaction of minorities groups, notably the better-educated and socially mobile ethnic Russians, who have been migrating back to Russia in such large numbers as to cause the phenomenon of “the Russian exodus” from the Central Asian region. After the 1991 break up of the Soviet Union, the ethnic Russians in Central Asia numbered 9.5 million, or 19.5% of the total population. By 1994, Russian population of Kyrgyzstan dropped to 18% (from 21.5 in 1989). In 1996 alone, some one million immigrants arrived in Russia; the majority of them were the refugees from the Central Asia (Partridge 2002, p. 2).

24.6.2 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% 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 5-year period) than the Russians, with their figure of 107.

In contrast, some 20 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, p. 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% of them have a “problem performing their official duties” due to a poor command of the state language. Recently, a republic-wide opinion poll showed that 71.1% of the respondents, including 54.1% of Kazakhs, supported the idea of introducing the second state language (Kurganskaia 2000, p.7).

In Uzbekistan, where Russians, as a minority, comprise 8% of the population, language policy, first passed as the *Language Law* in the Uzbek Supreme Soviet in 1989, declaring Uzbek as the state language (but accepting Russian as the “language of 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 nicked-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 Kyrgyzstan. This has been achieved by the opening up of the National Academy of Sciences in the South, the establishment of research institutions, a number of new higher education institutions, and various other education centres, designed to promote the development of “the intellectual potential of all ethnic groups” (Toktomyshev 2002, p. 4). A very promising case study of nation building of multi-ethnic communities is the Republic of Bashkortostan, near the Urals, which represents some 100 minorities, with the three major ethnic groups – the Bashkirs, Tatars and 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).

24.7 Gender and Education in Central Asia

Gender inequality in access to education is increasing in the Central Asian region. Within Central Asia the availability of educational opportunities for women is “exceedingly limited” (Ismagilova 2002, p. 1). In a recent survey dealing with the violation of women’s rights the majority of the respondents indicated that they could not study as they were not “allowed to leave home”, they “had no money for education” or they “had no time”. The least educated females had also the highest rates of physical abuse:

the least educated women have the highest percentage of the various forms of violence in their community: 96% of women with no high or primary education experienced physical violence (Ismagilova 2002, p.2).

24.8 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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Chapter 25

Globalisation and Islamic Education



Holger Daun and Reza Arjmand

Abstract The chapter examines the nature of Islamic educational arrangements, showing 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 chapter discusses the differences between the Muslim countries, which 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. The chapter concludes that 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.

25.1 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.

H. Daun (✉) · R. Arjmand
University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: daun@mbox.su.se

25.2 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 40 countries; conversion to Islam takes place in many places in the world (van Bruissen 1995), but often Islam is assimilated into the pre-existing religions (An-Náim 1999; Eickelman 1989; Gregorian 2001; Masquelier 1999). This means it is articulated in ways different from those found in, for instance, the geographical area of Islam’s origin. The majority of Muslims are Sunnis, while Shi’ites are in the majority in Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Iran, and form minorities in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Lebanon.

The adherence to *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 and Schacht 2002, p. 232). During the colonial period, Muslims and those in other colonised countries experienced two different colonial strategies, direct and assimilationist (by the French, Italians and Portuguese) and indirect and integrationist (by the British), that had different implications for Islamic education. The education system in the former strategy was

based mainly on the *encyclopaedist* principles of *rationalism*, *universality* and *utility*, while empiricism was the principal educational feature in the second strategy (Holmes and McLean 1989; Mallison 1980). However, all colonial powers implemented education systems of the type existing in the home countries, while religious issues and family laws were, in practice, left to the local populations (Warnock 1995). Although Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey never were colonised, their educational institutions went through a similar development of the modern Western type of education.

At independence (or at a certain stage in non-colonised countries), the Islamic educational institutions were either integrated into the secular state-sponsored schools which offered some Islamic matters, or continued as before as privately sponsored religious schools which survived only through the adoption of Western educational disciplines. The traditional *madrassa* (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.

25.3 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) (see Zajda 2020a, b, c). Globalisation refers principally to economic and cultural processes, which occur rather independently from single country actions and frontiers (Zajda 2010; Zajda 2014). Some countries are highly involved in global processes while others are not, and some aspects in one and the same country are highly globalised, while others are not (Hirst and Thompson 1996; McGrew 1992; Waters 1995). Among Muslim countries, those who produce oil are involved economically, while other countries such as Pakistan and Iran contribute to the global spread of Islamic messages and certain Muslim interests. Saudi Arabia, for instance, is highly involved in the global flows due to oil production, while sections of its population are marginalised from these processes (Ayubi 1999; Kramer 1997).

Economic actions and processes are the leading globalising forces and they consist of more than international exchange of goods and services and interaction of separate domestic economies (Bretherton 1996). People are encouraged or

compelled to enter into commodified, monetised, and priced exchanges as producers and consumers. The forces mentioned include the market ideas as well as the idea that modernisation is to make individuals' behaviour "consistent with liberal norms of modernity" (Duffield 2002, p. 91) and they result in economic and ideological competition as well 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 and Jarrar 1991; Wilson 1997). ICT and mass media are "exposing the everyday world of Islam to the competition of pluralistic consumption and the pluralisation of life worlds" (Ahmed 1992, p.177). However, globalisation brings de-secularisation as well. Certain streams within Islam exemplify this trend (Beeley 1992; Berger 1999; Haynes 1999; Turner 1991). This religion is spreading geographically and Islamic movements are being extended to new areas. In fact, Islam and certain branches within Protestantism have been the most expansive - in terms of new adherents - during the past two decades, Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia and Protestantism in Latin America and Asia (An-Náim 1999; Berger 1999; Martin 1999).

Since the Second World War several international organisations have been established for the spread of Islam. For instance, during the 1970s, the Islamic 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 (Quranic schools) for complementary moral training (Euro-Islam 1995).

25.4 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).

25.5 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 25.1.

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 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.

25.5.1 Elementary Education

Quranic education and Madrassa 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 type1 in the table). After elementary education, the students may enter one or the other type of Madrassa and

Table 25.1 Types of elementary, intermediate and higher Islamic education

"Pre-school" level	Elementary school	Intermediate school	Higher education
1	Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab</i> , mosque school).	Traditional Medresh (Madrassa, mosque school) or Modern Madrassa ("école arabe", "Arabic school")	
2	Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab</i> , mosque school).		Islamic university
3	Quranic (<i>daara, kuttab, maktab</i> , mosque school).	Traditional Medresh (Madrassa, mosque school). Modern Madrassa ("école arabe", and "Arabic school")	See the two varieties above.

then continue to the Islamic university. In other areas, Quranic schools recruit primarily students at the ages of 3–9 years, and Quranic education has become a pre-school education which students attend for a couple of years (see type 2 in the table). In countries or places where there has been a massive enrolment in primary schools, Quranic education has adapted to this fact and has relegated to the role of pre-school (serving children 3–6 years old) or complementary/supplementary schools attended during periods not scheduled for primary schools (type 3 in the table). Since all countries have the Western type of schools, traditional or modern Madrasa 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 and Amer 1988).

25.5.2 *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 and Makdisi 2002, p. 1235). They all had Arabic as a language of instruction and curricula composed of Islamic classic components. The goals of the traditional madrasas are to create “experts” who are perceived to have perfect knowledge in the domain of their specialisation. In some countries education is taught in theological seminaries following a curriculum designed for the formation

of religious experts. Islamic education at the Madrasa level includes subjects such as: *Lughah* (the Arabic language); *Fiqh* (legal theory of Islam; is the Islamic law); *Hadith* (the traditions – the sayings of the Prophet himself about problems and events in everyday life – which after the Quran are the most important source concerning Sharia); *Tawhid* (unity of God; theology at its most abstract level); *Tafsir* (Quranic exegesis; the content of the Quran is explained and commented upon by the teacher); *Sira* (the biography of Mohammed); and *Riyadiyah* (arithmetic). In higher Islamic education, these subjects are taught more in-depth (Nasr 1975; Yahia 1966).

Ijaza (permission) is considered as the only traditional form of evaluation of the students educational achievements in *madrasa* education whereby the professor gives the graduated pupil the authorisation to transmit the knowledge received. *Ijaza* was issued in a specific branch of knowledge by the professor specialist in that knowledge, who in turn had received authorisation through his master. As the accuracy of religious narrations is of vital importance, the chain of transmission is followed throughout the different 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 madrasa (often called Arabic schools) have established curricula, syllabuses, time tables and classes in the same way as modern Western schools. This means that they teach secular subjects as well as a large proportion of Islamic matters. Arabic countries and Turkey support such Arabic schools. In Sub-Saharan Africa and some places in Asia, such schools started to expand in the 1970s with the support from Middle East countries or Unicef (via Muslim NGOs) in the 1990s (Coloquio Internacional 1993; Okuma-Nyström 2003; UNESCO 1993). One or the other type of madrasa 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 madrasa has been established, especially since the 1970s. The development of the madrasa has in many places followed the same pattern as elementary Islamic education. Quranic schools have different names in different countries (*kuttabs*, *maktab*, *daara*, etc.). When Quranic education takes places in mosques, this is called mosque schools. The difference in terminology applies also the education at the intermediate level.

According to some authors, Islamic education is mostly appropriate for the religious and teaching professions (Eickelman 1989). Recent case studies, however, indicate that such an education is not only for religious purposes and for insulated niches of Muslims but is also an important instrument for jobs in the informal sector. These jobs have been rapidly growing in many low-income countries (Daun 2002; Oni 1988; William and Amer 1988).

25.5.3 *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. In the mid-1990s, Indonesia had 60 universities, Pakistan 23 and Turkey 69 (World of Learning, 2003, p. 1248).

25.6 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 Madrassa 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 madrassa, organised by civil forces (Daun and Arjmand 2002; UNESCO 1993).

In the Gulf states the school curricula contain a larger proportion of religious subjects than in other parts of the world (Ben Jallah 1994; Hussein 1994; Morsi 1991). Despite this large proportion of Islamic matters in primary school, there are, in most Muslim countries, Quranic schools that function as a complement to modern primary schools (Eickelman 1989). In some countries, the state maintained a parallel system with the public schools and Islamic schools; in Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan, elementary and intermediate levels of Islamic education 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 and Jiyono 1998; Zouain 1998). Malaysia seems to be a special case. There are some private schools, which teach religious matters and have subsidies from the state and accept regulation and state schools can also teach religious matters, if this is demanded by the local community (Aziz and Maimunah 1998). Islamic educational arrangements in the civil sphere are comparatively frequent in Islamised countries, where the state is secular and state-run schools do not teach Islamic matters. On the other hand, in highly Islamised but comparatively modernised countries, where state schools teach Islamic matters, Islamic educational institutions have been forced into a position where they function as a complement or supplement to the state run schools.

25.7 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. Recently, in Sweden, several examples of severe deviations from certain central components (democracy, tolerance, Children Rights, etc.) of the

national curriculum were reported from some Christian and Muslim schools. These deviations were not discovered through the general state authority mechanisms for monitoring and supervision of such schools but by teachers and pupils who had inside experience from such schools.

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Chapter 26

Globalisation, Teachers and Inclusive Schooling



Kas Mazurek and Margret Winzer

Abstract Positive attitudes held by general classroom teachers toward the principles of inclusion and toward students with disabilities are central in ensuring the successful progress of the inclusive movement. To underline the critical nature of teacher attitudes, this comparative study draws on a sample of the literature from Western nations implementing sophisticated policies: the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The general tenor of the research indicates that while contemporary teachers typically exhibit positive attitudes toward the principles of inclusion, some feel under siege and unprepared to comply with the broad array of policy requirements. And, despite the idiosyncratic nature of national priorities, legislation, teacher training, and implementation, attitudes transcend national boundaries to the extent that teachers' views on various facets of the inclusive agenda tend to be remarkably consistent across time and across nations.

26.1 Students with Special Needs

Inclusive schooling for students with special education needs (SEN) has been at the forefront of the education reform agenda for more than 30 years. (SEN refers to children and youth whose needs arise from *disabilities* or *learning difficulties*; this chapter focuses on those with disabilities). At heart, inclusive schooling is a human rights process, promoted and advanced on the basis of social policy considerations such as equal access, non-discrimination, and equal opportunity, all designed to transform schools in order to provide wider access to general classrooms for students with disabilities. Democratizing education opportunities to accommodate such students requires fundamental changes in attitudes about students, curriculum, pedagogy, and the school organization that determines rules and daily operations. Such compelling proposals for school transformation and reform cannot be achieved without ownership by the teachers who are called upon to implement the program. Because the possibility and pace of any change rests on teachers' wills and

K. Mazurek · M. Winzer (✉)
University of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, AB, Canada
e-mail: margret.winzer@uleth.ca

ideological dispositions, the beliefs and attitudes teachers are a powerful force that either promotes and advances or impedes and obstructs reform. Given their pervasive nature, it is not surprising that studies of teachers' attitudes represent "one of the largest bodies of research investigating the critical area of inclusion" (Cook et al. 2000, p. 116).

Generally, the work is contained within discrete categories- overall attitudes toward inclusion; the relationship between views of disability and inclusion and demographic variables such as age, sex, grade level taught, and status in the system; acceptance-rejection issues as applied to specific groups of learners; whether knowledge about and experience with individuals with disabilities can change attitudes; and variables related to teachers' subject areas and preferred instructional level. This chapter examines and compares the attitudes of general classroom teachers within this categorical framework. Addressed are four highly industrialized nations that hold to a shared purpose about how to educate students with disabilities- the United States, the United Kingdom (England and Wales), Australia, and Canada.

This chapter is not critical of the inclusive movement or the efforts of front-line teachers: it recognizes the pervasive impact of inclusion and the fundamental importance of teachers in the process of learning, views their role within schools as central, and acknowledges that many attitudes may be a reflection of deep concern. As a comparative study, the aim is to extend understanding of one challenge to reform by evaluating teachers' attitudes within the dynamics of inclusive ideology and classrooms.

While teachers' attitudes form only a single strand in the web of contemporary discussions on inclusive schooling, the ways in which teachers conceptualize and confront disability, the inclusive reform, and their professional responsibilities within inclusive climates are both primary and paramount because attitudes influence teaching practices and classroom interactions and ultimately have a significant impact on students with disabilities. Given the subtle nature of attitudes and beliefs, the complex and interactive relationship of teachers' attitudes and their practice, and the accelerating growth of inclusionary practices world wide, an interrogation of attitudes is viewed as a timely and important topic. If teachers who accept the principles of inclusion are more likely to take steps to implement it, then research can generate important findings that have practical implications for policy makers endeavoring to implement inclusion (Avramidis and Norwich 2002).

The chapter draws on two threads of the authors' work- examinations of teacher attitudes and their transformation, and comparative studies that probe the internal dynamics of the inclusive movement (e.g., Winzer et al. 2003; Winzer and Mazurek 2009). It aims to complement the previous offerings by focusing on the challenges inherent in teacher attitudes from an international standpoint. To set the stage, the enquiry begins with a brief overview of the inclusive agenda in the nations discussed. The conceptual framework highlights the basis and influence of teacher attitudes. The following literature review is selective rather than comprehensive: it does not encompass all facets of the teacher attitude research but focuses on the categories outlined above. The time span extends from 1984 when the term

inclusion first appeared in the special education literature and over the next two decades during which inclusion moved from an ideal to a decisive conviction.

26.2 National Perspectives

Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States share much in both their historical development and contemporary practice in the fields of special education and inclusive schooling. In each nation, diversity, equality, and inclusion are critical principles in legislation, as well as in social and educational policy. The individual rights and freedoms of students with disabilities and differences are supported in each educational system, and inclusive schooling is fairly standard practice. Despite a common philosophical base, the interpretation of inclusive schooling is not framed within a single paradigm. The vibrant and shifting gestalt of societal dynamics influences education development, responses to disability, and the roles of schools to the extent that the real and important sociopolitical and economic idiosyncrasies in the various national milieus have led to the emergence of quite different models and different styles of organization, governance, and financing. For example, although equality in law is one of the most stringent guides to developing inclusive schooling, legislative activity represents an area of wide disparity across the four nations (see Winzer and Mazurek 2010). At the same time, within-nation data show that the legislation is unevenly apprehended and much variation exists in implementation and progress.

The United States was the first nation to address the equality of educational programming for students with disabilities with the passage of the *Education for All Handicapped Children Act* (PL 94 142) in 1975. The 2004 amendment, the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act* (PL 108 446) (IDIEA), presumes that the first placement option a school system must consider for each student with a disability is the general classroom. In 2009, almost 95% of students with disabilities aged six to 21 were educated in general classrooms (Institute of Education Sciences 2013).

Although the actual terms *inclusion* and *inclusive schooling* only appeared in the Australian lexicon in 2001 (replacing *integration*), political and educational discourses have abounded. In the early-1990s, anti-discrimination acts and education policies reflected the language of inclusive education (Slee 1996). Moving forward, Australian national and state education authorities all advocate the inclusion of children with disabilities within general classrooms, stances firmly entrenched in principles of human rights and social justice and supported by anti-discrimination legislation. The *Disability Standards for Education* (Australian Attorney General 2006) stress that it is unlawful for any education institution to reject entry based on disability and that reasonable attempts have to be made to assist students with disabilities in their environment, participation, and use of available facilities. By 2010, about 60% of students with disabilities were in general schools; another 24% were

placed in special classes in general schools, and 10% were in special schools (Sharma 2014).

In England and Wales, the 1978 Warnock Report contributed to a new Education Act in 1981 that enshrined *special educational needs* in legislation and introduced the concept of equal opportunities for all students (Armstrong et al. 2000). In 1996, the Education Act promoted inclusion in mainstream schools; legislation in 2001, referred to as *the inclusion framework*, 'dictated that inclusion should be pursued unless parents did not want it.

Policy makers, educators, parents, and researchers in Canada advocate for all children be educated in general classrooms that reflect the diversity of Canadian society and its inclusive values (Lupart and Webber 2002).. As Canada's education system is decentralized, complex, and multilevel, all in the absence of a strong national education presence, many variations of inclusive practice exist. New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the territories opt for full inclusion; other provinces offer a menu of options.

26.3 Theoretical Approaches to Teacher Attitudes

Beliefs are formed early in life, based on episodes, events, and experience that affect the comprehension of past, present, and even future events (Schechtran 1994). Described by Kagan (1992) as the "piebald of personal knowledge that lies at the very heart of teaching" (p. 85), teachers' beliefs act as filters on the construction of their personal philosophy. Beliefs are powerful and enduring and tend to persevere even against contradictions revealed by reason, time, schooling, or experience (Pajares 1992). Ajzen (2002) points out that, in theory, attitudes are inferred from accessible belief aggregates and pertain to appraisals of favor or disfavor toward behavioral expectations. Therefore, the broad set of beliefs owned by individual teachers underlie, shape, and direct attitudes- a complex phenomenon that involves the values of the school culture, the nature of the learning environment, and notions about teaching and learning and the students involved.

As attitudes anticipate directions of thinking and action, it follows that they spill over to affect many areas, have a significant impact on students with disabilities, and are frequently barriers to equity in schools. As examples, attitudes influence the degree to which teachers resist the inclusion of students with disabilities into their classrooms (Treder et al. 2000). Teachers with positive views about inclusion have more confidence in their ability to support students in inclusive settings and to adapt classroom materials and procedures to accommodate their needs (Campbell et al. 2003); those who hold relatively negative attitudes use effective inclusive instructional strategies less frequently than their colleagues with positive attitudes (Bender et al. 1995).

26.4 General Attitudes Toward Inclusive Schooling

Teachers' perspectives on integration/mainstreaming/inclusion have been the focus of scores of investigations over the past 40 years. The swath of studies have often included, either directly or by proxy, teachers' perceptions of, and preferences for, service delivery models.

Across time and across nations, a body of literature indicates that the attitudes and expectations of a percentage of general classroom teachers toward students with disabilities and their education have been stereotypic, negative, and unsupportive. Moreover, teachers' views have not changed substantially over the years. In a meta-analysis of the literature that included 28 survey reports of 10,560 teachers from the United States, Canada, and Australia from 1958 to 1995 Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) did not find a correlation between positive attitudes toward mainstreaming/inclusion and date of publication.

During the 1980s- the decade in which mainstreaming was mutating into inclusion- a body of work found some teachers to harbor generally unfavorable attitudes. In one study (Knoff 1985) that asked general education teachers whether they would be willing to accept pupils with disabilities if special education was discontinued, 79% declined. A survey of teachers in the United States (D'Alonzo et al. 1997) found skepticism and mixed opinion about the potential benefits of inclusion and an overwhelming expectation that problems would be inherent in a unified system of education. A decade later, Sharon Vaughn et al. (1996) conducted focus group interviews with teachers regarding their views on inclusion; they concluded that the majority of participating teachers had strong, negative views. A 1998 Australian study found that neither regular or special education teachers were positive about integration (Gow et al. 1988). Later, Australian teachers reaffirmed their difficulties, stress, and problems with inadequate staff training, lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate support services (Forlin et al. 1996, 1999). In a study of British primary teachers (Vlochou and Barton 1994), the participants expressed frustration with the widespread changes in demands made on them and with their increased responsibilities for students with disabilities. Teachers in England think that more inclusive education is a good idea (Curtis 2004) but also feel "let down by the practice" (Halpin 2006, p. 2). Canadian educators see social and academic benefits but question inclusion on pragmatic grounds (Bunch et al. 1997; Naylor 2004).

Teachers' attention is tuned to the exigencies of daily teaching. They consistently speak to workload and may interpret inclusion as requiring changes to accustomed practice and increases in their instructional load in terms of program planning and evaluation, and particularly in the delivery of instruction that is different in quality and quantity from that of typical students (Beirne et al. 2000; Edmunds 2000; Heflin and Bullock 1999). Australian teachers find inclusion to increase their workloads and to cause added stress (Bourke and Smith 1994; Chen and Miller 1997; Forlin et al. 1996; Pithers and Doden 1998). Winzer and Chow's (1988) examination of the attitudes of 705 teachers and teacher candidates in Canada found generally positive

attitudes to the concepts of inclusion but more caution about the negative effects on students and on teacher workload.

Nestled within workload is the question of adequate resources for both students and teachers. When Schumm and Vaughn (1995) interviewed teachers in the United States, they found that lack of adequate resources hindered successful inclusion. A poll of 1000 teachers undertaken by the Canadian Teachers Federation found that 30% of respondents cited lack of resources and access to experts as key stumbling blocks to the success of inclusive education (O'Connor 2004). In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Edmunds et al. (2000) found that 77% of the teachers surveyed did not think that they had adequate resources to properly carry out their teaching duties.

For some teachers, inclusion juxtaposes the rights of disabled students with those who are typically developing, an attitude that manifests in concerns around whether, what, and how a teacher should attend to the special needs of the unique child versus serving the group of students. A large majority of British Columbia teachers responding to a survey stated that the inclusion of students with exceptionalities in each class affected their capacity to meet the needs of typical students effectively (Naylor 2004). Teachers in England complain that other pupils lose out as staff devote excessive time to special needs children (Halpin 2006). In the United States, Simpson and Myles (1991) found that even teachers generally supportive of the philosophy of inclusive schooling agreed that such placements could negatively influence their teaching effectiveness. A number of general classroom teachers do not want to accept the loss of the safety valve that was special education; they retain a belief in special classes as an optimal placement for students with disabilities. Scruggs and Mastropieri (1996) reported that only a minority of teachers in their studies agreed that the general classroom was the best environment for students with special needs, or that full-time mainstreaming/inclusion would produce social or academic benefits relative to resource room or special class placement. Other surveys concur: some educators favor the pull-out model and some teachers agree with the retention of segregated placements (Kauffman and Wong 1991; Semmel et al. 1991). In a British Columbia study, more than four times as many teachers favored non-school placements in some cases that did those supporting school placements (Naylor 2004). American researchers (D'Alonzo et al. 1997; Heflin and Bullock 1999) reported that the consensus among educators was for partial inclusion.

26.5 Acceptance-Rejection Issues

A central theme of the inclusionary debate lies in assumptions about disability and difference. The acceptance-rejection issues so prominent in the traditional research assume that individual child characteristics are more telling than general attitudes toward inclusion and that the nature and degree of a child's disability are germane to issues of placement and curriculum.

Overall, teacher support for inclusion and teacher willingness to accept students with disabilities is strongly influenced by the nature and severity of the condition

and the amount of additional teacher responsibility required. Consistent findings in Australia (Forlin et al. 1996), England (Avramidis and Norwich 2002; Avramidis et al. 2000), Canada (Edmunds 2000), and the United States (Rainforth 2000; Scruggs and Mastropieri 1996; Wisniewski and Alper 1994) show that the more severe the disability, the more negative teacher attitudes tend to be.

A survey of 220 preschool providers in Florida (Eiserman et al. 1995) found moderate agreement toward the general idea of inclusion but the providers discriminated between different types of special needs and based decisions on where children should be served accordingly. In a study by Heflin and Bullock (1999), teachers stated that the choice of full or partial inclusion should be determined on a case-by-case basis. In Australia, Center and Ward (1987) found teachers in their survey only willing to accept students with mild physical disabilities; they were reluctant about severe physical disabilities and intellectual disabilities. Canadian work indicates that teachers have the most positive attitudes toward the labels of learning disability and mild/moderate developmental disability; the most negative toward severe disability and emotional disability (Kuester 2000).

Teachers tend to evince more positive attitudes toward students who can learn and who do not inhibit the learning of their peers. One of their great fears is increased behavior problems from special education students in general; particularly, there is considerable resistance among teachers to including students with behavior disorders. Some general education teachers in the United States are dubious about the placement of students with intellectual disabilities and behavioral or emotional difficulties in the general classroom (Sedbrook 2002; Taylor et al. 1997). In one survey (Heflin and Bullock 1999) teachers responded to accepting students with behavioral disorders with varying degrees of resistance, fear, and skepticism. After studying 18 American junior high school teachers, Nkabinde (2005) found that 72% held concerns about the inclusion of students with behavior disorders. In Canada, teachers in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia felt that their overall concern about inclusion increased as the degree of educational need of the exceptional child increased, particularly in the case of students with behavior disorders (Edmunds 2000). Many teachers in the United Kingdom rank the needs of children with emotional and behavioral difficulties as being the most difficult to meet, followed by those with learning difficulties (Clough and Lindsay 1991; Garner 2000b). Teachers in England feel that the drive toward inclusion has led to an increase in disciplinary problems as children with intellectual disabilities or behavioral problems are admitted to mainstream schools (Halpin 2006).

26.6 Teacher Variables

Demographic factors, teacher attitudes, and inclusion have been closely examined. Numerous pieces describe a variety of typical teacher attitudes in relation to variables such as age, sex, status, and grade level taught. Findings are equivocal, but

lean toward females being more accepting and elementary teachers more willing to implement inclusive practices.

When Aloia et al. (1980) examined the attitudes and expectations of high school physical education teachers, they found females to hold more favorable attitudes and higher expectations of students with special needs than male teachers. A study from a single school district in Colorado (Pearman et al. 1997) found that male teachers were significantly more negative about inclusion when compared to females. A further set of gender-related studies (e.g., Garner 2000a; Harvey 1985; Thomas 1985) have parallel findings. Other research (e.g., Patrick 1987; Rizzo and Wright 1988) did not reveal significant gender differences.

Younger teachers and those with fewer years of experience appear to be more supportive of integration (Center and Ward 1987; Clough and Lindsay 1991). In Australia, Forlin (1995) found that acceptance of children with physical disabilities was highest among educators with less than 6 years of teaching experience; it declined among those with 6–10 years of teaching. The most experienced educators (those with 11 or more years of teaching) were the least accepting. American studies found that teachers who were themselves educated many years ago tended to hold less positive attitudes toward inclusion (Bennet et al. 1997; Jobe and Rust 1996).

A variety of stakeholders are involved in inclusive education. Enthusiasm seems to increase with distance. Individuals farther removed from direct implementation—university personnel, superintendents, school board officials, and principals—are most likely to be supportive of the practice; classroom teachers typically exhibit the most pessimistic attitudes (Bunch et al. 1997; Garvar-Pinhas and Pedhazur-Schmelkin 1989; Scruggs and Mastropieri 1996; Ward et al. 1994).

26.7 Knowledge and Skills

Many complaints from teachers are couched in lack of skills and expertise. It follows that a large set of studies from the four nations have investigated whether knowledge about individuals with exceptional conditions, together with the skills needed to intervene effectively, contribute to attitude formation (e.g., Aksamit 1990; Beirne et al. 2000; D'Alonzo et al. 1997; McLeskey and Waldron 2002; Shade and Stewart 2001).

In one study conducted across 45 American states, the respondents reported feeling unprepared to meet the needs of students with disabilities (Lombard et al. 1998). Another survey of American teachers (Futrell et al. 2003) found 80% of the classroom teachers feeling unprepared to teach diverse learners. In two separate surveys of more than 1000 teachers in Nova Scotia (Edmunds 2003; Edmunds et al. 2000), 80% of the respondents felt that they did not have adequate professional training for inclusion. In British Columbia, more than 40% of respondents to a survey said that they were professionally unprepared to teach students with special needs (Naylor 2004). Pudlas (2003) suggests that “many teachers currently in the public system have not had formal education in working with students with special needs” (p. 43).

Reports from Australia claim that young teachers are not trained effectively to work with students with special needs (Milton and Rohl 1999). In an OECD study, more than 60% of Australian teachers wanted more development than they received (OECD 2009).

26.7.1 Experience

A further group of studies has investigated whether experience with individuals with disabilities changes attitudes. Experience encompasses diverse activities: contact with persons with disabilities; classroom situations that involve including students with disabilities; and qualifications dealing with exceptionality, special education, and inclusion. Active experience of inclusion, which entails direct contact with people with disabilities, the dynamic of students' co-existence in schools, and the distinctive demands of working with students with special needs, seems to be consistently linked to teachers' positive attitudes. In the United States, Villa et al. (1996) noted that teacher commitment often emerges at the end of the implementation cycle, after the teachers have gained mastery of the professional expertise needed to implement inclusive programs. When Michael Giangreco and his team (1993) studied 19 teachers who had students with severe disabilities in their classrooms, the investigators concluded that 17 of the teachers underwent a transformation from initial negative reactions to the placement of these children to a more positive viewpoint. Stoiber et al. (1998) found that teachers with experiences in teaching children with disabilities were more positive than teachers without such experience. Findings in Canada (Bunch et al. 1997; Pudlas 2003) and England (Avramidis et al. 2000) lean in the same direction.

Whether special education courses and inservice teacher training yield significant differences in attitudes is moot. However, studies conducted in the United States (Buell et al. 1999; Dickens-Smith 1995; Van Reusen et al. 2001) in Australia (Center and Ward 1987) and the UK (Avramidis et al. 2000) tend toward the view that special education qualifications acquired from preservice or inservice courses are associated with less resistance to inclusive education. For example, after participating in inservice training on inclusion, Chicago special and general education teachers showed more favorable attitudes, particularly in the need for all teachers and administrators to become involved (Dickens-Smith 1995).

26.7.2 Teachers' Preferred Level for Instruction

Only a few studies have used academic major as a variable. More research is available regarding teachers' preferred level of instruction and the differences between elementary and secondary personnel. Winzer and Mazurek (2007) assessed the attitudes of Canadian teacher candidates and found small but statistically significant

differences related to the chosen academic major. Students pursuing science or math were less enthusiastic about inclusive practices than were their peers in English and the fine arts. In England, Philip Garner (2000a) used a Likert-type attitude scale in one secondary school. Of the three core subjects- English, science, and math- he found teachers of English to be most positive about integration, teachers of science the least. However, when the Taverner research team (1997) examined the differences among teachers of English and mathematics in the UK, no significant differences were found among subject disciplines. Rather, the findings suggested that the number of years of service was more important than subject discipline in influencing attitudes toward integration.

Elementary and secondary teachers tend to differ on their views about inclusion. Compared to their peers in elementary classrooms, secondary teachers tend to be less positively disposed, less accepting of students with disabilities in their classrooms, more reluctant in regard to the kinds and numbers of accommodations made, and less likely to take extra training (Bunch et al. 1997; Savage and Wienke 1989). Teachers of older students tend to be more concerned about subject matter and less about individual child differences. As an example, teachers in British Columbia felt that when too many students with disabilities were placed in classes it reduced their capacity to meet students' needs and forced changes in pedagogical styles which they considered inappropriate for classes at the secondary level (Naylor 2003).

26.8 Discussion and Implications

As schools reform to accommodate the diverse needs of all students, the attitudes of general education personnel take on substantial significance. Teachers are not unlikely allies in the shift toward inclusive schooling and to say that teachers and their attitudes serve as the primary source of tension would be to simplify matters. Nevertheless, much evidence supports the notion that "teachers are the rock on which educational reforms flounder" (Adams and Chen 1992, p. 4). Attitudes toward students with disabilities and an acceptance of the principles of inclusion appear to have important correlates with actual classroom practice. It follows that much research has been directed toward the attitudes and beliefs of teachers and their responsibilities for students in inclusive settings.

Despite the intersection of multiple policy and micro-political processes, and different styles of organization, governance, and finance in the four nations under study, this review of the literature found readily apparent parallels in teacher attitudes. In general, teachers' concerns about inclusive schooling transcend national differences based on in definitions, identification, eligibility, legislation, teacher training, and so on.

Most teachers today agree with the movement toward inclusion when it is presented as a social and educational ideology or principle; however, the policy is not entirely uncontested. Despite decades of advocacy for reform, a rich literature addressing the moral and ethical importance, and a plethora of work on the practical

value, teachers are often a skeptical audience. In each country, and over time, a proportion of classroom teachers articulate concerns about the tenets of the inclusive movement and see a clear demarcation between inclusion as a philosophy and the inclusive school in which the philosophy is to be realized. Inclusive schooling situates teachers in an uneasy space between the modernist concepts of school reform and the classrooms they experience daily. For some, the essential core of the old and traditional paradigms remain. A number appear to be at a crossroads in terms of the preferred model of service delivery: they dispute the notion that inclusion can be a universal template to provide the one and only solution to the dilemma of difference. Teachers may well be sympathetic to the cultural, social, and political issues that surround inclusive education but practical considerations resonate. Specific concerns include teacher preparedness, increased workloads, added stress, the amount of individualized time children with special needs might require, the learning of typically developing students, resources, and preparation and professional development.

Studies on teacher attitudes related to acceptance/rejection issues are widely criticized because of the data elicited and because of the variability that exists among individuals with the same disability label. Nevertheless, teachers seem to regard students with disabilities in the context of procedural classroom concerns. This makes their attitudes toward the inclusion of different types of special needs an important parameter. In fact, the disability categories of actual students may represent a more potent and parsimonious predictor of quality education than do opinions regarding the abstract concept of inclusion because student-teacher interactions differentially impact students' educational experiences and opportunities (Cook 2001).

For those who work and advocate for students with behavior disorders, inclusion presents an enormous challenge. Not only are these students rated the least accepted and the most negatively stereotyped of all exceptionalities, but they are often cited as exemplars of the times when inclusion is not appropriate. Then, if students served in general classrooms demonstrate problematic behavior that reduces the effectiveness of a teacher's instruction, teachers are likely to form relatively negative attitudes toward them (Cook et al. 2000). In the US, Webber and Scheuermann (1997) described a "growing attitude of vengeance" toward children who disrupt the classroom (p. 168). In England, Garner (2000a) observed that "In looking at the recent history of developments regarding EBD pupils in schools in England it is difficult not to assume an air of resignation and despondency" (p. 2).

Experience in inclusive settings appears to create positive attitudes. This may occur because teachers are forced to resolve practical problems in their everyday teaching practice or because they felt they can make a difference and influence the educational outcomes for children with special needs (Buell et al. 1999; Leatherman and Niemyer 2005; Stoiber et al. 1998). Secondary level teachers tend to be less accepting than others of students with disabilities in general classrooms (Savage and Wienke 1989). Secondary personnel are trained as content specialists and an emphasis on subject matter affiliation is generally assumed to be less compatible with inclusion than is a focus on student development. Some teachers may feel uncomfortable with adapted curricula; others may feel that the techniques

promoting inclusion interfere with the demand for extensive coverage or may view the presence of students with disabilities in a classroom is a problem from the practical point of managing class activity (Bulgren and Lenz 1996; Clough and Lindsay 1991; Scanlon et al. 1996).

A body of research suggests that practitioners are struggling in their efforts to include students with disabilities. Many teachers seem unprepared to comply with the broad array of requirements, are minimally equipped to provide for those not responding to group instruction, do not possess the breadth of knowledge or the competencies to meet the individual needs of students with disabilities, express feelings of inadequacy in dealing with some children, and feel overwhelmed with the responsibility of teaching students with disabilities. Despite earnest applications, even sensitive and well-committed teachers can claim that the pressures prevailing in modern schools and their lack of preparation precludes the implementation of effective inclusive practice. It follows that a central concern for teachers is the sense that their work is jeopardized by a lack of professional development realistically geared toward supporting inclusive schooling. Because it is unreasonable to expect teacher behavior to change without the provision of training or professional development, appropriate staff development may be one of the keys to the success of inclusion (Dickens-Smith 1995; Lanier and Lanier 1996). Training not only enhances positive attitudes, but promotes a willingness to accept students with disabilities (D'Alonzo et al. 1997; Lanier and Lanier 1996; McLeskey and Waldron 2002; Shade and Stewart 2001).

26.9 Conclusion

The four nations discussed all subscribe to a common philosophy in the education of students with disabilities, manifest in a consistent and sustained movement toward greater access to general environments for such students. In these efforts, general classroom teachers are central because their professional attitudes act to facilitate or constrain the implementation of policies. Little wonder that the way in which teachers conceptualize the reform agenda and their attitudes toward students with disabilities have been the subject of intense research interest.

This study of teacher attitudes in four western nations implicitly celebrates the centrality of teachers in the inclusive enterprise; explicitly, it pinpoints some of the dissonances between teacher attitudes and the reform movement. It is noteworthy that, over time, attitudes have mellowed and teachers demonstrate a growing acceptance of the underlying principles of inclusive schooling linked to widened understandings of the need to provide all students with the most equitable education. However, even as teachers ponder the moral question of equal access, they consider it in the frame of their own classrooms. Their attitudes toward inclusion may be mediated by perceptions of the time and effort necessary for implementation and based on what they perceive to be the benefits for students with disabilities and for other students. It follows that the continuing momentum of the inclusive reform will

depend in some way on further research to detect the factors that influence teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and expectations in order to identify ways to transform the thinking of all teachers.

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Chapter 27

Critical Cosmopolitan Literacies: Students' Lived Experience in a Canadian Offshore School in Hong Kong



Zheng Zhang

Abstract This chapter adopted the lens of critical cosmopolitan literacies and focused on students' literacy learning experience and identity formation in the transnational education space. This chapter is undergirded by the theoretical lens of critical cosmopolitan literacies in order to answer the research questions. Interview data demonstrated how narrowly defined local and transnational expectations on academic excellence affected students' bodies and identities as docile and successful global citizens. Students appraised their literacy teachers' critically oriented pedagogies that nurture critical meaning makers. However, though teachers in the era of changes should possess critical capacities to address the transnational issues and challenges, educational policies define what teachers could actualize in class from a narrowly local, regional and national epistemic standpoint. Such a global trend of neoliberal accountability has been generalized across borders and affected students' literacy practices and identity construction.

27.1 Context

There has been a rapid growth of transnational education (i.e., education delivered by an institution from one country to students located in another) around the globe. Canada has also elevated the priority level of transnational education in its international education strategy when an increasing number of Canadian educational institutions have exported educational services such as curriculum licensing to Canadian offshore schools around the world (Government of Canada 2019). In the context of China, the number of Canadian offshore schools that provide Canadian curricula rose from 48 programs in 2011 to 90 as of August 2020 (CICIC 2020). Nevertheless, at a time when transnational education activities are high, there is limited knowledge about students' experiences in these transnational education programs.

Z. Zhang (✉)

Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON, Canada

e-mail: zzhan58@uwo.ca

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_27

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Scholars also commented on the pressing need of field-based research to inform practices of applying cosmopolitan approaches to education (e.g., Hansen 2014). Exploring the dynamic variations of curricular counterpoints to my previous studies of Canadian transnational education programs in Mainland China and Macau (e.g., Zhang and Heydon 2015; Zhang 2019a, b), in 2014, I conducted another case study in a Canadian offshore school in Hong Kong that combined Ontario and IB curricula. To contribute to the emerging literature on students' lived experience (e.g., Zhang and Heydon 2014; Zhang 2019a), this chapter adopted the lens of critical cosmopolitan literacies and focused on students' literacy learning experience and identity formation in the transnational education space. The research questions are: How did students perceive their literacy learning and identity construction in the Canadian offshore school in Hong Kong? What are the pedagogical and curricular implications for literacy education in transnational education programs?

27.2 Theoretical Lens: Critical Cosmopolitan Literacies

This chapter is undergirded by the theoretical lens of critical cosmopolitan literacies in order to answer the research questions. *Cosmopolitan* was referred to *citizen of the cosmos* back in the fourth century B.C. (Appiah 2006). Harper et al. (2010) suggested a definition of cosmopolitanism as a “disposition or sensibility or philosophy that promotes peaceful co-existence, harmony, cultural exchange and social progress through an enlarged sense of obligation and responsibility to those within but particularly outside of local and national boundaries” (p. 6). Existent studies have documented emerging attempts to apply cosmopolitan approaches to education (e.g., Bean and Dunkerly-Bean 2015; Hansen 2008; Hull and Stornaiuolo 2014; Zhang 2019a). Rizvi (2014) contended that cosmopolitan education moves beyond the nation-states' confinements. Cosmopolitan education concerns critically engaging and creating “spaces for new cultural and social configurations reflective of the intensifying intermingling of people, ideas, and activities the world over” (Hansen, p. 294). Cosmopolitan literacy practices that involve multiple modes and media were also documented in the emerging literature (e.g., Hull and Stornaiuolo 2014; Luke 2003; Zhang 2019b). The focuses on respectful imagining of foreign others and genuine openness to the global others denote obligations to diverse others through meaning making practices (e.g., Bean and Dunkerly-Bean 2015).

The components of effecting ethical, societal changes and local and global betterment are also salient in the discussion of cosmopolitan education. Luke (2003) pointed to the necessity for education to acknowledge the difference between “knowledge and its ethical applications in social and cultural action” in order to build “cosmopolitan world views and identities” (p. 21). A decade ago, Hamilton and Clandinin (2010) called for teaching and teacher education alternatives undergirded by a critical cosmopolitanism. A critical cosmopolitan education model could enable transnational education learners' creative negotiation of differences and lead to their “understanding and caring for global others, while promoting

equity” (Hawkins 2014, p. 108). Bean and Dunkerly-Bean (2015) compared critical literacy and cosmopolitan critical literacy and stated that the former addresses local social inequality/injustice and the consequences while the latter focuses on global human rights and the impacts of “actions in one part of the world resonating throughout the globe” (p. 49). Dunkerly-Bean et al.’s (2014) study relates the potential of critical cosmopolitan literacy projects to enhance students’ willingness to understand the critical local/global issues and act on injustices. Darwin and Norton (n.d.) also foregrounded a critical cosmopolitan approach that could enable learners to master the rules, genres, and multimodal characteristics appropriate for specific communicative contexts, creatively traverse multiple linguistic and representational resources, interrogate inequalities and ethical issues in representations, and reconfigure cross-border spaces for the local and global good.

In line with the lens of critical cosmopolitan literacies, in this chapter, identity is conceived as dynamically changing effects instead of static presence. Aoki (1993) perceived identities as “ongoing effects of our becomings in difference” (p. 260). Drawing on postmodern and post-structural concerns, Toohey and Norton (2010) pointed to the contingency, hybridity, and dynamics of language learners’ identities. To quote them, “identities are complex, multilayered, often hybrid, sometimes imagined, and developed through activity by and for individuals in many social fields” (p. 178). Toohey and Norton foregrounded the multiple identities of language learners as positioned differently by discourses and practices. Bean and Dunkerly-Bean (2015) also contended that a cosmopolitan perception of literacy shifts from a monolithic view of literacy learners as being the same to a view of fluid identities. They argued that the former view denies the possibilities for literacy learners to be “a local resident and a transnational or global worker; a national and multinational citizen; a local consumer/producer and a global consumer/producer; a community member fluent in the local literacy practices, but also a global worker/citizen/consumer who has or needs multiliterate, multilingual, multimodal skills and abilities” (p. 49).

27.3 Research Design

Eleven Grade 11 students participated in the study (See Table 27.1 for participant profile with “heritage language” marked as HL). They came from two secondary school A-level English classes: Mr. Scott’s and Mr. Harris’ classes. All student participants preferred to be interviewed in English. The length of their registration at the school ranges from 1 to 13 years. Eight students expressed parental choices as the main reason why they attended the school (Aaron, Ken, Yoyo, Tina, Julie, Andy, Allen, and Daniel). Other students identified that their own preference, the school’s reputation, its IB program, the exposure to diverse cultures, or their parents’ prior experiences in North America motivated them to choose the Canadian school in Hong Kong. I employed an opportunistic sampling approach. The school and the two teachers invited me to introduce the nature of the study to the students. Interested

Table 27.1 Profile of Student Participants

Name	Class	Length of time at the school	Languages that Students know	Self-expressed identity
Aaron	Mr. Harris' Class	13 years	Cantonese (HL), English, Mandarin	Hong Konger
Ken	Mr. Harris' Class	12 years	Cantonese (HL), English	Ethnically from Hong Kong; Holding a Canadian passport
Katie	Mr. Harris' Class	1 year	English (HL), Mandarin	Australian
Yoyo	Mr. Scott's Class	13 years	Cantonese (HL), English, Mandarin	Hong Konger
Andy	Mr. Scott's Class	Unknown	English, Cantonese	Chinese
Tina	Mr. Scott's Class	4 years	Cantonese (HL), English, Mandarin	Chinese; Holding a Canadian passport
Julie	Mr. Scott's Class	1 year	English (main language), Mandarin	Growing up in Singapore; Holding an Australian passport
Kathy	Mr. Scott's Class	3 years	Spanish (HL), Mandarin, Hebrew, French	Born in Argentina and later moved to China
Jack	Mr. Scott's Class	4 years	Mandarin (HL), English, Cantonese, French	Chinese
Allen	Mr. Scott's Class	3 years	English (HL), Mandarin, Cantonese	Hong Kong; Mixed-race
Daniel	Mr. Scott's Class	2 years	English, Mandarin (HL), French	Asian Chinese; Holding a Canadian passport

students signed consent forms to share their self-selected assignments, join the one-on-one interviews, and for me to observe their interactions in class. Student participants are ethnically diverse and are fluent in multiple languages, as is illustrated in Table 27.1.

This chapter is situated in a bigger case study that investigated the English and Mandarin literacy curricula of the Canadian offshore school, teachers' actualization of the curricula, and students' lived experience. Given the focus on students' lived experience, the major data sources for this chapter include students' interview data and their shared assignments.

Adopting a postmodern interviewing approach (Gubrium and Holstein 2003), I argue that the understanding of the curricular "reality" should be partially constructed through self-reflexivity (See also Doll 1993; Pinar et al. 2008; Slattery 2006). Therefore, methodologically, interviewing in this study accentuated students' agency and attended to their "deliberate, discursive reflection on experience and identity construction" within a particular curricular landscape (Carlson 1992, p. 241). After a 3-month observation of students' and teachers' in-class interactions, the postmodern interviewing of students' lived experience attended to both personal and social conditions (Connelly and Clandinin 1990), particularly the pull-and-push

impacts of localization and globalization that shaped these students' literacy learning experience and identity formation.

While analysing students' interview data, I constantly revisited their shared assignments, curricular documents, policymaker and teacher interviews, and class observations. This case study was intended to be largely "interpretive" (Merriam 1998, p. 38) by developing categories that could help conceptualize the dimensions of students' lived experience in a Canadian offshore school in Hongkong. The data analysis involved category construction and theory development (Merriam 1998) for critically oriented cosmopolitan literacies. The following themes were deductively developed based on the theoretical underpinning of critical cosmopolitan literacies: appreciating diversity, dynamic identity construction, critically engaging with media and texts, and interacting the local and the transnational.

27.4 Findings

27.4.1 *Appreciation of the Cultural and Linguistic Diversity & Dynamic Identity Construction*

Six students shared that they enjoyed the school's cultural and linguistic diversity (Katie, Yoyo, Tina, Julie, Allen, and Daniel). Katie expressed in the interview,

Like Hong Kong is an international city as well, so even though at school... and even actually some kids talk Cantonese, or you hear the staff speaking to each other in Cantonese, and even though I don't understand it, I really appreciate the fact that we have that diversity.

Tina, Kathy, and Julie commended that the school's diversity enabled them to be more open-minded and to see the world in different ways. Allen mentioned that the school's diverse environment well prepared him for the "internationally minded workplace". Yoyo thought likewise because she would know how to interact and communicate with people from diverse backgrounds for her future career path in business.

Students appreciated the diverse learning opportunities offered by the school. Aaron, Katie, and Yoyo enjoyed the wide range of subjects that students could learn at the school for their different career paths. When asked about things that students thought might be missing at the school, students expressed various ideas: a psychology course (Tina), a creative writing component as world literature writers (Aaron), and computer science (Jack). Echoing most other students, Ken did not see anything that was not covered in the school's curriculum because "you learn so much stuff and.... You have massive amount of information you have to process every day".

As is illustrated in Table 27.1, students variously defined their identities based on their own ethnical, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Students such as Julie, Kathy, and Allen who had cross-cultural experiences also expressed dynamic construction of identities and even challenges in defining their identities. Their imagined future "memberships" such as where to go physically for higher education,

life, and career were associated with the U.S. (Aaron, Andy, Kathy, Allen, and Daniel), Canada (Andy and Tina), the U.K. (Yoyo and Jack), Australia (Julie), and Europe (Kathy). Identifying themselves as cross-border travellers, transnational workers, or multinational citizens, the students expressed their global mindset and even their intentions to make an impact locally and globally in the future. In the interviews, some students reasoned what they meant by being global or being a global citizen. Aaron remarked,

With being global, I think that kind of means being open-minded to everything. You're willing to accept all views, and you kind of let that influence how you think. And I think that's incredibly important because whenever you're considering a conclusion or how you want to think or what you want to be when you grow up, you have to consider all influences, or else you're being very biased. And so by being global, I kind of try my best to understand how different people around the world would think. And so hopefully I can make more conscious decisions through that.

Students appreciated the school's unique cultural and linguistic materiality that was different from the local Hong Kong context. Embedded in various cross-border spaces that the students traversed in their life and the school's overseas trips, individual students also addressed plurality and fluidity in their identity construction.

27.4.2 *Critical Engagement with Media and Texts*

Students such as Ken, Aaron, Katie, Tina, Kathy, Jack, Daniel, and Yoyo commended that the school's technological strengths and the applications that were made accessible by the school allowed them to be collaborative learners (e.g., through Google Drive) and better media users. For example, in their presentations about *Oryx & Crake* (Atwood 2009) that was read in Mr. Harris' class, Ken, Aaron, and Katie incorporated news articles, photos, cartoons, sketches, charts, and figures to elaborate on their various arguments on wealth gap, capitalism, and inequality (Aaron), dictatorship and subjectivity of morality (Ken), and sexuality and social reasonability (Katie). However, given the levels of students' media engagement in this type of schoolwork, students were more like media consumers while the curricular and assessment focuses were placed on students' oral literacies. Given their years of interactions at the school, students such as Aaron, Julie, Jack, and Kathy also expressed their understanding of the school's stress on the use of multimedia to create effective presentations and for better audience engagement. Aaron communicated that compared with local public schools that might emphasize more on reading and writing, this school's multimedia focus enabled students to create meaning in the ways how the world works. Aaron appraised the potential impacts of multimedia because he felt that "you can affect things not only through your writing or through your speaking, but you can also do things through, visual presentations, even films."

There were opportunities for creative writing. Mr. Harris asked students to rewrite a passage from *Oryx & Crake* (Atwood 2009), drawing on the students' own

past life as a form of self-reflection and self-actualisation. Students such as Aaron expressed that creative writing is a good way to understand more about themselves and develop “a whole person” (Aaron). Aaron’s rewriting mirrors the wealth gap that he observed in various parts of Hong Kong. Ken mimicked a conversation between his parents and him about the media-portrayed unknown world replete with pollution, censorship, and limited freedom of speech. Depicting her former life experience in Australia, Katie’s passages reveal her puzzlement in the new world of Hong Kong. As she wrote, “Too much technology, too much power, too many deals, too many opportunities of every kind. And too much excitement and enthusiasm and bad faith.”

The class observation data show that both English teachers Mr. Scott and Mr. Harris explicitly expected students to reflect on sociopolitical issues such as power and social justice. Students appreciated the opportunities provided by the school to take action and possibly effect social changes. Julie said that the school tried to implement the idea of nurturing responsible global citizens and focus on how students could take what they learn at the school into the real world. She felt her English teacher Mr. Scott pushed her to see different perspectives of things, which is evident in her opinion editorial on how the Disney movie *Pocahontas* projects white supremacy over lands that belonged to the Native Americans. Both Julie and Kathy concurred that in Mr. Scott’s class, students were asked to analyze media and texts from critical theory or a Marxist perspective and bring real-life situations into meaning making. Kathy said the feminist theory and the Marxist theory opened her mind and affected how she saw things. Such initiatives are in line with critical literacy education (e.g., Bean and Harper 2006; Lewison et al. 2002) and Lewison et al.’s (2002) advocacy of “using language to exercise power to enhance everyday life” (p. 384).

In Mr. Scott’s classes, the students designed opinion editorials based on their viewing of Disney or Western movies. For their opinion editorials, students provided a summary about their selected newspapers or magazines to publish their editorials, their envisioned readers/viewers, the modes and rhetoric that they used to engage the readers/viewers, the main argument, theoretical perspectives that they adopted for the writing, and the purpose of writing (e.g., to raise awareness or call to action). In these assignments, the students questioned social inequity (Aaron and Ken), environmental risks (Aaron), stereotypes of the others (Ken), the socially constructed morality and sexuality (Katie), capitalist exploitation (Daniel), colonization (Allen and Julie) and marginalized Native Americans (Julie), and gender expectations and stereotypes (Kathy and Jack). The presentations showcased students’ critical consciousness of what is happening in their lifeworld and their advocacy for underprivileged people. For instance, Daniel focused on Marxism in his opinion editorial on Disney movie *Planes*. He related to his observation of class segregation in different areas of Hong Kong. Tina intended to raise readers’ awareness of the prominent rape culture in her opinion editorial about the movie *Boys don’t Cry*. She used Freud’s psychoanalytic theory to analyze *The Little Mermaid* and commented that children do not have to change for the people they love. As she wrote, “it’s fairly adequate to be a ‘part of *this* world’”. The choices of topics were

rooted in her interest in philosophy and psychology and her future academic paths as a clinical or criminal psychologist. In Yoyo's Disney opinion editorial, she focused on the hidden agenda of *The Little Mermaid* in constructing narrow representations, submissive roles, and an inescapable power matrix. She conversed in the interview that her purpose was to "argue for something", "raise awareness", and "call to action". When invited to elaborate on "call to action", Yoyo said,

I guess if, because I come from a privileged family so if I follow through the system I'd probably become somewhere similar, because right now the system says the proletariat are being exploited. So, if I become someone with power in the future I guess, then I can try and make the system more beneficial towards them.

Yoyo also commented that the school exposed students to some of these ideas and she also saw real-life examples happening, which further shaped her ideas in meaning making. She said that being at the school for 13 years, she had been taught to "always question the reliability of sources". Kathy's opinion editorial used the feminist perspective and addressed gender expectations. She reasoned that the purpose of her writing was to affect readers' action and help them "make an impact on the world". She thus described her meaning making:

So, for example, here I'm talking about feminism, primarily, the way it's described, the way it says, like, teaching her, educating her, teaching her right from wrong, like, gender expectations, these specific words, like exploitation and things like that, it's challenging these views and that's what grasps the attention of someone and that's, like, the tick in their mind that will make them change. And it'll stay in their mind and that's what will influence their actions. And from there they'll hopefully make the world a better place.

Aaron's presentation addressed unfettered capitalism, the lack of interclass conscience, and a major political movement in Hong Kong. Aaron found the wealth gap was prevalent in *Oryx & Crake* (Atwood 2009) but he didn't really know the intricacies of the wealth gap in Hong Kong though growing up there. As Aaron shared in the interview, "So I felt like the issue was so close to home, but at the same time, I was kind of blind to it. So in that way, it also felt far away. Because when you talk about wealth gap, usually you think about places like in Africa or less developed countries". Aaron felt that for people in Mr. Harris' class, "they have the responsibility to know this. And again, I talked about social attitudes. The first step to changing something is to acknowledge it, so by kind of talking to people who can effect change because live here." Connecting the wealth gap in Hong Kong to the political movement, Aaron accentuated that "everyone, including the poor, should have a voice". When addressing the banding system in the local public schools, Aaron said that the funding and assets in Band 3 schools for example were far less than in Band 1 top schools. Though acknowledging the merit-based banding system, Aaron also mentioned that socioeconomic factors might also influence how students perform in school and he explicitly expressed that changes should be made in "meritocracy" to "provide equal education to everyone". Ken's presentation in Mr. Harris' class focused on dictatorship, morality, ethics, and the interrogation of stereotypes of mainland Chinese people. He said that he lived closer to the China-Hong Kong border and were more exposed to mainland Chinese people than his peers.

Envisioning himself to be a global citizen, Ken shared, “in a social context when I’m trying to meet new people and it’s just easier for me to make conversations with them and try to understand them because growing up I was exposed to so many different people and their behaviours.”

The school organized overseas trips and students shared positive influences from these trips. Ken enjoyed the overseas travelling opportunities that he saw as “a real privilege” to open students’ eyes through “interacting with different cultures” and “seeing different people and seeing how they live”. Katie went to India, teaching local kids English and helping with the local facilities. She reflected on the change that she could have made through that initiative:

When you think about how many children live in third world countries, I mean, it’s not a very big change. But the fact that we were able to help this woman, her kids, like it did make a difference, and I think it also encouraged all of us to go back. And like I can see myself doing service for a much longer period of time; like maybe taking a gap year and going back to a country like that...on my own.

Daniel’s action-oriented trip to Australia helped him learn a lot about the Aboriginal people, their struggles, and the threats to Australia’s environment. He concluded, “I think that awareness is the first step at least to bettering the world.” Aaron shared his volunteer English teaching experience in Myanmar as follows,

You kind of just learn how privileged you are, not necessarily because how little they have, but simply because you know you have more, but at the same time, you see them working extremely hard towards English proficiency. So it kind of motivates you to do the same.

After the trip, his peers also mobilized things through creating clubs to do fund raising, send over books, and help build school facilities. Julie echoed Aaron’s point about unlearning her own privilege through building parts of local schools and connecting with local people in Nepal and Vietnam. She said that interacting with people who were not as privileged made her appreciate what she had and want to give back and give other people the same chance. Though planning to go back to Australia for her higher education, she said she would come back to Asia to do humanitarian work. To sum up, findings relate students’ awareness of their agentive roles in effecting local and global betterment through meaning making and also actions in the overseas trips.

27.4.3 Interactions and Tensions Between the Local and the Global

Interview data illustrated students’ insecurity (Aaron) or stress (Julie) incurred by the school’s and the IB curriculum’s emphases on academic excellence. Some students concurred on IB’s curricular focus on academic literacies (written and oral representations) (Aaron and Kathy). Daniel perceived the IB curriculum as academically rigorous and admitted that there was more pressure from the IB curriculum than from the Ontario secondary school curriculum. When choosing B-level

over A-level Mandarin classes, he said, B-level class is less about critical thinking and less intensive than A-level, therefore, easier to get a decent score. Julie observed a contradiction in the IB curriculum expectation of creating well-rounded students while overloading students with academic requirements. She said,

Because you get so overloaded you don't have time for those social interactions, or like the sports or the arts. You become so focused on getting good grades. It's like no, I am not going to go out and play sport, I am not going to go out and socialise, I have to do this. It's like I have to study. It kind of restricts you from becoming that person as well, especially if you have other things you want to be doing. To a point academics takes over that as well and limits you to that.

When asked whether good grades are important, Allen said that the teachers talked a lot about grades and drilled students on that. Jack, for example, expressed that his literacy practices were more connected to how to get decent scores than to his outside-of-school interests. Later in our interview discussion, Jack conversed,

I personally think that like right now school in general is making students a little more or maybe too dependent on whatever the teacher or the curriculum tells them. It's like people can't think for themselves anymore. Like I do what the school tells me to do and I don't actually think about what I want to do or I like to do or what I want to do in the future so I think that's the biggest danger of school.

Few data show the interactions between the Mandarin and English teaching and curricula, however, students communicated about the dynamic of the local and global languages at school. Katie expressed how much she liked Mandarin as a language as it is “beautiful and there is always rhythm to it and it's nice to listen to”. Katie and Yoyo considered Mandarin as useful for their future career opportunities. Students such as Aaron and Andy talked about the impacts of English upon their identities as a dominant language. Though self-identified as Chinese, Andy sort of regretted that he didn't make enough efforts to learn Chinese. He shared, “I can't even read the signs in my own hometown”. Aaron said, “I do feel whitewashed to some extent” because English is his dominant language, however, over the years, he started to see the importance of learning Mandarin and Cantonese.

Students also addressed the distinctive delivery models in English and Mandarin literacy classes. Students such as Aaron, Kathy, Allen, and Andy shared that because of their lower proficiency levels in Mandarin, they felt that students and Mandarin teachers did not bring up “insightful discussion” (Aaron) (e.g., author choices and how things are done to create meaning) as often as they do in English literacy classes. Aaron, Kathy, and Julie observed that the A-level English curriculum and teachers expected students to use language to effect social changes. To quote Aaron,

From our [English] curriculum, we do learn that everyone can effect social change because again, how you think and how you act does have impacts beyond that of your borders. Or, like, whether you choose to empathise with someone or whether you choose to talk about something, like, an inequity, that does affect people because you move people, or you mobilise people through words.

However, the B-level Mandarin second language classes that these student participants experienced were not necessarily addressing that. As Julie commented,

In Chinese, well especially in my class, we really don't talk about that at all, that has never come across in a single class, how Chinese is a beautiful...how it's so useful and how it can be moved, how it can be used to change the world. It's something we don't talk about at all.

Given the students' facility with Mandarin, some of them such as Yoyo and Allen felt that they were more technical but less confident in Mandarin learning. Registered in B-level Mandarin class, Yoyo thought that Mandarin classes have specific content to cover and seemed to be more content-focused and teacher-centered. Julie agreed that her Mandarin class was less interactive than Mr. Scott's English class. Echoing Kathy, Aaron, Andy, Julie, Daniel, and Yoyo, Katie also found that the A-level English classes were not so much focusing on the actual language itself but more about the meaning behind the language and kind of the ideas that the writers have used to construct the texts. In contrast, in the Mandarin second language classes, because students didn't really understand the language yet, the focuses were placed on the sentence structures, grammar, and the vocabulary. Katie recalled doing exercises around memorization in her Mandarin class:

We memorise a passage and then the teacher takes out certain words and we have to fill it in, and every time she does that I keep asking her why we're doing it? Like it is something that's a bit foreign to me, and... like what's this for? Like it's not going to help us in our IB exam, so I think. But I guess it is teaching us memorisation, which in some context, that is skill, but I haven't really been exposed to that very much.

However, different from his peers, Ken experienced both A-level and B-level Mandarin classes. Addressing the vast differences in these Mandarin courses, he said that the B-level Mandarin classes were for Mandarin as second language learners and A-level classes were hard to get in and normally only for native Chinese speakers. However, he didn't see much difference in A-level English and Mandarin classes with regard to pedagogy and in-class interaction. He said in the A-level Mandarin classes, they read books such as *The Kite Runner* (translated version) and also discussed about how to make the world a better place.

To sum up, the school's focus on academic excellence, students' different facilities with English and Mandarin, the dominance of English in the school curriculum, and the limited interactions between English and Mandarin teaching and curricula to certain extent constrained the expansive literacy and identity options for the multicultural and multilingual students.

27.5 Discussion and Conclusions

Students' oral presentations in Mr. Harris' class and students' opinion editorials in Mr. Scott's characterize what Hull and Stornaiuolo (2014) described as cosmopolitan literacy practices to communicate with and for diverse others. The opinion editorials in particular are "audience oriented" and students' envisioned readership is "distant and diverse" (p. 38). However, different from Hull and Stornaiuolo's cosmopolitan literacy practices, these students' meaning making moves beyond

engaging readers and viewers and nurturing self- and other-oriented understanding. They critically interrogated text construction, ideologically biased content in textbooks and Disney movies, which showcases students' awareness to challenge their conceptions of stereotyped others, inequality in various aspects, and how they could use languages to effect changes. Further, in line with the observation data of English classes, in the students' interview data, there were salient examples of critical examination of unethical actions or unequal mechanisms locally and globally. Students' agentic actions of effecting ethical changes were evident in these students' practices in the overseas trips. Their awareness of how their composing would make a difference among their audience and readers is also visible through interview data and shared assignments. Pertaining findings illuminate a critical cosmopolitan perspective of curriculum-making and teacher education that involves policymakers, literacy teachers, and students to move beyond the mere "benevolent recognition" (Hamilton and Clandinin 2010, p. 1228) and tolerance of differences. Rizvi (2009) stated that cosmopolitanism is best seen as "an ethical attitude towards global connectedness" (p. 262). Accordingly, critical cosmopolitan literacies in cross-border education contexts shall attend to teachers' and students' "emotional responses to global issues, concern with global ethics based on shared values, putting the non-national interest before the national interest" (Delanty 2012, p. 44). Such an initiative could potentially help home- and host-country teachers and students in transnational education develop a critical, collective consciousness of how schools in cross-border contexts can "challenge the tyranny" of power and privilege associated with a certain language, pedagogy, or curriculum (Merryfield 2000, p. 441). With regard to implications for literacy teacher education in globalized contexts where educators traverse across boundaries, such a critically oriented cosmopolitan approach could foster home- and host-country teachers' joint commitment to addressing persistent social inequities" (Stornaiuolo 2016, p. 512).

Interview data also show how narrowly defined local and transnational expectations on academic excellence affected students' bodies and identities as docile and successful global citizens (Albers et al. 2017). Students appraised their literacy teachers' critically oriented pedagogies that could nurture critical meaning makers. However, as Luke (2004) argued, though teachers in the era of changes should possess critical capacities to address the transnational issues and challenges, educational policies define what teachers could actualize in class from "a narrowly local, regional and national epistemic standpoint" (p. 1438). Such a global trend of neoliberal accountability has been generalized across borders and affected these transnational education students' literacy practices and identity construction (e.g., Luke 2011).

Data reveal limited interactions between English and Mandarin teaching and curricula at the school and English was reported by students as the dominant language at the school. Kenner and Ruby's (2013) multilingual syncretic curriculum acknowledges that linguistically diverse children operate in "simultaneous" instead of separate lifeworld (p. 397). Syncretic literacy practices could empower learners and

educators to create new literacy practices that are more than the sum of their parts. Canagarajah (2013) proposed a practice-based dialogical cosmopolitanism (p. 196), in which translinguals align disparate values for common goals through negotiation and collaboration to achieve community-building in diverse global contexts. I, therefore, argue that critical cosmopolitan literacies shall also accentuate learners' agentic roles in navigating the complex relations between the heritage and international languages and resisting "marginalized subject position" (Norton Peirce 1995, p. 16) in the face of the neoliberal favor of English and its language users.

I would like to accentuate a paradigm of an emergent curriculum (e.g., Heydon and Wang 2006) that envisions adults and learners as contributing members in cosmopolitan curriculum decision-making (Schubert 2008). The cosmopolitan literacies curriculum needs "pedagogical flexibility" (Vasudevan et al. 2014, p. 546) in order to recruit learners' pluralistic knowledge and meaning making in a variety of forms. Stornaiuolo and Thomas's (2018) study on youth's authoring resistance via digital media arts serves as a good example of emergent curriculum that is responsive to students' needs. Rich semiotic tools and resources were provided through collaborative inquiries for the youth to name various oppressions that were situated in their lived worlds and offer counternarratives about their alternative futures. In line with an elastic curriculum for cosmopolitan literacies, I also see the hopes offered by a flexible multimodal literacy assessment (See also Murphy 2015) that allows for dialogical conversations to engage learners' agency in experimenting, justifying, and critically reflecting upon various representational practices. In sum, conversations about curriculum decision-making, pedagogical practices, and assessment alternatives are not about "reaching consensus" (Rizvi and Beech 2017, p. 133), but collectively confronting the messiness in troubling hegemony in cultures, languages, knowledge systems, and modalities.

Methodologically, I adopted a postmodern stance while interviewing the youth. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) stated that in qualitative inquiries, "truth gives way to tentativeness" (p. 4). The postmodern conditions of qualitative research no longer consider research methods in the light of the scientific relationship between data and experience. Qualitative methods are more about a "ubiquitous way of constructing experience" (Gubrium & Holstein, p. 6). I, therefore, concur with Gubrium and Holstein about the crisis of representation in ethnographic inquiries and acknowledge the hurdle of transforming "the substance, process, and indigenous constitution" of transnational students' lived experience into authorial representation. For future studies in cross-border education spaces, I suggest that researchers be empirically reflexive of the representational devices that they employ to depict the "realities" in which the transnational students live.

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Chapter 28

A New Global Lens for Viewing Children's Literature



Matthew D. Zbaracki

Abstract Children's literature is a complex field and when examined globally there are many trends and issues that emerge. This is especially true when illustrations are the focus. From picture books to comics and graphic novels visuals in children's literature are being used more and more in innovative and creative ways. This chapter analyses the different trends in children's literature within the use of such visuals. Specially examined is the idea of visual literacy, the ability to interpret images found in a text, and the impact this has on children's reading. A new genre entitled 'blended narratives', a genre which incorporates elements of picture books, comics and graphic novels into a more traditional novel format, is also introduced showing how it is being found around the world. A plethora of titles from around the globe are showcased to exemplify the importance of how visual literacy and illustrations work in conjunction to tell a story and engage children in reading.

28.1 Visual Literacy

"Dad, you have to come see this" Oliver said as he was looking at one of his many books. A prep student in Australia (Kindergarten in the U.S.). Oliver had no idea how crucial this "looking" would be with what he had found in the book. While Oliver was showing me the book about the human body which had full colour illustrations and lift the flap sections with flaps within the flaps, it reaffirmed to this author how complex and visual children's literature has become. The development and growth in children's literature has put a huge focus on the visuals in books.

It is quite natural that children are able to focus on visuals so easily as is seen in this anecdote. As Piro (2002) noted nearly two decades ago, "Because of early responses to picture books as a first reading experience, children do not think only in written language but in visual image as well" (p. 128). This may explain Oliver's ease at learning about the human body and interacting with the flaps and visuals in his book. However, it also shows the necessity for educators to instruct children in

M. D. Zbaracki (✉)
Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: Matthew.Zbaracki@acu.edu.au

developing these skills. As Serafini et al. (2018) more recently discuss, “as the texts children and young adult readers encounter continue to evolve in both format, design, and content, literacy researchers and educators will need to conduct more extensive analyses of both multimodal ensembles themselves and the ways reader transact with these complex texts” (p. 318). The weight on the visual in children’s literature has gained a bigger and bigger emphasis globally and is something that must be taught to students throughout the school years to assist in comprehension as well as engagement.

The goal of this chapter is to provide background for the reader about visual literacy, how the visual has been found within children’s literature traditionally, and the global rise of visuals in children’s literature currently, as well as introduce a new genre that has a strong emphasis on the visual.

Winch et al. (2011) state, “the essence of visual literacy (and beware—many of the current usages are loose and rather muddy) is the making of meaning out of images that may be signs, objects, lines, circles, dots, tables, diagrams, charts, maps, comics, cartoons, numerals, varying mixtures of all the above, AND WORDS” (p. 620, emphasis theirs). It is important to note how complex their definition is, especially when one considers what defines the image being examined. While once children may have looked at a picture that supported the text, now the visual sometimes stands alone to tell the story or provide the information. If one were to continue to look, they would find a plethora of definitions. Williams (2007) notes, “although a concrete definition of visual literacy is elusive, at its core is an emphasis on the personal construction of meaning from any type of visual image” (p.637). What Williams states best here is that there are so many different formats that the visual image might take in that it is important to include a large range of options.

This validates what Winch et al. (2011) introduced in their definition. They support this idea of multiple formats, stating how, “students will increasingly interact with an overwhelming number and variety of visual images generated by television, motion pictures, personal computers, video games, and other technologies. As images continue to evolve as the dominant text of our society, students of all ages need the experience of reading such texts in order to be successful” (p. 642). The experiences children are provided are what will help them to become better readers and viewers of such diverse visual images. Serafini (2011) supports this as well, “visual images are drawn upon with increased frequency to make sense of one’s world often overshadowing the once dominant mode of written language” (p. 86). Thus the multiple forms of text in the definition show that written text does not have the sole importance it once did in previous definitions of literacy in general. Perhaps, though, it is not just one definition of visual literacy, or literacy in general that needs to be considered. Williams (2007) believes that the definition of literacy has expanded. “By shifting from the singular *literacy* to the plural *litteracies*, the idea of reading escapes the narrow confines of the printed text to encompass a wide range of cultural, technological, and visual elements” (p.636). One of the key ideas behind this is that culture plays a big role in the visual elements that readers or viewers are finding and how they are interpreted. This idea of culture within the visual helps identify that this is not a local issue, but rather, a global one.

Most importantly though, is that this issue of visual images and the teaching of them is something that must occur in classrooms worldwide. Many believe that more instruction of the skills needed to comprehend visual literacy is needed in classrooms Serafini (2011), Williams (2007), Unsworth et al. (2004). Serafini (2011) discusses this further, "This lack of pedagogical attention to visual images and visual systems of meaning presents serious challenges to teachers at a time when image has begun to dominate the lives of their students (p. 86). The stress on visual images is very much needed as Serafini contends and was also seen by Williams (2007) where she described that she did not see a focus for teaching how to engage and interpret visual images in classrooms at any age level. This is alarming because, as was mentioned earlier, children around the world are being exposed more and more to an abundance of visual images in almost any form of text they see. Unsworth et al. (2004) even discuss how the role of images in relation to print and meaning is increasing in their study examining how standardized tests are emphasizing visuals and visual literacy. In their study they found that while some of the test items "purport to address 'viewing skills' and refer directly and explicitly to images, it is possible that other items implicitly test respondents' understandings of images and image-text relations" (p. 47).

Probably the greatest idea that is relevant here is that while standardized testing, worldwide continues to grow and become more prevalent, the tests themselves are also including elements of visual literacy and visualization. Because of this, it must be emphasized that the visuals in children's literature continue to deserve focus and attention globally. Unsworth et al. (2004) also suggest that the increase in visual images in the standardized tests they looked at over a 3 year period suggests, "perhaps this is a deliberate aspect of the design of the tests, reflecting both the demands of contemporary texts and the need to monitor children's developing knowledge and understanding of visual literacy in large scale literacy assessment in school systems" (p. 54). The arguments are compelling ones and show further attention to the issue is needed.

28.2 Illustrations

Historically, illustrations in children's literature began with chapbooks. Chapbooks were crudely printed books or even pamphlets that had woodcut illustrations in them. They were quite popular with both children and adults and were sold by peddlers or "chapmen". Kiefer (2010) describes them as the forerunner to comics. The early illustrations in chapbooks provided the reader with assistance when reading and also was one of the precursors to trying to extend the text. Brice Heath (2011) describes this idea, "Chapbooks of the 18th century continued the pesky trend of working text and illustration into intimate partnerships that sometimes quarrelled with one another and other times joined peacefully" (p. 42). The main idea for including the illustration was to provide young readers with more than simply the text that might become overwhelming. It is interesting to note that because these

books were crudely constructed, the illustrations and text did not always go well together as Brice Heath points out. This had a major impact in children's literature however illustrations soon became a greater component in books and manuscripts. The flood in the market of chapbooks also led to John Newbery's publishing books specifically marketed for children, which in turn led to the idea of illuminated manuscripts.

Historically, an illuminated manuscript (a handwritten document accompanied by decoration) was a highly prized object, generally owned only by the church or a wealthy individual. (<http://www.abebooks.com/books/hours-gold-vellum-decorated-parchment/illuminated-manuscripts.shtml>).

Illuminated manuscripts developed through time and changed to a different format within children's literature, to include novels with illustrations and the well known and loved genre of picture books. Picture books emerged with Randolph Caldecott and Kate Greenaway leading the way in creating books with more illustrations specifically designed for young children. Illustrations in children's literature continued through the years and entered into novels for children as well.

The idea of illuminating novels was carried over for years with illustrations found within the novels. This could be seen in Roald Dahl's books, (*Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, *BFG*), Sid Fleischman (*Chancy and the Grand Rascal*, *Mr. Mysterious and Company*). The main reason for the illustration may have been to provide a visual for young readers to assist in their comprehension. Their purpose could also have been to serve as a transition from picture books to the novels they would be reading as adults which would not have any illustrations in them. This is especially found in Dahl's books for younger readers. Titles such as *Esio Trot* are shorter books, and contain more illustrations in them throughout. These types of novels with illustrations were a staple in children's literature, and could be found around the world in the novels that were being published. Then, in the 1990s there was less emphasis on this visual and more on the text. While there were still some novels with illustrations in them, the focus became much more on the readers to create their own visuals in their mind.

Now, in the past decade the emphasis is back on the visual and it is back with a vengeance! When once there was a huge emphasis on illustrations in picture books, there has been a progression to more varied formats. Visuals have become more significant in picture books, especially wordless picture books, early readers, illuminated novels, traditional novels, and now the acceptance of graphic novels and comics. This progression has serious implications for educators. As Walsh (2006) questions, "How does 'reading' occur when images are part of the text? Is the reading process as described for the novel, a print-based text, applicable to the reading of images in a picture book?" (p.28). Walsh's questions are very good ones and ideas that are maintained by Serafini (2011) "Images and texts mean things because readers bring experiences and understanding of images, language, and the world to them when reading" (p. 89).

It is crucial then that the books they read reflect the combination of written text and images in a complex manner. This can be seen in illustrated novels and they are becoming more prevalent throughout the world. An example of an illustrated novel

from the United States is the *Platypus Police Squad* series by Jarrett Krosoczka. In these books there are numerous illustrations throughout them. However, these illustrations are ones that support what is being read about in the text. Thus, the illustrations and text are working hand in hand to help tell the story. One example of this is found on page 94 in *Platypus Police Squad: The Frog Who Croaked* (2013a) as the two detectives are walking into the school and hear someone call to them from behind a bush.

What the illustration does then is provide comprehension support by showing what is happening in the text. Another example of this, found in England, are the books by Guy Bass. His *Stitch Head* series is quite popular and has illustrations throughout the book that correspond with what is happening in the story. While in Krosoczka's book the illustrations are found in every chapter, in Bass' books the illustrations are found on nearly every page. Illustrations in novels are becoming more common these days in children's literature. The question and idea, which Walsh (2006) raises is a very critical one when considering how novels have changed either to become "illuminated" or more blended with the inclusion of different forms of visual elements.

In this more modern usage, the term "illuminated novel" captures the shared nature of visual and text, and allows us to more broadly conceptualize the role that each plays in contributing to the narrative whole. Krosoczka (2013a, b) commented on just this idea:

I live by one golden rule. Words and pictures are teammates, and each must bring their own special skill to the field to get the job done. If the words and pictures communicated the same information, it would be like hearing the same story twice, and that would lead to a very dull experience for the reader. (personal communication).

This is becoming clear as a worldwide trend developing to engage readers and encourage them to be focused more on the visual than ever before. This is especially apparent in what Zbaracki and Geringer (2014) describe as "Blended Narratives", defined as, "texts that combine the features found in picture books, comics, and graphic novels. A key component of blended narratives is that they contain narratives that are told through two aspects on equal footing: the text and the visuals (illustrations)", (p. 289) in which the illustrations and the text both bear the burden of telling the story and they do so by using differing formats such as, graphic novel components, comics, or picture book formats, within the traditional novel genre. Serafini et al. (2018) suggest that this new genre be classified as a "multimodal novel, a form of literature that incorporates visual images and design elements in expansive and unique ways" (p. 311). However, the blended narrative is more than unique, it is complex and can be challenging not only for younger readers, but for educators working with children. Walsh (2006) discusses this complexity and how readers must be able to break different visual codes, and that, "This involves a different coding system" (p. 29). Because there are many challenges that readers are being exposed to in order to break these new "codes", it is vital that we examine the new formats or codes that young readers are being exposed to.

When children read blended narratives they need to take their past experiences (or schema) of different text types (picture books, comics, graphic novels, and the traditional novel) and use all the reading strategies they have been taught in order to read and comprehend the new blended narrative. This new genre requires a complex system of codes that need to be used and decoded in order for the books to be read, engaged with, and comprehended. Several examples of this genre will be explored from Australia, the United States, and the U.K.

28.3 Blended Narratives Lobally

In Australia one of the most popular and engaging examples of both illustrated novels and blended narratives are found within Andy Griffiths' and Terry Denton's books, specifically the "Just" series (*Just Tricking*, *Just Disgusting*, etc....) In these books the illustrations are found throughout the book on each page. While sometimes they assist in telling the story throughout the book, there are also numerous times in which they extend the text and sometimes provide their own story or humour. The illustrations might be found in the margins and contain recurring characters. They might also take up a more predominant part of the page and take over telling the story itself. Their current Treehouse series is another prime example of this.

Throughout their Treehouse series Griffiths and Denton have the illustrations supporting what is happening in the story. There are, however, several times in which they become blended narratives with the illustrations taking on comic book or graphic novel formats with the illustrations in frames telling the story. Their most recent book *The 130 Storey Treehouse*, shows this on pages 26–30 where they use picture book type illustrations and then at the end of the chapter use comic elements to show how things may not always go to plan, but the books the characters write always get written in the end. The use of illustrations in this mixed format plays a crucial role in reading these more groundbreaking novels in which the visual plays such a primary role.

Another example from Australia is the *Eric Vail* series by Michael Gerard Bauer. In this novel the author's son has created the illustrations and they are found in various places on every page throughout the book, similar to what is found in Andy Griffiths and Terry Denton's work. The illustrations assist to help provide support for the reader, as with Krosoczka's and Bass' books. However there are also places where Bauer's son Joe has included comics in the middle margins or "gutter" of the book. In the gutter the comic format is used to both correspond with the written text and provide its own story. There are single frame comic panels and in some places there are elements of graphic novel formats in which double panel frames are used to show what is happening in the text. This unique format may not be a blended narrative in the sense that the comic is telling the story in its own right, but the use of comics is still present and goes beyond the traditional novel.

Aaron Blabey's *Bad Guys* series is also an excellent example of the blended narrative. In this series the main character, Fox, gathers his friends together to try and convince the world that they are actually *good guys*. The adventures they find themselves in make the reader/viewer contemplate whose perspective is correct. What Blabey is able to do is integrate all the key elements of a blended narrative together. There are examples of traditional novels, comics, graphic novels, and picture books all working together to move the story forward. A prime example of this is in the first book in the series, *The Bad Guys Episode 1* (2015). The first few chapters have the wolf talking directly to the reader, or breaking the "fourth wall" in order to convince the reader that he is indeed, "good". The text goes back and forth by using the traditional chapters found in novels, but also containing graphic novel features of frames or panels, while also including picture book elements. This aligns with what has been discussed earlier about how readers must break different codes as Walsh (2006) advised.

It is also important to note what appears to be an early "entry" into the genre of blended narratives from Australia as well. The *Vidz* series by Ian Bone and Jobi Murphy seemed to be very much ahead of their time in the blended approach to writing the story. Their second book in the series *Time Trap* (2004) helps show this. The novel is presented using a "story board" approach. The chapters are 'scenes' in the book. However the unique feature is that they contain story board illustrations throughout the book. These storyboards continue to tell the story in their own way and use the creative approach of a movie medium as well. The new approach with the illustrations is fascinating even though the illustrations do seem a bit clumsy in their presentation. One point to pull from this early example is that using this new blended approach may have been in existence previous to the current influx in children's literature.

Another example of blended narratives from the United States that continues this format is Michael Fry's (2017) *How to be a Supervillian*. In this book the reader is taught how to become a supervillian. The illustrations assist in telling the story throughout the book. Some illustrations take up an entire page, while some might be just a brief sketch which continues what the text is saying. A chief example of this is found on page 1 of chapter one when the narrator tells the reader about how the boy defeated a supervillian. The image below the traditional text is a newspaper headline and the following line of the text reads "Yeah. *That* happened". The reader must read the text, the illustration and again the text in order for the story to make sense. This is continued throughout the book and series as the sequence boxes found in comics are located throughout the book. There are also other examples of a blended narrative in which a comic format is woven into the text to help tell the story as well. On pages 4–5 of the prologue the reader is treated to a lesson in supervillian costume success. The traditional novel format sets the comic up, and then the comic provides both the visual and dialogue to move the story forward.

Another blended narrative from the United States is found within the *Arnie the Doughnut* series by Laurie Keller. The third novel in the series *Adventures of Arnie the Doughnut: The Sticky Icky Showdown* (2015) is a blended narrative based on Keller's (2003) picture book, *Arnie the Doughnut*. What Keller did so well with the

picture book, was provide what she calls humorous “asides” where there are a plethora of illustrations that provide humour not directly related to the story. This is brought to life even further in the latest title. The new novel has examples similar to Fry’s book discussed above in which the novel tells the story in the traditional format and then the illustrations take over and continue to tell the story. What is occurring here however, is that the blended narrative is integrating not only graphic novel sequences but also picture book elements. For readers who are comfortable with the first adventure of Arnie, this newer title will build upon their previous knowledge and skills and further them by blending the formats together. This title is an excellent example of how the visual in children’s literature is playing such a crucial role.

A final example from the United States would be the *Dragonbreath* series by Ursula Vernon. Described as a combination of text and graphic novel, this series is a true example of blended narratives. In the most recent book in the series *Dragonbreath: The Frozen Menace* (2016), Vernon begins the story with graphic novel frames and illustrations introducing the story and how the main character is on the back of a sled pulled by dogs. Then chapter one is presented in the traditional written format that one would expect to find in a novel. These formats are used interchangeably throughout the book as the story is told through text and images. This series is one that would entice and engage readers and have them coming back to read more about the main character Danny Dragonbreath. It is important to point out that the use of visuals in this series is truly what make the books unique as well as engaging. It becomes more and more clear that the visuals in children’s literature are not only complex, but they play a crucial role throughout a reader’s development.

The examples discussed are not limited to just Australia and America however. Emily Gravett, an English author and illustrator is another example of a children’s author who is able to incorporate such a strong emphasis on the visual in her work, specifically in the picture book format. Whether it be one of her first books, *Wolves*, (2005) or another one of her books, *Little Mouse’s Big Book of Fears*, (2007) the emphasis on the visual is quite obvious. In *Wolves* it is sometimes very subtle, when the reader/viewer, is looking at a few trees, upon second glance however, they see the trees create the shape of a wolf, thus connecting to the overall theme of the book. In *Little Mouse’s Big Book of Fears*, the visual plays a crucial role throughout the book as the mouse “writes” his own book. Children’s literature journal, *The Horn Book* (2007) discussed the visual elements in their review of the book stating, “The visual and textual layers woven by Gravett’s meticulous mixed-media illustrations blur the lines between the book and mouse and his creations, and contain enough detail that multiple reads still won’t reveal everything” (p. 79). Gravett’s ability to “blur the lines” again, shows how complicated the visual elements in children’s literature have become. As the review states, repeated readings still won’t answer all the questions readers could have. In one of her more recent titles, *Tidy* (2016) Gravett manipulates the cover and first few pages with a cut-out so the reader/viewer sees into the forest to meet the main character Badger. Gravett’s books highlight what Serafini et al. (2018) call “metabooks...picturebooks that have multiple narrative levels and use portals, narrators, and other visual and literary devices as meta-pleptic transgressions” (p. 313). This reinforces how vital it is that the skills of visual

literacy be taught to children to avoid angst and frustration from the different formats of children's literature so young readers can fully engage and enjoy the visual "effects".

An example of a blended narrative from the U.K. is the *Iguana Boy* series by James Bishop. The superhero theme is again present in this book where a young boy's superpowers are his ability to talk to an iguana. In the book sections of comic book panels are incorporated as they tell the story and information cards about different superheroes are used to introduce characters. This is an excellent example of a blended narrative as the comic book elements continue to tell the story while the main text appears in the traditional novel format. The complex ideas addressed in the story are addressed even further through the illustrations. The traditional superhero story is evident, but it is the new blended approach that provides a more visual reading interaction. This highlights what Walsh (2006) mentioned earlier in the chapter about the various codes needed to read when illustrations are included in a novel.

Another blended narrative example from the U.K. is the Dave Pigeon series. These cleverly titled books (there is one in the series called *Nuggets*, and another called *The Royal Coo*) use comic book style speech bubbles to tell the story and provide the "aside" humour similar to what Laurie Keller does with the Arnie the Doughnut books. There are also a number of picture book elements in the books as well. For instance, in the first book *Dave Pigeon* (2016) where Dave and his friend Skippy are waiting for the cat to leave, and they wait, and wait. The images from pages 48–58 are similar to picture book full page spread illustrations. Then Dave and Skippy come back with the speech bubble comic style format. This again incorporates the blended narrative elements of traditional novels, comic book components, and picture books. This continues to support the multiple codes idea discussed earlier.

Children enjoy reading a variety of genres and formats. Because of this it is important that they are exposed to, and taught, how to read such engaging texts. This is especially true with books that contain strong visual components. As discussed in the previous section "blended narratives" are becoming more prevalent in the field of children's literature. With the discussion of authors, picture books, illustrated novels, and blended narratives from three different countries, it becomes more and more clear that this is a global phenomenon. It is also one that must be taught and emphasized in classrooms around the world. As Serafini (2011) contends, "the challenges facing readers and teachers alike demand that we expand the analytical tools we bring to bear in the process of interpreting visual images and multimodal texts" (p. 101) Similar to what Walsh (2006) introduced earlier with the codes that are necessary to read images in novels, Serafini's ideas of tools are also important. No matter what the reference point, codes, or tools, this is an educational capital that children from any culture need.

However, while this might be a preferred format for young readers, finding such texts can prove challenging. When searching library catalogues or even online booksellers the entries for the book will simply state the number of pages (for example in *How to be a Supervillain* has approximately 304 pages) and the word *ill.* to

show that there are illustrations. Nowhere does it inform the interested reader the total number of illustrations, format of the illustrations or their purpose. If the entries provided more detailed information about the book young readers worldwide would be able to more easily find and access the books that appeal to them the most.

28.4 Conclusion

When focussing on the world it is important to include a global view that shows the importance and dependency on the visual. Words, images, signs, and “text” are all around us no matter where we are. Unsworth et al. (2004) recommend, “Explicit teaching of the role of images in constructing meaning in texts needs to be integrated into classroom practice in literacy education. (not only to prepare children for the reading experience of tests, but also to optimise their critical negotiation with contemporary multimodal texts in broader social contexts” (p. 57) Again, they stress the important role that visual images and visual literacy play in the classroom for anyone in the world in the various social contexts faced. Serafini et al. (2018) suggest “future scholarship should look to theorize this visual, as well as language-based grammar” (p. 316). This suggestion is so true, because the inclusion of the visual is constantly changing, developing, and expanding, educators worldwide must adapt as well. It is crucial that we, as educators, capitalize on the currency children’s literature has to offer in teaching visual literacy skills. It is this currency that will afford children the opportunity to read, engage and open doors both locally and globally.

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Chapter 29

Globalisation, Cultural Diversity and Multiculturalism: Australia



Margaret Secombe

Abstract 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. This chapter suggests that cross-civilisational dialogue can help to resolve the complex issues that face each country and the whole world order.

29.1 Introduction

The chapter examines the conflicting forces of homogenisation and division generated by globalisation, and in particular, their effect in weakening the traditional powers of the nation-state. One of these forces is the rise of various indigenous and ethnic minorities, demanding greater recognition and support for their cultural identities as well as greater autonomy. Indigenous minorities draw on indigenous knowledge to promote a strong sense of community. Its roots lie deep in indigenous culture which represents “a wonderful asset to be protected and shared” (Longchar 2007, p. 8).

The other force is represented by massive migration movements across cultural and political boundaries and the nation-state’s counter-measures to protect its territorial integrity and ultimately, its demographic composition. Among the range of nation-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 nation-state through the evolution of an overarching framework of shared values derived from majority and minority groups alike. The inroads of ‘illegal immigrants’, most recently boat people arriving from Indonesia, and successive terrorist attacks since 2001, have both involved people mainly from non-European and non-Christian backgrounds. Such events have

M. Secombe (✉)
University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia

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. According to Barca and Arenas (2010), for indigenous cultures to survive in the global culture, they needed to adapt and re-invent themselves:

If indigenous education is to be successful, it must continuously re-invent itself to ensure that it honors the basic cultural tenets of the ethnic groups it serves, recognizes the hybrid nature of many indigenous practices, and uses learning as a springboard to foster social and environmental integrity (Arenas 2010).

The convergence of cultures envisaged was therefore unashamedly based upon a Western model. Those advocating this approach had little patience with either Asian cultures or with internal ethnic diversity in their own societies, which, in their view, was destined to be assimilated out of existence (Vente 1980). The prediction of convergence, made by sociologists such as Alex Inkeles, remained, however, unfulfilled. The ‘cold’ war, the ‘loss’ of China, and the decolonisation of the European empires in Asia and Africa generated divergent forces, which discounted the convergence hypothesis. Moreover, by the 1970s, and even more emphatically over the next two decades, Asian countries rediscovered the worth of their own cultures, as they came to the realisation that their own cultural traditions were at least as capable of catalysing technological progress and industrial development as those of their Western mentors (Dube 1988; Tjiptoheriyanto 1988a, b).

In practice, it became apparent that modernisation did not require the substitution of Asian cultures by innovations based on Western ways. Thus the world remained what it has always been – culturally diverse. Singapore, with a leader who ‘reincarnated’ himself from Harry Lee to Lee Kuan Yew and came to champion Mandarin language and Asian values, became emblematic of this change. Mohammed Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia, became its most forthright spokesperson, pointing to the self-interested motives of the former colonial powers, which were now pursuing their own cultural and economic interests with an energy that equalled their former political dominance. Both these leaders enunciated their own notions of progress, democracy and human rights in terms of what they regarded as the specific characteristics of Asian values.

29.2 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, although the events of the global Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 halted this momentum in ways that are considered in a brief postscript. Up to that point, the economic, political, technological, mass communication, cultural and educational forces released in this globalisation process were expected to render the whole world more culturally homogenous. Regional variations would be obliterated or at least so greatly attenuated as to represent no viable alternative cultural patterns for the younger generation, wherever they might find themselves living in the world.

The very momentum for world domination generated by globalisation produced forces that counteracted and mitigated its homogenising effects. One major effect of the globalisation process was the way it impinged upon the formerly unchallenged prerogatives of the nation-state. In particular, it unleashed 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 and Miller 2000).

Two particular effects, stemming from the weakening authority of nation-states, which helped to counteract global homogenisation are discussed in this chapter. One was the rise of 'local' forces within states; the other was the perceived threat to their sovereignty from external factors such as massive immigration movements across political and cultural boundaries and the threat of terrorism.

29.3 Ethnic Renaissance

The first of these effects was 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 (Zajda and Majhanovich, 2021). 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. (Zajda 2020a, b, c).

29.4 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; Dogan 2000). Some have long tried to deny its existence (as used to be the case of Kurds in Turkey). Some prefer to consider their plurality to be temporary (as has been the case of guest-workers and their descendents in Germany). In still other cases every effort has been made to assimilate the minorities out of existence (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 1996, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The policy of assimilation has been 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 maintained that there was a consensus about the existence of ethnic pluralist dilemmas as virtually a permanent feature of many states - with little consensus about its outcomes. Wohling (2009) critiqued the re-invention of ethnic identity in the global culture, in order to be perceived as protecting a 'pure' and 'true' cultural or ecological tradition, as it could lead to ethnic stereotypes (Wohling 2009). Ultimately, promoting ethnicity as a marker of identity that is static and immutable, with ethnicity viewed as the only significant identity characteristic, reduces individuals to fixed stereotypes and narrows the expectations others have of their potential for personal and social growth (Arenas 2010).

29.5 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 and Secombe 1989). Many ethnic groups are strongly language-centred, so that the existence of each as a distinct cultural and social entity depends on the maintenance and development of its ethno-specific tongue. For such groups, the loss of their language means that their culture becomes residual, losing its powers of creativity and development. In the case of other groups, there may be debate about which particular aspect of their culture is of prime core value significance. Indeed, a number of cultural factors, such as a specific religion, family structure, or the group's 'visibility' markers may assume comparable significance to that of language. Some groups are fortunate in having a *multiple set of core values*, for example, an ethno-specific language, religion and a supporting collectivist family structure to maintain their identity (Smolicz et al. 2001).

A variety of approaches to cultural pluralism as a state policy have been adopted by different countries, such as Canada and India (Ooman 1997; Richmond 1988) with Australia evolving into a society that espouses its own special brand of multiculturalism. The present-day Australian nation-state is very different from both the 'closed', descent-based and the 'open' - yet assimilative - alternative solutions. Nevertheless, these terms do describe positions that Australia has adopted at different stages in the past over the relatively brief period of its European-dominated history.

The ideology of the newly emerging federal state in 1901 was somewhat like that of Germany, in the assumption of its homogenous British character based on descent. In fact, 'real' Australians regarded themselves as some kind of regional Britons with the assumed purity of the ancestral stock preserved (not always successfully) by a discriminatory migration policy. After the Second World War came the massive immigration of continental Europeans, followed two decades later by Lebanese, Vietnamese, South Americans, and still later by Bosnians and Timorese and many other groups (Jupp 2001). Under the impact of such an inflow of diverse peoples, it became impossible to regard the Australian population as originating solely from British stock.

Initially, this multitude of peoples was expected to conform to the country's assimilation policy. If all individuals could not be of British stock, then they should at least behave like British-Australians. This supposition was built on the idea that all cultures, other than British, were to be abandoned. People of other backgrounds would have their former cultures thoroughly washed out of them (Clyne 1991; Smolicz 1997). Such cultural assimilation did not necessarily herald structural assimilation, since the individual's loss of native culture did not guarantee social or

occupational acceptance; certainly not in the case of Aboriginal people, and often not of other “New Australians” either.

The policy of assimilation did not prove a great success. Some people did not wish to assimilate, and clung tenaciously to their cultures and languages, while learning English and successfully integrating into a variety of occupations and other social structures. Others could not assimilate because they were unable to ‘disappear’ and sink into oblivion within the ‘mainstream’. They possessed various physical, linguistic and cultural markers that prevented their total absorption. Although many of the cultural groups began to shrink under the impact of the assimilationist pressures that devalued other languages and cultures (Clyne 1991; Clyne and Kipp 1997), there was also a growing resistance to assimilation and refusal to disappear into the Anglo-dominated mainstream (Smolicz and Secombe 1989; Smolicz 1999).

29.6 Emergence of Australian Multiculturalism

Under assimilation, Australian policy resembled that of present day France, in that it upheld the principles of a *political* democracy for all those granted permanent residence, encouraging the new arrivals to gain full civic equity, by applying for citizenship. Advance towards *cultural* equity began over the 1970s with the gradual adoption of the policy of multiculturalism that eventually came to include Aboriginal Australians and, from 1972, substantial numbers of Asian immigrants, mainly Vietnamese, whose arrival finally broke the ‘White Australia Policy’. The Australian conceptualisation of multiculturalism has assumed the existence of an 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, by statements of the former Governor-General of Australia (Deane 1997) and by the multicultural policy document of the Gillard Labour government (Department of Immigration and Citizenship

2011). In its current form, multiculturalism recognises the reality of cultural differences, exemplified by the fact that Australians are not all of one ancestry or all of the same religion. While people of British descent are still in a clear majority (70%), there is a growing recognition of the presence of the indigenous inhabitants and the increasing proportion of Australians of non-British, and particularly Asian backgrounds (Trewin 2001).

29.7 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 et al. 1998).

Recognition of the significance of cultural core values for various groups does not imply a tendency to promote separatism within the state (Smolicz 1998). On the contrary, the maintenance of core values is essential for the multicultural principle of constructive diversity, which is based upon cultural interaction and sharing among the various groups. If this is to be a genuine exchange process, rather than

simply a one-way-traffic favouring a particular group, usually the majority, to the detriment of others, the minorities must be able to transmit their core values and hence sustain their culture as authentic. As a dynamic process, cultural interaction proceeds through a degree of *cultural synthesis, diffusion* and *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.

29.8 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 Liberal Coalition government elected in 2013 adopted an even tougher policy of stopping the boats by way of a military style operation which forcibly returned them to Indonesia, and by denying any refugee arriving by boat the possibility of resettlement in Australia.

The mass arrival of ‘illegal immigrants’ placed the state in the dilemma of balancing humanitarian concerns against the discharge of what it perceived as its function of regulatory authority in upholding its sovereignty. The Australian Prime Minister, John Howard (2001a, p. 11, 2001b, p. 1) quickly moved to assert “our absolute right to decide who comes to this country”, subsequently claiming that “it was in the national interest that we have the power to prevent, beyond any argument, people infringing the sovereignty of this country”. Under the call for ‘state sovereignty’ and ‘border protection’, as well as the appeal to fear of intrusion from unauthorised aliens, the ‘humanitarian’ v ‘sovereignty’ balance has tilted strongly against refugees in general, as the authorities accused them of being guilty of such ‘un-Australian’ practices as trying to gain entry into the country by throwing their children into the sea (a rumour subsequently found to be false), or even of possibly being terrorists.

The clamour surrounding the refugee saga and the government's posing as the protector of the state's boundaries and of its endangered sovereignty has had the unfortunate effect of activating the more ethnocentric sections among the general public, and undermining the generally positive image that 'cultural diversity' had come to acquire. In the opinion of Malcolm Fraser (2011), the Prime Minister whose government welcomed the Vietnamese boat people in the 1970s, such border protection policies appealed to the same ant-migration fears which led the Australian Parliament at the time of Federation to introduce the Immigration Restriction Act. Incidents such as the "illegal" refugee issue have had far reaching and dangerous implications for the on-going 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 has become less welcoming to new arrivals and less widespread in its support of multiculturalism, with special danger of hostility developing towards 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, had given way to a much more positive image. Under multiculturalism diversity was officially 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 now 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 was succinctly stated by William Safire (2002, p. 8) who wrote that,

The emergence of terrorism as a global threat has forced nation-states to adopt a new view of sovereignty. If a governing body cannot stop terrorists who are victimizing others from its territory, then governments of the victims will reach across the borders to do the necessary stopping. [According to] George Schulz, former Secretary of State, ... "we reserve, within the framework of our right to self-defence, the right to pre-empt terrorist threats within a state's borders".

It may appear quite ironical that the terrorist attack upon the American nation-state and its sovereignty has been accepted as justification for the pre-emptive right to violate the integrity of other nation-states, which are accused of being unable or unwilling to control and disarm terrorists within their own domain. In this way 'stateless' terrorism against one nation-state is being used to justify the use of force by the aggrieved party, an act, which the country being invaded, has referred to as unwarranted aggression – and even 'state terrorism'!

As in the Australian response of rejecting, confining or returning refugees, the American pre-emption doctrine is being directed at governments and peoples of mainly non-European and non-Christian cultures. This approach casts shadows of doubt on the possibility of cultural homogenisation and democratisation being freely embraced by peoples of the so-called 'rogue states' – even after they have been cleansed, pacified and reformed.

29.9 A Multicultural Basis for Cross-Civilisational Dialogue

This chapter has suggested 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 of shared values that remain inclusive for each particular nation-state, and for its wider civilisational configuration.

It is increasingly recognised that, even under the most favourable conditions of Australia being a prosperous country and the sole occupant of the whole island-continent, interaction between cultures is unlikely to result in convergence to a single system of group values. Chris Bowen (2011), the then labour Minister for Immigration, claimed that "if Australia is to be free and equal, then it will be multicultural; but if it is to be multicultural it must remain free and equal".

For all its apparent success and its possible value as a model for intercultural dialogue in other culturally heterogeneous contexts, questions have been raised about the possible existence of ‘essential contradictions’ within multiculturalism in general, and whether its Australian version in fact has succeeded in resolving them within its particular configuration. The difficulties in reconciling cultural diversity with good governance might, for example, arise out of the paradox of a democratic state generating a respect for cultural diversity, while upholding policies that assume the universality of certain fundamental values. The balance between these two facets of a multicultural society must take into account differences in ethnicity, religion and other aspects of culture, which 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.

29.10 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 to the 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 nation-state, namely civic and political rights, are indicated by the ‘trunk’ of the ‘tree’. The other cultural rights, which are then, viewed as ‘branches’, need not conform to a single pattern, since the ‘crown’ of the tree can assume different configurations, depending on the cultural traditions of the groups that make the nation and their members’ current aspirations. Successful multicultural achievement would be indicated when the various cultural branches grow freely, while ensuring that no single one crowds out the others and that their development occurs harmoniously within a unifying and flexible framework underpinned by the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

29.11 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.

Toward the end of 2020, when this chapter was being revised, it was considered necessary to add a postscript. In what might be seen, ironically, as the ultimate global phenomenon, the Covid-19 pandemic has undermined in all but one area the

underlying material structures on which globalisation depended. The transportation of people and goods from one part of the globe to another has almost ceased; the airlines that supported these movements are on the verge of collapse. Borders between nation-states have been closed in unprecedented ways, leaving many thousands of global workers, tourists and students stranded for months away from home, as well as thousands of international students unable to enter the overseas institutions in which they had enrolled to study. In Australia, regional state borders have been closed in ways never seen before with movement of people and goods between states being strictly controlled.

The one exception has been in the area of exchanging ideas and information, since the operation of the global internet has been unaffected by the virus. Communication and long distance relationships that depend on this have been maintained, but without the ability to move goods and services, the information that has continued to be available has been of little use to business. In contrast, in education the continued availability of the internet has led to rapid innovation in on-line learning at home for school and university students, while highlighting the number of students who cannot access this possibility.

At the very least, the global pandemic has acted as a brake on the headlong progress of globalisation and provided the pause needed to assess its long term effects within nation-states. In particular, we need to consider what support is needed by important local, indigenous and ethnic cultural interests, which have been ignored as of no value, when “value” was being assessed in purely economic/financial terms.

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Chapter 30

Globalisation and Pedagogy of Peace



Svi Shapiro

Abstract The chapter discusses a number of those things that I believe represent essential dimensions of pedagogy of peace. It describes some of those moral, social and spiritual aspects of human behaviour and dispositions that are needed in order to bring about that transformation towards peace in our collective lives. The chapter argues that these will form the anchor points for a curriculum of peace. The chapter draws on multiple cultural traditions in naming these dimensions of the language of peace.

30.1 A Global Pedagogy of Peace: Introduction

In this chapter I want to outline, if only briefly, a number of those things that I believe represent essential dimensions of pedagogy of peace (Shapiro 2009). My concern will be to describe some of those moral, social and spiritual aspects of human behavior and dispositions that are needed in order to bring about that transformation towards peace in our collective lives. My hope is that these will form the anchor points for a curriculum of peace. I have intentionally drawn on multiple cultural traditions in naming these dimensions of the language of peace. This seems important to me in emphasizing just how universal is the aspiration for, and vision of, a compassionate and peaceful world.

There is much talk about a crisis of education. Yet what is pointed to as the cause of this crisis is confusing at best, and misleading at worst. There is, for example, the argument that our economy is in trouble because of poor education. Of course this seems preposterous when compared to the role of the banks in our current economic crisis. Irresponsibility and short-term considerations, lack of governmental regulation, and a culture of greed seem to be much more salient than education might be to this situation. Despite talk of demands for sophisticated skills and more educated workers, predictions are for an economy that will continue to employ high numbers of low and semi-skilled workers. Jobs that used to be done by high school graduates are now increasingly filled by those with college degrees (Hacker 2006). Elsewhere there is much talk about an educational crisis that is the result of kids performing

S. Shapiro (✉)

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, NC, USA

poorly in comparison with students from other countries. This has resulted in the calamity of an education system more and more enthralled to a culture of testing which has sapped imagination, creativity, curiosity and critical intelligence from our classrooms (Shapiro 2006). The crisis of accountability has become the springboard for rigid and mechanical forms of control over the teaching process in our schools. (Zajda 2020a, b).

Yet in all of this talk of crisis there is little that speaks to the profound moral and spiritual responsibility that is carried—or should be carried, by education. Beyond the usual focus of schooling (grades, test results, graduation rates etc.) is surely something of far greater significance. Education has the capability and the obligation, I believe, of speaking to the very issue of what it means to be human; of how we as human beings live and relate to one another; and how we relate to, and care for, the natural world that we share with all life forms. Today these issues rise to the very top of what is important to our very survival as a species. For us, and even more for our children, what needs to concern us is the very quality of human life on our planet. And central to this is the continuing problem of violent conflict and violent behavior among human beings. This, above all else, I have come to believe, is the real crisis of education today.

While we cannot dismiss or belittle the everyday concerns of students and their parents for basic literacy, jobs, and economic security, and an education which can help ensure these things, we need, I believe, to look beyond these to the bigger picture that confronts us and that is destructive to any form of continued human well-being. In its 2009 report the Institute of Economic and Peace estimates that world-wide violence or the ‘lost peace’ costs \$4.8 trillion a year. Peace, it says, is a significant factor in the creation of wealth. In a world of dwindling resources, increasing population, greater inequalities of wealth, and more powerful technologies of destruction how can we as a human community develop the knowledge, attitudes and skills that will allow to survive and flourish as a species rather than succumb to a world of accelerating insecurity, fear of the other, and the impulse to destroy those who share our world?

30.2 Seven Points for a Pedagogy of Peace

30.2.1 *Ubuntu*

Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu suggests that the African term *ubuntu* means that one cannot exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks, he says, about our interconnectedness, our belonging to a greater whole (Tutu 1999). You cannot be human by yourself. Contemporary culture teaches us to think of ourselves as just individuals, separated from one another. Schools usually provide a powerful vehicle for this ideology of the separate self. Most of what is defined as success (or failure) is a matter of individual achievement and performance. And, of course, what

individuals achieve is always in invidious comparison to the success or failure of others. Likewise consumer culture is always about the promise of improving the quality of our lives or social status through what we *as individuals* own or can purchase. It is not surprising that this culture produces a world of so much loneliness, disconnection from others, and conflict. It teaches us to see ourselves alone in a sea of other lonely strivers after satisfaction, validation or success. At its core it denies the simple reality of the *oneness* of human existence, and with it the recognition that it is through our connectedness to others that we experience the deepest and richest satisfactions and joys of life (Lerner 2006).

To affirm the concept of *Ubuntu*, and to educate for its radical promise, means a very different focus for what we wish students to learn, morally, socially and spiritually. In the first place it means that the school and the classroom move away from the relentless focus on the success and failure of the individual that is inscribed in every aspect of schooling. It means that we come to see our achievements and failures as learners as the *shared* product of our communal efforts, not as something earned and owned by the lone student. The classroom emphasizes the community's achievements over the success of the individual. The 'culture of separated desks' in which each student is a lonely runner in the race for success gives way to a classroom ambience of communal support, the sharing of knowledge and information, and mutual respect for each person's contributions.

Beyond this the message of education must be one that runs counter to the individualistic and competitive message of the consumer culture; human fulfillment is found in how we serve, support and care for the wellbeing of other human beings (Eisler 2008). And contrary to our dualist preferences and prejudices, our highest moral and social obligation is to serve humanity undivided by markers of nationality, race, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. The educational message of *ubuntu* is one that resists all those things that separate and isolate human beings from one another—that cause us to see others as disconnected from oneself. It leads us to question the moral environment of the school, the social relationships of the classroom, the messages found in our texts, as well as the broader messages of the culture within which we live. In each case we must ask does what we learn from these things help us to recognize and realize our mutual connectedness and interdependence as human beings? Does it enable us to experience the profound fulfillment and joy that comes from human sociability and interaction? Or does it thwart, undermine and deny them? And to what extent are we coming to see ourselves as part of a global community in which particular connections to ethnicity, nation etc. are less important than the ties we have with the *whole* human family. Do our educational experiences nurture and encourage this sense of global human identity? (Zajda and Majhanovich 2020).

30.2.2 *Tikkun Olam*

The search for a life of meaning can never be far from the goal of educating for peace. Education today has lost its most profound purpose—engagement with what it means to live meaningfully and purposefully. Instead schooling has become the soil for an arid and soulless focus of human energy and ambition; better test scores, higher grades, greater student retention, etc. The school becomes like a black box in which inputs are measured against outputs. Our obsession with numbers, output and averages has meant we have forgotten our responsibility to a younger generation to provide them with the opportunity for serious reflection on the nature of a purposeful life.

The absence of such opportunity is especially sad given the demonstrable crisis of meaning in our larger culture. It is a crisis that manifests itself in record levels of teenage suicides and emotional disorders, in widespread feelings of despair, loneliness, emotional emptiness, and in the turn towards self-destructive and violent behavior. None of this can be that surprising given the dehumanizing nature of so much of the wider culture through which young people are expected to discern their life goals and aspirations. It surrounds them with a world in which the most important things are celebrity, fame, wealth, and appearance (West 2004). In such a world time is reduced to the most immediate experience, episode or moment. And nothing is more important than the search for the next exhilarating and optimal high. As observers like Zygmunt Bauman have pointed out, it is but a short step from this kind of cultural exposure and socialization to the despair and anxiety that leads to violence and destruction—whether this is inflicted on others or on oneself (Bauman 2007).

Tikkun Olam speaks to the need among human beings for an authentic life of meaning, and the responsibility of education to facilitate such a quest. It rests on the mythic Hebrew vision of a world which has overcome division and fragmentation and become whole and united as a single caring community. The struggle for such a world becomes, in this vision, the overriding moral responsibility of human beings in this life. More than this, it is in the act of trying to create a world of compassionate and loving connection in the face of all the divisions, injustices, conflicts and suffering that beset human beings, that we are able to find the most profound sense of meaning in our lives. Obviously the message of *Tikkun Olam* is one that speaks out against the false and distorting ‘meanings’ of the culture. And those who educate in its spirit mince no words in calling into question the dehumanizing, vulgar, over-commercialized values that shape our lives, and especially those of the young (De Graaf et al. 2005). They are also clear that everything that separates and fragments our world—war, torture, social injustice, nationalism, tribalism, racism, sexism, homophobia, religious intolerance, and excessive competition, must be called into question and challenged.

Tikkun Olam speaks to ‘the repair’ of our world.’ And it is through our engagement in this act of repair work that human beings find the meaning that animates a purposeful life. To educate in this spirit means to encourage students to see their

lives in terms of the contribution each might make to healing the brokenness of our world; to see how they may act to redress intolerance, indignity and injustice—all those things that fragment and divide our world. The lesson is powerful but non-specific. It offers students a counter-vision to the tawdry and self-interested message so relentlessly pounded out by the culture of capitalism and modernity. It suggests a broad moral, social and spiritual framework for how they may think about the direction of their lives. But exactly how this may be expressed, through one's studies, work, professional commitments, faith activity and political engagement is of course the decision each must make on their own. It asserts only the wisdom that the most purposeful lives are lived in the struggle to make whole what is broken through frustration, anger, indignity and selfishness that are the consequences of a fragmented and divided world.

30.2.3 *Parrhesia*

The quest for *Ubuntu's* interconnected community or *Tikkun's* vision of a world beyond fragmentation is inseparable from the education of a courageously articulate citizenry. Peace education always inhabits that in-between zone where the 'what is' encounters the 'what might be'. Henry Giroux has referred to this as the voice that speaks in both the language of critique and in the language of possibility (Giroux 2001). Others have referred to it as a 'critical utopianism' in which the imagined world of human dignity, justice and peace is held up against the realities of our torn and divided world. Such critical reflection juxtaposes our hopes and dreams of a better world with the forces and interests that thwart these possibilities and attempts to reduce the social imagination to impotent dreaming. *Parrhesia* is the fearless voice that challenges and questions the world's unnecessary suffering (West 2004).

Few who are concerned with driving policy in public education concern themselves much with *parrhesia* and critical speech. Education today, as I and many other commentators have well noted, is overwhelmingly concerned with things that have little to do with developing voices that can question and challenge what is in our world. Indeed, what we see everywhere is a focus on a one-size fits all kind of education that is more about conformity in thinking than anything else. The focus on standardized tests and measures of 'performance' in our classrooms has induced a kind of learning where students and teachers can do little else but be concerned with getting the one correct answer on the test sheet. There is precious little opportunity in all this for the kind of unconventional thinking that questions the accepted understanding of how things are. There is little time for those bold and outrageous challenges to the accepted nature of things. The present 'regime' in education is one that is all about finding somebody else's idea of the one right answer. This conformity is reinforced not just through the medium of standardized forms of assessment but also through the sterility of what constitutes the learning space. Now this space mostly excludes those very things that are most salient to the direction and quality of young people's lives; sexuality, spiritual and religious faith, the impact of the

media and the content of popular culture, war and violence, race and cultural difference, power and politics. Remove these things and we are left with a classroom that offers no possibility of the kind of passionate engagement that stirs us to find our voices and speak our truth to others who share our world (Hooks 2010).

The exercise of *Parrhesia* in the classroom is a practical matter. It means transforming these spaces into ones where the sound of students' voices is heard. This is a classroom that cherishes student expression, student opinion and student experience. Indeed this is a classroom which embodies those essential dimensions of democratic culture—the capacity to think, question and challenge what has been accepted and unquestioned, and to bring into the common space the diverse perspectives, beliefs and understandings of this young and emerging heterogeneous citizenry. In this space the goal is always that of an education which nurtures the independent mind and the insistent spirit of unfinished inquiry. We have been reminded again in recent times of the importance of a civic culture which refuses to passively accede to voices of authority and expertise—whether in government, media or business. We face unprecedented dangers and crises as a human race. The times demand an education that equips us with the capacity to speak up and speak out; to question and challenge what, in so many areas of our global community, is a culture of human and environmental destruction, social injustice, violence and death.

30.2.4 *Es Muss Sein*

Philosopher Maxine Greene (Greene 1988) refers to this German expression meaning “it must be” when she describes how the knowledge that is transmitted in our classrooms often conveys a fatalistic sense of permanence and inevitability. Her argument is that much of the time curriculum is constructed and taught in such a way that there is little understanding of the fact that what we know about the world is only temporary, provisional, and uncertain. How we come to know about the world indicates to the learner whether things can be other than what they appear to be. Knowledge that is understood to represent with certainty how things are invites no second look; it offers a reality that seems fixed and absolute. It suggests a world that is the way it is, demanding only accommodation and acceptance of the social landscape before us. Greene speaks out of the passionate conviction that our understanding of who we are, and the nature of the world we inhabit, are inevitably constructions of the human imagination, always open to alternative perspectives and variable interpretations.

To learn about the world in this way, she argues, is the gateway to liberating ourselves from a stultifying consciousness that demands acceptance of only a single right way of understanding—one which is usually guarded and protected, as well often manufactured, by those whose power and privilege depends on it. To educate against the inevitability of war, violence and brutality means refusing the consciousness that says *things must be this way*.

Sadly our schools do little to liberate the mind from subservience to fixity of thought. Few students are ever invited in to recognize the power of interpretation in making so-called ‘truth.’ Instead they are daily bombarded by the message to give ‘only the facts,’ the need for the single correct answer, and the certainty of the text. The larger culture provides strong doses of a ‘one-dimensional ideology’ (Marcuse 1969) that admits of few possibilities that the world and our lives can be radically changed from its consumer-focused, competitive, hierarchical, and earth destroying ways (look at current ‘reality’ TV with its constant emphasis on a world of winners and losers, often vicious criticism and thinly-veiled hostility). We might ask what it would mean for our schools to nurture a creative and imaginative consciousness. We might expect to see the expressive and visual arts be given far more importance in the curriculum (though they must not be turned into another vehicle for measurable competencies and competitive performances!).

In all areas of the curriculum the emphasis would be on knowledge and meaning that are actively produced out of the experience and reflection of students. Creativity and imagination would not be ghettoized in a few subject areas but the currency of all learning. Likewise, in this education, myth becomes something to be understood not as the relic of primitive civilizations but the way all societies attempt to make meaning out of the initial formlessness of experience. In this sense students are invited to see and examine the myths we currently live by (‘men will always act aggressively’, ‘the earth is nothing but inert matter,’ ‘national self-interest always takes preference over global concerns’). Then the challenge for them is to decide what kind of myths we now need to ensure our survival as a species and as a planet. The great educator Paulo Freire showed us what it means when students recognize that the reality we live in and through is only one of several possibilities (Freire 1998) There is nothing absolute and inevitable about a world that hurts and destroys the lives of so many.

30.2.5 Hermes (Messenger of the Gods)

Recognizing that what we know is always an act of interpretation has both liberating *and* troubling consequences. We have seen above the way that it can free us to re-envisage our lives and our world. But much more difficult is the fact that it also gives legitimacy to the conflicting ways we may see things. From this point of view there is no ‘God’s eye-view’ of reality, only the sometimes contradictory understanding that people have of events, situations, and human motives. The decades old conflict between Palestinians and Jews provides a too vivid example of what I am proposing. In that blood-soaked region the inhabitants bring their own painful narratives to explain the need to fight and defend what they see as rightfully theirs. For the Jews it is the tortured history of exclusion, persecution and genocide, and the belief that their state is legitimated by ancient connection to the land and by moral claims rooted in their catastrophic history. For Palestinians their claims come from the conviction that the Jews, like other colonial invaders, wrongfully expropriated

their land and forcefully expelled its inhabitants. We can see in other parts of the world such as Ireland, Sri Lanka, Kashmir similar kinds of near intractable conflicts rooted in fundamentally different accounts of history and present realities.

Nothing could be more important to the task of peace education than the capacity to understand something about the way conflict is constructed out of the differing ways we come to see our lives and our world (Hanh 2004). And to learn from this something about the way conflict can be mediated. From a pedagogic standpoint it means a number of things: (1) The ability and willingness to honestly articulate and communicate to others one's view of things; (2) It means the development of the capacity for active, non-judgmental, listening to the other, even when what is being communicated is painful or threatening to the listener; (3) It means the readiness, for each party, to 'walk in the others' shoes'—to be empathic to the other's situation even as this requires confronting one's own fears, resentments and anger about what is being expressed. The ability to communicate, hear, empathize, and to not be captured by our own need to deny or resist another's truth, is of course, more than a one semester high school class! Indeed it is the challenge of a lifetime for all of us. It is a task that is always before us in our collective lives as we deal with conflicts and differences of perception around things like race and ethnicity, sexuality, religious belief and politics. No preparation in school can ever equip us adequately to deal with all of this. Yet we might at least find in our education some insights, recognitions and skills that will help us to non-violently negotiate and accommodate the inevitable struggles and challenges in our world as social and political creatures 'condemned', as Camus noted, to make meaning from our disparate experiences.

30.2.6 *Koyaanisqatsy*

At the entrance to a photographic exhibit in Cape Town, called "The Unbearable Lightness of Seeing", were these introductory comments: *We are propelled to excel, pushed to compete, to outdo one another. Our icons are Stars, Leaders, The Beautiful, The Powerful—those who have reached the pinnacle of society. Our worth is measured against our heroes, and may the strongest prevail. Bigger, better, faster, stronger, prettier, sexier, smarter...But where is the organic in the constructed collective conscious.* These words express concisely but penetratingly what it is that modern culture has come to value above all else. The word *koyaanisqatsy* from the Hopi Indian language refers to 'a world out of balance'.

I believe that no term better captures the harmful effects on life of our present culture than this. In every area of our world we see how we have become addicted to the culture of winning, competition and success—sport, entertainment, education, science, jurisprudence, politics and of course work and the economy. In every field beating others becomes the driving force of human activity. The goal of almost every area of our lives is to outshine the next person—to succeed or to be ahead of others. Life is increasingly experienced as a race in which only the winners really matter, or deserve recognition and appreciation. More and more the marketplace

becomes the root metaphor for how we live, with its overwhelming emphasis on competition, self-interest and self-aggrandizement (Korten 2006).

No place does more to prepare us for this way of life and this consciousness than schooling. Schools are the great initiator for a younger generation of what it means to live in a world in which everything is measured by one ability to compete with other human beings. It is here we are introduced into the moral economy of scarcity. We learn that success and achievement for some demands that others be designated failures. To become 'somebody,' we learn means that others must count as 'nobodies.' The deep message (the 'hidden curriculum' some call it) of schooling is that the only things that count are the things that can be counted because they allow us to be ranked and compared to others on a scale of winning and losing (Purpel 2004). Here, as elsewhere in a world, our focus is turned so resolutely to the winners that we lose little time in noticing the deeper moral, social and emotional consequences of our choices. The way, for example, the relentless emphasis on success for some produces a culture with powerful currents of envy, resentment, and suspicion. For everyone this is a culture that cultivates a deep insecurity about our worth as we are constantly being judged and compared to others, and where success or achievement is likely to be a momentary phenomenon. It is culture that must certainly breed hostility and aggression.

The human impulse to compete is certainly very deep (though it seems more embedded in males than females) and it brings with it undoubted pleasures. Yet we have produced a world out of balance; a world where getting ahead matters much more than getting along, where competition matters much more than community, and where sorting people out is more important than social solidarity (Judt 2010). Education can make a major contribution to this more balanced way of existence. We can try to make our classrooms or schools places less ruled by competition (admittedly not easy in this time of intense focus on standardized tests). We can articulate and practice a philosophy in which individual grades and test results are not what we value most. We can facilitate more time for group and peer-supported activity. We can try cultivating a social ambience in our classroom or school in which caring, compassionate and supportive relationships are important and social divisions are lessened. And we can ensure that our curriculum gives at least equal time to social movements and events that enhance community and solidarity in our nation and globally.

Obviously we cannot as educators eliminate the culture of competition and selfish individualism. But we can enable young people to at least experience what it means to spend time in a community that cares and supports all, and emphasizes the importance of cooperative and reciprocal relationships. In this way education might contribute towards the goal of how we might live, both individually and collectively, more balanced lives.

It is not hard to see how the need to rebalance our society and our world towards an ethic of care and community, and away from competition and self-interest, is inextricably connected to the goal of greater social justice. Sadly we inhabit a world in which exploitation and abuse of human beings is rife, and the lack of basic resources for a decent human life is found in almost every place on our planet (Sachs

2005). It can hardly be surprising that such a situation breeds a world of conflict and war as national and global inequities generate resentment and fury at the way things work. Sometimes such emotions produce movements of change of a genuinely more democratic and equal nature. Elsewhere they are steered into dysfunctional carnage and brutality as groups of those with little or nothing turn their resentment on others similarly dispossessed.

There is, I believe no more important focus for peace education than to teach for a transformative vision of the world rooted in the quest for greater equity and fairness in social and economic relationships. Without significant change in these relationships there can be no hope of a more peaceful, less violent world. Alongside students' growing awareness about the corrosive effects of social injustice at home and around the world there must also be an alternative vision of a world in which the basic needs of all people are satisfied, and where there is a commitment to share and trade earth's precious resources fairly and in an environmentally sustainable manner for the sake of future generations. While for some such an education may seem dangerously radical, I believe there is growing recognition that this is precisely what it means to educate for a world of greater human dignity, fairness and peace.

In the end questions about social justice, a more caring community and the end of violence can be reduced, I believe, to the need to see the extraordinary and unconditional value of each human life (indeed of all life). To affirm this is to oppose all those things that diminish, degrade or destroy a life. It is to oppose genocide, killing, mutilation, torture, rape, abuse of children, slavery or any form of economic exploitation, racism, or violence and dehumanization directed against women, gays or minority groups.

The belief in the inherent worth of each life underpins our notions of democracy, civil rights, and more recently, human rights (Zajda 2020c). In each case what is asserted is the conviction that societies and institutions must exist for the sake of the realization and fulfillment of an individual's potentialities and capabilities; they must ensure conditions that honor the integrity and inviolability of each person.

Our work as teachers, as well parents, must be to emphasize our shared humanity and the preciousness of every life while honestly and forthrightly pointing to the ways we think and act that contradict and conflict with this conviction. The institution of school itself provides a powerful space for highlighting such conflict with its pervasive hierarchical ranking, competitive-individualism, tracking and the differentiation of individual worth, social cliques and social status, bullying, and demeaning of those who might not fit the cultural or gender norms. What would it mean, we may ask, for us to act in ways that ensures that the worth and dignity of every person in our school is recognized and respected? What would it mean for us to do that with every life on earth?

30.2.7 *Hope*

I have no doubt that hope is an essential ingredient of change. There is no automatic, determined process by which human society moves from one stage to another. Change requires not just some understanding or grasp of what ails a culture but also a sense that something else is possible, that things do not have to stay as they are. There has to be a positive energy that says our efforts at changing the way the things are can really bear fruit—the extraordinary could really happen.

Hope seems to combine this sense of unlikely possibility with other things such as courage, imagination, faith, a sense of history, and that elusive quality called grace. Hope cannot be confused with optimism which is the disposition to *expect* things to turn out fine. There is a mysterious quality to hope; hope arises in those seemingly impossible situations as the will to transcend some horror or terrible situation in the belief that something else is really possible. This horror is not our inevitable fate.

Today with war, violence and abuse of both human beings and nature so pervasive in our world, can we really believe that a radical change is possible? Hope is that unlikely quality that allows us to believe that this suffering is not our necessary destiny or fate. Things can really be otherwise. A different kind of existence can come into being (Welch 2004). This sense seemed to be so powerfully present in the recent events in Tahrir Square in Cairo.

30.3 Evaluation

The question here for us is can hope be taught? I am encouraged to believe that there is pedagogy of hope. And that certain things can indeed nourish this quality. One of these is knowing something about history. Not in the dead and disconnected way we usually teach it in school, but as the living struggle by human beings, often against all odds, to win greater justice, freedom or opportunity, or to stop a war. When history is taught as the memory of these impossible struggles students are opened to the recognition that people at other times struggled to make change when such change seemed entirely unlikely, when the forces arrayed against them made it seem as if this was a futile quest. In my pedagogy I attempt to make students see the ‘present as history’; to see our present struggles for social justice, an end to war, fair trade, a sustainable economy and climate as unlikely—or as likely—as other previous ‘impossible’ quests.

It is helpful, of course, when our education emphasizes the constructed nature of knowledge. In this sense we help to break to breakdown the ‘tyranny of facts’ which seems to make reality such an unmovable force. To see that the way we know and understand the world is but one possibility among many opens the door to questioning whose ‘reality’ is this, and in whose interests is it for us to apprehend the world in this particular way. There is nothing that is fixed and unmovable about the world.

We need just the imagination to reconceptualize it. Such thinking nourishes the sense of possibility among students. The invitation to see the world in new ways, the sense that history was about the struggles of men and women to change their world especially if this is accompanied by students' own involvement in struggles for peace and social justice, can go a long way towards overcoming a sense of fatalism, cynicism or apathy among young people, and encouraging a powerful sense of hope.

30.4 Conclusion

Any attempt to transform the schools in the direction outlined in the seven points above would undoubtedly meet fierce opposition. The notion that education should be a place for serious exploration of social injustice, the competitive culture, human exploitation and indignity, or an opportunity to develop hope and imagination for a world that is free from violence, nationalism, racism and sexual oppression, contradicts the prevailing and deeply entrenched ideas of education's role and purpose in society. The belief that the classroom can be a location for open and honest expression of students' fears, concerns and anxieties about their lives, and their world, is certainly at odds with the current emphasis on what should be taught. And there is little opportunity to understand knowledge as something uncertain, provisional and functioning in the interests of established interests. One question to answer is where will this movement come from? Certainly there are teachers out there who yearn for a new paradigm for educating kids away from the deadening regime of endless testing, and educational administrators who see the stultifying irrelevancy and unfairness of current policies and practices. There are parents who are aware of how little schooling seems to speak to the real challenges faced by their children in the twenty-first century. And, of course, so many students who are dying from the sheer boredom and disconnection of the classroom, who would want nothing more than an opportunity for their education to speak in meaningful ways to their lives. In these troubled times we must hope that somehow these disparate parties, and others who are clear about the immense human crises that now confront us, can find their voices so as to articulate the need for a new and very different vision for education.

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Chapter 31

Development of Moral and Ethical Reasoning: A Comparison of U.S. and International University Students' Moral Reasoning Skills



Samuel D. Brown, Melanie Burton, Pamela R. Hallam, and David J. Settle

Abstract The research reported in this chapter was conducted at a private Christian-affiliated university in the western United States. Two samples of beginning freshmen and two samples of seniors (all groups including U.S. and international students) were given the revised version of the DIT (DIT-2) during the same semester. Post conventional thinking pscores were collected and statistically compared using a one-way ANOVA. This study of moral development using the DIT-2 test can provide useful insights into the different ways that diverse populations reason in situations of moral complexity. Findings regarding gender and language differences were consistent with previous research; however, comparing international populations studying in the U.S. with native U.S. students found differences in moral reasoning scores needing further consideration. We conclude that additional research is necessary to determine the moral development of diverse groups within international settings. This research can help school officials working with different groups to support diverse students in higher education.

31.1 Development of Moral and Ethical Reasoning: A Comparison of U.S. and International University Students' Moral Reasoning Skills: Introduction

Trends in globalisation within the United States show continued growth in the international student population as well as in the number of students leaving the U.S. to study abroad (Institute of International Education 2019). Recent global policies and events, including the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated conditions, will continue to impact both student mobility and international residence policies; however,

S. D. Brown · M. Burton · P. R. Hallam (✉) · D. J. Settle
Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, USA
e-mail: pam_hallam@byu.edu

students choosing to study abroad as matriculated and short-term visitors will likely be a staple in world educational systems. If higher education administrators and faculty can understand ways nationally diverse populations think and reason, they will be better equipped to offer support to these students in their educational experiences.

The Defining Issues Test (DIT; Rest 1986) has been used to measure the development of moral judgment in numerous studies conducted on college students in the United States. Results indicate a direct correlation between DIT scores, age, and level of education (Maeda et al. 2009). The literature, however, focuses on U.S. students in higher education, leaving a significant gap regarding moral development and reasoning of international students compared to U.S. students at the tertiary level. International students have long been recognized as contributing to the core value and strength of American higher education. This population offers economic and social benefits to make the world a prosperous and interconnected place. In 2019 over one million international students were studying in the United States (IIE 2019). Their moral reasoning development on an individual level must be considered an integral part of the overall educational experience.

The study reported in this chapter was conducted at a private Christian-affiliated university in the western United States. Two samples of beginning freshmen and two samples of seniors (all groups including U.S. and international students) were given the revised version of the DIT (DIT-2; Rest and Narvaez 1998) during the same semester. Post conventional thinking pscores were collected and statistically compared using a one-way ANOVA.

31.2 Conceptual Background

31.2.1 Kohlberg's Model of Moral Development

Kohlberg's model of moral development adapted using Piaget's psychological theory on the qualitative development of knowledge has dominated the field of ethical behavior for decades, identifying six stages of moral reasoning across three levels (Rest 1986):

Level 1, pre-conventional: obedience and punishment orientation and self-interest orientation

Level 2, conventional: interpersonal accord and conformity, authority and social-order maintenance orientation.

Level 3, post-conventional: social contract orientation and universal ethical principles.

While many early philosophers and psychologists have criticized Kohlberg's theory, raising concerns including gender bias, cultural differences, and particular

thoughts and actions, his stages have consistently been used as a basis for continued research.

31.2.2 Additional Definitions

Among various definitions of moral development, Kohlberg's concept as "the transformations that occur in a person's form or structure of thought" (Kohlberg and Hersh 1977) has been considered foundational. Moral reasoning and development, as measured by the DIT-2, considers three schemas (or lenses) that individuals use in making moral decisions:

1. Personal interest schema: consideration of what is best for the individual, resulting in some personal gain or benefit
2. Maintaining norm schema: compliance with rules that are the social norm, desiring to be viewed as socially compliant
3. Postconventional schema: consideration of what is best for society, doing what the individual considers the right thing to do

The DIT-2 uses the postconventional score tabulation to measure an individual's moral development, defined as "conscious and deliberative decision-making" (Narvaez and Bock 2002, p. 297). Facets and components have been added to include beliefs, emotions, attitudes, and behaviors. However, our research is based on the earlier definition for consistency with our conceptual position and with the measurements of the instrument we used. It is important to remember, however, that these measurements do not indicate a level of attained morality, but rather an indication of the reasoning behind individuals' choice of certain behaviors in complex situations that require moral reasoning.

31.3 Development of DIT and DIT-2

In 1974 James Rest devised the Defining Issues Test (DIT), a component model of moral development, as an alternative to Kohlberg's arduous interviews, using schemas to illustrate Kohlberg's stages. Rest conceptualized the reasoning of cognitive moral development according to concept-driven ways of thinking based on prior life experience. Researchers used the DIT over the following 25 years to investigate a broad range of moral issues in a variety of studies with numerous samples of undergraduate college students, extending professional understanding of the development of moral judgement among college students.

The DIT was updated in 1998 with DIT-2 (Rest & Narvaez), improved in brevity, clarity, and validity criteria. Dilemmas in the DIT were updated, a new developmental score was incorporated (N2 index), and collection of inaccurate data was minimized by including scoring guides and computerized scoring at the Center for Study

of Ethical Development. Rest et al. (1997) were the first to use the DIT-2 on a study designed to measure the relationship of moral reasoning to individual demographic characteristics, with findings similar to the original DIT in that DIT-2 scores increased with age and education level. The DIT-2 considers individuals' approach to moral dilemmas based on their own context and reaction, using updated scenarios and three schemas listed above as frames of reference through which participants view or relate to the presented dilemmas.

Although individual and educational contexts appeared to relate in the sequence previously accepted for moral development, authors Maeda et al. (2009) attempted to assess relationships between specific institutional characteristics, regional differences, and growth in moral judgement as measured by the DIT-2. Among their findings were that (a) different types of higher education institutions produced variations in moral judgement development, (b) gender and moral judgement were related, as well as language and moral judgement, and (c) DIT-2 scores at institutions that had religious affiliation were higher than those at institutions that did not. Maeda et al. (2009) concluded, (a) educational context should be considered to understand variations to an individual's level of moral judgement and (b) characteristics of the specific institution as well as the larger socio-political climate are associated with variation in individual scores.

31.4 Inclusion of International Students

The research conducted using the DIT-2 on international students from specific countries is limited in scope and breadth. Leaders in moral development research have concluded that more studies should consider "alternative cultural paradigms and perspectives outside of dominant cultures...whose social life and development were much more sustainable and supportive of virtue than ours" (Narvaez 2013, p. 8). Thus, the international students on many college campuses provide an alternative population of subjects for identifying philosophical and psychological issues to compare with those of U.S. students. We mention several such previous studies. A comparison of ethical reasoning abilities on beginning accounting students from Ireland and the United States was published in 1996 by Eynon et al. The three-scenario version of the DIT found no significant differences in moral reasoning between the two groups of students.

A study by Rose in 2012 attempted to measure improvements in students' moral reasoning when specific instructional strategies and materials for teaching ethical decision-making were utilized in a non-ethics MBA management accounting course. The DIT-2 was administered to two groups of U.S. and international students in a pretest–posttest quasi-experimental design, administered on the first and last days of class. The results showed no significant difference between the U.S. and international students on pretest mean post-conventional pscores. The posttest scores on both groups, however, were significantly different, with the international group posttest scores having decreased. This study focused on groups of students

enrolled at a Christian affiliated institution of higher education in Nigeria. Although samples were small (freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, graduate students), no significant differences were found in N2 scores. The research did confirm, however, that moral reasoning improved during undergraduate studies when students had contact with their professors outside of class.

In 2016 a study by Wilhelm and Gunawong compared cultural dimensions and moral reasoning between students attending a public university in Thailand and students at an institution in the United States, using the DIT-2 to measure moral reasoning. The DIT-2 given to the Thai students was translated into their own language. Significant differences were found at all three levels of moral reasoning (personal interest, norm maintenance, and post-conventional). U.S. students scored much higher on post-conventional principles (N2) of moral reasoning and on the lower level personal interest moral reasoning. The authors concurred that further studies would be needed to understand variations in moral development of international students when compared with U.S. students in higher education. This study included approximately 1300 undergraduate international students from over 100 countries. Samples were selected from four populations: international freshman students, U.S. freshman students, international senior students, and U.S. senior students.

31.5 Methods

31.5.1 Hypotheses

Defining Issues Test 2 (DIT-2; Rest and Narvaez 1998) was used to assess the moral development of international and U.S.-born students at a large private university in the Western United States in order to explore differences and similarities between moral framework development of beginning and graduating students from these diverse backgrounds. The study tested the following hypotheses:

1. International students (excluding those from Canada) will exhibit no significant difference in their level of moral development when compared with their U.S. counterparts.
2. Similar to previous research regarding U.S. students and moral development, senior international students (excluding those from Canada) will show higher moral reasoning scores when compared to freshman international students.
3. Specific demographic and educational attributes of international students will correlate with lower moral reasoning scores.

31.5.2 *Sampling and Demographics*

Survey responses were collected from 315 individuals, selected for participation based on their status as either as an international student or U.S. citizen, as well as university progression level (freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior; see Table 31.1).

To select students from the four groups for comparison, we used (a) an internal university database for U.S. citizens and (b) the listing of the Department of Homeland Security’s Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS), used by the institution’s office of International Student and Scholar Services to track international visa holders. Once lists of these students were collected, a total of 2697 invitations were sent to students in the desired categories, to which 635 students replied, for a response rate of 23.5%. Following Howell’s (2007) recommendation for “listwise deletion,” the incomplete responses were deleted, leaving 315 completed surveys. Table 31.2 includes a breakdown by gender and primary language.

31.5.3 *Instrument*

The DIT-2 (Rest and Narváez 1998) was used in this research. The DIT items cluster under the three previously described main factors or schemas— personal interest, maintaining norms, and postconventional—within their identified stages. The DIT indicates which of these three schemas represent processes used by individuals in resolving complex moral issues; research has shown that including all three schema scores is more useful for tracking individuals’ developmental changes (Rest et al. 1997). The results are reported in terms of a pscore representing the proportion of the items the respondents have selected that classify under the postconventional moral framework (Stages 5A, 5B, and 6). This aggregated score is converted to a percentage (P%), which can range from 0 to 95, representing the extent to which a person prefers postconventional moral thinking (Rest et al. 1997).

In addition to the postconventional pscore, the DIT-2 assesses a range of indices. These include (a) a humanitarian liberal perspective on moral issues (HUMLIB), (b) a measure of religious orthodoxy (CANCER) with regard to the notion that only God can decide certain things, and (c) a representation of the amount of

Table 31.1 Distribution of respondents by group

Group	N	%
Freshmen U.S.-born students	107	34
Freshmen international students	47	15
Senior U.S.-born students	98	31
Senior international students	63	20
Total	315	100

Table 31.2 Descriptive statistics

Group	Male	Female	ESL
Freshman U.S.-born students	23	84	1
Freshman international students	29	18	37
Senior U.S.-born students	48	50	0
Senior international students	35	28	61
Total	135	180	89

anti-establishment felt by the respondent (ASCORE) based on consideration of where blame should be placed with existing authorities.

31.5.4 Variables

Much like previous studies (Bebeau et al. 2003; Brown et al. 2016; King and Mayhew 2002; Maeda et al. 2009), this research considered a variety of educational and demographic factors to determine distinctions and similarities. These factors, collected as part of the survey given to the respondents, were analyzed using both one-way and two-way ANOVAs.

31.5.5 Educational Factors

This study considered various educational characteristics as related to the DIT-2 scores. Including level in school, chosen major, and level of parents' educational attainment, these factors were ascertained by questions on the survey and recoded in order to assign groupings. Nominal values, such as major, were grouped into distinct colleges within the chosen university and given a numerical coding. While level in school is normally an ordinal value, in this context it was numerically converted to represent a grouping and not used exclusively as a hierarchical numerical value. In this case, freshmen U.S. Citizens were assigned 1, freshmen international students 2, senior U.S. Citizens 3, and senior international students 4. This allowed us to both categorize each group for assessment and rearrange them for additional pairings (e.g., all freshmen related to all seniors regardless of nationality).

31.5.6 Demographic Factors

This study also considered demographic factors such as gender, age, race, region of origin, native language, marital status, religious affiliation, and years spent in the U.S. prior to attending higher education. Like the educational characteristics, these

factors were recoded to allow analysis. Nominal factors such as gender, region of origin, native language, and marital status were recoded using numerical values. Ordinal factors such as age and years spent in the U.S. prior to attending higher education were recoded but left as ordinal values. Country of origin was recoded to fit into the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) regions for international research. These regions were set up to distinguish an International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) for reporting and research purposes, including the following eight regions: Arab States, Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, Latin American and the Caribbean, North American and West Europe, South and West Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Regarding religious affiliation, groups were broken down first into dominant religious categories and assigned numerical values for analysis, then further broken down into two additional categories: belonging to the same religion as the sponsoring institution and belonging to a religion different than the sponsoring institution.

31.6 Results

One-way and two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to explore these student groups for variables representing moral schema development. These were followed by Tukey's post-hoc testing. To compare means of the different student groups for variables representing moral schema development, several one-way ANOVA analyses were conducted. For pscore for postconventional thinking, the analysis revealed a statistically significant difference between the means of the groups ($F[3311] = 10.930, p < 0.01$). A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significantly higher postconventional moral reasoning score for the U.S. freshman group ($39.38 \pm 13.6, p = .005$) and U.S. senior group ($39.82 \pm 15, p = .003$) compared to the international freshman group (30.81 ± 14.9). This pscore was also statistically significantly higher for the U.S. freshman group ($39.38 \pm 13.6, p < 0.01$) and U.S. senior group ($39.82 \pm 15, p < 0.01$) compared to the international senior group (29.02 ± 15.3). No statistically significant differences were found between the international freshman and senior groups ($p = .920$) or between U.S. freshman and senior groups ($p = .997$). Figure 31.1 demonstrates the distribution of the means for the groups.

Additionally, two-way ANOVA revealed no statistical significance for postconventional thinking based on student groups associated with gender ($F[1, 3] = 1.390, p = .239$). Similarly, no statistical significance was found for postconventional thinking associated with student groups and age ($F[4, 8] = 1.797, p = .077$). Additional two-way ANOVA analyses revealed no statistical significance for postconventional pscore and student group associated with the students' university major ($F[13, 28] = 1.029, p = .430$). Subsequently another one-way ANOVA was conducted for postconventional pscore and student age, revealing a statistically significant difference ($F[4310] = 2.893, p = .022$). A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a

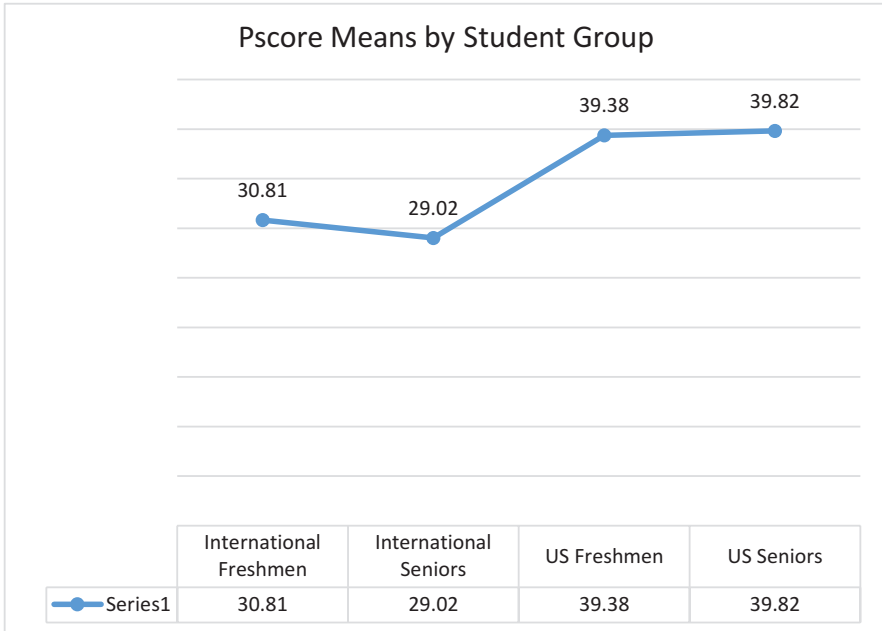


Fig. 31.1 Means of the student pscores by groups

postconventional moral reasoning score that was statistically significantly higher for the first age group (17–19 years) as compared to the third age group (25–29 years; $p = 0.26$). No other age groups demonstrated a statistically significant difference in their postconventional pscores. Figure 31.2 illustrates distribution of these pscore means of the age groups.

One-way ANOVA also revealed a statistically significant difference between men and women for postconventional moral thinking development ($F[1313] = 5.010$, $p = .026$). Females demonstrated statistically significantly higher postconventional moral thinking when compared to males (see Fig. 31.3).

Subsequently a one-way ANOVA was conducted for the postconventional pscore associated with the students’ race. The analysis revealed a statistically significant difference ($F[5309] = 5.167$, $p < .001$). A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a postconventional moral reasoning score that was statistically significantly lower for the third racial group (Hispanic) as compared to the fifth racial group (White; $p = .001$). No other racial groups demonstrated any statistically significant difference in these pscores. Figure 31.4 illustrates distribution of postconventional pscore means of the racial groups.

U.S. citizenship also influenced postconventional pscore distribution with statistical significance, with U.S. citizens demonstrating significantly higher postconventional scores than non-citizens ($F[1, 313] = 27.067$, $p < .001$). Region of origin similarly revealed statistical significance for this pscore distribution ($F[6, 308] = 4.844$, $p < .001$). Regions 3 (Asia and the Pacific) and 5 (Latin America and

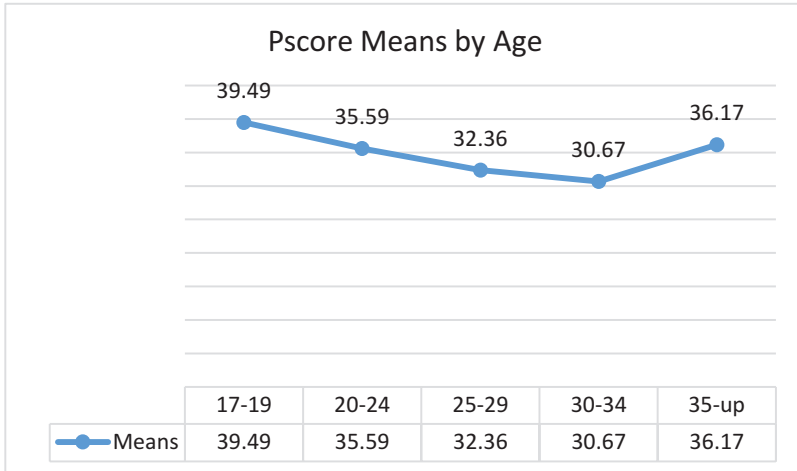


Fig. 31.2 Means of the students' postconventional pscore by age group

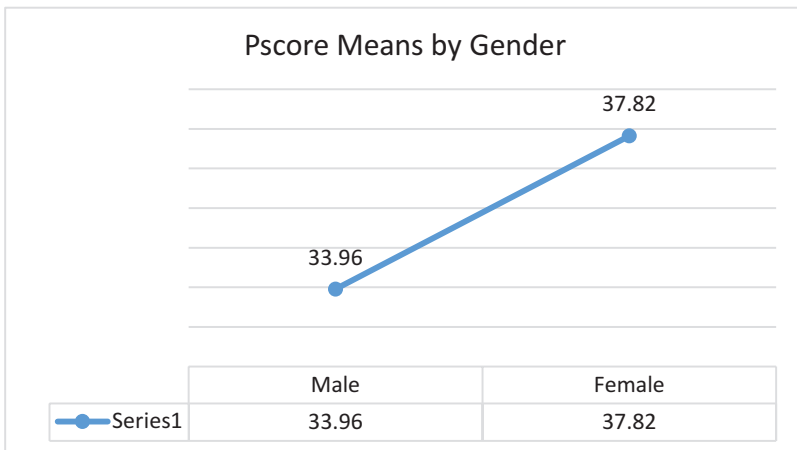


Fig. 31.3 Means of the students' postconventional pscores by gender

the Caribbean) demonstrated significantly lower results than Region 6 (U.S.; $p = .018$, $p = .001$). See Fig. 31.5 for distribution of means.

Analyzing distribution of students' postconventional pscores by whether English was their native language also revealed statistically significant differences ($F[1, 313] = 31.066$, $p < .001$): Native English speakers demonstrated higher postconventional moral scores compared to non-native English speakers. Parents' level of

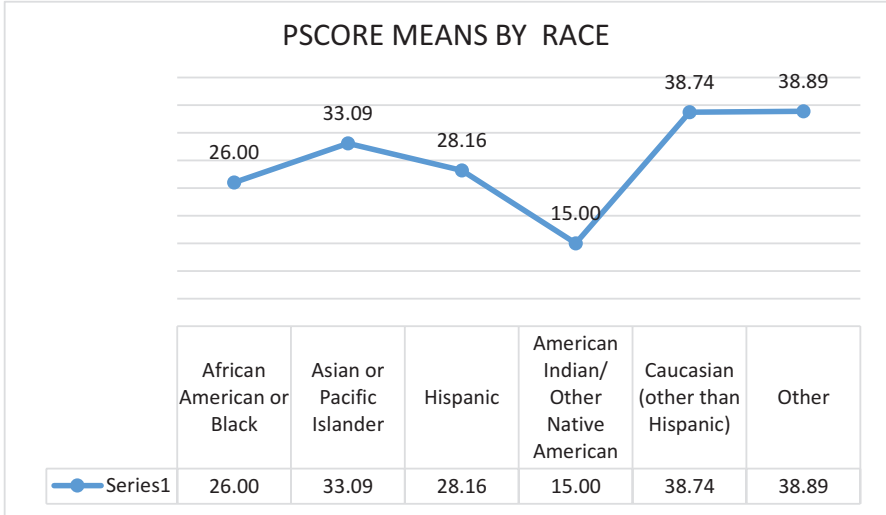


Fig. 31.4 Means of the students' postconventional score by race

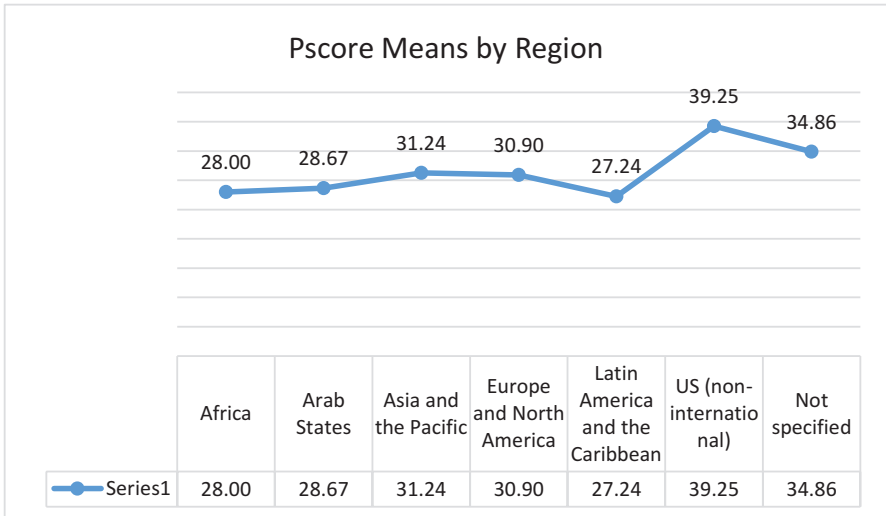


Fig. 31.5 Means of the students' postconventional score by region

education was another variable that yielded statistically significant results for the distribution of postconventional pscores ($F[5, 308] = 3.176, p = .008$). Group 4 (some college) had significantly lower results compared with Group 6 (additional degrees; $p = .030$). To achieve the post-hoc analysis results, we did not include the one respondent who selected Group 1 (no high school) in the analysis. We found that years spent in the U.S was also statistically significant in postconventional

pscore distribution ($F[4, 307] = 4.396, p = .002$), as Option 2 (1–2 years in the U.S.) showed significantly lower results than Option 5 (4+ years in the U.S.; $p = .020$). The following variables demonstrated no statistical significance in one-way ANOVA analyses for the postconventional pscore: political views ($F[4310] = 1.056, p = .378$), parents attending U.S. university ($F[1, 104] = 2.981, p = .087$), major ($F[13, 301] = 1.630, p = .076$), marital status ($F[1, 313] = 1.357, p = .245$), religion ($F[1, 313] = 2.694, p = .102$).

31.7 Stages Within Main Variables

The DIT-2 also measures stages for each main variable. Stages within the personal interest variable represent direct advantages to the actor (Stage 1); fairness for exchanging favors (Stage 2); and good versus evil intentions of the parties as well as their concern for maintaining friendships and good relationships and maintaining approval (Stage 3). This research found a statistical significance between Group 2, comprised of international seniors ($F[3309] = 4.723, p = .003$) and Group 4, containing U.S. seniors ($p = .002$). The maintaining norms variable (Stage 4), which represents supporting the existing legal system, existing roles, and formal organizational structure, revealed statistical significance between Group 1 (international freshmen; $F[3309] = 4.001, p = .008$) and Group 4 (U.S. seniors [$p = .006$]). Additional analysis of the antisocial variable (ASCORE) demonstrated statistical significance between Group 2 (international seniors; ($F[3309] = 5.437, P = .001$)) and Groups 3 and 4 (U.S. freshmen and seniors, respectively; $p = .003$). To compare means of the different student groups for variables representing moral schema development, several one-way ANOVA analyses were conducted for groups of U.S. students and international students. Further sub-groupings within those categories were also compared, as the populations were divided into four main groups: U.S. freshmen, U.S. seniors, international freshmen, and international seniors. Following this principal analysis, additional groupings were compared to include educational and demographic variables.

31.7.1 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be no significant differences in moral reasoning scores for international students when compared with their U.S. counterparts. However, findings showed a statistically significant difference between the postconventional pscores for international students and U.S. students. A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significantly higher postconventional moral reasoning score for the U.S. freshman group when compared with the international freshman group ($p < .01$). Further, a Tukey post-hoc test revealed a statistically significantly higher postconventional moral reasoning score for the U.S. senior

group when compared with the international senior group ($p < .01$). Thus Hypothesis 1 has not been supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that senior international students (excluding those from Canada) would show higher moral reasoning scores when compared to freshman international students. Findings indicated no statistically significant difference in moral reasoning scores between the international freshmen and international seniors ($p < .920$). Thus Hypothesis 2 has not been supported.

Hypothesis 3 anticipated that specific demographic and educational attributes of international students would correlate to lower moral reasoning scores. Analyses was completed to compare the association of demographic attributes of gender, age, race, region of origin, native language, marital status, religious affiliation, and years spent in the U.S. prior to attending higher education. Educational attributes considered included level in school, chosen major, and parents' educational attainment.

As expected based on previous research (Maeda et al. 2009), one-way ANOVA analysis revealed a statistically significant difference between gender groups for the postconventional moral reasoning scores. Females from all four groups demonstrated statistically significantly higher postconventional moral reasoning scores than males from all four counterpart groups.

Region of origin similarly revealed statistical significance for postconventional pscore distribution. Analysis showed statistically significant differences between the United States (Region 6) and various other regions, including Asia and the Pacific (Region 3) and Latin America and the Caribbean (Region 5). Other regions could not be analyzed as accurately due to the limited number of participants from those areas. Similarly, analyzing pscore distribution by an English as a native language variable also resulted in statistically significant difference. Native English speakers demonstrated higher postconventional moral scores compared to non-native English speakers.

Deeper analyses among the moral reasoning subscores revealed statistically significant differences between various groups. International seniors showed statistically significantly higher sub-scores on the personal interest schema compared to U.S. seniors. Also, international seniors showed statistically significantly higher subscores on the anti-social schema when compared to U.S. freshmen and U.S. seniors.

31.8 Discussion

Cross-cultural comparisons are challenging given the nuances and ambiguities associated with a broad construct like *culture*, particularly where abstractions like moral reasoning are concerned. Results of such a study cannot be conclusive or absolute; however, patterns can generate discussion and suggest future research. For the focus of this study, students at the tertiary level of education, we found limited research with international student populations within the United States relevant to moral reasoning or the DIT-2 assessment.

31.8.1 *Hypotheses Considered*

Although research on the first hypothesis found that U.S. students had significantly higher moral reasoning scores when compared to international students, this does not indicate higher morality—merely a reflection of differences in how students reason during complex situations. The scores may indicate differences in various cultural views of priorities. For example, two of the authors of this study have also published research on how trust is developed across cultures, finding that diverse facets of trust are prioritized differently from culture to culture (Brown et al. 2016; 2018a, b). Similarly, cultures may place different values on some of the outcomes tested in the DIT-2, such as following laws regardless of personal outcomes.

Analysis of the second hypothesis showed no significant difference in moral reasoning scores between international freshmen and international seniors, perhaps suggesting that international students do not change in their moral reasoning values throughout their education in the United States. This study and this instrument did not assess for this kind of assumption. International students may already be at a level of moral reasoning with which they feel confident when they start their U.S. university experience. Additionally, while certain philosophy or ethics classes may address moral reasoning in complex situations, the majority of the U.S. education system is not set up to address these matters. We found a certain strength in those who might have already had well-thought-out reasons for their beliefs in and valuing of certain priorities, as well as motivation for consistency in their convictions.

An additional finding was that international seniors showed higher subscores on the antisocial schema when compared to U.S. freshmen and seniors, which might result from differences in the collectivist and individualistic societies being compared, a possibility suggested by the previously published work of two of us comparing cultural differences between U.S. and Chinese students (Brown et al. 2018a, b).

Kagitcibasi (1997) stated, “Individualism/collectivism has long been of significance in social thought about human nature and the relationships among human beings” (p. 8). The foremost authority on collectivism and individualism, Geert Hofstede, stated, “Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family” (Hofstede et al. 1991, p. 92). As the U.S. is one of the most individualistic societies in the world, it seems reasonable that U.S. students might view complex moral situations through this lens. In contrast, scholars have noted that “collectivism . . . pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty” (Allik and Realo 2004, p. 5). Thus students from a more collective society (e.g., students from Asia) may view the same or comparable situations presented to U.S. students with completely different values and expectations. While this study did not specifically research

these contexts in relation to the DIT-2, face validity suggests that such differences could affect study outcomes.

Considering both Hypothesis 1, comparing U.S and international students, and Hypothesis 2, analysis between age categories within the international student group, revealed another notable variance. Moral reasoning pscores for female students were significantly higher in all four research groupings than those of males, as found by Maeda et al. (2009):

Indeed, given the strengths of our findings, if DIT-2 users do not find the expected gender difference, they may conclude that the characteristics of their respondents are uniquely different from students in the general population of institutions of higher education. (p. 245).

This finding is consistent with the current research in higher education and student development theory, which maintains females display more advanced development than males of the same age. Gender behavioral differences have long been noted in primary, secondary, and tertiary education in students' attention to school and admissions, persistence, focus, maturity level (Goldin et al. 2006), and leadership (Zenger and Folkman 2019). In addition, Magolda's research (1989) asserted that females have a different cognitive viewpoint and intellectual style than males, giving more credence to both information gathering and subjective analysis or explanation. These developmental differences can inform future research, increase gender awareness in advisement, and highlight the need for varying classroom approaches, including allowance for contrasting responses to curriculum conversations related to moral reasoning and development.

Although international seniors showed no significant difference over international freshmen in their postconventional scores, comparison of students having lived different numbers of years in the U.S. did yield significant variance. International students having spent 4+ year in the U.S. scored higher than those having lived only 1–2 years in the U.S. Since international students are under pressure due to visa policies and governmental expectations to finish degrees in close to 4 years, most students surveyed in our research were not categorized as Option 5 (4 years +), which would have been sufficient time to anticipate substantial shifts in moral reasoning. Future research might consider pscores in moral reasoning for international graduate students or focus analysis on those who have studied more than 4 years in addition to freshmen and seniors.

This research also found that native English speakers showed higher moral development when compared to non-native English speakers. While this finding is consistent with previous studies (Maeda et al. 2009), researchers offered no possible explanations. We suggest that as the DIT-2 test was written by U.S. researchers, both the language and the situations used are more easily understood and adapted by U.S. participants. Research has shown that when people are presented with a moral dilemma in a foreign language, their reactions are more intense and emotional than if they had read the details in their own language (Costa et al. 2014). We consider it likely that this difference in language is relevant to comparison of U.S. vs. non-U.S. populations and should be considered within that context. We advise against assumptions regarding moral reasoning based on language differences alone.

31.8.2 Implications

Faculty and administrators in institutions of higher education meet with diverse populations regularly, including many international students with various backgrounds and experiences. The findings of this study can help advisors consider how individual students may reason in the processes of making decisions regarding experiences both inside and outside the classroom. Considering why students make choices can guide school officials in meeting with these students and advising them. However, it is important to note that although patterns may reflect broad group characteristics, these must not stereotype or pigeonhole students. We recommend multiple approaches when advising each individual student.

This study underscores differences in how international students may look at moral dilemmas and compliance issues when compared to their U.S. counterparts. Considering these differences can help advisors in working through challenges with these diverse groups. For example, when orienting or educating international students, advisors may want to consider discussing social norms as they introduce institutional policies or academic integrity compliance, particularly for students who tend to see acquiescence through a lens of social compliance and acceptance. For students who view compliance through a more postconventional lens, appealing to their sense of right and wrong may be more effective. We recommend employing multiple methods when discussing policies and practices with students, not only during individual conversations but in advisement group settings or student life classes, where they may be more effective as different students may possess different moral reasoning schemas.

Historically, research strongly supports the reality of women maturing physically, intellectually, and emotionally earlier than men (Sax 2016). Thus, we anticipated that differing moral reasoning scores would reflect this developmental gender disparity. This study shows that women may look at moral dilemmas and compliance in educational settings in more postconventional ways than men, underscoring our recommendation that school officials utilize mixed approaches across moral schemas and avoid categorizing.

A number of study findings and thus recommendations relate to language issues. English language learners showed lower postconventional scores than native English speakers, which may support the possibility that differences in level of moral reasoning found between the U.S. and international students would have been less significant if international students had read the testing dilemmas in their native language. Critical thinking is a related consideration, as language is the medium for communicating and formulating ideas with subsequent actions. The connection between critical thought and moral development is fundamental because students' ability to reason at the highest moral level is largely predicated upon their ability to engage in abstract thought (Kohlberg et al. 1983). This critical process is affected when English language learners are processing responses solely in English. We recommend introducing literature containing ethical and moral dilemmas which require critical thinking and higher-level moral reasoning into ESL courses,

classroom curriculum, common readings seminars, or advisement settings to provide opportunities for non-native-English speakers to engage in discussion and reflection across moral schemas (Nichols 2015). Exposing students to added dimensions in their early curriculum may have a profound effect on moral judgement.

31.8.3 Limitations

Research limitations include the study context, since findings were based on students attending one large western private university with religious affiliation. Research has indicated that variations in moral reasoning should be considered in terms of educational context. Findings for this study are broad in terms of gender, age, location, and race, but limited within the confines of specific campus social and political demographics and culture. Further research within higher education may show more prevalent patterns for levels of moral development. Language as a barrier to persistence and attention while processing DIT-2 scenarios as well as resulting p-scores for preferred schemas should be examined more closely. The survey sample may be skewed by religious background, as only 1 of 204 U.S. participants was not of the dominant private-school religion in contrast to 14 of 96 international students.

Although findings from this study show some similarities to previous research, the decline in DIT scores for the international senior group after 4 years of higher education was unexpected. We had anticipated an increase in moral reasoning as subjects in this study had displayed some measures of morality and individual principles of conscience by developing interest in followed by application and admission to a private institution with religious affiliation and a strict code of honor. This result suggests need for more in-depth examination of the effects of culture, education, integration, gender, and age over time. Ideal follow-up research would focus on a two-part longitudinal study of the same U.S. and international student subjects, with a pre-test given to beginning freshmen, a post-test at the completion of each school year, and a final assessment to culminate the conclusion of senior year.

As discussed previously, since two of the four student groups were not native English speakers, researchers might want to consider whether the DIT-2 dilemmas and responses would have been different if they had been read and written in each student's native language (Costa et al. 2014).

31.9 Conclusion

This study of moral development using the DIT-2 test can provide useful insights into the different ways that diverse populations reason in situations of moral complexity. Findings regarding gender and language differences were consistent with previous research; however, comparing international populations studying in the

U.S. with native U.S. students found differences in moral reasoning scores needing further consideration. We conclude that additional research is necessary to determine the moral development of diverse groups within international settings. This research can help school officials working with different groups to support diverse students in higher education.

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Chapter 32

Between Two Islands: Experimenting with Educational Efficiency in New Zealand Junior High and Intermediate Schools



Howard Lee and Gregory Lee

Abstract This chapter examines the concept of ‘educational efficiency’ with particular reference to the historical origins and subsequent development of junior high and intermediate schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Although this concept has been a central feature of educational policy and practice for decades, its historical and institutional context has been all but ignored by educationists. Designed ostensibly to ‘bridge the gap’ between the primary and post-primary schools by offering specialist courses aligned to the perceived educational and vocational needs of young adolescents, the junior high and intermediate schools rapidly became embroiled in the ‘early specialisation’ versus ‘exploration of aptitudes’ debate. Seeking guidance and direction from successive Directors and Ministers of Education, these schools found neither a clear nor consistent educational philosophy to justify their existence. With the schools left to develop in their own ways, hoping somehow that a role would be found for them, politicians became obsessed with extracting greater efficiency from all institutions within the nation’s schooling system. However, with the restructuring of New Zealand education at a time when school enrolments were declining and with more primary schools seeking approval to recapitate, the intermediate school sector has been forced to reassess both its place and viability in the education system.

H. Lee (✉)
Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand
e-mail: H.F.Lee@massey.ac.nz

G. Lee
University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

32.1 Introduction

Among the vast array of education policies and practices in New Zealand that warrant further analysis is the doctrine of ‘educational efficiency’. Although yet to be examined comprehensively, this doctrine is of potential interest to historians of education and other educationists who seek to identify and examine school-based initiatives championed by successive politicians, Ministers of Education, education officials, and other interested parties. All these groups, at various stages throughout our educational history, have sought (and, still, seek frequently) to enhance the *efficiency* of primary and/or secondary schools, based on the premise that these institutions somehow must strive constantly to be more closely aligned to the needs and demands of their respective ‘stakeholders’. Their efforts, however, have seldom been successful because of “unresolved struggles” over what these different interest groups have regarded previously as being unproblematic and progressive schooling policies and practices (Openshaw 1995, p. 3).

Advocates of the education efficiency doctrine identified the traditional orientation and structure of the schooling system as being principal contributors to ‘inefficiency’. They claimed that educational deficiencies had resulted from a schooling system that for too long had made inadequate provision for the educational, social, and vocational needs of an identifiable group of young people – namely, adolescents. Such provision was deemed essential when increasing numbers of students began to enter and remain at school from the early twentieth century (Lee 1991). One ‘solution’ that was proposed involved redefining and then reorganising post-primary schooling to enable pupils to complete their primary schooling at the end of Standard IV (Year 6) rather than Standard VI (Year 8), and to study a modified curriculum in a new environment designed especially for adolescent boys and girls. A more accurate determination of these pupils’ needs, interests, and aptitudes was possible; it was claimed, by persuading them to enroll in a new institution – the junior high school (or department). This strategy was thought preferable to having many Standard VI primary school leavers enter a technical high or secondary school, only to remain there briefly (Lee and Lee 1996).

Given the reality that the secondary schools derived their academic status and community standing from their longer term (examination-based) programmes of study, supporters of the junior high schools declared that educational efficiency would be compromised if most, if not all, Proficiency Certificate holders – those possessing a Standard VI qualification – were encouraged to enter a secondary school. There was no guarantee, they maintained, that these students would remain at secondary school, or a technical high school, for the 3 or 4 years that school principals deemed necessary for them to derive full benefit from their studies. By comparison, junior high schools (intended initially as 3-year institutions) were perceived as capable of offering special curricula for two broad groups of adolescents – those leaving junior high school to enter either a secondary or technical high school, and those intending to enter the workforce immediately upon leaving junior high school (Lee and Lee 1996).

Concern about the ‘efficiency’ or otherwise of New Zealand schools, evident from the time that free, compulsory, and secular primary schooling was introduced nationally in 1878, intensified whenever New Zealanders experienced an economic depression and during periods of war (Openshaw et al. 1993). Prolonged deliberation took place over ‘proper’ citizenship instruction, the prospect of ‘modernising’ schools and their curricula to ensure better student preparation for direct entry to the workforce, and over easing the transition from junior high to secondary or technical schools, as part of a wider discussion about enhancing the efficiency of *all* schools. Efficient schooling, it was argued, would enhance the stability of New Zealand as a democratic society. Accordingly, each school was expected to play its part in meeting this objective, accompanied by growing Ministerial and Department of Education support for differentiating the curriculum offerings of secondary, district high, and technical high schools during World War 1, albeit with a small, compulsory, core curriculum in place that would be *common* across all courses of study (Lee 1991; Openshaw et al. 1993).

This initiative, in large part, was a response to mounting criticism, emanating from George Hogben (the national Inspector-General of Schools, 1899–1915) and other prominent educationists, from as early as 1900, that academic courses had dominated secondary schools to the detriment of other programmes better suited to what rapidly was becoming a much more diverse pupil intake. A further difficulty was that few students, including those enrolled in academic courses, remained at school for three or more years, an observation that not only added weight to Hogben’s advocacy of a curriculum differentiation policy (Openshaw et al. 1993) but also to later official agitation for the immediate introduction of junior high schools into New Zealand’s schooling system on the grounds that it was a special purpose institution.

32.2 The Hanan and Parr Era

Josiah (Joe) Hanan, the Minister of Education in the Mackenzie and subsequent National Governments (1912–1919), shared Hogben’s enthusiasm for curriculum reform. Hanan was equally convinced that effective citizenship and efficient schooling ought to be priorities for education policy and practice. He believed firmly that “equal opportunities” for every pupil would be secured once greater space became available in all high school curricula for general education studies, via a prescribed common core curriculum (*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives [AJHR]*, E-1A, 1916, p. 4). Hanan was adamant that “four types of secondary education” were necessary in order to cater for pupils’ individual differences (p. 4).

At this time a new institution, the junior high school, had not been contemplated seriously. Hanan simply assumed, instead, that efficient schooling was achievable within the existing schooling system, albeit after careful modification. Underpinning his schooling philosophy was a belief in “certain common human possibilities and needs” (p. 4) and a conviction that these had to be catered for through a “general

education” or “general training” (pp. 4–6) curriculum, while individual differences in academic and practical aptitudes could be accommodated within an expanded range of post-primary courses (pp. 4–9). Hanan outlined his rationale for linking efficient schooling and the provision of a common core curriculum within a modern, progressive, democratic nation as follows:

There is no justification for giving the good start, the broad vision, to a few and condemning too many to a narrow unenlightened existence. Not all will fully profit by this opportunity; but all have a right to it; and the opportunity should be held open for a reasonable length of time, even though there are those who seem slow in taking advantage of it. (*AJHR*, E-1A, 1916, p. 4)

Hanan’s conception of efficiency, as expected, was contested promptly. James Parr, the Massey Government’s controversial Minister of Education (1920–1926), defined efficient post-primary schooling initially in terms of *differentiated curricula* rather than promoting a comprehensive general education curriculum common to all courses and pupils (Openshaw et al. 1993). Educators and the public were soon left in no doubt about Parr’s intentions and expectations. They were outlined with little delay, and without apology.

Almost immediately upon assuming office Parr announced his wish to give pupils “a first class secondary course either in high [secondary] or technical schools”, designed to encourage more primary pupils to enter post-primary schools and to remain there (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates [NZPD]*, 1920, p. 585). Introducing legislation to raise the school leaving age from 14 to 15 years, Parr concluded, was now urgent to ensure that pupils left school “with much more efficient educational equipment” (*AJHR*, E-6, 1921–1922, p. 4). The second aspect to school reform, Parr believed, involved the Government acquiring greater centralised control over post-primary schooling so that institutional curriculum differentiation could occur (McKenzie 1987). Unfortunately for the Minister the school leaving age could not be raised, owing to the severely straitened economic conditions that the New Zealand Government faced in its post-World War 1 reconstruction (*AJHR*, E-1, 1921–1922). Notwithstanding this constraint, Parr remained supremely confident about how best to restructure post-primary education.

Despite his support for overhauling and modernising post-primary schooling, Parr initially was not convinced that there was much commonality in the educational needs of early-leaving and long-term pupils (*AJHR*, E-6, 1920). Having acknowledged that financial constraints prevented him from raising the school leaving age Parr then investigated the concept of a junior high school, a new institution that purportedly offered “a specially adapted secondary course at an earlier age” (*AJHR*, E-6, 1921–1922, p. 4). His prime target was the large number of “insufficiently educated children” who left school early (*AJHR*, E-6, 1921–1922, p. 10). Like Hanan, Parr maintained that schooling ought to have a “civilising” influence within any democratic country (*AJHR*, E-6, 1921–1922, p. 10). He was adamant that directing pupils toward an institution whose staff were able to provide both ‘preparatory’ and ‘terminal’ instruction would achieve this objective (Cumming 1959). Greater efficiency was guaranteed, according to junior high advocates,

because their ‘graduates’ would enter either technical high or secondary schools, based on their performance in the junior school, or leave, as the majority invariably would, to enter the workforce (Lee 1991).

32.3 Post-Primary Schooling Revisited

Parr was well aware that between 1915 and 1920 there had been a steady increase in the proportion of primary school leavers who had gained either a Proficiency (Standard VI) or a Competency (a lower grade Standard VI) Certificate, and who then advanced directly to high school (Lee 1991). This knowledge made him more convinced about the merits of sorting pupils into discrete categories, based on the premise that efficient schooling involved directing students to different courses in accordance with their perceived intellectual and/or practical (manual and technical) abilities (McKenzie 1988). Furthermore, Parr declared confidently that only a small proportion of successful candidates in the Proficiency Examination would derive any tangible benefit from studying an academic curriculum.

The national Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, Theophilus Strong, concurred with his Minister’s assessment. Strong maintained that the success of the New Zealand schooling system depended upon devising some system whereby pupils would be classified “in accordance with their level of intelligence, and by which neither the bright pupil will be retarded nor the dull pupil discouraged” (*AJHR*, E-2, 1921–1922, pp. ii–iii).

Strong’s chief criticism of the post-primary schools was that they took little account of the wide variation not only in “[pupils’] mental and physical calibre” but also their likely vocational destinations. Although Parr and Strong agreed that curriculum differentiation was essential for ‘improved’, ostensibly more efficient, pupil classification, they were forced to concede that the secondary departments of the district (rural) high schools presented a major threat to their plans (*AJHR*, E-2, 1921–1922). As Lee and Lee (1996, 2015) and McKenzie et al. (1996) have demonstrated, although education officials insisted that these institutions provide several courses the reality was that most, if not all, communities demanded that these schools provide academic, examination-oriented, instruction in preference to a more applied, practical, and rural-oriented curriculum. In the case of rural district high schools, therefore, Parr and Strong came to understand, albeit reluctantly, that any attempt to introduce a rigid curriculum differentiation policy would be destined to fail (Lee and Lee 2015). Strong, it should be noted, was seen for most of his career as an unpopular and controversial senior-level public servant in several educational and schooling communities nationally. One historian of New Zealand education, for example, has described him — perhaps harshly — as being not only “uninspiring, insular, and uninformed” (Cumming 1959, p. 550) but also “tactless and high-handed” (p. 588) in his education administration work.

Another complication for the Minister and the Chief Inspector was the fact that attendance at technical high, district high (secondary departments), and secondary

schools was entirely voluntary because the 1901 School Attendance Act had stipulated 14 years of age as the school leaving age. This provision remained unchanged until 1944 when the school leaving age was raised to 15 years (McKenzie et al. 1996). Parr and Strong were especially critical of the low pupil retention rate in the majority of New Zealand high schools. Between 1920 and 1930, for example, the average length of stay for all pupils attending secondary schools nationwide was 2.7 years compared with only 2.1 years for all pupils who attended the secondary departments of district high schools (Openshaw et al. 1993, p. 142). Of concern also was the substantial proportion of pupils who left high school before completing the full 2-year tenure of their junior free places – that is, they left in either their Form 3 (Year 9) or Form 4 (Year 10) year – although by the late 1920s an increasing proportion of pupils were beginning to advance to the senior secondary school as a direct consequence of the worsening worldwide economic depression and the absence of employment opportunities (Lee 1991). Parr nevertheless remained confident that when New Zealanders were informed about the benefits of directing students toward alternative courses of instruction—a direct response to the “new army of pupils who were crowded into the high schools”—then efficiency would be enhanced because there would be widespread support for the curriculum to be oriented more toward vocational concerns (*AJHR*, E-1, 1925, p. 5).

32.4 Parr and the Junior High Schools

With efficiency considerations at the forefront of his education vision, Parr searched for independent ‘evidence’ to support the introduction of junior high schools into New Zealand. Such evidence came in the form of two reports tabled in Parliament in 1921 – by Frank Milner (Rector [Headmaster] of Waitaki Boys’ High School, Oamaru) in October and Thomas Wells (Headmaster of Richmond Road Primary School, Auckland) 1 month later. Both Milner and Wells had examined the junior high schooling movement overseas – Milner visited these institutions in the United States of America personally, and Wells reported on their success in both the USA and Canadian environments (Cumming 1959; Milner 1983).

Milner observed that the junior high schools not only improved “economic, civic and domestic efficiency” but also allowed “liberal and vocational studies” to be incorporated into a compulsory core curriculum (Milner 1921, pp. 3–4). Milner argued that these schools had embraced the doctrine of educational efficiency to the extent that by diagnosing pupils’ particular interests and aptitudes carefully, via the new ‘science’ of intelligence testing, pupils could then be allocated to one of five prescribed courses: Agricultural, Commercial, Domestic Science, Industrial-Mechanical, and Professional (Milner 1921).

Wells’ report was equally complimentary of junior high schools in the North American context (Cumming 1959). He declared confidently that “the claims made on their behalf were fully justified” because they targeted an adolescent audience, provided a variety of vocationally oriented (“shop”) courses, and they “bridged the

gap” usefully between primary and post-primary schools (Wells 1921, pp. 5, 7). Wells claimed that these schools were considerably more efficient than primary schools because their curriculum “[provided] better educational opportunity for a very large number of children” (Wells 1921, p. 5). Echoing Milner’s endorsement of intelligence testing, Wells concluded that “testing for mentality” had a vital role to play in maximising educational efficiency because they “afford the most satisfactory method of classifying school children according to ability and individual need” (Wells 1921, p. 12).

With the release of the Milner and Wells reports Parr now had the justification he needed to legislate for the introduction of junior high schools, an institution he believed would offer “a much more useful, well balanced and complete course of instruction”, one suited ideally to the anticipated educational and vocational needs of children who otherwise were destined to become short-stay post-primary school pupils (*AJHR*, E-1, 1921–1922, p. 30). Milner and Wells’ recommendation that allocating junior high school pupils to specific courses would require some external, ‘objective’, validation (Milner 1921; Wells 1921) met with Parr’s immediate and full approval. Accordingly, the new “education science” of intelligence testing was heralded as a sufficiently accurate indicator of human ability and potential to warrant allocating adolescents to various courses of study, based upon their psychometric test results (Milner 1921, p. 4).

Parr was emboldened further when he learned of firm support for the junior high schools from high-ranking Department of Education officers who attended a special Departmental Conference on Post-Primary Education held in March 1922, convened by Parr – notably from the national Director of Education, John Caughley, and the national Superintendent of Technical Education, William La Trobe – as well as from the General Council of Education in June 1921 (Milner 1983; Openshaw et al. 1993). The Council (an advisory body to the Department of Education) had taken special note of the preparatory role of junior high schools, and consequently had advocated curriculum continuity between these schools and the post-primary institutions (New Zealand General Council of Education 1921). Parr was delighted that the Council also had urged greater Departmental intervention into post-primary schooling (New Zealand Department of Education 1922). Such intervention, he believed, was necessary if junior high and post-primary schools were to be aligned more closely. Moreover, Parr endorsed the Council’s recommendation that a compulsory common core curriculum be offered to every post-primary pupil in conjunction with a wide range of optional studies (Milner 1983; New Zealand Department of Education 1922). The Minister believed that the provision of a general education curriculum ought not to discourage post-primary school teachers from devising a variety of courses suited to their pupils’ wide-ranging educational aspirations and vocational destinations. Parr had in mind the regulations governing junior high schools (1922) that prescribed a core curriculum common to all courses of instruction therein. He hoped that this legislation would serve also as the platform for offering general and pre-vocational instruction in the post-primary schools. With this curriculum philosophy in place, the Minister confidently announced that

educational efficiency would be enhanced greatly (Regulations under the Education Act—Junior High Schools 1922).

32.5 Criticism of Junior High Schools

Despite support for junior high schools from several senior education officials the attitude of secondary school principals toward this new institution was predictably unenthusiastic, if not hostile (Openshaw et al. 1993). Criticism was directed mainly at the encroachment upon the secondary schools' two junior forms (three and four) by the presence of the junior high schools' most senior (form three) classes (Milner 1983; Tyrrell 1983), and at the concern that vocational instruction in the latter institutions could be assigned a higher priority than general or 'cultural' studies. One prominent critic was James Tibbs, the charismatic but conservative Headmaster of Auckland Grammar School, who quickly gained national prominence as a leading opponent of junior high schools (New Zealand Department of Education 1922). Addressing the 1922 Department of Education Conference participants, Tibbs warned against placing junior high school pupils into discrete courses at too early a stage in their school career:

Junior high school pupils in New Zealand will be run into the school machine as oranges into a sorter, the little ones dropping out through the proper hole into shop or office, the bigger ones rolling on till they tumble into college. (New Zealand Department of Education 1922, p. 21)

In marked contrast to Parr's vision Tibbs concluded that educational efficiency would not be enhanced simply by inserting these new schools into the current New Zealand education structure. Tibbs, instead, advocated a policy of *delayed specialisation* on the grounds that this would be far more effective in educating a young citizenry profitably for their future work and leisure time. In this respect he suggested that New Zealand educators should take particular note of contemporary debates in Britain concerning the undesirable and unintended consequences of promoting early specialisation within schools:

The British Labour Party recognises that such schools, in which the destiny of each child is fixed at an early age, denies to the majority the chance of becoming competent business or professional men, or captains of industry, and does not even produce broad-minded ordinary citizens. (New Zealand Department of Education 1922, p. 21)

In critiquing junior high schools Tibbs championed secondary schools as the only institutions able to offer their pupils "the benefit of humanistic teaching on the broadest possible basis" (New Zealand Department of Education 1922, p. 21). Concurring with Tibbs the Principal of Christchurch Girls' High School, Mary Gibson, noted the adverse effect that the junior high schools had had upon her school, and predicted that these schools would become terminal rather than preparatory institutions. Not surprisingly Gibson wanted her school to survive, indeed prosper, in what had become a highly competitive market for pupils (New Zealand

Department of Education 1922). Tibbs and Gibson were not lone critics, however. Soon they were joined by the vast majority of secondary school governing authorities who insisted that their schools' viability would be threatened seriously if junior high school principals did not ensure that their supplementary courses were fully compatible with the existing post-primary school offerings (Thompson 1922). If not, then teachers in the latter institutions would be forced to modify their curricula substantially. Not surprisingly, therefore, these high school boards sought to highlight the role of junior high schools as preparatory 'feeders' to the secondary schools instead of operating predominantly as terminal institutions (New Zealand Secondary School Boards' Association [NZSSBA] 1922).

Throughout the 1920s New Zealand secondary school authorities were well aware that they were being subjected to intense scrutiny from the public and from a Minister renowned both for his forceful personality and for issuing regular proclamations about the need to 'reform' secondary schooling (Condliffe 1930; Milner 1983). Accordingly the authorities decided to avoid challenging Parr directly, lest they be regarded as being either hostile or indifferent to curricular reform, particularly with a Minister who seized every possible opportunity to remind educationists and the public that short-stay pupils attending secondary schools would "learn nothing of real value" from studying an academic curriculum (*NZPD*, p. 976). The post-primary school authorities now faced the unenviable task of trying to reassure Parr that curricular modifications in fact were well underway in these schools and that the bulk of their pupils were no longer being forced "through the common [academic] mold" (*NZPD*, p. 976). Fortunately, there was some respite for the authorities because Parr's wish to have the junior high schools incorporated neatly and usefully into the existing school structure, both in terms of regulations and practically, meant that these schools were unable to function almost exclusively in a terminal capacity (Beeby 1938; Regulations under the Education Act—Junior High Schools 1922). Therefore, while junior high school teachers had to prepare some students to enter industries and commerce directly upon leaving school they were expected also to cater for those pupils who intended to continue with their studies at the secondary and technical high schools (*AJHR*, E-1, 1923).

32.6 General Education and Efficient Schooling

The changing nature of the relationship between the junior high and post-primary schools persuaded senior Department of Education officials to view 'general education' as necessary for all students, irrespective of their perceived academic and practical aptitudes and likely vocational destinations (Lee 1991). This schooling philosophy was identical to that articulated by Hanan earlier in 1916, and one that was endorsed by Frank Tate, the Director of Education in Victoria, Australia, nearly a decade later. In his 1925 report on secondary education and its relationship to the primary school sector Tate recommended that primary schooling should end for pupils aged 12 years, that all qualified pupils should be encouraged to enter the

secondary schools, and that short-stay pupils be provided with specialised vocationally oriented courses, offered in the junior high schools preferably (Tate 1925, p. 74).

Tate also proposed that a general education curriculum (with a common core of subjects for all pupils) should be the centerpiece of the junior high schools in order to counteract the considerable pressure from some quarters for early curriculum specialisation and differentiation (segregation), based upon pupils' future vocations. Tate reiterated this view when he declared that "it is undemocratic to put an end too early to the common education that makes for common understanding and social solidarity, as against social stratification" (Tate 1925, p. 33). Concluding his report on an upbeat note, Tate claimed that the junior high schools were positioned ideally "to give pupils a broad outlook upon the world's work and help them ascertain their own aptitudes, interests, and abilities with reference thereto" (Tate 1925, p. 31). However, he stopped short of explaining how those aptitudes and abilities were to be discovered. Tate favoured, in essence, a highly selective form of post-primary schooling so that, instead of 'bridging the gap' between the primary and secondary schools, junior high schools would become an end in themselves for non-academic pupils while 'bright' pupils would proceed to a full academic secondary course directly.

The following year the new Minister of Education, Robert Wright (1926–1928), appointed a committee to review and report upon the primary school curriculum. The Lawson Committee (1926–1928) was instructed to consider the desirability of modifying the Standard 5 and 6 (Year 7 and 8) curriculum to provide for an earlier commencement to post-primary subjects and to exploratory courses. Presenting their report in 1928, the Committee noted strong support for "terminating" primary schooling at age 12 and then transferring all pupils to a post-primary school (Syllabus Revision Committee 1928, p.16). Although members acknowledged that different types of schooling arrangements created "distinctions which are educationally unsound and socially undesirable", it continued to advocate for differentiated post-primary schooling wherein pupils were allocated to a post-primary school on the basis of the age at which they intended to finish their education (Syllabus Revision Committee 1928, pp. 15–16). Notwithstanding their support for curriculum differentiation the Committee recommended that a common core curriculum "offering all pupils the same educational opportunities" be developed and embedded firmly in the junior high and post-primary schools' curricular offerings (Syllabus Revision Committee 1928, pp. 12–15).

With the onset and rapidly escalating severity of the worldwide economic depression by the mid to late 1920s it is not surprising that education debate became focused even more sharply on ways to enhance school efficiency and to reduce education 'leakage'. Appointed by the Minister of Education, Harry Atmore, in November 1929 "to consider all matters relating to education and public instruction generally" (Cumming 1959, p. 528) the Bodkin Committee deliberated at length upon the nature and scope of "educational reorganization" nationally. Its ten members identified the unique contribution that the junior high schools could (and did purportedly) make to educating adolescent boys and girls (Cumming 1959). The Committee fully supported these schools because they met three criteria – they

bridged “the great chasm” existing between primary and post-primary schools; they improved the retention rate of pupils who entered post-primary schools (thereby reducing “wastage”); and they provided differentiated courses of study based upon pupils’ perceived needs, capacities, and intended career destinations (New Zealand Parliamentary Recess Education Committee 1930, pp. 13, 24). The Committee also recommended that junior high school teachers abandon early specialisation in favour of exploratory courses designed specifically to identify and foster pupils’ practical and/or academic aptitudes, regardless of whether they were “leavers” or “continuers” (pp. 24, 34). Educational efficiency, the Committee concluded, was impossible to achieve because “[the present] elaborate system of post-primary schools failed to confer any corresponding benefit upon the children of one-half of their number”, owing to the excessive “leakage” of pupils between the primary and post-primary institutions (p. 13).

Despite the Committee’s glowing endorsement of the junior high schools, members acknowledged nonetheless that these institutions had been controversial when they noted that “a number of witnesses [had] more or less emphatically questioned their success and applicability to the needs of the Dominion as a whole” (p. 14). However, the Committee dismissed these witnesses’ observations promptly on the grounds that they not only had “little, if any, personal knowledge of junior high schools” but also “misconceived the true nature and working of these schools” (p. 14). Instead, members proclaimed “unanimous and enthusiastic endorsement” of the junior high schools from those “most intimately associated” with them (p. 14).

In rejecting the critical observations of some witnesses, the opportunity to assess comprehensively the junior high schools’ contribution to improving the efficiency or otherwise of the New Zealand schooling system therefore was lost. Consequently when William Armour, Headmaster of Wellington College, informed the Committee that the secondary school curriculum should be “modified” instead of introducing more junior high schools and relying upon those established already to increase efficiency nationally, his criticism similarly was discounted. However, in recommending that secondary schools “widen their courses of instruction and enrich their curriculum to suit the varying needs of pupils” (New Zealand Parliamentary Recess Education Committee 1930, p. 21), the Committee had failed to recognise that Armour in fact was echoing Parr’s sentiment that these reforms were a necessary first step in the pursuit of enhanced schooling efficiency.

32.7 Educational Efficiency Versus Institutional Autonomy

What the above account highlights is the competing perceptions, shaped by the institutional allegiances of the respective commentators, about what counted as ‘efficient’ schooling (Cumming 1959). Moreover, there was no public acknowledgement that ‘efficiency’ was not able to be determined with scientific or mathematical precision, owing to its highly subjective and invariably political context. It was not uncommon, therefore, to find politicians and other spokespersons

continuing to identify perceived inefficiencies and then proposing how these could be resolved (Cumming 1959).

For their part, a significant number of secondary school principals believed that Ministers of Education and Department of Education officials were determined to exert far greater control over the nation's post-primary schools by employing the familiar mantra of 'improving educational efficiency' (*Education Gazette* 1929; McKenzie et al. 1990, pp. 30–33; New Zealand Parliamentary Recess Education Committee 1930, p. 14). These secondary school leaders concluded that any attempt by the Minister of Education and/or by Departmental officers to intervene directly in both the governance and day-to-day functions of these institutions would constitute a threat to institutional autonomy, most notably in terms of curriculum planning and execution, and possibly in pupil selection. The alternative that they proposed involved initiating reform, when and where it was deemed necessary, instead of resorting to external pressure and intervention (Cumming 1959). Unfortunately, the Bodkin Committee's Report only heightened the post-primary school authorities' anxiety that the administrative autonomy they had enjoyed would be subjected now to further official scrutiny and intervention (Milner 1983; Openshaw et al. 1993).

The deepening economic depression during the early 1930s, however, led the Forbes Coalition Government (1931–1935) to appoint the National Economy (Shirtcliffe) Commission. Reporting in March 1932 the five Commissioners urged immediate and far-reaching financial retrenchment, and persuaded the Government to introduce legislation in December 1932 that reduced junior high schools to 2-year institutions (Cumming 1959, pp. 541–551).

With efficient education synonymous now with cost effective education many politicians and officials accepted the need for additional financial restraint. They remained confident that this move would not slow the pace of much-needed school reform (Lee and Lee 1996). Among their number were Theo Strong, Director of Education (1927–1933), and Robert Masters, Minister of Education (1931–1934), both of whom supported renaming the existing junior high schools as 'intermediates' because this label described their place and role in the schooling system more accurately at a time when an increasing proportion of students were enrolling at either a secondary or a technical high school (Strong 1927). Masters and Strong predicted confidently that the new intermediate schools would eliminate the tendency for junior high schools to become terminal rather than preparatory institutions (Lee and Lee 1996). In doing so, however, they ignored the fundamental problem that underpinned the junior high and its intermediate school successor – the impossibility of reconciling the two conflicting curricular objectives of promoting early specialisation whilst also encouraging pupils to engage in exploratory studies. This tension led several contemporary commentators to declare that the junior high and intermediate school 'experiment' in New Zealand had not been a resounding success (Lee and Lee 1996).

32.8 Rethinking Policy: The 1932 Regulations and the ‘Lost’ Third Form

On December 15, 1932, notice was issued by Order-in-Council that the policy laid down by Parr in 1922 – that junior high schools be 3-year institutions straddling the last 2 years of the primary school course and the first year of the secondary (or technical) – was to be revised, without prior warning (Regulations under the Education Act, 1914—Intermediate Schools and Departments, 1932). Thereafter the course length was reduced from 3 to 2 years, the junior high schools were renamed intermediate schools or departments (when attached to secondary schools), and less liberal staffing ratios and salary scales were introduced (Regulations under the Education Act, 1914—Intermediate Schools and Departments, 1932).

Commenting upon these changes in his 1938 survey of intermediate schooling, Clarence Beeby (1938, p. 31) stated that the reasons given for the abrupt change in policy direction were “obscure” and “not very satisfying”. Similarly, when writing about the intermediate school phenomenon 26 years later, Watson (1964, p. 55) agreed that both the purpose and suddenness of the new regulations were “mysterious to say the least.” Following the announcement of the new regulations, the Minister of Education (Masters) emphasised the ‘exploratory’ function of intermediate schooling in his 1933 Report. He wrote that:

The aim is to remove pupils at the age of eleven or twelve from the primary school and place them in separate schools or in departments attached to post-primary schools where they will be given the opportunities of displaying their natural aptitudes, inclinations and interests, and of indicating whether they should continue their education at a secondary school for academic or professional courses, or at a technical school for vocational courses in industry, commerce, or the domestic arts. (*AJHR*, E-1, 1933, p. 3).

The Director of Education (Strong) was more direct. He boldly declared that:

If the pupils remained for a third year in the intermediate school there would be a tendency for them to regard their education as finished at the end of their third year, and they would not be so likely to link up with the part-time evening instruction provided in the technical schools. The principle underlying the adoption of a two-year intermediate course is a very important one: it is that the school system should be so organized as to make education a continuous process. This aim would certainly not be realized by introducing into the system a school unit that tends to become an ‘end-in-itself’ The educational stream should not divide until the aptitudes and inclinations of the pupils have been discovered at the end of the intermediate school stage. (*Education Gazette* 1933, p. 48).

From this point on, all official pronouncements on intermediate schooling highlighted the importance of the exploratory course and the need for the Department to “devise a method by which the aptitudes of [intermediate school] children will be discovered as soon as possible and developed as rapidly as possible” (*Education Gazette* 1933, p. 50). Ironically, Strong’s argument that 2-year intermediates would make education a ‘continuous’ and not a terminal process is all the more puzzling when judged against the reality that fewer than half of all pupils remained at school beyond their fourteenth birthday (Beeby 1938). With the majority of 14-year-olds

leaving school from Form 1 or 2, the intermediate in fact was an ‘end-in-itself’ school and not a preparatory one. Until such time as the retention rate improved and more pupils attended post-primary schools, the name ‘intermediate school’, suggesting as it did an educational institution located between the primary and secondary school, remained as inaccurate as it was misleading.

To complicate matters, Strong admitted being uncertain about the philosophy underpinning intermediate schooling. On the one hand, he rejected Parr’s view that these schools should provide an opportunity for academically able pupils to make an early start with studying secondary subjects – for example, foreign languages, mathematics, and science (Strong 1932). On the other hand, however, he acknowledged that the concept of “exploratory courses” was equally problematic (Strong 1933, p. 555). Not surprisingly, then, the absence of a clear philosophy behind intermediate schooling meant that these schools were destined to remain in some sort of educational wilderness.

The attempt to combine in one institution the two incompatible functions of early specialisation and the exploration of pupil aptitudes, Arnold Campbell (1941, p. 141) suggested, arose from “[a] failure to adapt and synthesise ideas borrowed from abroad.” Several New Zealand educationists and politicians had drawn heavily upon intermediate schooling theory from England and America in an attempt to consolidate the indeterminate status of their own intermediates. Campbell (1941, p. 141) summarised the position thus:

From England was derived the idea that the main purpose of the intermediate school was to provide for an early beginning with secondary subjects (such as foreign languages) and with commercial and technical subjects. From the United States came the idea that the school should be primarily exploratory in purpose, a place in which children could ‘try themselves out’ before embarking on specialised courses.

Although the main emphasis in official educational statements prior to the 1932 intermediate school regulations had been on early specialisation, and thereafter on exploratory courses, it was accepted generally – if not expected, exactly – that the schools would carry out *both* functions simultaneously (Campbell 1941). Herein lay the wide gulf between intermediate school policy and practice. No explanations were forthcoming as to *how* intermediate school children were to cope with the numerous demands being made on their time — first, they were expected to cover the full course laid down for Standards 5 and 6 in the ordinary primary schools, including preparation for the Proficiency Examination that provided entry to ‘free place’ secondary education; second, to commence secondary school studies; and, finally, to test themselves ‘experimentally’ on a fairly wide range of other activities (Campbell 1941). To this problem was added another – the wholly nebulous concept of ‘exploration’. Staffing reductions, coupled with a lack of equipment and resources — the result of the “Regulations for Intermediate Schools and Departments” issued in 1932 — in practice prevented the ‘exploratory’ side of intermediate schooling from being developed (Campbell 1941).

Pressed by opposition politicians for an explanation of the change in regulations in 1932, the Prime Minister (George Forbes) responded by refusing to allow the Education

Committee of the House of Representatives [Parliament] to investigate the new intermediate school proposals. In the absence of any public disclosure, speculation remained rife.

The advantages of 2-year intermediate schools were claimed to be many. First, because competition between the primary and post-primary schools for Form 3 pupils would be eliminated, administrative tension would disappear (Watson 1964). Second, by retaining the third forms within the post-primary system, the need for drastic and costly reorganisation would be avoided (Watson 1964). Finally, with Form 3 pupils representing approximately one-third of all post-primary school enrolments, their removal from this ‘intermediate’ sector would have resulted in much smaller, and presumably less efficient, institutions (Watson 1964). Moreover, the impact on capitation grants, staffing, and salaries would also have been marked (Watson 1964). Given that there was no shortage of accommodation in the post-primary schools – between 1930 and 1933 post-primary enrolments actually declined by 9% – it seemed logical for them to retain their third form classes (Watson 1964, p. 60).

In retrospect, the 1932 regulations can be viewed as an attempt to formalise existing intermediate schooling practice. In 1932, there were ten junior high schools nationwide – nine were attached to other schools (i.e., six to secondary, and one each to a primary, district high, and a technical high school), with Kowhai the only separate 3-year school that remained one decade after regulations for them had been gazetted (Beeby 1938; Watson 1964). The issue now was whether or not the junior high (intermediate) schools should, as a matter of general policy, be attached to existing post-primary schools or function as stand-alone institutions. The competing interests of the primary and post-primary sectors were far from being resolved, therefore.

32.9 Intermediate Schools and the Labour Government

Notwithstanding the intermediate schooling initiative, a decade after their introduction the junior high schools had failed to persuade the public in general and many educators in particular that they deserved to become a permanent feature of New Zealand’s school system. Furthermore, some overseas commentators who had visited New Zealand were beginning to question the purpose and “cohesion” of these schools because, in their view, they had neither an obvious nor coherent philosophy, having arisen largely from “an exigency of circumstances” (Burdon 1965, p. 80). Professor (later Sir) Fred Clarke of the University of London’s Institute of Education, for example, expressed his intense dislike of 2-year intermediate schooling on the grounds that no school should be regarded (and established) simply as a ‘bridge’ between two other schools. Instead, he argued that each school must be autonomous in terms of the particular function(s) it was to perform (Cumming and Cumming 1978). Similarly, when addressing the New Education Fellowship (NEF) Conference held in New Zealand in July 1937, Dr. William Boyd, Head of Glasgow University’s

Education Department, blamed the intermediate system for the “incompetent muddle” and for the “grievous lack of co-ordination” that existed between the primary and post-primary education spheres (Boyd 1937, pp. 470–471, 484–485).

Aware of growing criticism directed towards intermediates Peter Fraser, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education (1935–1940) in the first Labour Government (1935–1949), in July 1936 invited the recently established New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) to survey and report upon the intermediate school system “with a view to evaluating the system as at present established in New Zealand” (Beeby 1938, p. 1). The report, published in 1938 and written by Dr. Beeby, the NZCER’s inaugural Director, was the first comprehensive and systematic investigation of the New Zealand intermediate ‘experiment’ introduced 16 years earlier. Having surveyed the historical origins of intermediates and their place in the overall school system Beeby declared that the absence of a coherent policy regarding the functions these schools were expected to perform constituted undoubtedly “the greatest single obstacle to their development” (Beeby 1938, p. 44). He made 29 recommendations, the first of which supported the status quo. “Based in part upon what the intermediate school is, but even more upon what it might be”, Beeby (1938, p. 209) proposed that the system “be continued and extended.” The remaining recommendations that discussed matters such as control, method of establishment, optimum size, age of entry, attachment versus independence, length of course, classification of entrants, organisation of the curriculum, staffing, equipment, exploration of aptitudes, and name, were designed to give intermediates “a status equal to other schools within the system” (Beeby 1938, p. 244). Although Beeby (1938) endorsed the concept of intermediate schooling he conceded nevertheless improvements in the educational, social, and vocational efficiency of these institutions depended upon urgently needed curriculum and organisational reforms being initiated in both the primary and post-primary school sectors.

Notwithstanding Beeby’s report Arnold Campbell, Beeby’s successor as NZCER Director, noted that many communities continued to view intermediate schools with considerable suspicion because they remained unconvinced that reorganising the school system to accommodate these schools was “in any way desirable” (Campbell 1941, p. 142). Accordingly, Campbell (1941, p. 147) concluded pointedly that “even those [persons] who press for intermediate schools in their districts are not always profoundly convinced of their educational advantages.”

What Campbell had highlighted were the different and often conflicting perceptions of administrators and policy makers, interest groups, and communities regarding what constituted efficient schooling provision. Beeby has observed, more recently, that whilst education administrators and officials designed and initiated policy – often without adequate consultation – it was parents, students, and teachers who were at the “sharp end [of this policy]” and who determined, invariably, the extent to which that policy would be translated into practice successfully, and in what form (Beeby 1982, pp. v–vi).

32.10 Wartime Developments

Following the outbreak of World War Two in September 1939, the newly appointed national Director of Education (Beeby) announced that wartime constraints would delay the development of separate intermediate schools. Intermediates, he stated, would be established only when communities could satisfy Departmental officers that existing primary schools were genuinely overcrowded (Watson 1964). Acting on one of the recommendations from his 1938 report, Beeby appointed an intermediate school planning officer in 1941 to survey school accommodation needs in all the main cities, towns, and townships (Watson 1964). This task involved compiling data relating to school enrolment trends, accommodation needs of existing schools, staffing, and statistical predictions of likely population growth rates of those areas where new intermediates were being requested (Watson 1964). After consultation with the appropriate education board had occurred the data would be forwarded to the Department for consideration.

In 1938, when Beeby's intermediate school study was released, there were 16 intermediates (five independent and eleven attached to post-primary schools) nationwide with a combined roll of 4523 pupils (New Zealand Official Year Book 1940, p. 186). Within 5 years there were 23 intermediates (twelve independent and eleven attached), with 8670 pupils in attendance (New Zealand Official Year Book 1946, p. 132). Given this expansion, the Department of Education finally broke its silence on intermediate schooling in April 1943 and recorded its opinion officially regarding the type of scholastic programme, corporate life, and internal organisation required to make this school "successful" (*Education Gazette* 1943). Predictably, perhaps, the Department's intermediate schooling philosophy mirrored both the 1932 regulations and Beeby's 1938 report.

Theory and practice were not always aligned neatly, however, as exemplified by John Murdoch's (1943, p.311) contention that "faith in the intermediate school springs from theoretical considerations, not from any demonstrable success in [their] present working." This conclusion did not deter Rex Mason, Minister of Education in the Fraser-led Labour Government (1940–1947), from declaring unconditional support for intermediate schooling nonetheless. These institutions, he asserted confidently in 1945, "are past the experimental stage", and consequently should "[be] extended as quickly as circumstances permit" (Mason 1945, p. 30).

32.11 Post-War Developments and Trends

After World War Two the intermediate school landscape changed dramatically, due to the rapid expansion in the school-age population, the increased compulsory school attendance age, and suburban growth. Alongside these increases came the urgent need for additional teachers, new school buildings, and more resources and equipment, all of which necessitated additional educational expenditure. Against

this background, the newly elected (late 1949) Sidney Holland National Government announced the need to audit the annual Education Budget carefully to determine whether or not existing expenditure was being allocated and spent prudently (Watson 1964). Part of that audit involved assessing the role and cost of intermediate schooling (Watson 1964).

Doubts about the purpose and future of intermediate education surfaced again in 1950 when Ronald Algie, the new Minister of Education, addressed Parliament and announced that whilst “[intermediates] did not fit smoothly into the present pattern of our education system” he would not be recommending their closure (*NZPD*, p. 2559). Algie did agree, though, to the New Zealand Educational Institute’s (NZEI) request — as the primary teachers’ national association — for an independent investigation to be undertaken, to settle the controversial question of “the break” between primary and post-primary school (*NZPD*, p. 2564). Once again the NZCER was invited to undertake this evaluation, the results of which were published in 1964 in John Watson’s book, *Intermediate Schooling in New Zealand*.

In the meantime the continued expansion of intermediates found favour with the primary school sector, who claimed they were efficient educationally and fiscally (Box 1950, pp. 242–243), but not with post-primary school authorities who wanted intermediates attached to their schools (*New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers’ Journal*, 1952, p. 18). Algie convened a conference on intermediates subsequently and, after listening to various speakers, declared that intermediates were “an integral part of the education system” that should remain independent of primary and post-primary schools (Watson 1964, p. 105). Moreover, he envisaged intermediates offering courses of varying lengths in accordance with pupils’ future destinations. Thus, pupils who were intending to proceed to a post-primary school would take a 2-year course while those wishing to leave school at age 15 would stay for 3 years (Watson 1964). The New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers’ Association (NZPPTA) remained unconvinced, however, having claimed that not only were intermediates expensive institutions but also that no justification existed for inserting a separate school between the primary and post-primary sectors (Watson 1964).

During Algie’s 8-year tenure as Minister of Education the number of intermediates had risen from 28 (17 independent and 11 departments) to 48 (36 independent and 12 departments), with further expansion predicted (Watson 1964, pp. 107, 449–450). With more intermediate schools established and “proving their worth”, Beeby reported confidently that “old controversies about them flare up less often” (*AJHR*, E-1, 1958, p. 31). He acknowledged, furthermore, that the rapid growth in the number of pupils who remained at school until at least their fifteenth birthday meant that intermediates had become “less concerned with the job of helping children to make a wise choice of their future career” and more interested in easing the transition to post-primary schooling (*AJHR*, E-1, 1958, pp. 31–32).

Overseas commentators remained sceptical nonetheless about the purpose of New Zealand intermediates. Appointed in September 1953 the Wyndham Committee on secondary education in New South Wales, Australia, dismissed New Zealand’s intermediate school system as educationally unsound because “[it] does not appear to offer any real solution to the problem of secondary school reorganization” and

was “suspended between the primary and secondary school and ... properly integrated with neither” (Committee appointed to survey secondary education in New South Wales 1958, p. 71). Interestingly, despite the Wyndham Committee’s observations echoing those of the NZPPTA, no reference was made to this report and/or to its conclusions by primary and post-primary teachers’ organisations in New Zealand.

32.12 The Intermediate Scene Post-1960

In light of mounting (and sustained) public and political criticism regarding the highly centralised administration of New Zealand’s state education system, ‘falling educational standards’ and the ‘poor quality’ of school leavers, shortages in staffing and pupil accommodation, and the escalating cost of educational provision, successive governments appointed various committees specifically to inquire into these complex aspects. The reports of the Currie Commission (1962), the Educational Development Conference (1973–1974), the Futuna Conference (1974), the National Survey of Intermediate Schools (1976), the Picot Taskforce (1988), and the Taskforce on Recapitulation (1991) each discussed, to a greater or lesser extent, the place, contribution, and future of intermediate schools in New Zealand (Hincho 2004).

All of these reviews occurred against a backdrop of continued growth, both in terms of the number of intermediates being built and of pupil enrolments. Between 1960 and 1990, for instance, the number of intermediate schools and enrolments thereat almost doubled. In 1960 there were 51 intermediate with 31,449 enrolments (comprising 36.3% of all Form 1 and 2 enrolments), and by 1990 there were 149 schools with 60,774 pupils (65.9% of all Form 1 and 2 enrolments) (*AJHR*, E-1, 1961–1991, Table 1). After 1991 enrolments began to fluctuate, however. They declined steadily, such that by 2019 there were 56,807 pupils (40.2% of all Form 1 and 2 enrolments) attending 117 intermediates (*AJHR*, E-1, Table 1). As a consequence of declining enrolments there has been considerable discussion about the merits of “decapitation” (removing Year 7 and 8 pupils from full primary schools), “recapitulation” (adding Year 7 and 8 learners to existing, often smaller, primary schools), “merging” intermediates with either neighbouring primary or post-primary schools, and establishing “middle schools” for Year 7 to 9 (or 10) pupils (Hincho 2004; Stewart and Nolan 1992).

In April 2018 Chris Hipkins, Minister of Education, appointed an Independent Taskforce to review compulsory schooling provision in New Zealand, with a specific focus on achieving a system that promotes equity and excellence for all students (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2018, p. 8). Eight months later the Taskforce submitted its comprehensive 148-page report to Hipkins and proposed three schooling options – either primary schools (Years 1–6), middle schools (Years 7–10), and senior colleges (Years 11–13); or full primary (Years 1–8) and secondary schools (Years 9–13); or composite schools (Years 1–13) (New Zealand Ministry of

Education 2018, pp. 61, 66). While all three options signal the end of intermediate schooling in New Zealand, potentially, at the time of writing the Minister has yet to release a decision about these (and other) recommendations.

32.13 The Problematic Path Towards ‘Education Settlement’

The introduction of junior high and intermediate schools can be viewed as an attempt to forge what Gerald Grace has called an ‘education settlement’, where “a new policy consensus is achieved after a period of crisis and struggle” (Grace 1990, p. 167). However, Roger Openshaw’s account of the evolution of New Zealand post-primary schooling demonstrates that such ‘settlements’ are neither permanent nor accepted universally. This fact, he argues persuasively, should encourage historians of education and other commentators to revisit the economic, educational, and socio-political agendas that have featured so prominently in New Zealand’s schooling landscape (Openshaw 1995).

That intermediate schools remain part of the New Zealand school structure currently should not be surprising, given their advocates’ claim that they fulfil a specific if not unique function – to cater for and to enhance the educational experiences of all youth aged between 10 and 14 years in ways that primary and post-primary schools are unable to achieve, allegedly. Ongoing debate over the purpose and viability of intermediate (and now middle) schools, we argue, should alert New Zealanders to ever changing and often conflicting views regarding what constitutes ‘efficient’ education. Given the lengthy history of this debate we predict that intermediate schools will continue to be scrutinised carefully by politicians, educators, and the public in much the same way that their predecessors – the junior high schools – experienced almost 100 years earlier.

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Chapter 33

From policy to Implementation in the Context of Globalisation: The Case of Civics and Citizenship Education in Australia



Jia Ying Neoh

Abstract This chapter examines the impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms using the case of civics and citizenship education (CCE) in Australian education as a context to understand the effects of globalisation on educational systems. In particular, it focuses on understanding the state of CCE in New South Wales, as it presents a unique context to examine the policy enactment, or in this case, the non-enactment of policy for CCE within the context of globalisation. The chapter drew on the findings of a case study of four primary schools in NSW to illuminate the key complexities of policy enactment for CCE, within the context of globalisation. The findings fundamentally highlighted that political nature of education, particularly CCE. A neo-liberal goal of education, driven by market mechanism and performativity, works in contention with the liberal democratic goal of CCE. The privileging of performance in literacy and numeracy in the education system, often sparked by concerns over drops in international benchmarking tests, appeared to outweigh the importance of the social purpose of education.

33.1 Introduction

Globalization is a highly contested notion, ranging from shifts in patterns of transnational economic activities, to ways in which contemporary political and cultural configurations are reshaped by technological advances (Jackson 2019; Zajda 2020a). Inevitably, globalisation will impact education systems around the world, in different ways. Despite the diversity of responses to globalisation, Zajda (2020c) posits that a common trend is that globalisation has driven education reforms around the world, with many nations striving to use education as a means to maintain a global competitive edge and dominance – politically, economically and culturally.

J. Y. Neoh (✉)
The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia
e-mail: jiaying.neoh@sydney.edu.au

Many reforms start with changes at the *policy* levels, usually involving the appropriation process by the central state in its determination to control, manage and transform society, reform and ‘modernise’ education provision, and ‘raise standards’ (Braun et al. 2010; Zajda 2020c).

In Australia, the curriculum reform that was initiated by the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (thereafter, *Melbourne Declaration*) in 2008, has largely aligned with this global trend. Its goals guided the development of the *Australian Curriculum*, Australia’s first national curriculum to be endorsed by all Education Ministers of the Australian states and territories. It aimed at improving competencies in literacy, numeracy, science, civics and history and the policy implications for education involved setting standards, assessments, accountability, and providing excellence and quality education for all (MCEETYA 2008). Such approaches and/or goals of education reforms are not unique to Australia, and can be considered to model after a market-oriented and entrepreneurial business model that favours increased competitiveness (Zajda 2020a). A common result frequently revolved around compelling teachers to focus on performance in literacy and numeracy, while neglecting less easily measurable subjects, such as civics and history, relegating them to subjects of lower statuses (Davies 2013; Schulz et al. 2018).

Evidently, the approaches that education systems identify as important responses to globalisation reflect the connections that societies draw between what are regarded as important aspects of globalisation, and the ways that students are to be socialised through education to understand and respond to the effects of globalisation. This perspective highlights the strong links between globalisation and education, and it is closely linked to civics and citizenship education (CCE).

Specific to the discussions on the impacts of globalisation on CCE, is the examination of how education prepares students for the neither simple, nor given ‘fundamental challenge of living together well’ and of their identities - ‘the way to know about, and thus be part of, the local, the national, the global’ (Hess and Mcavoy 2015; Jackson 2019, p. 249). This challenge is highly political, as it would involve, ideally, the conciliation of differing interests among different groups of people. A nation’s response to this fundamental challenge will reflect its values, how it sees itself, how it wants young people to see globalisation, triggering questions about their global responsibilities to others, and what it means to be citizens (Kennedy 2013; Wood and Black 2018). Consequently, the enactment of educational policies addressing CCE is likely to be highly complex, given the delicate balance to be sought between achieving a global competitive edge and dominance (Zajda 2020c), and the personal, social and political interests of citizens in diverse societies. Additionally, the influence of contextual dimensions add another layer of complexities to the policy enactment process (Ball et al. 2012).

Set against the backdrop of these complexities, this chapter aims to use CCE in the Australian educational context to examine the intricacies of policy enactment. It focuses on examining how schools and teachers interpret and enact policy directions for CCE. To do this, this chapter first examined the educational responses to globalisation reflected in the Melbourne Declaration. This document

charted the educational goals for the *Australian Curriculum (AC)*, which started its implementation in different stages for different learning areas between 2010 and 2015. Next, drawing on key findings from a qualitative research that was conducted on the practice of citizenship education in New South Wales primary schools, this chapter will highlight the key complexities involved in the policy enactment for CCE, following the educational directions set out by the Melbourne Declaration. It provides some suggestions for future policy enactment of CCE in Australia.

33.2 Enacting CCE in a Globalised Educational Context

The enactment of policies for CCE can be identified to be largely dependent on two factors – (1) the interpretations of CCE content within a particular context, and (2) the influences of the context on its enactment.

Acknowledging the connections between neoliberalism and CCE, the following sections will first draw on literature to unpack the five key notions of CCE identified as necessary to prepare students for active citizenship in a globalised context (Zajda 2020a). The purpose is to provide a conceptual frame to discuss the extent to which educational policies on CCE had been enacted in Australian primary schools. Then, it examines and discusses the influences of ‘contexts’ in the policy enactment of CCE. Finally, it draws on the findings of a research that was conducted in four primary schools in New South Wales to illuminate and discuss the key complexities involved the enactment of policies related to CCE, and the implications for future CCE policies.

33.2.1 Interpretations of CCE Content

Discussions about CCE generally revolve around the different interpretations of its content in different contexts. They inevitably involve a comparative study of the rights and responsibilities of citizens across diverse societies. Globalisation has influenced the understanding of ‘rights’ and ‘responsibilities’ across various societies in two fundamental ways. First, it has expanded the boundaries of ‘rights’ and ‘responsibilities’, which were traditionally confined within the limits of nation-states, to emphasize the importance of the notion of ‘*active citizenship*’ in global and local (*glocal*) contexts. This perspective of ‘active citizenship’ is closely connected to a sense of belonging to one’s *glocal* identity (Cha et al. 2018). Simultaneously, globalisation has illuminated the growing prominence of neoliberalism in influencing educational decisions, based on the premise of the competitive market and a focus on ‘real knowledge’, typically knowledge that supports the sustenance of capitalist economies (Zajda 2020c).

Reflecting on the idea that the ‘capitalist economy, the rule of law, and democratic polity do not automatically go hand in hand’ (Frazer 1999, p. 6), then adopting a neo-liberal view of education could see CCE being used as a tool to narrow the realm of *politics*, which portray the civil society as apolitical, beyond the sphere of state authority (Harvey 2005). With globalisation, Australian education is not immune to the effects of neo-liberalism (Zyngier et al. 2015; Zajda 2020a). Neo-liberalism has inevitably impacted CCE. Equally, the approaches and designs of CCE has, in many cases, reinforced the goals of neo-liberalism, creating a cycle of CCE supporting neoliberalism and neoliberalism impacting CCE.

33.2.2 *Five Key Notions of CCE*

The dynamic nature of citizenship, one that is always open to debate and reconstruction, must be fundamentally recognised (Sears 2013; Westheimer 2015). Consequently, CCE must encourage a ‘maximal’ or ‘thick’ conception of citizenship through a high degree of critical understanding, reasoning, questioning and analysis, contrasting the ‘minimal’ conception, which is more static and less open to debates and redefinitions (DeJaeghere 2013; Schulz 2019; Westheimer 2015). ‘Real knowledge’ underpinned by a maximal conception of CCE would address the place of neoliberal politics in uneven development and the existence of deep inequities across and within societies, and avoid simplistically conveying the positive economic benefits of globalisation (Jackson 2019).

The second and third notions encourage *participation* in the civil society, social/community and political life, and on *multiple glocal levels* – local, regional, national and international (Cha et al. 2018; Grossman 2008; Schulz 2019). The idea of ‘politics’ is applied in broad contexts, broadening the scope of participation to include an array of activities, including the deliberation of public policies, structuring of government actions through citizenry choices, voting in free and fair elections, and participation in cultural, political and environmental activities (Crick 2013; Westheimer 2015). It prepares students to become citizens who can assume dual roles as members of nation-states who can exercise their popular sovereignty and agency (Kymlicka 2017), and as members of communities that extend beyond the boundaries of nation-states who possess an ethic of respect for human dignity (Starkey 2017). This connects to the fourth notion of CCE as preparing students for *collective/social* endeavours for collective/social ends.

Last, CCE, particularly one that supports democratic processes, must be underpinned by an egalitarian intention of *social justice* and *democracy* (see also Zajda 2020b). While these intentions can assume different meanings in different contexts, the fundamental idea is that CCE must prepare students to become citizens who are conscious of themselves as members of communities with shared democratic cultures, involving obligations, rights and responsibilities, a sense of the common good, and be able and willing to participate in its improvement (Crick 2007).

33.3 The Melbourne Declaration: Notions of CCE in the Australian Educational Context

The development of active citizenship has been a key educational agenda in Australia, important for sustaining the legitimacy of her democracy since the 1990s. The curricular reform in Australia that was stimulated by the Melbourne Declaration in 2008 is the most recent one that took into account the continuing changes of the global and local political, social and economic environments that had, and continue to place new demands on Australian education. The impacts that globalisation have on the Australian society are acknowledged explicitly in the Melbourne Declaration. Education, and specifically schools, are identified to play vital roles in responding to these impacts to ‘equip young people with the knowledge, understanding, skills and values to take advantage of *opportunity* and to face the *challenges* of this era with confidence’ (MCEETYA 2008, p. 4). ‘Opportunity’ and ‘challenges’, in the Melbourne Declaration, were raised within the context of Australia’s ability to ‘compete in the global economy on knowledge and innovation’ (p. 4). From this perspective, a neo-liberal view of the role of Australian education is clearly present.

Broadly, education was identified to achieve the dual purposes of ensuring Australia’s *economic prosperity* and *social cohesion* through the promotion of ‘intellectual, physical, social, emotional, moral, spiritual and aesthetic development and wellbeing of young Australians’ (MCEETYA 2008, p. 4). Depending on one’s view of citizenship, and of CCE, the degree of balance that is sought between the economic and social purposes of education will be shaped accordingly.

Focusing on the social purposes of education, the notion of ‘active citizenry’, which is closely related to CCE, suggested by the Melbourne Declaration would be prepared to do the following:

- Act with moral and ethical integrity
- Appreciate Australia’s social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, and have an understanding of Australia’s system of government, history and culture
- Understand and acknowledge the value of Indigenous cultures and possess the knowledge, skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from, reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians
- Are committed to national values of *democracy*, equity and justice, and participate in Australia’s civic life
- Are able to relate to and communicate across cultures, especially the cultures and countries of Asia
- Work for the common good, in particular sustaining and improving natural and social environments
- Are responsible global and local citizens (MCEETYA 2008)

With explicit commitment to democracy, the articulation of these qualities presented the potential for a maximal conception of citizenship to be conceived.

Endorsed by federal action as a basis for policy and programme development, the Melbourne Declaration led to the development of the Australian Curriculum.

Together with history, geography, economics and business, CCE was formed under the Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) learning area in the national curriculum. Similar to the Melbourne Declaration, the HASS syllabus was explicit in stating the important role it plays in addressing the economic and social purposes of Australian education – to contribute to ‘Australia’s ideas of a *cohesive society*, sustainable environment, *productive economy* and *stable democracy*’ (ACARA 2016).

33.3.1 *Influences of the Context on the Policy Enactment of CCE*

Policies are ‘texts’ and ‘artefacts’ that are ‘detailed’ and ‘circulated’ and can be interpreted in complex and sophisticated ways (Maguire et al. 2015, p. 486). Policy enactment is therefore, ‘a process of social, cultural and emotional construction and interpretation’ (p. 486). In trying to understand educational policy enactments, Ball et al. (2012) emphasised the importance of taking context ‘seriously’, as policies not only create contexts, but contexts also precedes policies, leading policies to be ‘intimately shaped and influenced by school-specific factors which act as constraints, pressures and enablers of policy enactments’ (p. 19). Beyond school factors, policy enactment within the context of neo-liberalism can be shaped by three interdependent policy technologies – the market, managerialism and performativity (Ball 2003). Ball (2003) explains that these technologies play important roles in curriculum reform by aligning its enactment with the ‘methods, culture and ethical system of the private sector’ (p. 216). They not only act as mechanisms for the technical and structural changes of educational organisations, but also reform teachers by altering their social identities through their understandings of ‘what it means to teach and what it means to be a teacher’ (p. 218).

This influence of ‘contexts’ in the enactment of policies for CCE is evident in the Australian educational context. The enactment of CCE in the Australian Curriculum, as initiated by the Melbourne Declaration, had been problematic on various levels – at the policy, school, and teachers’ levels. The Australian context essentially highlighted the highly political nature of CCE – one that is subjected to an injection of politics that oscillated between a neo-conservative and a liberal democratic orientation. A key example of complexity at the *policy* level was induced by the politically-inspired review of the Australian Curriculum that was conducted in 2014, which prevented the endorsement of the CCE syllabus, even though it was finalised at the end of 2013 (Print 2017). The need for a review was substantiated by the Minister’s ‘serious doubts’ about the ability of the Australian Curriculum in meeting policy demands, following concerns over the drop in Australia’s performance in international assessments for literacy and numeracy (Pyne 2014). This perspective clearly privileged a neo-liberal conception of education that focuses on the ‘market’, ‘managerialism’ and ‘performativity’, over one that is undergirded by liberal democratic values.

Consequently, this influenced the way that educational priorities have been negotiated for educational policies. Specifically, it created an environment that compelled educators to ‘organise themselves as a response to targets, indicators and evaluations’ (Ball 2003, p. 215). The impact of such neo-liberal responses to globalisation on CCE is the prioritisation of performances in literacy and numeracy, which is more easily quantifiable through mechanisms such as standardised testing, over the development of civics and citizenship competences, which is barely quantifiable.

33.4 From Policy to Policy Enactment in Schools – The Case of New South Wales Primary Schools

33.4.1 The Complexities of CCE Enactment at the Policy Level

The review of the Australian Curriculum inevitably complicated its enactment in Australian schools. The most significant challenge lay in the differences in the timeline and nature of enactment across the jurisdictions (Print 2017). In particular, the case of New South Wales (NSW) presented a unique problem for CCE. Unlike the other Australian states and territories, the New South Wales Education Authority (NESA) had not started or planned to start the implementation of the CCE curriculum at the K-6 levels as at 2018. There has been no clear clarification from NESA to support its decision to not implement the CCE curriculum. One possible explanation is to ease concerns over an overcrowded primary curriculum. Another is that with a history of CCE in Australian education, it is assumed that CCE was already embedded throughout the curriculum and a separate subject was not necessary. Finally, in a conservative political climate where the Prime Minister had called for “more learning in schools and less activism in schools”, could the decision be a political one to discourage the teaching of a maximal conception of CCE?

The non-implementation of the CCE syllabus proved to further contribute to the complexities in enacting CCE in NSW primary schools. CCE was to be one of the four subjects of the *Human Society and Its Environment* (HSIE) learning area, as with HASS in the Australian Curriculum. However, as at 2020, HSIE comprised only History and Geography. CCE and Economics were not included. History and Geography, being discipline-based, were directed by specific discipline-based processes to achieve specific outcomes. While it can address some CCE content, such as the formal civics knowledge of the three levels of the government, it cannot fully address the essence of a maximal form of active citizenship. Considering that critical thinking can only proceed on the platform of knowledge, and that platform of knowledge is missing without the CCE curriculum, it is logical to suggest that unless schools and teachers have clear ideas of the notions of ‘active citizenship’ in the CCE syllabus and attempt to address those qualities, achieving the maximal goal of active citizenship remains challenging.

CCE's potential to effectively develop 'active' citizens will depend on how schools and teachers implement it in their classrooms (Orpe 2014; Tudball and Brett 2014). Without a CCE curriculum in NSW, there is no single view and consensus about the directions that CCE should take. Teachers will continue to be influenced by the multiple influences of their unique contexts in shaping CCE in schools.

33.4.2 Enacting Policies for CCE at the School and Teachers' Levels – Findings from Four NSW Primary Schools

This is a tricky section to discuss, as a formal CCE curriculum did not exist in the NSW curriculum. Consequently, it also did not exist in the schools' formal curricula. In this context of a vague curricular direction for CCE, this case study adopted the constructionist model of research to allow schools and teachers to express their interpretations of CCE. It focused on understanding what were interpreted as civic and citizenship competencies, and the teaching approaches and pedagogies.

The following section outlines and discusses the key influences of the enactment of CCE to highlight the complexities involved in the policy enactment of CCE, as guided by the Melbourne Declaration.

33.4.2.1 Influences of Contexts on Schools' CCE Curricula

Figure 33.1 below outlines the key influences of schools' CCE curricula.

It is reiterated here that policies that directly address CCE did not exist in the NSW curriculum at the time of the research. Consequently, it also did not exist in the school curricula. The term 'CCE curricula' therefore, refers to schools and teachers' interpretations of CCE.

The findings from the four schools showed that the directions provided by the NSEA curriculum acted as a key curriculum framework and exerted strong influences on the schools' formal curricula. All schools were aware of their need to fulfil NESA's curricular expectations. Hence, performances in literacy and numeracy were priorities in the school curricula. Furthermore, as CCE was not an identified subject in the NSW curriculum, teachers tended to relate CCE to a wide variety of subjects. The informal curriculum was fundamentally shaped by the school cultures and/or school philosophies. They determined, to a large extent, the kind of citizens that they envisioned their students to become and consequently, the activities, including school rules, events, programmes and awards, that schools chose to encourage their students to participate in. For example, religious education was considered to be highly relevant in schools with religious affiliations. This illuminated the significance of school cultures and philosophies in guiding the forms that CCE took in schools.

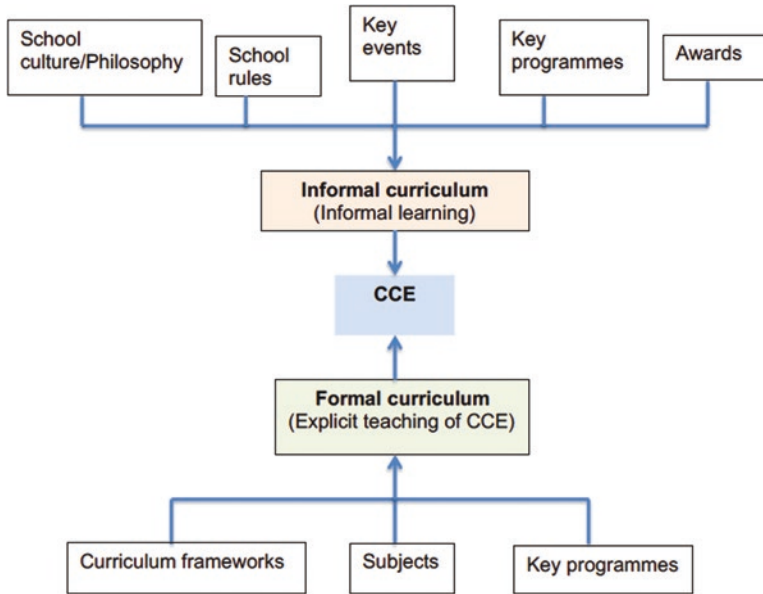


Fig. 33.1 Influences of contexts on the CCE curricula in schools

33.4.2.2 Factors That Influence Teachers’ Approaches and Pedagogies of CCE

Figure 33.2 below outlines the factors that influence teachers’ approaches and pedagogies of CCE.

The factors that influenced teachers’ approaches and pedagogies of CCE can generally be classified into two categories – school and personal influences. There was no clear-cut classification of approaches according to schools. Instead, beyond the formal curricula organisation directed by the schools, teacher approaches showed that they were largely influenced by personal factors, such as their own worldviews and their perceptions of students. The findings showed that teachers generally focused on socialising students to social norms of participation and the content that they wanted to teach. Skills of counter socialisation which supported a maximal conception of CCE, including thinking critically about social issues, were taught, but only by a small number of teachers and not consistently. Pedagogies promoting counter socialisation were generally used with academically high achieving students. Most teachers showed strong adherence to the school programmes. Teachers’ personal experiences and worldview shaped the way they taught CCE. Significantly, teachers’ views about their students’ needs shaped the content they included for CCE and the ways they approached CCE.

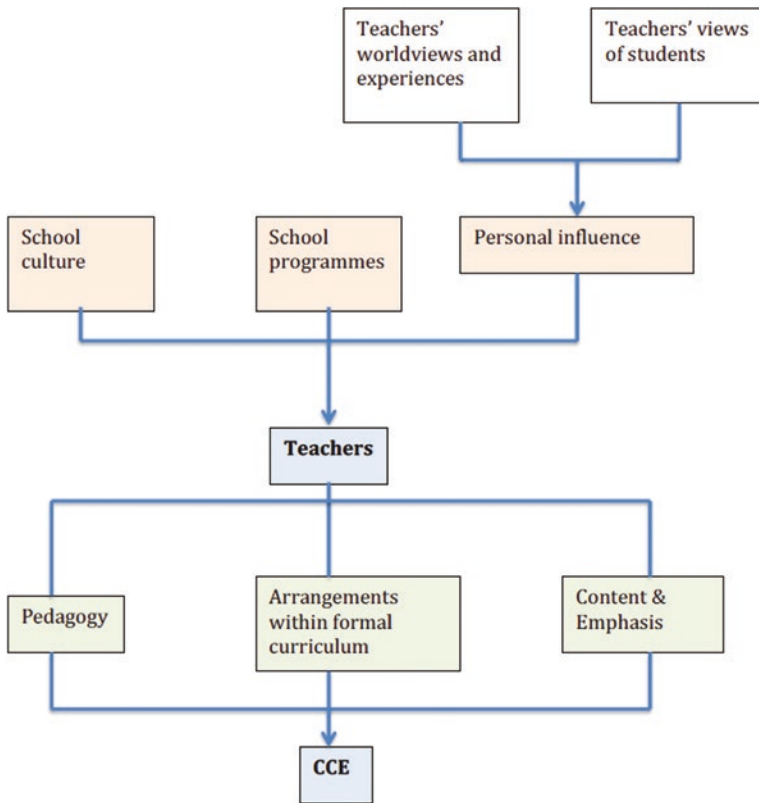


Fig. 33.2 Factors influencing teachers' approaches and pedagogies of CCE

33.4.3 *The Complexities of CCE Policy Enactment at the School and Teachers' Levels*

In this section, in the absence of a CCE syllabus in the NSW curriculum, the Melbourne Declaration is taken to be the key policy to direct subsequent educational policies for CCE.

One of the key complexities of the enactment of policies for CCE is that although schools supported and identified the benefits of an integrated approach, it was rarely translated into practice. While the schools acknowledged that CCE could be addressed throughout the curriculum, the entire school day and through the culture or climate of the school and classroom, they did not have clear statements, policies or guidelines about how CCE might be integrated into their curricula. Besides acknowledging the directions provided by the school guiding principles and/or school rules, the identification of experiences that supported CCE tended to be incidental and piecemeal, rather than structured and intentional. There was an inclination to view 'everything' as related to CCE.

This unplanned integration of CCE into the school curricula was compounded by the lack of clear guidelines in the NSW syllabus to direct CCE and its integration into the various learning areas. While civics and citizenship competencies were mapped to some learning outcomes in the various syllabuses in the various subjects, there were no policies that provided a succinct conception of active citizenship set out by the Melbourne Declaration and the CCE syllabus that was not implemented in NSW. Consequently, the schools adopted broad conceptions of CCE. From the schools' perspectives, they were able to identify some key programmes or directions that supported CCE, however, they were often not directly related to concepts and values of democracy.

The implication for the notions of CCE taught in the four schools can be explained using Westheimer & Kahne's three visions of citizenship. They are useful in distinguishing and conceptualising the variations of citizenship, namely the 'personally responsible citizen', the 'participatory citizen' and the 'justice-oriented citizen'. Each vision reflects a comparatively distinct set of theoretical and curricular goals. The 'personally responsible citizen' commits to act responsibly in the community by actions such as picking up litter, giving blood, recycling, contributing to food drives and volunteering to help those less fortunate. Proponents of the character education movement advance such perspectives. The 'participatory citizen' actively participates in civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state or national level. Educational programmes supporting this vision of citizenship emphasise engagement in collective, community based efforts. They focus on teaching how government and community-based organisations work, and training students to plan and participate in organised efforts to care for those in need.

The 'justice-oriented' citizen views effective democratic citizenship as requiring 'opportunities to analyse and understand the interplay of social, economic and political forces'. This is more aligned with a maximal conception of citizenship. CCE that aims to support the development of 'justice-oriented' citizens place explicit attention to matters of injustice and the importance of pursuing social justice through response to social problems and structural critique.

The findings in this study revealed that schools predominately held visions of the 'personally responsible' and the 'participatory' citizens. There was strong focus across the schools to develop students' personal responsibility to their communities. These included respecting diversities and living amiably with people who were different from them. Many experiences were provided for students to contribute either through volunteering, or supporting a cause. Schools' efforts to develop 'participatory' citizens included teaching about government structures and how students could get involved by working around these structures. Particularly for student leaders, schools also encouraged them to take leadership roles to support a cause.

This approach to CCE supports neoliberal goals by narrowing the realm of politics. The civil society is portrayed as apolitical, beyond the sphere of state authority. This is done by focusing on developing personal capacities as self-reliant members of the society, someone who contributes through individual enterprise and private voluntary institutions and charity, citizens are likely to become a substitute for state

intervention. Consequently, schools' ideas of integrating CCE were not always directed at supporting the development of active and informed participation in Australia's democracy. Instead, it supported a form of citizenship that supported neo-liberal ends of education. This reflected a gap between a maximal conception of active citizenship promoted by the Melbourne Declaration, the CCE syllabus that was not implemented, and the realities of the schools.

33.4.4 Recommendations for Future Policies for CCE

In December 2019, the Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration (thereafter, Mparntwe Declaration) was released as a policy document to supersede the Melbourne Declaration. It similarly sets out the vision for education in Australia. It acknowledges the important role that the Australian education must play in preparing 'young people to thrive in a time of rapid social and technological change, and complex environmental, social and economic challenges' (Education Council 2019, p. 2). The policy directions for CCE are similar to those set out by the Melbourne Declaration, although the term 'active and informed citizens' is replaced by 'active and informed members of the community' (p. 4). Nevertheless, the expectations of citizens remain largely the same.

Drawing on the findings from this study set within the context of policy directions for CCE set out by the Melbourne Declaration, some recommendations could be made for a more effective enactment of CCE set out by the Mparntwe Declaration. The non-implementation of CCE in the NSW curriculum demonstrated the struggles between federal and state policies for education. Without a unified commitment to a vision 'active and informed' citizenship, CCE, a highly contested area of learning, is open to interpretations. The result is a lack of explicit commitment to democratic values and the essence and dynamism of democratic participation becomes diluted in the curriculum.

The implication is for NESAs to negotiate these struggles between federal and state policies for CCE and to make explicit commitment to democratic values in the curriculum to reflect a dynamic view of active and informed citizenship. This study strongly suggests the need for conceptions of active and informed citizenship to be clarified in all syllabuses. In particular, the national values of democracy, equity and justice, and the notion of 'active citizenship', such as participation 'in Australia's civic life by connecting with their community and contributing to local and national conversations' (Education Council 2019, p. 8), must be clarified and explicitly underpin all subjects in the Australian Curriculum. This will help to facilitate the integration of CCE across different subjects.

33.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to examine the impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms using the case of civics and citizenship education (CCE) in Australian education as a context to understand the effects of globalisation on educational systems. In particular, it focuses on understanding the state of CCE in New South Wales, as it presents a unique context to examine the policy enactment, or in this case, the non-enactment of policy for CCE within the context of globalisation. The chapter drew on the findings of a case study of four primary schools in NSW to illuminate the key complexities of policy enactment for CCE, within the context of globalisation. The findings fundamentally highlighted that political nature of education, particularly CCE. A neo-liberal goal of education, driven by market mechanism and performativity, works in contention with the liberal democratic goal of CCE. The privileging of performance in literacy and numeracy in the education system, often sparked by concerns over drops in international benchmarking tests, appeared to outweigh the importance of the social purpose of education. This purpose, as Giroux (2004) reminds, is to support individual and social agency to address basic problems of social justice and global democracy. While neoliberalism has benefitted countries in terms of economic progress, and who may in turn, resists the applicability of liberal democratic concepts, the vulnerabilities that societies may face for rejecting them should not be neglected. As Neoh (2017) noted, societies risk becoming susceptible to the negative impacts of neoliberalism, which promotes individualism over solidarity, minimises citizens' critical involvement in the society and weaken the democratic base. Consequently, a key challenge remains for these concepts to be accepted as the basis for democracy and for education systems to be explicitly committed to these concepts, lest citizenship education becomes the tool to reinforce the effects of neoliberalism.

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Chapter 34

Improving Basic Education in Brazil



Abdeljalil Akkari

Abstract There is a god deal of research on basic education but most of this research looks at quantity rather than quality and further existing research is limited because teachers' role and experiences in contributing to the quality of education is rarely examined. We believe that a central tenet in addressing quality in basic education is to hear teacher's voices in the field. This chapter provides a brief summary of a research project designed to fills the gaps in existing research on Brazilian basic education. This chapter gives an overview of the findings of a joint research project of several Swiss and Brazilian institutions. We begin by analyzing the national and international context within which basic education in Brazil exists. Next, we explore the use of the notion of quality in education. Finally, we present some of the findings of a field survey of teachers working in public and private schools.

34.1 Basic Education in Brazil: What Has Been Done and What Remains to Be Done

In the last few years the question of basic education has taken an important position in educational policies and debates. The notion of basic education incorporates the idea that children need to acquire basic literacy knowledge (reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.) by attending school for several years. Basic education targets both the learning of skills used in daily life and preparing for the possible continuation of schooling in secondary education as well as socializing children in a common setting that transcends sociocultural differences. (Zajda 2020). On the international level, the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, were not isolated events but underlined the international community's desire to insure education for all the world's children. The most recent UNESCO report on Education for All discussed key developments since 2000 (see also UNESCO 2018; UNDESA World Social Report 2020). It shows that the number of pupils attending primary school throughout the world increased from 647 million students in 1999 to 688 million in 2005. The largest increase was 36% in sub-Saharan Africa and 22% in Southern and

A. Akkari (✉)
University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland

Western Asia. Consequently, the number of non-schooled children has decreased, and this decrease has accelerated since 2002. Furthermore, the net school enrollment total has gone from 83% to 87% from 1999 to 2005, and this was a quicker progression than the one recorded from 1991 to 1999 (UNESCO 2007).

On the national Brazilian level, basic education has shown important progress in the past decades. Teaching in the country is governed by the Law of Directives and Foundations of National Education (LDB).¹ The latest version of this law is from 1996 and stipulates that Brazilian schooling has a compulsory length of 9 years of teaching labeled “fundamental” and has as its objective basic citizen education.

The basic education development index (Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica) (IDEB) was created by the Brazilian Education Minister to measure the progress in basic education of the nation as a whole, of the federate states and of the municipalities. This statistical index combines two parts: (a) indicators of student fluctuation (rates of schooling, of remaining in and dropping out of the school system), (b) indicators of student results on standardized tests taken throughout their school careers. This index is on a scale from zero to ten, with a six being the level of basic education achieved by developing countries according to international surveys.

Figure 34.1 shows the observed and projected index for 2005 through 2021 for the first four primary grades (children aged seven to ten). A clear improvement can be seen from 2005 and 2007, especially in the municipal schools and those of the federate states. On the other hand, one can see the long road ahead in order to achieve the objectives for 2021. Furthermore, roughly 20% of the municipal schools failed to achieve the projected IDEB for 2007 (INEP 2008). These schools are concentrated in the poorest regions of the country.

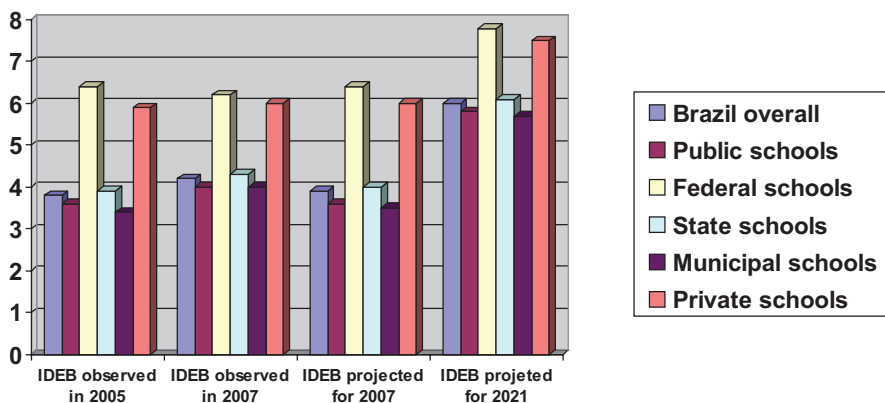


Fig. 34.1 Observed and projected index of the development of basic education in Brazil 2005–2021 (First four grades of primary school). (Source: INEP (2008))

¹Lei n° 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996.

Table 34.1 The evolution of IDEB between 2005 and 2007 in the Brazilian states under study

	IDEB 2005	IDEB 2007
Brazil	3,8	4,2
Paraná	4,6	5,0
São Paulo	4,7	4,9
Minas Gerais	4,7	4,7
Goiás	4,1	4,3
Amazonas	3,1	3,6
Bahia	2,7	3,4

Source: INEP (2008)

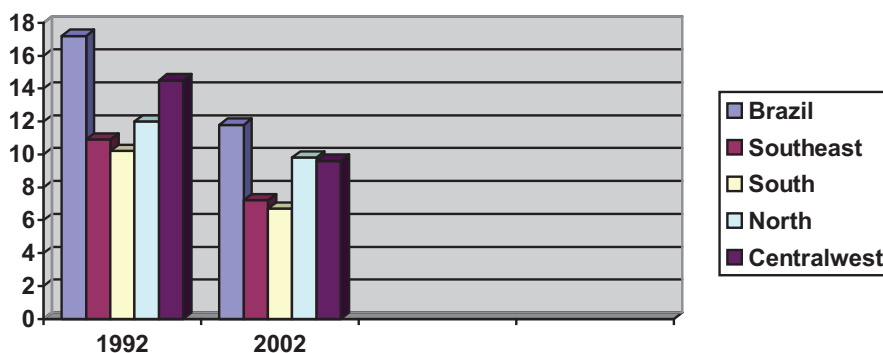


Fig. 34.2 Illiteracy rates for people fifteen and older in Brazil and regions. (Source: Araujo and Luzio (2005))

Regional differences can be seen in Table 34.1. Among the states where we conducted research, three have an IDEB above the national average: Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais and Goiás, while two are below the national average: Amazonas and Bahia.

Furthermore, an analysis of illiteracy in Brazil shows how much work remains in order to improve the performance of the education system. Figure 34.2 shows that the southern and southwestern regions are going in a positive direction. Other regions, particularly the northwest, are lagging behind in terms of basic education results.

With close to 95% of all children currently enrolled in primary schools, the challenge facing Brazilian education has to do more with quality than quantity (PREAL 2005; UNICEF 2006). It also has to do with having basic education of comparable quality to that of its closest neighbors who are partners in Mercosul or in comparison with emerging countries experiencing similar economic development. Figure 34.3 shows the Education for All Development Index (EDI) for Brazil in an international comparison. This composite index is used by UNESCO, ranges from 0 to 1 and is based on pertinent indicators which are combined in a straightforward calculation: universal primary schooling, adult literacy, sexual parity and education quality. The closer the EDI is to one the better the results in Education for All. We

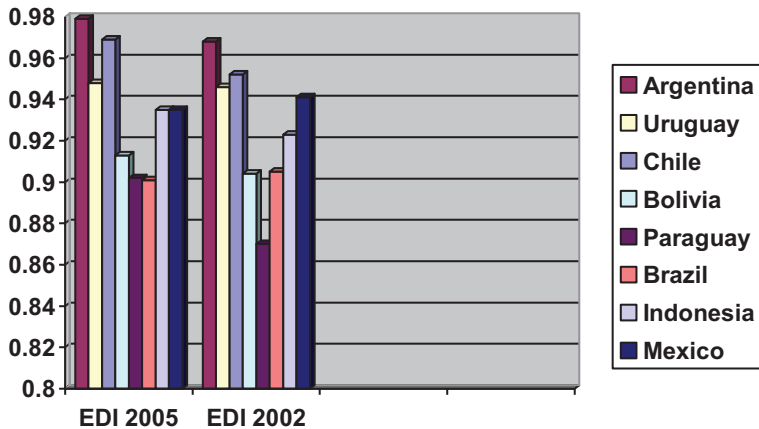


Fig. 34.3 Brazilian basic education in international comparison. (Source: UNESCO (2006), (2007))

notice that Brazil is the only country where the EDI decreased slightly between 2002 and 2005. Moreover, the Brazilian index is much lower than that of economically comparable countries such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Indonesia.

Taken as a whole, the data given in the first part of this chapter show that the quantitative development of schooling in Brazil needs to go hand in hand with a concern regarding the quality of the education.

34.2 What Is Meant by Quality in Basic Education

It would seem important to define the meaning of quality when referring to basic education. Several dimensions can be brought up when defining basic education quality in a given context. First, it is clear that “quantity” precedes “quality” in education (Zajda 2020). Put differently, all education systems currently recognized for the quality of the education they provide began by greatly increasing access to schooling (i.e., increasing the quantity of individuals who attend school). The history of contemporary formal schooling began, even in Western Europe and North America, with overcrowded classes and an exponential expansion of school enrollment. It is not unrealistic to think that the current quantitative progress being made in Brazil will not turn out to be qualitatively efficient in the near future.

However, a risky international trend has ended up making it that education quality is solely measurable by educational indicators or standards based on quantitative data of the school system and student achievement. At the international level the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) study by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co- operation and development) is an example of this problem of measuring quality by exclusive quantitative indicators (OECD 2019, 2020). Several national evaluations (Prova Brasil 2014, Saeb, Enem) have taken

place in the past few years in Brazil. Nevertheless, these studies stop short of documenting the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics that impact the quality of basic education.

At the same time as recognizing the importance of such quantitative indicators in evaluating basic education, it would seem that the quality of basic education is mainly linked to the meaning that students and teachers to learning and of the future perspectives that they open up. Many factors that are not taken into account with quantitative indicators need to be examined in order to better understand how to achieve quality in basic education. First of all it would be necessary to know if the students are gaining knowledge that is seen as useful for their local community and for the continuation of their schooling. It would also be necessary to know if they have an obvious pleasure in attending school or if they feel that while necessary school is mainly a chore.

Another important limitation of international comparative education research is that it homogenizes outcomes for a country sometimes obscuring disparities within a country. For example, it is not necessary to do a great deal of educational research to see that the quality of basic teaching in Brazil is not the same if one compares municipal or state schools to private ones. Similarly, when looking at regional inequalities, the children of the north and the northwest do not receive a quality of education that compares with the one received by children in the south or southwest. Additionally, children belonging to the Afro-Brazilian community and of diverse indigenous communities do not receive an education that can be compared to the national average. Finally, and this is the point that interests us the most for the remainder of the chapter, a quality education is not possible without a motivated, well-paid teaching body that has received an adequate training and is socially recognized for its educational mission.

In the final analysis, basic education is a collection of processes and results which are qualitatively determined. The *quantity* of children attending school is certainly a fundamental but insufficient condition to improve basic education.

34.3 The Necessity of Listening to Teachers

In this section we report opinions which are rarely taken into account in educational research and in public policy regarding basic education: those of teachers. Our research team carried out over 45 semi-directive interviews lasting 45 min in four Brazilian states² (Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Goiás) in different types of schools (municipal, state or private) to collect primary school teachers' opinions regarding the quality of the basic education in their schools, their profession and their pedagogical efforts. The interviews took place in the schools and were

²Interviews are planned for 2009 in the states of Bahia and Manaus which are known for their low quality in basic education.

combined with the gathering of diverse data on the schools and their sociocultural environments from the administrations. We also organized a seminar³ to discuss the results of the research with the teachers. This study is in progress and additional interviews will be conducted. The following paragraphs contain the most salient elements of the analysis of interviews conducted to date.

34.3.1 Becoming a Primary School Teacher: Between a Vocation and a Lack of Options

One of the key moments of the interviews was a discussion regarding the motives and circumstances of choosing the teaching profession. While the traditional vocation of working with children can be found in certain interviews, a lack of options dominated the discussions, especially for teachers coming from rural zones.

In the first place it was a lack of job opportunities in my home region, where a woman became a teacher or a housewife, I preferred teaching. The school was the only option I had.

Becoming a primary school teacher in Brazil is seen by the teachers themselves as a choice by default, which does little to improve educational quality.

34.3.2 The Contribution of Initial Training

If there is one element that the majority of the teachers we spoke with agree on, it would be the insubstantial contribution of the initial training for their daily teaching. Two major problems are mentioned. The first concerns the over-representation of theory in these classes and the disconnect with real world of teaching. The second touches on the fragmentation of different training elements (classes, seminars, internships...) and the lack of a global coherence. It would be important to note that to become a teacher in Brazil there are two parallel channels. One channel is the “Magistério”, a secondary-level training which closely resembles the former “normal schools”, which favors the methodological and practical aspects of teaching. The other channel is university-level (*curso de pedagogia*), which consists more of theoretical and professional aspects of teaching. The Brazilian government has recently set the goal of all primary school teachers completing a degree in higher education (Minister of Education 2006).

The interviewed teachers were much less critical of the “magistério” than of the university “curso de pedagogia”. Moreover, the teachers who were the least skeptical regarding initial training, in either channel, were those who had worked for several years with no training but who later worked towards a degree. Our research

³This seminar was organized in order to share our analysis and interpretations of the data with the teachers.

hopes to contribute to the current debate in Brazil regarding the best way to prepare teachers. The university channel of teacher training that is being promoted by the Brazilian government does not seem to have convinced people working in the teaching profession.

34.3.3 Desperately Seeking Social Recognition

The lack of social recognition is an element present in all of the interviews, even though teachers working in private schools feel slightly more appreciated than those working in state or municipal schools. In their professional and personal lives our interview participants feel that their profession stands for suffering, sacrifice and low salary. In other words it is seen as a “profissãozinha” (a diminutive of profession in Portuguese):


In society teachers really aren't valued. When you're in a group of people having a discussion... No way, you're a teacher? It feels like you're swimming against the current. No way, didn't you have any other job possibilities? Didn't you try to study something else? You must not want any challenges in your life. You didn't try another path but took the easy way, teaching... That's why you took education classes? These classes of looking and waiting for a husband!... I hear this type of talk when I tell people I'm a teacher.

34.3.4 Pedagogical Project and Teaching Methods

In Brazil there is currently a rather original innovation called “Projeto Político-Pedagógico”. This is a school project generally in the form of a pedagogical orientation text that shows the connection between national or regional educational policies and the life of the school. All of our interview participants underlined the importance of the existence of a pedagogical project in improving the educational quality of a school. However, two major problems have been brought up regarding this innovation. The first has to do with the authorship of the project. The most pertinent projects are those involving the largest number possible of teachers in its drafting. If the project is the solitary creation of a principal or of education managers it will be hard pressed to change very much in an institution or to mobilize a teaching body. The second concerns the operationalization of the “Projeto Político-Pedagógico”. The teachers interviewed said that some projects stay in a drawer in the desk of principals because they are disconnected from the everyday reality of teaching in a classroom.

Regarding the most appropriate teaching methods for quality lessons the interviewed teachers point to the need of diversifying the pedagogical methods. For many, an efficient method is one that can adapt to various classroom contexts, diverse situations of students, and to the subject matter:

Table 34.2 How Brazilian teachers think basic education can be improved

	Profession	School	Class
Current situation 	Lack of social recognition Incomplete training Insufficient salary	Distant school-family relations (inexistent) or parents seeing themselves as clients (in private schools) Political-pedagogical project too far removed from the day-to-day (top-down) Accountability (cobrança) especially at the administrative level	Solitude of the teacher Many teachers have basically given up (acomodados) Social and familial difficulties of the students
Measures that could improve basic education	Commitment of public authorities in favor of education Salary increase will help reducing work overload	Political-pedagogical project participative and operational Accountability especially at the pedagogical level and giving priority to student learning	Improving school infrastructure Diversification of teaching methods (not a single orientation)

One possible method consists in the teacher being well-prepared and instructing in a systematic way because often the teacher doesn't really have clear objectives, many teachers don't have a precise method to follow, so we need to fix goals. The appropriate method is to take the traditional and to mix it with the modern, make the student think about what he/she is doing... It's also important to diversify the teaching style.

Findings also reveal the following themes as important improving the quality of basic education in Brazil: higher salaries, school-family relations and a serious commitment by public authorities in favor of public education. Table 34.2 looks at the conditions that the interviewed teachers see as necessary for improving basic education.

34.4 Conclusion

The last two decades have seen a public debate in Brazil on the need to improve the quality of basic education. This debate essentially has centered around two points: (1) the legislative measures promoting the reform of the Brazilian education system which resulted in the passing of the LDB (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases) and (2) the reduction of inequalities connected with the financing of public education which took shape in the launching of two federal aid programs for basic education (Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e de Valorização do Magistério – Fundef and Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e de Valorização dos Profissionais da Educação – FUNDEB). These funds aim to redistribute resources from the richest regions to the poorest and to introduce financial incentives intended to improve working conditions for the teaching body. These initiatives, for example, force federate states and municipalities to allocate at

least 60% of their budget to education and 12% of their total budget to primary education (Neri and Buchmann 2007).

In the indispensable effort to identify ways to improve basic education, our research project has developed along two lines. In the first place, there is a need for a reconceptualization of educational quality as incorporating both quantitative and qualitative aspects. For a country like Brazil, the goal to strive for is to increase the number of students attending school, especially among the poorest population, at the same time as improving the quality of education that schools offer. In the second place our project has shown the necessity of taking into account structural factors along with the contributions of fundamental participants, especially teachers. In this sense, in spite of the good intentions declared at international conferences and by education ministers, work conditions have continued to deteriorate in many countries. Teachers have been demoralized by their low salaries and poor working conditions. The necessity of investing more in the teaching body is a high priority if we hope to reach the goal of education for all and to improve the quality of basic education. Being a teacher should no longer mean feeling part of a professional category that sees itself as unheard, subordinate, that sees itself as pawns. The role which has currently been passed on to teachers is seen as being more and more spread out and covers not only the individual development of students but also the transformation of the school establishment into a “community of learners” (OECD 2005, 2012, 2020).

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Chapter 35

Language-in-Education Policies and Practices in Africa with a Special Focus on Tanzania and South Africa



Birgit Brock-Utne

Abstract 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.

35.1 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 4 years and having visited hundreds of classrooms both in east and West Africa is that Obanya is completely right; the African child's major learning problem is linguistic. Children are being branded as unintelligent when they lack knowledge of the language used in instruction, a language they often hardly hear and seldom use outside of the classroom. The concept "education for all" becomes a completely empty concept if the linguistic environment of the basic learners is not taken into account (Brock-Utne 2000, 2001, 2012a, b, 2013a, b; Klaus 2001; Rugemalira 2013).

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

B. Brock-Utne (✉)
University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
e-mail: birgit.brock-utne@iped.uio.no

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?” Brock-Utne 2013a, b; Brock-Utne and Qorro 2015).

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 text-book 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, LOITASA¹ (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) which I am conducting together with partners in Tanzania and South Africa we have come across many of these beliefs.

Some years back 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

¹The LOITASA project was planned together with partners in South Africa and Tanzania in Bagamoyo, Tanzania in January 2000 to be a 5 year project with NUFU (Norwegian University Fund – co-operation between Norwegian universities and universities in developing countries) funding from Norway. This project worked in close cooperation with the Norwegian Research Council funded project. The LOITASA project, which started on the 1. of January 2002 was completed on 31st of December 2006, contained two different research components apart from a staff development component. The first research component was rather similar to the project sponsored by the Norwegian Research Council. The second research component of LOITASA involved an action component where we planned an experiment where we 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 used 2002 to translate material and get the necessary permissions to carry out the experiment. The NUFU funding was not sufficient for our experimental phase in South Africa and we secured some extra funding from a Norway-South Africa research programme. At the end of 2006 we were granted a second phase(2007–2012) of the LOITASA project. In this phase we continued in the same schools in South Africa while we looked at primary schools in Tanzania. (Bakahwemama 2009) The last student to write her Ph.D. under the LOITASA umbrella was Bakahwemama (2016) After this second phase a very different way of organizing cooperation between universities in the South and the North was introduced in Norway. While I continued with a new research project under this new programme (Brock-Utne 2019) it was now administered in the South and involved two universities in Tanzania with a link to the University of Oslo.

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. (Brock-Utne 2013a, 2017).

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. Kiswahili is not only the national language of Tanzania but also one of the two official languages, Rugemalira (2013) notes that if a national language shares its official position with a 'foreign' language, then a justification for the situation ought to be provided in a language policy that also sets out the roadmap for the eventual removal of that foreign language from its usurped position. He states that there has been no such policy in Tanzania.

Towards the end of the chapter I shall discuss the coping strategies African teachers use in their classrooms.

35.2 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 was for many year the Director of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) in Cape Town and is still connected to the centre which is now (2020) located at the University of the Western Cape.

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, Barbarba Grimes (1992) assesses the number of languages in Africa to be 1995². He asked: What is this? Don't we know how many languages we have in Africa? Who has classified them? Who has put them into writing, for what purpose? According to what system? To what effect? He went on to say that he would now read aloud a list of African languages and he wanted everybody present to raise their hand if they heard a language mentioned by him that they could communicate comfortably in. This language need not be our first language, but a language we understood well and felt comfortable using. When he had read out a list of 12–15 core languages (a core language is a cluster of mutually intelligible speech forms which in essence constitute dialects of the same language) *all* of the participants in the conference had their hands up. These core languages included Nguni; Sesotho/Setswana; Kiswahili; Dholuo; Eastern Inter-Lacustrine; Runyakitara; Somali/Rendile/Oromo/Borana; Fulful; Mandenkan; Hausa; Yoruba; Ibo and Amharic. He characterised these languages as the first order languages of prominence. Below these, there may be about six which are not so large, in terms of speakers, but which have significant numbers of users. The work of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) over the past 5 years has revealed that as first, second and third language speakers about 85% of Africans speak no more than 12–15 core languages. (see e.g., Prah 2000; 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.³

²A number of bibliographies have been published on the subject 'education and language in Africa' Stafford Kaye & Bradley Nystrom (1971) have in their extensive bibliography covered the colonial period, while *Sprachpolitik in Africa* by Metchild Reh & 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.

³Officially 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.

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, 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. Sinfree Makoni (2000) likewise writes about the crucial role of missionaries in the specification of speech forms subsequently regarded as African languages. African missionary converts played the role of laboratory assistants. They provided the vocabulary and the missionaries the orthography and the grammar. Makoni claims that the grammar books made did not aid any meaningful communication between English and Shona speakers in Zimbabwe. The phrases for translation and the vocabulary used reflected settler and missionary ideology. The phrases were useful for talking about Africans but not for engaging with them in any egalitarian communication. He further writes about the way in which different missionary stations magnified differences between dialects, obscuring the homogeneity of the real situation. To quote him: “Missionaries were not sin-free in their creation of African vernaculars (Makoni 2000, p. 158)”. He concludes a chapter on the Missionary influence on African vernaculars in general and on Shona in particular with these words:

It is generally well known that the spread of “European languages” was one of the consequences of European imperialism. What is less well-known, however, is the effect of the work of missionaries in the construction of African languages. The written African languages which they created were “new” in many respects (Makoni 2000, p. 164).

In a keynote speech he gave at the opening of the LOITASA project, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003) also spoke of the harm done to African languages through the missionary settlements, as well as missionary rivalry and evangelical zeal. Missionaries lacking a proper understanding of the language transcribed any speech form they heard into a written language resembling the way similar sounds were transcribed in their own indigenous language. By this approach dialects like Cockney, Tyneside, broad Yorkshire, etc. in Britain could easily be made into languages in themselves. This fragmentation approach is still popular with the Summer

Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a leading group in the work of rendering African languages into script, in order to translate the Bible into African languages. One can agree with Kwesi Kwaa Prah's claim that the rendition of African languages into scripts for purposes of the development of Africa cannot at the same time proceed with the fragmentation of languages as is being conducted by the SIL. In effect, the SIL is building and destroying at the same time. To quote Prah (2002, p. 13):

When one asks why this is the case, the reason that comes easily to the fore is that the object of such endeavours at rendering African languages into script is not in the first instance to help in the development of Africa, but rather simply to translate the Bible into African speech forms and to evangelise and convert Africans into Christians. Unless one assumes that converting Africans to Christianity represents development. All other considerations are for such purposes insignificant.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2002) notes that those who write about the multitude of languages in Africa have, in most instances, never looked at African societies outside the framework of colonial boundaries. It is necessary for African linguists to work across national boundaries because practically all African languages are cross-border speech forms which defy the colonially inherited borders. When the colonial powers divided up Africa between themselves in Berlin in 1884 they never considered the language borders of Africa. Working within the framework of African 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". In a book edited by Prah and myself (Prah and Brock-Utne 2009) the twelve contributors probe the thinking and practice of language of instruction

policies in contemporary Africa. The thrust of the discourses in this volume is to move away from the colonially inherited positions.

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 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.

35.3 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.

35.4 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 has been 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).

35.5 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.

35.6 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 made of the new English medium primary schools in Tanzania the main manifestation of “safe talk” in an encouragement of chorus answers from pupils, repeating phrases or words after the teacher and copying notes from the blackboard. He found very little encouragement of pupils to freely express their ideas without the teacher’s control.

The two examples below are taken from Rubagumya’s research and illustrate “safe-talk” as observed in many classrooms of the sample schools.

T : So you have positive fifty-five plus positive what now?

PP: (chorus) ten

T : Positive ten. What do you get then?

P : (one student answers) Positive sixty-five

T : Sixty-five positive. How many got that? Only one... any question?... no question. Do this exercise

[Maths std. 3 school D2]

In this example, the teacher is going through the exercise he had given pupils earlier. After making the corrections, he asks how many pupils got the right answer. Only one out of a class of 35 pupils had the right answer. The teacher then asks whether pupils have any questions. After a very brief moment (about 2 s) he decides that pupils have understood, and he proceeds to give them another exercise. Here both the teacher and the pupils are practising “safe talk”. Since only one pupil got the right answer, we would have expected several pupils to ask some questions. But they hesitate because they don’t want to lose face. The teacher on his part waits for only about 2 s 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.

35.7 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*.

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.

35.8 Examples of Code-Mixing

In the example below the geography teacher mixes in English words in his sentences but lets the important words be said in Kiswahili. The following excerpt is taken from classroom observations made in a Form I geography lesson:

T: These are used for grinding materials. It looks like what?

S: Kinu (pestle)

T: Kinu and what?

S: Mtwangio (mortar)

T: It looks like kinu and mtwangio and it works like kinu and mtwangio.

In this example the teacher is satisfied with the answer from the student which shows that the student has the right concepts. The fact that these concepts are expressed in Kiswahili does not seem to bother the subject matter teacher, who does nothing to expand the vocabulary of the student within the English language. From the excerpt we do not even know whether the teacher knows the correct terms in English. Even if 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.

35.9 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 was 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 of what may be regarded as a very progressive language in education policy in South Africa, which in principle enables learners or their guardians to choose any of the 11 official languages as the language of instruction; English is used as the medium of instruction from grade 4 in primary school onwards. The transition to English is only a policy decided by individual schools and reflects the actual 1979 apartheid language policy. When one reads the official government policy carefully, one sees that this policy does *not* state that a change of language of instruction needs to take place in the fourth or fifth grade in primary school or, for that matter, at all. According to this policy the whole of primary school as well as secondary school could be conducted in African languages as the languages of instruction (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003).

In connection with the South African part of my research project a reading comprehension task was given to 278 students in 6 different classrooms in three schools in Cape Town. The overall results showed that students who received instruction only in isiXhosa and the task in isiXhosa performed far better than those who received the same task in English only. In addition, the isiXhosa group also outperformed the group that was given the task in English, but where instruction was given in both English and isiXhosa i.e., code-switching method. All sessions were videotaped and analyzed as part of the doctoral thesis written by Holmarsdottir (2005).

Teachers in African classrooms know that they are not allowed to code-mix or code-switch, yet most of them still do. Halima Mwinsheikhe, who has worked as a biology teacher in Tanzanian secondary schools for many years, admits:

I personally was compelled to switch to Kiswahili by a sense of helplessness born of the inability to make students understand the subject matter by using English (Mwinsheikhe 2001, p. 16).

In the following passage the science teacher changes languages completely as he sees that his students do not understand. His own English is not easy to understand. He expresses himself much clearer and better in Kiswahili. For him the important thing is to get the subject matter across. He is a teacher of science, not of English.

T: When you go home put some water in a jar, leave it direct on sun rays and observe the decrease of the amount of water, have you understood?

Ss:(silence)

T: Nasema, chukua chombo, uweke maji na kiache kwenye jua, maji yatakuaje? (I say take a container with water and leave it out in the sun, what will happen to the water?)

Ss:Yatapungua (it will decrease)

T: Kwa nini? (Why?)

Ss:Yatafyonzwa na mionzi ya jua (it will evaporate by the sun's rays)

In the example above the teacher, after his initial try in English and the following silence from the students, switches completely to Kiswahili.

In South Africa it is also assumed that by using English in all content subjects students will in turn become more proficient in English. Also here teachers of students from the black majority population generally code-switch or code-mix during most lessons. In this case research shows that although officially the language of instruction is English the actual language used most in the upper primary school classrooms in the western Cape where we conduct our research is isiXhosa.. The following example highlights the use of both English and isiXhosa (code-switching) in a South African classroom.

During a mathematics⁴ 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 follows⁵:

T: 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

⁴The data was collected by Halla Holmarsdottir as part of her Ph.D.research on the project (Holmarsdottir 2005).

⁵T refers to the teacher and S refers to the students.

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.

35.10 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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Chapter 36

Globalisation and National Curriculum Reform in Australia: The Push for Asia Literacy



Deborah Henderson

Abstract This chapter examines the policy context for the push for a national curriculum and the inclusion of Asia literacy for schooling in Australia in the light of current links between globalisation, education and policy analysis and the notion of the learning/knowledge society of the twenty-first century. It is anticipated that discussion of the Australian context will be insightful for those other nations concerned with positioning Asia in school curricula, including for example, New Zealand, Canada, USA and UK. In doing so, the chapter considers the challenges to the implementation of Asia literacy in Australia with specific reference to current and future teachers for, as with many nations, the teaching profession in Australia is on the cusp of generational change as large numbers of teachers aged in their mid to late fifties embark on retirement (Teaching Australia, 2007). Of particular concern in relation to these demographic shifts, is meeting the demand for large numbers of replacement teachers and preparing future teachers (Skilbeck M, Connell H (2004) Teachers for the future – The changing nature of society and related issues for the teaching workforce, A report to teacher quality and educational leadership taskforce for MCEETYA. AGPS, Canberra, 2004; McKenzie P, Research Developments 27(2):1–5, 2012) with Asia-related knowledge. The chapter is structured as follows. First, it details the complex environment for education policy making in Australia. Specific reference is made to the ways in which the idiosyncrasies of a federal system of education have been navigated by national governments in Australia as they responded to globalisation from the early 1980s to 2013. Discussion centres on how high level and centralised policy making finally secured agreement for a national curriculum and a focus on teacher professional standards. The second part of the chapter explores the push for Asia literacy and its inclusion in the first national curriculum to be implemented in Australia. Specific reference is made to the challenge of preparing teachers with Asia-related knowledge, understanding and skills in

D. Henderson (✉)
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia
e-mail: dj.henderson@qut.edu.au

response to the requirements of recently released teacher professional standards. Finally, the chapter posits whether this particular approach to policy making in response to globalisation has concluded with the election of a new national government in Australia.

36.1 Introduction

A geographically bounded concept of the nation-state has traditionally informed decision making about national education policy. However, extant literature on the allocation of values in education policy refers to the transnational shift towards a neoliberal values orientation which emphasises human capital formation and new knowledge industries that nation-states require to compete in the global economy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Zajda 2020a). Such shifting economic, political and social contexts for education continue to prompt education systems across the world to interpret and react to the challenges of globalisation (Zajda 2020b). This is far from straightforward, given those contemporary issues confronting not just education systems, but society as a whole, such as pandemics, climate change, the movements of people and increasing instability prompted by emerging conservatism, right-wing groups and authoritarianism.

As with other governments in Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, education policy reform aimed at aligning educational outcomes with the national interest, and delivered through a national curriculum, is one of the strategies by which the Australian government has responded to globalisation and increased regional interaction. It can be argued that this approach to reshaping the goals of schooling is indicative of the OECD model of the knowledge economy society. This chapter explores a particular manifestation of national curriculum reform in Australia which included an emphasis on Asia as an example of an education policy response to globalisation. For in the knowledge economy discourse in Australia, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of Asia is considered valuable and necessary for national prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012) in the shift from a resource-based to a modern service economy (Singh 2018).

National education policy making is complex in Australia, as under the Australian constitution, the States and Territories have autonomy over education. Indeed, this autonomy has prevented previous federal (national) governments from succeeding in developing and implementing a national curriculum. Despite the complex federalism of Australian education policy, the development of a national curriculum which promotes greater consistency in education matters was endorsed in Australia, with certain qualifications, by State and Territory ministers at the meeting of the peak national inter-government body, the Ministerial Council for Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA) in December, 2010. This was a considerable achievement, as no other nation with a federal system of education has a national curriculum (Fensham 2011).

This national education reform agenda, aimed at securing a world-class school system, was formalised in the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians* (MCEETYA 2008), henceforth, the *Melbourne Declaration*. As the agreed policy document which informed national and State initiatives for schooling and post-school training in Australia, the *Melbourne Declaration* also informed the national curriculum, now termed the Australian Curriculum (ACARA 2020a), which was managed first by an Interim National Curriculum Board and then by the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). The latter was established as the independent statutory authority responsible for the development of national curriculum, a national assessment program, and a national data collection and reporting program that aims to support learning for Australian students.

In its Preamble the *Melbourne Declaration* explicitly foregrounded the impact of globalisation and the new knowledge economy noting that in ‘the 21st century Australia’s capacity to provide a high quality of life for all will depend on the ability to compete in the global economy on knowledge and innovation’ (MCEETYA 2008, p. 4). It also made clear that Asia literacy, that is, knowledge and understanding about Asia, was on the agenda for school education and that ‘engaging and building strong relationships with Asia’ (p. 4) was significant for Australia’s future. This focus was emphasised in slightly different terminology in the most recent statement of national education goals, released in December 2019. Goal 2 of the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* noted that all young Australians need to become ‘informed and responsible global and local members of the community who value and celebrate cultural and linguistic differences, and engage in the global community, particularly with our neighbours in the Indo-Pacific regions’ (Education Council 2019, p. 8). The current wording reflects the Australian government’s shift to focus its diplomatic attention to what it terms the ‘Indo-Pacific’ region. In this context, India is considered a future economic power and possible hedge against China. Moreover, in the face of a post-Trump challenged United States and a more hostile and aggressive China, the Australian government now views partnerships with major Indo-Pacific democracies, such as those with India, Japan, Indonesia and South Korea, as a means of shaping the future regional order (see Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2017). It remains to be seen how the emphasis on the Indo-Pacific region, will be incorporated into the review of the Foundation–Year 10 *Australian Curriculum* (ACARA 2020a), announced by education ministers on 12 June 2020.

36.2 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores the policy context for the push for a national curriculum and the inclusion of Asia literacy, more recently referred to as Asia capability, for schooling in Australia in the light of evolving intersections between globalisation, education and policy analysis, and the notion of the learning/knowledge society of

the twenty-first century. It is anticipated that discussion of the Australian context will be insightful for those other nations concerned with positioning Asia in school curricula, including for example, New Zealand, Canada, USA and UK. In doing so, the chapter considers the challenges to the implementation of Asia literacy/capability in Australia with specific reference to current and future teachers for, as with many nations, the teaching profession in Australia is on the cusp of generational change as large numbers of teachers aged in their mid to late fifties embark on retirement (Lambert et al. 2016; Teaching Australia 2007). A major challenge in addressing these demographic shifts in Australia, lies with meeting the demand for replacement teachers and preparing future teachers (Skilbeck and Connell 2004; McKenzie 2012) with Asia-related knowledge (Henderson 2018).

The chapter is structured as follows. First, it details the complex environment for education policy making in Australia. Specific reference is made to the ways in which the idiosyncrasies of a federal system of education have been navigated by national governments in Australia as they responded to globalisation from the early 1980s to more recent times. Discussion centres on how high level and centralised policy making finally secured agreement for a national curriculum and a focus on teacher professional standards in this country. The second part of the chapter explores the push for Asia literacy and its inclusion in the first national curriculum to be implemented in Australia. Specific reference is made to the challenge of preparing teachers with Asia-related knowledge, understanding and skills in response to the requirements of teacher professional standards. The chapter concludes the discussion of the policy context for decision making about what sort of knowledge is considered in the national interest (Kennedy 2019), with reference to the current context for Asia literacy/capability as the Australian Curriculum undergoes a second review.

36.3 The Political Context in Australia

The term globalisation is contested and employed in multiple contexts to suggest both positive and negative evolving flows of power, culture and commerce (Lingard 2020; Ohmae 2000; Rosenberg 2000). Levin (2001) refers to its multi-dimensional nature of globalisation (see also Zajda 2020b). He argues that whilst globalisation suggests a condition in which the world can be viewed as a single place, it also invokes a process that links localities separated by great distances and intensifies relations between them.

Globalization is also implicitly connected to international economies, as in the concept of a world economy; and to international relations or politics, as in the concept of global politics; and to culture, as in the concept of global culture (Levin 2001, p 8).

Quiggan (1999) argues that the concept of globalisation ‘obscures as much as it reveals’ (p. 59) and that it is simply the international manifestation of the swing towards neoliberal policies of market-oriented reform that has taken place

throughout the world since 1970 (see also Zajda 2020a). Despite debates about its economic, cultural and political dimensions, globalisation is recognised as a key driver of education policy (Lingard 2020; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This chapter contends that the economic aspects of globalisation are dominant in the discourse of the knowledge economy and that it is manifested differently in nation-states. In Australia, the complexities of federalism mean that issues of *control* and *legislative power* are central to any discussion about securing national education reforms in response to globalisation. In terms of *control*, since the early 1980s national governments of various political persuasions have responded to the impact of global and regional economic contexts by engaging in and prioritising a knowledge economy discourse (Dale 2005) that emphasises education's role in national capacity building. As Pang (2005) noted almost two decades ago, 'the emerging thinking is that the capacity of a nation to remain competitive globally depends on whether its citizens are educated and sufficiently skilled for work in the future, and not on capital and technology as before' (p. 161).

In Australia the emergence of the assumption, that national education outcomes are directly linked to the nation's economy, can be traced back to the period of federal (or Commonwealth) government under the Prime Ministership of Bob Hawke (1983–1991) and Paul Keating (1991–1996). Under Hawke, the standpoint that national education was indispensable to economic recovery in an increasingly globalised context, was embedded in education policy making by the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, John Dawkins. During Dawkins' watch, the policy document *Strengthening Australia's Schools* (Dawkins 1988) stressed the core role of schools in contributing to Australia's economy and society and noted the importance of improving teacher quality in this process. As will be seen later in the chapter, a focus on teacher standards as one of the mechanisms for securing economic and social outcomes continued to intensify in response to global trends in educational governance.

Prime Ministers Hawke and Keating sought national consistency in curricula for Australian schools through the creation of a national curriculum. By way of pursuing this, both Hawke and Keating worked to ensure that education policy making become more centralised at the highest levels of government, and restructured government departments accordingly. For example, during a major restructuring of the federal government's departments and bureaucracies under Hawke in 1987, the first iteration of a mega-education department emerged when the Department of Employment, Education and Training was created. Ten years later, Knight and Lingard (1997, p. 37) observed '(t)he processes of ministerialisation and politicisation, supra-ministerialisation and centralised policy prescription have significantly altered the balance of power in educational policy making so that policy is now steered at an increasingly vast distance from schools.' However, whilst the creation of National Curriculum Statements and Profiles in eight key learning resulted from this period, schooling and curricula remained largely with the State and Territories.

Successive Prime Ministers, namely John Howard (1996–2007), Kevin Rudd (2007–2010), Julia Gillard (2010–2013) and following a leadership spill, Rudd for eleven weeks from June–September, 2013, Tony Abbott (2013–2015), Malcolm

Turnbull (2015–2018) and the incumbent Prime Minister, Scott Morrison (2018–current), have generally followed this approach to framing education policy within national economic policy in an effort to make Australia globally competitive. As noted, this approach was framed in a knowledge economy discourse which redefines educational values ‘in largely economic terms’ (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 91). In their analysis of this macro-political setting for teacher education, Grimm et al. (2009, p. 5–6) emphasise that future teachers need to be ‘public intellectuals’ capable of engaging with and challenging those neoliberal discourses that seek to govern educators as ‘servants of the state who merely carry out public policy’. Of course, this gap between elite, centralised policy making and the preparation of educators who are expected to implement policy prescription is a transnational occurrence (Ball 2008; Lingard 2020).

With reference to *legislative power*, as noted earlier, attempts to introduce a national curriculum in Australia have been constrained by the complex nature of Australian federalism, for under the nation’s constitution, the responsibility for education resides with the States and Territories. However, whilst schooling was not mentioned in Section 51 of the Australian Constitution, which established the federal (or Commonwealth) government’s powers, some federal involvement or ‘soft power’ (Nye 2005) in schooling matters is permitted. This notion of soft power, combined with the fact that the federal government has the greatest revenue raising capacity, has allowed national governments of different political persuasions in Australia to increase their authority in education policy making (Piper 1997) without overstepping constitutional constraints. The steps towards a national curriculum were limited during the Howard government (1996–2007), and largely framed in the context of globalization and a traditionalist view of Australian nationalism and history, and a traditionalist view of school knowledge and assessment practices (Lingard 2018).

The next part of the chapter explores an aspect of the government’s policy regime under Kevin Rudd’s first term as Prime Minister as it was under the Rudd federal government that a national curriculum, which included an emphasis on Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia, was secured. It must be noted that the political support for a national curriculum which included a focus on Asia was possible because when Rudd-led Labor won the 2007 federal election all State and Territory governments at that time were Labor governments. Such political alignment was pivotal to securing this policy agreement.

The discussion provides an overview of the origins of a cooperative approach to national policy making, the implications of global accountability regimes for teacher professional standards and then shifts to the chart the push for a policy prescription for Asia literacy in Australian education to indicate how a balance was sought between global, regional and local needs and interests in designing a new national curriculum.

36.4 The COAG Policy Environment

Following the federal election that secured its tenure in December 2007, the Rudd government signalled it sought to obtain cooperation for education policy matters with the States and Territories through ‘cooperative’ federalism. The policy mechanism for this soft power approach to education policy making was the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). COAG had been established by the Keating government in 1992 in response to criticisms of the decision-making processes under Bob Hawke’s Special Premiers’ Conferences. Keating’s rationale for an intergovernmental council rested on an assumption that the national government was better equipped, than meetings of State and Territory premiers, to formulate effective policy in response to increasing pressures from the global economy (Keating 1991).

It must be noted that Rudd was quite familiar with the policy mechanisms in negotiating COAG processes to secure education policy outcomes before he became Prime Minister (Henderson 2008). In fact, during the early 1990s, Rudd’s dealings with COAG evolved when (then) Premier in the State of Queensland, Wayne Goss, assisted by Rudd, submitted a proposal for a national Asian languages and cultures strategy, based on Queensland’s Languages other than English (LOTE) initiative, to the first COAG meeting held in Perth in December 2002. At this time there was increasing awareness that although Australia’s national language, English, was growing as an international language, it was not adequate to meet the needs of learners in a multi-lingual world and the Asian region in particular. For while the Hawke, then Keating governments intensified the push to Asia in response to the new global order following the end of the Cold War, and in response to the intensity of the 1990–1992 recession, neither government considered a strategy for the acquisition of Asian language and cultural skills in the education system as a basis for enhancing its broad policy objectives in Asia in response to globalisation and regionalisation. The Queensland argument was that Keating’s policy push to Asia required flesh on the bones (Rudd 1998) to secure its objectives through an educational strategy aimed at making Australians Asia-literate, that is, knowledgeable about the peoples, cultures and languages of the Asia region (Henderson 1999).

At this first COAG meeting, heads of government from the States and Territories debated the need to increase the proficiency of Asian languages and cultures skills in Australia and by the meeting’s conclusion, COAG commissioned a working group, chaired by Rudd, to prepare a report on the then-current level of federal and State commitment toward Asian languages and cultures education in Australia. Rudd presented the report of the working party (Rudd 1994) to the 2004 COAG meeting in Hobart and, following COAG’s acceptance, the report’s recommendations became the basis of the National Asian Languages and Cultures in Australian Schools (NALSAS) Strategy from 1995. What was particularly significant about this COAG process was the agreement that implementation costs should be shared equally between the federal government and the States and Territories. This was noted in terms of:

something of a broader agreement across the spectrum of Australian Party politics of the desirable nature of Australia's economic future and the role that education and training are to play in relation to it (Lingard 1994, p. 6).

Hence, Rudd's experiment with securing education policy through the cooperative federalism of COAG process was initially successful, although the Howard government later reneged on the 50% federal funding commitment in 2002, effectively scuttling NALSAS. It is necessary to revisit these policy processes for Rudd's instrumental focus on education's purpose in securing national productivity through high level education policy making processes in the 1990s re-emerged and underpinned his government's decision to use the COAG process to pursue a national curriculum. It is also worth noting that whilst the NALSAS strategy was welcomed by many, it was strongly critiqued for its unrealistic timelines and lack of qualified LOTE teachers in the priority Asian languages of Japanese, Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian (Bahasa) and Korean (Henderson 1999). In sum, its implementation was compromised.

36.5 Securing a National Curriculum

Under COAG's auspices during the Rudd government the machinery for implementing COAG decisions was delegated on 1 July 2009 to the newly established Ministerial Council on Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA). In terms reminiscent of the Hawke and Keating eras of high level centralised policy making, MCEECDYA took over the roles and responsibilities of two previously existing councils - the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) and the Ministerial Council for Vocational and Technical Education (MCVTE). MCEECDYA membership comprised State, Territory, Australian Government and New Zealand Ministers with responsibility for the portfolios of school education, early childhood development and youth affairs, with Papua New Guinea, Norfolk Island and East Timor having observer status.

In her capacity as the Minister for Education in the first Rudd Government, Julia Gillard reiterated John Dawkins' focus on education and human capital from the late 1980s, to align education directly to productivity. In this knowledge economy discourse, education was portrayed as 'a major plank of the historic COAG agreement ... which outlines a productivity and participation agenda that spans early years to adulthood' (Gillard 2008, p.1). The COAG agreement to develop a national approach to the curriculum, as endorsed by MCEECDYA in December 2010, was also significant in another way. Given that it placed education policy making in context of cooperative federalism, a national curriculum had to be secured via negotiation with the States and Territories, rather than through coercion and threats to withdraw funding. This meant that whilst agreement has been reached, it continues to remain fragile. Some argue that the authority of ACARA, as the statutory body

established by the Commonwealth with the support of the States and Territories to manage the development and implementation of the Australian Curriculum, remains tenuous (Brennan 2011) As one curriculum scholar noted:

The latest national curriculum is only possible now because the states – through COAG and MCEETYA - have agreed to collaborate. At any time, such as with the election of a number of Liberal state governments, that support could be withdrawn. ACARA would be neutered (Reid 2009, p.4).

Prior to examining the push for Asia literacy in this policy environment, it is necessary to consider briefly another significant aspect of national and global emphases for education policy making, namely the assumption that quality teaching can be linked to the global economy and international competitiveness.

36.6 Devolution, Managerialism and Professional Standards

Two other significant trends accompanying the shift towards elite centralised education policy making far removed from schools in Australia can be traced to the period of the Hawke and Keating governments. One was the trend by State and Territory Governments in Australia to devolve some aspects of decision-making, financial management and other related tasks to schools and local districts (Blackmore 1993; Luke 2003; Reid and Johnson 1993). The other trend was characterised by a focus on standards and accountability (Lingard 2020). Manifested primarily through an initial emphasis on national benchmarking testing in literacy and numeracy, this focus on commensurability has intensified in response to global trends in educational measurement that were influencing other nations. Indeed, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) emphasise the role of international policy organisations such as the OECD, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, amongst others, in this process. The focus is placed on greater school-based management and autonomy, whilst also emphasising increased standards of accountability to meet national goals and enhance international benchmarking and quality assurance systems (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, p. 121).

In terms of teachers' work and professionalism, a global trend was evident in 'identifying, codifying and applying professional standards of practice to the teaching force' (Goodson and Hargreaves 1996, p. 1). Sachs (2003, p. 3) identified two approaches to professional standards in the literature and policy documents: namely, developmental or regulatory approaches. She argues that 'developmental standards give promise to a revitalised and dynamic teaching profession; on the other hand, regulatory standards regimes can remove professional autonomy, engagement and expertise away from teachers, reduce diversity of practice and opinion and promote "safe" practice'. Sachs (2003) refers to the latter discourse as form of managerial professionalism in which terms such as accountability and assessment are aligned with teacher quality, teacher standards and educational outcomes linked to human

capital productivity agendas. In Australia, this was evident in the introduction of a working document on teacher professional standards, *A National Framework for Professional Standards for Teaching* (MCEETYA 2003), aimed at aligning standards nationally for entry to the teaching profession and to provide standards for teachers and school principals. In the years that followed, the movement for standards was largely uncoordinated and fragmented. State teacher registration authorities maintained their own version of professional standards for graduates from teacher education programs, and also standards for competent professional practice, linked to ongoing registration.

36.7 A National Partnership Approach

Under the COAG process, a national partnership approach to underpin national educational reforms, improve teaching quality and accountability for public funding spent on education was instigated (COAG 2008). COAG agreed on a common set of professional standards for teachers and an accreditation process for teachers to be recognised at different levels of achievement. Under the auspices of MCEECDYA, efforts to revise earlier proposed national standards commenced and the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL), a government funded body, finalised and endorsed the revised standards in 2010 and these were released in February 2011. The Professional Standards seek to ‘guide ongoing professional learning and set a reliable, fair and nationally consistent basis for the accreditation of pre-service teacher education courses and teacher registration’ (AITSL 2011a). It has been argued that:

The new Professional Standards in Australia are an example of a collaborative approach with many stakeholders, which combines elements of both regulatory (e.g. a focus on accountability and monitoring of the teaching quality) and developmental approaches (e.g. promoting and supporting a culture of professional learning communities to transform teachers’ knowledge and practice) (Halse, Cloonan, Dyer, Kostogriz, Toe & Weinmann, 2013, p. 11).

As discussed in the following part of the chapter, the *Melbourne Declaration* made clear that attention to the contextual global and factors prompting educational change created a context ‘to improve student attainment and ensure [Australia] has a world class system of education’ (AITSL 2011a, p. 1). A considerable body of literature demonstrates a measurable impact of quality teaching on students’ outcomes (Darling-Hammond 2000; Hattie 2003; Laczko-Kerr and Berliner 2002; OECD 2005). This link between quality teaching and student learning together with agreement to implement a national curriculum in Australia, secured through the cooperative policy environment under the COAG process, places pressure on the teaching profession in terms of delivering outcomes. Sahlberg (2011) reminds us of the broader implications of the latter with reference to the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) which foregrounds educational accountability, national curriculum reforms and high-stakes testing, amongst its emphases. Particular

challenges need to be negotiated in terms of how teachers can embed Asia literacy in the curriculum and the next part of the chapter explores the context for the policy push for knowledge and understanding about Asia in Australian education. As noted earlier, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of Asia is considered valuable and necessary for Australia's prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012).

36.8 The Push for Asia Literacy in Australian Education

Whilst the need for Asia literacy to be included in Australian education was acknowledged in the *Melbourne Declaration* which informed the development of the Australian Curriculum, the policy push to build an Asia literate nation through schooling in Australia has a long and difficult history. Indeed, Australian scholars and intellectuals have advocated for an increasing emphasis on Asia in Australian education for more than four decades. The report of the Auchmuty Committee, *The teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australia* (Auchmuty 1970), stressed the importance of using schooling to build national expertise in Asian languages, cultures and studies, given the 'steady growth in the economic, cultural, political and military links between Australia and Asia' (p. 7). It harnessed the argument that it was in Australia's national interest to challenge the prevailing Eurocentric traditions which dominated Australian intellectual and cultural life and recommended the study of Asia and Asian languages in schools, investment in training teachers, and the development of resources for schools. Chapter two of the report dealt with the rationale for Australian interest in Asia and noted the political, economic, trade, business, cultural and social reasons why Australia needed to reappraise its traditional attitudes towards Asia (see Auchmuty 1970, pp. 11–20). With reference to schooling, the Auchmuty Committee recommended that attention focus on the core studies area for 'more than half the population can go through secondary school without any systematic study of Asian affairs' (Auchmuty 1970, p. 89). The Report also noted that knowledge about Asia in primary and secondary schools depended upon good teaching and sound teaching materials.

Over subsequent decades, a succession of reports and policy initiatives followed Auchmuty's lead and stressed the importance of schooling in Australia's social, cultural and economic integration with Asia (Henderson 2003). By the 1980s, the economic shifts promoted by globalisation and the emergence of Asia as one of the economic centres of the world that was fundamental to Australia's national interest served to intensify the focus on Asia in Australian education. One of the most significant reports in this context was the *Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy Report* (Garnaut 1989) produced for the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The report acknowledged the emergence of Northeast Asia as one of the three main economic centres of the world and that 'the phenomenon of sustained and rapid, internationally-oriented economic growth in Northeast Asia' (Garnaut 1989, p. 2) was fundamental to Australia's national interest. Of the five broad conclusions reached in this analysis of global economic change emerging in

Northeast Asia and the implications of this for Australia, one conclusion related directly to Asia literacy. Garnaut argued that a new generation of Australians should be educated to be familiar with their regional environment, and that the nation should aim at developing professional excellence in the management of relations with Northeast Asia. The Report concluded that ‘Australia’s long-term success in getting the most out of its relationships with Asia depends more than anything else on the scale and quality of its investment in education’ (p. 317). Yet despite Garnaut’s advocacy, by 2002, the peak body representing Australian scholars of Asia, the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA), warned that Australia’s Asia-knowledge base was in jeopardy at a time when ‘the forces of globalisation will lead Australia to interact increasingly with the countries of Asia’ (ASAA 2002: xvi).

A new program, the National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program (NALSSP) aimed to build Asian languages and studies. This was a federal initiative in operation from 2008–2009 and 2011–2012. As with the NALSAS Strategy (1995–2002) discussed earlier in this chapter, NALSSP identified the supply of qualified Asian languages and studies teachers as a priority. Meanwhile, the publication of the White Paper on *Australia in the Asian Century* (Asian Century Taskforce 2012) reiterated the importance of the Asia region for Australia’s strategic and economic interest in response to globalisation. It outlined the desired future course of economic, political and strategic change in Asia, and strategies to enhance Australia’s engagement with the nations of the region including appropriate policy settings. In her Foreword to the paper, (then) Prime Minister Gillard referred to the economic opportunities and strategic challenges that will accompany the rise of Asia whilst also noting the social and cultural benefits to be gained from broadening and deepening people-to-people links across the region. The major school objectives identified in the White Paper are to be achieved through the new National School Improvement Plan (NSPI), developed in cooperation between the federal government and the States and Territories. Aimed at lifting school performance, NSPI identified two goals for the Australian school system to achieve by 2025: to rank in the top five countries internationally for student achievement in reading, mathematics and science; and to be considered a high quality and high equity schooling system by international standards. In this report, quality teaching was noted in terms of securing ‘the best teachers for every school’ (Commonwealth of Australia 2013, p. 9). Such developments indicate the range of national policy settings that aim to reshape schooling and teacher education in Australia in response to global trends in education policy making.

36.9 The Asia Priority

As noted earlier, the *Melbourne Declaration*, positioned the study of Asia in Australian education in the context of responding to globalisation and securing a knowledge economy through national curriculum reform. The Australian Curriculum was designed with three components; in addition to foundational knowledge in

each of the identified discipline areas from the early years to year 10, three contemporary issues, or cross-curricula priorities are identified that young Australians need to know about together with a range of seven general capabilities that individuals require and will utilise throughout their lives. 'Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia' is one of the three cross-curricula priorities and the related general capability of Intercultural Understanding is also to be addressed in all curriculum areas at all year levels. In this way, the Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia priority, henceforth the Asia priority, provides a regional context for learning across the curriculum from the early years to year 10 (students aged 5–16 years). The Asia Education Foundation described Asia literacy in terms of 'possessing knowledge, skills and understandings of the histories, geographies, arts, cultures and languages of the diverse Asian region' in its submission to the White Paper and posited that school education is 'the most effective channel to equip all young Australians with Asia literacy' (Asia Education Foundation 2012, p. 1).

Of recurring concern, however, is the economic utility of the term 'Asia literacy' and its invocation of conflicting emphases. On the one hand, the term's instrumental inclusion in education policy as Asia-related knowledge and skills for the future workforce implies that teachers are expected to plan for learning about Asia in ways that deliver economically driven learning outcomes. On the other hand, the notion of literacy as social practice, that is, the intercultural literacy of living and learning with others, invokes teachers being responsive to difference in multicultural classrooms and pursuing culturally inclusive teaching practices. From this perspective, the CCP of Asia and Australia's Engagement with Asia, provides teachers with some ethical dilemmas. As Kostogriz (2015, p. 103) notes, teachers are presented with a quandary between 'the culture of educational accountability and the relational culture of everyday teaching practice'. The latter refers to teaching in culturally inclusive ways whereby a teacher's pedagogical orientation responds to human differences and similarities as qualities to be valued and respected in teaching and learning about 'others' (see Rizvi 2008).

It could be argued that developing young people's Asia-relevant knowledge, capabilities and dispositions so they are able to interpret and negotiate 'the possibilities of intercultural relations' (Rizvi 2012, p. 77), is necessary for understanding what it means to be Australian in an ethnically diverse world community. Including a future focus on the Asia priority in the Australian Curriculum in ways that authentically develop the general capability of intercultural understanding is encouraged by the Asia Education Foundation (2013). However, the literature indicates that meaningful intercultural education requires 'deep shifts in consciousness' among teachers 'rather than the simple pragmatic and programmatic shifts that too often are described as intercultural education' (Gorski 2008, p. 517). As with teaching Asia-related content, teachers need an intercultural knowledge base and skills to effectively achieve this in classrooms with their students (Walton et al. 2014).

Furthermore, questions remain as to whether current and beginning teachers will be able to effectively teach about Asia in the curriculum. There are limited numbers of studies of teacher practice in this regard. In a systematised review of the research

literature on Asia literacy in Australian schools over the past 25 years, Halse and Cairns (2018) found that few studies met the inclusion criteria of empirical or theoretical research. Of those studies that met the criteria, the largest proportion relate to Asia literacy policy. Notably, the areas of least research concerned curriculum, pedagogy, and student learning.

The only large-scale study, *Asia Literacy and the Australian Teaching Workforce* (Halse et al. 2013), was commissioned by the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL), funded by the Department of Education, Employment and Workforce Relations, and managed by the Asia Education Foundation (AEF). This study provides insights into some of the challenges involved in delivering the Asia priority in the curriculum. Its findings have implications for teacher education and for the professional development of practising teachers in terms of developing an Asia capable school education workforce. The study collected responses from 1471 teachers and 481 principals, making it the largest survey to date of Asia literacy in schools. The findings of the Halse et al. (2013) report also underscore the indispensable role that teacher education needs to play in building Asia capable teachers and school leaders, and/or principals. Sixty percent of teachers surveyed stated that they had completed their undergraduate studies without addressing teaching and learning about Asia. Of the remaining forty percent, only about half of them majored in studies of Asia and/or Asian languages.

Professional development for practising teachers and new emphases in pre-service teacher education will be required to address the concerns of a gap in teacher knowledge and pedagogy for teaching about Asia in the curriculum. The professional learning of teachers and principals as fundamental to securing educational change in schools is well documented in the international literature (Bransford et al. 2005; Darling-Hammond 1998) and Halse et al. (2013) reiterate the significance of teacher professional learning required to introduce Asia related knowledge into classrooms. Their study also found that ‘teachers and principals do not view economic returns for the individual or nation as a primary rationale for or benefit of Asia related teaching and learning in schools’ (Halse et al. 2013, p. 117). The report raised the possibility that the disparity in views reflected ‘differences between public policy and educators about schooling as a public or private good, or that teachers and principals working with primary and lower secondary students are less cognisant of and removed from the economic drivers and benefits of Asia related learning’ (p. 117).

Hence, a range of agendas require negotiation in securing an Asia-literate/Asia-capable teaching profession to deliver on the promises of the *Melbourne Declaration*, and the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration*. This is especially challenging given the requirements of the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2011a) and the Australian Professional Standards for Principals (AITSL 2011b). Significantly, the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL 2011a) include cultural literacy in Standard 1.3: ‘Knowing students and how they learn’. Currently, AITSL sets standards for teachers, school leaders and for teacher education programs. Savage and Lingard (2018) contend that AITSL can be viewed as another component of the national schooling policy assemblage and as an

example of the rescaling of teacher standards and teacher education to the national level and also of standardization of both. Furthermore, AITSL is a company owned by the federal minister, and as Lingard (2018) notes, there are no practising teachers on its Governing Board. As a consequence, the work of AITSL is ‘done to teachers not with and by them and is a strong expression of a state-controlled profession’ (p. 62).

36.10 Reviews of the Australian Curriculum

Following the defeat of the Rudd Labor government in September, 2013, the Abbott Coalition government signalled a slight shift in education policy making and established the first review of the national curriculum and of ACARA in 2014. The final report of the *Review of the Australian Curriculum* (Donnelly and Wiltshire 2014) contended that the CCPs emerged ‘as possibly the most complex, controversial, and confusing aspect of the Australian Curriculum’ (p. 134), yet this reflected some ideological assumptions about curriculum content and resulted in minimal alterations to the curriculum. Some changes were made to ACARA in response to this first review. By June 2014, it was announced that a Reform of the Federation White Paper aimed at clarifying the roles and responsibilities for States and Territories would take place so that, as far as possible, they could sovereign in their own sphere under a ‘pragmatic federalism’ which would ‘streamline COAG processes’ (Oakes 2014). Yet in responses to the policy making context that followed, Lingard (2018) contends that:

both sides of politics now accept the necessity of a national agenda in schooling, including a national curriculum, given the centrality, even hegemony of a human capital policy frame in the context of globalization ... both also appear to accept the need for a national body to oversee the national curriculum and national testing (p.58).

Following the December 2019 release of the revised goals for schooling in Australia, the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* (Education Council 2019), a second review of the Australian Curriculum was signalled. In the official communique of the decision on 12 June 2020, ministers indicated this review was ‘an important step forward in addressing an overcrowded curriculum and in lifting Australia’s performance in literacy, numeracy and science’ (Education Council 2020, p. 2). This review of the national curriculum is guided by an agreement to preserve the existing three dimensions of the Australian Curriculum - the eight discipline-based learning areas, seven general capabilities and three cross-curriculum priorities as described in *The Shape of the Australian Curriculum Version 5.0* (ACARA 2020b). Hence, a focus on the Asia priority in the national curriculum will continue, although it remains to be seen how it is configured as a result of the review process.

36.11 Conclusion

This chapter examined recent efforts in Australia to secure the OECD model of the knowledge economy society with reference to the development of a national curriculum and Asia literacy/capability. In doing so, it portrayed the struggle between federal and state governments over national curriculum matters from the early 1980s, as Australian governments of various persuasions responded to globalisation and sought to shape education and schooling in the nation's economic and strategic interest through centralised, high level policy making. It argued that such policy making is indicative of Quiggan's (1999) take on globalisation as the manifestation of neoliberal policies of market-oriented reform and the OECD model of the knowledge economy society. In this context, the chapter argued that a particular form of cooperative federalism was employed to pursue education policy in response to an increasingly globalised education policy making environment (Lingard 2018; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). In this discourse, knowledge about the economic and strategic potential of the countries of the Asia regions and now the Indo-Pacific region, are considered valuable and necessary for the nation's prosperity (Asian Century Taskforce 2012; DFAT 2017; Education Council 2019; MCEETYA 2008). Policy prescription that aligns educational outcomes with the national interest and delivered through a national curriculum (Kennedy 2019), continues to be pursued together with a focus on teacher professional standards in Australia. Only time will tell if this approach to re-shaping education in Australia will secure a world-class school system and what sort of Asia literacy/capability will be realised to meet the demands of an unstable and uncertain global context.

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Chapter 37

Education Policy in the Age of Global Migration: African Immigrants and ESL Education in Canada



Amal Madibbo and Mariama Zaami

Abstract This chapter analyses how Canadian educational policy impacts African immigrant youth in Canada in the context of the contemporary global migration. Immigration into Canada continues to increase, allowing Canada to sustain its population growth and educational success in a competitive globalized world. Canada develops education policy to enable immigrants to succeed and integrate in the society smoothly. Since language plays an important role in educational and societal success, Canada has designed language programs in English as a Second Language (ESL) and French as a Second Language (FSL) for newcomers and immigrants to facilitate their transition to the Canadian society. Thus, this chapter illuminates how ESL education impacts Sub-Saharan African immigrant youth from Ghana, Sudan and South Sudan, highlighting both positive and problematic implications. Drawing on the literature on ESL education and a qualitative research methodology that utilized semi-structured interviews, we corroborate that ESL education is beneficial for the students who need to learn English from the start. However, it is not useful for students who already have proficiency in the English language or require improvements in specific aspects of the language. This situation is due to shortcomings in the structure of the ESL education that lacks proper assessment of the immigrants' academic and linguistic knowledge. We make policy recommendations to improve these shortcomings and expand the success of Africans in Canada. More flexible thinking about globalization and global education would ameliorate the images about Africa and African education and assist in making Canadian education and African education mutually beneficial.

A. Madibbo (✉)

International & Global Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

e-mail: amalmadibbo@cunet.carleton.ca

M. Zaami

Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Akra, Ghana

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_37

37.1 Introduction and Context

Education, globalization and immigration are increasingly interconnected, and this could not be truer than for Canada. Canada's nation-building has historically capitalized on immigration as the primary source of population and economic growth. Globalization has boosted immigration into Canada and led it to monitor the education and qualifications of its citizens to strengthen its competitiveness in an increasingly globalized world. Canada has made strides in all these fields as it continues to pioneer educational success worldwide. By 2012 over 54.0% of Canadians had a college or university degree, (Grossman 2012), making the country the most educated in the world as at 2020 (World Population Review 2020). Also, over two-thirds of Canadians (68%) had completed post-secondary education, 24 percentage points higher than the average for the 36 member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2017 (Statistics Canada 2018). In this context, immigration policy and education policy have been closely interconnected. Education is paramount in Canada's immigration policy insofar as the "Points System", through which Canada selects immigrants, entails weighing six selection criteria¹ to determine which immigrants are accepted into Canada (Government of Canada 2020). Education is vital to the immigration system because it is an independent criterion of selection. It impacts most of the other criteria of selection, including the official language ability, work experience, the existence of an arranged employment, and lastly adaptability which refers to the potential to integrate in Canadian society and accept its norms and values (Government of Canada 2020).

With this immigration policy in place, the number of immigrants admitted in Canada continued to rise so much that "about two-thirds of Canada's population growth from 2011 to 2016 was the result of migratory increase" (Statistics Canada 2017). In 2016, when Canada's population was 35.15 million, "over one in five Canadians were born abroad, while 22.3% of the Canadian population belonged to visible minorities²" (Statistics Canada 2017). The ensuing years were not different, as in 2019 Canada's overall population reached 37.59 million and "International migration accounts for more than 80% of the population growth in Canada" (Statistics Canada 2019). The leading sources of immigration are from developing countries and African states. It has been observed that the African population in Canada is on the increase compared to other immigrant countries. Between 1996 and 2001, for example, the number of people reporting they had African origins rose by 32%, whereas the overall population grew by only 4%" (Statistics Canada 2007). Further, the proportion of Africans migrating to Canada doubled in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011) and continues to bloom.

¹The six selection criteria are: (1) education, (2) official language ability, (3) work experience, (4) age, (5) the existence of an arranged employment, and (6) adaptability that refers to the potential to integrate in Canadian society and accept its norms and value (Government of Canada, 2019).

²Most visible minorities are from developing countries.

These statistics reveal the essential connections between education in Canada, globalization and migration. Not only is educational success concurrent with the increase of immigration, but immigrants also help to strengthen Canada's education and competitiveness in a global world centered on the knowledge economy. Canada is aware of these contributions and has therefore sought to facilitate immigrants' incorporation in educational institutions and multicultural mosaic. To ensure the successful integration of immigrants, Canada's education policy revolved around multicultural, anti-racist and civic educations. On this basis, it is relatively easy for international students who study in Canada to transition to the status of immigrants or acquiring their permanent residency (Sweetman and Warman 2014), which signals that the education that they receive in Canada is geared toward the immigration selection criteria.

Additionally, special attention is given to language instruction as Canada recognizes that language plays a vital role in the integration of immigrants—as such proficiency in Canada's two official languages, English and French, is mandatory to enrol in educational institutions. Given this, the province of Quebec mandates proficiency in French, and Anglophone Canada prioritize competence in the English language. As such, Canada introduced English as a Second Language (ESL) and French as a Second Language (FSL³) education to enable successful integration of immigrants by providing them with a good level of English and French (Fleming 2010).

Concerning the ESL education, both federal and provincial governments have allocated funding for the successful running of the ESL programs (OCAS 2020). ESL education is focused on four aspects of language acquisition and learning, namely, speaking, listening, reading and writing. ESL education is divided into two categories, one of which is Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC)—which is designed for adult learners aged 18 years and older and is offered by immigrant settlement agencies and community organizations. The second is called “ESL education”, and it is intended for children and youth and offered in primary and high schools. It is taught in separate ESL classes outside the regular—mainstream—classes. Educational institutions have policies to evaluate the academic credentials (Buchanan 2015; Reitz 2016) of newcomers and immigrants to assess their academic knowledge and proficiency in English, then determine whether or not they need to learn ESL and incorporate them in Canada's education system (Scott 2013). It is noteworthy that LINC is praised in its own right and in comparison, to English language programs in other immigrant-receiving countries such as Australia and New Zealand, inasmuch as:

Immigrants to New Zealand must pre-pay ESOL tuitions as part of the cost of immigration. Australia provides free English classes through their Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) for 510 hours (approximately 20 weeks at 25 hours per week) or until you are judged to have “functional English” (AMEP's “advanced beginner” level). Compare this to the Government of Canada's LINC classes that provide free training for three years from

³This article focusses on ESL education because it explores educational issues in Anglophone Canada.

the date of enrolment, which can translate to thousands of hours of free English language training. And there is no time limit of any kind on most of provincially funded ESL programs offered by the Continuing Education departments in most of Ontario's school boards.

There is no doubt that our [Canadian] many free ESL options make this one of the best countries (and provinces) in the world when it comes to cost and opportunity for learning English (Canadian Newcomer Magazine 2017).

However, opinions diverge with regards to the efficiency of the youth and children's ESL education, whether "ESL is good or bad". Some researchers contend that ESL education is good with specific reference to raising the English language proficiency of youth and children from non-English language backgrounds in English-based schools (Ilieva 2000). They posit that ESL programs are useful because they help newcomers and immigrant students to familiarize themselves with Canadian life. The programs elucidate cultural and social aspects of Canadian society and daily life practices such as answering the phone, grocery shopping or going to the bank or doctor, which are relevant for successful integration of immigrants (Egbo 2009). Other scholars disagree, explicating that ESL education is bad because newcomers and immigrant children and youth from both Anglophone and Francophone countries are enrolled automatically in ESL programs regardless of their previous knowledge of English. This factor is problematic because it insinuates a tendency to lump various groups of immigrants with different backgrounds and levels of English in one category as lacking knowledge in this language and therefore requiring ESL education (Nelson 2019; Sincore and Lerner 2013). Also, others criticize the separation of ESL classes from the regular classes, indicating that the segregation of children and youth into separate learning environments/classrooms is counterproductive to the ideals and principles of Canadian policies of inclusive education and multicultural model of education (Fleming 2010). This practice results in adopting the "pull out" teaching method where teachers isolate newcomer and immigrant students from their mainstream peers, thereby further hampering inter-racial cultural sharing and socialization of peers. Thus, separation in classroom settings slows or deters inter-racial peer relations that enable the students to discover each other's cultural riches as well as appreciate and celebrate their cultural background formally or informally (Fleming 2007).

Furthermore, scholars associate ESL education with discrimination, asserting that this education benefits immigrants from specific countries at the detriment of others (Dei 2005; Taylor 2006). The scholars argue that immigrants from the global north, including Europe and Australia, and from "emerging economies", such as Japan and China, tend to advance in Canada's educational system more easily than people from some developing countries such as Ghana and Sudan (Khan 2006; Reitz 2013). In particular, African immigrants face challenges when they attempt to enroll in education institutions in Canada, and this circumstance is rooted in discriminatory-unfavorable-stereotypes about Africa and African education (Dei and McDermott 2014). These perceptions serve to disadvantage African immigrants because they influence decision making about them, and these decisions extend to ESL education and could be discriminatory. They generate problematic implications for Africans that impede their educational success and inclusion in Canadian society (Dei 2007; Madibbo 2014).

Nevertheless, these perspectives remain inconclusive due to the lack of a more thorough scholarship about Africans in Canada. Yet, they deserve to be examined in detail to specify challenges, if any and identify policy and programs to improve the educational success and inclusion of these immigrants. Therefore, this article addresses these gaps by highlighting experiences of immigrant youth from sub-Saharan Africa vis-à-vis ESL education in Canada. Focusing on youth from Ghana, Sudan and South Sudan who reside in the province of Alberta, we interrogate their experiences with ESL education and how this education impacted them. To grasp these processes better, we expound the youth's education trajectories and backgrounds before they migrated to Canada. We also compare our findings with the previously stated literature on ESL education to ground it in specific experiences of African immigrant youth. Since these outcomes could resemble circumstances that immigrants from other Sub-Saharan African countries face in Canada, we draw on our findings to make policy recommendations to foster educational success and inclusion of African immigrant youths in Canada.

The analysis of this topic required a methodology that allows the capturing of cultural-specific perspectives, which is why we opted for a qualitative research methodology (Van Hoonard 2015). We are guided by interpretive phenomenology (Tuohy et al. 2013), due to its capacity to accommodate multiple understandings of the social world and give voice to the marginalized, in this case, African immigrant youth. We utilized semi-structured interviews to value the worldviews of the research participants (Berg and Lune 2012). This methodology proved to be pertinent to our study as it allowed us to decipher the experiences of the African immigrant concerning ESL education and situate the research in its socio-political context. We were able to comprehend the participants' lives and educational background, as well as knowledge of the English language, which were essential to analyzing their narratives as they navigated the educational system in Canada.

Though all the participants belonged to the first generation of immigrants, they represented diverse life trajectories. Our research sample consisted of 40 youth, including six international graduate students whose studies in Canada were determined before they relocated to Canada. Thirty-four participants moved to Canada as immigrants, and we focus on these participants because their status corresponds to the goal of this article; their educational credentials were evaluated in Canada and were placed in ESL programs that are designated for newcomer and immigrant children and youth. The participants were born in three African countries—Ghana, Sudan and South Sudan, but the global migration shaped their movements in that many of them lived in other countries before arriving in Canada. This is especially the case for the South Sudanese participants as the prolonged civil war in Sudan displaced many of them from South Sudan to neighbouring countries, in this occurrence Kenya and Ethiopia. The Sudanese participants were all born in Sudan, but some grew up in Sudan, and a few stayed in Gulf countries⁴ in the context of the Sudanese mass migration to the Gulf region.

⁴We refrain from naming the countries in the Gulf region where the participants lived to protect their anonymity.

We note that all the Ghanaian participants moved directly from Ghana to Canada, but with some diversity in that, some of them first settled in other Canadian provinces, such as Ontario and Saskatchewan before they moved to Alberta. Furthermore, the participants differed in age and level of education, as some of them moved to Canada at a very young age before starting school. Others were adults when they arrived in Canada but had different profiles before migration. Some were schooled for a few years, others completed primary and secondary education, and a handful started or completed higher education in colleges and universities. Overall, these factors mean that the participants who were schooled in Ghana, Sudan and the Gulf region had a stable education. Those who studied in Kenya and Ethiopia were either schooled in good conditions when their families integrated into these societies or attended schools in refugee camps. Thus, their education was interrupted, as they were schooled in vulnerable circumstances and, in their words, “under the shade of a tree”.

By implication, the participants had different levels of proficiency in English when they arrived in Canada, and the status of English in their former countries influenced their integration. For instance, in Ghana, English is the official language, and Kenya has two official languages: English and Swahili. English is also the medium of instruction and lingua franca in both countries; it is used as a language of communication throughout these countries. In South Sudan, English is the official language and medium of instruction, while in Sudan English was the official language, along with Arabic until 2011, when Arabic became the country’s only official language and medium of instruction. In the Gulf countries where some participants lived, Arabic is the official language, and English is a compulsory second language in schools and is widely spoken as a lingua franca. However, many immigrants send their children to private English language schools, which is the case for the participants who were schooled in Gulf countries. In Ethiopia, Amharic is the official language, and English is the most widely spoken international language, is taught in schools and is also the medium of instruction in some school grades. Consequently, upon arrival in Canada, the Ghanaian participants were fluent in English, the North Sudanese had some fluency in the language, while the South Sudanese’s English knowledge varied from one participant to another. In the end, all the participants attended educational institutions in Canada, however, though their proficiency in English varied, they were all required to enroll in ESL programs, a state of affairs that we posit in the succeeding sections.

37.2 African Immigrant Youth in the Interface of ESL Education

The participants were given different reasons as to why they were asked to study ESL, for example, first, the younger participants who started school in Canada may not speak English at home and are therefore not fluent in English. Second, the older participants who needed to complete school in Canada were informed that

education in their sending countries did not match the Canadian academic standards. Third, the participants who completed high school before migrating to Canada were not able to transition to higher education in Canada directly, because post-secondary institutions request the equivalent of Canada's high school to enroll in these institutions. The participants' degrees were not considered on a par with Canada's high school diploma. Fourth, when it comes to the participants who started or completed post-secondary education in their sending countries, they sought to pursue additional higher education in Canada but received similar treatment. They were informed that they needed to upgrade their credentials to match Canada's post-secondary education standards. Thus, all the participants were considered as not fluent in English because the education they gained in their sending countries was not appropriately recognized. To better understand these trends, we analyze the participants' experiences and narratives concerning ESL education. Since existing literature examines ESL education regarding whether it is "good or bad", we follow this same pattern to situate our analysis in the context of the scholarship.

37.2.1 *ESL Is Good*

Although ESL is a program set up to improve immigrants' English language, very few participants found it beneficial. They demonstrated that ESL education was constructive because it improved the linguistic skills that they lacked. They had this to say:

When I was in school, ESL was a great program if you are coming into a country where English is spoken, and you are trying to get into the Canadian system ... for example I had left school for a long time because of the war in my country so ESL was good and I benefited greatly from it (Deng⁵).

Deng was born in South Sudan and was displaced to refugee camps in Ethiopia, where the quality of education was unsatisfactory. He lacked basic knowledge of English, and ESL education in Canada offered him the basics of the English language and improved his skills in the four aspects mentioned above of ESL education altogether, which are: listening, reading, speaking and writing. Thus, the perspective of Deng and other participants who appreciated the ESL programs reveal that these programs help immigrant students to strengthen their English skills so they can navigate the educational system, complete a university/college program, and get started in a commensurate career. This finding concurs with the literature which commends ESL education because it elevates the language proficiency of ESL learners (Ilieva 2000; Fleming 2007). Our results also specify that ESL education can be useful to people from English-speaking countries who lack knowledge of English due to difficult life circumstances, in this occurrence displacement by war, that hinder education. Thus, ESL is advantageous for people who need to learn English.

⁵We used pseudonyms to protect the participants' confidentiality.

We noted that the scholarship posits another benefit of ESL program, which is they enhance knowledge about Canadian culture and society (Egbo 2009). None of the participants highlighted this aspect. In the context of the research, the participants acquainted themselves with Canadian society through interactions with social networks of families, friends, neighbors and community organizations. This does not mean that ESL education does not provide cultural knowledge about Canada, it suggests that not all students need to enroll in language classes to learn about society as they can achieve this goal through other venues. Therefore, ESL education remains beneficial to cultural and social understanding, but to students who need this learning through this education. Overall, participants considered that ESL is good because it met their specific linguistic needs, but this trend did not apply to most participants who opined that ESL education was not effective.

37.2.2 *ESL Is Bad*

Participants refuted the efficacy of the ESL programs because they had a good command of the English language and therefore did not need to learn ESL. Also, they were placed in ESL classes below their knowledge of English, and thus ESL programs did not improve their linguistic proficiency. The participants who provided the first rationale offered these accounts:

When I was asked to take ESL, I am like in Ghana, we speak English so why should I do ESL again ... there is no sense in it, but I did it anyway. I passed my English; the only problem I was having was the maths (Ewurakua).

I was in my first year of college in Ghana, and when I got here, I wrote an entrance exam for college. I passed, and they were like well ... you have to go back to high school and do all the upgrading before you go to college ... So I ... go [went] back to high school, and I finished high school (Dansoa).

From my experience, they did not accept most of my credits from Ghana, so I had to do other courses to upgrade ... but I knew the subject very well, so it was like repetition to me (Kwame).

Both Ewurakua, Kwame and Dansoa were born in Ghana and reached different levels of education before moving to Canada. Ewurakua had completed high school in Ghana, Dansoa had completed one year in college, while Kwame had completed a college degree in Business Administration, specifically Accounting. Upon arrival in Canada, Ewurakua intended to pursue higher education, Dansoa sought to complete his college degree, and Kwame aimed to obtain a graduate degree or work in his field of expertise. Notwithstanding these differences in their educational levels, all–three–participants had to repeat their studies. Ewurakua and Dansoa were asked to go back to high school, and Kwame had to restart college from the start. This outcome suggests that the participants'–Ghanaian–credentials were not recognized. In particular, Kwame could not use his college diploma to enroll in a graduate program because it was not considered as equivalent to a Canadian degree. He could not use it to obtain employment in his field either, because employers require

diplomas that match the Canadian standards, and his degree was not considered in line with these standards. The lack of recognition of credential meant that the participants' English instruction was not valued, as they were all asked to enroll in ESL classes. However, the participants were convinced that they were capable of integrating into the education system without taking ESL classes. In line with the foregoing discussion, the three participants were schooled in English and practiced it as a means of communication in Ghana. They believed that ESL education was not useful to them because they did not need it in the first place.

If these participants construed that they did not require ESL education, those who thought that they needed to learn ESL did not value the ESL programs either. This is because they were placed in ESL classes below their English knowledge:

[ESL] is not a good program because you are being put in a class with [students] from different places who don't speak English ... so 99% of the time you are not really learning anything ... I would say when I was taking ESL, I did not pick my English from there. I picked it from the playground (Adut).

Yes ... I did enroll in ESL ... It wasn't that much of a good program to be honest. It wasted a lot of my time ... the logic of how this program is supposed to help you to catch up with your English, but we realize that the program was going so much slower. But we were reading books from a lower level ... Although it was sometimes one-on-one, I still felt it was much slower (Salim).

Adut was born in South Sudan and first learnt English in South Sudan then learnt it further and practiced it in Kenya. She is one of the participants who were fortunate to receive good education in spite of displacement. Whereas Salim was born in Sudan and started private English school in a Gulf country. Upon arrival in Canada, both were fluent in English. To corroborate, we noticed that their English language proficiency appeared to be above the minimum required. They aimed to improve their linguistic skills to have the same proficiency as the English-speaking Canadians. As such, they sought to improve specific aspects of English, respectively, communication for Adut and reading for Salim. Yet, they were both placed in ESL classes below their proficiency in English, with other immigrant youth whose English knowledge was much lower than theirs. The participants believed that they did not need the rudimentary level for non-English speakers lessons they were enrolled in, which focused on basic grammar and syntax. Rather, they preferred advanced English classes that engage the specific language skills that they sought to improve.

Hence, the participants' experiential knowledge supported the scholarship about ESL education, which denotes that most immigrant children and youth are lumped together to study English (Nelson 2019). The enrollment of the participants in basic ESL classes occurred across the spectrum. Though the participants had different backgrounds and levels in English, they were all categorized as a homogeneous entity, lacking knowledge in English and it was therefore assumed that they should follow other immigrants in learning English from the start. We earlier noted that educational institutions should assess the English proficiency of immigrant students and evaluate international credentials to determine how to facilitate their transition to Canadian institutions. So why were immigrant youth with different levels of knowledge all placed at the basic level in ESL programs? The answer is that schools

and post-secondary institutions did not assess the participants and their credentials accurately, systematically or fairly. In some instances, teachers and counsellors determined the students' English knowledge following short conversations with them. At times, the teachers did not even speak with the students but discussed these matters with their parents. In certain occasions, teachers provided reasons that do not seem to be logical, such as, the students were not born in Canada:

The difficulty I had when I got to grade 10 was, I had to be confident to enroll in classes that had English 10-1. The school said because I wasn't born in Canada, they had to put me back in the ESL program. And I asked why I needed to take ESL 10-1 because I could speak the language very fluently (Achol).

Achol lamented her experience of being asked to take ESL classes because she was born in South Sudan, though she was confident and fluent in the English language. Thus, we observe assumptions surrounding the need to learn ESL based on the country of birth, not on the actual level of English. Furthermore, Fauzia, a Sudanese participant, underscored that one could be enrolled in ESL programs because members of their families are ESL learners:

I was being told to go back to ESL even when I did well in English in grade 9 ... but my counsellor in high school said NO you need to take it again. And she said I needed to take it again and I said NO my English was perfect and she just messed up my whole schedule ... And I was ready for it, and I had a B in my social studies which I did well. She knew my sister and my brother very well. My sister and my brother were in ESL for the longest time because they were older than me when they came to Canada. But I came here pretty young, and I have been to ... school and I picked up pretty faster than they did. I could see, a lot of people just assume.

Although Fauzia performed well in her English and social studies courses, which was a requirement to enter high school, the teachers had insisted that Fauzia join the ESL classes first. Fauzia's statements disclose the possibility that the teachers made this decision because Fauzia's older siblings had attended ESL classes for a long time and encountered difficulties in learning English. However, unlike her siblings who came to Canada at an older age, Fauzia was young when she relocated to Canada, was schooled in Canada, and has a native-speaker fluency in English. It appears that the teachers presupposed that she would have similar challenges as her siblings. Again, Fauzia's experience was that some immigrants, in this case, African students, were lumped into one category and evaluated based on previous experiences with other relatives or African students. Not only do these occurrences echo assumptions about entire groups of people, i.e., Africans, they also assert generalizations about African immigrant families. Like all families, African families encapsulate individuals with different competencies and levels of education, but the assessment of the participants seemed to have masked these crucial differences. By doing that, schools and the post-secondary institution did not evaluate the participants' credentials properly. Lack of recognition of the educational credentials that the participants obtained in sending countries was a recurring theme in the participants' discourse, and we noted that none participant had continued education in Canada from the level they had completed before their migration. Resultantly, our findings authenticate the literature which stipulates that Canadian institutions tend

to overlook credentials obtained in some regions of the developing world (Khan 2006; Reitz 2013). We concur with the scholars who delineate that credentials of Africans are devalued (Dei 2005). Do these aspects illustrate discrimination toward Africa and African institutions, as some scholars pointed out (Madibbo 2014)? It is possible that Africans are treated unfairly because all the participants received similar–adverse–treatment when they differed on many levels. It appears that they were assessed randomly, and decisions about their education were often based on stereotypes. These factors insinuate a systematic tendency to prejudge people because they were born in Africa. This approach could be entrenched in Western, post/colonial, derogatory connotations (Krysa et al. 2019) about Africa that construct the whole of Africa as the “dark continent” that lacks civilization and progress. These stereotypes extend to Canada and serve to build unfavorable images about Africans (Zaami 2015). These ideas may continue to fuel generalizations about Africa, and anything related to it, such as its educational institutions. In any event, all the participants ended up in ESL programs, which had differential impacts on them.

37.3 Impacts of ESL Education

Indeed, ESL education had positive implications for the few participants who found it good, because it met their linguistic needs. Since a majority of participants signaled that ESL is bad, they pointed out four challenges that their placement in ESL classes caused them, respectively: (1) it delayed some of them in school, (2) it led some participants to drop out of ESL programs, (3) it prohibited their inclusion in the school, and (4) it hindered their self-esteem and confidence. It is noteworthy that these are direct outcomes that could culminate in indirect ramifications that trigger additional barriers.

Ewurakua maintained: “I delayed in school”, proclaiming that her situation above, her frustration at being placed in ESL classes although her Ghanaian education provided her with excellent language skills, prolonged her stay in high school when she was at an academic level and age that allowed her to pursue higher education. Ewurakua did not specify for how long she was delayed in school, but in general, the delay can last for 2–4 years. In some instances, one could be in age suitable for graduation from college upon graduation from high school. We earlier noted that age is one of the six criteria of selection of immigrants into Canada. Similarly, age was significant for Ewurakua and the participants who also felt that ESL education extended the age at which they planned to study and graduate, which jeopardized their progress. The participants arrived in Canada at a younger age. They hoped to join their Canadian-born counterparts in education and the labor market, contribute to society, and retire at a reasonable age. As such, ESL education caused them unnecessary delay when they were qualified to succeed and move on to ensuing phases of their lives.

Salim expounded: “I actually left it [the ESL program] in grade 6 ... they [the teachers and counselors] keep you there. Until you tell them you wanted to get out”.

Salim's discourse epitomized dropping out of ESL education. He believed that the scope and pace of the ESL program in which he was placed were too slow and low for his linguistic knowledge. In addition, instructors did not allow him to transfer to an advanced level of the ESL program though his performances in class showed that his knowledge of English was higher than the level he was enrolled in. He felt he was no longer benefiting from the ESL program, and decided to quit. Another participant, Iman, held:

I felt I did not fit in because they kept taking me out of class during examinations and some class discussions, and I felt I belonged somewhere else not with my classmates... I always hated it when they came for me to the ESL because I was just as capable as anyone else.... Just because I didn't get the full foundation of learning [in Canada], I still got a bit of that, and I am still building upon that. And you don't get that confidence that you can do it ... Because it affected me later on when I finally passed, I told the principal that I didn't need any ESL ... I came out with a really good grade ... but I kept telling myself I couldn't do it.

Iman was born in South Sudan and moved to Canada at a young age, which means that she started school in Canada. Her perspective highlights both the lack of inclusion in the school and reduced self-esteem that placement in ESL classes produced. For Iman, inclusion in the school meant belongingness with her regular classmates with whom she shared similar academic knowledge and age. But she was constantly asked to leave regular classroom discussions or examination rooms to join ESL students taking their exams and having different English discussions. That practice alienated Iman and made her feel that she did not belong in the classroom and the school more generally. In addition, Iman was initially confident that she could be in the same class with her regular classmates to take the exams and participate in class discussions, then lost that confidence. Her self-esteem was minimized, and she felt insecure and less confident in her school performance.

These impacts can lead to additional loss, for example, when a student drops out of ESL education, they will not obtain the certificate which proves that their English matches the level required to enroll in higher education. In turn, this outcome can limit their education and career opportunities. It can also increase the risk of social disengagement as the students may become prone to criminality. Furthermore, students who are delayed in school and lack confidence and belongingness may get discouraged and lose interest in education more generally, which can also generate additional barriers in the future. Admittedly, some participants eventually joined post-secondary institutions, but that occurred with sacrifices that they would not have made voluntarily. Thus, we endorsed the literature which announces that ESL education has problematic impacts; in this instance, dividing students in regular and ESL classes hinder multicultural understanding and communication (Fleming 2010). We specified that this shortcoming could jeopardize inclusion and added that the structure of ESL education reduces self-esteem among students. It may decrease their interest in education and prevent them from continuing their education in Canada in a timely manner and at less cost. In doing so, we concurred with the literature on ESL education in some aspects, diverged from it in others, and added new insights. We addressed the question of whether "ESL good or bad" by explaining that, regarding Sub-Saharan African immigrant youth, ESL is both good AND bad.

We clarified why it is good and bad, and we broaden these debates by suggesting policy to make ESL education useful to all African immigrant youth (and other immigrant youth), to enhance their success in Canada.

37.4 Policy Recommendations

The preceding discussion highlights that African immigrant youth arriving in Canada may not have similar levels and needs in the English language. Yet, the providers of ESL appear not to distinguish these differences. Resultantly, the program does not provide the requirements for the development of the English language among different groups of immigrants and newcomers. Globalization impacted these youth by generating their voluntarily and forced migration, but their trajectories indicate that globalization co-exists with particularism. There are differences among the participants regarding their sending countries, transition countries, education, age, family profiles, and so on. It is possible that teachers and counselors are attempting to endorse a global ESL approach toward citizens of the same country or even the same continent. But this pattern is problematic if it follows an all-encompassing neoliberal approach to globalization that is void of critical thinking. Stereotypes can be both positive and negative, but in both instances, they favour the powerful and disadvantage the marginalized further. When one equates European education with a Canadian education, the European-educated will be incorporated in Canada's education system easily. However, if it is believed that African education is less valued than the Canadian (and European) education, African educated, and even the African-born, will be jeopardized. These decisions can be made even without knowledge and understanding of African education.

Similar patterns apply to the relationship between globalization and the English language. English is considered a global language, but this globalism is problematic because it is the English which is peculiar to Western countries, such as Canada, Australia and some European countries, that is accepted as good English. The English associated with developing regions, such as Africa and the Caribbean, is not valued as a global English. Therefore, there is a need for more critical thinking about globalization to associate the English language with global communities wherever they are. This perspective also entails that English can be learned globally, and this instruction can be good, whether it is gained in Africa or Europe. English becomes globally valid, and global movements can enrich education worldwide through linguistic and cultural contact. For instance, Canadian-born citizens can benefit from the literature and proverbs that other cultures—i.e., African epistemologies—produce in English and vice versa.

This more flexible approach to globalization can generate positive impacts on the structure and organization of ESL education, which we provide in the form of education policy recommendations in two areas of ESL education: (1) ESL enrollment and categorization, and (2) ESL training and curriculum. Concerning ESL enrollment and categorization, we stress that the automatic enrollment of Sub-Saharan

African (and other visible minority) students in ESL classes and the practice of lumping them into single categories because they were not born in Canada, need to be abolished. Given the diversity of the immigrant student population, it is clear that a “one size fits all model” of ESL education will not work in many situations. Pedagogically, teachers should be trained to identify the individual needs of immigrant youth and children so that the ESL programs benefit the student in the long term.

Further, the teaching and learning in ESL environments should factor in the proficiency level of diverse immigrant youth rather than assuming all of them require basic training in English. The youth who already have command of the English language deserves to be exempt from ESL education or placed in advanced classes that match their linguistic proficiency. These enterprises require clear distinctions between beginner, intermediate and advanced levels of ESL programs with classes more focused in specific aspects of ESL than others— i.e., on speaking more than reading, on listening more than writing, and so on. Moreover, credential evaluation and language assessment need to be more pertinent and systematic. Admittedly, educational institutions have evaluation policies and procedures, but these seem not to be applied consistently. Therefore, all immigrant students should be assessed using criteria of evaluation consistently to obtain accurate information about their academic knowledge and proficiency in the English language, then assigned to ESL programs, or exempt from them, accordingly.

Furthermore, it is wrong to assume that none immigrant children speak English at home. They may only speak English at home or alternate it with other languages depending on whether they are communicating with their siblings, parents or other family members. They may also speak English with other children outside the home. Therefore, students who move to Canada at a young age should also be assessed based on their linguistic performance rather than their family status, in this case, immigrant family category. It will also be useful to broaden understanding about bilingualism and multilingualism to consider that speaking multiple languages at home can improve English learning more than hinder it. It is also inaccurate to conclude that all African credentials are inadequate as this is a negative generalization about an entire continent. As is the case everywhere, there are good educational institutions in African, and there are precarious ones. Education could differ from a country to another and within the same country. Therefore, accurate evaluation and recognition of African credentials request knowledge about African education and institutions and educational differences. More importantly, it should focus on the contents of education rather than the categorization of education.

37.5 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we emphasized fruitful connections between globalization, immigration and education, and we conclude by making suggestions to expand these connections and produce additional successes. Concerning ESL

training and curriculum, it bears that the aforementioned negative generalizations about Africa and African education and culture impede inclusiveness of African immigrant youth in the education system, including decisions about ESL education. Therefore, teachers and counsellors need to be empowered with cultural competency skills to help minimize stereotypes about African immigrant youth and eliminate discriminatory practices in classrooms, and education institutions more generally. Some scholars have identified that minority children and youth worldviews (values, beliefs and social interactions) affect the way they interpret and process information. Owing to these differences in worldviews, some of the teachers need to comprehend these differences in worldviews to enable them to accommodate African students' learning capabilities and strength. We suggest that some teachers attend seminars and workshops to gain knowledge of how diverse groups of children and youth perceive the world and process and organize information. More training in teaching in cross-cultural settings and intercultural communication allows teachers to gain cultural competence, by providing them with the ability to function and interact with students from diverse cultural groups, which can serve as a model for inclusion in education. There is also the need to value African cultures and systems of knowledge to appreciate the strength and knowledge that the African-born or African-educated youth, and African immigrants more generally, bring to the educational institutions in Canada. Education scholars showed that relating course materials to minority students act as a starting point to their school success (Scott 2013). Consequently, appreciating African knowledge and incorporating African perspectives—such as Africa's rich history and cultures, knowledge systems, and indigenous methods of teaching and learning—into the school curriculum can support the success of African children and youth.

It will also be useful to increase the number of African instructors, counsellors and administrators in the education system. Scholars such as Dei (2008) and Usman (2009) have pinpointed the limited number of teachers of African ancestry in many Canadian education institutions. Therefore, we believe that hiring more teachers and staff from these groups will assist in making the education system a more inclusive environment. Not only can African teachers and staff improve institutional knowledge about African cultures, but they can also strengthen confidence and self-esteem among African students. This is because they will see role models representing their communities in the education system, which will make them feel more included, that their voices are validated and that they matter (Crenshaw 2011). We envisage that these recommendations will allow fostering the learning abilities of African immigrant youth, leading to their professional development. At a time when immigration from Africa to Canada continued to increase, African education and Canadian education will be mutually beneficial, which will maximize the benefits of multiculturalism and globalization.

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Chapter 38

Higher Education Adapts to Globalization: Examples from Canada



Suzanne Majhanovich

Abstract This chapter examines how globalization and neo-liberalism have changed the traditional focus of higher education to bring its mission into alignment with the realities of a globalized world. Examples are drawn from the Canadian higher education system and changes experienced particularly over the first two decades of the Twenty First Century. Of concern are such factors as how education has become a utilitarian endeavour, troubling effects of internationalization in universities, changes in funding practices for post-secondary education, how the market has changed the focus of research, and semantic indications that reflect how neo-liberalism pervades the policies of higher education institutions today.

38.1 Background and Context

As globalization and attendant neo-liberal policies have taken root around the world, education, particularly at the tertiary level, has become an unwilling instrument of the global agenda, embracing the demands of the market as an organizing principle (Zajda 2020a). Even at lower levels of schooling, bottom-line accountability guides curriculum: schools and students must produce “business” plans outlining steps to fulfilling prescribed goals of education; scores on standardized tests become the standard by which excellence and success are judged. The goal of education is apparently no longer to create well-rounded citizens capable of critical thinking, problem solving and reflection on issues central to human beings and societies; education rather is directed to the instrumental task of producing workers for the global economy. There are numerous examples of this trend from the US, Australia, and more recently from Great Britain where fields of study such as philosophy, humanities, and the social sciences in general, are losing funding and support in favour of “practical” areas such as engineering, science, business and commerce and technology. Canada’s higher education system has not been immune to the effects of globalization and the neo-liberal agenda.

S. Majhanovich (✉)
Western University, London, ON, Canada
e-mail: smajhano@uwo.ca

This chapter reviews indications of how globalization and neo-liberalism have changed the traditional focus of higher education to bring its mission into alignment with the realities of a globalized world. Examples are drawn from the Canadian higher education system and changes experienced particularly over the first two decades of the Twenty-First Century. Of concern are such factors as how education has become a utilitarian endeavour, troubling effects of internationalization in universities, changes in funding practices for post-secondary education, how the market has changed the focus of research, and semantic indications that reflect how neo-liberalism pervades the policies of higher education institutions today.

38.2 Education as a Utilitarian Endeavour

A particularly disturbing outcome of globalization with regard to educational programs worldwide has been the growth of instrumentality as the defining feature in what counts in education (Zajda 2020b). It would seem that unless a course or subject supports preparation for work in the global economy, it is not worth promoting. The potential of future profit from education is a powerful driver and motivation in course and program choices. Examples abound. In secondary schools in Ontario, students are routinely counseled to include mathematics and sciences in the final year, even if they plan to take arts, philosophy or other humanities in higher education, or hope to work in areas related to those fields. Since in the final year of secondary school in Ontario, students typically take six courses only, once they have selected their compulsory English credit, they have five slots left, and counselors routinely will suggest three mathematics courses and two sciences, leaving no room for history, foreign languages, arts or other humanities or social sciences courses. Of course, part of the push for the practical over the more aesthetic is related to the notion that education's main task is to provide students with the training that will help them to find jobs. Other humanistic aspirations must take a back seat in the competitive world driven by the business agenda.

At my university, it is recommended that entering students in the arts and humanities faculty include mathematics and science courses in secondary school for favorable consideration for admission, even though they may never take more than a token mathematics or science course, once they enter college. Aside from the required high school credit in English, no other language, history, arts or other humanities course is even mentioned as a prerequisite, let alone a recommended subject even if students intend to specialize in humanities. Clearly mathematics is the new "gate keeper" for higher education at my university, a role once played by Latin. The problem is not that subjects like mathematics and science are not valuable for students to experience; clearly these subjects are important and worthwhile, but it is rather the neglect of arts and humanities subjects and implications that they have nothing advantageous to offer prospective students that is extremely troubling. This trend shows how universities are changing their focus and even their mission in education. Some scholars fear that universities as we have understood them no

longer exist, and it will be up to some other type of academy to offer students an education that will lead to reflection, questioning and philosophizing on humanity.

38.3 Internationalization in Universities

At Canadian universities, we are seeing business and IT programs expanded while departments of philosophy, history, classics, modern languages and even English are threatened with closure or severe reductions in faculty members and course offerings.

Most major Canadian universities now make reference to internationalization in their strategic plans. Such plans inevitably cite as advantages of internationalization that it will help Canadian students to develop global perspectives and intercultural competence. No doubt, internationalization in universities can have such positive and humane outcomes for students. However, the more cynical among us have noticed that there are far more students from abroad coming to study in Canadian universities than Canadian students interested in gaining a multicultural experience abroad—and when Canadian students do decide to study in another country, the top choices will be English speaking countries like the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand where “culture shock” will be less of an issue, followed by the European Union countries, especially the most affluent ones. Most students who go abroad to study seek universities that will offer the commerce, business and economics courses in English, and this is becoming a common feature of universities, particularly private universities worldwide. Canadian universities in their strategic plans use the language of business when outlining incentives for internationalization: “building strategic alliances and partnerships with other key institutions abroad, promoting innovation in curriculum and diversity in programs and responding to needs in Canada’s labour market” (Weber 2011, citing Tunney and White 2008). It is clear that Canadian universities worship at the temple of the global market.

However, the internationalization agenda is a relatively new development in Canadian universities. While Australia, New Zealand, the UK and the US have long been promoting their universities abroad and have set up off-shore campuses to attract international students, as well as undertaking heavy publicity campaigns to attract international students to come to their countries for higher education, Canada is a relative newcomer in this club.

Some of the dangers of over-reliance on international students to provide funding for universities have become increasingly obvious, particularly in the case of Australia and New Zealand. As universities became more and more entrepreneurial in attempts to attract foreign students, governments reacted by cutting public funding. As a result universities in that part of the world became increasingly dependent on the tuitions from the foreign students with the result that when Asian economies went into recession and were no longer able to send their students abroad in such large numbers, the universities suffered and many had to close several faculties and lay off staff. V. Lynn Meek (2005, 2011) from the University of Melbourne has been

following the impact of internationalization on Australian universities over the years and despite finding some positive features of the trend concludes that there are real problems with the way Australian universities have entered into internationalization projects, such as:

- Highly evolved, entrepreneurial culture with a focus on marketing and recruitment [that is] in conflict with traditional academic values;
- [The] profit motive eclipses academic ethics; for example, soft marking;
- Increased academic workload due to student language difficulties;
- Over emphases on particular discipline areas—business and commerce;
- Over reliance on a single and potentially volatile source of income. (Meek 2011 report to OCUFA Conference)

Canadian universities have become increasingly dependent on tuition fees from students, particularly international students to make up their funding requirements as government money transfers have fallen. Enrollments have been steadily increasing since the year 2000. In 2000/01 there were 676,000 full time equivalent students in Canadian universities (CAUT 2015). By 2017/18 that figure had grown to 2.1 million students including a 15.6% increase in international student enrolments from the previous year alone. International student enrolments as of 2017/18 stand at 296,469 or 14.1% of all postsecondary enrolments (StatsCan 2020). International student fees are much higher than those paid by Canadian students, on an average \$25,000 per student (Usher 2018). International student enrolment fees up until now had been making up for the decrease in government funding. With the pandemic ravaging the world, international student enrolment in Canada has recently decreased significantly leaving universities facing a significant shortfall in revenue.

38.4 How Neo-Liberalism Has Affected Public Funding of Universities

The problems faced by Australian and New Zealand universities from over-reliance on foreign students have not, however, deterred universities in other parts of the world from continuing to set up their off shore campuses or attempt to increase the numbers of foreign students attending and paying hefty tuitions, often two or three times as much as local students/citizens pay. Whereas in Canada, until recently, all universities were public and tuition, at least for citizens, was heavily subsidized, now things are changing. We are seeing more and more private universities being set up across Canada. Tuitions are rising. The Canadian Association of University Teachers (2008) has tracked tuition as part of operating revenue in universities and shows gradually eroding government support for universities partially offset by rising tuitions and otherwise supplemented by research grants but also other business undertakings. Government funding and tuition as share of university operating revenue, Canada (adapted from CAUT 2010, p 3).

	Government	Tuition	Total
1978	83.8%	12.3%	96.1%
1988	81.4%	13.9%	95.1%
1998	64.9%	26.3%	91.2%
2008	57.5%	37.7%	95.2%

(CAUT adapted from Statistics Canada)

A report issued by StatsCan in 2019 reveals that as of 2017/18 government funding of higher education institutions stood at 47% a substantial decrease since 2008. The provinces provide most of this funding and their transfer has decreased from 40% in 2012/2013 to 36.4% in 2017/18. Sponsored research makes up almost one-fifth of the revenue as of 2017/18. (StatsCan 2019). Tuition fees, mainly from international students make up the majority of remaining revenues.

Clearly, Canada is entering the slippery slope depending more and more on tuitions, including those brought in by international students, as well as from other sources of funding, and less on government support. It is interesting as well to note that universities are selective in what they set up as off shore campuses. Canada has preferred to set up business faculties abroad where students can take parallel programs to the ones offered in Canada and graduate with a Canadian degree. All courses are offered, of course, in English, which is another matter of concern. In fact, with English widely viewed as the language of commerce and business in our globalized world, universities all over the world, and not just off shore campuses, tend to offer business and commerce courses in English. In our new pragmatic view of the purpose of a university or college education, humanities and the arts are finding themselves viewed as increasingly irrelevant.

A worrisome new development that will affect financing of universities is the announcement of the introduction of performance-based funding in higher education. The Ontario Government has declared that as of 2024, 60% of the operating funds of Ontario Universities would be calculated according to performance in 10 areas including graduate earnings; proportion of graduates employed full-time in a related field; graduation rates; and skills and competencies acquired during study among others. As Marc Spooner (2019) points out, the majority of the metrics tied to funding are in the skills and job outcomes area; others are related to economic and community impact. Alberta plans to follow a similar path in funding determination. Aside from the fact that performance-based funding has been tried elsewhere with poor results, this approach to funding will serve as yet another strong-arm tactic to force universities to adapt to the neo-liberal agenda where the market determines what matters and where instrumentality rules.

38.5 Effect of the Market Agenda on Research

Humanities and arts professors in universities, in the English speaking world at least, complain that their funding possibilities for research are being cut back or eliminated. I understand that in the UK the institution of high tuition for university students is affecting in particular arts and humanities students who will receive no government support for their programs of study. In Canada, our main government research funding agencies are known as the “Tri-Council” and include CIHR (Canadian Institutes of Health Research), NSERC (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council), and SSHRC (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) which is the one to which arts, education and humanities researchers normally apply for funding.

While CIHR and NSERC, the councils responsible for hard science and medical research receive proportionately much more funding than SSHRC, despite the fact that the majority of university researchers work in the Social Sciences and Humanities areas, not only has SSHRC funding been decreasing, but what is available has strings attached with the result that preference is being given to projects that fit a neo-liberal agenda. That is to say, research projects in targeted areas are sought and inevitably include a requirement for partnerships with the private sector, and indications of outcomes that will benefit the global economy. What is overlooked is the fact that the private sector tends to value research (particularly conducted with quantitative research methods—qualitative methods are viewed with suspicion since no measurable results are produced) that provides quick solutions. This is opposed to more traditional social science research that requires painstaking examination of data to find meaningful results using a variety of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods. Still the funding councils persist in encouraging projects that involve partnerships with the private sector, projects that have not proved particularly productive.

The more generously funded health sciences areas also complain that partnerships with big business cause ethical problems since private partners often include requirements in research protocols to the effect that if, for example, a drug or medical procedure being tested should prove not to be effective, or perhaps may even result in dangerous side effects, researchers are not allowed to publish the negative findings.

Some researchers in the health sciences area who wish to pursue research that naturally would involve humanities and social sciences, and hence would involve applications to SSHRC, have been cut out of that avenue of funding and must apply to CIHR which is not interested as much in the “human” element as in the scientific and medical aspects only. Another prominent research organization (the National Research Council) which has been the leading Canadian source for research, development and technology-based innovation has recently announced that it will focus on applied (rather than pure) research, particularly that which has clear “market drivers” or a “purposeful direction”, in other words research that will produce economic outcomes. (Western News, April 14, 2011). This will cut out many projects

designed to pursue areas that do not have any obvious financial payoffs, but may produce useful, innovative findings. Many scientists feel that their research potential has been narrowed and subjected to the business agenda.

The Social Sciences/Humanities funding Council, however, has different problems and seems to be recasting itself as a tool of the economy rather than as an agency to promote research for new knowledge in the humanities and social sciences. Recently SSHRC received a \$9 M infusion, but all of that money was reserved for business projects—nothing for traditional humanities and arts. With a reduction in government research funding, researchers are finding themselves forced to look for private partners for funding and to write their proposals in a language that will be favorable to the business community. Meanwhile arts and humanities researchers are increasingly finding that while their project was deemed worthy of funding, no funding exists and so they must re-submit or re-cast their project to fit business interests.

38.6 The Semantics of Education Under Globalization and Neo-Liberalism

Another nefarious element of our “Brave New World” of education involves the changing meanings of words. I have alluded in earlier research to the way words like “accountability”, “quality”, “assessment”, and even “knowledge” have changed in their meanings and implications (Majhanovich 2006). Whereas educationists used to equate “accountability” with their professional responsibility to deliver the best possible program to their students, using effective teaching approaches that would address the needs of their students, now the term implies rather the success of a program to meet requirements for success in the global economy, or success of a teacher in achieving high test scores on standardized tests; the focus has shifted from accountability to one’s students, to accountability to the education “corporation” (See Ben Jaafar and Anderson 2007). As Allan Pitman has pointed out, “quality” in education used to refer to the uniqueness and difference in that which one was exposed to in university programs. However, in a globalized age, the connotation has shifted. As Pitman says:

There is an essential contradiction in the two usages of the word, in that [one] seeks out that which is unique or different about the object; [and the other] focuses upon the commonality between similar objects and claims to evaluate in terms of comparative excellence.

Education systems are under continuing pressures to be reshaped in ways that respond to the aspirations and fears of the societies that they serve. These concerns are grounded in the context of increasingly interconnected world systems that characterize the globalizing trends in communications, trade and discourse. Increasingly, the issue of quality has become a cornerstone of debates, and policy formation in relation to education systems and their reform. This has been coupled with governmental moves to assert greater control and surveillance over the academic activities of educational institutions at all levels. At the university level, the use of rankings such as that compiled by the *London Times*, based on citation analysis, are among the most important of these. Worthy of note is that govern-

ments pay attention to them, and it should be recognized that they are the products of commercial enterprises. Through means such as these, governments try to position themselves internationally through gauging the quality of their educational institutions and curricula through comparative processes (Pitman 2007, pp. 9–10).

The ranking of journals is another example of this that has not yet come to Canada, but probably it is only a matter of time. Part of the problem with such “quality” outcomes as applied to education, is that they may work against uniqueness and difference in programs and approaches, especially if only what can be concretely measured—number of citations, number of research grants and articles, success rate of students, standardized test scores etc., is the standard by which quality is claimed. The perhaps romantic notion of the university as a community of scholars debating the issues of the world becomes lost in such a hard-nosed definition of the “good”. Moreover, since the quality factors tend to be found in the concrete research output, where is there room for new, imagined and perhaps radical research? Quality in the above sense does not foster innovation and change but rather conformity and conservative approaches to curriculum and research.

Similarly “assessment” now seems to be a much more narrow a concept than in the past with its focus on the strictly measurable and concrete numerical results from standardized tests that can only address certain kinds of learning (See Popham 2001). How can we now assess values, esthetics and abstract concepts like social justice? And despite the obvious importance governments and corporations place on concrete assessments, should we even be considering “assessing” those areas that cannot be measured?

As for knowledge, we constantly are reminded that we live in a “knowledge” economy. But what counts as knowledge? It would seem that preference is given to technical, scientific knowledge, as well as knowledge that will in some way be used to turn a profit on the global stage. Where is the room for knowledge of culture, the arts, and history? Moreover, knowledge is now viewed as a commodity that can be exported or used to make profit. This development has come about largely because of the WTO’s efforts to put into place the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which focuses on 12 areas of services, one of which is education (see Davidson Harden and Majhanovich 2004, and Schugurensky and Davidson Harden 2005). Speaking to the implications of “knowledge” in a neo-liberal, globalized world, and the role that higher education institutes play in producing knowledge, Philip Altbach (2001) has noted:

One of the main factors is the change in society’s attitude toward higher education—which is now seen as a ‘private good’ benefiting those who study and do research ... The provision of knowledge becomes just another commercial transaction. The main provider of public funds, the state, is increasingly unwilling or unable to provide the resources needed for an expanding higher education sector. Universities and other postsecondary institutions are expected to generate more of their funding. They have to think more like businesses and less like public institutions. In this context a logical development is the privatization of the public universities—the selling of knowledge products, partnering with corporations, as well as increases in student fees (Altbach 2001, p 2).

It is no wonder then that privatization of universities is growing apace. In my own university, the Business School has privatized itself while remaining a part of the larger public institution. It has its own budget and through all kinds of entrepreneurial undertakings seeks to maximize its profit. Interestingly enough, the business school has often had the highest deficits in its budget among all faculties in the university. Within the Faculty of Education, the continuing education section became more or less privatized, running on a strictly cost-recovery basis. Through an expanding number of distance education courses, continuing education for a time turned a profit that benefited the faculty as a whole.

Lately, however, demand for the continuing education courses has fallen, perhaps because of overall problems in the economy and teachers find that they no longer can afford the expense (over \$1000 per course) for the courses offered by this segment and now our faculty finds itself with a serious deficit in its budget with no ready way to make up the lost revenues. Needless to say, we are expanding our graduate programs and hoping to attract international students! To link the above to the overall argument regarding the attack on the humanities, I would say that “thinking more like a business” as Altbach has said, has meant that in the faculty of education, humanities subjects have less place: we used to offer pedagogy classes for the teaching of German and Spanish as a foreign language; now we can only offer French. Courses by distance education somehow do not provide the rich opportunities for classroom debate and discussion that small seminar courses used to encourage. In order to save money, class sizes have grown, again restricting opportunities for discussion and debate in class.

38.7 Effects on Learning Foreign Languages

The learning of languages has fallen victim to the new business mentality. In North America it is not seen as necessary to learn other languages since English is the lingua franca of business and commerce. It is interesting that in the European Union, there is still a demand for language learning so that the citizens of the various EU countries can better communicate with each other, and yes, speak other languages well enough to be able to work in countries where a different language is spoken. Hence, although knowing several languages in the EU is viewed as an asset, the knowledge is valued mainly insofar as it serves the utilitarian purposes of being able to communicate using the functional language required for one’s trade of choice. The Common European Framework of Reference for Language (CEFR 2001) has been hailed as an excellent standardized tool to promote the learning of languages because its various level scales and assessments permit workers to prove their proficiency at a given level required employment. However, it has been pointed out that the CEFR programs tend to avoid the study of culture and literature, and focus instead on needs for the business and “real” world. So the humanities are once again being cast as something irrelevant and unimportant in the face of demands of the market!

It is of interest to note that research on elite schools shows that language learning is valued, particularly of languages like Mandarin that are important in the new world economy (Kenway, personal communication 2011, presentation, 2011). However, like the CEFR language learning model, in elite schools, languages are regarded as an instrumental tool to open networks for future partnerships. There is little attention given to cultural understanding or connections to the native speakers of the languages learned.

38.8 Mounting a Defense for the Humanities and Arts

Universities as we have known them in the past have been radically changed by the global agenda through such international contracts as the GATS and other WTO initiatives. The commodification of knowledge has led to certain benefits in some areas of academia but has endangered others, notably humanities and arts. There are indications from all around the English speaking world of how humanities are under attack and in danger of disappearing in some places because of their perceived irrelevance and uselessness in a world dedicated to the market and profit making.

One person who has mounted a strong campaign in defence of the humanities and liberal arts is philosopher Martha Nussbaum in her book *Not for Profit. Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010). She argues that as nations increasingly devote themselves to the production of “short-term profit by the cultivation of the “useful and highly applied skills suited to profit making” (p. 2) at the expense of humanistic elements of the academic disciplines, they are endangering the very underpinnings of their democratic system. She identifies the humanities and the arts as the domains best suited to prepare individuals with the attributes that will nurture and protect democracy; namely, the ability to imagine other possibilities, to be creative, and empathetic while being capable of rigorous critical thought. She also contends that in our test-driven schools, courses like citizenship education that are necessary to develop members of society aware of the implications and responsibilities of democracy are being badly neglected and suffer from inappropriate pedagogy. Nussbaum’s (2010) message is a sobering one:

Radical changes are occurring in what democratic societies teach the young, and these changes have not been well thought through. Thirsty for national profit, nations, and their systems of education, are heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive. If this trend continues, nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves, criticize tradition, and understand the significance of another person’s sufferings and achievements. The future of the world’s democracies hangs in the balance (p.2).

Nussbaum contrasts education for economic growth as opposed to education for global citizenship. In the former, the emphasis is on basic skills like literacy and numeracy with some people gaining advanced skills in technology. She notes that in this kind of education, equal access is not a priority as economic Darwinism is at the fore; a few highly skilled technicians are capable of carrying out the tasks to

maximize profits; it is simply too bad for those who can't compete. Thoughtful reflection is also not required and might even get in the way of the concrete drive for profit making.

When it comes to education for global citizenship, matters are not so cut and dried. This kind of education is messy and complex and involves engagement and interaction with "history, geography, the multidisciplinary study of culture, the history of law and the political systems" (pp. 86–87). She also thinks that all students should learn at least one foreign language well enough so that they can gain perspectives of how people from other cultures and religions view the world. What is required above all is the ability to remain active, questioning, curious, and critical—not just accepting at face value what authority proclaims as truth and the good. Nussbaum strongly affirms that it is the above type of education that is needed to protect and further democracy. But in an age that has no time for reflection, viewing and weighing multiple perspectives and becoming informed about what has gone before, democracy is endangered.

38.9 Conclusion

By sounding the alarm to promote humanities and all they entail in education or risk losing our democracy, Nussbaum is echoing what Giroux has been warning about for years. He too makes a strong argument that neoliberalism as a cultural politics and public pedagogy encourages new forms of authoritarianism where class, racial, and gender inequalities become more evident and even accepted, while what has been the essence of democratic life is gradually being worn away (Giroux 2004). It is to be hoped that the battle has not yet been lost. Those who understand and appreciate the value of the arts and humanities need to continue make clear how flawed the reductionist and barren approach to education that is being promoted in the name of global success is, and how a more equitable, reflective, and yes, critical commitment to education must ultimately prevail if the democratic society as we have known and valued it is to survive.

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Chapter 39

Globalisation and the Expansion of Shadow Education: Changing Shapes and Forces of Private Supplementary Tutoring



Kevin Wai Ho Yung and Mark Bray

Abstract This chapter has demonstrated that shadow education has become a global phenomenon, and is becoming more prevalent in many contexts. Recognising shadow education as an important agenda for research, policy and educational development is therefore crucial. The chapter has identified the changing shapes and changing forces for the expansion of shadow education in relation to globalisation. Parallel to the corporatisation of global education due to globalisation (Spring, *Globalization of education: an introduction* (2nd ed.). Routledge, London, 2015), shadow education has developed from a rather informal activity to a more systematic business. Particularly striking are tutorial companies that are franchised across countries. This chapter has also highlighted the role of globalisation in driving the demand for shadow education. When schooling becomes increasingly globalised, shadow education follows, although it can become either more similar to regular schooling or more distinct with more ‘glocalised’ and flexible curricula and teaching approaches. Shadow education also expands because of the global culture of educational commodification as education becomes increasingly privatised and marketized.

K. W. H. Yung (✉)

The Education University of Hong Kong, Taipo, Hong Kong

e-mail: kevinyung@eduhk.hk

M. Bray

East China Normal University, Shanghai, China

The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_39

39.1 Shadow Education as a Global Phenomenon: An Introduction

Shadow education is a commonly-used metaphor for private supplementary tutoring. It is employed because much tutoring imitates mainstream education: as the curriculum changes in the mainstream, so it changes in the shadow. Also, when the school sector expands, the shadow sector follows (Bray 1999, 2009; Stevenson and Baker 1992). Recent years have brought considerable global expansion of shadow education. In the previous century, shadow education practices was mainly visible in Asia (see e.g., Hemachandra 1982; Lee 1996; Stevenson and Baker 1992). Within the past two decades, it has become a worldwide phenomenon (Bray 2009, 2017; Entrich 2020; Park et al. 2016). This global spread is evidenced by the considerable revenue generated in the tutorial industry and the large household expenditure on children's tuition fees in many countries (see e.g. Aurini et al. 2013; Park et al. 2016). Research in shadow education has also grown, revealing its changing shapes and forces in the current context that is increasingly globalised.

Alternative vocabularies for shadow education include private tuition, private tutoring, coaching, extra lessons, and supplementary tutoring. In other languages, terminology related to tutorial institutions and activities includes *juku* in Japanese, *hakwon* and *sagyoyuk* in Korean, *buxiban* in Mandarin Chinese, *bou zaap* in Cantonese Chinese, *Nachhilfe* in German, *soutien scolaire* in French and *parapedia* in Greek (Bray et al. 2015; Kim and Jung 2019; Sriprakash et al. 2016; Yung and Bray 2017). The dominant strand of the literature (e.g., Bray 1999, 2009; Kwok 2010; Lee et al. 2009) defines shadow education as having three main dimensions:

- *Privateness*. This dimension limits tutoring to that provided by individuals or organisations in exchange for a fee. It does not include unpaid tutoring offered by families, friends or volunteers, or extra lessons provided by teachers free of charge.
- *Supplementation*. Shadow education supplements the provision by schools, and is provided outside school hours.
- *Academic subjects*. The shadow education literature focuses on academic subjects, which in many education systems particularly means national languages, English, mathematics and other subjects that feature in public examinations. Domains that are learned mainly for leisure and/or personal development such as music, art and sports are excluded from the focus.

With the global development of shadow education, the definitional scope has been expanded by some researchers to fit different contexts. For example, the supplementary role of shadow education has been challenged when tutoring is considered more important than, and 'supplants', mainstream schooling (Bhorkar and Bray 2018). Regarding providers of tutoring, complex issues emerge when school-teachers tutor their own students for financial gain (Kobakhidze 2018; Marshall and Fukao 2019). Moreover, when shadow education is increasingly school-like, it becomes more visible and is emerging 'out of the shadows' (Aurini et al. 2013).

In this chapter, shadow education is concerned with paid service that students use to supplement their learning of academic subjects outside school hours. The chapter focuses on primary and secondary schooling. Although tutoring also exists at pre-primary and post-secondary levels, in those sectors it has different characteristics and raises different, albeit overlapping, educational and policy issues. Examining relationships between globalisation and shadow education, this chapter commences with description of the scale and features of shadow education in various countries. It then discusses the roles of globalisation in driving the demand and supply of shadow education worldwide. Implications for education, policy and research are discussed when conclusions are drawn.

39.2 Global Shapes of Shadow Education

This section illustrates the scale of shadow education based on literature in a wide range of contexts, and identifies various features of shadow education.

39.2.1 Scale of Shadow Education

Many studies have explored the scale of shadow education in specific contexts. These studies tend to investigate it through the proportions of students that receive shadow education, although some also analyse other variables such as household expenditures, the number of hours of tutoring that students receive each week, and the number of registered tutorial companies. Bray et al. (2015) pointed out that the statistics for different countries are not necessarily comparable in definition or methodological rigor. Nevertheless, they provide an overall picture of the global patterns of shadow education (Table 39.1).

Based on the data from various countries and jurisdictions, it can be observed that shadow education is prevalent and widespread across the globe. Compared with earlier literature that offered an overview of the global spread of shadow education (e.g., Bray 2009), recent studies have revealed ongoing expansion. Some numbers have been collected by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (e.g., Park et al. 2016), and seem to show a similar pattern of expansion. However, these numbers need to be treated with caution because of the definitions employed and problems with translation of items (Bray et al. 2020b).

Table 39.1 The scale of shadow education in selected countries/jurisdictions

Country/ Jurisdiction	Scale
Argentina	Based on a survey sample of 360 university freshmen admitted to four schools of a national university in 2013, Cámara and Gertel (2016) found that 36.4% had used private supplementary tutoring provided by individuals or private companies to prepare for the university entrance examinations.
Australia	From a Labour Force Survey by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Australian Tutoring Association (2018, p. 3) found that 35,000 tutors were employed in 2017, and predicted a rise to 39,400 in 2022.
Austria	Data in 2017 indicated that 28% of upper secondary students in the academic (gymnasium) stream had received tutoring in the present or previous year (Boehm 2018, p. 46)
Bangladesh	The data of over 13,500 households collected by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics reveal that the proportion of rural households with private tutoring expenditures in 2000, 2005 and 2010 increased from 27.5% to 36.4% and then 53.9%; and that of urban households increased from 47.7% to 50.3% and then 66.7% (Pallegedara and Mottaleb 2018, p. 45).
Cambodia	Analysing nationally representative data from 138 lower secondary schools, Marshall and Fukao (2019, p. 106) found that nearly 73% of Grade 8 students reported attending some kind of extra class during the school year.
China	According to the 2014 China Family Panel Studies, 29.8% of primary and lower secondary students had received tutoring in the previous year, up from 24.6% in 2012 (Liu and Bray 2020, p. 175).
Czech Republic	In a sample of 1265 senior upper-secondary school students from two distinct regions, 37% reported receipt of private tutoring lessons and 10% reported enrolment in preparatory courses for university admission (Šťastný 2016, p. 1).
Egypt	Assaad and Krafft (2015, p. 23), using data from the 2012 Egypt Labor Market Panel Survey, reported extensive private tutoring in all grades. In Grade 6, for example, 61% of students were said to receive private lessons, and 12% joined fee-paying help groups that were typically held after hours on school premises. In Grade 11, 76% of students received private lessons and 5% attended fee-paying help groups.
Ethiopia	In a sample of 866 upper primary schools (Grades 5–8) in 13 government schools and 13 private schools, 66.9% participated in some form of supplementary tutoring (Tarekegne and Kebede 2016, p. 69)
Germany	Ömeroğulları et al. (2020, p. 5) analysed a survey of over 8000 secondary school students and found that 20% received private tutoring in mathematics and English and 11% in German.
Hong Kong	A survey of 1646 students in 16 secondary schools found that 53.8% of Secondary 3 students and 71.8% of Secondary 6 students received tutoring in 2011–2012 (Bray 2013, p. 21).
India	As reported by the government's National Sample Survey Office (2016, p. 98), the enrolment rates in coaching centres were 37.8% among boys at the level of lower and higher secondary schooling and 34.7% among girls in 2014.
Israel	Data from a questionnaire administered to 855 pupils in one secondary school located in an affluent area showed that 58.3% of Grade 7, 67.7% of Grade 8, 53.3% of Grade 9 and 69.7% of Grade 10 pupils had received private tutoring (Addi-Raccah 2019).

(continued)

Table 39.1 (continued)

Country/ Jurisdiction	Scale
Japan	A survey by the National Institute for Educational Policy Research in 2010 showed participation rates in <i>juku</i> of 47.7% for primary Year 6 pupils and 61.9% for secondary Year 3 students (Yamato and Zhang 2017, p. 330).
Mauritius	Data collected from a national sample of 3825 Grade 6 pupils in 2013 indicated that 81.4% were receiving private tutoring (Dwarkan 2017, p. 37).
Myanmar	A survey of 1637 students in Grades 9 and 11 showed that 84.9% of the sampled students had received private tutoring in the previous 12 months (Bray et al. 2020a, p. 41).
Pakistan	According to the Annual Status of Education Report, among 21 urban centres covering 15,760 households, 25% students in government schools and 45% students in private schools attended paid tuition in 2018 (ASER Pakistan Secretariat 2019, p. 52). Among a sample of 92,000 households in 4546 villages, 6% students in government schools and 22% students in private schools attended paid tuition in 2019 (ASER Pakistan Secretariat 2020, p. 152).
South Korea	The Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS 2020) indicated that in 2019, 83.5% of elementary-school, 71.4% of middle-school, 61.0% of high-school and 67.9% of general-high-school students received private tutoring.
United Kingdom	In England and Wales, a 2018 survey of 2381 students aged 11–16 asked whether they had ever received private or home tutoring. In London, 41% of respondents replied affirmatively, and 27% in the rest of the country did so (Sutton Trust 2018).

39.2.2 Features of Shadow Education

Beyond simple enrolment rates, the features of shadow education vary across different settings, and have changed over time. Traditional forms of delivery include one-on-one, small group, and lecture-style tutoring (Bray 2009; Zhan et al. 2013; Zhang and Yamato 2018). In one-on-one tutoring, a tutor provides individual and customised teaching. It commonly takes place at the student's home, but may also be conducted at the tutor's home or in public venues such as coffee shops and fast-food restaurants. Some companies also offer one-on-one tutoring in tutorial schools (see e.g., Entrich 2018; Zhang 2019).

Small-group tutoring can take place at the homes of the tutors or tutees or at private tutoring institutes. Students interact not only with the tutors but also with their peers through small-group discussions. The number of tutees to be regarded as a 'small group' varies depending on the context. For example, Kim and Jung (2019) and Zhang and Liu (2016) suggested two to five, probably based on norms in South Korea and Mainland China respectively. Yung and Bray (2017) suggested two to seven in Hong Kong because work with eight or more students needs registration as a 'school' according to the Education Ordinance.

Larger in size is lecture-style tutoring. Teaching tends to be one-way and to focus on test preparation. Many tutorial institutes are school-like and formalised in terms of timetabling of classes, procedures of student recruitment, teaching materials, and

classroom settings. The class sizes of different institutes and companies vary substantially. Kim (2016) observed that there are commonly around seven to 15 students in South Korean classes. However, in Hong Kong a tutor can teach at one time over a hundred students sitting in connected classrooms separated by glass walls (Yung and Bray 2017). Some popular tutors are advertised as ‘stars’ or ‘celebrities’ (Koh 2016; Yung and Yuan 2020).

Some tutorial companies are franchised and operate with systematic business models. They offer standardised learning programmes through which tutees progress step-by-step with increasing difficulty based on structured curricula and pre-designed learning materials. For example, in South Africa *Active English* offers educational materials such as workbooks and teaching manuals based on Montessori’s concept of language development. Its franchisees teach English as a foreign language to children from pre-school to Grade 7 (Active English 2020; Fernandez-Martins 2016). In Hong Kong, as STEAM (science, technology, engineering, arts and mathematics) education has been promoted in the school curriculum, *Techbob Academy* offers technology-related classes to children aged 3 to 18 (Techbob Academy 2020). The company has developed materials for franchisees to teach children how to write computer programmes and build robots. Through the process, children apply knowledge in STEAM which can also benefit their learning of relevant subjects in regular schools.

Some franchise companies have expanded globally. For example, *Kumon* is headquartered in Japan and operates in 49 countries in six continents. The company started with a programme in mathematics. It then developed English as a foreign language for Japanese students, and tailored it for students in 11 countries. It also offers programmes in foreign languages including French and German for Japanese students, and Japanese for local students in other countries. Its mission to expand the business to the global arena is reflected in their slogan “Making a contribution to the global community through individualized education” (Kumon 2020). Another example is the Australian company *Kip McGrath*. With over 560 tutoring centres in 20 countries, *Kip McGrath* specialises in English and mathematics, with a vision to help children all over the world to improve their literacy and numeracy skills. Its website indicates that the company aims to “complement the work being done in schools so that students can find success there” (Kip McGrath Education Centres 2020). Other franchised companies such as *Oxford Learning* and *Sylvan Learning* also have hundreds of learning centres in different countries. It is also worth noting what the companies do not offer. Typically not on their lists are geography or history, for example, because these subjects differ substantially in different countries.

With technological advances, distance modes of tutoring delivery become increasingly available. As observed in Hong Kong (Yung and Bray 2017), Thailand (Charoenkul 2018) and South Korea (Kim and Jung 2019), popular tutors who teach in mass lectures can record their lessons and offer video-classes. Tutees sit in classrooms with their peers and watch the tutors on TV or projector screens. More personalised is online tutoring conducted in synchronous or asynchronous modes. Live tutoring offers simultaneous interaction between tutors and tutees, and the tutors can respond to the tutees’ questions instantly (see e.g. Kozar 2015). When tutors are

not available online, tutees interact with computer programmes and may call the tutors when they encounter learning difficulties (Burch and Smith 2015).

Many tutorial companies, including franchised ones, also offer archived online lecture or video on-demand lessons in which tutors prerecord lectures and upload videos on the internet (Entrich 2018; Kim and Jung 2019). Tutees can watch the lectures anytime and anywhere, multiple times. This mode of tutoring, however, requires students' motivation and self-regulation. A blended mode with a tutor's presence may motivate and guide the tutee's learning. An example is the dual-tutor model, which is increasingly used in Mainland China. The central tutor works with a classroom-based teaching assistant in the distant setting (iResearch Global 2019).

Artificial Intelligence (AI) has also been increasingly used in tutoring. *Pearson*, which describes itself as "the world's learning company", is headquartered in London but generates approximately 60% of its sales in North America, operates in 71 countries, and maintains offices across Europe, Asia and Latin America. Although initially primarily a publishing company, *Pearson* has moved into the shadow education industry and includes use of AI in its toolbox. The company, it claims, "connects multiple forms of AI to provide a highly personalized learning experience anytime, anywhere", employing "the world's first AI-powered mobile calculus tutor" (Pearson 2020).

Alongside *Pearson* is a Chinese company called *Tomorrow Advancing Life (TAL)*, which is among the largest tutorial enterprises in China itself and has aspirations to expand internationally. *TAL* labels itself as a leading "technology-driven, talent centered, and quality-focused" education and technology enterprise (TAL 2020). It has developed a programme 'Using AI Language Teaching System to Innovate Language Learning of Under-Resourced Students' to help preschool and primary school teachers and students in a remote part of the country. It is an AI teaching system, customised for minority students' demand for learning Mandarin (Wang 2019). *TAL* is also using virtual reality (VR) technology to teach ancient poetry and literacy. The company has collaborated with UNESCO to promote education through AI (TAL Education Group 2019). This kind of collaboration helps tutorial companies to enhance their legitimacy through links with international bodies, and gives a voice on the global stage.

While the above paragraphs are about companies, particularly in low-income countries much tutoring is provided by regular teachers to secure supplementary incomes (see e.g. Bray et al. 2016; Hartmann 2013; Kobakhidze 2018). Governments are often ambivalent about this matter, because teachers may be tempted to devote less attention to their regular duties in order to preserve energy for their private classes. Authorities are especially concerned when teachers provide supplementary tutoring to their existing students, since it raises dangers of corruption with teachers deliberately cutting their work in regular classes in order to promote their private classes. Further informal suppliers of tutoring include university students, retirees, housewives and others seeking part-time or temporary work. The chief question mark over this category arises from the fact that the majority of participants are untrained.

39.3 Globalisation as A Driving Force for Demand

Much of the expansion of shadow education can be attributed to intensified competition within and across countries, in part driven by the forces of globalisation that can move contracts at the click of a computer mouse. This section commences with remarks about globalised forms of schooling which produce globalised shadows. It then considers in turn the global culture of educational commodification, the global development of technology, and the role of English as a global language.

39.3.1 *Globalised Schooling*

Despite local and national variations in education systems, schools across the world have strong similarities in their basic structures and functions; and because schooling is globalised, shadow education is also globalised. Boli et al. (1985) noted that education had spread rapidly in the previous two centuries not only in affluent but also in the poorest countries. UNESCO estimated that in 1980 about 75% of the children of primary school age around the world were enrolled in something called a school. Education was on its way to becoming universal, making the prevalence of mass education a “striking feature of the modern world” (Boli et al. 1985, p. 145; see also Benavot and Resnik 2006). After two and a half decades, the Education for All (EFA) agenda launched in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand (Inter-Agency Commission 1990) merged into the fourth of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals. In 2016, UNESCO recorded a global gross enrolment ratio of 105% and 75% in primary and secondary schooling respectively. UNESCO (2016, p. 162) observed that:

Despite challenges, the worldwide movement to universalize a long cycle of education and improve learning levels gathers steam. These aspirations are deeply embedded in the aims, policies and plans of almost all countries, regardless of population, location and degree of development.

This initiative, as noted in the document, has changed education systems in many countries that mainly served the interests of elites in the past into ones that offer education for all as a global norm (Bray 2017). When schooling is available for a wider population, the demand for shadow education increases to supplement students’ learning in the mainstream. Families from the lower classes who now have the opportunity to receive more schooling may start investing in shadow education. Their goal is to help their children to get ahead and catch up with their peers who already have access to more educational resources (Burch and Smith 2015; Tan 2017; Yung 2019).

In addition, as schooling has become universal, higher education has expanded rapidly (Arum and Roksa 2011; Shin et al. 2015). The expansion has changed the question from ‘postsecondary place or no postsecondary place?’ to ‘which postsecondary place?’. This expansion of higher education has increased the demand for

shadow education since families that previously would have considered postsecondary education to be out of reach now consider it within reach. Moreover, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2019) observed that the global middle class is on the rise. This means that more families are willing to invest in their children's education, including shadow education.

The globalisation of schooling has to some extent led to isomorphism in which school systems across the world increasingly resemble each other, driving the expansion of shadow education which operates in standardised models. Globalisation has strengthened communications and exchange among nations and international bodies such as UNESCO, the World Bank and the OECD (Bray 2017; Spring 2015). Meyer and Ramirez (2000, p. 16) argued that these are "world forces" of a "cultural principle exogenous to any specific nation-state and its historical legacy." Such forces have resulted in what Robertson and Dale (2016) described as a 'thickening' of global governance of educational policies, leading to increasing similarities in models of schooling among different countries. These similarities include the structure of education systems, term times, vacations, classrooms, pedagogies, design and implementation of curricula, and modes of assessment.

In parallel, shadow education expands by operating in shapes similar to those in regular schooling, including school-like classrooms (de Castro and de Guzman 2014; Yung 2020a). Their usually unidirectional instructional practices which prepare secondary school students for high-stakes examinations may resemble schools with large class sizes. Some tutors even use the same textbooks and assessment materials as in mainstream schools. Franchised companies that operate globally are also instruments for isomorphism through globalising forces (Aurini and Davies 2004). On the other hand, shadow education may have more flexibility compared to the standardised curricula and instructions in regular schooling. This is among the strengths of shadow education for tailor-made teaching, and is attractive to many families. It can be considered a feature of heterogeneity or 'glocalisation' in the shadow education sector.

39.3.2 The Global Culture of Educational Commodification

Globalisation has intensified the orientation of education toward the market economy, which has strengthened the privatisation and commodification of education and hence contributed to the expansion of shadow education. When families become more affluent, they are more able and willing to invest in their children's education. This is particularly evident in societies with Confucius-heritage cultures where parents perceive education as a means for upward social mobility and economic advancement across generations (Carless 2011; Watkins 2009). Globalisation both caused and resulted from the 69% increase in the number of international migrants from 153 million in 1990 to 258 million in 2017 (OECD 2019). 'Tiger parents' are omnipresent when they migrate to other parts of the world, and hence influence the cultures of other countries (Chua 2011; Dooley et al. 2020; Vialle 2013). For

example, Sriprakash et al. (2016, p. 428) observed that the rise of intensive or tiger parenting from Chinese-migrant families has influenced and even threatened “what ought to be considered ‘good’ education in Australia”. These parents’ subscription to private tutoring to buy more “visible pedagogic work” for their children has reinforced the culture of educational commodification.

Shadow education expands when families do not consider mainstream schooling adequate to meet their needs. This perceived inadequacy may stem from the deficiency of the school systems, such as unsatisfying teacher quality, limited teaching content, and inability to cater for students’ diversified or special educational needs (Hamid et al. 2018; Silova 2010). Even in the school systems that are well-developed and satisfying, some families desire extra services such as additional examination-oriented instruction and exercise for drilling. These perceived needs and demands may be created and reinforced by the global marketisation of private tutoring. Studies (Kozar 2015; Šťastný 2017; Yung and Yuan 2020) have shown that tutorial advertisements and tutors’ promotional practices may idolise tutors, devalue schoolteachers, and create anxiety among students and parents. Yung (2020b) argued that tutors take advantage of students’ anxieties and pressure of high-stakes university examinations to make a profit. Riep (2019, p. 407) also observed that global tutoring companies such as *Pearson* intend to legitimise education commercialisation by demonstrating the “measurable impact” and “outcomes” resulting from their educational products and services by communicating that to their customers (e.g., releasing “efficacy reports”). From the parents’ perspective, shadow education can be treated as a commodity which they can buy for their children’s way to higher education (Smyth 2009). This resonates with Zajda’s (2016, p. 158) argument that “globalisation and the market forces have forced students to re-define themselves as ‘consumers’, who expect results for their investment” (see also Zajda 2020).

39.3.3 *The Global Development of Technology*

With technology both driving and facilitated by globalisation, tutors have more platforms and means to strengthen their teaching quality and deliver more effective lessons. The OECD (2019) stated that in 2017, approximately 75% of internet users aged 16–74 worldwide used the internet daily or almost every day. The report argued that education was “already behind the digitalisation curve” and “must do more to take advantage of the tools and strengths of new technologies” (OECD 2019).

This situation sharply changed in 2020 when the Covid-19 pandemic forced many schoolteachers and tutors to expand use of technology. Because many regular tutorial centres and schools were closed, students had to switch to the online mode. Yet while mainstream schooling was trying to catch up with the fast-changing technologies, its counterpart in the shadow moved faster in order to sustain its business. Many students who found that schoolteachers were unable to provide sufficient learning support subscribed to online tutoring for more instruction and for materials to study at home. Some tutors conducted synchronous online teaching via

video-conferencing programmes such as *Skype* and *Zoom*. Others uploaded their video-recorded lessons online for tutees to download for a fee. Tutors also made more use of social media such as *Facebook* and *Instagram* to communicate with their tutees, which also strengthened tutor-tutee relationships. These programmes and applications are available worldwide because of globalisation in technological development, and have been widely used to facilitate teaching and learning in shadow education.

Indeed even before Covid-19, many tutorial companies had expanded their businesses through extensive use of technology. As long ago as 2010, Ventura and Jang commented that globalisation had changed the learning environment, making the internet a new educational resource for shadow education. In China, some tutorial institutions use technological methods such as high-definition videos, animations and 3-D modelling to simulate the laboratory operating process and demonstrate experimental details. They also conduct teaching research to enhance the teaching quality of the tutorial team (Bai et al. 2019).

Kim and Jung (2019, p. 75) pointed out that internet-based tutoring provides students with “new ways of learning that overcome geographical and temporal barriers.” For example, students in the United States can receive tutoring from India through the internet and can watch the tutor’s teaching through webcams (Ventura and Jang 2010). Such models are economically attractive because wages in India are much lower than in the United States, therefore permitting relatively low prices. *TutorVista*, which was founded in 2005, is among the notable companies operating on this model. The managers in India recruit and train tutors to operate with vocabularies and cultural norms for the target clients (Srinagesh 2006).

In the other direction, learners of foreign languages may receive tutoring from overseas native speakers of the target language based in the tutors’ home countries. Demand for such services is particularly strong in China, where students wish to learn English (in particular), and in contrast to their counterparts in India do not have a long history of the English language through colonial heritage. Technology in shadow education offers more personalised learning for students who can make choices about subject areas, levels of courses, materials to be used, and instructors with their preferred teaching styles. Students can also manage their learning pace by adjusting the teaching speed.

39.3.4 *The Role of English as a Global Language*

Elaborating on the above remarks, English as a global language has impacted schools worldwide. English has been used as a *lingua franca* among different countries, and its role has become more crucial due to globalisation (Crystal 2003; Nunan 2003). As Block et al. (2012, pp. 16–17) pointed out:

English became the medium for many of the new service industries such as business process and information outsourcing, or call centres, and English was identified at the heart of globalisation itself, or in one glowing account of the brave new world, a global language.

The significant status of English has therefore made it an important subject in primary and secondary schooling. In some non-English speaking countries, English is also used as the medium of instruction, particularly in elite schools. Students who learn English as a second or foreign language and study in English-medium schools may find it difficult to understand the subject content in English. In many non-English-speaking countries, students' exposure to English is rarely used for authentic communication outside the classroom. Through shadow education, students can learn the subject content again in their first language to facilitate better understanding. They can also gain more exposure to this target language outside school. Moreover, the results of English-language examinations have a significant impact on students' opportunities to pursue higher education.

Because of the important status of English around the globe, English is typically one of the most popular subjects in shadow education. In Hong Kong, for example, over 70% of secondary six students surveyed by Zhan et al. (2013) received some type of English private tutoring. Studies have also shown high enrolment rates in English private tutoring in Bangladesh (Hamid et al. 2018), Japan (Dierkes 2010), Mainland China (Kwok 2010), South Korea (Park et al. 2011), Taiwan (Chung 2013), and even England itself (Ireson and Rushforth 2011).

The demand for English competence increases further as the higher education sector becomes internationalised as a result of globalisation (Jenkins 2014; Murray 2015; Wang 2013). Internationalisation of higher education has led to diversity in student backgrounds and social heterogeneity in classrooms. Zajda and Rust (2016) observed an accelerated flow of students pursuing higher education abroad. Particularly popular destinations are Australia, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. Bagley and Portnoi (2016) argued that universities have become more entrepreneurial due to global competition in the higher education sector. Prestigious universities' exploitation of their top positions in global university rankings has also affected international students in the search for places (Bagley and Portnoi 2016; Shreeve 2020). This phenomenon of 'English fever' fuelled by globalisation has therefore led to the expansion of shadow education (Jeon and Choe 2018; Park 2009).

39.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that shadow education has become a global phenomenon, and is becoming more prevalent in many contexts. Recognising shadow education as an important agenda for research, policy and educational development is therefore crucial. The chapter has identified the changing shapes and changing forces for the expansion of shadow education in relation to globalisation. Parallel to the corporatisation of global education due to globalisation (Spring 2015), shadow education has developed from a rather informal activity to a more systematic business. Particularly striking are tutorial companies that are franchised across countries. Regarding the mode of tutoring delivery, in the past, shadow education was limited

to the direct in-person instruction. With the development of technology in the twenty-first century, the modes have been diversified. Online tutoring has become more popular worldwide, and advanced technology such as AI and VR has become more common. The change of shapes of shadow education is expected to continue alongside the continuous digitalisation of education across the globe.

This chapter has also highlighted the role of globalisation in driving the demand for shadow education. When schooling becomes increasingly globalised, shadow education follows, although it can become either more similar to regular schooling or more distinct with more ‘glocalised’ and flexible curricula and teaching approaches. Shadow education also expands because of the global culture of educational commodification as education becomes increasingly privatised and marketized. However, this raises questions about the dominant identities of agencies and people shaping the minds of children and youth: the roles of entrepreneurs rather than educators become more evident. Further, it is not insignificant that the major international franchised tutoring companies are all headquartered in rich countries, and the globalisation of tutoring thus contributes to global monetary flows towards rich countries. Even *TutorVista*, which was founded in 2005 as an Indian company has by stages been taken over by *Pearson* with a 17% stake in 2007, a 76% stake in 2011, and then full ownership in 2013 (Mitra 2013).

Some authors are very critical of ways in which such capitalist enterprises have come to dominate educational processes in a largely hidden way (see e.g. Ball et al. 2017; Riep 2019). Alongside and at more local levels, shadow education has in some respects both resulted from and even subverted the EFA agendas of the international organisations and national governments, which were merged into the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Expansion of schooling has entailed expansion of competition, and shadow education is sought by families to handle this competition. At the same time, expanded schooling has strained government budgets and in turn limited the salaries that can be paid to teachers. This factor has driven many teachers around the world to provide private supplementary tutoring. The fourth of the SDGs, approved by the United Nations in 2015 with a target date of 2030, is to “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”. Since prosperous families are self-evidently better able to acquire both greater quantities and better qualities of education compared with middle-income and poor families, shadow education is a force for reducing rather than increasing inclusion and equity. This feature again emphasises the need for greater attention to the scale and nature of shadow education in research and policy analysis.

However, in part because of the speed of evolution of shadow education, researchers have met challenges in keeping up with its changing shapes and forces. Studies of the features and implications of shadow education need to be expanded to secure more detail on patterns in specific contexts. Moreover, to see the global patterns more clearly, additional comparative studies between different countries and regions are needed. Taking globalisation as a driving force for the expansion of shadow education into account, further research may focus on the changing nature of

schooling and higher education to investigate their impact on shadow education. The uses of technology among different contexts can also be compared.

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Chapter 40

Globalization and Disruption: What Policy Lessons Can Be Learnt from High Performing Education Systems of Singapore and Hong Kong?



Michael H. Lee

Abstract Both Singapore and Hong Kong are widely praised as high performing education systems because of their high rankings in various international comparisons such as TIMSS, PISA and PIRLS. In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, which witnessed several politico-socio-economic changes arising from globalization and disruption, education reforms carried out in Singapore and Hong Kong were aimed at pursuing academic excellence, promoting lifelong learning, upgrading skills of manpower, creating rooms for upward social mobility, enhancing economic competitiveness, and cultivating a strong sense of national identity. As the landscape of education development keeps evolving in response to rapid changes in the internal and external environments, new policies and reform initiatives have been carried out from time to time to facilitate policy renewal and educational restructuring in the contexts of globalization and disruption. For both Singapore and Hong Kong are high performing education systems, their experience in educational development should be able to provide some valuable lessons for other countries to improve the overall quality and performance of their education systems. This chapter reviews major developments of education reform and policy renewal taken place in Singapore and Hong Kong, compares both territories' approaches of education reform and policy renewal, and discusses policy lessons that can be learnt from both territories.

M. H. Lee (✉)

Department of History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong,

Shatin, New Territories, Hong Kong

e-mail: michaellee@cuhk.edu.hk

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J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_40

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40.1 Introduction

The twenty-first century is preoccupied by globalization and disruption, which brought about many unprecedented politico-socio-economic changes and challenges around the world. Being the two leading financial hubs in the Asia-Pacific region, Singapore and Hong Kong have benefited substantially with new opportunities of economic growth and development. Nevertheless, they are also subject to major disruption caused by global financial crises and more recently the Covid-19 pandemic that most countries have suffered very seriously with the worst economic downturn. Under such circumstances, education, which equips both economies with well-educated and skilled manpower as the only resources available for their economic growth, is expected to serve closely the needs of economic development. When economic restructuring, which requires manpower upskilling, to prepare for a new economy in the post-pandemic era is a policy priority in response to the profound impact of globalization and disruption, together with the Fourth Industrial Revolution which focuses more on the use of automation and artificial intelligence, education needs to renew itself to cope with socio-economic changes with numerous policies and reforms being carried over the past two decades (Zajda 2020a).

The ongoing education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong are comprised of a wide range of policy measures, ranging from the modification of the academic, curriculum and examination systems at the macro level to the adjustment and improvement of classroom pedagogies at the micro-level. The process of education reforms in the two territories keeps moving on with an abundant supply of public expenditures for the sake of social and economic investments. Education is without doubt subject to close public scrutiny for it is dominantly funded by the public purse in both territories for the sake of manpower planning and reskilling in order to cope with rapid changes in the global economy under this wider context of globalization and disruption. Our understanding of the practical and market values of education is also shaped by the prevailing ideas of pragmatism and neoliberalism (Zajda 2020b).

Synthesizing the policy context and major issues of education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, this chapter examines and compares how these two education systems have been reformed over the first two decades of the twenty-first century. It argues that the strength of state power is critical to determine whether the education reforms can be implemented effectively. The more trustful the government is, the more effective the education reforms are. The trustworthiness of the government is closely related to whether it is endowed with a high degree of political legitimacy, which is also attributed to strong state power. State power, political legitimacy and governance effectiveness, which are interrelated with each other, are highly critical in affecting how the education reforms are approached, how far they are supported by stakeholders and the general public.

There are four sections in this chapter. The first section focuses on the politico-socio-economic contexts facing the education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong. The second section examines the prominent policy issues arising from the education reforms in the two territories. The third section turns to discuss the policy

lessons that can be drawn from the education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong. The final section concludes the discussion.

40.2 Policy Contexts

Singapore and Hong Kong are heading towards what Peter Drucker called “next society,” in which knowledge is its key resource and knowledge workers are the most productive and influential group in its workforce. Knowledge is a means of production which is essential for everyone to get the job and it enables people who receive education to achieve upward social mobility (Drucker 2001, 2002). This concept of “next society” coincides that of “knowledge society” which denotes the dominance of information technology knowledge and the competition for talents and resources for sustainable development in the age of globalization. In a world coming up with rapid changes, risks, uncertainties and crises, such as the global financial crisis in the late 2000s and the Covid-19 pandemic in the early 2020s, every country must get prepared and be adaptive to rapidly changing circumstances and also innovative to make right and timely responses to issues and problems during this unprecedented time of disruption. While globalization gives rise to a global network society (Castells 1996), it also makes people to realize that people are nowadays living in a risk society (Beck 1992). As a result, knowledge becomes obsolete rapidly and knowledge workers and technologists have to receive education and training for skills upgrading and reskilling that the notion of lifelong learning has been a major policy direction of education reforms in most countries, including Singapore and Hong Kong. In short, education has an important role to play in the development of the knowledge-based economy in face of the profound impact of globalization and disruption.

Globalization stands for a fundamental shift in the relationship between the state and education in tandem with the rise of competitive state in which the economic dimension of the state’s activities is addressed (Cerny 1990; Marginson and Rhodes 2002; Zajda 2020a). There is a shift in the focus of public policymaking from the provision of social welfare to the promotion of the entrepreneurial and innovative spirit and practices which are adopted from the private and business sectors. As a result, the provision of education as well as other public services such as healthcare and housing are similarly market-oriented addressing the importance of choice and competition. Educational governance is concerned more about how decentralization should be approached in the three core areas of finance, service provision and regulation (Dale 1999, 2000). Competitive state requires the government and public sector to be highly flexible and adaptable to cope with changes arising from globalization and disruption so that its competitiveness in the global economy can be maintained and strengthened. With reference to the rise of competitive state, Robertson and Dale (2000) noted four changes to happen in the general direction of education policymaking. First, educational institutions and practitioners need to ensure managerial efficiency according to the logic of financial and public

accountability. Second, educational outcomes are subject to external scrutiny and audits which are carried out in the name of quality assurance and performance evaluation. Third, the education market is created to promote efficiency, competitiveness and responsiveness to consumers' demands. Finally, educational institutions are granted not only greater autonomy but also more responsibility to meet consumers' needs and social expectations in educational outcomes and the value for money (Whitty et al. 2000).

These changes in the making of education policies can be seen as a consequence of the rise of managerialism which points to the adoption of business models and tighter systems of accountability for education which is subject to the growing influence of such rhetoric as rational choice, efficient organization and entrepreneurial management (Apple 2001). More emphasis is placed on the roles performed by institutional leaders who are expected to be charismatic, proactive, innovative and well-prepared for institutional management within the more tightly defined quality parameters (Bottery 2000).

It is also noteworthy that in the age of globalization, the state needs to maintain its legitimacy to rule by creating conditions for socio-economic development. An effective and high-performing education system should be built up on the basis of a well-organized and efficient public administrative system which is capable of stimulating sustainable economic growth. Both strategies of decentralization and marketization are believed to make educational institutions to be more accountable to various stakeholders. In financial terms, public money, which must be spent wisely, needs to be increased to provide more opportunities for citizens to receive education. Meanwhile, education quality should never be compromised even though both the notions of cost-effectiveness and managerial efficiency have been very much emphasized (Carnoy 1999, 2000; Daun 2002; Hallak 2000; Zajda 2020a).

The potential effects of globalization on education are far-reaching as it has brought a paradigm shift in educational management, administration and governance in many countries. Education systems nowadays put more stress on the short-term, the symbolic and expedient achievements than those of the past, which focused on the long-term, the real and substantive goals and objectives, discretion and reserving judgment, and character. Likewise, the old-fashioned values of wisdom, trust, empathy, compassion, grace, and honesty in managing education have changed into the so-called values of contracts and honesty in educational management, administration and governance. Nowadays many industrialized regions have adopted an education market, and a canon of this market is choice. The practice of neo-liberalism in education is far more intensive in recent years and the neo-liberal notions of choice and quality embedded in the policy discourse have constructed education in an imaginary of a vibrant market (Lee and Tse 2017).

What has been discussed in this section addresses the converging policy environment that affects the development of the education systems in Singapore and Hong Kong within the context of globalization. One of the most significant changes in educational governance refers to the decentralization of policy implementation but simultaneously with the centralization of policy control, which can be labelled as "centralized decentralization." There is a need for greater surveillance of individual

units at the periphery for quality assurance and control so as to ensure effective policy control at the core. While there are global trends of marketization and centralized decentralization confronting education policymaking (Lee and Gopinathan 2003), the government remains a key player in education even in Singapore and Hong Kong, the two freest economies around the world.

The paradigm shift in educational development, however, does not refute the fact that education policies are still very much influenced by local or national factors regardless of changes arising from the ongoing process of globalization as well as the prevailing ideology of neoliberalism (Gopinathan 2001, 2007). For instance, in Hong Kong, the changing political environment, such as national re-integration, governance crisis and a quest for further democratization, also have repercussions on the education system, as reflected in the controversy over the policy of making Moral and National Education (MNE) a compulsory subject for all primary and secondary schools in 2012, the Occupy Movement in 2014 due to the controversy over the political reform concerning the universal suffrage methods for the election of Hong Kong Chief Executive in 2017, and protests and social movements took place between 2019 and 2020 in response to the Hong Kong government's introduction of the Fugitive Offenders Amendment Bill demanding a complete withdrawal of the bill on top of other deep-rooted problems concerning the political development and reform in Hong Kong. Internal political deadlock remains largely unresolved that the government's political credibility and trustworthiness have been negatively affected. This political situation unsurprisingly will have significant impact on the effectiveness and efficiency of the government's implementation of public policies, including education, in the long run.

40.3 Policy Issues

Through several decades of quantitative expansion and qualitative consolidation, both Singapore and Hong Kong have demonstrated a strong ability to consistently improve their education systems as these two high performing education systems managed to outperform more developed countries in Europe and North America in international rankings such as TIMSS, PISA and PIRLS. Their outstanding performance can be attributed to the high quality of their schooling systems, which depend on the availability of well-developed teacher education programmes and stringent selection of teachers and school leaders, timely self-renewal of curriculum and pedagogy in response to emerging needs of the global economy, the effectiveness of educational administration by competent leadership in the government administration and through the substantial investment in education with high efficiency in education spending (Gopinathan 2015; Lee and Tse 2017; Marsh and Lee 2014). While many countries have been highly interested to learn from education policies and practices in these two education systems and see if they could be borrowed and adopted to provide policy solutions to improve the effectiveness of their education systems, policy borrowing cannot be carried out blindly without taking into

consideration the borrowers' local contexts (Forestier et al. 2016; Morris 2016; Rizvi and Lingard 2010).

40.3.1 *Economization of Education*

While Singapore and Hong Kong are praised as being among the most competitive economies in the world, both East Asian financial and trading hubs are not free from social problems such as poverty and income inequality with widening income gaps. The policy challenge for both governments is to sustain economic growth and to contain income inequality at the same time. Policy responses in education have included an emphasis on lifelong learning and skill upgrading, considered essential to improve productivity and economic competitiveness.

These policy responses can be synthesized with the concept of “economization of education” Spring (2015) suggests. Economization is characterized by “the increasing involvement of economists in education research, the evaluation of the effectiveness of schools and family life according to cost-benefit analyses, and the promotion of school choice in a competitive marketplace (Spring 2015, pp. 1–2). With the economic value of education being emphasized, there is a strong application of economic reasoning in education policymaking which makes education more likely to be seen as a commodity or an industry. This refers to the increasing use of market mechanisms such as accountability, competition, choice, cost-effectiveness, league tables, managerial efficiency, market relevance and responsiveness, performance indicators, quality assurance and value for money. These terms also denote the core themes of the public sector reforms, which also cover education, prevailing in both Singapore and Hong Kong since the 1990s with an aim of enhancing both education quality and effectiveness.

For instance, more control has been devolved to educational institutions through the implementation in Singapore of the independent schools initiative and School Excellence Model since the 1980s and 2000s respectively. Schools have been allowed greater autonomy and capacity to build up their own strengths and uniqueness. In Hong Kong, similarly, school-based management was introduced in exchange for greater accountability among different stakeholders, including parents and teachers (Chan and Tan 2008; Ng 2008; Pang 2017; Sharpe and Gopinathan 2002; Tan 2006).

The relationship between education and economic development is reflected in international benchmarking exercises such as PISA conducted by OECD which assumes that high performance in these rankings is a prerequisite for economic growth and development. Nevertheless, this claim has been challenged as some critics have questioned if there is a positive relationship between high performance in international rankings and economic productivity and innovation. It would appear that notwithstanding high test scores, both Singapore and Hong Kong are not seen at the present time as innovation-driven economies. Economic productivity as

suggested by other scholars may be more a function of efficient governance, market-favourable policies and investment in education (Morris 2016; Zhao 2015).

40.3.2 Social and Educational Disparities

While choice and competition have been encouraged through the economization and marketization of education in Singapore and Hong Kong, in recent years there have also been increasing concerns over issues related to educational disparities. A more diversified schooling system comes with a growing hierarchy of schools and social stratification. In Singapore, the highly limited number of independent secondary schools selected by the government are well-established, prestigious and academically selective. The creation of independent schools was supposed to provide outstanding examples for other schools to follow and imitate so that all other schools could also improve their education quality (Ministry of Education, Singapore 1987). However, there is little evidence that this has in fact happened. With the persistence of a highly selective school environment in Singapore, the socio-academic elite is reproducing itself and jeopardizing the much vaunted meritocratic ideal that underpins education and society in Singapore.

A similar scenario can also be found in Hong Kong, where the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) was at first introduced in the 1990s. The DSS policy was implemented to cater for the incorporation of a tiny number of private schools, including a few pro-China patriotic schools, into the mainstream public education system. In the early 2000s, the scheme was modified to attract new schools to join DSS. Also invited were traditional grant schools, which were set up by missionaries or religious bodies between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These schools are also well-established and high-achieving schools in Hong Kong (Tsang 2011). Different from the independent schools in Singapore, they were not selected by the government to join DSS, but their sponsoring bodies could opt to join the scheme, subject to the government's approval. Moreover, they can levy tuition fees up to a limit set by the government and receive subsidies per head count from the government (Lee 2009).

Another aspect of educational disparity concerns ethnic differences or segregation found in the Singapore schooling system. As a result of the stream policy, which tracked students into different streams according to academic achievement since the late 1970s and will be gradually replaced by subject-based banding system by the mid-2020s, a much larger proportion of Malay and Indian students are streamed into lower ability streams. This is in large measure due to education disadvantage in the early years of schooling due to poverty, low income and lack of participation in early childhood education (Shamsuri 2015). Malay and Indian students are underrepresented in the most prestigious and top schools, where most students are Chinese and from wealthier family backgrounds (Gopinathan 2015; Tan 2014; Zhang 2014). In addition, Malay students have had a lower percentage of mathematics and science pass rates in public examinations over many years. This

correlates with a relatively low percentage of Malay students enrolled in the junior colleges and universities (Tan 2010). All these reflect the link between social stratification and academic stratification, which requires more policy attention in Singapore (Gopinathan 2015).

In Hong Kong, with over 95% of the population Cantonese-speaking, there are concerns about two specific groups of non-local students' educational performance. One group is "new immigrants" coming from mainland China for family reunions. Some of these new immigrant children, who were born in mainland China with one or both parents residing permanently in Hong Kong, face difficulties in adapting to the local school curriculum, in particular the learning of English language, together with a very different living environment and culture as compared with the mainland. The new immigrant and South Asian minority students are still under-represented in the higher education sectors, and their access to quality education is also disabled by low socio-economic status. Interwoven with class factors, immigrant and ethnic minority children could not get enough financial or educational support from their parents due to their low income and educational level. The selective nature of Hong Kong schooling means that the current school curriculum mainly serves academically able students; and schools are very subtly promoting segregated, if not exclusive, education for immigrant and minority students. Nevertheless, this does not rule out good academic performance accomplished by those immigrant students, some of whom performed even better than local students in PISA. Moreover, with reference to PISA 2012 findings, Hong Kong has a better record than other countries like Singapore in providing educational opportunity with relatively high quality and high equity, regardless of students' socio-economic backgrounds (Ho 2017).

40.3.3 Dilemma of Policy Implementation

In 2012, the Singapore government put forward a policy slogan "every school a good school" to remove perceived disparities among schools and diminish competition to get to the best schools (Heng 2012). Under this policy, schools would be expected to achieve the goal of providing every child with opportunity to develop holistically and maximize his or her potential. Nonetheless, it does not mean that all schools have to be identically good but are encouraged to sort out their own ways to become good schools. In fact, according to Mathews et al. (2017), it was found out that parents would like to choose schools for their children based on academic performance even though they desire character building and other holistic areas of education in a more balanced education system.

Despite good policy intentions, it is not so easy to change parents' mindsets to accept that all Singapore schools are equally good because parents still refer to academic performance and achievements of individual schools as a yardstick for making choices for their children. Although it is a good policy intention to create a diversified schooling system in which parents are able to exercise their choices, it may turn out to be that those families from the middle and upper classes who

possess more cultural capital are better able to choose between different schools. At the same time, even though parents are convinced that comparisons and rankings between schools are not necessary, the competition for getting into top schools is also getting more serious. As Mathews et al. (2017) suggests, for most parents, they tend to equate the label of “good schools” with a record of good public examination results. This phenomenon occurs even though most of them agree that schools should put more emphasis on students’ character and values as well as discipline. In short, parents in Singapore still prefer to enrol their children in academically high-performing schools, regardless of the government urging them to focus on schools’ qualities other than academic achievements. The case of “every school a good school” policy demonstrates that effective policy implementation should take into account of the gap between policy intentions of the government and policy responses from the general public, no matter Singapore comes with a very high degree of political legitimacy, confidence and trustworthiness.

On the contrary, Hong Kong has been overwhelmed by the drastic loss of confidence and trustworthiness towards the government, which without doubt would have negative impacts on the effectiveness of policy implementation. The situation is much more acute than Singapore as it is concerned about not only the gap between policy intentions and general perceptions and responses but also the general perception of governance under the changing political and social circumstances especially since the 2010s when the mainland Chinese government determined to tighten its control over Hong Kong by limiting its autonomy and constraining its political developments as a result of a series of social and civil right movements. Since the mid-2010s, Hong Kong has experienced unprecedented changes in its socio-political spectrum. Over the past few years, the territory has witnessed the Umbrella Movement in 2014, Anti-Expedition Bill Movement from 2019 onwards, and more recently, the enactment of the National Security Law by the Chinese government in June 2020, which arouses widespread concerns over the imposition of stricter scrutiny on academic freedom in the territory together with political censorship on teachers, textbook publication and even public examination. These changes will inevitably affect how the education reforms will proceed in Hong Kong in the coming years.

In Hong Kong, the education reforms carried out since the early 2000s were not all accepted well by educational practitioners and other stakeholders in the society although most of those initiatives were considered good for the Hong Kong education system in the long run. The major problem lies in how these reforms were implemented by the government, which neglected the importance of building mutual trust relationships with the stakeholders of the education sector for effective policy implementation. This refers to the acute tension between policy implementation and facilitation procedures in the education system (Dale 1989; Ip and Lee 2007).

Trust, government capacity and political credibility turn out to be among the most critical issues determining whether reform initiatives can be implemented properly, especially during the time when the Hong Kong government encounters an unprecedented crisis of governance amidst concurrent political upheavals.

Moreover, apart from the factors of marketization and a concern with global competitiveness, mainland China's influences on local education policy and curriculum since the handover in 1997 also deserve more attention. Controversies related to national integration abound in the areas like civic and national education, the use of Mandarin as a medium of instruction and a dramatic increase of cross-border students from the Chinese mainland. Therefore, not surprisingly, education policy making and implementation in Hong Kong have become more contested and challengeable during the post-handover period.

The relationship of the government to the formulation and implementation of education policies in Hong Kong addresses the gap between the street-level bureaucrats (or teachers) and central policymakers. While the top-down approach of policy implementation may not be able to achieve policy goals, effective implementation requires transaction between policymakers and other stakeholders whose support is necessary for action to happen. In Hong Kong, the problem of education policy implementation also lies in the translation of policy intents into specific policy actions, which generate more debate and concern among the relevant stakeholders. This scenario is closely related to such factors as the legitimacy of the regime, the disarticulated political system and the destructive political culture (Morris and Scott 2005).

40.4 Policy Lessons

Analyzing major policy issues facing the education systems in Singapore and Hong Kong in the twenty-first century, it is remarkable that the education reforms are aimed to meet challenges arising from globalization, together with growing concerns over slowing social mobility and growing inequality. (Zajda 2020a). Beyond meeting economic needs, new directions in education policies and reforms in both territories are supposed to achieve three main objectives: first, to provide students with sufficient and equal opportunity for receiving quality education; second, to enable every school to develop and strengthen its merits, strengths and niches; and third, to strike a balance between educational competition and developing in students a less individualistic and more communitarian orientation. Besides the commonalities found in the education reforms of Singapore and Hong Kong, the policy lessons being drawn from both territories' experience are worthy for further discussion.

40.4.1 Tensions Between Government Intervention and Public Reaction

Referring to the changing role of the government in education, there is a dilemma facing both the Singapore and Hong Kong governments. On the one hand, in line with neoliberal ideas addressing the importance of choice and market competition, the government intends to allow individual schools and education institutions greater autonomy in exchange for accountability, efficiency, responsiveness and responsibility (Whitty 2002). On the other hand, there is a growing intention for the government to be more interventionist in some areas of education. For instance, in Hong Kong, the policy of teachers' professional development as shown in the cases of imposing teachers' language benchmark tests since the early 2000s and the MNE programme in schools in the early 2010s, both of which aroused controversies in the education sector and society at large. This reflects the government's attempt to increase rather than decrease central control over education (Scott 2005).

When the government adopts a more interventionist approach in education, it is noticeable that there is much stronger resistance against major education policy changes and reforms in Hong Kong. An exemplary case is the policy of adopting mother tongue, i.e. written Chinese and spoken Cantonese, as the medium of instruction in secondary schools in 1998. This change of teaching language aroused widespread discontent among parents who, generally speaking, preferred to send their children to enroll in schools which used English as the medium of instruction even though the use of mother tongue was proved to be more effective and beneficial for students' learning. Worse still, this abrupt change of language policy triggered off talks of conspiracy theory about the intention of mainland China to eliminate the remaining impact of the British colonial rule and to speed up the process of forced assimilation, which is coined by Lo (2008) as "mainlandization", with promoting the dominance of Chinese language in the schooling system.

Another policy which caused much controversy was the implementation of the language benchmarks for teachers who commonly got a feeling that the government did not recognize their professional standards and qualifications. Although the policy was aimed at improving the quality of teaching profession, it turned out to become a sign for the government to humiliate the teachers and destroy the mutual trust between the government and teachers (Law 2003). Therefore, resistance to policies and reforms is not uncommon in Hong Kong because of the presence of more vibrant civil society organizations like teachers' unions to voice out their concerns over negative impacts of the reforms on educational practitioners.

On the contrary, in Singapore, less resistance can be found for not only because of the absence of a strong civil society, but also, more importantly, the People's Action Party-led government managed to obtain its mandate to govern the country through its ability to win parliamentary elections since the independence of the island-state in 1965. It would be without much difficulty for the elected government to garner popular support of its policies, including the ones for education reforms. Moreover, it is undeniable that the Singapore government enjoys a very strong

political legitimacy for its track records in bringing about magnificent economic achievements and socio-political stability. There is a belief that policies made by the government, which is highly trustworthy, are found largely acceptable for the general public (Khong 1995).

In addition, Singapore used to pay much more attention to long-term policy planning and research to ensure more coherent refinements, adjustments and modification in education policies, such as the refinement in the grading system of Primary School Leaving Examination from 2021 and the full implementation of subject-based branding system in place of streaming policy for secondary education from 2024. In general, these policy changes have been generally welcomed even though there are also critics claiming these changes should happen much earlier instead for eliminating the stigmatization of students merely based on their academic abilities and achievements. The setting of long-term policy goals allows the Singapore government and educational institutions to make changes step by step, but not at once, with a longer time span in favour of incremental changes rather than something too radical that is not well received by educational practitioners and stakeholders. Relatively speaking, Hong Kong lacks such kind of visionary and long-term policy planning to guide sustainable economic development even during the time of disruption when economic restructuring and labour reskilling are deemed necessary to cope with abrupt changes resulting from global financial crisis and Covid-19 pandemic. From this point of view, the question is not whether the state should intervene in education but how state intervention should be carried out timely and appropriately for the sake of long-term and sustainable educational and socio-economic developments.

40.4.2 Crossroads Between Managerialism and Social Fairness

Both education systems in Singapore and Hong Kong are subject to the strong influence of business principles and practices on institutional management. Under the impacts of neoliberalism, the two education systems have adapted those values of contract, market, choice, competition, efficiency, flexibility, managerialism and accountability which significant affect schools and higher education institutions together with their practitioners, including school leaders, teachers and parents (Zajda 2020b). The new accountability orientation also conveys the notion that parents play a significant role in school-based management. Home-school cooperation and partnerships have been encouraged. The implementation of School Excellence Model and school-based management in Singapore and Hong Kong respectively makes it necessary for schools to develop mission statements, strategic plans, financial budgets and quality assurance systems so that they are also subject to external scrutiny. Deeply influenced by the ethos of new public management, the education

reforms emphasize not only on quality but more importantly the maximization of the value for money and the improvement of managerial effectiveness.

Following the logic of accountability and performativity, public reporting on individual schools' performance has become more common in Singapore and Hong Kong from the 1990s onwards. This demand for information has been addressed by intensive and comprehensive assessments coupled with information disclosure to the public so as to satisfy parents' right of access to information, in tandem with the promotion of a "consumer-centred culture" which defines the roles of parents and students as customers or clients. Furthermore, marketing activities are more common among schools, which are more eager to compare their academic achievements and non-academic performance to boost their popularity in the community. Interschool competitions resulted from the practice of school ranking exercises from the early 1990s till the early 2010s when the government decided not to publicize the school ranks in the mainstream press. Such competition among schools would provide more choices for stakeholders and also give rise to greater accountability among schools whose performance has been more closely scrutinized in society.

Critics against the ranking practice are concerned about its negative impacts on differentiating elite and non-elite schools. Because of different historical background and resource entitlement, the competition between elite and non-elite schools normally does not take place on a level-playing field. The gap between those schools has been widened significantly in terms of student enrollments, institutional autonomy as well as flexibility in financial and personnel matters. Such phenomenon can be found in independent and autonomous schools in Singapore and DSS schools in Hong Kong.

While the education systems have been diversified, there is growing concern about the problem of social segregation slowing social mobility in Singapore and Hong Kong alike. In Singapore, the debate surrounds how the concept of meritocracy should be understood for there are queries about the meritocratic system no longer promoting equal opportunity and upward social mobility but consolidating the socio-economic status of elites who managed to perform very well in the education system to be rewarded with scholarships, university places and lucrative careers in the future. In response, former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong urged those who benefited from the meritocratic system to contribute to society by assisting the disadvantaged (Anwar 2015; Chua 2017). Measures were subsequently worked out to respond to the general public's demands for ensuring a level-playing field in the education system to enable all children equal opportunities to succeed and proceed to upward social mobility (Lee 2017).

On the other hand, in Hong Kong, the highly limited opportunities of upward social mobility giving rise to widespread discontent among the youth, it is considered one of the reasons explaining the involvement of a large number of young people in social and political movements ranging from the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and also the Anti-Expedition Bill Movement in 2019. The Hong Kong government once believed that by putting in more financial resources in the education system with more new permanent teaching posts and teacher training programmes

being offered in addition to more educational opportunities were made available to disadvantaged groups like students from low-income group as well as new mainland Chinese immigrants and South Asian minority students. These are undeniably the first step for the Hong Kong government to reach social fairness and justice. Nonetheless, in view of the increasingly complicated and critical socio-political circumstances, there will be more uncertainties facing the long-term development of education in Hong Kong.

40.5 Conclusion

While neoliberal strategy is effective in inducing the implementation of reform initiatives, there is a heavy price to pay. It is necessary for policymakers to reflect on the benefits and costs when they formulate and implement the relevant education policies. The conflicts, tensions and dilemmas which arose from the current reform are valuable lessons for policymakers and stakeholders. They could also inspire those involved on how education reform should proceed in other education systems. Policy choices and designs in education mirror ways of thinking and valuing education for children. Education, local and global alike, is confronting the hegemonic influence of neoliberalism which promotes privatization, decentralization, marketization, enhancing choice, flexibility and managerialism. Competitiveness- or finance-driven reforms are emphasized while equity-driven reforms are often neglected (Carnoy 2002). Education is more than a labour and economic policy, and a multi-dimensional and holistic quality perspective means a commitment to democracy, social justice and care. The holistic perspective requires a willingness to commit substantial public investment in the next generation and building an inequitable and quality education system for all children. It is time for policymakers to seriously reflect upon the social inequality that education policies have indirectly created, and to revise the relevant measures. In recent years, for instance, the Hong Kong government has had strained relationships with various stakeholders, like school sponsoring bodies, teachers and parents. Rebuilding a partnership of mutual trust and respect between the government and various stakeholders is a difficult process that requires much effort. And in the process of democratization and an upheaval of civic consciousness of the citizenry for social justice, education needs to be reconstructed, both in conceptual and political aspects, to address the concerns raised in the society. Likewise, if the reform is to achieve sustainable development in education, both the Singapore and Hong Kong governments need to enhance teachers' professional competency and autonomy through capacity building and lessen the pressure for public accountability. It is more important to uphold the core values of integrity and professional autonomy in education. Apart from competition, in a nutshell, collaboration among educational institutions and practitioners is also a viable option.

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Chapter 41

Globalisation and Educational Policy Shifts



Val D. Rust and W. James Jacob

Abstract The chapter examines the nexus between globalisation and educational policy. The chapter critiques the contemporary educational reform debate, which 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.

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 (Zajda 2020a). Paralleling the development of multinational industry is a global electronic finance market that exchanges more than a trillion dollars a day (Bergsten 1988).

Globalising forces have a long history, but they accelerated in the 1980s following the economic worldwide liberalisations of the 1970s, the growing transportation systems, movements of people, and the emergence of a global communications network. Globalising processes do not involve all countries equally. Some are highly involved while others are not, and some aspects in one and the same country are highly globalised, while others are not (McGrew 1992; Waters 1995; Hirst and Thompson 1996; Zajda 2015). Besides the economy, globalisation includes

V. D. Rust (✉)
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: rust@gseis.ucla.edu

W. James Jacob
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA

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 (Zajda 2020b).

41.1 Globalisation and Politics

Interpreters of political globalisation typically focus on the surrender of sovereignty on the part of nation-states and the emergence of larger political units (European Union), multilateral treaties (NAFTA), and international organisations (UN, IMF) (Waters 1995). They see the rational consequence of these trends to be a system of global governance with the decline of state powers and authority (Held 1991). This scenario seems reasonable, but the actual political developments are not so clear.

While state autonomy is apparently in decline, as yet no global political unit is in place that regulates and coordinates cultural and economic life, although we shall see, in the case of the European Union that its policies dictate many things that go on in the member states. However, a more subtle kind of political globalisation is taking place. Certain interpreters claim that the incipient common, global political culture takes different forms, depending on the orientation of the interpreter. For example, Francis Fukuyama (1992) claims that the collapse of the former Soviet Union signals the triumph of global political liberalism. Such a glowing assessment of globalization has been overshadowed by nationalizing and anti-democratic movements that have threatened the prospects of globalization (Steglitz 2018). Nationalistic isolationism has dominated the public image of the United States in the recent past, and right-wing populism has recently surged in all countries of Western and Eastern Europe.

41.2 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 have become a major education policy issue in a number of countries in Europe, including England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In developing countries, such as Chile in 1980, vouchers became a visible aspect of educational reform (McEwan and Carnoy 2000). And in the United States, which is so decentralised that no uniform national system is possible, vouchers have been implemented on an experimental basis in California, Wisconsin (1990), Ohio (1996), and Florida (1999) (AFT 2003).

Reforms more tempered than vouchers point to a radical decentralisation of school administration, giving individual schools much more autonomy and ensuring that parents play a direct role in determining local school policy. This politically conservative reform agenda calls for a curriculum emphasising science and technology but giving renewed attention to civic education, particularly as it relates to patriotism and national allegiance.

Although the free-market reform metaphor is surprisingly uniform throughout the world, the educational reform agenda, however, takes different forms depending on the country or region of the world and the educational tradition.

41.3 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 I 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 3 years leading to an undergraduate degree, a second cycle lasting 2 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% 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.

41.4 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 loosing 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 on one state are better educated than the children of another state. They have no patience with complex statistical data or extensive contextual information. Consequently, achievement tests are being mandated at all levels and in all contexts (Sheldon and Biddle 1988).

Second, there is a tendency 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 and 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 and Moe 1990; Hirni 1996).

The contemporary reform movement in America is driven mainly by political conservatives who are concerned about morals and economics. Its leaders also have interest in social welfare issues such as racial and ethnic equality. They also wish to create schools that prepare youth for the workforce and life. Significantly, they have also adopted a free-market model for schools, claiming that schools themselves must be held accountable for performance. This quality performance format allows parents to make choices about where they may send their children to be schooled. The notion behind this is that accountability and choice 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 would like to strengthen 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. The challenge to this argument is that while many parents want and are able to provide guidance to their children, many others are not. For students who do not have parents who are able to advocate on their behalf, other avenues need to be considered.

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 (2000), for instance, feels that in the past 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).

41.5 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 1992a, b).

The educational adjustments taking place throughout the region are significant, though somewhat varied, where most countries have begun moving from a command and distribution state paradigm to various versions of representative democracy, stressing self-realising participation in social life. In spite of this, there is a striking uniformity of educational changes taking place, all related in one way or another to a rejection of the communist ideology that has dominated education for the past four decades. In addition, there is uniformity even in the language of reform. A good deal of sharing has occurred in the various countries of the former Soviet 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 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 1992a, b).

It is important to point out what was missing from this reform agenda. VNIK engaged in its preliminary work before serious discussions took place regarding the possibility that the Soviet Union would move to a market economy or even adopt political pluralism. Consequently, educational reform rhetoric was not economics or politics driven. The focus was on the student, the learning child, who was to be self-determining and able to make choices. Of course, there was recognition that each human being is located in the social and economic sphere, and also the recognition that school reform, by its very nature, is a political process, but the concepts on which much of that reform has been based have been lodged in the rhetoric prior to the political and economic realities of today.

As countries and republics broke away from the Soviet Union, they carried these notions with them as they began to define their own educational reform agenda. Consequently, in spite of intriguing and important variations, there is a sense of common purpose in most reform activities taking place in the former Soviet 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 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 (*nautchno-obrasovatel'ny kompleks* – NOK), such as in Magadan, where the teacher-training institute engaged in such an undertaking. This process was continued after independence. The institution in Magadan has faculty members from the university, 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 Master's Degree
4. Graduate Study, leading to a candidate or doctoral degree

Soon after the fall of the Soviet Union in December 1991, each university was left to its own decision whether it would accept the Western form of study (Balzer 1994). Eventually the Bologna Declaration of 1999 became the model for higher education. As noted elsewhere, this program set up a common framework for university degrees, somewhat like the U.S. BA, Masters, and PhD programs. Unfortunately, all too many of the countries simply retained their old systems and put new labels on the higher education degrees (Kirkwood-Tucker 2009).

41.6 Sub-Saharan Africa

Colonial-based education systems of Sub-Saharan Africa were largely geared to prepare a small percentage of the eligible student population for employment within the colonial government framework. Preparing students to function in a global economy was not within the scope of the African colonial government curricula. At independence, Africans were faced with the general dilemma of what to pattern

their government social sectors after; education was certainly no exception. While Sub-Saharan African governments recognised the potential education had in producing moral citizens and a competent workforce, what should be taught in schools was open to debate.

Inherited or adopted educational policies in French and English-speaking Africa reflected the colonial process and this affected education in the now politically independent Africa.

An analysis of the policy formation process indicates the continuing involvement of former colonisers and foreign aid agencies throughout the various phases of these countries' struggle to develop. Nearly 40 years after political independence, most Sub-Saharan African countries find themselves more grown (as population increases) than developed, and are struggling to fight as their leaders see in technical assistants, substitutes rather than assistance.

Even when developed jointly with government officials, policy documents are perceived as belonging to the donor agency and exogenous to local policy making. The national capacity for policy formation remains un-institutionalised and episodic mainly because the policy foundation set by national procedures is quickly submerged under a flood of donor-generated country plans, sector studies, feasibility studies, and staff appraisal reports that drive new investment and shape educational policy as implemented. These donor-generated country plans are inevitably shaped by a particular theoretical orientation: 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, 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 40 years. The kind of leadership required to go beyond colonial mentality and attitude is still needed, leading to the sad conclusion that the educational experience of the past decades is deficient.

What 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 20 years of civil war and dictatorship prior to the rise of the current president, Yoweri Museveni. During this period, government spending was virtually eliminated in the education sector and channelled instead to help fund the war effort against mounting rebel resistance to the tight dictatorial grip. Government spending on education in East Africa since 1980 has averaged 4.0% of the share of national GNP, with Kenya leading the way at an average 6.5%, Tanzania at 3.2%, and Uganda well below average at 2.2% (UNESCO Yearly).

Even in times when government funding was sparse during the past 20 years, parents and communities found alternative ways for financing their children's education. Thus, the private sector began to flourish in Africa. Initially, this private movement was established by the Catholic and Protestant missionaries who came to East Africa to convert Africans to Christianity in the Nineteenth century. The impetuous for private education increased substantially in the late 1980s, throughout the 1990s, and continues today however, as private education is viewed as a strong alternative to the government schools at all levels of education. For instance, in 1992 while only 15 of 11,000 primary schools in Tanzania were private-supported; over 75% of secondary schools were considered private (Lassibille et al. 2000). Even though schools are considered "public" most schools in Sub-Saharan Africa rely on some form of community or parental assistance for their support. Thus, students are required to pay user fees, regardless if they attend so considered private or public schools.¹

In the 1990s, multilateral funding organisations, such as the World Bank and European Union, provided temporary assistance to Sub-Saharan African nations, based on government assurance that funds would be spent primarily on universal primary education (UPE). While enrolments increased dramatically in Uganda, net enrolments dropped in Tanzania and Kenya. Up to one-third of primary school

¹For 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.

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 on to higher education, does it make sense to continue to support primary and secondary national curricula that are geared to preparing students to attend higher education? This further portrays that there seems to be a stronger emphasis on increasing the number of those who attend education at the expense of investing in the development of a quality and relevant curriculum being taught in schools (Beshir 1974; Jansen 1989). The impact of UPE on Ugandan enrolment levels in primary schools, and its implications in terms of: (1) increased manifestation of latent demand for post-primary education by a succession of increasingly larger cohorts of primary school leavers, and (2) the UPE enrolment cohort of 1.6 million that travelled through primary and led to the expansion of the secondary education subsector enabling Uganda to reach universal secondary education in 2007.

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 a formidable in overcoming the disease. Still a significant percent of people aged 15 to 19 years are HIV positive in East Africa. As many as 30% of the education workforce in various East African regions have been impacted by the epidemic as teachers have been too sick to come to school 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 offered early retirement packages to HIV-positive teachers to help replace them with teachers who were able to attend and teach classes. The Uganda government has also developed a plan for integrating HIV 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 and 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 (Shizha and Lamine 2015).

41.7 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% of local officials were college graduates. Thus, a bureaucratic elite transformation occurred in the 1980s and early 1990s whereby young professionals trained in the education institutions geared towards a new market economy phased out the old and less educated. More than a million senior Chinese Communist Party individuals were pensioned off into retirement to make way for individuals who would spearhead the national decentralisation reform movement (Fairbank and Goldman 1998). Top-level government support continued as leaders touted education as the key priority to realising the four modernisations (2003, Chinese Education and Research Network www.edu.cn).

The transition to a more dynamic and market-oriented economy has resulted in a rapidly changing pattern of manpower needs and an increasing number of graduates now entering the labour market to find jobs on their own (Li and Peng 1999); (Xiao 1998). The articulation of school and work is gradually shifting from a centralised planning system to one based on the labour market. However, with the market economy still relatively immature in China, there is a need for Chinese universities to establish closer links with employers to effectively coordinate their 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). By 2017 there were more than 2914 colleges and universities with enrollments coming

to more than 20 million students. There has been a great push for China to create world-class universities, and with more recent university rankings, as reported by the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, institutions such as Peking and Tsinghua Universities are in the top 100 such institutions in the world. In addition, China is sending hundreds of thousands of students and scholars out into the world, most going to the United States. College admissions decisions continue to 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 (1999) notes that these educational regional disparities are accentuated when it comes to women and minorities.

China is the largest potential market for many foreign universities, especially in terms of business management, teaching English as a second language, and other professional degrees. It has become a Chinese tradition to send children to distant places within China or abroad to get a better education. Now this tradition is becoming a fashion in which an increasing number of Chinese parents and students find it difficult to avoid; this overseas enrolment of students is viewed necessary by many Chinese who believe that in order to remain competitive in an increasingly competitive global economy, one must obtain the best education possible (Du 1992). For the time being this education is found in the United States, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand.

41.8 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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Chapter 42

Education as a Fault Line in Assessing Democratization: Ignoring the Globalizing Influence of Schools



Erwin H. Epstein

Abstract As schools are conscripted as part of structural adjustment and democratization projects, they become agents of global penetration of the world periphery. Some scholars claim that people on the periphery are “mystified” by dominant ideologies and willingly and without conscious awareness of implications accept Western learning and thereby subordinate themselves to the world system. However, this chapter demonstrates that oppositional strategies are often used to resist the globalizing influence of schools, though not at the extreme periphery. Political scientists who focus on democracy and democratization routinely ignore schools, notwithstanding how crucial education may be as a ‘fault line’ in arriving at meaningful assessments of democratization and globalization.

42.1 Introduction

As governments of various kinds have professed democracy as a fundamental goal, some rival definitions of democracy, in the face of globalization, 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 emphasizes 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 globalization,

E. H. Epstein (✉)
Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
e-mail: Eepstei@luc.edu

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 democratization, and therefore, as I will show, of globalization.

42.2 Globalization

Since the 1980s, globalization 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; Zajda 2020). 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 globalization, 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 organized international terrorism bred by Islamic fanaticism may be viewed by some as an oppositional reaction, an effort at *deglobalization*, to the pervasiveness of Western capitalism and secularism usually associated with globalization. Influences of globalization 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 democratization in the twentieth century can be considered a large part of the globalization process (Ramirez and Boli-Bennett 1987).

42.3 Globalization Theory

Globalization is both a process and a theory. Roland Robertson (1987) views globalization 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 (1960) in his influential book about the newly shared experience of mass media, was likely the first expression of the contemporary concept of globalization. Despite its entry in the common lexicon in the 1960s, globalization was not recognized 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 globalization 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 globalization is relatively new, the process is not. History is witness to many globalizing 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 heliocentrism, the rise of transnational agencies concerned with regulation and communication, and an increasingly unified conceptualization of human rights.

What makes globalization 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 *modernization*, 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. Modernization theory emphasized 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 and Smith 1974).

The main difficulty with modernization 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 modernization theory. He developed *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 modernization 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 globalization 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.

42.4 The Role of Education in Globalization

As the major formal agency for conveying knowledge, the school features prominently in the process and theory of globalization. Early examples of educational globalization 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 globalizing influences of education have taken on more subtle shapes.

In globalization, 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 globalization 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 globalization has been in terms of the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and other international lending organizations in low-income countries. These organizations push cuts in government expenditures, liberalization of trade practices, currency devaluations, reductions of price controls, shifts toward production for export, and user charges for and privatization 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 enrollment 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 globalization lies in its capacity to influence consciousness, a necessary process in the development of social democracy.

42.5 Democracy and Democratization

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 emphasizing 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, emphasizing 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 equalization 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 Santori 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 favor 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 globalization. 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 globalization, and scholars who ignore social democracy tend also to overlook education in their assessments of democracy. These assessments, I contend, are always flawed.

42.6 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) 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 organizations 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 emphasizes 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 globalization. Democracy is a normative system of legitimation and an organization 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.

42.7 Democratization and Globalization

Globalization and democratization are both penetrating processes. Globalization opens communication channels and encourages the infrastructure, including education delivery mechanisms, which allow democracy to spread. As globalization

looms large, the expansion of education contributes to democratization 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 behavior. National (such as the U. S. Agency for International Development) and international (such as UNESCO) assistance organizations 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 democratization 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 privatization of education in the name of capitalist democratization could invite greater participation of corporate entities, with the prospect of commercializing 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 democratization and concomitantly promotes globalization. We recall that globalization 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) pointed out, cross-border cultural exchange is part of globalization, 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 sensitizing experience.

Thus, assessments, whether favorable or not, of the role of education in globalization 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 democratization and globalization.

42.8 Neglect of Education in Assessments of Democracy

The school, indeed, is the instrument most systematically used by governments to instill 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 democratization, most political scientists routinely ignore the school's socializing 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-democratization 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 democratization examines education, and even that chapter, by Najafizadeh Mehrangiz and Lewis A. Mennerick (1992), concentrates merely on school enrollments, ignoring the agency of schools in the process of democratization. Martin Needler (1987), 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 and Epstein 1999; Epstein and McGinn 2000). Particularly noteworthy in understanding the re-socialization process in creating ambiguities in political culture are the anthropological works of Laura Rival on Ecuador (1996) and of Brad Levinson on Mexico (1998). 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 democratization 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 democratization to modernization, 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 democratization, 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 and Shabad 1997; Lisovskaya 1999; Zajda 2017). Non-political scientists have also produced a large body of research on civic education (see especially Torney-Purta and 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 and Hepburn 1995). Arguably, Russell F. Farnen and Jos D. Meloan (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 that have included education as a key element in democratization 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 democratization and in turn the process of globalization.

42.9 Education and Globalization at the Periphery

Thus far I have discussed scholarship on the relationship between education and democratization largely as it applies in the industrialized world. However, a discussion of this relationship as it affects globalization must also view it at the world periphery. Globalization, 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 behavior 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 socialization 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 generalize from allegiances and behavioral 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-socializing 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-socialization 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" (Morgenthau 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.

42.10 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 generalize from allegiances and behavioral patterns learned within family or tribe to national political objects and symbols. The theory of stimulus generalization 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 1949). 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 generalization 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 socializing them to nationally oriented allegiances and behaviors. 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 generalization 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 generalization theory would predict. In other words, children attending schools more distant culturally from the national mainstream actually had more favorable 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 favorable 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), 1 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 modeled 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.

42.11 The School as a Filter of Social and Political Reality

Clearly, the results of my research cannot be explained by stimulus generalization 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 democratization and globalization?

It is important to note that the children whom I surveyed closer to the mainstream were nevertheless not at the mainstream center. In observing the difference between center 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 center. It is nearer the center, 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 center—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 center 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 naïve about the outside world and lack the tools and experience to assess objectively the political content that schools convey. Children closer to the center, 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 favorable 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 marginalized. Mary Jean Bowman (1982) reported similar findings in Japan in regard to views of marginalized rural youths, who had unrealistically high expectations of future salaries compared to their urban peers having more links with informal information networks.

42.11.1 Implications for Analyses of Democracy and Democratization

What can we now say about analyses of democracy and democratization commonly made by political scientists—analyses that ignore education? A consideration of Felipe Agüero's discourse (1998) on "fault lines" in assessments of democratization

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 behavior 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 organized 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 democratization shape the research agenda. He also furnishes examples of research showing fault lines that give clarity to assessments of democratization, 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 conceptualizing democracy’s arenas will enhance the productivity of research on democratization: conceptualizing 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 democratization, 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 democratization 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 socialize 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 socioeconomically are diminished. This knowledge is itself part of their socialization 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 center (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 behaviors 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 “democratization” 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, democratization, 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 and 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 democratization can only result in hazardous conclusions.

42.12 Conclusion

Schools play an essential role in democratization and democracy’s durability. It is a role that is far more complex than is commonly recognized. 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 democratization, we should be dubious of both their breadth and depth of vision. This neglect of education makes obscure the role of schools in globalization. In particular, without accounting for education there can be no genuine understanding of how globalizing 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 globalization.

By the twentieth century, missionaries and colonialism had brought core Western ideas and practices to many parts of the world. With contemporary globalization, penetration of the world periphery is accomplished mainly in other ways, especially

as schools are conscripted as part of structural adjustment and democratization 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 center. 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 globalizing and democratizing impact of education. Without a grasp of such research, political scientists in particular will be ill equipped to assess the overall processes of democratization, and, by extension, globalization especially in emerging nations.

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Chapter 43

International Evidence for the Teaching of Reading in New Zealand



Vince Wright

Abstract Since 2000 average achievement of New Zealand students in reading has declined, based on international measures, and the range of achievement is among the greatest in the OECD. Reasons for the trend are offered in the research literature, and in media commentary, with advocates often citing evidence from the “Science of Reading” in support of a more systematic approach to teaching phonological knowledge and skills in the early stages. This chapter reviews the international evidence about the teaching of reading in the English language, including recent influential reports and meta analyses. The findings of the review are applied to evaluate arguments for change to instructional approaches in New Zealand. This chapter demonstrates that early reading receives much research attention, but the later developments related to reading as a servant to learning across the curriculum, and in real life, are impoverished cousins. The chapter points to evidence in support of some potential changes. Intervention for early readers at risk is still needed, possibly more so than ever before. The position of Reading Recovery (RR) as the dominant provision is eroding as the proportion of schools running programmes declines. Most importantly the focus of instruction must remain on making meaning at all levels of learning to read, through exposing students to a range of rich texts. Improvements in PIRLS and PISA results will occur if students know more about the contexts used in the questions.

43.1 Introduction: The Context of Reading Instruction in New Zealand

At the turn of the new millennium New Zealand was on the crest of a literacy wave. In the first round of The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) the nation’s 15-year-old student ranked third in the world for literacy, with the highest proportion of any nation achieving at the highest level (Chamberlain 2019). PISA measures students’ ability to understand and make inferences from text

V. Wright (✉)
Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia

(Wright 2020). In 2001, The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) data showed New Zealand Year 5 (about 9 years old) mean score was considerably higher than the OECD mean and on a similar level to most other English-speaking countries (Ministry of Education 2003).

At the forefront of early intervention for at-risk readers was Reading Recovery (RR), an individualised intervention designed by Dame Marie Clay (1979, 1985, 1998) that aims to raise the performance of the most at-risk six-year olds to the average level of their classmates. Nationwide implementation of Reading Recovery began in the early 1983 and was so influential that the programme was adopted in many Anglophonic countries, including Australia, United States and England.

Since 2000 the performance of New Zealand students in international assessments of reading has slightly declined while the performance of students in other English-speaking nations has risen (ERO 2018). The PISA mean score in 2018 was 506, considerably lower than 529, recorded in 2000 (Medina and McGregor 2019). New Zealand was significantly outperformed by Singapore, Canada, and Ireland and on a par with United Kingdom, Australia, and United States. In PIRLS 2016, New Zealand ranked the lowest of all English-speaking countries and showed a significant drop in raw score between 2011 and 2016. A disturbing trend was the increase in proportion of students at the lowest level of both PISA and PIRLS, and a commensurate decline in proportion at the highest levels (see also Johansson 2020).

While PIRLS and PISA involve assessment of students at 9 and 15 years of age, respectively, most criticisms of the literacy strategy in New Zealand focus on the initial phase of learning to read following school entry. A recent report into literacy achievement by the Government's Chief Science Adviser paints a complex picture of social, economic, and schooling factors implicated in literacy achievement, and recommends frequent and "precise" use of five high-value instructional activities for reading in Years 1–3 (McNaughton 2020, p. 2).

- Shared (or dialogic) reading;
- Guided (instructional) reading with systematic phonics;
- Shared and instructional writing;
- Personalised high quality dialogue;
- Home reading and writing.

McNaughton's report was heavily criticised for ignoring findings from the 'Science of Reading' (Lifting Literacy Aotearoa 2020). Clips of young children capably participating in phonological awareness, and orthography instruction, aired on national television, and there were renewed calls for abolishing Reading Recovery (RR) (Chapman et al. 2007; Tunmer et al. 2013). Over two decades, criticism of RR centred around cost, rates of non-completion, drop off in long-term effect, lack of systematic phonics instruction, and association with the perceived decline in achievement on international benchmark tests. Reading Recovery is one of the most frequently reviewed reading interventions in the world, and has consistently been shown to be effective in meeting its outcomes (McDowall 2007; May et al. 2016; Appleton-Dyer et al. 2019). Yet it appears vulnerable to trial by association.

My interest in reviewing the evidence around the teaching of reading is partially inspired by the current debate, but also by my experience as a primary teacher, and my recent work in the politics of educational policy. In the early 1980s I began my career teaching students in Years 1–3. I trained as a Reading Recovery teacher in 1984 in a school that served a low-socio-economic, rural community. 98% of the students in the school identified as Māori. All students I worked with on RR were initially assessed at the lowest possible level of the measures. Progress varied considerably with some students being discontinued as early as 8 weeks, and two other students making slow progress over 30 weeks but not being discontinued at the average level of their peers. In 1986 I completed a post-graduate dissertation about the progress of students discontinued from RR. I found that about 60% of the 53 students slipped back from the average level of their peers over 2 years, a pattern supported by later researchers (Jensen and Limbrick 2013; Nicholas and Parkhurst 2014). My research identified a range of common factors implicated in students' lack of progress, post-RR, including ill-health, parental relationship breakdowns, truancy, and high mobility between schools. Quality of follow-up monitoring and classroom teaching were factors I could not measure. I concluded that factors associated with students being at risk initially impacted on their learning after RR intervention. Since finishing primary teaching, I pursued a facilitator and academic career in mathematics education.

I wondered how accessible the literature on teaching reading is and the insights it provides about calls for change. Comparative education literature abounds with pre-meditated, politically inspired system-wide change justified through manufactured crisis, in which the line between advocacy and research is blurred (Wright 2020). The purpose of this chapter is to critically review the current literature about learning to read, and to comment on the accessibility and usefulness of the literature for informing instructional practice.

43.2 Contributions from Neuroscience

Studies of brain function may seem a strange place to begin an examination of the evidence. Neuroscience has progressed considerably over the last three decades, mainly through advances in technology such as Positron Emission Tomography (PET), and Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI), that provide views of brain activation as subjects attempt specific tasks (Poldrack and Farah 2015). It is possibly in the field of reading research that neuroscience impacted most in education, both theoretically, politically, and pedagogically (Hruby and Goswami 2011). Neurological studies consistently implicate left hemisphere regions of the brain in the task of reading individual words. Activation first occurs in the occipital lobe that is dedicated to visual processing. Given that text is graphic, a collection of lines, and curves, this primary activation makes sense. Reading is not a natural activity and use of text to convey meaning is a recent development in evolutionary terms. Therefore,

human brains must develop new ways to process text from the functions they are pre-wired to do.

Recognition that brains are plastic, and are physically altered by learning, is one of the significant contributions of neuroscience to education. Learning to read individual words involves co-ordination of three other areas in the left-hemisphere, with the initial spatial recognition of the occipital lobe. The inferior frontal gyrus, otherwise known as the Brocas area, is dedicated to speech production, while the parietal-temporal lobe analyses and connects the individual sounds to make meaning. To co-ordinate these complex connections, an area of the brain close to that used for facial recognition, is purposed. Dehaene and Cohen (2011) call this area the Visual Word Form Area (VWFA). Development of this area seems only to occur through learning to read irrespective of language or culture, is specifically located, and extremely plastic.

The process of learning to read transforms the physical appearance of the brain through the growth of white matter tracks (neurons) connecting the four areas (Huber et al. 2018; Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2004). A model summarising the findings of brain-imaging studies into word reading proposes two neural pathways, a dorsal route that processes text phonologically, and a ventral route that directly accesses meaning directly from print (Taylor et al. 2013). Neuroscience confirms that word-reading is enacted at a letter, not whole word, level, with sequential letter pairing playing a key role.

Findings from nearly three decades of brain-imaging studies strongly support the simple view of reading (SVR) advocated by Gough and Tunmer (1986). In this view Reading Comprehension (RC) equates to the product of decoding (D) and language comprehension (LC), where the measure of each variable ranges from zero to one. SVR is elegantly simple in predicting the cause of reading difficulties. Low measures in either D or LC, or both, predict low levels of RC. Brain scans of dyslexic learners show poor activation in the posterior (rear) area of the left-hemisphere, those areas associated with decoding text (Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2007). Decoding involves the development of the parietal-temporal lobe to isolate and co-ordinate phonemes, and to link these phonemes to the graphemes of letters or pairs of letters (diagraphs).

Criticism of the contribution of neuroscience to understanding how reading develops generally focuses on the exaggeration of claims. Poldrack and Farrah (2015) point out that neuroscience is always at the mercy of the sensitivity of the technology used to study it, and that findings are correlates (associates) rather than causal findings. For example, given that the low posterior activation of dyslexic learners appears to be responsive to intervention, it is impossible to tell if the cause is physiological, or due to lack of experience. While a significant genetic link to dyslexia has been found, environment is also strongly implicated. In a meta-analysis, Vandermosten et al. (2016) conclude that learning difficulties manifest as dyslexia are diverse, and involve different needs among individuals, including the strengthening of auditory/phonemic processes, and/or orthographical mapping (sound to spelling).

Most brain-imaging studies require subjects reading single words, or nonsense words that are phonetically consistent. Strauss et al. (2009) correctly point out that reading single words, devoid of context, was always likely to identify the neural mechanisms devoted to decoding. They argue that the “correctness of the phonological preprocessing hypothesis is built into the neuroimaging research, as a premise” (p.22). The authors make a case for the emerging neurological evidence of top-down executive control supporting a psycholinguistic model of the reading process. They cite nearly a century of eye-movement research that shows fluent readers frequently skip words in a deliberate and individual way, which indicates that the brain creates a predictive, meaning-based frame for attendance to text. Hruby and Goswami (2011) similarly caution that maps of brain function are statistical charts created using subtractive methods between a target condition, e.g. reading a word, and a comparison condition. Such maps are easy to construct for decoding single words. The authors (p.158) add:

By contrast, the more complex subprocesses in readers’ meaning construction seem to tap areas that process word meaning, syntax, semantics, text and narrative structure, tone, prior knowledge, emotion, and more in a multidirectional fashion and with great variability between subjects and readings.

In summary, cognitive neuroscience has mostly studied the aspect of reading that is easiest to measure. In doing so, much has been learned about the connective neural mechanisms that support individual word reading. The link of findings to the SVR highlights the importance of phonemic awareness and phonological (letter to sound) connections that appear crucial to the development of early reading. More complex issues such as the role of executive function, and how more complex processes occur, particularly reading comprehension, are yet to be adequately answered.

43.3 Reports, Meta-Analyses, and Syntheses

A potentially powerful impact of globalisation is the widespread dissemination of summaries of the extant literature. Reports tend to be politically motivated through a desire to change outcomes for learners, hopefully for the better. In the area of teaching reading, most recent major reports claim to be research informed thus providing a source of wisdom. Reviews, or best evidence syntheses, are a systematic examination of the evidence with specified requirements for inclusion of studies (Slavin 1986; Wolgemuth et al. 2017). Meta-analyses combine the findings of multiple random control trials (RCTs) to strengthen the case for findings through pooling the number of subjects. A constraint of meta-analysis is that quantitative data is required for the calculation of effect sizes, so qualitative research that may support judgements about causality are not included. Critics also warn that meta-analyses are vulnerable to distortion if different interpretations and measures of the independent and dependent variables, and treatment, are used (Coe 2002).

There has been a wealth of work published about the learning and teaching of reading, and any attempt to summarise the vast corpus of research is open to criticism. Analysis here is restricted to high profile reports. The report of the National Reading Panel in the United States attempted synthesis of a criteria-based sample of nearly 100,000 studies that were published in the field between 1966 and 1998 (National Reading Panel 2000). The criteria for inclusion of studies were ‘scientific’ in the sense that those criteria, such as clear description of participants and interventions and robust measures, are all accepted features of quality scholarship (see p.1–5). In summary the panel concluded in favour of a ‘balanced approach’ to reading instruction that included the following five elements:

1. **Phonemic Awareness** that involves detecting, identifying, and replicating the individual sounds that comprise spoken words.
2. **Phonological Knowledge** that involves the relationship between individual letters, or combinations of them (graphemes), and the corresponding spoken sounds (phonemes).
3. **Fluency** that is the ability to read quickly with accuracy.
4. **Vocabulary** that involves understanding and applying the meaning of individual words.
5. **Comprehension** that is the ability to make meaning from, and beyond the written text.

Sections devoted to each element contained a meta-analysis of the studies investigated, along with comprehensive suggestions about the types of instructional activities shown to be effective. Shanahan, a member of the panel, asserts that criticism of the report was mostly about process and data selection (e.g. Yatvin 2002) rather than about the recommendations (Shanahan 2004). The NRP report was initiated by Congress, endorsed by President George W Bush, and proved highly influential within the USA through the “No Child Left Behind” initiative.

Similar reports appeared in Australia and the United Kingdom with remarkably similar findings. The Australian Department of Education review (Rowe 2005) was the result of a national inquiry into reading, instigated by the federal Minister of Education. As well as endorsing the five key elements of the NRP report it strongly supports the need for direct instruction, explicit acts of teaching, as opposed to ‘constructivist’ approaches (Rowe 2006). Rowe et al. make clear that while there is benefit for all students who are learning to read in systematic phonics instruction, there is no ‘one size fits all’ for addressing the diverse literacy learning needs of individual students. The United Kingdom based Rose Report (Rose 2006), the result of a national inquiry into the early teaching of reading, is most recognised for recommending the use of synthetic phonics instruction “first and fast.” Synthetic phonics is a method that builds up words from individual letter-sound relations, rather than breaking down whole words by those relations, known as analytic phonics. Decodable texts, reading books in which vocabulary is heavily restricted to phonetically consistent words with limited phonemes, usually accompanies synthetic phonics instruction.

Criticism of the unbalanced nature of the Rose recommendations focuses on several issues. While support for systematic phonics instruction is consistent, there is no clear evidence that synthetic phonics has better effectiveness than analytic phonics (Castles et al. 2018; Torgerson et al. 2018). Wise and Styles (2007) also argue that best practice involves synergy between phonics and sense making approaches to teaching. The Rose Report also relied heavily on a study by Johnston and Watson (2005) in which synthetic phonics approaches showed large effect size in comparison to the control condition, and long-lasting effect on reading progress. While the results of Clackmannanshire study are often cited by advocates of synthetic phonics, the study had methodological shortcomings, particularly around proper randomisation of participants, teacher and school effect, and assessment measures (Johnston and Watson 2005). The ‘which phonics’ debate ignores the strong likelihood that both synthetic and analytic approaches have a place in early reading instruction.

Other, less politically charged reports, such as Education Research Office (2018) from New Zealand, highlight the practical considerations of implementing effective, research-based reading programmes in schools. The importance of school leadership, use of assessment data, strategically selected groupings, and balancing technical skills, such as phonemic/phonological awareness, with vocabulary and comprehension development are timely reminders that the teaching of reading is complex, and is situated within socio-cultural settings. Hempenstall (2016) asserts that the confluence of findings from the NRP, Rose, and Department of Education reports is indicative of a consistent body of scientific literature that is finally being acknowledged. It is equally likely that consistency is due to the nature of the studies considered to be scientific, and the propensity for policy borrowing among jurisdictions, particularly among nations in the English speaking world.

43.4 Meta-Analyses About Teaching Approaches

Meta-analyses prefer quantitative studies and ignore qualitative studies. Usually findings in the accepted studies provide means and standard deviations, for the randomly treatment and control groups. There is some debate around the point at which effect sizes are considered low, moderate, or large, and whether or not any studies other than Randomised Control Trials (RCTs) should be included (see for example, Slavin 2018). In their meta-analysis of effective reading programmes at elementary school level, Slavin et al. (2009) found in favour of cooperative reading opportunities in which small groups of peers support each other on reading-related tasks. The researchers also found small effects for phonics alone interventions, and the use of phonetic texts. Achievement effects were most pronounced in situations where teachers received, and enacted, extensive professional development aimed at enhancing student engagement, at providing students with meta-cognitive strategies to strengthen their comprehension of texts, and at building students’ phonological skills. The findings were independent of socio-economic status of the school

communities, and positively affected measures for both phonics knowledge, and comprehension.

Slavin et al. (2011) refocused meta-analysis of interventions to support struggling readers in junior grades also promoted co-operative shared reading tasks, and phonics instruction, especially for students at risk. The study also established strongly that one-on-one programmes work, especially if conducted by a trained teacher rather than a paraprofessional or volunteer. Phonetic training in one-on-one situations showed positive effects in the first year of schooling but effects faded in later years, especially if classroom programmes were not aligned. Melby-Lervag et al. (2012) conducted a meta-analysis to investigate the link between phonemic awareness, phonological skills, and children's word reading ability. They found support for three hypotheses (p. 340):

1. Phonemic awareness, rime awareness, and verbal short-term memory, are reliably associated with word reading.
2. Phonemic awareness shows the strongest association with word reading.
3. Controlling for rime awareness and short-term memory, phonemic awareness predicts children's word reading skills.

Positive effects of reading interventions tend to “wash out” over time (as little as 11 months), particularly with students in early primary school. Phonemic awareness with pre-school students had lasting effect, but phonics interventions lost effectiveness considerably over time, especially with primary students in their early years. Comprehension strategy effects lasted best, possibly due to that fact that the usual recipients, older primary students, had less reliance on requisite skills. The length of interventions had no consistent effect on long-term gains. The comprehension result is consistent with findings of the meta-analysis of Scammacca et al. (2015) about interventions for struggling readers.

The objective of meta-analyses is to strengthen the evidence for interventions and instructional practices. In their meta-analysis Girsten et al. begin by discussing reasons why practices thought to be effective, based on the scientific evidence, resulted in poor improvements when implemented at scale in the Multi-tiered Layers of Support Initiative (MTSS) funded by the United States Department of Education. The authors suggest three possible reasons:

1. The practices were not as effective as the evidence suggested.
2. The practices were not implemented with fidelity.
3. The measures used were too comprehensive, and not focused on specific effects.

Rather than assign cause, Girsten et al. apply a robust variance estimation approach they say gives better information about dependent effect sizes where the outcomes of studies are complex. They include 33 studies, most of which are RCTs, about individual or small group interventions. Effect sizes range from -0.2 to 1.39 which is extraordinary given the nature of the interventions. Outcome measures for word reading, including pseudowords, tend to be higher than measures of reading comprehension and passage fluency. All interventions contain elements of phonological awareness, decoding (presumably analytic phonics), reading fluency, encoding

(spelling/orthography), and comprehension with a mean effect size of 0.39 (moderate and positive). Writing is included in some studies. Phonological awareness instruction was the variable least associated with learning gains. The findings support a multi-focused approach to intervention with early readers experiencing difficulties, and the comforting thought that evidenced-based reading practices work.

A meta-analysis of small group reading interventions (Hall and Burns 2018) found that, in general, such approaches were moderately effective, and produced positive outcomes for students. However, there were some important nuances. Interventions were three times as effective with primary-aged students as with secondary-aged students, needed to be targeted at specific aspects of reading, e.g. phonemic awareness, vocabulary, rather than overall capability, and worked best when delivered by expert researchers, rather than teachers or paraprofessionals. Effectiveness declined slightly with group size, with group numbers more than five resulting in markedly less effect. There was no clear finding about optimal duration of the intervention. Another meta-analysis (Wanzek et al. 2018) confirmed the findings but also found that productive interventions could be enacted by teachers and trained community members, and that a minimum of 100 sessions was needed to have meaningful effect with students in grades K-3 who experienced reading difficulties.

43.5 Syntheses of the Literature on Reading

From the evidence presented thus far, the reader might be forgiven for believing that the only credible research into the learning and teaching of reading involves randomised control trials, neuroscience, and the simple view of reading. A reasonable inference might be that once young learners are able to decode adequately, that can draw on their oral language to create a self-generating system. To balance the inadequacy of this view, some evidence about English as a difficult language, morphology to help learners to navigate those intricacies, and reading comprehension, is presented. In their ‘state of the art’ summaries, Castles et al. (2018) and Hempenstall (2016) address a wide range of research findings that span early (novice) to proficient reading. Castles et al. define the **goal** of reading as “being able to understand text” (pp. 6–7). Making meaning is described as a complex process of firstly identifying individual words, as a means to activate background knowledge, to make inferences about the intentions of the author, and to use executive functioning to filter the appropriate from the inappropriate information.

Castles et al. discuss English is an alphabetic writing system where symbols (letters) represent spoken sounds. Mapping sounds to letters, and vice versa, enables sense making, through oral language, as represented in the connection of neural areas discussed earlier. Unfortunately, English has a deep orthography, meaning that there are many inconsistencies between graphemes (letters or combinations of letters) and phonemes (spoken sounds). While mono-syllabic words in English are about 80% consistent the irregularities get proportionally greater with word

complexity. There are 44 basic phonemes in English, which sounds a barely manageable number, but the irregularities make direct instruction of all letter-sound relationships impractical (see also Chapman and Arrow 2017). Deep orthography impacts children's early reading success in English compared to nations with languages exhibiting shallow orthographies. Phonological awareness is more easily learned in languages such as Finnish, Spanish, and Turkish. Nonetheless, Castles et al. strongly support early phonics instruction, citing meta-analyses about how systematic instruction improves word reading. In defence of learning some sight words Castles et al. (2018) argue:

Solity and Vousden demonstrated that the combination of knowledge of the 64 most common letter-sound mappings of English, together with its 100 or so most frequent words, allows children to read aloud 90% of words in texts they typically encounter- putting them on the path to independent reading. (Castles et al. 2018, p. 15).

At first glance their assertion sounds reasonable, reflecting a significant literature supporting the early teaching of phonics (Buckingham 2020; Buckingham et al. 2019). However, the demands of learning 164 separate items of knowledge are likely to be high for many young children who are learning to read, particularly those at risk. The authors go on to discuss computational models of word reading to explain how proficient readers very rapidly recognise familiar words. These models show connections between visual inputs, semantics, phonology, and orthography, similar in structure to the three cuing system frequently demonised by phonics advocates (See Adams 1998; Hempenstall 2003; and Gabriel 2020, for a critique). Given the authors initial definition of reading as a meaning making task, their lack of reference to reading, as a goal directed activity, and how executive function might aid attendance in word recognition, and in creating a self-generating system, seems remiss.

Castles et al. (2018), and Hempenstall (2016), provide other useful summaries of the research. Fluency is associated with comprehension, but the relationship cannot be assumed to be causal. Guided oral reading to improve fluency is effective, but unguided silent reading is not. Repeated reading of the same passage is helpful, particularly at an independent reading level (95% + accuracy). Oral vocabulary is the most powerful pre-school predictor of early reading comprehension, which supports the Simple View of Reading. Directed speech by parents, teachers, or peers, is the most fundamental contributor to the development of oral language. Vocabulary development can, and should, be taught, often most efficiently through guided peer interactions. Fluency is most highly associated with comprehension in years 1–4, but listening comprehension is more strongly related to reading comprehension in the later years.

One possible approach to mitigate the effects of the deep orthography of English and create self-generating systems for word recognition and meaning is morphology. A morpheme is a fundamental unit of language that connects meaning with spelling. Rastle gives the example of the word “trust” which is a free morpheme in that words with similar meanings arise from it, such as “trusting”, “distrust”, and “trustworthy.” Bound morphemes attach to free morphemes in predictable ways that

assist generalisation of meaning and spelling. For example, “quietly”, “strongly”, and “mildly” are adverbs created by attaching the morpheme “ly” to indicate the word means ‘in the manner of’ the noun that precedes it. Rastle, while admitting that morphology is a neglected aspect of learning to read, argues that morphemic processing engages the ventral pathway connecting text and meaning so is useful to later development. Bowers and Bowers (2017), longstanding advocates for subsuming phonics instruction within morphology, argue that there is no compelling evidence to support a phonics first approach. They calculate that most high frequency words encountered by early readers are multi-morphemic. Bower’s, et al. (2010) and Goodwin and Ahn’s (2013) meta-analyses both showed positive effects for morphology-based instruction, including benefits for early readers and those at risk. At this point the majority opinion is still in favour of developing phonological knowledge first.

It is ironic that reading is usually described as the process of gaining meaning from print yet the literature on comprehension is limited compared to that on technical aspects, especially decoding. Findings of the extensive Reading for Understanding Initiative (RfU) (Cervetti et al. 2020) challenge the balance of the Simple View of Reading (SRV) in terms of contributions to comprehension. Vocabulary knowledge, lexical quality, listening comprehension, orthographic, and syntactical skills, as well as knowledge of phonology, account for variance in reading comprehension, as early as Grade One. Cervetti et al. are broadly supportive of SVR but are critical of the assertions of some Science of Reading literature that promote decoding to centre stage, rather than acknowledge the importance of oral language. They pose challenges in terms of the location of vocabulary and world knowledge within the SVR model, and in terms of the mediation of metacognition, and engagement as students make meaning from text. Konza (2014) supports the view that oral language is too frequently omitted in recommendations about learning to read.

Shannahan (2019) also provides a review of the evidence. Comprehension involves both extracting information and constructing information for the author’s text. Citing a meta-analysis conducted by the National Early Literacy Panel, Shannahan reports that while phonemic awareness, phonological knowledge, and fluency instruction support comprehension as necessary, but not sufficient skills, oral language proficiency predicts comprehension most strongly.

The construction-integration model of comprehension requires the reader to understand the semantic, syntactic, and relational structures within a section of text, called the micro-structure, and integrate it to the macro-structure of the whole text to construct a situational model. Meta-cognitive processes such as attention, recognition of multiple possible meanings, memory activation, and motivation, also play a significant role in the reader self-regulating their interaction with the text. Student’s comprehension can be improved by concentrating on their oral language development, which Shannahan describes as a neglected aspect of learning to read, with particular emphasis on vocabulary development through listening, reading, and writing. Strategies aimed at activating students’ prior knowledge about the topic of a text, making predictions about what the text is likely to say, summarising and reflecting all enhance comprehension.

Willingham (2006) summarises the eight comprehension-based strategies that the National Reading Panel accepted as having sufficient evidence base. The strategies include personal monitoring of understanding, active listening, generating questions, summarisation, analysing story structure, and cooperative learning. Willingham makes the point that a level of reading competence is required before the strategies can be effective so learning them before Years four or five is premature. Students tend to learn the strategies quickly so continued instruction has limited benefit, and strategies tend to become habituated rather than consciously enacted in adult readers. The discussion of best evidence syntheses contains only a sample of contributions from many scholars in the English-speaking world. It is clear opinions are divided but there are also many similarities in the evidence.

43.6 Discussion About Best Practice and Implications for New Zealand

Since the National Reading Panel (NRP) report in 2000 the discourse about learning to read is dominated by work that reflects a positivist paradigm, referred to frequently as the 'Science of Reading'. Meta-analyses and best evidence syntheses are mostly restricted to random control trials and group treatment studies, where quantitative measures are used, means and standard deviations are calculated, and important variables such as teacher quality, and student background, are controlled (at least theoretically). Education appears to be emulating medical science on the assumption that human cognition and disposition behaves with the same consistency as human bodies. The over-emphasis on positivist inquiry has effectively removed the voices of researchers working in the qualitative and critical paradigms from the debate about best practice in reading, let alone the practical experiences of teachers. That is less the case in other disciplines such as mathematics education. Qualitative and mixed methods support quantitative methods to establish causal relations, and, perhaps most importantly, alert researchers and policy makers to the situated nature of treatment effects on learning. There is ample evidence that methods shown to be effective in controlled experimental settings frequently founder of the rocks of system-wide implementation at scale. The abject failure of *No Child Left Behind* exemplifies this issue.

The evidence about reading from large scale quantitative studies, meta-analysis, and neuroscience warrants more diligent critique than it is currently receiving. There are many reasons to be cautious about the conclusions promoted as 'The Science of Reading'. RCTs are inevitably large scale, ethically problematic, and more importantly, given their expense, prone to researching minor variations on commonly accepted paradigms. Meta-analyses should show consistent patterns of treatment effect, as they do in medicine where much effort is expended in standardising the treatment, randomising groups, and establishing measures of effectiveness. Yet, the results of meta-analyses about reading show considerable variation, and contemporary debate suggests that criteria for inclusion of studies,

consistency of variables, and measurement of those variables, can be re-examined with considerable effect on the conclusions. Pooled effect sizes appear to be precise, and definitive, but the methodology is not as researcher neutral as often depicted. Researchers report the variability in effect sizes, as well as means, to show that treatments work much better in some studies than other. Mean effect sizes mask the variation within. Interventions that show small positive effects with minimal effort can be as worthwhile as interventions that show larger effect but require considerable effort.

Effect sizes in reading interventions tend to be higher where the focus is on narrow skills such as phonemic awareness, phonological knowledge, and reading fluency. Interventions aimed at broader and context dependent capabilities, such as vocabulary understanding and reading comprehension, tend to show lower effect sizes. Effect sizes tend to be lower for standardised measures than for researcher created measures, and publication bias inflates the strengths of some effects. Selection criteria for some meta-analyses confine the number of available studies significantly, and sometimes compromises the construct validity of the measure, for example, assessing a reading for meaning intervention with a test of individual word reading. In the face of these issues, researchers need to be circumspect in claiming that they have definitive scientific findings about how best to teach reading. Research into reading, like any other science, is ever evolving and should be sensitive to new evidence. The history of scientific discoveries shows that better models often take considerable time to become gain preference over the dominant hegemony. The scientific evidence for reading should include studies reflective of quantitative, qualitative, mixed method, and critical methods.

Neuroscience helps us to understand how the brain functions in reading. Due to advances in scanning, the neural connections among sites for visual input of text, speech, isolation and co-ordination of sounds, and word meaning, are now well known. Humans across cultures and language systems must connect sites for these functions to create a new word formation area. Words are attended to at a letter level, through sequenced pairings, rather than as complete visual units, yet the speed of word recognition in fluent readers is staggering. The findings of neuroscience support the simple view of reading, and highlight the significance of phonemic awareness, phonological knowledge, and mapping sounds to orthography in the early stages of learning to read, and for students at risk. Interventions involving these aspects show promising effect on word recognition and fluency but less impact on vocabulary and comprehension. Effect sizes of around 0.4 for systematic phonics interventions with early readers are strong evidence in support of the approach. Yet, reading is not just about decoding. Several researchers in this review remind us of the critical role of oral language in negotiating meaning from text, and in decoding itself. Oral language deficits also predict reading difficulties as much as issues with phonemic awareness, and phonological knowledge, a result entirely predictable from the simple view of reading.

The implications of neuroscience only go so far, and some cognitive scientists, cited within, caution about exaggerating claims. Single word reading, in the absence of context, is an artificially restricted endeavour bound by design to preference

decoding processes. If reading is the process of making meaning from text, then neuroscience must model how the brain navigates that process. Comprehension involves a conversation between the reader, and the author who is not present. Inference goes way beyond decoding to the imaginary, calling extensively on the reader's familiarity with the subject of the text. The role of executive function in controlling and monitoring behaviour needs more investigation. Fluent readers can decode every word at a letter level but choose not to, thereby attending to features they consider important. This review shows that early reading receives much research attention, but the later developments related to reading as a servant to learning across the curriculum, and in real life, are impoverished cousins.

In some ways New Zealand has remained detached from USA, the United Kingdom, and some states of Australia in adopting a cautionary position, particularly to calls for more explicit teaching of phonics. Too often local debate has descended to the level of advocacy and misrepresentation of whole language approaches, possibly reflecting the frustration of activists for change. It is fair to say that literacy standards of 15-year-olds, and of 9-year-olds, as measured by international tests, have declined. However, national monitoring, which is more aligned to New Zealand's curriculum, shows relatively stable achievement. To assign cause from association, is unwise, and is designed to create a crisis, a tactic usually reserved for political intervention in education systems. The association argument could also be falsely used to justify a reversion to previous reading practices, given achievement prior to 2000 was excellent.

This analytical review points to evidence in support of some potential changes. Intervention for early readers at risk is still needed, possibly more so than ever before. The position of Reading Recovery (RR) as the dominant provision is eroding as the proportion of schools running programmes declines. Critics are too ready to trivialise the positive impact of RR for at risk six-year-olds over four decades. The effects of most interventions wash out over time, especially where unrelated factors impact on further progress, and no intervention works for all students. That said, the theory behind RR is old, new evidence has emerged, and change is needed. At risk students can be identified upon school entry, or earlier, rather than waiting for a whole year of unsuccessful experience. Interventions to address phonemic awareness and phonological knowledge, and to enhance oral language and listening skills, can, and already are, implemented in the first year of school. While expensive one-on-one tutoring is most effective, small groups of up five students, show good effects for the teaching of basic skills and knowledge.

Interventions might become more flexible and address the identified needs of individual students, be shorter and more targeted, and occur at any age, not just six. The literature suggests that teachers should adopt co-operative learning approaches to reading, and involve direct instruction about phonological knowledge, and orthography, in a systematic way. Morphology shows promise as an approach to support later readers to find consistency in spelling and meaning within the deep orthography of English. Most importantly the focus of instruction must remain on making meaning at all levels of learning to read, through exposing students to a

range of rich texts. Improvements in PIRLS and PISA results will occur if students know more about the contexts used in the questions.

In my reading of the literature I frequently fell back on memories of my own teaching practice, possibly with rose-tinted spectacles. A colleague supplied me with the handbook I used to teach reading in my first year with five-year-old students, back in 1980. *Reading Units for Junior School* (NZEI 1970) is designed around a set of simple, language constrained texts, referred to as the ‘little books’ and the ‘big books.’ The handbook suggests that the teacher orientate students to the text before reading, emphasises the importance of phonemes and phonics including substituting sounds and letters, highlights teaching points about punctuation and print conventions, builds a set of high frequency words, addresses onset and rhyme to build families of words, develops morphologies through ‘structural analysis’, and so on, with an ever-present focus on making meaning. A modern lens might change the emphasis in places, but the main features of a balanced programme suggested by the NRP are present. Of more interest nowadays is how a teacher new to early reading accesses such rich suggestions about how to teach.

43.7 Conclusion

Many factors are likely to have caused decline in the literacy scores of New Zealand students since 2000, as measured by PIRLS and PISA. Over the past 20 years substantial changes occurred to the makeup of the student and teacher populations, to initial teacher education, to the national curriculum standards, and to messaging about best practice, to name a few possible factors. International evidence reviewed in this chapter suggests that improving outcomes in reading is a complex endeavour. Direct instruction of phonemic awareness and systematic phonics in the early stages has strong research support. New Zealand teachers already self-report that they use phonological knowledge programmes, though these programmes are likely to be variable. In the face of the loud advocacy for a decoding focus, it is easy to forget that reading is about making meaning from text. Improving the oral language of students appears to be the most challenging aspect of improving reading outcomes. Comprehension of text, as needed for PIRLS and PISA, depends a good deal on students’ prior experience of the subject matter, and students’ capacity to carry out a dialogue with the absent author. Teaching strategies to enhance inference, while worthwhile, are highly dependent on what the student brings to the act of reading. To improve outcomes, literacy programmes will need to enhance the world view of students, through all four modes - speaking and listening, writing, and reading.

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Chapter 44

Cultural and Social Capital in Global Perspective



Lawrence J. Saha

Abstract This chapter analyses 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.

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.

44.1 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

L. J. Saha (✉)
The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia
e-mail: lawrence.saha@anu.edu.au

symbolic. The concept of economic capital is best known and is a form which is convertible into money and property rights. Symbolic capital, which appears only in a footnote in Bourdieu's discussion, is a form of capital where the object is symbolically possessed and reflected in *habitus*, which are durable schemes of perception and action (i.e., permanent dispositions) (Madigan 2002).

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.

44.1.1 Cultural Capital

The first documented use of the concept of 'cultural capital' occurred in the research of Bourdieu and Passeron (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.

44.1.2 Social Capital

In its broadest sense, the concept of social capital refers to resources which are obtained through social relationships and connections with other people, be they family, community, work, or school. However, unlike its related concept, cultural capital, the underlying notion of social capital has a longer history in sociological thought, and is more complex in its diversity of definitions and analytical use. Although Coleman (1988) is usually credited for having developed and popularized

the concept, it is generally agreed that the idea of social capital, in one form or another, appeared in sociological writing much earlier (Schneider 2002). Coleman himself noted that the concept of social capital was first used by Loury in 1977 (1977), but Schneider argues that Park and Burgess (1921) implied the concept in their discussion of social contact and corporate action in social control (for which they credit Durkheim as their influence). Mead (1934) also referred to a similar notion when he defined social institutions as organized social attitudes and actions of individuals, and without which there would be no fully mature individual selves or personalities.

The notion of social contacts as productive resources in a wide range of social activities has found its way in a number of subsequent sociological writings. Janowitz (1975), for example, argued that social contacts within groups are central for social control and they result in societal self-regulation.

Some researchers explicitly have linked the notion of social capital to economic returns. Over a period of two decades Lin (Lin 1982; Lin et al. 1981) has studied the importance of social resources, in particular social networks, as a mechanism for protecting and gaining resources. Most recently, Lin (2001) defines social capital as "...investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace" (p. 19). He puts forward a more precise conceptual definition of social capital which allows for its measurement in the analysis of a wide range of effects. He also develops a theory of social capital which takes into account the mobilization of social capital through purposive action. Lin's theory represents the most elaborate attempt to understand how social capital brings advantage to those who possess and mobilize it in a wide range of social objectives.

Working in the same conceptual framework as Lin, N.D. De Graaf and H.D. Flap (1988), cite Bourdieu in developing their research and use the terms "social resources", "personal contacts" and "informal contacts/sources" to explain differences in the influence of social capital on the attainment of occupational status and income in the United States, Germany and the Netherlands. The researchers found that personal contacts, or social capital, were more likely to be used for job getting in the United States, West Germany and the Netherlands, in that order. In all three countries, however, personal contacts were more important than formal methods for finding a better job.

Using the concept of social capital somewhat differently, Putnam (1993, 2000) has used the concept specifically to explain civic engagement in Italy and the United States. Citing from Coleman, Putnam defined social capital in his Italian study as "...features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions..." (Putnam 1993, p.167). In his study of the United States, Putnam used the same concept to 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.

More recently, social capital has gained a wide acceptance in the field of economics (Guiso et al. 2007, p. 24). This success is due in part to the remarkable correlation between social capital and economic performance across countries

(Tabellini 2008). Given this wider adoption and expansion of its use, it should be clear that the concept of social capital has become central to much social science research. While related to the notion of social networks, social capital, as used by many researchers, is a much more precise concept which can be quantitatively measured. Finally, while much research has focused on social objectives such as occupational attainment, income, and even health (Kawachi et al. 1997) another area where social capital has had considerable impact is that of education. It is to the relationship between both cultural capital and social capital and their impact on education that we now turn.

44.2 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.

44.2.1 Cultural Capital and Education

The origins of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital lie specifically in his educational research. During the mid-1960s, Bourdieu and his colleague Passeron were involved with a series of studies on French education. (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). One of these studies was on university students in the Arts Faculty, who he considered to have a unique relationship with a society's culture, compared to students in other academic disciplines. Although Bourdieu and Passeron accepted the importance of social and economic factors in explaining attendance and success at university, he wanted to focus on the influence of cultural factors on the educative process itself.

In one sense, Bourdieu and Passeron regarded all students as being exposed to the "high culture" of French society by their attendance at university. However he argued that those students from *bourgeoisie* backgrounds represent the end product of a long exposure to a 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 and Passeron 1977).

The concept of cultural capital, and its implications for the process of social reproduction, has become widely used in education research in many countries. Thus, the importance of culture as a form of capital which can be converted to other forms of capital, such as economic or occupational capital, has been found to be more or less a universal process. A number of studies using the concept illustrate this point.

Apart from Bourdieu’s study in France, one of the earliest studies of cultural capital was conducted by DiMaggio (1982). Using data from a survey of about 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 and Mohr 1985) extended his study of cultural capital to educational attainment, and found similar results.

P.M. De Graaf (1986) provided a further complexity to the findings in DiMaggio’s work by demonstrating that financial resources and cultural resources (cultural capital) over time were not important in explaining the educational attainment of the two oldest siblings in families in the Netherlands. De Graaf’s explanation was that the Dutch government had successfully eliminated differentiation according to family resources, and that cultural consumption by the parents explained little of the differences in the children’s’ educational attainments. Social background, measured in terms parental education and father’s occupation, was a more important factor. However De Graaf argued that while his findings do support Bourdieu’s argument concerning high status culture and cultural consumption, Bourdieu’s further hypothesis concerning cultural consumption and educational attainment was not supported by his data because of the particular characteristics of the Dutch educational system.

Building on the already accumulating body of research, Lamb (1989, 1990) studied cultural consumption (attendance at Art exhibitions) among a sample of Australian secondary school students, and found that it was related to educational plans. However Lamb did find gender differences and that this cultural consumption pattern was more pronounced for boys than girls. However, he argued that this Australian pattern was due to a smaller difference among girls with respect to future educational plans.

Studies of cultural capital and education have begun to occur outside of North America and Europe with similar findings. In Hong Kong, Post and Pong (1998) investigated the impact of declining family size on the sex differences in educational attainment. Using census data, they found that between 1981 and 1991 the differences between boys and girls decreased. They attributed this decline to the increased educational attainment of mothers, which they argued represents “an omnibus measure of culture capital” (p. 108).

In many Asian societies such as Japan, Taiwan and China, there are rich traditional cultural practices which guide the daily lives of people. The knowledge of these cultural practices 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.

44.2.2 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”. He saw it as consisting of social relationships with adults which students possess, and which provide advantages in a range of activities, in particular those relating to school activities. Defined in this way, social capital includes the interests of parents, the interaction patterns within families which relate to schooling, and similar contacts outside the family, such as the community, which influence the students’ school performance.

Unlike its counterpart concept “cultural capital”, social capital has found wide acceptance and use not only by sociologists, but economists and development planners. Lin (2001), for example, has recently summarized almost two decades of his own research into the importance of “social connections” and “social relations” for the achievement of various life goals. These concepts, of course, are related to social capital and the resources which flow from these two phenomena. Lin’s earlier work primarily had been concerned with the importance of social capital and occupational status (Lin et al. 1981), and his recent attempts have been to develop a theory of how social capital works in various social settings.

Other researchers, however, have directed their attention to the importance of social capital more specifically with respect to various educational outcomes. One of the areas of much of this research has focused on migrant or minority status and the relationship between social capital and educational attainment. In trying to explain the different educational attainments of immigrant youth compared to native-born youth in the United States, White and Glick (2000) point out that human capital is not a sufficient explanation. They argue that differences in social capital must also be taken into account. Using longitudinal data, Glick and White found that social capital variables such as parental involvement in their student's school work, student strong commitment to family, student personal locus of control, and bilingualism were significantly important in determining who remained in high school, irrespective of migrant status and the possession of human capital in the home.

Also for the Latino minority group in the United States, Stanton-Salazar and his colleagues (Stanton-Salazar et al. 2001) found that low educational aspirations among low status adolescents was due to their reluctance to seek help from the resources available to them. In other words, due to a number of factors such as low English proficiency, these Latino adolescents were failing to mobilize the social capital which was available to help them.

Studies which have related social capital with various aspects of educational achievement or attainment have been conducted in other countries. For example Stevenson and Stigler (1992) never mention the word social capital in their comparative study of Japanese, Chinese and American primary schools, but their findings clearly indicate that the embedded nature of the Asian schools with home and family environments produce a continuity between home and school which they did not find in the American schools that they studied. They found that the relationship between parents and teachers in Asian schools produced complementarity rather than duplication. "Parents and teachers work together, but do not duplicate one another's roles ... Americans, by contrast, seem to expect that schools will take on responsibility for many more aspects of the child's life" (Stevenson and Stigler 1992, p. 83).

However what was particularly important in the Asian schools was the emphasis on cooperative and group learning as opposed to individual achievement. This former type of learning context increased the social capital for each child and therefore increased the resources for the learning process. In effect, Stevenson and Stigler implicitly described how both cultural and social capital were maximized in the learning process in the Asian schools that they studied.

Another aspect of Asian society is illustrative of the role that social capital can play in furthering the educational progress of children. In most Western societies, single-parent families, particularly where the mother is the single parent, are often found to be detrimental to the education of children. However Pong (1996) found that in Malaysia this negative relationship does not necessarily occur. For the Malay ethnic group, and where the mothers are widowed, there is a strong cultural norm which requires that the extended families provide social and financial help in the raising of the children, including their education. In effect, as Pong points out, these

collectivist ties provide the social capital necessary to overcome the absence of the father.

Teachers in Asian societies also are involved in the environment of social capital in education. Robinson (1994) found that in South Korea the custom of *ch'onji*, or the practice of parents giving “tokens of appreciation” to the teacher, contributed to the educational benefit of children. Even though the teachers denied that these gifts influenced their treatment of the students, they were nevertheless interpreted as expressions of parental concern for the children. They thus tended to call on these students more often, a practice seen as contributing to *palp'yo*, or the acquisition of valued speaking skills necessary for later public life. Thus, from the parents' point of view, *ch'onji* was a practice which helped to acquire social capital for the child in the educative process. As Robinson notes, this process “is an example of how economic capital can be converted to social capital” (1994).

Finally, a study of Palestinian high school students in Israel provides further evidence of the impact of social capital, even for a highly disadvantaged minority. Khattab (2003) found that in spite of their disadvantaged minority status, the Palestinian students held high educational aspirations, largely because of the parental aspirations for their children and the extent to which parents discuss education with them. Another interesting finding of this study is that the impact of cultural capital variables was reduced when the social capital variables were introduced into the analysis.

There are many other sources which document the universality of the impact of social capital on educational attainment (Saha 2003). This should not be surprising given that social contacts and social relationships are fundamental to society itself. However it is clear that social capital manifests itself in a variety of ways in the way that it affects the education process.

Recently, however, it has been argued that as societies become more modern, they tend to become more individual-oriented, and that in fact social capital itself is on the decline. Indeed, a similar question might be asked about cultural capital. This is the issue to which we now turn.

44.3 Cultural and Social Capital, Education and Globalization

Globalization is a concept which has become dominant in modern discourse. The concept describes a condition whereby the world is seen to be becoming more homogeneous with respect to a wide range of economic and social processes. The result of this homogeneity is the loss of the importance of the unique regional level. Terms such as the “global village” have come to describe the process and the loss of the “local village”. One of the assumptions of those who take this perspective is that there is an incompatibility between the two. In the context of cultural and social capital, there seems to be some evidence of this conflict. For example Demerath

(2000) found that students can be subjected to two forms of cultural and social capital, that of a local traditional culture, and that of the school, a modernizing institution. In his study of students in Papua New Guinea he found that students often had to cope with the social and psychological consequences of the conflict between the collectivist demands of the local village culture and the individualist demands of the school. Both environments possessed their own forms of cultural and social capital, and the students had to learn how to manipulate their “social self” so that they would not lose their integration with one or the other.

In this context, it is important to note that all cultures have their forms of cultural and social capital. However the crucial issue in the case of contact between two or more cultures is which one is dominant. Therefore the issue of globalization is the extent to which the “global” dominates the “local”, and whether the “global” in effect reflects a particularly dominant form of cultural and social capital, for example Western as opposed to non-Western, Christian as opposed to non-Christian, or individualist as opposed to collectivist.

Both cultural and social capital are likely to be affected by globalization, but in different ways. For example, a local form of cultural capital, such as knowledge of indigenous art or literature, may be overtaken by a global form of art and literature knowledge, such as Western art and literature. Thus persons who had previously possessed highly valued local knowledge might find that that knowledge is no longer valued, and therefore is no longer cultural capital in the true sense of the concept. In other words, it cannot be exchanged for academic or economic capital.

Social capital stands to be affected by globalization in a different manner. Social capital is embedded in social relationships. Clearly the globalization process can change the value of a particular set of social relationships. Former relationships with local persons may no longer carry the same value as relationships with national or international persons. Similarly, perceptions of trust and integrity, at both the personal and organizational level, can affect the prevalence of social capital in a society. As these relational characteristics become more or less common across societies, the prevalence of social capital will increase or decrease (Woolcock 1998).

However another manner in which social capital can be affected by the globalization process is by its decline in absolute, not relative terms. This was the argument in Putnam’s work *Bowling Alone* (2000). Putnam argued that at least in the United States, social capital, as reflected in membership in various social, religious and political associations, declined since the end of World War II. The data that Putnam used to support his argument suggests that the United States has become less of a community in the conventional sense, and more a society of individuals who behave much the same, but not as part of formal groups. Although he cites television viewing as one of the causes, one could say that globalization, and the rise of the global village, has contributed to this process.

A counterargument to Putnam’s hypothesis has been put forward by Lin (2001) who claims that the notion that social capital is declining is “premature and, in fact, false” (p. 237). Lin claims that the emergence of social networks in cyberspace represents a new form of social capital that transcends community and national boundaries, and will in time supersede personal capital in significance. Lin

contends that cyber networks represent social capital because they provide resources beyond mere information. Furthermore, he contends that unlike social capital in the conventional sense, where individuals in advantaged positions in society have greater access to resources, the new cyber networks may represent a “bottom-up” globalization process since the networks are not dependent on any dominant group.

Lin argues that cyber networks can work within any social group or social institution. He develops a model in which social capital is a determinant of both instrumental (wealth, power and reputation) and expressive returns (physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction). However it is clear in the context of Lin’s discussion that cyber networks might also become important for education processes. The availability of knowledge and access to persons who are sources of knowledge, represent forms of social capital which are increasingly important for educational success. Thus cyber networks and their implication for education, are part of the globalization process.

44.4 Conclusions

Cultural and social capitals are two important concepts in understanding many economic and social processes in all societies. They have been found to be particularly important in understanding educational processes, and in particular why some children do well in school and others do not. The globalization processes occurring in the world today are likely to increase, rather than decrease, the amount of cultural and social capital available. Furthermore access to cultural and social capital is likely to be less dominated by a particular social or national group, given the manner of access through cybernetworks. However little research has been conducted on this most current change in the globalization process, and therefore many of the arguments remain to be tested.

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Chapter 45

Is a Critical Pedagogy of Place Enough? Intersecting Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies with Environmental Education



Kelly J. Smith

Abstract As a result of global forms of education, schooling has a tendency to become more homogenized, and thus the particularities of the locality tend to be erased. Therefore, it is imperative for teachers to strive to sustain and revitalize the cultures of students, particularly those from marginalized backgrounds, and move toward a more pluralistic outcome in education. How can such pedagogies be integrated within the classroom? With global environmental issues such as climate change, loss of biodiversity, and urban pollution, a place-based form of environmental education would be a powerful alternative to integrate culturally sustaining pedagogies to protect local cultures and communities. This chapter examines three different versions of place-based pedagogies and analyzes what intersections occur with culturally sustaining pedagogies as described by Django Paris and H. Sami Alim. Specifically, it examines Greenwood's Critical Pedagogy of Place, Bowers's Eco-Justice Pedagogy, and Tuck's Land Education in regard to how they bring about a pluralistic outcome to education, reverse traditional culture with an eye to how culture evolves and focuses on the social justice aspects of environmental education.

45.1 Introduction

Globalization has been an ongoing process for many centuries and continues to occur at an accelerated pace today (Zajda 2020a). During the present-day process of globalization, we can see many different features that have profound effects on both education and life in general. The primary effect present-day globalization is integration. Magsino (2007) points to the work of Friedman which discusses how the web has helped in this integration of knowledge, money, and goods. It is the epitome of several different other features of present-day globalization which include computerization, speed, and efficiency, which we can see valued in globalized

K. J. Smith (✉)
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: kjsmith22@email.arizona.edu

education. In addition, there are three other features that flow from this integration. Market capitalism continues to grow and expand in this ever-connecting world. The neo-liberal ideas of free-market competition and unrestricted output flow from the marketplace and into the educational setting where these ideals combine with accountability politics to introduce both common standards and the ideal of “governing by numbers” (Moos and Wubbels 2018, p. 248) at a global scale (Zajda 2020b). Existing structures of power move to create a competitive state for education with such organizations as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and use peer pressure to move toward these common standards. With such structures, students around the globe are will be driven toward acquiring the same skills and knowledge and be measured by the same standards and procedures.

Why is this move toward this form of globalized education undesirous? Moos and Wubbels (2018) argue that this will “produce homogeneity with no or little respect for local and regional differences of culture, society, and economics” (p. 254). This will lead to further erasure and marginalization of cultures and peoples that are already fighting against such power structures. Also, with globalization come common challenges. The lack of social equality is growing in many countries as well as migration due to wars and growing poverty in developing regions of the world. Increased pollution and climate change are phenomena that must be met with both local and global knowledge along with political will. All of these challenges point to two facts: (1) homogenized education that does not respect local and regional differences make it extremely difficult to address these challenges and (2) environmental education needs to be taught in such a context so that it too works against the homogenization of education. One way this can happen is to view environmental education as an intersection between culturally sustaining pedagogies and place-based education.

At a quick glance, a partnership between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy does not seem to be an easy connection to make. Even now, environmental education is seen as solely inhabiting the region of science and being a one-off special to classroom instruction. From this point of view, environmental education is a lesson about recycling, a look at composting, some discussion about climate change, or a chance to go out and work in a schoolyard garden. An environmental science class may be offered at the high school level or a Green Team may be an option for an after-school club. On the other hand, culturally sustaining pedagogy approaches education from a sociocultural point of view. It is an approach seen to be linked with the language arts, social studies, heritage languages, and social justice. Culturally sustaining pedagogy seeks to sustain the culture of students through the practices employed in the classroom. How would that intersect with an “objective” subject such as science?

If environmental education is kept at the periphery of the classroom, it would be highly problematic to find intersections between it and culturally sustaining pedagogy. However, the above description barely scratches the surface of what environmental education can and should be. Implemented in its fullness, environmental education is much more. The North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE) states environmental education is a process that helps people

“learn more about the environment and develop skills and understanding about how to address global challenges” (<https://naaee.org>). It focuses on experiential and interdisciplinary education in order to develop problem solving skills so that students can become engaged citizens of society that seek to make that society more diverse, inclusive, equal, and equitable. Environmental education strives to bring about a sustainable brand of education where the students not only have an appreciation of the Earth and all of its inhabitants, but also a deep understanding of the Earth’s systems and the interconnectedness of human, more-than-human, and other-than-human inhabitants in these systems. Essentially, it is a study of place and all the connections that occur due to the myriad of interactions that take place between both humans and nonhuman inhabitants of that place.

It is in this exploration of connections where we can start to discover intersections between the culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education. This chapter will explore where the pedagogies of environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy intersect by taking a deeper look at what culturally sustaining pedagogy is, exploring place-based education with a focus on a critical pedagogy of place as put forth by David Greenwood/Grunewald and examine two pedagogies that believe either a critical pedagogy of place is not possible or does not go far enough in eco-justice pedagogy and land education. It will evaluate where the intersection between culturally sustaining pedagogy and a critical pedagogy of place, eco-justice pedagogy, or land education occur, and conclude with a discussion of what the implications of these intersections may mean to education today.

45.2 Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy

The first step in discovering the intersections between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy is to define culturally sustaining pedagogy. To do this we need examine where its roots lie and how culturally sustaining pedagogy sprouts up from these roots. Culturally sustaining pedagogy comes from a long line of pedagogies researched and enacted to combat the deficit approaches to education that were, and still are, found in the educational system – especially in respect to minoritized students. In the context of the United States, deficit approaches to education seek to replace the culture and language of students with Dominant American English (DAE) and Industrial Western culture. This is most poignantly seen in the federal boarding schools for Native Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and more recently with Arizona’s House Bill 2281 that banned the studying of different ethnic groups histories, literature and struggles (AZ HB2281 2013).

Paris (2012) maps out the progression of teaching pedagogies and approaches that arose in answer to these deficit approaches to education. In the 1970’s and 1980’s a “difference approach” was formed. This saw the culture and languages of students of color being different than the dominant culture, but also equal to it. It

still had the end goal of leading students to accessing the dominant culture without maintaining the language or culture of the student.

The response to this movement was the asset or resource pedagogies formed in the 1990's. Paris says the most lasting frameworks of this "golden age" of resource pedagogies are the concepts of the "funds of knowledge" (Moll and González 1994), "third space" (Gutiérrez et al. 1999) and the call for "culturally relevant teaching" (Ladson-Billings 1995). Funds of knowledge are skills and knowledge developed intergenerationally in a people's culture. Students can use this knowledge and skill in the classroom to better access the concepts being taught in the classroom (Moll and González 1994). With the concept of the "third space" Gutierrez seeks a pedagogy that looks to bring the pluralistic backgrounds of the students, teacher, and community together to look forward to a possible future where all of these knowledges and skills are used (Gutiérrez et al. 1999). With "Culturally relevant teaching" Ladson-Billings (1995) calls for three criteria to be met – developing students academically, nurturing and supporting cultural competence, and developing a critical consciousness. All of these frameworks, and other resource pedagogies, see the minoritized culture as an asset to be valued and used – not erased.

Paris (2012) acknowledges the essential nature of these resource pedagogies in moving away from deficit approaches to teaching and the deep debt culturally sustaining pedagogy owes to them, but still sees room for growth. A curriculum or pedagogy being culturally relevant is not enough. Paris argues such new pedagogy should do more than support cultural competence – it should sustain a culture. He offers up the concept of culturally sustaining pedagogy that "seeks to perpetuate and foster – to sustain – linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling and as a needed response to demographic and social change" (Paris and Alim 2014, p. 88). It is in the focus on cultural pluralism that we can see the first way in which culturally sustaining pedagogy builds on its resource pedagogy roots – it seeks a fundamental shift to more pluralistic outcomes. It shifts the focus of inclusion of language, literacies and culture from honoring and valuing communities and using these resources to move toward accessing DAE and the dominant culture to a realization that both the heritage language and culture as well as access to DAE are needed in order for a pluralistic society to flourish. No longer is education a path towards a monocultural and monolingual end. It is now a path that focuses on a pluralistic means of communication and knowledge as globalization continues apace and fights against the homogenization that may occur within the globalization of education.

A second way in which culturally sustaining pedagogy builds on resource pedagogy is a shift from seeing traditional culture as unmalleable to culture being ever evolving – especially in regard the youth culture. Paris and Alim state past pedagogies "too often draw overdeterministic links between race and language, literacy and cultural practice." (Paris and Alim 2014, p. 90) Paris (2012) offers up the terms "heritage practices" and "community practices" as tools to work with the ever-changing nature of culture. Heritage practices are the intergenerational skills and knowledge found in Moll and González's "funds of knowledge." Community practices are the practices that are ever changing in culture – such as the ever changing

music scene which may incorporate both traditional practices of culture and practices of modern youth culture. It acknowledges there may be integration of what is seen as a part of another culture into the culture of the students being taught and categorizes this as a way culture is evolving. It gives this integration value and does not simply dismiss it because it is not part of the heritage practices of the students.

While culturally sustaining pedagogy seeks to build on what has gone before it, Paris and Alim (2014) call for there to be a reflective aspect to the pedagogy, as well. Those who are seeking to use culturally sustaining pedagogies must work together with the students to keep a critical eye on whether the practices are solely being progressive or whether undercurrents of oppression are present. They call for culturally sustaining pedagogy to “engage critically with young people about the impact of their words and the full range of their funds of knowledge and create third spaces that take on both the liberatory and the restrictive” (Paris and Alim 2014, p. 95).

In addition to reflecting on whether the impact of words are liberatory and/or restrictive, Lee and McCarty (2017) argue this reflective aspect of culturally sustaining pedagogy must be used to realize that – when it comes to Indigenous youth – tribal sovereignty is of paramount importance. This is because schooling has actively sought to separate indigenous peoples from their languages, lands, values, and beliefs. With this, they call for culturally sustaining pedagogy not only to sustain culture, but to also revitalize Indigenous cultures. This calls for “nonhomogenizing attention to local communities’ expressed desires, resources, and needs” (Lee and McCarty 2017, p. 75). This revitalizing aspect also calls for students to have access to heritage practices and languages through which those practices are conveyed. According to Holmes and González to not do this is “incoherent within Indigenous ways of knowing and collective process of knowledge production, which hold at their heart the survival and ethical continuance of the People” (Holmes and González 2017, p. 220). This all helps to situate Indigenous youth within the intergenerational knowledge of the People. In making sure the reflective aspect of culturally sustaining pedagogy is adhered to, Paris, Alim, and other researchers, who seek to expand culturally sustaining pedagogy acknowledge seeking to sustain – and potentially revitalize – culture in education is a complex endeavor. Teachers, students, and the community at large should work through the complexity together.

This means in searching for the intersections between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy, there must be three foci addressed to ensure there is a true intersection. First, there must be a focus on a pluralistic outcome – no longer can there be a focus on a monocultural and monolingual world. Second, there needs to be a reverence for the traditional culture coupled with a realization of how culture is ever changing as seen in the concept of heritage and community practices. Finally, there needs to be a focus on social justice coupled with a critical eye on the complexity involved with the practices and aims of culturally sustaining pedagogy being both emancipatory and problematic.

45.3 Place-Based Education and a Critical Pedagogy of Place

When seeking for possible intersections between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy, the first pedagogy to examine is place-based education. Place-based education is rooted in environmental education but differs in that it looks at both the social and natural environments of a particular area. Smith (2007) states place-based education is not wide spread, but many times when it is implemented it tends to avoid the controversial and “is used as a vehicle for enriching the curriculum and providing a local context for student learning” (p. 202). This connection to the local is a valuable thing to have in education and can begin to hint at a way to find intersections between culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education.

David Greenwood (formerly Gruenewald) (2003a) lays the foundation of a framework for place-based education. His argument is there is a fundamental paradox to place where it is at one time a focus for what is going on and at other times fades into the background because we are too busy to notice what is going on in the place around us. The framework he proposes has five interrelated dimensions – a perceptual dimension, sociological dimension, ideological dimension, political dimension, and ecological dimension.

The perceptual dimension of place based education, according to Greenwood (2003a), deals with the need for humans to listen and perceive the different relationships established in a place. These can be both social and natural relationships and an emphasis is placed on recognizing apparent connections. It focuses on challenging the isolation of students from the local culture and ecosystem that is often found in the school settings of today.

The sociological dimension focuses on seeing social places as a cultural product. Doing this causes us to look at these spaces with a more critical eye in order to understand the cultural meaning of a place. It is here we begin to see place as a product of human decision and can begin to see how these decisions brought us to what we have today. Becoming more aware of these decisions begs for schools and students to become active participants in the shaping of what a place will be through the evaluation, discovery and caring for the place.

The ideological dimension of Greenwood’s framework for place-based education focuses on exploring the privatization of space, coloniality, and displacement. It brings in the relationships between the political systems, economic systems, and ideology of both the local space and the greater space around it and examines how this shapes the culture of the space. The ideological dimension delves into how power shapes, affects, and controls both people and places. Power is derived from the control of geographical space (Greenwood 2003a).

Greenwood’s political dimension very much overlaps with the ideological dimension but focuses more on “the examination of the politics of identity” (Greenwood 2003a, p. 631). This dimension looks at systems of power and oppression, as well as resistance. It examines how the places have been constructed and how they should be changed and calls for a “radical multiculturalism...that

continually challenges the regimes of accountability that are designed to move everyone toward the political center” (p. 633). It seeks a pluralistic outcome on the political front and emphasizes the importance of a space of refusal.

The final dimension of this foundational framework to place-based education may be the more obvious one – the ecological dimension. This dimension deals with not only the relationship between the human and more than human world, but also deals with how both nature and people have become commodified. It calls for a move toward local knowledge of and care for the ecological systems of a place and a move away from the exploitation of both.

Combined, these dimensions flesh out how Greenwood defines place-based education. He takes this basic framework a step further later by seeking to blend critical pedagogy with his version of place-based education to create a critical pedagogy of place (Gruenewald 2003b). This approach links the critical pedagogy of Freire, Giroux, and McLaren which sees education as a political endeavor and adds an additional focus of the ecological lens. A critical pedagogy of place includes the dimensions the framework of place-based education and adds two new main concepts – decolonization and reinhabitation. For Greenwood, decolonization is “grasping the way that human and natural potentialities of particular communities and place have been diminished or thwarted by patterns of domination and discrimination that benefit one group while exploiting another” (Smith and Gruenewald 2007, p. 346). When decolonization occurs, it allows reinhabitation, which is the “restoration of relationships to other people and the land characterized by affiliation and responsibility,” (Smith and Gruenewald 2007, p. 347) to happen. These two concepts are seen as permanently linked because reinhabitation cannot happen without decolonization happening first.

With this addition of a critical pedagogy of place, place-based education does intersect with culturally sustaining pedagogy, if enacted in the correct way. There is more emphasis on social justice, a reverence for the culture of the place and a critical look at how both the human and more-than-human systems interact with each other in a particular place. There is a focus on a future through reinhabitation. The question is whether or not a pluralistic outcome is present or does it lead to a more homogenous or assimilative outcome with “restoration” of relationships to people where there has only be a relationship of power and erasure.

45.4 Answers to a Critical Pedagogy of Place

There are two pedagogical alternatives to Greenwood’s critical pedagogy of place that may offer greater opportunity for discovering intersections between culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education. An immediate response to the critical pedagogy of place came from the late Chet Bowers (2008) when he called a critical pedagogy of place an oxymoron (Bowers 2008). To understand Bower’s opposition to a critical pedagogy of place, it is important to note how he uses the concept of the “cultural commons” (Bowers 2006) and “root metaphors” (Bowers

2002 as a way to approach environmental education in general and place-based education specifically. The concept of the cultural commons is based on the idea of the commons area once found in British villages. This was an area that was used by all and was not owned by anyone. Over time, these commons have become enclosed – parceled out. This is what Bowers feels has happened in terms of culture. A place has a cultural commons, but that commons has been increasingly become enclosed so much that intergenerational knowledge and skills are being lost. It is these root metaphors which drive the decisions being made by a culture. Bowers identifies three root metaphors of modernity that should be challenged in any pedagogy in order to bring about true educational reform. The first of these is the root metaphor of linear progress. Western industrial culture identifies progress as a straight line. This is problematic because it views knowledge and skills of the past as inferior to the knowledge that is being built today. This effectively erases the intergenerational knowledge of a culture.

The second root metaphor of modernity identified by Bowers is that of man being separate and superior to nature. This metaphor guides the western industrial culture to commodify nature since humankind has no more connection to it. It encourages consumption over stewardship in order to conquer and enclose nature. Humankind is no longer seen as part of the ecosystem and any effect they may have on nature is seen as inconsequential or denied.

Bowers' final root metaphor for modernity is the individual being the basic social unit. This has the same effect on the relationship between humans as the metaphor of man being separate and superior to nature had on modernity's relationship to nature. With the individual being the basic social unit, the only view for the future that counts is that of the individual. This will lead to a lack of self-regulation because the impact of what is done to one individual or a group of people is not seen as important to the person who is simply wanting to do what they perceive is best for them.

Bowers has several objections to a critical pedagogy of place (2008). One of the chief objections is critical pedagogy of place is still based on a Western model of development that sees Indigenous peoples, culture, and knowledge as backwards. It is still based in that root metaphor of linear progress and views non-Western knowledge as something to overcome – as oppression by ignorance. According to Bowers, critical pedagogy has an emphasis on continual transformation that leads to a monocultural outcome instead of a pluralistic outcome due to its reliance on the root metaphor of linear progression. With this reliance on linear progression, the cultural commons are not being conserved and revitalized but are continually being rewritten. Intergenerational knowledge, skills, and patterns of independence and support are being lost in this way. Bowers instead calls for a “thick description” of the local intergenerational knowledge. This involves “examining the history of prior relationships, issues of gender and class, person biography and all the other background cultural patterns” (Bowers 2008, p. 330) which will give cultural context to the place. This, in turn, will lead to an evaluation of the cultural commons and conserve those aspects of the cultural commons that have a smaller ecological impact. Without this “thick description,” decolonization only happens by the terms set forth

through Western cultural assumptions. Bowers (2008) also critiques previous research and education in the area of critical pedagogy of place as not addressing the specific curricular reforms that need to be undertaken in order to ensure that the ecological dimension becomes paramount in the pedagogy. These reforms, especially in regard to environmental reform efforts, he argues, should be key to place-based education.

Instead of a critical pedagogy of place, Bowers argues for an eco-justice pedagogy that replaces the root metaphors of modernity with the single root metaphor of ecology. Eco-justice pedagogy “foregrounds the relational and interdependent nature of our existence as cultural and biological beings” (Bowers 2002, p. 29). It acknowledges the complexity of the interrelationships of systems, nature, and people and acknowledges non-linear patterns of progress and should focus on three main areas. According to Bowers (2002), eco-justice pedagogy should also focus on three main areas. The first of these areas is environmental racism and class discrimination. This delves into what Akom (2011) describes as eco-apartheid. Related work in this area of focus foregrounds the fact that a disproportionate number of minoritized people are affected by the toxic waste produced by society. It also deals with issues of food deserts, lack of funding for schools, and the lack of “green” initiatives in said communities. Bowers also states eco-justice pedagogy that addresses environmental racism and class discrimination should not only be focused on at the local level but should also address these issues at the global level.

The second area of focus in eco-justice pedagogy is recovery of the non-commodified aspects of community. This focuses on understanding “the deep cultural assumptions that underlie the industrial and consumer dependent form of culture” (Bowers 2002, p. 30). It also focuses on more constructive concepts like ecological design and learning from other traditions that do not have such an industrial and consumer-based focus. This is a link to the intergenerational knowledge that leads to the third focus of an eco-justice pedagogy – responsibility to future generations. This last focus of responsibility fights against the lack of forward-looking perspective that asks for self-limitation as a way to conserve what is needed for those who come after us. In the eco-justice pedagogical framework of Bowers, we start to see and even more critical look at the different interdependencies, history, and connections between human and nonhuman members of the locale. We also see a more substantive delve into social justice aspects of a place and a vision of how to work toward a more pluralistic outcome in education. There is a dual focus on the local and global, but fights for a more pluralistic outcome to the education process and against homogenization that may occur.

A second answer to a critical pedagogy of place can be found in Eve Tuck et al. (2014) call for land education (2014). There are several important things to know about Tuck’s approach to research and views of decolonization and education to truly grasp what is being proposed through land education. In regard to approaches to research, Tuck (2009) calls for an end to “damaged centered research” where oppression becomes the only identity of a community. The context of the history of racism and colonialism is still needed to hear the stories of these communities and need to be brought to light, but it cannot be the only thing the community is known

for. Tuck instead calls for “research to capture desire instead of damage” (p. 416). Researching for desire is concerned with understanding the “complexity, contradiction, and self determination of lived lives” (Tuck et al., p. 416). This approach strays from trying to come up with the one-dimensional narrative to look at structural inequity and “disrupts the binary of reproduction versus resistance” (Tuck et al., p. 419). It is no longer an either/or question but, rather, a neither/both/either look at the complexity of the relationships between people and systems of power. With Tuck’s framework of desire centered research there is also a focus on survivance, a re-visioning of what the role of research should be in marginalized communities, and a focus on establishing tribal and community human research ethics guidelines that set up mutually beneficial roles for academic researchers in community research.

Tuck and her colleagues have a very different view of decolonization than both Greenwood and Bowers do. Tuck and Yang argue (2012) that decolonization “is a distinct project from other civil and human rights-based social justice projects [and is] far too often subsumed into the directives of these projects, with no regard for how decolonization wants something different than those forms of justice” (Tuck and Yang 2012, p. 2). Tuck and Yang argue that the “easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization [into other pedagogies and social justice movements] is yet another form of settler appropriation” (p. 3). They also describe how decolonization is an unsettling process – both figuratively and literally and how decolonization seeks to dismantle the system of settler colonialism – a structure that uses overlapping internal and external forms of coloniality. Settler colonialism is different than other forms of colonialism because under settler colonialism, settlers come to create a new home on land that is not theirs and insist that their structure of power be primary in that region. Settler colonialism is a structure where land and nature are both recast as property and the Indigenous people of the region are erased. It views the bodies and lives of those Indigenous people as property, too. Decolonization in this context must include a literal unsettling with the “repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted” (p. 7). It must also have figurative unsettling with facing up to and calling out both the atrocities of the past and present and any settler moves to innocence. Settler moves toward innocence include, but are not limited to, settler nativism (where the settler tries to deflect a settler identity by claiming native ancestry), settler adoption fantasies (where the settler adoption of Indigenous practices and knowledges), colonial equivocation (bringing together many different experiences of oppression under the heading of colonization), “free your mind and the rest will follow” (the belief that there only needs to be a decolonization of the mind), at risk/asterisk peoples (where Indigenous peoples are rendered visible in mainstream research either from a damage centered approach to research or simply as an asterisk in data sets), and re-occupation and urban homesteading (where wealth is seen in a way that hides that most of wealth is land – land taken away from Indigenous peoples).

So, what then is land education? Like eco-justice pedagogy, there are three main foci to land education according to Tuck and colleagues. The center premise for this

pedagogy is that “Environmental Justice can only take place with Indigenous peoples and epistemologies at the center” (Tuck et al. 2014, p. 17). Indigenous epistemological and ontological accounts of land must be at the center of education about the land, its history, and both the political and natural systems present. This includes Indigenous understandings of land, language in relations to land and critiques of settler colonialism. Simply put, this means it must “critically examine what it means to inhabit lands that were once (and continue to be) the homelands of Indigenous nations” (Calderon 2014, p. 27).

The second focus to land education is that of keeping the examination of settler colonialism at the center. This is very much tied to the first focus. However, it seeks a deep analysis of the places one can see settler colonialism throughout education. Not only is this seen overtly in such things like the role of white supremacy and settler nationalism within power structure, but also in textbooks, entertainment, attitudes towards the environment, and the like.

The third focus deals with unlearning settler identities. This unlearning is seen in environmental educators and students being made to “rethink their relation to land as a dynamic ecological *and* cultural project of recovery and rehabilitation” (Calderon 2014, p. 33). It causes those involved in land education to rethink how settler colonialism affects education today.

A final concept that is important to understand for land education is that of incommensurability. This is the realization that for all of this to happen there will need to be a major change in the order of the world. This means some questions brought up by other pedagogies will not be addressed by land education and decolonization. Incommensurability is the opposite of reconciliation because it seeks to unsettle the settler whereas reconciliation moves towards settler innocence. “To fully enact an ethic of incommensurability means relinquishing settler futurity, abandoning the hope that settlers may one day be commensurable to Native peoples” (Tuck and Yang 2012, p. 36). While the work of decolonization may align with other social justice movements, the focus is always on repatriation and regaining connection to the Land.

It is here in land education that we see connections between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy in all of its complexity. We see the pluralistic outcome both in a focus on Indigenous beliefs and values and through the measure of incommensurability that is brought about by the process of decolonization. This pluralistic outcome time it is interwoven with a valuing heritage practices, a valuing of community practices, and a focus on social justice through the examination of systems of power that are connected to the land.

45.5 Discussion and Implications

Do intersections between culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education exist? It has been posited that in order for this to be true, there needs to be a focus on a pluralistic outcome, a reverence toward heritage practices and

intergenerational knowledge coupled with a realization that culture is ever changing, and a focus on social justice that really acknowledges the complexity of sustaining cultures. Do any of the pedagogies examined here intersect with culturally sustaining pedagogy on all three of these points?

At the first look at place-based education the intersections between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy begin to appear. Place-based education values the past of a place, with an eye to the future, but, as we have seen above with place-based education, there is no real focus on social justice or on a pluralistic outcome. With a critical pedagogy of place, we see how environmental education scholars have moved toward deepening the social and environmental aspect of education by using a more critical pedagogy that seeks to call out the wrongs of the past through a method of “decolonization” and “reinhabitation.” However, is this version of decolonization enough? Does the idea of rehabilitation even work when, as Tuck et al. (2014) ask “how can a place be inhabited or reinhabited if it has already long been inhabited by Indigenous peoples?” (p. 17). There is more of a move toward homogenization, assimilation, and erasure with this assumption. As we have seen in the critiques of Bowers and Tuck and colleagues, commonplace approaches to developing a critical pedagogy of place are also a bent towards the linear view of progress. In these ways, a critical pedagogy of place negates a more pluralistic outcome and seems not to value the heritage practices of culture as much as the community practices – which would lead to a more homogenized outcome.

Bowers calls for an alternate eco-justice pedagogy that focuses in on environmental racism and class discrimination, the recovery of non-commodified aspects of community, and a responsibility to future generations. With an eco-justice pedagogy, there is a much deeper understanding of social justice and how inequities disproportionately affect minoritized communities. Eco-justice pedagogy also seeks to move toward a future where minoritized communities are not affected by such inequities as food deserts, being located in more toxic environments, and the like. Eco-justice scholars like Bowers acknowledge the complexity of the environment-related social justice problems and seeks a more pluralistic outcome by calling for a “thick description” of a locale that looks at all the cultural and environmental aspects of the locale. Eco-justice pedagogy also seeks to conserve the “cultural commons” of a region which would value both the heritage and community practices of the region. There are major intersections between culturally sustaining pedagogy and eco-justice pedagogy. However, a question that arises from an examination of eco-justice pedagogy is about how the cultural commons that are being conserved within the eco-justice framework. Does the revitalization of the cultural commons seek to return land to the Indigenous nations and preserve their cultural commons, or does the vision of revitalizing the cultural commons stop in the not-so-distant past where settler colonialism is already established? An eco-justice pedagogy may just miss the mark depending on the answer to this question and may lead to homogenization if implemented in such a way at the global level.

It then comes down to land education where we see a solid intersection between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy – especially if it is

expanded to a culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogy. We see a deep reverence of the past that focuses on the Indigenous nations. We find a true examination of the local place that is not and cannot be separated from a deep look into settler colonial structures and how they have changed everything and exist still today. It is in the incommensurability of what needs to happen in both land education and culturally sustaining pedagogy that we see a connection between environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy that is nowhere else. Both pedagogies need to expose concepts and beliefs that are uncomfortable to the settler base. Both call for a radical change in education with a pluralistic bent. Incommensurability states the goal of decolonization found in land education does not necessarily answer the goals of the other social justice movements, so what then would be a way for land education to be used to sustain all cultures in order to have a pluralistic outcome? It is in the focus on settler colonialism and how it affects all cultures other than the dominant culture where this happens. It is also in the moving away from settler identities that a truly pluralistic and sustaining pedagogy forms. Globally, the focus may need to change from settler colonialization to another power structure, however, a focus on Indigenous beliefs and values integrated with a deep knowledge of place will lead to the pluralistic outcome desired combined with a reverence for both heritage and community practices and viewing education through a critical lens.

The big question then is what would need to change in education for a combination of land education and culturally sustaining pedagogy to take place, especially in light of the competitive and homogenizing nature of global education that seems to be taking place in the present day? I believe there are several assumptions about education that would need to change. The first of these is curriculum cannot be universal in delivery or design. If we are even looking at a basic version of place-based education, we would see curriculum being birthed from whatever local the school is in, no matter what continent or region the school is located. This leads to a creation a different curriculum for each locale at the local, national, and global level. A school in the Sonoran Desert is going to have a much different approach to its curriculum contents and delivery of curriculum than an urban school in Boston or a suburban school located in the tall-grass prairie of Illinois. All of these schools will have a much different approach to constructing and delivering a curriculum than a school in Ethiopia, China, or Germany. This is not even taking in account the need to keep the Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies of the region at the center of the curriculum. This would call for a new relationship between the elders of the Indigenous nations of the region, elders of other cultures in the region, the schools, the students, and the teachers guiding the students. A relationship that mirrors the interconnectedness of our ecosystems.

A greater emphasis would be placed on the interconnections between all things. This is not just from an historical sense between the land, Indigenous nations, and the school, and the world. It is also within the school. No longer would there be multiple strands of knowledge represented by different subject areas that were kept apart and subject to the competitiveness brought about by neo-liberalism. Instead, those strands would be woven together to create a stronger curriculum. Math would blend into language arts, which would blend into music. All of this would have an

emphasis on intergenerational knowledge and value funds of knowledge brought to the classroom by all the students. It would move away from the Western industrial culture focus of progression as linear and explore non-linear modes of progression. Once again, new and greater relationship between the elders of the land and those learning on the land would need to be forged and there would be a greater emphasis on sustaining all cultures in the classroom.

This marriage of culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education would bring to light to the harmful structures of power around us and guide us in dismantling those structures not matter what the locale of the school was. Settler colonialism and its move toward a monolingual and monocultural look at history, science, the environment, and preservation of power would be stopped and a deep look at how it can be reversed would be taken and enacted. A greater emphasis and value would be placed on a pluralistic approach to society that values all cultures and seeks to understand the connections between cultures and how they are dynamically changing globally. This would be seen in all subject areas. For example, in science, there would be a departure from considering Eurocentric science as the pinnacle of knowledge. With an unsettling of science, no longer would there be a narrow definition of the interrelationships between nature and culture. As Bang, Warren, Rosebery & Medin (2012) discussed, there would be an “intentional engagement with understandings of nature-culture relations” which would lead to “the entanglement of relationship between humans, organisms of all kinds, matter, and environments as the centering site of inquiry, not merely as the alternative” (p. 315). It would dismantle the Eurocentric structure of science by viewing it as but one way of exploring an environment.

Finally, the environment, land, would become the center of education through the lens of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies – no matter what part of the globe education is taking place in. Questions, of course, arise from this view of education. For example, with the greater prevalence of online schooling today, a definite feature of the globalization of education, does the voice of the land get silenced when there is no land upon which the school is placed? What would this combination of land education and culturally sustaining pedagogy look like in cyberspace? How do we begin to center our education on disrupting power structures and centering education on the values and beliefs of indigenous peoples when there is no concrete place to anchor the curriculum to? With a non-universal look at the curriculum, what would the place of standardized tests become? Would something need to be created to replace standardized testing? How would they change in order to reflect this new centering? If curriculum is not universal in design, would a basic underlying framework need to be created to help enact this new form of education? A majority of research in culturally sustaining pedagogy deals with youth culture and youth advocacy. In order to truly meld culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education, how do we scaffold this at the elementary level to prepare the students for what is coming, or is scaffolding even needed? What would land education coupled with culturally sustaining pedagogy look like in the elementary classroom?

45.6 Conclusion

As the above demonstrates, there exists is an epistemological and ontological complexity to the relationship between places and people that needs to be addressed. Greenwood starts to address this but does not go far enough. Bowers gets closer but is still lacking. Tuck, et al. not only show great crossover with culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogy with land education, but I also believe they introduce a new intersection with incommensurability. More research needs to be done on how environmental education and culturally sustaining pedagogy intersect, but not just at the middle school or high school levels. Finding these deeper intersections between culturally sustaining pedagogy and environmental education will be a complex maze of connections and interdependencies. It will lead the globalization of education to a point where there is pluralism and not homogenization and a better understanding of cultures at the local, national, and global scales. It will be unsettling both figuratively and literally, but it is important to move forward with this research with a reflective critical eye and with respect and love.

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Chapter 46

Nigeria's Inter-Faith, Inter-Ideology Crisis: The Need for Global Citizenship Education



Sadiq A. Abdullahi

Abstract Every first week in February, the United Nations (UN) celebrates World Interfaith Harmony (WIH) week to promote peaceful religious co-existence, and dialogue on peace, love, unity and togetherness, irrespective of faith or ideology. This chapter discusses the inter-faith, inter-ideology crisis in Nigeria within the context of promoting education for national values orientation and global citizenship. The chapter uses Samuel P. Huntington (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* to argue that until Nigerians define themselves as Nigerians first and only secondarily based on tribal affiliation, language, religion and class, the nation will be in a chronic crisis and will see its prosperity lessened and its global and regional reputation and influence devalued. Some of the principal inquiries include: (1) What impact does the inter-faith and inter-ideology crisis have on Nigeria? (2) To what extent can education for global citizenship contribute to national identity, unity and peace in Nigeria? (3) To what extent can education for global citizenship advance sustainable development goals? The chapter concludes by offering a template for curriculum design focused on furthering a values-based national identity in Nigeria through global citizenship education.

46.1 Introduction

The great conflict of our time is not between Islam and Christianity. It is between extremism and human solidarity, between forces of hate and intolerance and those of empathy. (Professor Yemi Osinbajo, Nigerian Vice President (on Facebook and Twitter, August, 2019).

The terms *Global Citizenship Education* (GCE) and *Education for Global Citizenship* (EGC) will be used interchangeably as concepts provide the framework for teaching and learning about the interconnectedness and interdependence of

S. A. Abdullahi (✉)

Curriculum Development, Improvement, and Sustainability, and Global Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning, Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

peoples, cultures, nations, and systems around the world (Zajda 2020a). In 2010, the publication of the *International Handbook of Inter-religious Education: Toward a Theoretical Framework for Participation in Interreligious Dialogue and Education*, set an agenda for a robust debate on inter-faith dialogue in higher institution and places of worship around the world. The handbook remains relevant today. Its chapters explored ideas and problems related to religious pluralism, exclusivism, inclusiveness, and diversity. Inter-religious education is an important aspect of education for global citizenship.

This chapter draws on ideas of Samuel Huntington's (1996) *Clash of Civilization: Remaking of the World Order*, to argue that until Nigeria develops a new national curriculum and Nigerians define themselves as Nigerians first and by ethnic/tribal affiliation, language, religion and class second, the nation will be in a chronic crisis and will see its prosperity lessened and its global and regional reputation and influence devalued (Geo-JaJa and Zajda 2021). Huntington divided the world into eight civilizations: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and Africa. He argued that the population explosion in the Muslim countries will change national and global priorities and will tear down the fabric of societies and that the critical distinctions between people are not primarily ideological or economic but cultural. He concluded that people will primarily see and define themselves first based on their ethnic/tribal affiliations, language, class, and religion bound up with cultural histories, heritage and tradition. He gave an example: "Nigerian politics has been demonstrated by conflicts between the Muslim Fulani-Hausa in the north and Christian tribes in the south, with frequent riots and coups and one major war" (p. 256). The chapter also employs Robert Hanvey's *Global Education* (1976) model as a pedagogical framework. Hanvey (1976) proposed five dimensions for organizing global education content:

1. Perspective consciousness. This dimension addresses the recognition that one's own view of the world is not shared universally, that it is often shaped unconsciously, and that others have a view of the world profoundly different from one's own.
2. State-of-the-planet awareness. This dimension requires knowledge of prevailing world conditions and developments, and emerging trends such as population growth, migration, economic conditions, resources, and health.
3. Cross-cultural awareness. This dimension focuses on advancing understanding of the diversity of ideas and practices to be found in human society, and the mutual appreciation and understanding among cultures at the individual and societal levels.
4. Knowledge of global dynamics. This dimension describes the world as an inter-related system characterized by interconnectedness and lack of predictability.
5. Awareness of human choices. This dimension requires an understanding of the problems of choice that confront individuals and nations.

Hanvey warned that it is difficult for people to transcend their cognitive or concept mapping because the culture of the home they are born into are difficult to change. This explains why entrenched values, beliefs and identities are hard to change

(Zajda and Majhanovich 2021). Values, beliefs and perceptions continue to shape our individual behavior and action. There is increasing recognition that religious diversity is increasing in the world because of the legitimacy of international human rights for example, through Amnesty International raising issues related to abuses around the world (Zajda 2020c). Banks (2014) reminds us that “we are living in a dangerous, confused, and troubled world that demands leaders, educators and classroom teachers who can bridge cultural, ethnic, and religious borders, envision new possibilities, invent novel paradigms, and engage in personal transformation and visionary action” (p. 23). Oxfam (2006) argues that Education for Global Citizenship provides young learners the knowledge, understanding, skills and values to participate fully and contribute to national, regional, and global sustainable development; and Gaudelli (2016) added that education prepares young people to live in a more interdependent, complex, and fragile world.

A global citizen wrestles with values, beliefs, perceptions and identity. Mansilla and Jackson (2014), in *Mastering Global Literacy*, call for relevant learning in response to rapid economic, technological, and social changes that are creating a more interconnected and interdependent world (p. 5). They defined global competence as the capacity and disposition to understand and act on issues of global significance. They argued that globally competent students need to be able to demonstrate the following four competences if they want to effectively manage personal, national and global exigencies caused by individual and social interests: (1) investigate the world beyond their immediate environment, (2) recognize perspectives of others and their own, (3) communicate ideas effectively with diverse audiences, and (4) take action to improve conditions (p.15). Fullan, Quinn, and McEachen support the call for relevant education in *Deep Learning: Engage the World Change the World* (2018) identifying six global competences relevant to interfaith instruction: character, citizenship, collaboration, communication, creativity, and critical thinking (p.17), and they argue that a big change is always a function of push and pull and that it takes place where there is conflict in the world. One of the major challenges facing Nigeria today is managing and controlling ethno-religious conflicts.

Some of the principles of developing a global citizen include: (1) know, respect and care for the rights, responsibilities, values and opinion of others, (2) develop an awareness and understanding of engagement in democratic processes, (3) develop the skills to participate in critical thinking and decision making in schools and communities at local, national, regional and global levels, (4) understand the interdependence and interconnectedness of systems, cultures, and peoples, (5) understand their role in shaping the environment, (6) appreciate and celebrate diversity, (7) seek to understand intolerance, injustice, and inequality (8) seek to be an advocate for social change, (9) think creatively, and critically and (10) act responsibly in all aspects of life, politically, politically, economically, culturally, and environmentally (Abdullahi 2010a, b).

46.2 Inter-Faith and Inter-Ideology

In 2016, Jonathan Sacks, when writing in *Telegraph Newspaper* in the United Kingdom, pointed out that Christians are being persecuted in many countries around the world, especially in North Korea, Syria, Somalia, Sudan and Nigeria. Weiner (2018), in *Annual Editions: Global Issues*, concluded that “there is an increase in civil conflicts around the world which have resulted in the displacement of millions of people, with the number of migrants, internally displaced persons, and refugees since World War II” (p. 10).

Religion has become an integral part of all societies and a critical aspect of cultures. There are three major exceptionalist religions in the world: Christianity, Islam, Judaism. Other religions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, make up over 79% of the 7.5 billion people in the world. In 2015, Christians and Muslims in Nigeria make up about 48% and 50% and ranked sixth and fifth in the world respectively. Christians, Muslims and Jews believe in the same God but take a different path to God. The Holy Bible, Holy Quran, and Holy Torah remain the fountain of information and spiritual awakening for the adherents of these faiths. When the content in these holy books are misinterpreted, conflicts arise. Followers of each faith result to aggressive and misguided behavior. Conflict arises when a believer questions the legitimacy of the other faiths and when this happens, it undermines the spirit of co-existence and religious tolerance. It is noteworthy to mention that there are many people, about 16% of the world population, whose lives religion does not play a significant role (www.worldreligiousnews.com).

In Nigeria, the intra-faith conflict between the Shiites, represented by the Islamic Movement of Nigeria and Sunnis is real and significant. The intra-faith conflict within the Christian faith is not significant. According to Mohammad Ali, the Commander, Kaduna State Vigilance Service, a state in central Nigeria, the effects of ethno-religious conflicts in northern Nigeria is undermining peace and security in the region. He identified the following deadly conflicts: In 1987 Reverend Bako crusade at the College of Education, Kafanchan in southern Kaduna State left hundreds of people dead. In 1991, the Kano riots saw almost 100 people dead. In February 1992, the first and second Zangon Kataf riots saw over 1500 people dead. In 1993, the Tafawa Balewa crisis saw 540 people dead. In 1999, OPC/Hausa Community Yam Market crisis saw over 2000 people dead. In July 1999, the Hausa/Yoruba Shagamu crisis saw over 1700 people killed. In 2000, the first and second Kaduna anti-*Sharia* saw over 1650 people dead. In 2001, the Jos inter-communal clashes saw over 1000 people dead. In 2004, over 1000 Muslims in the town of Yelma in Shandam local government in Plateau state were killed. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the leading Christian organization, has always been quick to respond, condemning attacks on Christians in Nigeria. The intra-faith conflict in the Muslim community is caused by Boko Haram, considered to be one of the largest Islamist militant groups in Africa. Its operation in Nigeria has taken different dimensions. It has conducted terrorist attacks on religious and political groups, local police, and the military as well as indiscriminately attacked civilians

in busy markets and villages. The roots of Boko Haram lie in the Islamic history of northern Nigeria. The effects include over 37,500 people killed since May 2011 and over 2.4 million people displaced and over 239,000 Nigerians have become refugees around the region (www.worldreligiousnews.com).

There are other non-religious and ideological conflicts in Nigeria as well emanating in the southern part of Nigeria waged by groups such as the *O'dua People's Congress (OPC)*, the *Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB)*, and the *Movement for the Emancipation of the Delta (MENDS)*. These non-religious and ideological conflicts are political in nature, caused by economic, human rights abuses and environmental degradation.

The global community through the United Nations agencies and liberal and conservative higher educational institutions are responding through global and environmental education. Many inter-faith organizations are promoting a new curriculum in which young people learn and interact with people with different cultural experiences backgrounds, perspectives, customs, and religious beliefs. Many leaders, including clergies, pastors, and Imams, are calling for "Inter-faith Religious Dialogue" to educate and discuss differences, similarities and commonalities among all the religions.

46.3 Africa

Africa has a population of over 1.3 billion people in 54 countries. It is estimated that the population will reach over 2.4 billion in 2050. If this prediction holds, it will not only provide opportunities for economic growth, sustainable development, and political harmony but social discord and conflict. Centuries of internal conflicts and rivalries and the involvement of European and Arab colonialism and imperialism in the late nineteenth century in Africa have ruptured the root foundations, structures, and processes that could have been used to develop within and sustain authentic African civilizations. Africa, particularly Nigeria, has not recovered from the psychological and emotional abuses perpetrated by the Europeans and Arabs. Ethnic and religious conflicts have continued to divide African people, rather than bringing them together to rebuild the continent. The need to promote peaceful religious co-existence, peace, love, unity and togetherness, irrespective of faith or ideology and harmony is more urgent now than at any period in African history. Africans have diverse cultures, languages and beliefs and have lived within the same geographical locations, zones or regions for centuries. Africans understand what they have always had in common. They understand differences. For example, 40 years after the last nation – Zimbabwe – attained its independence, many African nations have faced serious socio-economic challenges. The challenges have come in the forms of ethno-regional, religious, and separatist or successionist conflicts and have been shaped and exacerbated by fear and weak governance. The spread of religious fundamentalism or extremism appears to be evident in Algeria, Mali, Kenya, Somalia, Niger, Mauritania, Central Africa Republic, and Nigeria.

46.3.1 Nigeria

Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa, with an estimated current population of 201 million people. It is estimated that the population will increase to 402 million by the year 2050. Nigeria gained its independence in 1960 from Great Britain. Since then, the nation has gone through a series of military coups and counter-coups that have paralyzed the rich nation and repelled any possibility of sustained peace and security. There are 36 states and Federal Capital Territory with a weak political and economic system. Since independence, Nigerians have worked to develop a federal system of government that could have effectively served to address the social and cultural challenges facing the country.

The challenges to peace and security are obvious. Nigeria embodies 250 ethnic groups, speaking approximately 400 languages and practicing traditional African religions, Christianity, and Islam. Three major ethnic groups continue to strongly dominate and influence social and political events. These groups represent different political traditions. The Hausa-Fulani, in the north, are mostly Muslim and traditionally support a centralized authoritarian system with a strong village chief and local Emir. The Igbo, in the southeast, are mostly Christians who traditionally live in autonomous village communities and are noted for indirect democracy. The Yoruba, in the west, follow a mixture of religions and lie midway between the direct democracy of the Igbo and the authoritarian systems of the Hausa-Fulani in their traditional government. The Yoruba have traditional leaders and a council of hereditary chiefs who make decisions in addition to those made by local self-governing units. Although the Yoruba and Igbo differ greatly in culture and traditional political system, they are often viewed as southerners in contrast to Hausa-Fulani northerners. Politically, the Igbo and Yoruba are lumped together (not any more) because of the generally higher levels of education as a result of early exposure to Western ideas brought in by the missionaries. The regionalization (north north, north central, north east, south south, south east, and south west) of the country is intended to realign the political power structure and dominance of the north.

There are still divisions among the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo who are competing for political supremacy. Many politicians play the ethnic and religious game in order to garner Muslim and Christian support or votes. They were instances where minority ethnic groups also find themselves in genocidal tribal raids such as the Tiv and in the Jukun in central Nigeria. Recently it is the Hausa/Fulani herdsmen from Northern threatening the peace and security of Yoruba and Igbo by killing them. One can conclude that post-independence political struggle for political and economic power have caused both majority and minority ethnic groups to fight for their share of the national cake by seeking political office.

In 1996, a new curriculum for citizenship education was developed to reflect the transition to constitutional democracy and the new Constitution which came into force in 1999 for the Third Republic. The philosophy of the social studies education hinges in part on the idea that Nigerian schools should not only train individuals to be just and competent individuals, but to function as contributing and participatory

members of a free constitutional democratic nation. This implies that students must rely on the knowledge, skills and awareness of the rights of minority and majority groups to coexist and worship freely; respect for law and order; and respect for public and private property of Nigerians and non-Nigerians. This includes the awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens to government and society, and reciprocal government responsibility to citizens. In 1999, Nigeria became a constitutional democratic nation. The new Constitution addresses core national issues such as citizenship, fundamental human rights, the legislature, the executive branch, the judiciary, national identity, and political parties etc. The assumption here is that the new Constitution can be a catalyst and stimulus that engenders national consciousness, political reconstruction and participation, and economic stability and growth, and ethnic sensitivity and individual development.

46.4 United Nations

Can education for global citizenship advance United Nations sustainable development goals? The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization tasked with maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, achieving international co-operation, and being a center for harmonizing the actions of nations. There are 195 countries in the United Nations, with two nations that are non-member observer states: The Holy See and the State of Palestine. Beginning with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural, Organization (UNESCO) General Conference Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Peace, Human Rights and Democracy in 1995, and the United Nations Millennium Declaration's resolution in the 2000, the path for education for global citizenship has been paved. UNESCO encourages educational institutions and nations to: (1) foster an appreciation and understanding of all humans, (2) improve standards of living, and (3) solve global issues such as war, disease, hunger, and poverty. Global Citizenship Education (GCED) is UNESCO's response to global problems and it works to empower learners of all ages to become active promoters of more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable societies. UNESCO's document has three domains of learning which are divided into cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral. Each domain has key learning outcomes (unesdoc.unesco.org).

Oxfam (2006) defines Education for Global Citizenship as the education that enables students to develop the knowledge, skills and values needed for securing a just and sustainable world. The United Nations uses the sustainable development framework to organize its development agenda using targets to achieve the goals. Target 4.7 focuses on *Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship*. Education for Global Citizenship is a recent movement in the world. In September 2012, former United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon launched the *United Nations Global Education First Initiative* (GEFI) to the 192 member nations. He

stressed the importance of putting every child in school, improving the quality of education and fostering global citizenship. The GEFI has identified five barriers to global citizenship: (1) legacy of the current education system; (2) outmoded curricula and learning materials; (3) lack of teacher capacity; (4) inadequate focus on values; and (5) lack of leadership on global citizenship.

In 2015, the World Education Forum reaffirmed that education is essential for peace, tolerance, human fulfilment and sustainable development. GCED has emerged as a significant agenda for the construction of post-2015 development goals because of its potential as a transformative education that (1) encourages learners to analyze real-life issues critically and to identify possible solutions creatively and innovatively; (2) supports learners to revisit assumptions, world views and power relations in mainstream discourses and consider people/groups systematically underrepresented/marginalized; (3) respects differences and diversity; (4) focuses on engagement to bring about desired changes; and (5) involves multiple stakeholders, including those outside the learning environment in the community and in the larger circle of the society. Education for Global Citizenship (EGC) is an aspect of international or global education. EGC is gaining popularity and acceptance in international or global education worldwide, and it has become an important feature of national official curriculum at the primary and secondary school level globally. It represents one of the most recent approaches to international or global education.

Landoft (2009) argues that some of the aspirations of global citizenship education are to bridge the love of country, highlight traditional citizenship education, and respect for the other. The primary goal of global citizenship education as it relates to human rights education is to “enable young people to learn about their rights and responsibilities and equip them with skills for democratic participation, at all level, from local to global”. Gaudelli and Heilmann observes that global citizenship education that combines human rights, cosmopolitan education, environmental education, and social justice education prepares students to become authentic global citizens. The desire to balance the respect all people, their individual rights coupled with ethical and social responsibility and a commitment to national development and global understanding, defines the contemporary global citizen. Contemporary citizens should possess the following elements: advocacy, activism, networking, and partnership.

Kirkwood-Tucker (2012) argues that “the preparation of students for global citizenship represent a central challenge to social studies educators in the twenty-first century” (pp 244). She made the claim that two-third of the world’s poor are caught up in abject poverty, the refugee problem unresolved, an alarming increase in human trafficking, and a global crisis of abuse of women and children. The denial of basic human and political, cultural, and economic rights by various governments may be the source of the tensions, conflicts, and revolutions around the world. Guo (2014) demonstrated that there are themes and characteristics cutting across the literature on global citizenship education. They include: (a) respect for fellow humans, regardless of race, gender, age, religion, or political views, (b) appreciation for diversity and multiple perspectives, (c) a view that no single society or culture is inherently superior to any other, (d) cherishing the natural world and respecting the rights of all

living things, (d) practicing and encouraging sustainable pattern of living, consumption and production, (f) striving to resolve conflicts without the use of violence (g) be responsible for solving pressing global challenges in whichever way they can, and (h) think globally and act locally in eradicating inequality and injustice in all their forms (p 2). He believed that the aim is to prepare students to become global citizens. The objectives include: building a sense of belonging with a global community and a common humanity, nurturing a feeling of global solidarity, clarifying identity and responsibility for global engagement and action, and promoting and respecting universal values.

Cogan (1977) provided some characteristics of global citizenship education. They included (a) ability to look at and approach problems as a member of a global society, (b) ability to work with others in a cooperative way and take responsibility for one's roles (and) duties within society, (c) ability to understand, accept, appreciate, and tolerate cultural differences, (d) capacity to think in a critical and systemic way, (e) willingness to change one's (way of life) and habits (of consumption) to protect the environment, (f) ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights, and (g) willingness to participate in politics locally, nationally, and internationally.

Oxfam's *Curriculum for Global Citizenship*: One of the leading authorities in global citizenship education is the Oxfam organization. The organization has worked with teachers in the UK to develop a curriculum and materials on Education for Global Citizenship (EGC). EGC can help young learners to develop the capacity to contribute positively to their communities and societies. It is a human right that enables access to other rights and to personal fulfilment. It is inclusive and transformative. Oxfam's Curriculum for Global Citizenship (OCGC) has four curriculum and instructional areas:

1. *Knowledge and Understanding*- Social Justice and Equity, Diversity, Globalization and Interdependence, Sustainable Development, and Peace and Conflict.
2. *Skills*- Critical Thinking, Ability to argue effectively, Ability to challenge injustice and inequalities, respect for people and Conflict Resolution.
3. *Values and Attitudes*- Sense of identity and self-esteem, empathy and sense of common humanity, commitment to social justice and equity, value and respect for diversity, concern for the environment and commitment to sustainable development, and belief that people can make a difference.

46.5 Global Pedagogy

The inter-faith, inter-religious pedagogy involves critical pedagogy and critical perspective to examine the differences and similarities among the three main religions and the lesser religions without bias. Critical dialogue is open-ended. It supports other religion's self-understanding and enables students to cross religious

boundaries and dialogue with the “other” without fear and intimidation. Global pedagogy is the practice of teaching and learning globally oriented content in ways that support the goals of global education, climate change and environment education and education for global citizenship (Zajda 2010). When teachers employ a global pedagogy, students’ curiosity and interest in the problems and issues of the world will be enhanced. Students will also become aware of their own and other people’s values (Zajda 2015).

Global issues such as local terrorism, globalization, human rights, social justice, ethnic and religious conflicts, population growth, migration, human trafficking, refugees, climate change, pollution, and diseases etc. should frame the EGC curriculum. Students need to develop a critical and reflective pedagogy. Abdullahi (2010a, b) believed that teachers are continually faced with the challenge of teaching young people to understand how local issues and problems have national, regional, and global consequences. Diaz et al. (1999) offer two approaches to teaching global perspectives: discrete and infusion. They argue that the discrete approach, which consists of (a) creation of a separate unit or separate course and (b) the infusion approach provides alternatives for global instruction. They also argue that one of the disadvantages of creating a separate unit is that students may or may not make the connection to global knowledge and to the rest of the curriculum. In the infusion approach, a secondary social studies teacher in a given subject area integrates global content and information into his or her instruction, using current local, state, national, and international issues. They argue that issues in global education are better explored using the infusion approach. However, they also argue that the infusion approach may pose some difficulties for teachers, in the sense that some of them may not have the necessary global knowledge and information to apply to their teaching or when they have inadequate training in infusing global perspectives in the classroom.

They that global education curriculum should include: (a) teachers’ awareness of the attitudes toward global education that are present in the schools and communities where they teach; (b) teachers’ awareness and use of (either exclusively or in an integrated manner) the following models as frameworks for organizing global knowledge – the Hanvey, Kniep, Merryfield, and White models; (c) an emphasis on heterogeneity, not homogeneity; (d) the pedagogical involvement of the cognitive, affective, and participatory domains; and (e) the discussion of some controversial issues. Tavangar (2014), on the other hand, argued that a global citizen in a global classroom should have the following elements: (1) enthusiasm for learning, (2) creativity, (3) collaboration, (4) effective communication through multiple channels, (5) inclusive social environments, and (6) meaningful connections with the larger world. We must fundamentally change the way we think about education and its role in human wellbeing and global development. In addition, according to Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, stated that now more than ever before, education has a responsibility to foster the right type of skills, attitudes and behavior that will lead to sustainable and inclusive growth, and, if we are serious about SDG4, we must act with a sense of heightened urgency, and with long term commitment (UNESCO 2016). Failure to do so will not only adversely affect education. Education for

national and global citizenship will provide the knowledge, skills and disposition for a new national and global identity (Zajda and Majhanovich 2021). Furthermore, a global citizen with a national identity will advance and promote *Sustainable Development Goals*.

When teachers employ a global pedagogy, students' curiosity and interest in the problems and issues of the world are enhanced (Zajda 2020a, b, c) Young learners become aware of their own perspectives and values and the perspectives and values of others. Becker suggested that effective teaching of global perspectives must be approached from the context of an integrated, interdisciplinary school curriculum. This is consistent with many studies that suggest that the integrative or infusion model is the best approach to implementing global education strategies in the classroom (Abdullahi 2004). This model could be used for teaching climate change and environmental education and education for global citizenship. As the fields of study for both disciplines are improved, they could be taught discretely.

46.6 Teaching for Understanding

As Diaz et al. (1999) demonstrated, there were two main approaches to teaching education for global citizenship: discrete and infusion. Both approaches could be used depending on the needs of the students and the school. McTighe and Wiggins (2005) in *Understanding by Design* provided a template for curriculum design which could be appropriate for inter-religious education. Teaching for understanding is the aim of instruction. Teachers will assist students to uncover or unwrap deeply rooted biases and prejudices, and mode of instruction may involve direct instruction, constructivist methods, inquiry and research-based projects. The units could be divided into several interrelated and interconnected lessons based on all inter-faith crisis.

One of the instructional methods is critical pedagogy, which is essential for understanding global problems, issues, and events. The term critical pedagogy as used in this study refers to a method of instruction that prepares students to closely and critically examine political, social, economic, and environmental issues and problems, including structures and behavior of individuals in power and authority – with an eye toward reconstructing society. Another is issues-centered pedagogy. Issues-centered curriculum encourages students to argue controversial issues, and as they do that they will be expanding their sense of responsibility as global citizens. Students critically analyze and evaluate global events and issues. Gaudelli (1999) has suggested that teachers avoid controversial issues and self-criticism, if they are not familiar with issue or controversy under discussion. He argues that some teachers are slow to engage their students in controversial issues because they assume that their students have not attained global knowledge and are often immature. Diaz et al. (1999) have suggested that teachers expose their students to controversial issues in an open classroom setting. They argue that by doing so, students will develop citizenship skills and positive disposition towards global issues and events.

Merryfield (1995) argued that teachers typically do not approach issues-centered global education with clear objectives and a variety of strategies to infuse global

content into the social studies curriculum. They believe that a global teacher must have a framework and suggested that (a) teachers build a foundation at the beginning of the unit, (b) link issues to social studies content, (c) plan authentic and personal experiences and (d) plan time for reflection. In building a framework, they stressed that teachers must develop perspective consciousness through examination of conflicting perspectives on historical or contemporary events as well as examining information across local, national, regional, and global data bases. They argue that having an issues-centered global education framework and strategies are critical for effective teaching of global education. An issues-centered global education approach creates an intellectual hub that opens opportunities for students to become competent in communications and information handling, facing uncertainties, value formation, inquiry, and decision-making. Teachers can organize and structure issues-centered global education on political, cultural/social, development, economic and environmental issues. Globally-oriented classroom should address the following: (a) self-knowledge (identity, heritage, and privilege), (b) cross-cultural experience and skills (listening, cooperation, and conflict management), (c) perspective consciousness (multiple perspectives on a range of local and global issues), (d) values analysis (analyze values, beliefs and attitudes that underpin public information, authentic learning and authentic applications (see also Zajda 2020a, b)).

46.7 Conclusion

The objectives of this chapter are to draw attention to the interfaith crisis in Nigeria and to get teachers, educators, policy makers and UNESCO to begin the process of teaching religious education from the context of education for global citizenship. A new political and economic agenda by African governments focusing on investment in education to provide access to all must be implemented. Global educators should adopt a vision of ethical global citizenship if they want to help young learners support the effort in addressing the challenges of climate change and sustainable development. The curricula should reflect the vision of a democratic, pluralistic, and diverse society. Global challenges such as globalization, population growth, environmental degradation, human rights, and national and global terrorism are forcing nations to rethink education and budgetary allocations. Global educators should adopt a vision of ethical global citizenship if they want to help young learners support the effort in addressing the challenges of climate change and sustainable development. The curricula should reflect the vision of a democratic, pluralistic, and diverse society. Global challenges such as globalization, population growth, environmental degradation, human rights, and national and global terrorism are forcing nations to rethink education and budgetary allocations. Education for Global Citizenship offers the best curriculum human transcendence, religious tolerance, peaceful coexistence and national security.

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Chapter 47

Philosophical and Pedagogical Underpinnings of Globalisation and Education



John P. Keeves and I. Gusti Ngurah Darmawan

Abstract This chapter argues that education is an essential component of the development and the wellbeing of the human and nations globally. It examines the philosophical and pedagogical underpinnings of globalisation and the wholeness of education, and considers the critical role of the educative process in the past, the present and the future. The problem demands not only analytical thinking, but also systemic and futuristic thinking and pedagogy, in which the situation under consideration is viewed as a whole, as well as its many parts. It is also argued that globalisation involves more than an international and global approach to economic and political issues.

47.1 Globalisation and Education: Introduction

The maintenance and survival of the human race on planet Earth, in which we live, work, learn and play, is dependent on the process of education by which knowledge, skills and beliefs are passed on from one generation to the next. The educative process is an essential component of the development and the wellbeing of the human race and all living creatures that together share and occupy planet Earth. This chapter views the wholeness of this situation and considers the critical role of the educative process in the past, the present and the future. The problem demands not only analytical thinking, but also systemic thinking in which the situation under consideration is viewed as a whole, as well as its many parts. It is also argued that globalisation involves more than an international and global approach to economic and political issues (Zajda 2020). Today, more is at risk than financial transactions and

J. P. Keeves
Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia

I. G. N. Darmawan (✉)
University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia
e-mail: igusti.darmawan@adelaide.edu.au

only the process of education, considered as a world-wide whole, can resolve the complex issues faced.

The relationship between a global view of the world and education emerged in modern times from the philosophical writings and educational practices advanced by Comenius (1592–1670) during the Reformation in Central Europe. These ideas spread first to Northern Europe, particularly Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland and importantly to England. The scientific developments in England during the eighteenth century led to the Industrial Revolution and the growing concentration of people in large cities and industrial towns. In turn these societal changes led to the formation of education systems, together with legislation and public policy in the field of education. This social action was derived from the advancements in philosophical thought that subsequently influenced religious, political and social movements. While nations were formed and the boundaries of countries underwent change, there was growing recognition that the peoples on planet Earth had a common origin and changes in one part of the world had profound influences on changes in other parts within a global system.

47.2 The Emergence of Formal Education

There seems little doubt that almost all human beings who are alive today could trace their origins back to a ‘mitochondrial Eve’ who lived in Africa about 150 thousand years ago (Sykes 2001, pp. 336–8). An extraordinary gene was passed through the maternal line from generation to generation to one of seven women, the so-called ‘daughters of Eve’. Not only was a gene passed through successive generations, but the skills necessary to survive in a hostile environment were in some way passed on to provide for survival. This account tells not only of our common ancestry, but also indicates the origins of the educative process that is necessary for survival in an adverse and changing world. No doubt there have been genetic changes occurring in the successive generations that have followed as are witnessed by the diversity existing in the human race in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Moreover, there must have been many changes in the skills, knowledge and beliefs transmitted across the successive generations, through what we refer to as the ‘educative process’ that has ensured survival. However, only in relatively recent times has education been formal. Connell (1980, p.3) stated that ‘at the beginning of the twentieth century formal education for the majority of the people in the world scarcely existed.’ Only in the more developed and industrialised nations of North America, Western Europe and the former British colonies of Australia and New Zealand was universal education well established.

The account of the development of the educative process is only available through what has been passed down successively using abstract symbols. These symbols have been recorded on the stone walls of tombs, on clay tablets, on papyrus, vellum or parchment scrolls that were later transformed into a codex and at a later stage into printed books. No doubt most teaching took place through word of

mouth, and most learning through recital and directed action. Only where collections of written records have survived in tombs or in libraries is there evidence of how the educative process was actually carried out. Such early records as remain are only a few thousand years old. Unfortunately, most early records stored in libraries had generally been destroyed by conquering armies. Only documents secreted in caves or buried in tombs or untouched by fire or military personnel are now available to provide evidence of how teaching and learning took place over successive periods of time.

In general, education initially served only the training of administrators and record keepers for the purposes of tax collection or providing support for the governors of provinces or instructions for the builders of amphitheatres, bath houses, meeting places and palaces. However, the establishment of a priestly class to sustain religious practices required not only the keeping of historical and religious records, but also the education of persons who would conduct religious assemblies. It was the support and maintenance of religious observations that gave rise to the spreading of education.

During the Golden Age of Islam, the need to maintain records and documents and to examine the works of the one true God that led to the building of libraries not only in the Middle-East, but also in North Africa and in Spain (Iqbal 2007). In a similar way the Church of Rome in the West and the Eastern Church in Constantinople supported libraries and educational activity. However, the great libraries that had been built in Athens and in Alexandria had been largely destroyed by conquering armies. Gradually religious organisations built universities in Western Europe that emerged as centres of scholarship, with schools attached for the children of the wealthy and the ruling class. Two major intellectual developments occurred. The first involved the advancement of analytical thought and reason. The second involved the development of systemic thought and the systematic examination of evidence. These developments challenged the influence of dogma and religious traditions in Europe.

47.2.1 The Enlightenment

In the eighteenth century, a movement that became known as the 'Enlightenment' led thinkers to argue both in a rational way and for a reasoned approach to practical life and social change. In France, the great scholars of the Enlightenment included two Frenchmen: (a) Fontevelli, who argued for a modern theory of development, and (b) Descartes, who established the supremacy of rational knowledge. In Germany, (c) Kant, held to a belief in the unlimited progress of all mankind, and (d) Leibniz contended that progress took place in a continuous and cumulative way. In England, (e) Newton was the great scholar who laid the theoretical foundations for the examination of change in the fields of Mathematics and the Sciences. This movement, the Enlightenment, was supported by energetic and prolific writers who presented the new ideas of scholars to a wider public. They argued that humanity

was progressing through the application of reason, science, tolerance and benevolence. Their influence on the educative process in Western Europe was profound, but essentially analytical and dependent on reason.

47.2.2 Evolution and the World System

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Darwin in his great work *On the Origin of Species* advanced the idea of 'evolution' as the process that lay behind the changes that were occurring in the world of nature. His observations ranged across many fields of science and his conclusions were challenged and attempts made to discredit them. However, over the decades that followed more and more evidence was brought forward, and today 150 years later, the scientific value of the theory of evolution is now widely and strongly recognized. Moreover, this theory has had a major impact on ideas of social and cultural evolution as well as man's concept of himself and his place on planet Earth. The impact of the idea of 'evolution' on the educative process is widespread since it has had an influence on almost every intellectual field. The principle of 'survival' or 'preservation' that Darwin called 'natural selection' has two components. First, the minor differences that existed between individuals were a component that provided an encouragement of competition. The individual person, best trained and best equipped, would succeed in competition with others. Those who were likely to succeed were the ones most worthy of support and encouragement. Second, the principle of 'inheritance' that passed these differences down through generations involved survival within a complex system. In contrast to the cultivation of an elite, this component supported the view of equalising social, cultural and educational opportunities through support and cooperation to ensure survival within the natural system. This involved adaptation to circumstances in order to ensure the survival of the group and all the individuals within the group.

The advantage that human beings had over all other organisms within the Earth's environment in which they lived involved the use of language and a capacity to communicate in a meaningful way with other members of the human race. Moreover, human beings developed the use of signs and symbols that could be employed to record, transmit and store both ideas and their interrelations and subsequently to test these ideas against evidence obtained from the system in which they operated. The capacity to document and test both ideas and relationships defined the role of science within the educative process.

47.2.3 The Places of Language and Culture

There are approximately 6000 different languages in the world today, but many have died out during recent decades. The neighbouring island to Australia of New Guinea has, by contrast, some 1200 languages. The difference arises from the historical origins of the peoples and the geographical characteristics of the lands (Wade 2006). Bellwood and Diamond (2003) contend that across planet Earth there are 15 major language families, while further condensation suggests fewer, namely the Eurasianic, the Apoasiatic and the Indo-European language families. Problems arise in tracing languages back using linguistic procedures, but by using phylogenetic analysis that employs DNA, it is becoming possible to trace back further, perhaps to a single ancestral human language. There appear to be three main centres from which languages have spread: the Middle-East (Sumaria), China (Yangtze Yellow River Basin) and Central Africa. However, the movement of peoples across the world from Africa would appear to imply a common source.

Symbolic systems would also appear to have arisen more recently from the Fertile Crescent (Sumaria) (5–6000 years ago), Egypt (4–5000 years ago) and Phoenicia (4000 years ago) with a different symbol system arising in China. For the development of cultural differences between groups of people, it would seem that languages and symbol systems played a key role. However, racial differences would appear to have a DNA or genetic basis. The present time is a period of very active research in these areas. There is a strong hypothesis that all peoples on planet Earth have a common genetic origin with successive subgroups forming from about 50,000 years ago, with marked developments occurring about 14,000 and 6000 years ago (Wade 2006).

47.2.4 A Global Language

It is necessary in a World system for individuals and groups within the system to communicate with each other. With some 6000 languages in operation across the world, it would appear desirable that there is one language that forms the global language of communication, but without the collapse or decline in the use of the many other languages. English is emerging as the global language in preference to French, the case for which the Francophone countries have argued strongly. Moreover, German unfortunately suffers from several short comings, such as a complex and lengthy sentence structure, and Chinese, which while serving perhaps the greatest number of people in the world, employs a complex symbol system. English has the advantage among the Indo-European languages in that it has been developed from an amalgam of Latin, French and the Northern European languages, and has been spread widely across the world by the former British Empire and the United States of America. Furthermore, it has already become the common

language for telecommunication as well as the basic language used in international trade and commerce.

Nevertheless, it would appear to be highly desirable that each language group of people should maintain their traditional language and culture. From the strength and diversity of the many different cultures of the World, the human race can maintain, enrich, augment and develop the strength of the cultures already in existence.

47.2.5 The Roles of Democracy and Freedom Within the World System

During the twentieth century two great books were published that have led to change in recent times. The French Revolution in 1789 and the *Development of the Rights of Man and Citizen* in the name of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* ended the period of the Enlightenment, but opened the way, particularly in the United States, for the re-emergence of democracy as a political system that is now spreading globally. In 1916, the publication of *Democracy and Education* by Dewey extended the influence of pragmatist thought beyond the area of philosophy into the fields of education and social theory. Likewise, the publication of *Development as Freedom* by Amartya Sen, in 1999 strengthened the expansion of freedom and democracy to both the richer and poorer countries of the world where human rights were constrained and democratic governance did not operate.

47.2.6 The Contribution of Science and Technology in a Changing World

The work of Newton introduced more than two centuries of scientific development together with great advancements in industry and technology. The scientific ideas advanced by Newton supported the view of a world governed, like a machine, by laws that were deterministic in nature. At the beginning of the twentieth century Einstein introduced a very different view of the physical world where time and space were merged. Thus, an observer's time frame was relative to himself and events were probabilistic in nature and governed by stochastic relationships. Einstein's (1961) ideas changed mankind's view of the universe and unleashed immense sources of energy and completely different models of the material world. This led on to the field of semi-conductors of electricity and in particular to the development of electronic computing and communications technology. Likewise, the fields of atomic fission and fusion emerged. The former raised problems that greatly influenced the political world, and the latter raised the possibility of providing an unlimited supply of energy if the problems of containment could be resolved.

A second development associated with the field of genetics is best seen in the writings of Watson on **The Molecular Biology of the Gene** (1965) and **The Double Helix** (1968). Further work on the DNA molecule has greatly influenced thinking on evolution, the development of language, medical research and the feeding of the growing population of planet Earth. The rapid expansion of knowledge in the fields of science and technology has great implications for the processes of education. No longer is an initial period of learning in schools adequate. Learning is becoming a universal lifelong process that needs to be undertaken by all people.

47.2.7 Economic Influences

Trade and commerce across the world benefited greatly from the development of a number system and an effective notation that gave rise to algorithmic calculation. These principles reached Europe from the Middle East, (Iqbal 2007) where the Indian and possibly Chinese ideas had been accepted and further developed. However, the works of Marx (1818–1883), along with those of Engels (1820–1895) were to have a profound influence in Russia and Eastern Europe, and subsequently in many developing countries. For Marx the fundamental issue for the human race was the need to convert the raw material of the natural world into the products, including food and manufactured goods, necessary for human survival. Consequently, production and the associated management of living conditions required financial transactions that together with the principles of economics and commerce demanded training and formal education. Distinctions emerged between groups of people who owned property, the middle classes, who employed those who worked in industry, and those people who formed the working classes. Those people who inherited or acquired wealth could live with security in comfort, leaving behind a commonly large group of people who suffered social and economic disadvantage. Enterprising individuals who were constrained by lack of resources sought to live in situations where they could acquire wealth and property. Those with the benefits of education and training sought opportunities to live a better life. Thus, education became the key to overcoming social and economic disadvantage. Alternatively, opportunities could be provided for the socially and economically disadvantaged through the idea of forming a 'managed society' referred to as 'socialism' through the operation of educative processes.

47.2.8 *The Systematic Study of Man, Society and the Educative Process*

The ferment of new ideas and the associated way of thinking through the application of reason and science, together with tolerance and benevolent goodwill led in the field of education to the advancement of new theories of the educative process and the establishment of new practices. Rousseau (1712–1778) was perhaps the first philosophical scholar to challenge significantly the principle that education should be centred on **what** is taught (the subject matter) to the child. He argued that education should be focused on meeting the **needs** of the individual child. This led to a radical change in the emphasis assigned to the educative process. It was contrary to the teaching engaged in by the Christian churches that dominated the provision of education in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, this new approach was consistent with the thinking advanced through the Enlightenment. New views of the educative process emerged.

Froebel (1782–1852) was the founder of the kindergarten movement that gave rise to the establishment of pre-schools. Herbart (1776–1841) reoriented the approach to education at the level of primary schooling. His emphasis was not on the subject matter or the needs of the child, but rather on how the educative process took place and how educating should occur in schools. Educating was concerned with practical pedagogical problems. The main task of the educative process thus involved the development of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that met the requirements of the student at a particular stage of development through voluntary engagement in the process of learning.

From these new ideas and principles guiding the thinking of scholars in Germany, France and Italy, major developments in the process of education started to emerge. Not only was the provision of education greatly changed, but research and investigation into the processes of learning and teaching started to occur in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The field of educational research was established with three major studies (a) the pioneering study in 1882 by Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes* (The Mind of the Child) in Germany, (b) Hall in the United States in 1883, with *The Study of Children*, and (c) by Galton's work that led to the introduction of the idea of mental testing (de Lansheere 1997). These three studies opened up three fields of inquiry respectively (a) developmental psychology involving field experience, (b) the child study movement, and (c) the application of applied statistics to the study of human phenomena.

Experimental pedagogy was founded in about 1900 by Lay and Meumann in Germany; Binet and Simon in France; and Thorndike and Judd in the United States. In Geneva, Clarapède's theory of 'functional education' paralleled the work of Dewey in the United States who published a book on psychology in 1890, *The School and Society* in 1899 and *The Child and the Curriculum* in 1902. Dewey also established a laboratory school within the Department of Education at the University of Chicago. These developments all had an influence on the advancement of formal education.

47.2.9 Exploration of the Unknown World

The initial step in globalisation, apart from the conquest of neighbouring lands by the ancient empires of Egypt, Greece and Rome, involved exploration of the unknown world by the nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean, and possibly China, bordering the Pacific Ocean. Few records remain of the exploration undertaken from China. However, the exploration conducted from Western Europe by Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, The Netherlands and Germany, led to the discovery of the Americas, Southern Africa, South East Asia and Australasia. These explorations were undertaken with a variety of motives, initially the endless quest of the unknown and subsequently for the purposes of trade and shorter trade routes to the Far East, colonization and the search for new sources of wealth. In addition, there was concern for the religious salvation of the indigenous peoples by the Christian and Islamic faiths. Where possible, settlements were established and colonies consolidated with a very substantial empire formed across the planet Earth by Great Britain. These colonial empires remained in force until the middle of the twentieth century and over a period of several centuries educational activities were introduced to facilitate the government of these empires. The military activities of Germany in the First and Second World Wars and Japan in the Second World War led, over the following years, to the granting of independence to all but a few remnants of these empires. This termination of these vast empires and colonial states gave rise, during the second half of the twentieth century, to an immense expansion of education at all levels.

47.2.10 Religious Issues

Both the countries of Western Europe and within the Islamic realm established religious based schools, not only in the home countries, but also in the colonial countries where control was maintained. In most of these countries the religious support for such schools has been sustained after the granting of independence. The continued operation of religious based schools does not necessarily pose problems for the educative process arising from the onset of globalisation. Nevertheless, certain religious faiths would appear to hold strong beliefs and opinions, leading to particular issues that are related to different aspects of an emerging world crisis. Most religious organizations had a strong and beneficial influence on the provision of education during the times of educational expansion, and the importance of their ongoing work must be emphasised.

47.2.11 Education and Development in the Modern Era (1800–2000)

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been a period that involved a remarkable revolution in education that has completely transformed and reshaped the lives of human beings on planet Earth. The Enlightenment paved the way for the change that started in Western Europe and was based on the quest for freedom and equality among all people living on the planet. Nevertheless, there were many attempts made to gain control of territory and material resources for the benefit of the dominant groups of people in Western Europe. However, the principles of ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’ have ultimately influenced the developments and the changes that have taken place. At times it might have appeared that control was being sought by the most highly educated groups through military might, or by the wealthy groups through the ownership of territory in strategic locations and material resources. Nonetheless, with the growth of education, the use of reason and the power of ideas would appear to be paving the way forward for living in a changing world.

Earlier centuries gave rise to the emergence of national groups with an identified ‘Fatherland’ or ‘Motherland’ and the need to use education not to support the maintenance of a traditional religion, but to sustain and expand the homeland of the nation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the countries of the world could be clustered into three major groups. First, there were the developed countries of Western and Northern Europe and Japan, together with the more prosperous colonies of Australia and North America within which the United States had belonged in the eighteenth century. Second, there originally were the so-called emergent or transitional countries that included Russia, China and India. These were later joined by Indonesia, a former colony of the Netherlands and South Korea, a former colony of Japan. These countries are still in a process of transition and are being joined by Malaysia and Thailand. The very large third group include the developing countries of South America, Northern and Southern Africa, South East Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific Islands. The forces that all countries have in common are those associated with the educative process, that today are turning towards globalisation, rather than the building of a national identity. However, the building of a national identity is strongly maintained in the fields of sport and culture. This three-fold grouping of countries is employed in the pages that follow in an examination of the development of the education processes.

47.3 The Development of Formal Education During the Nineteenth Century

47.3.1 The Emergence of Formal Education in Germany

The establishment of formal education that was removed from the control of religious bodies would appear to have commenced at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany. In 1808, Von Humbolt was appointed as Director of Public Instruction in Prussia. Although he held office for only a brief period, he transformed primary and secondary schooling, and subsequently, university education in Germany. The philosophical writings of Fichte and Schiller and their influence on the work of Froebel, (1782–1852), Herbart (1776–1841) and Pestalozzi (1746–1827) had a profound effect on the development of German education at all levels. The kindergarten movement was established for younger children using the ideas of Froebel. The formal education that was introduced built on the ideas of Herbart. Science was incorporated into the programs of secondary schools, together with an emphasis of technical education (Boyd 1962; Curtis and Boulwood 1964). Goethe (1749–1832), in particular, had been extremely critical of both the approaches advanced by Newton, as well as those of the established churches towards science, and had viewed science as a highly inductive and holistic process, based in observation of the natural world and demonstration experiments (Bortoft 1996). His views greatly influenced the introduction of science into the curriculum of schools in Germany as well as the consolidation of science in the teaching and research activities of the universities under the leadership of Von Humbolt.

These developments both in philosophical thought and in educational programs in Germany also led, during the nineteenth century, to the teaching of science and technology in separate schools, that were different from those schools that were teaching classical studies and that had previously dominated European education in both secondary schools and universities. Moreover, schooling became compulsory for young people leading on to preparation for work or higher education in universities. These ideas spread throughout both Western, Northern and Eastern Europe and the developments that took place during the nineteenth century in the main followed the pattern of education and the processes of education initially advanced in Germany. Science gradually became an essential component of secondary schooling, with nature study being taught at the primary school level (Jenkins 1985). It was not until the 1870s that Arnold, an English inspector of schools visited Germany and recommended the adoption in English secondary schools of the teaching of science as was occurring in German schools.

The Enlightenment had introduced a new view of the world and developments in philosophy and pedagogy in Germany presented to the peoples of the world the way in which compulsory education for all children could be conducted. Moreover, the provision of education in German schools ranged from the kindergarten years through to the final years of schooling. Education became a continuing process in

preparation for further study at the university level and in preparation for work in the later years of adolescence as well as in adult life.

47.3.2 The Development of Formal Education in the United Kingdom

During the early years of the nineteenth century England was in turmoil that was created by the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte. This was followed in England by a period of rapid urbanization. Thus, only at a later stage, in 1833, did the Governments in England and Scotland recognize the need for education beyond that provided by the churches for children in each of their parishes. A decision was then made to provide a relatively small amount of money from public funds for the advancement of elementary education in local school districts.

Industry and manufacturing had expanded rapidly in Great Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. It was gradually recognized that with the growth of large cities the children of the working classes needed an education that consisted of reading, arithmetic and writing as well as simple technical skills that differed between boys and girls, with carpentry and metalwork for boys and needlework for girls. Thus, in a stable political climate and following the success of a Great Exhibition in 1851 efforts turned to the provision of free and compulsory education for all children throughout Britain. The provision of educational programs was supervised by inspectors. Objectives were prescribed by six standards and grants were paid to local education authorities with respect to the levels of performance achieved by the students. Teachers were trained in the classrooms as 'student teachers' working under supervision. Philosophical ideas and pedagogical methods were largely ignored. Examinations were held to select the more able students who could proceed with a secondary education that followed the long standing tradition of classics and mathematics. However, Mechanics Institutes were introduced for adults who needed new skills, but very limited opportunities were available for those who aspired to further education, although books were provided in public libraries. In the schools, the curriculum was very narrow for the children of the working classes. However, Grammar Schools were established and students were selected to undertake secondary education that could lead on to further study in universities. These schools operated alongside a growing system of private schools. These private schools were in the main residential schools and they prepared students for further study in universities and for administrative duties in the armed forces and throughout the British Empire.

47.3.3 The Spreading of Formal Education in the More Affluent British Colonies

The settlements of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand initially followed the patterns of development that were taking place in Great Britain and the European countries from which the settlers were drawn, until that time when the colonies gained independence. Initially private schools were established and when settlements became sufficiently prosperous local authorities and district councils set up schools that were largely financed from the resources of each of the local communities. Subsequently, larger units that were states or provinces combined the local schools into centralized school systems and free and compulsory schooling was introduced. These countries that were originally British colonies differed in some respects in their provision of education, but were surprisingly similar in the curricula offered and the teaching methods employed. The United States led the way and obtained its independence at an earlier stage than the other countries, but like the other countries the states retained substantial control over the provision of education. However, the introduction of free and compulsory education took place in these countries at about the same time, namely in the period from the 1850s to the 1870s. Canada that was a country formed out of settlements of British and French origins maintained this separation through developments at the provincial level. However, the United States was able to integrate its French colonies into a political structure together with the English colonial settlements. In Australia while the country gained separation from Great Britain in 1901 with the federation of six states and two territories, each of these regions continued to maintain control over its educational system. In due course the United States exerted considerable influence on the development of education in other countries. For example, the structure and practices of the United States educational institutions can be readily seen in both Japan and the Philippines and to a lesser extent in parts of China.

47.3.4 The Spreading of Formal Education in the Emergent and Developing Countries

In the countries that gained independence from the British Empire after the Second World War, such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan in the Indian sub-continent and Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, and Ghana in Africa, the pattern of development has been very similar. Schools were first established by religious orders and missionary groups. School systems were subsequently formed alongside the church based schools, but education was rarely free and never universal during the nineteenth century. Commonly, the standards of education were set by examination boards in England and students in these countries prized their affiliation with England and the award of a qualification from England at the school level.

Likewise, the German colonies followed a similar pattern, as did the Dutch colonies in South East Asia and the French colonies in East Asia. While the Dutch colonies would appear to have been greatly influenced by German education, reflecting the influence of German education in the Netherlands, the French education system has over time maintained an influence in the Francophone colonies and thus a separate identity.

The large domain that also remained dormant during the nineteenth century was the sub-continent of South America. The countries of this region were opened up by Spain and Portugal. However, Spain and Portugal after extracting wealth from the region would appear to have left it largely to the Roman Catholic Church to bring educational services to the peoples involved. In some of these countries the German based settlements would appear to have thrived, and British commerce also profited, but the provision of educational services would appear to have been minimal except for the wealthy who lived in a somewhat isolated region of the world.

Japan was the first country, outside Western Europe and North America, to advance between the 1850s and 1880s to a national system of education that was laid down and developed and the Imperial Tokyo University established. With rapid industrial growth at the commencement of the twentieth century the Japanese educational system grew rapidly.

The two major regions of the world that remained largely apart from the developments that took place during the nineteenth century were China and Russia. These two great countries were influenced by and influenced developments in the regions that lay geographically adjacent to them in Central Asia and in Russia's case also in Eastern Europe. They both formed what might be described as 'sleeping giants' during the nineteenth century, only to emerge from an apparently dormant state with remarkable strength during the twentieth century to form strong education systems.

47.4 The Expansion of Formal Education in the Twentieth Century

Connell (1980) examined the expansion of education around the world during the twentieth century and some of the account presented in this section is derived from his work. At the beginning of the twentieth century a high level of participation occurred at the primary school level in most developed countries of Western Europe, the United States and Japan. However, enrolment in secondary education was largely dependent on the results of selection into academically or technically oriented schools. Formal education scarcely existed in most countries that were part of colonial empires such as India, and countries like Russia and China that were each governed by a feudal ruling class. Whereas Germany had extended and developed formal education during the nineteenth century with the kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and the universities, which sought not only to teach but also to generate new knowledge, the United States led the way during the period from 1900

to 1945. Education in the United States was seen to serve three main purposes: (a) to generate wealth through manufacturing, trade and commercial activity that financed development, (b) to raise the standard of living through medical services, better living conditions and a longer life, and (c) the cultivation of intellectual activity as well as art, music and drama, through the planned use of leisure time.

In the more developed countries secondary education expanded. New universities were established and opened up to enable students from all social classes as well as to women and opportunities for further education were made available to adults that provided training in commercial and technical skills. However, while Germany maintained a strong program of both education and research it destabilized Europe with its military ambitions during the First and Second World Wars. In Europe, the neighbouring countries of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark struggled to maintain their educational and cultural activities. The United States sought to remain apart from the problems that emerged in Europe, but profited greatly with respect to wealth and the influence that wealth could buy around the world. England, in spite of its heavy commitments in both wars and seeming to emerge as victor of both, after raising the standards of education across its Empire, gracefully provided the freedom for the countries under its control to develop on their own within the British Commonwealth. Likewise, the other European countries with smaller colonial affiliated states set these states free to develop on their own after the cessation of hostilities in 1945. Thus, the world embarked on a new era from 1945 to 1990.

A major change occurred in the period around the close of the First World War that revealed the immense power of education to change the relative standing of a country in a very short period of time. Russia at the turn of the twentieth century sought to expand its vast empire to the east and encountered resistance from a modernizing Japan and lost in this struggle. A new Soviet regime emerged, and after a period of instability during the final years of the First World War, revolutionary activities were undertaken that lasted until 1922. Although opposed by allied forces involved in the war against Germany, the Soviet Red Army won the struggle for freedom by the Russian people, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formed as an immense power occupying most of the Northern Asia and much of Eastern Europe. In a little more than a generation, the USSR from the 1920s built a strong education system. It was able to train a population that raised the standard of living of a large body of people capable of defending, at great expense of life, the vast country from the German onslaught during the Second World War. This paved the way for a 40 year period of consolidation of educational activity at all levels of schooling, technical and higher education and research, to challenge the combined power of the North Atlantic world. The USSR remained a great power until 1990, when it was led by Mikhail Gorbachev to change the structure of the country and completely reorient the process of globalisation around the world. In the 70 year period from the 1920s to 1990 Russia had emerged from a feudal empire to become a very powerful country that provided the challenge from which globalisation has emerged.

A second major change arose during the first half of the twentieth century that involved the consolidation of education in Japan. In the later years of the nineteenth century Japan had observed the developments that were taking place in Europe and had skilfully engaged in a process of modernization in order to compete commercially with the developed countries of Western Europe and the United States. The main purpose of Japanese education was to increase production and to raise the standard of living, as well as to expand the size of the territory that it controlled. At the turn of the twentieth century Japan conducted successful wars with China and Russia and a few years later annexed Korea. Subsequently, during the Second World War it sought to expand into the Pacific Region and into South East Asia, but without success. However, Japan succeeded in the establishment of a school system that provided strong programs of primary and secondary education, with considerable strength in technical education, but with limited growth at the university level and in the fields of research.

The cessation of hostilities in 1945 at the conclusion of the Second World War gave rise to a remarkable development, particularly in the field of education, scientific and cultural activity, that initiated the movements for globalisation on planet Earth.

47.5 The Recognition of a Global World

The First World War started from an incident in Southern Europe, but over a 4 year period involved most of the countries of the world. An organization was needed that would serve to integrate countries that went beyond negotiated agreements with respect to military activity and trade. Leadership came from South Africa. Jan Christian Smuts (1870–1950), who had been involved in several military campaigns and who was a significant figure in the making of the Treaty of Versailles, was instrumental in the founding of the League of Nations in Geneva in 1919. However, the United States refused to join. Germany joined the League in 1926 and the USSR joined in 1934, but Germany and Japan withdrew in 1933 and Italy in 1936. The League was involved in settling some minor disputes, but failed to prevent the onset of the Second World War.

Again, after the termination of activities in 1945, Smuts together with the leaders of the Allied forces, particularly Churchill and initially Roosevelt, moved to establish the United Nations Organization that operated from a headquarters in New York. Many specialist agencies were set up: the International Court of Justice, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Health Organization, the World Trade Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Office, UNICEF and the International Development Organization. In addition, a specialist agency was founded in 1946 to promote cooperation among nations through education, science and culture, namely the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco).

These many agencies initiated moves towards globalization in their many different areas of interest. While Unesco has encountered problems from time to time in the working together of its about 200 members, it has been widely recognised that the forming of unity among nations is essentially a task that is reliant on educating the six to seven billion people on planet Earth, rather than distributing food and aid to those in need and the lending of money to support development or to maintain armed forces that can intervene in the settlement of territorial disputes. Three major Institutes have been maintained by Unesco. In 1925 the International Bureau of Education (IBE) was founded in Geneva by the League of Nations as a documentation centre and subsequently the planning of Unesco's General Conferences and from time to time an International Conference on Education. In 1951, the Unesco Institute for Education (UIE) was set up in Hamburg, Germany. This Institute focused mainly on 'lifelong education'. However, it gave birth to a major educational research organisation in 1958 that became known as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This organisation has led to the conducting of large cross-national research studies in educational achievement. Currently, it focuses mainly in the monitoring of educational achievement in selected fields of learning among its more than 60 member countries. The third major institute is the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris that has a mandate to organise training, research and dissemination activities in order to support educational planning and administration, particularly in developing countries.

Unesco has undertaken the preparation of two major reports that have had a marked impact on the development of education on a world-wide basis and have laid the foundations for the globalisation of education. The first report *Learning to Be* was prepared under the editorship of Faure (1972) and a second report *Learning the Treasure Within* under the editorship of Delors (1996). The influences of these reports have been not on the establishment of new bodies or new programs, but rather to change the way in which educational processes were viewed and the ways in which educational activities were conducted in both developed and developing countries.

47.6 The World Conference on Education for All

The World Conference on Education for All held at Jomtien in Thailand in 1990 was a turning point in the globalisation of the educative process. This conference was a joint initiative of four United Nations Agencies, namely Unesco, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UNICEF and The World Bank. The conference did not just concern itself with initial education in primary schools, it sought to achieve by the turn of the century in the year 2000, through a concerted effort and educational targets on six important dimensions:

- expansion of early childhood care and development;
- universal access to completion of primary education;

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

A World Education Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal in the year 2000 to undertake a comprehensive review of what had been achieved during the previous decade. While no region of the world had achieved its goals, the Forum reaffirmed its commitment for a further period to 2015. However, this program of deliberate and purposeful activity on a global front of all participating regions of the world, by representatives of governments of three quarters of the countries of the world formed a seminal effort across the world to undertake a major revolution in education. Moreover, this commitment to global activity occurred at a time when over a 40 year period the world had been divided by a barrier that had developed after the cessation of the Second World War. Never before had a great majority of the nations of the world agreed that through the processes of educational activity the world would be changed. Education was recognised as the only way through which a majority of the peoples of the world as individuals and as national groups could agree to advance the quality of life of all who were living on planet Earth.

47.7 The Challenge of Information and Communication Technology

The developments of information and communication technologies during the two decades, since a turning point of 1990, have had an immense influence on every sector of human activity. The influences on trade and commerce are widely recognised as are the influences on terrorist and military activities. However, it is on the younger generation of people, particularly those living in the emergent or transitional and developing countries, who find their lives transformed through their access to news and to information from across the world. Where once the educational opportunities they experienced were limited by travel, the cost of printed books and the constraints of language, they are now able to learn, think and work in a global setting. Moreover, they can study, reflect and communicate on their learning in their leisure time. Problems still exist that arise from inequalities between the rich and the poor, between the developed and the developing countries and between the private sector and the public sector. However, language barriers seem to be disappearing, commercial practices seem to become more flexible, and the necessary equipment seems to be available at surprising low cost in many developing countries. Globalisation is endorsed, supported and rapidly expanded through the

ongoing developments taking place in information and communication technology (Anderson 2002). 'Education for All' is capable of becoming a reality.

47.8 The Emergence of a Global Challenge

Mankind can no longer assume that the resources available on the only known planet on which life occurs are unlimited. The records from the past that are available in different forms indicate that changes of a catastrophic nature have in the past occurred as natural disasters and the regions of the planet involved have recovered. However, it is the unnatural disasters that are occurring with greater frequency and with greater magnitude that emerge as the current and urgent challenge not just to the people living in certain regions, but possibly to all mankind.

The growth in the population of the World over the past two centuries has been remarkable.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were approximately one billion people living on planet Earth. At the onset of the Great Depression in 1930 there were approximately two billion people alive. At the time of writing in 2010 there are estimated to be between six and seven billion people and at the end of the twenty-first century there are estimated to be nine billion people. Thus, over a period of three centuries from when formal education first commenced, there is likely to be a nine-fold increase in the population who live on what are considered to be the limited natural resources of planet Earth. This remarkable growth in population can be attributed to formal education that has provided an increase in human survival skills and to the effects of medical research and development on the increase in the life span of a rapidly growing population. This growth has occurred in spite of the hundred or more million people who were killed in wars and the large numbers who died or are currently dying from controllable diseases.

The strikingly rapid growth from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day can be attributed to healthcare and the improved production of food that are both derived from scientific research. However, the power of the ideas advanced by Newton, Darwin, Marx and Dewey referred to on previous pages suggest that it is necessary to attribute the changes that have occurred to the processes of education and to the expansion of the provision of educational services. Moreover, the many agencies of the United Nations, and, in particular, of Unesco have been the driving force since the 1950s for the World to be viewed as whole. Whether the trend in population growth will continue over the centuries ahead is clearly a possibility that at this stage cannot be ignored. The force that would appear to be necessary to contain growth is that of education and would follow the curve labelled 'medium'. The assumptions and forces that would lead to the 'low' curve, while possible, seem improbable. All that can be done in the decades ahead is to monitor change and to advance the provision of educational services on a world-wide basis.

Planet Earth originated about 4.6 billion years ago in a universe that formed about 13 billion years ago. A small ancestral group (of about 150) human beings moved out of Africa about 50,000 years ago to explore the planet, but symbolic records exist from only about 5000 years ago. The growth in population across the planet must be attributed to the building of knowledge and the learning and the use of that knowledge. Consequently, it is to education that mankind must turn within a global framework to ensure the survival of the human race over the years ahead.

47.9 The Challenges to the Survival of the Human Race

Challenge to survival arises from six main sources, namely (a) a limited supply of fresh water, (b) a limited supply of food, (c) a limited supply of fossil based fuels, (d) a limited climatic and temperature range in which human beings can live, (e) an emergence of new forms of disease that are harmful to human beings, and (f) the destruction of ozone on the stratosphere (Lincoln 2006). Each of these sources is already responsible for a reduction in the number of people living on planet Earth. If the harmful effects of the challenges to survival were limited to certain regions of the world, migration could occur. However, while countries are willing to share the hardships suffered from natural disasters by providing financial aid, they are reluctant to share the lands on which they live with those who suffer from both natural and unnatural disasters. Countries such as Australia are reluctant to share their immense natural resources that are however, clearly limited. Thus, large numbers of people will continue to suffer from both natural and unnatural disasters. Only in very specific circumstances are the people of Australia willing to share their natural resources of their country with refugees and immigrants, who satisfy clearly specified requirements that will maintain their very high standard of living.

Knowledge is now available to help solve the six major challenges listed above. However, there are no simple solutions to these problems. The solutions will only arise from large groups of people from all countries of the world possessing the necessary knowledge, understanding and the will to work together to act in appropriate ways to eliminate the problems or reduce the effects of these problems or to introduce alternative procedures that will compensate for the harmful effects involved.

47.10 The Roles of Education

It falls to education and the use of the educative process, rather than economic and political operations to transform the thinking of large bodies of people to work together to provide the changes necessary to overcome the challenges that confront the human race during the twenty-first century and beyond (Zajda and Majhanovich 2021). However, while the foundations of the educative process necessary can be

laid in schools, it is the responsibility of universities, institutes of technical and further education and programs of lifelong and continuing education to undertake these required tasks. The tasks fall into two domains that are necessarily inter-related. The first domain involves the formation of attitudes and values towards individual and social group well-being. The fields involved are highly linked and are concerned with peace, freedom and democracy at the societal level and with human rights, equity, equality and above all, compassion at the individual level. The remarkable growth in the number of countries that endorsed democracy during the closing decades of the twentieth century indicates that such an educative process is in progress (Giddens 1999).

The second domain involves individual and group behaviour for the betterment of the global situation. This leads to positive actions towards: (a) the use and storage of potable water; (b) the production and distribution of food; (c) the restricted use of fossil based fuels and the increased use of a range of alternative sources of energy, particularly nuclear energy through fusion, if this can be found to be containable; (d) the reduction of effects that lead to climate change; (e) the control of existing and new forms of disease; and (f) the elimination of practices that give rise to the destruction of ozone in the stratosphere. In addition to these behaviours that lead to the betterment of the global situation, there are several planned operations that give rise to effects that are seriously damaging to individual and social group well-being, namely: (a) the use of weapons of mass destruction leading to a nuclear holocaust or to the deliberate spread of infectious diseases; (b) the planned use of acts of terrorism that serve to destabilise or destroy the sense of security of large groups of people for religious or political purposes, and (c) the criminal distribution of narcotic drugs to provide the finance for political or criminal purposes that lead to the degeneration of human beings and the spread of disease.

The one organization with affiliated agencies that is tackling these problems world-wide is the United Nations Organization. At the international level, while agreement is sometimes difficult to achieve to lead to unified action against forces that are having a harmful influence on the global situation, the UN's many different agencies have had important beneficial effects. However, the overcrowding of planet Earth arising from the expansion of the populations of many countries continues to give rise to major problems. There is, however, one organization within the United Nations that has responsibility for the educational, scientific and cultural activities of the nearly 200 nations that cooperate and work together within that organization, Unesco. It is argued in this chapter that the key process within Unesco's activities is that of education. Education provides and disseminates the knowledge required and trains individuals and teams that undertake the necessary procedures of inquiry, not only to gain new knowledge, but also to generate solutions to existing problems. Unesco operates in two languages, namely French and English, but it is the latter that is becoming the global language through the widespread use of information and communication technology. Moreover, it is to Unesco that the 200 nations, both large and small, in global cooperation must turn in order to employ the educative process and thus over time to save the people who live on planet Earth.

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Chapter 48

Service Learning in an Undergraduate Primary Teacher Education Program and Transforming Lives



Anne L. Scott

Abstract Although service learning experiences are becoming more prevalent in many universities internationally important questions and challenges remain unanswered. What might service learning experiences look like when large cohorts of preservice teachers complete 70 h as an integral part of an undergraduate primary teacher education program? Has the service learning added to the preservice teachers' preparation for the profession? In this study, 130 preservice teachers in their third year of a four-year Bachelor of Education Primary course participated in various community-based programs, including a local homework club for primary school-aged children, as part of their compulsory professional experience unit over 24 weeks. Preservice teachers' written online discussions about their experiences were inspected using Butin's (Teach Coll Rec 105:1674–1692, 2003) conceptual framework for service learning. Findings indicate that many preservice teachers gained valuable insights about people, learning and themselves (personally and as prospective teachers) as a direct result of their experiences in the non-school setting. Factors which led to the success of the program involved: scheduling time for service learning into the weekly timetable for those studying third-year education units; providing an induction program for preservice teachers; having a designated liaison person to facilitate clear communication between the agency and university partners; and, providing prompts for preservice teachers' regular and focussed critical online reflections on their service learning experiences. In spite of the modest levels of success with the implementation process feedback from preservice teachers using the university evaluation instrument indicated they needed more regular contact with those with whom they worked to develop productive learning relationships; and, that they wanted more freedom with the way they reflected on their service learning experiences.

A. L. Scott (✉)
Australian Catholic University, Fitzroy, VIC, Australia
e-mail: anne.scott@acu.edu.au

48.1 Cultural Mismatches in Teacher Education across Contexts

The message and vision of the UNESCO *Incheon Declaration for Education 2030* is clear. We have a collective responsibility, worldwide, across every level of organisation right down to the individual, to ‘transform lives through education’ (UNESCO 2016, p. 7). But although globalisation and migration have changed economic and social landscapes (Zajda 2020), and student populations are diverse,¹ the typical profile of a prospective teacher has remained constant. Preservice teachers are often middle-class females (Fuller 1992; OECD 2009; Tatebe 2013). There continues to be a cultural mismatch between the backgrounds and experiences of prospective teachers with those of students whom they will teach (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005; Mueller and O’Connor 2007; Tatebe 2013). *Sustainable Development Goal 4* is titled, “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” in short means that even teacher education programs need to find ways to help those entering the profession become more aware of the disparity among student communities and see how they might become agents of change. Consequently, a challenge in teacher education in this climate is to produce ‘work-ready’ graduates who can provide inclusive programs to cater for the diverse student populations and make a difference in the educational outcomes of all learners over the next 15 years (OECD 2018).

Although the recommendation to recruit prospective teachers from minority groups to represent the changing student populations (OECD 2009) may be an appropriate long-term initiative, other short-term strategies are needed. One short-term strategy being used involves providing opportunities for preservice teachers to interact with people from diverse backgrounds through service learning programs (Butcher et al. 2003; Butcher et al. 2005). Of course, this solution is more complex than it seems and the affordances and constraints are explored later in the review of the literature.

There are multiple terms often associated with *service learning*. At this point, it is important to make distinctions between three terms *experiential learning*, *experiential education* and *service learning*. Experiential learning describes how an individual makes sense of a first-hand experience such as through observation or interaction; it does not require a facilitator. In contrast, central to the philosophy of experiential education is having facilitators provide learners with first-hand experiences who also promote focused reflections on them so that learners may increase their knowledge, develop skills and clarify values (Association for Experiential Education 2007). Service learning is one of the teaching methods within experiential education.

The term *service learning* is most commonly used in the literature however, there are different interpretations. Traditionally, the term described students working

¹In this discussion, a broad understanding of the term diversity is used which includes: race, class, gender, disability, language, and sexual orientation.

voluntarily for organisations performing ‘acts of service.’ Generally, in such cases, students did not expect to benefit themselves. More recently, the emphasis on service learning has been about capacity-building and developing learning partnerships in which all participants benefit.² In the latter, service learning is described as a curriculum-based program that integrates classroom instruction with community service activities; yet, what distinguishes service learning from simple volunteer work are the reflections on what is learnt as a result of that activity (Saggers and Carrington 2008). Hence, in this discussion the notion of service learning³ combines community service with academic goals and reflection.

A long-standing challenge in teacher education has been that prospective teachers enter their courses with robust yet naive belief systems about teaching (Richardson 1996; Weinstein 1989) and these may act as barriers in learning the content presented to them during teacher education programs (Scott 2005, 2006). In the report, *Teachers Matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers* (OECD 2005), effective teachers are described as life-long learners who continually reflect on their practices. When new challenges arise in their classrooms they seek alternative ways to maximise learning opportunities for all their students. Thus, another step in preparing ‘work-ready’ preservice teachers is to instil in them a habit of critical reflection on their practices; and, how their beliefs have influenced their actions.

Presumably, each of these challenges has implications for fine-tuning preservice teacher education programs. This article addresses the challenge of shifting preservice teachers’ preconceived beliefs about people, teaching and learning to prepare them to understand the needs of, build relationships with, and teach students from diverse backgrounds. In particular, the research investigates the ways in which service learning contributes to preservice teachers’ learning outcomes. The research is significant in that it considers how to implement service learning as an integral component of the teacher education program with large cohorts of preservice teachers. The key question guiding the research is: *In what ways does this service learning contribute to preservice teachers’ learning?* Having introduced the problem and clarified key terms diversity and service learning, in the review of literature I justify the theoretical framework for the research and present a summary of relevant research findings.

²In some studies, this is referred to as *community engagement*.

³In the context in which this study is situated *community engagement* is the preferred term however, to increase readability I shall continue to use the more common term service learning with the more recent emphasis.

48.2 Review of Literature

A social constructivist epistemology underpins this study which views knowledge as being socially constructed through meaningful interactions with others. In this paradigm, one interprets the visible reactions, expressed beliefs and shared experiences in an attempt to describe situations. In order to consider the value of preservice teachers' experiences of service learning it is important to review literature about beliefs and the role these play in shaping one's thinking, reactions to events and consequent actions. Following this, I present previous work in service learning which have informed this research. Finally, I describe the theoretical framework which underpins the analyses and the reporting process of data collected for this study.

48.2.1 *The Power of Beliefs*

Beliefs are often described as filters or lenses through which we view the world and on which we base our decisions (Ambrose et al. 2004; Nespor 1987; Pajares 1992; Smith and Croom 2000). Created through a process of enculturation and social construction beliefs are context-specific, personally meaningful however, may vary with intensity (Pajares 1992). Beliefs are thought to be shaped by various experiences. Some are from the distant past which may be central to several belief systems thus difficult to change; others may be formed by more recent personal salient experiences; or influenced as a result of conversations with significant others (Block and Hazelp 1995; Scott 2005). Indeed, in some instances, people appear to misinterpret facts and/or ignore evidence contradicting their beliefs (Kardash and Scholes 1996; Mueller and O'Connor 2007). Having said that, although it is important to acknowledge the power of preconceived beliefs these cannot account for all our actions. Sarver (1983) argued that people act in accordance with their beliefs when opportunities related to those specific beliefs present.

Prospective teachers enter teacher education courses with robust beliefs about learners, learning, teachers and teaching which are resistant to change unless these are explicitly identified, discussed, and, challenged within their studies (Bingle and Hatcher 1996; Carter and Doyle 1996; Causey et al. 2000; Kagan 1992; Nespor 1987; Richardson 1996; Weinstein 1989). Further, their robust belief systems may be also in opposition to the goals and ideals presented in their courses (Scott 2003). Cockrell et al. (1999) indicated that preservice teachers hold different, sometimes opposing, positions on multiculturalism based on personal experience, political ideologies, and beliefs about the roles of schools and teachers which are resistant to change. Therefore, it is vital that teacher educators assist preservice teachers through a process of examining their beliefs about diversity so that they can see how these influence their views about learners and their role as teachers.

According to Munby et al. (2001) traditionally teacher education programs shaped preservice teachers' beliefs with two forms of authority: "the authority of position and the authority of argument" (p. 896). Munby et al. argued what was missing from teacher education programs was the "authority of experience" (p. 896) which values the practical nature of teaching and preservice teachers' experience in schools. By giving credence to the missing or third authority, teacher education programs validate the work of teachers and highlight factors teachers consider in their decision making process. Reflections on service learning experiences offer opportunities for preservice teachers to voice their "authority of experience" (Munby et al. 2001, p. 896) and in doing so may contribute to reshaping their beliefs.

48.2.2 Studies of Service Learning in Preservice Teacher Education

Wasserman (2010) explained how service learning is reciprocal in nature. As students contribute to the community through their engagement with the agency, potentially both the community and the student benefit from the experience. Participation in service learning may promote a deeper understanding of citizenship provides opportunities for preservice teachers to build respectful relationships not only with professionals from outside organisations but also with those with whom they are working. Furthermore, regular reflection on service learning experiences provides opportunities to make meaningful connections between personal, professional and practical knowledge.

Internationally, service learning is being used to address a number of issues including: the widening social and cultural gap between teachers and students; to identify preservice teachers' perceptions on diversity; and, to help preservice teachers examine and challenge their existing beliefs and perspectives (Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005). Moreover, others are using it with the aspiration to prepare preservice teachers to respect students from all backgrounds; and, to enable them to deliver fair and equitable programs (Butcher et al. 2003; Wasserman 2010). In a New Zealand study, Tatebe (2013) sought to justify service learning programs in order "to broaden preservice teachers' understanding of the world to instill an awareness of circumstances created by disadvantage caused by social inequality" (p. 247).

Findings from many studies report positive outcomes for preservice teachers as a result of their participation in service learning experiences. Hart and King (2007) noted that service learning is most effective because preservice teachers maintain ownership of their learning and their knowledge develops over time. There were other significant benefits such as: the development of not only technical skills and cultural knowledge but application of that knowledge in meaningful ways (Butcher et al. 2005; Ryan et al. 2009); a deepened awareness their own concept of themselves as teachers (Wasserman 2010); increased exposure to and tolerance for

people from minority populations and cultures (Butcher et al. 2003; Causey et al. 2000; Leavy 2005; Ryan and Healy 2009); a shift in preconceived views about diversity (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Ryan and Healy 2009); and, the ability to problem solve complex issues impacting on learners (Butcher et al. 2003; Sagers and Carrington 2008; Wasserman 2010).

As expected, while there are reported benefits there are also limitations. Causey et al. (2000) concurred with others in stating that it was difficult to influence long-held beliefs and attitudes in the space of one course. Many studies had less than 50 participants and, in some cases, about 20 h of ‘additive’ engagement to the regular assigned tasks. In contrast, the current study comprises a large sample size, involves 70 h of service learning and reflection; and, implements the experience as a component of the professional experience program, integral to the program, as an enactment of the university’s mission statement.

In spite of the potential benefits linked with service learning some authors warned teacher educators against presuming that service learning was a powerful teaching strategy. In particular, Bell et al. (2007) stressed the need to look for preservice teachers’ views of diversity and to scaffold contextual and pedagogical understandings of a broad range of differences to prevent “reinforcing existing stereotypes and leaving preservice teachers without the analytical skills and/or desire to teach in socially conscious ways” (p. 131).

Similarly, Mueller and O’Connor (2007) rejected using moral grounds as a means for re-conceptualising preservice teachers’ beliefs about diversity because it was met with high levels of resistance. The authors wondered whether it was possible to develop pedagogical practices without invoking explicit or implicit moral mandates in order to circumvent the student resistance. Moreover, Butin (2006) argued that there are pedagogical, political and institutional limits to service learning because the reality is that there are many barriers constraining reciprocity with the communities. For service learning to realistically become embedded within higher education programs scholars need to “specifically probe the limits of service-learning in higher education” (p. 493) and plan what is possible within the context.

48.2.3 Conceptual Frameworks for Analysing Service Learning Experiences

Butin (2003) argued that despite the perceived benefits of service learning providing alternative modes of teaching and learning in education it was imperative to consider practical issues such as community impact, student outcomes, and authentic assessment. Butin conceptualised a framework including four distinct yet interrelated perspectives on service learning: *technical, cultural, political and poststructuralist*. A *technical* perspective considers the implementation of both the process and the outcome hence questions issues affecting efficacy, quality, efficiency, and

sustainability. In this case, one might ask preservice teachers for their views about management aspects related to their service learning experiences.

A *cultural* perspective considers a cultural perspective at two levels: individual and societal. This perspective questions issues affecting acculturation, understanding, and appropriation of the activity. For example, one might ask: In what ways have these experiences helped you to think about the learners or learning tasks? A *political* perspective considers “the power (im)balances of social learning as it can be potentially both transformative and repressive” (Butin 2003, p. 1681); hence, questions the legitimacy and consequences of the process and product of an innovation. Using this lens, one may seek views about issues such as: Who is really learning in this context?

A *poststructuralist* perspective considers how the activity “constructs, reinforces, or disrupts particular unarticulated societal norms of being and thinking” (p. 1683). So, one asks: do service learning experiences perpetuate or challenge our notions of the roles of teachers and learners, and/or the processes of teaching and learning? Or, which values are being taught implicitly?

Several authors have reported findings using Butin’s (2003) conceptual framework (Butin 2003; Ryan et al. 2009; Ryan and Healy 2009; Saggars and Carrington 2008); however, it should be noted that some of these studies report different aspects of the same sets of data. Nonetheless, Ryan and Healy (2009) suggested that the data collected were richer and more comprehensive for the technical and cultural than for the political and poststructural lenses. They suggested that it would be advantageous to use these four lenses to guide to preservice teachers’ reflections in future. Saggars and Carrington (2008) noted that only three of the 22 comments from the preservice teachers were categorised in the political lens and a further three of 22 comments were categorised as poststructuralist. Both sets of comments were linked to organisations that supported homework programs for refugees. They also noted that preservice teachers working in the homework program for refugees found the experience challenging. Similarities between this study and the one to be investigated in this article will be discussed later.

Various other frameworks have been used to analyse and interpret preservice teachers’ qualitative responses and reactions to service learning experiences in the following studies: content analysis of written entries in either online discussions or in journals (Cockrell et al. 1999; Wasserman 2010); the use of *Productive Pedagogies* (Gore et al. 2001, 2004) provided the structure of considering the features of effective practice in the study by Butcher et al. (2005); a framework for grouping teachers’ understanding of diversity into four categories: *individual difference*; *categorical differences* (social class, race, gender); *contextual differences* (takes into account the first two differences); and, *pedagogical view of difference* (Bell et al. 2007); and, a comparison of preservice teachers’ written responses against the professional standards (Power 2010). It is also possible to review preservice teachers’ written responses quantitatively by identifying those items which specifically address service learning on the end of unit evaluation tools; survey questionnaires with closed items using a Likert scale (Leavy 2005).

48.3 Methodology

48.3.1 Description of the Program

Service learning experiences were integrated into the third year of a four-year Bachelor of Education (Primary) course at an Australian tertiary institution as a compulsory component of the Professional Experience Program for a total of 70 h over the entire academic year. The introduction of service learning into the undergraduate program was the result of ongoing efforts from the tertiary staff in collaboration with staff from *The Smith Family*, a national, independent children's charity that helps disadvantaged Australian children, who organised the local homework program.

The venue for the homework program was a five-minute walk from the tertiary institution. The university timetable for this cohort of preservice teachers had been designed to accommodate some on-campus classes as well as attendance at the homework program on Wednesday afternoons from 3 to 5 pm. Furthermore, 6 months prior, information sessions were held with preservice teachers to forecast participation requirements for the following year. Two full-day induction workshops were held during orientation week prior to the commencement of the first semester. During the workshops preservice teachers were provided with background information about the families who resided in the local multi-storey government funded housing estate and the aims of the homework program designed for primary children of these families.

Discussions about roles as tutors in the local homework program and how to maintain professional boundaries preceded a brief visit to the homework program site where preservice teachers met staff from the homework program. During the year, three groups of 45 preservice teachers worked as tutors at the local homework program with about 90 children ranging from 5 to 12 years of age. More specifically, the aims of service learning experiences were to enable preservice teachers:

- to broaden their awareness of cultural diversity in the community;
- to acknowledge factors affecting student learning beyond the primary classroom;
- to work as tutors in a homework program organised by staff from *The Smith Family* agency;
- to practise their skills in teaching mainly literacy and numeracy;
- to see themselves as potential agents for change through their contributions to the community; and,
- to reflect on their experiences, values, knowledge and skills.

The 70 h of service learning also comprised participation in on-campus sessions, reflective off-campus tasks and allocated 10 h of service learning in a site of preservice teachers' own choosing as long as it aligned with at least four aims of the program. Table 48.1 presents a chronological overview of the timing and duration of activities and the assessment tasks of the service learning experience required for the unit over two academic semesters.

Table 48.1 Overview of activities for service learning

Assessment Task	Brief description	Timing and duration in hours (x)
Tutoring in Home Work Club	Professional participation as tutor for EIGHT 2 h sessions	Semester 1 – four sessions (8)
	Setup for and debriefing after each session	Semester 2 – four sessions (8) (2)
O-week workshops	Two full-days induction program with a visit to the off-campus site	February – (14)
Online reflection entries	Entries discussing issues impacting on learners, teachers, learning and teaching with peers in a small group based on experiences gained through service learning experiences	Semester 1 – Feb, Jun (5)
		Semester 2 – Aug (5)
	Completion of ‘Before and After’ chart critically reflecting on beliefs, values and performance	Semester 2 – Oct (3)
Reflective inquiry process journal	Five journal entries using the Reflective Inquiry Process	One entry in Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug and Oct (10)
On-campus sessions	Two compulsory on-campus sessions exploring the inquiry-based model for teaching and using narrative texts to consider experiences faced by some refugees and immigrants	Semester 1 – week 1, 2 or 3
		Semester 2 – week 1, 2 or 3 (5)
10 h own choice of service learning	Evidence of the additional hours in a self-selected project or in projects linked to university	Anytime between Mar – Oct (10)

All preservice teachers enrolled in the unit were expected to complete the assessment tasks. However, the information letter and ethics consent form clearly stated that each preservice teacher would decide whether or not to permit his/her online postings to be accessed by the lecturer/researcher for research purposes in the following year. In other words, the lecturer would not be aware of who had consented or who had not consented while the preservice teachers were enrolled in the unit. During the year, I, the lecturer, did not participate in online discussions. However, I acknowledge that my relationship as lecturer may have had an influence on the content of the online postings and this is a limitation of the study.

48.3.2 *Participants*

130 preservice teachers were predominantly young females who entered the undergraduate course having recently completed their secondary education. Most were from either third generation or earlier Australian born, middle- and working-class

families. About 10% were male. In contrast, the local homework program had 114 children enrolled, with 98% from Vietnam, China, Laos, Sudan or Somalia, single-parent refugee families. Majority of the children resided in the local multi-storey government funded housing estate. Online postings and on-campus workshops were based mostly on the service learning experiences gained in the Homework Club setting because it was known to all. However, preservice teachers also participated in self-selected community-based programs and shared their other experiences as well.

48.3.3 Research Design

Set within a social constructivism epistemology using an interpretivist theoretical perspective I use Butin's (2003) four lenses *technical, cultural, political and post-structural* to inspect preservice teachers' written online discussions for evidence of the influences of their service learning experiences on their views about diversity, learners and themselves as emerging teachers. These texts provide opportunities to infer views and make sense of what was happening in this context.

48.3.4 Data Collection and Analysis Tools and Processes

Data were gathered voluntarily from about 130 preservice teachers in 2009 using the following approaches and tools:

- Anonymous written responses to items at the end of the unit using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agree to strongly disagree on the university's unit evaluation instrument;
- Anonymous written comments at the end of the unit using the university's unit evaluation instrument; and,
- Confidential records of preservice teachers' online discussions.

Although there were multiple sources of data the analysis and findings of only the online discussions are reported here.

48.3.5 Online Discussions

There were opportunities for preservice teachers to share their experiences with peers via online discussions during the program in February, June August and October. Guidelines for each entry focussed the discussion around issues of diversity, teaching and learning (Table 48.2).

Table 48.2 Guidelines to online discussion

October entry: Complete three parts
a. Briefly describe an experience from your involvement in the Homework Club
b. Read entries posted by four other preservice teachers participating in the Homework Club. Then reflect on two aspects or issues and write about these in relation to teaching and learning in this setting. What did you learn? (word limit 200–250)
c. Complete the ‘Before and After’ chart for these two aspects or issues Please post your completed chart as an attachment with this online contribution

Initially, inspecting the data involved data reduction (Miles and Huberman 1984). Drawing on October online contributions, only those which referred to the involvement in this specific homework program because the full context was known to the researcher, identifiable markers were removed and entries were coded to ensure that entries could be retraced to original sources. With the research question in mind, the researcher highlighted and annotated the data using these three headings *learners*, *emerging teachers and teaching and learning*. Later, sections of text were reread and categorised according to Butin’s (2003) four categories: *technical*, *cultural*, *political and poststructural*. Using a process of constant comparison (Cohen et al. 2007) each category included a definition and subsequent rereads checked whether or not excerpts were classified accurately. In some instances, entries were re-classified and others were deleted.

Having said that, I noted some themes were present in more than one category. Comments by preservice teachers about particular issues indicated reflective thinking at different levels. Indeed, Butin (2003) stated “that melding and merging contrasting lens offers the opportunity to come up with new ways of approaching service learning theory and practice” (p. 1690). Concurring with others (Butin 2003; Ryan et al. 2009; Ryan and Healy 2009; Saggars and Carrington 2008) who had used Butin’s conceptual framework for exploring service learning experiences, I noted that the four categories facilitated the inspection of preservice teachers’ views from different angles: *technical* – the practical aspects concerning the implementation of the program; *cultural* – the nuances of becoming a teacher; *political* – acknowledging the power relationships impacting on this teaching and learning context; and, *poststructural* – were these experiences challenging preservice teachers’ preconceived notions? Hence, in reporting these data, I highlight the key themes which emerged and provide examples from the online discussions then I identify the conceptual lens(es) informing the interpretations.

48.4 Results and Discussion

In this section, I present the data under three broad headings *learners*, *emerging teachers and teaching and learning* to address the question: *In what ways does this service learning contribute to preservice teachers’ learning?* Of the 130 enrolled in

the unit, 100 preservice teachers gave consent for their online discussions to be examined for research purposes.

48.4.1 *Considering Learners*

There were 45 comments about diversity ranging from being tolerant and non-judgmental of cultural and socioeconomic differences; and, recognising the intellectual capacity in each child despite his/her limited control of Standard English. For example, the following excerpts capture the sentiments of the majority. Some reflected on the intellectual capacity of the children and wrote:

The children are bright and deserve every opportunity for success.

Another added:

[The service learning experience] allowed me to see the contrast in abilities between students and gave me a chance to try and cater to the needs of varied levels.

It seems that the experience provided opportunities for preservice teachers to consider equity issues. Similarly, others commented on their unjustified preconceived views about groups of people. Two entries included:

I was able to appreciate and develop a deeper understanding of the situation many families face living in the high rise flats [multi-storey government funded housing estate]. In the past I have often viewed the high rise flats [multi-storey government funded housing estate] in a negative manner, however this opportunity has allowed me to view them in a more positive and accepting manner.

I have thought more intently now about problems people might endure and am much less prone to making judgments.

Such responses are positive outcomes of involvement in service learning experiences and consistent with earlier findings (Butcher et al. 2003, 2005). The *cultural* and *political* lenses enable us to see the shift in views in two aspects. Of course, there is no guarantee that preservice teachers will maintain these views in other contexts or that these changes will be long-lasting. Nonetheless, using the *technical* lens, the program was effective in initiating such responses. Hence, the use of the conceptual lenses facilitated a more fine-grained inspection of these data and illuminated three ways in which service learning experiences contributed to preservice teachers' learning about diversity.

48.4.2 *Considering themselves as Emerging Teachers*

There were 32 comments about the skills the preservice teachers have gained as a result of their involvement in service learning. Many mentioned the need to communicate clearly with the children. One preservice teacher wrote:

After working with ESL students for the first time, I am particularly careful in how I communicate my ideas and instructions.

Managing children's behaviour was also a prominent feature in all online discussions. For example, two entries were:

This program allowed us to watch our peers experiment with different 'disciplining' techniques and learn from them. Each tutor had their own way of sorting out issues – some worked, some didn't.

I have been able to build up a more extensive range of disciplinary methods to use in the classroom.

Increased levels of self-confidence with 'being a teacher' were also evident.

This [experience] has made me far more confident and I am really starting to see myself as a teacher. I am feeling much more excited about teaching rounds now rather than [feeling] nervous.

I have the ability to adapt to the changing surroundings and needs of the student.

These insights are desirable outcomes of any professional experience program. Viewing responses through the *cultural* lens allows us to see that preservice teachers were able to reflect on two skills needed in teaching, effective communication and respectful management of children's inappropriate behaviours. Thereby, reiterating the reciprocal nature of service learning for capacity building. Preservice teachers' experiences increased their self-confidence in general and in important communication and management skills. By using the *technical* lens we also see how the program's design provided opportunities for preservice teachers to learn from each other which were additional benefits not reported earlier.

48.4.3 *Considering Issues Impacting on Teaching and Learning*

There were 29 comments about building relationships with children; creating an environment conducive to learning; and, using activities which were meaningful to the children's lives. The following excerpts provide a sense of the sentiments about these issues:

I now know that cultural background affects learning styles of students.

I have come to appreciate the importance and relevancy of ‘getting to know’ your students. It informs your teaching and instructive approaches.

I learnt that respect from your students must be earned, and at times, this can be extremely difficult. By being reliable and showing your enthusiasm and dedication, as well as treating the students equally and with respect.

I discovered that students’ learning and interactions with other students largely depend on the environment.

I think that we can’t expect children to just sit still. We need them to explore, play and use manipulatives [concrete materials] in their learning.

These are valuable insights which were possibly already known to many preservice teachers but were reinforced by their service learning experiences. Viewing these comments through *cultural* and *political* lenses it seems that preservice teachers have deepened their appreciation of both tangible and intangible influences on teaching and learning episodes. Such findings concur with earlier studies in which preservice teachers applied their knowledge in meaningful ways during their service learning experiences (Butcher et al. 2005; Ryan et al. 2009).

48.5 Evaluation

Participation in the service learning program provided preservice teachers with opportunities which they may not have otherwise experienced in school-based practicums especially given the number of preservice teachers enrolled and the limited number of suitably qualified teachers willing to supervise them. To an extent, the experience raised these preservice teachers’ awareness of the cultural gap between their lives and those from diverse backgrounds by situating them in a program catering for children predominantly from refugee backgrounds. It provided the opportunity for preservice teachers to revisit their preconceived views of people who lived in multi-storey government funded estate, and many had the chance to work with children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds for the first time.

This is a modest yet positive outcome – an initial step in addressing concerns about the cultural gap in our school communities as others have previously identified (Bell et al. 2007; Cockrell et al. 1999; Leavy 2005; Mueller and O’Connor 2007). Although the preservice teachers found some children’s behaviours challenging many indicated that they had developed skills which increased their confidence and made them become more flexible in their interactions.

There were signs of increased learning outcomes as deepened understandings about the complexities associated with teaching and learning. They formed clear insights about expecting that all children have the capacity to learn given the right conditions; what constitutes effective communication; respectful management of

children's inappropriate behaviours; building relationships with children; creating an environment conducive to learning; and, using activities which were meaningful to the children's lives. In a sense, their service learning experiences reshaped pre-conceived and evolving ideologies as a third authority – experience (Munby et al. 2001).

Using Butin's (2003) conceptual lenses as a means of viewing the data was helpful. While there was evidence that the service learning had elements which related to *technical*, *cultural* and *political* dimensions there were limited comments indicating a change in preservice teachers' perceptions about who was serving and/or who was being served, the *poststructural* lens. The absence of such comments is likely given that the instructions guiding the online discussions did not focus on this aspect at all. This, of course, skews the results in a particular way and is a limitation of the study. Hence, concurring with Ryan and Healy (2009), it seems wise to use the four lenses with the preservice teachers during the implementation of the program so that they may consider more broadly the implications of their service learning and future practice.

Given the demands placed on teacher educators undertaking normal teaching duties, I questioned whether the extra work involved in designing service learning experiences was really worth it. To an extent, seeking evidence of the impact on preservice teachers' learning outcomes was more than just a research question. Stepping away from the busyness of implementing the program and reflecting on the findings, despite the known imperfections and limitations of the 'work in progress', the service learning experiences made unique contributions to this cohort of preservice teachers. In the words of one preservice teacher:

Retrospectively, my time spent at homework club was often utilised as a way of interacting with students that I may not have experienced in the real world. I know that we have had teaching rounds but they seemed to be a haze of lesson plans and intensely steep learning curves. The reason I enjoyed homework club so much is because it is purely student-oriented. I felt that I learnt more in those sessions than I did in some activities at university.

48.6 Conclusion

It seems that service learning experiences transformed the lives of those preservice teachers involved in the program. The next challenge is to consider the goals of the *Learning Framework 2030* (OECD 2018) and undertake longitudinal studies which follow the careers of both preservice teachers and their students, to see to what extent, if any, they become agents of change.

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Chapter 49

Capital and Lower Case Letter Use in Early Childhood Education: A Comparative Australasian and Swedish Study



Valerie Margrain and Elisabeth Mellgren

Abstract Interviews with nine higher education academics from found difference between Australian and New Zealand, and Swedish perspectives regarding how capital and lower case letters should be used in early childhood education (ECE). In each cultural context participants thought their own way was the right and usual way. Australasian respondents indicated that use of a capital letter was to only be used at the start of a name or start of a sentence (e.g. the name Ella). Swedish participants indicated that the full use of capitals was the more common way text was used in Swedish preschools (e.g. the name ELLA). Australasian participants added attention to how text looks in books, school traditions and conventions in written text (*conventions-based approach*), whereas Swedish participants attended to text in the wider environment, early childhood and family traditions, and natural choices children made from their own perspective (*natural methods approach*). The findings support the assertion that writing and broader literacy learning is more than process, traditions are culturally and socially constructed, and mediated. Teacher awareness of differing literacy traditions is important if they are to respond to cultural diversity and globalisation. Because early childhood curricula give a mandate to respect cultural diversity, there cannot only be one right way to write text.

49.1 Introduction

This comparative education research project investigates the way in which capital and lower case letters are used in the early years of school and in early childhood settings (we use the collective term ‘early years teachers to represent both groups).

V. Margrain (✉)
Karlstad University, Karlstad, Sweden
e-mail: valerie.margrain@kau.se

E. Mellgren
Gothenburg University, Gothenburg, Sweden

The purpose of the project was to find out and compare the views of academics who teach early childhood literacy to preservice student teachers within cultural contexts of Australia, New Zealand and Sweden. For example, what they think are the reasons why early years teachers do or do not write in full capitals (for example the name ELLA or Ella), and ways in which teachers encourage children to write letters, as well as similarities and differences between the responses. We are interested to learn about how academics share these ideas with other preservice student teachers in each context.

The study is informed by our previous work (Margrain and Mellgren 2015; Mellgren and Margrain 2015) in which student teachers in New Zealand and Sweden gathered images of text in early childhood settings as part of a university course in early literacy. When student teachers discussed the images, one of the cultural differences they noticed was differing use of capital and lower case letters. In particular, the New Zealand student teachers were surprised to see examples of words written in full capital letters, such as to the right of Fig. 49.1 (e.g. VERA), as they had been taught to instead present text with only the first letter of a name in capital letters, as shown to the left of Fig. 49.1 (e.g. Leilani). Conversely, the Swedish student teachers were surprised that the use of full capital letters was something that the New Zealand students spent so much time discussing, or perceived as problematic. This study is the new comparative investigation of this specific aspect of capital letter use.

Our own experience has also informed this study through our work as teachers of young children, spanning early childhood, school and Reading Recovery, as teacher educators with a specialisation in early literacy, and as intercultural travellers. We



Fig. 49.1 Text images from New Zealand and Sweden early childhood education

have observed that lower case letters have greater potential for confusion for young children: b, d, p and q are essentially the same shape with mirror image and reversals, whereas B, D, P and Q have quite different forms when presented as capitals. Our work has grappled with balancing child-responsive approaches with systematic intentional approaches (Dahlgren et al. 2013; McLachlan et al. 2013).

These insights led us to develop a new study – reported in this chapter – in which we further explored perspectives about the use of capital and lower case letters in early childhood settings in Australia, New Zealand and Sweden. We do not attempt to address every element of writing development or literacy teaching, the focus is on the cultural traditions and rationale shared by our participants concerning upper and lower case letters. The research questions were thus: What approaches to writing lower case or capital letters were described as being most common in each context? What rationale were provided for the approaches? What commonalities and differences were shared?

49.2 Background

In this background section we consider some aspects of early literacy and context in Australia, New Zealand and Sweden, the countries of focus in this study. The discussion includes connection between spoken sounds and written language, written language forms in early childhood, and examples of seminal early literacy research in Sweden and New Zealand. These areas of discussion provide a basis for our comparative analysis.

49.2.1 ECE Context in Australia, New Zealand and Sweden

Early childhood education (ECE), internationally, is often defined as spanning the range birth to 8 years. There are differing traditions and practices regarding prior-to-school services, and school start age in various countries. In New Zealand, children typically start school on their fifth birthday – a different start date for each child (Ministry of Education 2020). In Australia and Sweden, an annual cohort start date exists, typically the year in which children turn five in Australia (AIHW 2020) and the year children turn six in Sweden (European Commission 2019). In both Australia and Sweden, the first year of school is structurally different, termed ‘foundation class’ in the Australian national curriculum (ACARA 2014), and ‘preschool class’ (*förskoleklass*) in Sweden (European Commission 2019).

In all three countries, there is a very high rate of attendance in ECE. 2019 statistics for participation in early childhood education prior to starting school is 90% in Australia (AIHW 2020; Australia, 97% in New Zealand (Ministry of Education 2020) and 96.4% of four-year-olds in Sweden (European Commission 2019). In all three countries the early childhood curricula (Ministry of Education 2017) draw

attention to early literacy. These curricula all present early literacy as embedded in the child's social, communicative world, with the child as a competent individual. Examples from the New Zealand early childhood curriculum include the guidance that teachers of toddlers 'encourage mark making and drawing and an awareness of symbols' (Ministry of Education 2017, p. 45). With older children, the guidance for teachers includes to 'encourage recognition of letters and writing, including the child's own name' and the knowledge that 'print conveys a message' and 'spoken words can be written down' (p. 46). Such guidance avoids prescriptive, formal literacy demands such as forcing children to practice handwriting.

ECE in Sweden has a particularly strong tradition of following the child's lead according to Dahlgren et al. (2013). They noted that if teachers take the child and their individual preconditions and experiences as a starting point when considering reading and writing methods, it is evident that different children need to learn to read and write in different ways. All three early childhood curriculum documents also draw attention to valuing diversity, for example the Australian framework stating that educators should 'explore the culture, heritage, backgrounds and traditions of each child within the context of their community' (DEEWR 2009, p. 30).

49.2.2 Key Factors for Early Years' Literacy Teaching

In a phenomenographic study of early writing in Sweden by Pehrsson and Sahlström (1999), 11 teachers were asked to describe their idea and thoughts and beliefs when they teach in grade one. The results showed that the teachers were able to distinguish between key factors of their planned teaching experiences, including:

Experience: the teacher's own experience such as their experience as a child in school and their professional experience;

Methods: pedagogical methods for supporting reading, writing and oral language;

Written language conventions: the requirements of written language such as: letters; sounds and how these conventions are shaped or represented; spelling; punctuation; and grammar;

Emergent literacy skills (how children's writing skills evolve from elementary mark-making, to letter-like symbols, to conventional written language);

Relationship: The teacher regards the child either as an object or subject, and there exists a relationship between both participants.

The importance of such elements of early years' writing literacy teaching are theoretically consistent across cultural contexts, yet the specific applications can differ markedly. We therefore explore these elements as useful background to this study and framing of findings, yet are also curious about comparative intercultural differences. In the next section, we explore key literature and examples of research.

49.2.3 *Spoken Language and Sounds in Relation to the Alphabetical Code*

Written text is one aspect of communication. In ECE, teachers often draw children's attention to the connection between written text and sounds: phonemic awareness (Makin et al. 2007). This connection comes through both reading and mark making as children are supported in early scribbling, later invented spelling, and reading, and then to later become aware of connection between visual text and letter-sound connections (Larson and Marsh 2016; McLachlan and Arrow 2017).

Sociolinguistic differences occur in literacy decoding in the early years in terms of phonology and orthography, within which there are differing levels of coherence or transparency (Hofslundsengen et al. 2016). For example, if we compare coherence between phonemes (the smallest units of sound in the language) and graphemes (visual representations of phonemes, for example with one or several letters), Italian has a high level of coherence with approximately 95%, while English has a rather of low coherence with approximately 50%. The Swedish language is in-between and has approximately 73% coherence between phonemes and graphemes. Table 49.1 illustrates the potential confusion in language transparency for early writers of English who learn to manage up to 45 phonemes represented by only 21 graphemes. In Swedish, the language transparency is clearer for early writers with up to 44 phonemes being represented by the proportionally higher number of 32 graphemes. If both lowercase and capital letters are introduced to children then the graphemes are doubled. These ratios and potential confusions for children are expanded if we take into account that a capital letter can occasionally be a larger version of a lower case letter (for example 'C/c' or V/v'), but more frequently looks quite different (for example 'A/a', 'B/b', 'E/e' or 'R/r').

49.2.4 *Written Language Forms in Early Childhood*

Children meet written text all around their world, including food packaging, signs, tablets, television, and text messages. In early childhood education settings, they meet text with labels, books, play materials, educational materials and communication between adults (in-centre and centre-home). Thus, early literacy is a social cultural practice (Makin et al. 2007; McLachlan et al. 2013). The text below describes different sociocultural pedagogical traditions from Sweden and New Zealand.

Table 49.1 Phonology and orthography: English and Swedish

	English	Swedish
Phonemes	40–45	39–44
Graphemes	21	29–32
Language transparency	50%	75%

In Sweden, there has been a tradition of capital letters being dominant in early childhood. This has been influenced by Norwegian researcher Bente E. Hagtvet (1988), who promoted greater written language use in ECE (Dahlgren et al. 2013; Hagtvet 2004, 2006), for example signs of children's names. Formerly, instead of children's names, it was a common Swedish tradition that children were allocated a symbol to recognise their personal cupboard, drawers, or lunch chair (for example, a butterfly or a mushroom). Hagtvet also argued that the lowercase letters could wait until child started school, explaining that the likelihood of confusion between letters was less when using upper case (capital) letters. This connects to our earlier example of lower case b, d, p and q having great potential for confusion due essentially being the same shape but mirrored in various ways. Capital B, D, P and Q are more distinct. Thus, in Sweden, the child is helped to learn the writing code with a manageable (smaller) set of symbols, and can add in lower case letter knowledge later. However, if a child specifically asks for lower case letters, they are – of course – used in preschool, following a responsive whole language and holistic approach (Dahlgren and Olsson 1985) which starts from the child's perspective and supports the child in early literacy. Awareness of print, defined by Dahlgren and Olsson (1985), includes the child's thoughts about how to write and read, before they are expected to have formally learned the skills of writing and reading. The early childhood curriculum supports teachers to make their own pedagogical decisions about capital or lower case letter use, depending of their own beliefs and contextual traditions. The European Commission (2019) notes recent educational changes to early years education in Sweden:

Traditionally, ECEC has concentrated on play and pupil-centred pedagogy, but in 2018 a new curriculum was adopted which incorporates a strengthened focus on learning, in particular reading and digital skills. Implementation should begin from autumn 2019. From autumn 2018, 'pre-school class' is a mandatory part of the school cycle 12, with more teaching content to prepare children for their first school year. (p. 6)

New Zealand approaches have historically been influenced by Sylvia Ashton Warner, who published her teaching methods with Māori children in the text *Teacher* (1963). She wrote the children's dictated text, accepting their own vocabulary, and modelling use of lower case letters with the exception of the start of proper nouns (e.g. names) or the start of a new sentence. New Zealander Dame Marie Clay's (1993/2002) observational assessment of early literacy tools - later a core component of Reading Recovery intervention used in all New Zealand schools and spread internationally – supports teachers to observe children's early literacy skills closely in order to understand what the child is ready to learn. Distinguishing between capital and lower case letters is one aspect of concepts of print within Clay's observational assessment of literacy, commonly applied around a child's fifth and sixth birthday in New Zealand, incorporate recognition of capital and lower case letters, early reading skills and writing vocabulary. Clay (1993) wrote:

'... after entry to school children work quite hard to understand the conventions of the printer's code, the 'rules' of writing language down ... without a feel for the conventions of print the child cannot bring what he knows about letters and words to bear on the writing task, and without some skills at hearing the sounds within words, he has no chance of learning letter-sound relationships' (p. 11).

More recently, New Zealanders Claire McLachlan and Alison Arrow (2017) have been influential in drawing government attention to literacy issues in early childhood, gathering empirical evidence of positive intervention effects when working with low socioeconomic kindergartens. While their findings were on broader literacy and phonological awareness, one of their indicators for early literacy achievement included children being able to write their own name prior to the age of five. The New Zealand early childhood curriculum revision (Ministry of Education 2017) has included greater recognition that systematic and explicit content in ECE literacy teaching yields advantage to student outcomes. In the interests of brevity for this chapter, we note that although Australia and New Zealand are different countries with their own traditions and researchers, there are similar schooling systems and a ready flow of ideas across the Tasman Sea, which separates them. Australia has an increasing discourse on intentional learning practices and children's achievement (for example, Leggett and Ford 2013; Warren et al. 2016), which impacts on early childhood literacy teaching.

49.3 Methodology

In this section, we summarise methodological issues including our research perspective, participants, recruitment, interview method, ethics and approach to analysis.

49.3.1 Research Perspective

This comparative education study is interpretivist as it acknowledges that there are multiple realities and perspectives, remains open to new knowledge, and is socially constructed (Neuman 2006). The study draws on sociocultural theory because of the acknowledgement of how context, cultural beliefs and attitudes affect how learning occurs. Vygotsky recognised that learning is a social process, conducted on two levels – initially through interaction with others, and subsequently as an individual cognitive process (Vygotsky and Cole 1978). This perspective connects to the process of learning to be a writer, and to our research methodology in which we engaged with participants and then sought deeper meaning within our analysis.

49.3.2 Participants

The number of participants was five from Sweden, three from Australia and two from New Zealand. Australian and New Zealand participants were combined to form the 'Australasian' data set after confirmation that the cultural literacy practices

were described similarly in these two countries. The participants were from various locations in each of the three countries. The criterion for inclusion in the study was that interviewees had taught student teachers in any early childhood, or early childhood and primary, literacy class within the last 2 years. Our rationale for interviewing teacher educators, rather than practicing teachers, was so that we could probe theoretical rationale for practice. Three of the Swedish participants had a doctoral degree, one was a doctoral student, and one had a master degree. All of the Swedish participants held experience as teachers and had engaged in research in the early years. Four of the five Australasian participants had doctoral degrees and one had a Master's degree. Two of the Australasian participants had early childhood expertise, one had primary school experience, one had been a secondary school English teacher, and one had been a speech-language pathologist.

49.3.3 Recruitment

Participants were purposefully-recruited amongst known networks of higher education literacy and ECE expertise. Informal approaches were made face to face or via email, followed up with a formal information letter and consent forms. As Swedish academics are bilingual, the written information was provided in English for all participants. Information letters were also available for department heads if required.

49.3.4 Method: Interviews

Interviews were conducted mid-2017, of between 11 min and 27 min per interview, as shown in Table 49.2. Interview was deemed an appropriate method for an interpretive qualitative study in which the aim was to understand human perspective.

The interviews were conducted at times and locations to suit participants, and each interview were audio recorded. The interview language was Swedish for

Table 49.2 Interview participants and duration

Sweden		Australia/New Zealand	
Pseudonyms	Length	Pseudonyms	Length
<i>Anna</i>	11:27	<i>Belinda</i>	25:53
<i>Birgitta</i>	17:20	<i>Katherine</i>	26:29
<i>Cecelia</i>	14:36	<i>Natasha</i>	20:56
<i>Doris</i>	11:34	<i>Diane (notes only)</i>	26:39
<i>Eva</i>	20:41		
Total with notes	75 mins, 38 secs	Total with notes	100:57
Total recorded	75 mins, 38 secs	Total recorded	74 mins, 18 secs

Swedish participants and English for the Australasian participants. One Australasian interview did not record clearly, but field notes had been collected.

A semi-structured interview schedule was used, to provide a focus for the discussion, but also to allow interviewees to diverge from the interview questions. As interviewees we valued both the responses to planned questions and the emergence of ‘new and unforeseen phenomenon’ (Qu and Dumay 2011). Part of the interview process included showing the images of text provided as Fig. 49.1, with the question ‘what do you see in this image?’ Other interview questions included the following:

- What are the reasons for an adult writing text for children which is all in capitals (like **VERA**’s name) or not in all capitals (like **Ella**’s name)?
- What do you think is the most common way for an adult to show text to children aged birth to five? ... aged 5–7?
- How do adults guide children in their own writing, in terms of using capital and lower case letters?
- What do you teach your student teachers about the use of capital and lower case letters in early childhood?
- Is there anything else you want to say about the use of capital and lower case letters in early childhood?

Probes followed the questions to, for example, explore underlying theories and beliefs, for example ‘why do you think it is like that?’

49.3.5 *Ethics*

This research proposal for the entire project was reviewed by a university Human Research Ethics Committee in Australia to cover all countries, and accepted as meeting the requirements of the National Health and Medical Council (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007). The research was also designed to meet the requirements of the Swedish Research Council and has considered General Data Protection Requirements (GDPR). Ethical considerations included informed consent, providing confidentiality for participants, consideration of participant time, avoiding suggestion that there was any ‘right’ answer, and data protection.

49.3.6 *Analysis*

Audio recordings were electronically transcribed, checked for accuracy, de-identified and pseudonymised, then analysed with attention to content analysis and comparative analysis. The content analysis scrutinized material with manifest attention to literacy practices and beliefs from individual data, collective educator response data, and comparison between early childhood and school perspectives.

The scrutiny followed Bengtsson's (2016) content analysis steps of decontextualisation, recontextualisation, categorization, and compilation. The research team met on several occasions to share and critically discuss comparative findings from the different country datasets, finding areas of commonality and contradiction between Swedish and Australasian respondents. The process of these comparisons drew on Glaser and Strauss's (1999/2017) constant comparative analysis through multiple searches for connections and differences. Thus, the approach to analysis was in alignment with the comparative education focus on the study.

49.4 Results

The interview data confirmed cultural differences between the contexts of Australasia and Sweden for how letters are written, modelled, and thought about. The data confirmed that there are different literacy traditions, and assumptions. These are reported in the sections that follow, beginning with Australasian perspectives, then Swedish perspectives, and then commonalities, and summarised in Table 49.3.

49.4.1 Australasia

All of the Australasian interviewees described their understanding that a capital letter should only ever be used at the start of a name or start of a sentence, even for and by very young children. They described this approach with such terms as 'appropriate', 'conventional', 'right', 'correct' and 'obvious', indicating the belief that there was only one approach to written text was. Those who did not follow this

Table 49.3 Australasian early childhood writing traditions

	Australia and NZ Early Childhood Writing Traditions	Swedish Early Childhood Writing Traditions
When to use capital letters	Only at the start of words (e.g. Ella)	Full capitals the more usual way (e.g. ELLA)
Connection to reading	Connected to Book Reading	Connected to reading in wider society, e.g. signs
The physically easiest way	Cursive (joined up sloped writing) when children are older	Full capital letters with block lines are easier for young children.
Preference	Teachers decide	Children can follow their own preferences
Parents	Teachers show parents the correct way	Parents and Teachers share the same traditions
Transition to school	Early childhood should follow the traditions of school	Early childhood can have its own traditions
Overall approach	<i>Conventions-based</i>	<i>Natural method</i>

tradition were considered to be ‘wrong’ or uneducated. For example, when shown the image of children’s names written in full capitals on a locker, one participant commented that it must have been a parent who wrote that text as an educated teacher never would write in full capitals. The interviewees noted that parents sometimes modelled full capitals, and teachers needed to take persuade them to stop writing in this way.

Well, you know [we explain to children], ‘we’re starting the beginning of our paragraph or our sentence or my paragraph – I’m going to use an upper case [letter]’ ... you know, it is explicitly taught after a full stop. And proper names I suppose. (Belinda)

A reason given for only using a capital letter at the start of a name or sentence was that early childhood services in Australasia should follow school traditions. It was felt that if early childhood services did not model and encourage written text to be used in the same way as it was in schools, then it would be difficult for children with transition, and it would be confusing for children to need to learn a new way of writing once they started school. Thus, educational decisions were not only about what was easiest for children in the short term, but also in the future. It was noted that although block capitals might be easier for young children initially, using rounded letter forms would provide an easier transition for when children were introduced to cursive writing, for example Victorian Cursive, a form of joined-up written text. A further example of academic perspective on letter use was the reference to preparation for educational assessments which tested children’s upper and lower case letter knowledge at age five, for example the *Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement* (Clay 1993/2002).

What happens for some children, if they’re forever using upper case as opposed to a combination of lower and upper, is that they have to unlearn what they’ve learned in early childhood ... I usually encourage my students when they are working in early childhood centres to use the format that they’re going to get when they transition to school because you want to make that transition as smooth as possible for the children. (Natasha)

Cursive writing, it’s much easier for children in terms of not having to lift their hand up when they’re writing. So it’s very much a fluid way of doing it ... its very much, you know, quite very formal ways of doing it – you’re lifting your hand up, doing this, and following a very directive way of forming each of the letters. (Katherine)

A further reason for how writing should be modelled was to reflect how text is presented in books. Australasian teachers noted that books do not have text in full capitals, and indeed books – including children’s early readings texts – avoid the use of full capitals. It was also noted that even in text messaging it is not common to write in full capitals.

Well, you know that using full capitals is very unusual in a book or you know the kinds of things you try to encourage students to read. (Belinda)

Australasian teachers described a wide range of practices that involved presentation of written text, some of which are early childhood traditions, and some of which reflect school traditions. In all these examples, it was the cultural tradition to avoid use of full capital letters. These practices include:

Provision of text within the environment: Teachers writing names on children's art or labelling a picture or drawing; displays of names of children in the group; display of learning story pedagogical documentation; displaying specific words on the classroom wall; setting up a writing centre including displaying handwriting samples

Didactic teaching about written text: Pointing out specific features and shapes of letters; reading a book to a child or group of children; teaching the alphabet; providing examples of dotted lines worksheets for children to practice writing on or other text models for children to copy

Responsive teaching: Following children's interest; encouraging, supporting, exposing children to text

Children's engagement in writing: children writing their own names: using formal handwriting (letter formation) copy sheets; using strips with names to identify 'who is here'; painting and drawing; children's sign in sheet (children sign in their own name).

Sources referred to by Australian participants included *The Australian Curriculum* (Primary), *The Early Years Learning Framework*, grammar books, Victorian Cursive (handwriting manual), *NZ Handwriting Guidelines* (a school document), and Marie Clay's (1993/2002) *Observational Survey of Early Literacy Achievement*. The participants suggested that amongst these sources, there was an absence of clarification of why Australasian teachers should avoid the use of full capital letters; they just knew that it was not accepted in pedagogical practice.

49.4.2 Sweden

Swedish interviewees all indicated that the full use of capitals was the more common way that text was used in Swedish preschools, both as modelled by teachers and used by children. Surprise was initially expressed that there could be any question that use of full capitals was the more common way, yet there was also some uncertainty as the participants pondered their responses within the interviews.

Birgitta *I personally think that it is capital letters that are mostly used with young children, one thinks that is how it should be done. It is the right way to start with capitals.*

Interviewer: *Yes ...*
And children will see their name written in capital letters.
Especially in preschool

Interviewer: *What do you think is the most common way to show text to children from one to five?*

Anna: *... I think its capitals, but that is just speculation. I haven't seen any research*

A rationale provided for the use of full capitals in writing was that children find it easier to learn. One reason it is easier is that children only need to learn half the number of letters (21 instead of 42 for English; 29 instead of 58 for Swedish). Another reason is that the block stroke formation of capital letters was seen as easier for young children to write in comparison to rounded lower case letters. Anna initially drew attention to the motor skills, meaning block letters are easier to write/form. However, as she reflected on examples she had seen, she realized that other shapes were used in early writing as part of play.

One argument is that it is hard for children to write rounded shapes and so on. I mean that usually the first way that children begin to write within play, is with circles. Circles are very common and dots. And that's not easy to write. They can do circle shapes. I think that it is the adults who support them into capitals. (Anna)

The idea that full use of capital letters was a social norm was articulated in Cecelia's reflection. She noted that this norm may be changing with use of technology. She pondered how children could see capital letters on a keyboard, but if CapsLock was not turned on, the letters printing on the screen would be lower case. If children could manage this distinction, perhaps they could recognise similar connections in their wider world.

I think if you want to get children interested in print then I think you use capitals because that is something we have learned in our culture; that small children need big letters (capitals). They are more distinct, but that's a spontaneous reflection. That could be interesting today when children use computers or anything else. You press capitals all the time, or do we let them write with lower case all the time? The children notice that the letters appear different as they start to write. That is interesting. Do they recognise these letters, and if the children write with lower case letters at home, what will happen in preschool? Do they recognise the letters there? Some look similar, like 'v' and so on, but 'e' and 'a' are very different. (Cecelia)

Interviewees noted that the Swedish approach was that many ways of presenting text are possible and it was important to follow the lead and pace of the child and their preferences, recognizing emergent literacy development.

Anna: I hope I can identify which phase the child is at in their development of writing. How they write themselves. What they prefer and so on.

Cecelia: I would say that it's about the child approach, from spoken language in their own life with concrete objects

Interviewer: Mmm

Cecelia: And then the picture for the objects and after that the writing.

Interviewer: Mmm

Cecelia: And this is how they are socialized into written literacy. So it looks different from child to child, how long they need to stay with capitals and when they themselves or from teaching change to lower case. They may scribble or draw pictures, this is how it begins. Then it is capitals they write. I think different children take different amounts of time.

Many examples were given of how writing uses full capitals in daily social life in Sweden. One example shared was of children's books and comics, which are sometimes published in full capitals in Sweden. It was also noted that parents often wrote in full capitals and thus parents and teachers followed the same traditions. Capital letter use was also noted in advertising and signs (for example, EXIT and the ICA-MAXI store) and multimodality commented on. It was noted that children are exposed to advertising media and thus use of capital letters in early childhood reflected the context of the real world. Cecelia described the example of a child called Max who could find capitals and letters in the environment, for example his own name within the store name ICA-MAXI, a well-known Swedish supermarket.

49.4.3 Common Perspectives

The responses participants largely talked about explicit handwriting activities, but there were also mentions of children's emergent writing being child-initiated and elective.

You can see when children start to explore on with letters ... it's part of what they do with their drawings.

I don't encourage my students to actually sit down and make the children write.

Both Australasian and Swedish participants appeared surprised that there could be any question of how written text was modelled. The interviewees indicated they had not thought about presentation of letters in any other way than the most commonly used ways they described; they had not thought about there being differing cultural literacy traditions relating to use of capital letters. A recurring comment was that as they reflected on and discussed the topic they thought it was a more interesting and provocative topic than they first had realized.

Neither group appeared sure of their theoretical stands for the use of capital or lower-case letters in ECE. We had not explicitly asked about theory, nevertheless it is of interest that the participants did not themselves present theory to support their points of view. Instead, participants expressed their uncertainty as to theory, although there were isolated mentions of: 'working theories', 'dispositions', 'functional aspects of literacy', 'letter knowledge and later letter sound as part of a continuum', 'development', 'reading readiness' and 'ingrained knowledge'. We are aware that several of the participants connected to theories of literacy as social practice and sociocultural literacy in their higher education teaching, yet these or other theories received little explicit attention within the interviews. It seemed that participants knew of terms relevant to early childhood and early literacy pedagogy, and they confidently described typical practices, but were less confident with the theoretical rationale of particular practices. It was also the case that neither group discussed connection between written text and spoken language or phonological challenges. This is an interesting finding given the importance phonemic awareness has in early literacy.

It is somewhat concerning that some higher education educators who teach early childhood literacy did not have their own early years teaching experience. While some of these participants had gained understanding of how early childhood and primary schools worked as a result of observing student teachers on practicum placement, nevertheless, it is important that early childhood experts play a strategic leadership role in higher education preservice teacher education. To achieve this, higher education providers need to employ staff with appropriate early childhood experience and not merely assume that literacy expertise can be simplified to fit early childhood settings when it derives from work with older children.

I couldn't say I teach them [the student teachers] anything specific about early childhood. (Diane)

I'm not clear enough about what goes on in an early childhood setting. (Katherine)

49.5 Discussion

In this discussion we review some of the key elements of our findings, relating these to Pehrsson and Sahlström's (1999) factors of influence, globalization, policy and pedagogy. Our analysis has also led to construction of our own model to illustrate positioning our participants' description of perspectives and influences on writing in ECE within their given countries (Fig. 49.2).

Something as every-day and seemingly simple as writing a young child's name or providing labels in an early childhood environment evidently is profoundly influenced by context. The perspectives on how it is 'right' to write were different from different parts of the world. It was also interesting to learn that in a sector that strives to accept diversity and avoid defining 'right' or 'wrong', there were definitive and immovable views about what written text should look like in terms of capital letter use. This was especially the case with the Australasian participants who claimed that full use of capitals was most definitely 'wrong'. The ideas would also have been influenced by school traditions where teacher educators had limited early childhood experience of their own and drew from primary school traditions. Such cultural assumptions connect to Pehrsson and Sahlström's (1999) key factor of *experience*.

The findings of this comparative education study found that cultural literacy beliefs and practices led to differing emphasis in practice. Writing is consistently presented to student teachers in their university studies and texts as being part of a social practice literacy perspective, for meaning-making and to empower children's communication (Larson and Marsh 2016; Makin et al. 2007; McLachlan et al. 2013). Literacy is also presented within early childhood curriculum documents (DEEWR 2009; Ministry of Education 2017; Skolverket 2010) as a holistic system in which writing, reading and oral language are connected. Both traditions - Australasian and Swedish - claim to use a whole language approach to early literacy, and both use technical skills. Explicit teaching of the technical skill aspects of early writing align to to Pehrsson and Sahlström's (1999) key factor of *method*.

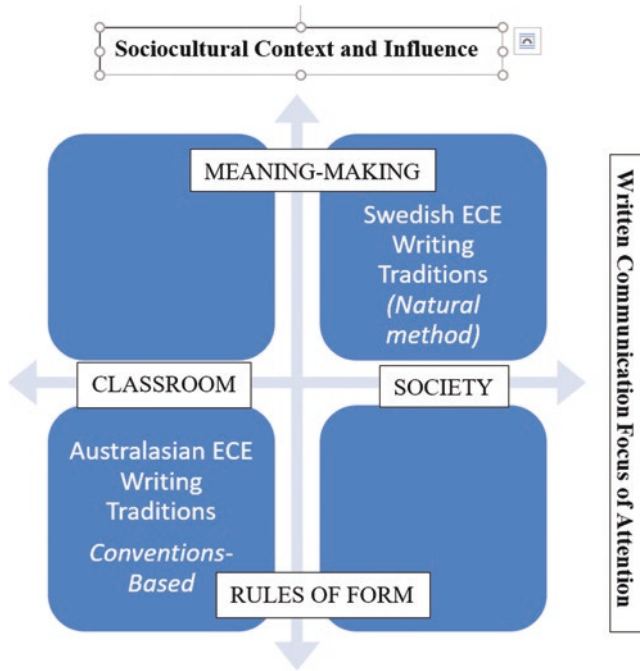


Fig. 49.2 Matrix of influences on ECE writing traditions

Australasian teachers use methods which foreground written language skills and conventions, and Swedish teachers add environmental connections to the child's interest and inclination. Both are necessary for the child to engage in written literacy with purpose and meaning, and for the teachers to guide written literacy development with intentional skills.

Professional reflection is a core part of ECE practice. Critical reflection can be applied to how written text is used, assumptions and perspectives about practice, responses to children's own use of letters in their written meaning making, and assumptions about family literacy practices. Swedish participants appeared to have a particularly open-minded approach to the method they used, claiming to follow the child's lead and accepting differing text preferences of parents. Alternatively, could it be that Swedish teachers had limited training in structural approaches to teaching writing conventions and skills? In Sweden, perhaps the value of more explicit writing guidance may have not been considered because of a reluctance to use school methods in preschool, and in Australasia it may be that tradition has limited critique of a pervasive 'one right way' discourse.

In a time of increasing globalization (Zajda 2018, 2020) it is especially pertinent to consider diverse perspectives on literacy. In countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Sweden, new migrants – from many differing countries around the world - bring diverse written language forms and traditions that may challenge traditions and norms. ECE has an important opportunity to work in partnership with families to learn about and include new cultural written text forms – this may be

especially important in situations where parents have been told that their ways of writing are wrong. Sharing intercultural differences in teaching practice and philosophy is an important strategy for teachers' intercultural pedagogical work and can be to the fore of professional learning and critical reflection.

Our own analysis of the interview data is represented in Fig. 49.2, in which we show competing tensions underpinning decisions about forms of written text, and where the participants can be positioned. One line of influence is related to the focus of attention in written communication; at one end of this continuum is a focus we have labelled *form*, for example handwriting, capital letter conventions and punctuation, relating to Pehrsson and Sahlström's (1999) *written language convention*. The other end of this continuum we have labelled *function*, in which meaning-making and writing purpose is given more attention. Both aspects are important aspects of early childhood literacy, but analysis of our interview data suggests ECE in Australasian gives more prominence to aspects of form in writing compared to Sweden, and Sweden gives more prominence to the function or purpose of writing. The second line of influence we indicate in Fig. 49.2 represents sociocultural context of influence. ECE in many countries recognizes the influence of multiple systems, including the microsystem of the classroom and the exosystem of the wider community (Tudge et al. 2016). How children are variously viewed amongst these systems as subject or object connects this aspect to Pehrsson and Sahlström's (1999) key factor of *relationships*. While interviews included a range of sociocultural contexts, there was a stronger focus on the influence of school classroom influences in the Australasian data, and a stronger focus on wider social influences such as advertising within the Swedish data.

This analysis led to us positioning Australasian early childhood writing in the bottom left quadrant of the Fig. 49.2 model, with the strongest influences being form and classroom context. Drawing on the participant reference to the term 'conventions', the influence of school traditions and 'correct' writing, as well as reference to the term in literature (Clay 1993/2002; Hall et al. 2019; Rowe and Wilson 2015), we have termed the Australasian approach to use of capital or lower case letters in ECE as being a '*conventions-based*' approach. We have positioned Sweden in the top right of the model, because of the way participants more strongly stressed influences of meaning-making function, child's decision-making and wider societal influence. Participants' comments and Hagtvet's (1988) use of the term have led us to describe the Swedish approach as the '*natural method*' approach to use of capital or lower case letters in ECE. Other countries may well sit in different positions on the model.

As a sociocultural practice, written text purpose and form continues to evolve. Digitalisation is particularly influential in contemporary practice (McLachlan et al. 2013), and an aspect that could be added to earlier literacy models and constructions of literacy influence. We know that the impact of computers, tablets and mobile messaging in classrooms and family contexts is an important aspect of text experience for young children. For example, autocorrect functions are now able to add a capital letter after a full stop, thus making it easier for young writers to mix and learn the rules of the use of capital and lower case letters. Any such examples will demand consideration of individual child competencies: while some young children might

mix up letters such as capitals ‘A’ and ‘V’ (Hermansson 2017), others will be able to read and write many years ahead of their chronological age (Margrain 2011). In taking the perspective of the child we must also try to remember how it is for children as they evolve from mark-making to more confident use of letter-like symbols and conventional written language, which Pehrsson and Sahlström refer to as the *emergent literacy skills* key factor. Simultaneously, teachers are on the lookout for children who need a much more advanced next step. As noted by Hermansson and Saar (2017), writing is a ‘multifaceted, recursive, and social-semiotic matrix of actions’ (p. 427). Teaching is the same and there is no single right way, it is instead a complex orchestration responsive to differences within context, culture and individuals.

49.6 Conclusion

The guiding questions in this study were: What approaches to writing lower case or capital letters were described as being most common in each context? What rationale were provided for the approaches? What commonalities and differences were shared?

Our discussion notes that both Australasian and Swedish interviewees highlighted the teacher’s own experience and requirements of the written language. A key difference in the findings was that Australasian participants added attention to alignment of reading and writing methods and skills, with a *conventions-based* approach, and Swedish participants attended more strongly to the child/participant perspective with a *natural method* approach. From this summary analysis, we can reflect that each context has something to learn from the other. The construction of the Fig. 49.2 model and construction of influences on early childhood writing provides an important opportunity to illustrate these differing cultural positions and opportunities for different contexts to learn from one another. Perhaps Swedish early childhood teachers could think more about explicit attention to written text forms and conventions within the classroom, and draw connections between writing and book text. Perhaps Australasian early childhood teachers could further accept child and family preferences, and more readily accept differing forms of text. In our wider and increasingly globalized world, we are exposed to examples of different forms of text; full capitals on occasions such as with signs, headlines, forms, and other occasions the mix of capital and lower case letters such as books, newsletters or newspapers. Children also have this mixed form exposure in their own wider world, which was more readily acknowledged in early childhood practice in Sweden. Preservice teacher education in any country context can acknowledge diverse sociocultural text influences and traditions surrounding use of capital and lower case letters and wider social aspects of written text.

Sociocultural theory stresses that in each language and cultural context there are cultural assumptions, interactions and traditions which influence learning. If we accept that ECE literacy is a cultural practice, it is important that the adults are aware of key factors, which influence literacy teaching and practice. We need to not

only have predictable responses to give children, but we need to have deep knowledge and theory to know next steps for children; teachers and teacher educators need to take part in metalinguistic discussions. We must do more than assume a cultural tradition is the only way, just because it has been the usual way. If we are not aware that of our cultural assumptions then we are not open to accepting diversity. To answer children's questions and help them 'crack the code' in early writing, it is necessary to know the view of the child, to know how transparent various languages are, and to consider how phonemic awareness fits into the puzzle. This comparative education study illustrates that it is likely that neither the conventions-based nor the natural method approach provide sufficient answers or strategies alone.

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Chapter 50

School-University Partnerships and Enhancing Pre-service Teacher Understanding of Community



Sarah Nailer and Josephine Ryan

Abstract Partnerships in teacher education are a priority for governments, universities and schools with widespread belief in the importance of working together. There are many potential benefits to working collaboratively and this chapter explores the reasons for involvement and perceived benefits for participants in this school-university partnership in Melbourne, Victoria. Interview data from participants reveal their desire to be involved in a partnership to develop ongoing and long-term relationships. Participants highlighted the importance of pre-service teachers (PSTs) gaining knowledge and understanding of the community in which the school was situated. PSTs identified their involvement in the designated tutorial group as central to their positive experiences as first-year undergraduate students in a Bachelor of Teaching/Bachelor of Arts as it gave them a sense of belonging. Participants from all participant groups indicate a desire to deepen the partnership and strengthen the ties for mutual benefit.

50.1 Introduction: The Value of Partnerships

The role of schools, school systems and universities in the preparation of teachers and the importance of collaboration between these stakeholders has been highlighted (Kruger et al. 2009). In both England and the United States of America (USA) there has been a push towards school-university partnerships since at least the 1990s, exemplified in the Professional Development School movement in the USA (Burn et al. 2017; Darling-Hammond 1994; Cozza 2010; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2005; Darling-Hammond 2006). In Australia school-university partnerships have been identified as an important element of effective teacher education programs (Green et al. 2020; Jones et al. 2016; Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group 2014). School-university partnerships have been emphasised in

S. Nailer · J. Ryan (✉)
Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: sarah.nailer@myacu.edu.au; jo.ryan@acu.edu.au

successive reviews into teacher education including the report from the Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group (TEMAG) where formal partnerships were encouraged (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Education and Vocational Training 2007; Kruger et al. 2009). Despite this widespread belief in partnerships, insecurity of funding to support them has been a significant challenge to the sustainability of Australian and in instances international school-university partnerships (Allard et al. 2012; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Education and Vocational Training 2007; Kruger et al. 2009; O'Doherty and Harford 2017; White et al. 2018). Apparently, for funding authorities the benefits of partnerships are not sufficient to warrant on-going support and yet there is a widespread assumption that partnerships are valuable. At least among university teacher educators there has been persistent efforts to create partnerships whatever their challenges (for example, Allard et al. 2012; Darling-Hammond 2006; Jones et al. 2016; Kruger et al. 2009).

This chapter seeks to make explicit the significance of partnerships for participants. In analysing partnerships, it is important to note that school-university teacher education partnerships can vary from formalised agreements covering a range of shared activities such as working with pre-service teachers (PSTs) and shared research, to much looser arrangements which involve little face to face contact but consist in agreeing to share responsibilities of the education of PSTs (Kruger et al. 2009; Ryan and Jones 2014). In this chapter we are considering the value of a partnership which is at the more elaborated end of the scale, thereby focusing on the perceived benefits of a partnership which involves both school and university participants engaging in a range of relationship-building activities.

The professional literature on partnerships has stressed their capacity to create the connection between theory and practice that has been identified as a crucial element of effective teacher education (Allen and Wright 2014; Green et al. 2020; Jones et al. 2016; Schuck 2013). Criticism of teacher education often points to a lack of continuity between the theory work completed at university and the practical element experienced on placement (Grudnoff et al. 2016; Jones et al. 2016). While there is criticism of this theory/practice binary as problematic (Ord and Nuttall 2016), it continues to be identified as a challenge for teacher education (Mayer et al. 2017). PSTs consistently rate their time in schools on placement as the most important part of their preparation to teach and tend to see it as disconnected from the academic components of their program (Ure 2009). Strong, collaborative partnerships between schools and universities, it is argued, enhance the experience of PSTs and help them to see the links between theory and practice (Jones et al. 2016; Walsh and Backe 2013).

Partnerships between schools and universities have the capacity to provide mutual benefits which lead to more effective teacher education (Jones et al. 2016; Kertesz and Downing 2016; Schuck 2013). Schools are able to provide feedback to universities about the skills and preparedness of PSTs which can inform the work of the university. Universities are able to provide access to current research and an evidence base for school practices (Walsh and Backe 2013). The shared goal of teacher graduates who are well prepared and effective is a strong incentive for

collaboration. In the following section, the partnership explored in this research is outlined.

50.2 The Catholic Teacher Education Consortium (CTEC)

The Catholic Teacher Education Consortium (CTEC) was formed in the second half of 2012 as a response to an identified need for adequate staffing for Catholic secondary schools. A governance committee at Australian Catholic University (ACU) saw the importance of ensuring that there would be sufficient number of suitable teachers to meet the staffing needs of Catholic secondary schools in the north and west of Melbourne. This area has seen significant growth in enrolments, with the outer north and west in particular experiencing strong demand for school places and therefore a need to recruit additional staff (Catholic Education Melbourne 2014). Given this situation, the governance committee at the university, which includes a Principals' representative, decided that a dedicated approach to meeting these staffing needs was required. CTEC was developed as a result and is a partnership between Australian Catholic University, Catholic Education Melbourne (CEM) and 16 Catholic Secondary schools (initially 14 schools and in 2018 the number dropped to 15). CTEC was developed as a specialised program within the Bachelor of Teaching/Bachelor of Arts (BT/BA) where PSTs who opt into the program have participated in a dedicated tutorial and completed their Community and Professional Experience within CTEC schools. The program was designed with a number of elements including: immersion of PSTs in the school communities; on-site tutorials for some classes; paid employment for third and fourth year PSTs; working with career staff in the schools to promote higher education to students; and a final element was to incorporate a research program alongside CTEC. The inclusion of a research project as part of the initial plan is unusual for this type of partnership project (White et al. 2018).

The range of elements as part of the partnership are connected to its broader aim, to meet the future staffing needs of these schools with teachers who are well prepared to teach in these particular contexts. While the CTEC schools vary, as many as half of the enrolled students in participating schools were in the bottom quartile in the Index for Community and Social Educational Advantage (ICSEA) and up to almost 90% of students from a language background other than English (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority 2017). Evidence from the large-scale, longitudinal "Studying the Effectiveness of Teacher Education" research project found that graduates who completed placements in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts were more confident about their preparedness and effectiveness in these contexts upon graduation (Mayer et al. 2017). Moreover, among the aspirations for the CTEC program was the idea that PSTs who had attended one of the CTEC schools might be attracted to join the program and then return to teach in the area. Further it was hoped too that PST presence in the schools might encourage

school students to consider studying teaching at the university, thereby promoting stronger educational outcomes.

CTEC also aims to promote relationships within and between the university, the school sector and the Catholic secondary schools taking part in order to ensure the provision of a high quality BT/BA experience to the PSTs and to encourage them to take up employment at CTEC schools upon graduating.

The rationale for governments, universities and school systems to be involved in partnerships is relatively well defined and described above. These institutions all have a vested interest in the effective preparation of teachers so that schools are well equipped with the staff to provide for the educational needs of students. The research in this chapter reports on the motivators and benefits identified particularly by PSTs and staff in the CTEC schools. The reasons for being involved in the project are explored in order to better understand the perceptions of PSTs and staff in CTEC schools of the benefits and challenges to partnership participation. Their responses have the potential to illuminate what high quality teacher education means for participants. The findings indicate that for these principals, teachers and PSTs school-university partnerships offer the opportunity to build relationships not as part of brief placements but through more long-term connections with schools and their communities.

50.3 Theoretical Framework

The framework of third space theory has been used in this research in order to examine this school-university-system partnership (Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996). Third space theory identifies the potential for working outside of and across institutional boundaries (Bhabha 1994). Third space is about the creation of hybrid spaces where practitioner and academic knowledge are valued and the apparent boundaries between theory and practice are blurred. The aim is to reduce hierarchies between the project participants in the education of teachers. Anagnostopoulos et al. (2007) describe a third space approach as promoting recognition of “horizontal expertise” (p. 138) whereby the unique knowledge of professionals from different areas can contribute to professional practice. This concept of horizontal expertise builds upon the work of Engestrom and colleagues (Engestrom et al. 1995; Kerosuo and Engestrom 2003) in examining cross-institutional work, particularly in health-care organisations, in order to develop innovative solutions to improve patient care. In the case of teacher education this concept includes recognising the expertise of community members, education systems, schools and universities in developing graduate teachers with the skills and knowledge needed to function effectively in schools (Zeichner et al. 2015).

Third space theory has been applied in a range of domains with its origins in cultural theory (Bhabha 1994). Operating in this space provides the opportunity to “combine diverse knowledges with new insights and plans for action” (Muller 2009, p. 166). Third space creates opportunities for “challenging assumptions, learning

reciprocally and creating new ideas” (Muller 2009, p. 166). The third space is generally conceived of as an abstracted, conceptual *space* but in its application to teacher education the idea can take a physical form in the shape of university classes delivered on school grounds with university teacher educators working alongside teacher practitioners. It can also be exemplified through teacher practitioners in schools developing and or delivering course materials for the university. These examples represent a literal crossing of institutional boundaries but a third space approach to teacher education is more than this and involves a reconceptualising and reimagining of the role of teacher educator (Norman-Meier and Drake 2010).

Forgasz et al. (2018) describe the application of third space theory in teacher education as a “new paradigm” that is “gaining momentum” and provides an opportunity for “reconceptualising partnerships in initial teacher education” (p. 34). A distinguishing feature of third space theorists identified by Forgasz et al. (2018) is that Soja’s (1996) is an intentionally created space whereas Bhabha’s (1994) is not a space we choose but rather “a way of understanding the in-between experience of cultural difference” (Forgasz et al. 2018, p. 36). From the perspective of this study, the third space we are exploring is both an intentional creation of the partnership as well as an inevitable in-between space that comes as a result of different institutions (schools, university, education sector) working together.

It is important to acknowledge the challenges for teacher educators working in the third space (Williams 2014). There are significant differences in goals and structures between universities, schools and school systems. Operating across these boundaries requires teacher educators to “...negotiate potentially difficult relationships between teachers, teacher educators and, at times, student teachers” (Williams 2014, p. 325). The experiences of teacher educators in school-university partnerships include “...building and negotiating complex relationships...” as “...central to the work” (Martin et al. 2011, p. 305). Not the least of the challenges is resolving practical and logistical challenges such as aligning university and school timetables and teaching terms.

Teacher education in the third space presents an opportunity to respond to criticism of theory-practice disconnect (Clemens et al. 2017; Forgasz et al. 2018). Even in school-university partnership models such as the Professional Development Schools in the United States there is still often a perceived distance between theory and practice. The intended long-term scope and multi-layered approach of the CTEC project including working with PSTs, a range of staff in the schools including principals, PST Coordinators and pathways staff, and education system staff, provides an opportunity to further integrate PST understanding of theory and practice, through “mixing, blending and hybridization” (Ryan et al. 2016, p. 179). These layers of the partnership have attempted to build in a range of teacher education program elements that are known to enhance PST experiences such as: being part of a specialized cohort; close connections between university staff and placement schools (Le Cornu and Ewing 2008; Rowley 2013) and learning about the students and communities they are teaching in (Ure 2009). It is intended that this enhanced experience will aid the development of well-prepared graduate

teachers with the skills and knowledge needed in the schools in which they will teach.

50.4 Methodology

In order to investigate the value of these project elements from the points of view of participants researchers used a mixed methods approach with a combination of surveys and interview data collected. Surveys were completed by the PSTs upon entering the three-year program and then twice more during their program. The data collected through the surveys was focused around reasons for entering into the program as well as some demographic data such as the type of school they attended (single-sex, co-ed, Catholic or non-Catholic) and the area in which they attended school (north or west of Melbourne or other). Using a five-point Likert scale participants were asked to respond to a series of statements regarding their reasons for becoming involved in the program and their thoughts regarding teaching in Catholic schools. As the research has followed the first two cohorts, surveys were not completed in subsequent years; instead more investigation of PTS' perceptions of the program was conducted through semi-structured individual and small group interviews. Similarly's principals and teachers, staff from the University and staff from the school system were interviewed to explore the experience of being involved in the program and the partnership development. Interviews conducted included fifteen teachers, ten principals and four deputy principals, four staff from Catholic Education Melbourne and six staff from the university. A small number of the school participants have been involved in multiple interviews over the three years. A total of 39 PSTs completed surveys and two thirds of these PSTs also participated in the interviews. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

This chapter explores the results of the interview data which were synthesised and analysed using Nvivo software. Thematic analysis informed by the work of Miles and Huberman (1994) was used with an inductive approach to coding the responses. The focus of this chapter mostly relates to comments made in response to the question, "what do you feel have been the benefits/highlights, if any, of being involved in the CTEC project?" which was asked of all participants. The PSTs were also asked "What were your reasons for becoming involved in CTEC?" and this was also a significant source for the comments on the emergent theme of building relationships. The prevalence of comments on this topic led to it being the subject of further exploration.

50.5 Findings

Inductive analysis identified “building relationships” as a theme from the interviews. Participants from each of the groups including PSTs, school staff, university staff and school-system staff identified the possibilities for building relationships as a significant aspect of the project. Within discussions around the benefits of building relationships and connection three sub- themes were identified: understanding the school community; a desire to deepen the partnership; and the benefits of the cohort experience.

50.5.1 *Understanding the School Community*

Participants in the research were asked to identify their initial motivations for becoming involved in the project and any benefits or perceived future benefits to involvement. More than half of the principals, deputy principals and teachers spoke about the long-term nature of the project as a benefit. One of the principals said that as a school they were:

looking at something that’s relatively ongoing and for people to have a sense of connection with the school and the culture and the environment at the school is probably very important so that’s probably one thing that struck us a little bit.

The comment above from a principal seems to be identifying the intended ongoing nature of the program as leading to PSTs having a better understanding of the school and a sense of connection to the community. This stands in contrast to the relatively common practice of short placements of a few weeks in the one school. Gutierrez and Nailer (2020) highlighted the importance of connection to community as a positive outcome of an extended professional experience placement as part of a school-university partnerships.

Below a principal discusses the consequences of the long-term and ongoing connections as part of CTEC as related to the importance of PSTs getting to know the schools:

I think the more school visits that those students can do the more they’ll get to know the schools where hopefully they will be applying.

and

If we can get young people from this region to come back to the region and teach with an understanding of the socioeconomic demands, the community demands, what it’s like to grow up in this community, then that’s really important for a teacher to have because I understand the social context from where the young people, our students, are coming. And that empowers a teacher to be able to understand the young people they’re teaching and the context from which they walk into the classroom.

The impression from the comments from principals above is that this project was worth investing in because it was about building up relationships and connection

over an extended period of time. This was both in the sense that individual PSTs would have more than just one short teaching placement within the school community and also that the relationship with ACU through the project would be long-term. The principals and teachers in the schools identified the importance of PSTs getting to know the schools and community over time as central to their development as teachers who would be effective in these contexts. This aligns with the *Studying the Effectiveness of Teacher Education* findings around teaching in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts whereby similar professional experience placements were the key to feeling prepared (Mayer et al. 2017). As noted, one of the goals of CTEC is to recruit pre-service teachers who live in the same geographic area, which increases the likelihood of a culturally diverse teaching population, a strategy employed with some success in the U.S. (Sleeter 2001).

A teacher in one of the schools who had also herself been a student at another CTEC school further discussed the importance of teachers understanding the culture and environment of the school as critical to their effectiveness in connecting with students:

there is a self-awareness amongst the student body of this person's like me so therefore I can share in their experience, or they can be a role model for me. Whereas if someone comes in who has had a totally different experience and is totally different ... our kids are soccer kids, you will get not very many soccer kids at [another CTEC school]. So if you have someone that comes in here and is talking all about how they want to go out and play cricket and things like this, our kids are kind of going to go, mm, you're not really like us, we might not identify with you as strongly. Whereas if you've got someone that comes in who's really passionate and interested in things that they are interested in and can really build up that relationship and understand them, it'll be more successful.

This teacher appears to be identifying the long-term connection with the schools as contributing to an understanding of community that would allow the PSTs to be successful in this school context. This call to understanding community is identified by Zeichner et al. (2015) as imperative for breaking down knowledge hierarchies and the creation of a third space in teacher education. The importance of a sense of community has also been highlighted in a recent systematic literature review of Australian school-university partnerships (Green et al. 2020).

It has been argued that effective school-university partnerships involve the university, and preferably the same staff, working with the same schools over a number of years (Le Cornu and Ewing 2008). This allows for the establishment of relationships between University and school staff in order to work together in the preparation of PSTs. It also allows University staff the opportunity to develop relationships with PST coordinators and mentor teachers over a period of time (Le Cornu and Ewing 2008). The support from participants for establishing these relationships over time suggests they may have had less than positive past experiences with short term projects or perhaps simply that they are more willing to invest in a project with long term aims. It is likely that some staff in schools will have had past experiences where resources to support partnership activity have not been sustained (White et al. 2018). From the point of view of the principals, the long-term possibilities are obvious in that they may have a pool of suitable graduates, known to the school, from

whom to employ. For staff involved in the organisation of professional experience placements, established relationships with university staff and PSTs who are spending extended time working with the schools also offers clear benefits in a competitive placement context (Gutierrez 2016).

50.5.2 Deepening the Partnership

As part of the interviews with principals and teachers they were asked to describe their experiences of the partnership so far and also to suggest any possible improvements for the project. Responses to these questions varied with a number reflecting on the size and scope of the partnership and project overall. Given the competing demands and heavy workloads for principals and teachers, it was a sign of the belief in the value of the partnership that a number of principals and deputy principals suggested that they wanted to deepen and extend it. One principal below talks about how the relationship established through CTEC could be a springboard to other school-university collaborations:

I suppose you know I'd like to probably explore the aspect of greater collaboration with [university] in ... in a whole range of different ways. You know one of our focuses for the next four years is around literacy and developing capacity in our staff to teach literacy explicitly right across the curriculum and so you know I'd be really interested in looking with [university] and to look at some of the things that they can offer in that regard and even just an evaluation along the way you know in terms of whether that's something that is of use to a postgraduate student – Principal.

This principal has identified how the school and the university could work together in partnership in developing in-service teachers within the school and has recognised the possibility to utilise the resources and expertise at the university. This principal is identifying the almost limitless potential to build on the partnership in order to share resources and help meet each other's goals. Brady's (2002) study with primary school principals in NSW found that there was broad support for a range of partnership activity, including research. The principal quoted above recognises that university staff and postgraduate students need access to schools for research purposes and that the school and university could work together to meet the aims of both. While often research projects are developed by university staff who then seek schools to conduct these studies in, this principal is seeing possibilities for matching their needs with the skills and interests of those at the university.

On-site tutorials were conducted over a three year period and held at three different CTEC schools. One of these principals spoke of the desire of the school to be more involved with the PSTs when they were on-site:

In fact probably the only thing I'd say is it would [be] good if maybe while... the group's here if we were involved a little bit more – Principal.

In discussing how the school could be involved the principal talked about teaching staff sharing their expertise as current classroom teachers in a CTEC school with the tutorial group:

I think it would be good for us to have some teachers go in and give some different opinions or give some experiences. Principal 2014.

This principal is identifying the possible benefits to staff at the school in having their experience and knowledge valued through an opportunity to share it with pre-service teachers. This recognition of the value of the different sets of skills and knowledge of the various participants in the partnership is emblematic of a third space approach (Anagnostopoulos et al. 2007).

For one teacher in the role of Pre-Service Teacher Coordinator, there was a need to meet with the other schools involved in the project in order to create a sense of partnership that she felt wasn't there at the moment:

I really would like, you know, the 14 schools or the people in charge to just come together even once during the whole year and saying how are you travelling with your guys? What are you finding? How do you support yours? What are you doing that we might be able to do? I certainly don't feel part of a group – Teacher.

Given the competing demands on schools, it is a sign of commitment to the aims of this project that this teacher is saying they want to invest more in it through dedicated face-to-face contact.

A number of principals also felt that an opportunity to get together in person would be beneficial to build a sense of the partnership. One principal said:

I guess I'd like to maybe get a forum with our principals to have a, let's just share ... and to get a bit of cross-fertilisation happening with our own thinking at principal level, I'd feel more confident hearing and sharing with them, now what do we think the benefits will be, what are we exploring here, what are our outcomes? – Principal.

There were opportunities for principals and staff from the university and Catholic Education Melbourne to get together at a yearly dinner but this may not have provided the opportunity for the sort of discussion this principal was seeking. The possibility of expanding the partnership to include more schools was raised by a number of participants. These comments were characterised by a sense that the possibility was there to expand the project:

There's 14 in, the question could be well why aren't there more? – Principal.

An additional two schools were recruited into the project in 2014. These two schools had been approached in 2012 as part of the establishment of the partnership but had not been in a position to commit at this time. In 2018 one of the original schools withdrew from CTEC, not from partnerships with the University, but to create one with a year-long internship model, suggesting, as this research does, that long term engagement in school communities is a goal for schools. A participant who worked at CEM indicated a desire to see the program extended to other geographical regions also:

I'd be looking to the possibility of maybe that sort of project operating in[X] region because I just think there are so many wonderful benefits. – CEM staff member.

These comments from participants suggest that they support the model that CTEC is using and can see room for its expansion.

Overall the benefits of the partnership were recognised by members of all participant groups, in particular the opportunities for building ongoing relationships and an understanding of the school communities with opportunities for continuing and expanding benefits for all partners. Participants seemed to recognise the opportunities for benefits to themselves and to other partners of being involved and it was anticipated that the project would grow and develop over time.

Demonstrating that the third space can be a place of creative relationships, a number of additional partnership activities have happened over the duration of the partnership thus far, including: leadership staff from one of the schools presenting to PSTs at the university; staff in schools developing resources to be used in university classes; CTEC schools participating in other research projects with ACU staff; three staff from CTEC schools teaching tutorial groups during Winter intensive university classes and PSTs and staff from CTEC schools coming together for a number of Professional Learning programs run by ACU and CEM. The broad scope of these partnership activities suggests that the potential for ongoing and long-term relationships is strong and that mutual benefits for all partners, recognised as critical to sustainable partnerships (Kruger et al. 2009), is highly likely.

50.5.3 Participation in the CTEC Tutorial Group: Benefits of the 'Cohort' Experience for PSTs

The results of the interviews with PSTs indicated a positive experience of being part of the CTEC project. Participation in the CTEC specific tutorial group was a highlight. They generally felt a heightened sense of support and a strong feeling of belonging to the tutorial group. The most positive aspect of their involvement in CTEC was the strength of the relationships that they had been able to develop. PSTs saw the ongoing relationships that they were having and hoped to continue having as a result of being in the program as a significant benefit. They also identified the future benefits and continuing opportunities for long-term relationships with each other and with the schools through their involvement in the program. One PST described the experience of being in a tutorial together as a cohort,

“... we're a really close group now” and “it's been so much fun.”

Another participant referred to the formation of “*good strong relationships*” within the tutorial group and felt that in future years they would have “*such good support networks*”.

When asked to her motivation for getting involved in CTEC, one PST gave this response:

I really like the idea of having like the same cohort of students, like staying with the same class all the way through.

And another PST said:

The familiarity of faces in the university environment is hard to come by so it's good to have that support network.

When asked to describe the experience of being part of the CTEC tutorial one PST said “*definitely fun*” and “*we all know each other, we can all work together and stuff like that. We all support each other*”. The importance of support networks and a sense of belonging have been reported as a benefit of an extended professional experience model (Gutierrez and Nailer 2020).

One of the PSTs discussed how participating in CTEC has benefited her development as a teacher:

Everyone knows each other and it's very easy to communicate and we have a lot of discussion about our placements... it's very open so I feel like I'm learning a lot being in the project.

These responses from the PSTs indicate the positive impact of the opportunity to develop long term and ongoing relationships with their peers and with the teaching staff from the University. PSTs have felt a sense of connection and support as a result of being involved in the CTEC tutorial group. The PSTs have identified this as being important to their development as teachers. This is supported by Green et al. (2020) who highlighted the importance of relationships to the success of partnerships. Drawing on the notion of third space the positive impact on PST development can be understood as the way in which the partnership has contributed to helping the PSTs negotiate the complexity of their preservice teacher identity (Forgasz et al. 2018).

The way in which the program has been structured has created the space to develop strong, open relationships. These responses from the PSTs around the value of the relationships that they have developed and expect to continue building resonate with the findings of Le Cornu (2013) into early career teacher resilience. The findings of this research indicated that positive relationships with teaching colleagues were critical to resilience in early career teachers. Positive relationships with peers at other schools were also identified as sustaining for PSTs in this study. The benefit of the partnership at the centre of this research is that the possibility exists for the PSTs and the schools to invest in long term relationships. The partnership aims to have the PSTs in this consortium of schools for all of their professional experience placements over the four years of their degree and then for them to potentially find employment within this group of schools. This means that the PSTs and the schools should feel as if it is worth investing in the relationships as they have the potential to last for a significant amount of time.

50.6 Conclusion

The most widely noted benefits of school-university partnerships for policy-makers, education systems and universities are around the practicum or professional experience placements for PSTs. The idea of partnerships as a panacea in teacher education (Kennedy and Doherty 2012) has been promoted in recent Australian government reports. This chapter explored the perceptions of teachers, principals, PSTs and education system staff of participating in a school-university partnership. The findings from this research project indicate that there is considerable support from participants for school-university partnerships and that they had a willingness and a desire for strengthening those partnerships. The PSTs identified the personal and professional benefits of studying within a cohort of students involved in the partnership. For them it meant an enhanced PST experience now as well as holding the promise of personal and professional relationships in their future teaching careers. For principals, they could see benefits for the PSTs, their current staff in terms of professional learning, and long-term benefits for the future.

The findings from this study suggest an emphasis on the relational aspects of school-university partnerships may be beneficial for ensuring their sustainability. It is this opportunity to develop meaningful relationships over an extended period of time that principals, teachers and pre-service teachers in this study found most appealing about participating in a school-university partnership. Knowledge of the community, rather than just the school was seen as an important aspect of pre-service teacher preparation that focused on developing the skills, knowledge and attributes that would contribute to schools in a particular geographic location.

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Chapter 51

Teaching Historical Causation in a Global Culture



John A. Whitehouse

Abstract The chapter draws on ancient and modern historiography to examine historical causation. It discusses challenges for learning and teaching. It argues for strategies that highlight the interpretative nature of historical inquiry. The chapter argues that the concept of causation is indispensable to historical explanation. This concept transcends the boundaries of nation states and offers common ground for reflection on history education. Research on historical thinking challenges teachers to provide opportunities for students to engage in causal reasoning. This is a pivotal aspect of historical thinking. Students use the concept of historical causation to construct explanations of the past. Furthermore, it is important for students to analyse the use of causes by historians. This approach presents history as an interpretative discipline in which representations of the past are underpinned by causal reasoning.

Traditionally, history has been taught in ways that serve the interests of individual nation-states. This has involved the construction and imposition of a grand narrative. Such an approach is insufficient for an increasingly interconnected world in which people, ideas and capital move across borders (Lévesque 2008). Contemporary research on history education endorses critical inquiry. Procedural concepts such as historical causation are foundational to this paradigm. Models of historical thinking address causation (Seixas 2017; Van Drie and Van Boxtel 2008; Whitehouse 2015a). Recent research pays close attention to pedagogical approaches to this key concept (Stoel et al. 2015, 2017). The present research uses ancient and modern historiography to examine historical causation. It discusses challenges for learning and teaching. It argues for strategies that highlight the interpretative nature of historical inquiry (Parkes 2009, 2015; Whitehouse 2008; Yilmaz 2008). It is difficult to overstate the importance of causation to the discipline. For Carr (1987), ‘The study of history is a study of causes’ (p. 87). He makes the following observation:

J. A. Whitehouse (✉)
The Melbourne Graduate School of Education, University of Melbourne,
Parkville, VIC, Australia
e-mail: j.whitehouse@unimelb.edu.au

Herodotus, the father of history, defined his purpose in the opening of his work: to preserve a memory of the deeds of the Greeks and the barbarians, 'and in particular, beyond everything else, to give the cause of their fighting one another'. He found few disciples in the ancient world: even Thucydides has been accused of having no clear conception of causation. (p. 87)

Carr invokes Herodotus and Thucydides. The former is used to highlight the centrality of causation to the exploration of the past. Criticism of the latter is offered in support of the suggestion that ancient historiography fails to address causation adequately. Carr cites Cornford (1907) as his authority for this reading of Thucydides. The position adopted by Cornford was a reaction against nineteenth century scholars who regarded Thucydides as a positivist: a thinker whose knowledge was the product of experience and observation. For Cornford, the key influence on Thucydides was poetry. From this standpoint, Thucydidean history offers a tragic vision of human nature. On implications for form, Cornford prefigures elements of the work of Hayden White. Such a reading does not sit well with the idea of Thucydides as a founding figure of the realist view of International Relations (Bedford and Workman 2001). Although Cornford emphasises the influence of tragedy on Thucydides (and the literary nature of his work), aspects of fifth-century Greek thought such as philosophy and medicine are also evident (Hornblower 1987; Price 2001). In fact, close reading of Thucydides demonstrates that he took a keen interest in causation.

51.1 Thucydides on the Causes of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE)

Thucydides examines the great struggle between Athens and Sparta. The background to this conflict is important. The Persian Empire mounted its first attempt to invade Greece in 490 BCE. The invasion failed, but Persia launched a second campaign a decade later. Sparta – the pre-eminent power in Greece – was chosen to lead the Hellenic resistance. Standing at the head of an alliance of oligarchic states, Sparta was the dominant power in Greece. Indeed, Sparta led the Greeks to victory at the Battle of Plataea (479 BCE). Acclaim for the successful defence of Greece did not belong to Sparta alone, however, as the democratic city-state of Athens used its impressive navy to humble the invaders at Salamis and Mycale. With the Greek mainland saved, Sparta did not seek to continue the fight against the Persians. In contrast, Athens wanted to keep fighting to free the Greeks of Ionia that remained under Persian control. Consequently, Athens formed the Delian League (478 BCE) – an alliance to defend against any further Persian attacks and to liberate cities that had been founded as Greek colonies on the eastern shores of the Aegean. Tribute paid by member states of the league enabled Athens to expand its already formidable fleet. The Delian League soon became an Athenian empire. A key event is the transfer of the treasury from the island of Delos to Athens (454 BCE). The balance of power in the Greek world had shifted.

In 464 BCE, an earthquake rocked Sparta. The Helot (subject) population took advantage of the resultant upheaval to revolt. Sparta invoked the support of her allies to deal with the threat. In response, Athens dispatched 4000 Hoplites under the command of Cimon. Thucydides writes that the Spartans rebuffed the Athenians, sending them home because they might seek to bring about political change in Sparta (1.101). Insulted, the Athenians broke off their alliance with Sparta and established an accord with Argos (an adversary of the Spartans). The rivalry between Athens and allies of Sparta erupted into war (with limited Spartan involvement). During this conflict, Athens used tribute from the Delian League to fund the war effort. The war ended in Thirty Years' Peace (446 BCE). The terms of this peace formalised the division of the Greek world. Sparta and Athens swore to refrain from interfering with the allies of the other. Spartan allies were forbidden from defecting to Athens; Athenian allies could not defect to Sparta. Neutral states were free to join either block. Disputes were to be submitted to arbitration. The stage was set for the next phase of the conflict.

51.2 The Dispute at Corcyra

Thucydides presents a careful treatment of the origins of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE). He presents the crisis at Corcyra (modern Corfu) as a prelude to the war. After years of tension, the democratic faction in Epidamnus expelled aristocrats from the city. These aristocrats formed an alliance with Illyrian tribes and tried to wrest control from the democrats. As Epidamnus had been founded by Corcyra, the democrats turned to the mother city for support. Corcyra refused the request. The Epidamnians then sought assistance from Corinth. The desperation of the Epidamnians was such that they offered to become a colony of Corinth in return for support. This had the potential to escalate the conflict; although Corcyra was founded by Corinth, relations between the two city-states were strained. Eager to humiliate Corcyra, Corinth provided the military assistance. The result was the Battle of Leucimne (435 BCE) in which the Corinthians were defeated by the Corcyraeans. That was not the end of the matter, however, as Corinth assembled a new fleet to humble upstart Corcyra. Alarmed, Corcyra sought assistance from Athens. This placed the Athenians in a difficult position. Such an alliance risked drawing Athens into a war with Corinth (and Sparta), but the possibility of Corinth taking the fleet of Corcyra for her own was disturbing to the Athenians. Thucydides presents the key part of the speech by a Corcyraean envoy to the Athenians as follows (Richard Crawley translation):

Now there are many reasons why in the event of your compliance you will congratulate yourselves on this request having been made to you. First, because your assistance will be rendered to a power which, herself inoffensive, is a victim to the injustice of others. Secondly, because all that we most value is at stake in the present contest, and your welcome of us under these circumstances will be a proof of goodwill which will ever keep alive the gratitude you will lay up in our hearts. Thirdly, yourselves excepted, we are the greatest

naval power in Hellas. Moreover, can you conceive a stroke of good fortune more rare in itself, or more disheartening to your enemies, than that the power whose adhesion you would have valued above much material and moral strength should present herself self-invited, should deliver herself into your hands without danger and without expense, and should lastly put you in the way of gaining a high character in the eyes of the world, the gratitude of those whom you shall assist, and a great accession of strength for yourselves? You may search all history without finding many instances of a people gaining all these advantages at once, or many instances of a power that comes in quest of assistance being in a position to give to the people whose alliance she solicits as much safety and honour as she will receive. But it will be urged that it is only in the case of a war that we shall be found useful. To this we answer that if any of you imagine that that war is far off, he is grievously mistaken, and is blind to the fact that Lacedaemon (Sparta) regards you with jealousy and desires war, and that Corinth is powerful there – the same, remember, that is your enemy, and is even now trying to subdue us as a preliminary to attacking you. And this she does to prevent our becoming united by a common enmity, and her having us both on her hands, and also to ensure getting the start of you in one of two ways, either by crippling our power or by making its strength her own. Now it is our policy to be beforehand with her – that is, for Corcyra to make an offer of alliance and for you to accept it; in fact, we ought to form plans against her instead of waiting to defeat the plans she forms against us. (1.33)

This speech exemplifies the understanding of the origins of the Peloponnesian War held by Thucydides. The initial points deal with justice and gratitude. These are preliminaries for an appeal to self-interest; Athenian support will keep Corcyraean naval might out of Corinthian hands. It is at this point that the speech turns to Thucydides' view of the cause of the war. The envoy underscores the inevitability of conflict between Athens and Sparta (the Lacedaemonians). This is due to the fear that the growth of Athenian power has fostered in her rival. The envoy states that this fear drives the movement towards war (Hornblower 1991). The crisis at Corcyra constitutes a contributing cause, but it is not the underlying cause of the war that is to come. By noting the friendship between Corinth and Sparta, the envoy attempts to persuade the Assembly that support for Corcyra is in the interests of Athens. Corinth and Sparta plan to bolster their strength at the expense of their adversaries. The fall of Corcyra will lead to the demise of Athens.

Following this speech, the Athenians hear from a representative of the Corinthians. The Corinthian envoy argues that war is not inevitable, but Athenian support for Corcyra would make an enemy of Corinth (1.42). After receiving the entreaties of both sides, the democratic Athenians must determine their preferred course of action. Thucydides writes that the feeling amongst the Athenians is that war is inevitable (1.44). This provides the context for Athenian decision-making. With war on the horizon, Athens does not wish to risk the loss of the Corcyraean fleet. Consequently, the Athenians establish a defensive alliance with Corcyra and ten ships are sent to protect the Corcyraeans. The force is bound by strict rules of engagement because the Athenians do not wish to violate the Thirty Years' Peace (1.45.3). The result is the Battle of Sybota (433 BC). Following the engagement, both the Corinthians and Corcyraeans claim victory. Thucydides notes that the battle provided 'the first cause of the war that Corinth had against the Athenians' because 'they had fought against them with the Corcyraeans in time of treaty' (1.55.2). For Thucydides, the dispute at Corcyra represents a *pretext* that Corinth can use to justify war with Athens (Orwin 1994). It does not explain why the war occurred.

51.3 Dispute at Potidaea

Thucydides offers a further short-term or contributing cause of the Peloponnesian War: a dispute concerning Potidaea. Potidaea was a colony of Corinth, but paid tribute to Athens as a member of the Delian League. Having earned the enmity of Corinth, Athens becomes concerned about a possible revolt in Potidaea (1.54). Following the battle off Corcyra, the Athenians demand that the Potidaeans dismantle fortifications, offer hostages, and expel Corinthian ambassadors. At the same time, Perdiccas, King of Macedon, was seeking to inflame revolt in the area because the Athenians had sided with his rivals. Subsequently, the Potidaeans send representatives to Athens and Sparta. Discussion with the Athenians achieves nothing to further Potidaean interests. Dialogue with the Spartans results in the promise of support. Consequently, Potidaea and some other cities in Thrace revolt against Athens (1.58). Previously, Athens had sent ships to the area for operations in Macedonia. Arriving in Thrace, they discover the rebellion (1.59). It is impossible to attack Perdiccas and the rebels, so the Athenians decide to support their allies in Macedon. To support the revolt, Corinth sends 2000 volunteers and mercenaries (1.60). Meanwhile, the Athenians come to terms with Perdiccas and then move against the rebels. At the Battle of Potidaea (432 BCE) the Athenians and their Macedonian allies fight Potidaeans and Peloponnesians. Subsequent siege operations continue into the Peloponnesian War.

Thucydides describes the dispute at Potidaea as another reason for the outbreak of war (1.56.1). The narrative that the historian offers rests on causal relationships: the dispute in Corcyra causes problems in Potidaea. The Athenian demands cause the Potidaeans to seek the support of the Spartans and a diplomatic solution with the Athenians. Athenian policy causes Perdiccas to fuel discontent in Thrace. The possibility of Spartan assistance causes the Potidaeans (and other cities) to throw off the Athenians. Corinthian enmity for Athens causes them to send an expedition to Thrace. The pursuit of self-interest causes the Athenians to strike deals with the Macedonian factions and to move against Potidaea. Without causes, historical narrative collapses. Having said this, Thucydides distinguishes between different types of causes. The Potidaean affair, like the Corcyraean dispute, does not represent the true cause of the war. We would describe these as short-term or trigger causes. Yet, for Thucydides, the disputes at Potidaea and Corcyra do not explain why the Peloponnesian War took place.

51.4 The Megarian Decree

Thucydides does not present the Megarian decree (433/2 BCE) as the principal cause of the Peloponnesian War. Many of his contemporaries would not have shared this view, instead viewing it as the key cause of the conflict. The decree was a series of sanctions that restricted Megarian trade with Athens and her empire. Megarian ships could not enter any harbour within the Athenian Empire. Megarians were also

banned from trading in the Athenian marketplace. The results for Megara were disastrous. The ostensible reasons for the decree were that the Megarians had infringed upon sacred lands, cultivated land that did not belong to them and were giving refuge to runaway slaves (1.139.2). These were pretexts. The real reason is that Megara had supported Corinth in its conflict with Corcyra. Thucydides presents a speech by Pericles, the Athenian leader, as follows:

Now it was clear before that Lacedaemon entertained designs against us; it is still more clear now. The treaty provides that we shall mutually submit our differences to legal settlement, and that we shall meanwhile each keep what we have. Yet the Lacedaemonians never yet made us any such offer, never yet would accept from us any such offer; on the contrary, they wish complaints to be settled by war instead of by negotiation; and in the end we find them here dropping the tone of expostulation and adopting that of command. They order us to raise the siege of Potidaea, to let Aegina be independent, to revoke the Megara decree; and they conclude with an ultimatum warning us to leave the Hellenes independent. I hope that you will none of you think that we shall be going to war for a trifle if we refuse to revoke the Megara decree, which appears in front of their complaints, and the revocation of which is to save us from war, or let any feeling of self-reproach linger in your minds, as if you went to war for slight cause. Why, this trifle contains the whole seal and trial of your resolution. If you give way, you will instantly have to meet some greater demand, as having been frightened into obedience in the first instance; while a firm refusal will make them clearly understand that they must treat you more as equals. (1.40.2–6)

Pericles emphasises that Sparta and her allies have been conspiring against Athens for an extended period. Spartan machinations are motivated by alarm at the growing power of Athens. If so, this supports the case that the Peloponnesian War cannot be adequately explained by any short-term cause. Pericles notes that the Thirty Years' Peace provides for arbitration of disputes; the Peloponnesians have not availed themselves of the opportunity to negotiate. Instead, Pericles states that Sparta and her allies prefer war. Now, the Spartans order the Athenians to comply with their demands. Revocation of the Megarian Decree would constitute an unacceptable concession. It would be tantamount to handing Athenian independence (and power) to Sparta. The passage ends by returning to the theme of fear: the Athenians must not allow fear to drive them into submission. The Athenian refusal to rescind the decree reflects a commitment to maintenance of their power. It is the growth of this power that has been regarded with alarm in Sparta. For Thucydides, the Megarian decree, the Spartan demand for its retraction, and the Athenian refusal are products of the strained relationship between the leading powers of the Greek world. The narrative that Thucydides presents offers them as the final steps to war. Thucydides is interested in what set Greece on that path in the first place. For Thucydides, the decree does not explain the conflict. He looks beyond short-term triggers for a deeper explanation.

51.5 'The Truest Explanation'

The complex way in which Thucydides argues that the Peloponnesian War was caused by Spartan fear of Athenian power demonstrates the inadequacy of any suggestion that he lacked an understanding of causation. Interestingly, Thucydides does

not argue that his work is a study of causes; the task that he sets himself is to write a history of the war. Events are linked by causal relationships, but explanation and causation are not the same. Thucydides investigates the past. To do so, he seeks out sources. Once assessed, sources may be used as evidence to support inferences about the past. Some of these inferences address causal relationships. Furthermore, it is necessary to distinguish between different kinds of causes. Having done this, Thucydides is then able to use causation in a historical interpretation:

All this came upon them with the late war, which was begun by the Athenians and Peloponnesians by the dissolution of the thirty year's truce made after the conquest of Euboea. To the question why they broke the treaty, I answer by placing first an account of their grounds of complaint and points of difference, that no one may ever have to ask the immediate cause which plunged the Hellenes into a war of such magnitude. The real cause I consider to be the one which was formally most kept out of sight. The growth of the power of Athens and the alarm which this inspired in Lacedaemon, made war inevitable. Still it is well to give the grounds alleged by either side which led to the dissolution of the treaty and the breaking out of the war. (1.23.5–6)

Thucydides marks the beginning of hostilities with the end of the Thirty Years' Peace. As Gomme (1945) notes, Thucydides does not argue that the events at Epidamnus, Corcyra, and Potidea are irrelevant. He does not assert that the Megarian Decree played no part in the road to war. These immediate causes are explored in the chapters that follow. Taken together, they fail to offer a full complete explanation. Instead, Thucydides holds that one must look to Spartan fear of the growth of Athenian power for the underlying cause of the war. Thucydides attempts to persuade the reader of his case through his narrative. He addresses the immediate causes discussed above and then turns to a key Spartan assembly in 432 BCE. Any Spartan allies that had a grievance with Athens were invited to speak (1.67.3). The Megarians asserted that the ban on trade with the Athenian empire was a violation of the peace (1.67.4). Last to speak, the Corinthians reproached Sparta for inaction (1.68–1.71). Corinthian volunteers and paid troops were defending Potidea from the Athenians. King Archidamus II called for restraint (1.80–85), but the majority decided that the treaty had been broken and that war should be declared (1.87). The distinction that Thucydides draws between short and long-term causes underpins his explanation of the origins of the war.

51.6 A Debate Across Time

Donald Kagan is one of the leading historians of the Peloponnesian War in modern times. His view of the causes of the war directly opposes the position adopted by Thucydides:

It was Thucydides who invented the distinction between the underlying, remote causes of the war and the immediate causes. In his history of the Peloponnesian War he considered the immediate causes, which in fact went back almost five years before the actual commencement of hostilities, to be far less important than the more remote causes that arose

from the growth of the Athenian Empire almost fifty years before the start of the war. Thucydides' view that the war was the inevitable consequence of the growth of that empire, its insatiable demand for expansion, and the fear it must inspire in the Spartans has won acceptance. Our investigation has led to conclude that this judgment is mistaken. We have argued that Athenian power did not grow between 445 and 435, that the imperial appetite of the Athenians was not insatiable and gave good evidence of being satisfied, that the Spartans as a state seem not to have been unduly afraid of the Athenians, at least until the crisis had developed very far, that there was good reason to think that the two great powers and their allies could live side by side in peace indefinitely, and thus that it was not the underlying causes but the immediate causes that produced the war. (Kagan 1974, p. 345)

This discussion bridges classical antiquity and the modern world. Kagan highlights the contribution of Thucydides to historiography: the pivotal distinction between underlying and immediate causes – and the relevance of this insight to the Peloponnesian War. Kagan observes that the judgment of Thucydides has won acceptance by modern scholars such as Eduard Meyer, Karl Beloch and Gaetano De Sanctis. Rather than facing an impassable gulf, the conclusions of past and present coincide. Having said this, the argument taken by Kagan is the reverse of the interpretation adopted interpretation offered by Thucydides. Whereas Thucydides (and his modern followers) see the long-term cause as central and short-term causes as peripheral, Kagan views the immediate causes as pivotal and the underlying cause as marginal. The relevance of ancient scholarship to the modern discipline could not be clearer. Carr (1987) famously described history as ‘an unending dialogue between the present and the past’ (p. 30). The extract between Thucydides and Kagan presents history as an ongoing dialogue between historians about the past.

51.7 The Legacy of Thucydides

The intellectual legacy of ancient historiography is profound. The distinction between short and long term causes is a foundational aspect of historical thought. Tosh (2010) suggests that ‘some distinction needs to be made between background causes and direct causes: the former operate over the long term and place the event in question on the agenda of history, so to speak; the latter put the outcome into effect, often in a distinctive shape that no one could have foreseen’ (p. 153). Historical inquiry involves identification of causal relationships. Walsh (1963) observes that the concept is intrinsic to historical explanation: ‘To put the matter at its plainest, it is felt that historians ought to be able to say what brought things about as well as what in fact occurred, and yet there is evidently far more disagreement among historians in diagnosing causes than in delineating the precise course of events’ (p. 217). For Carr (1987), the selection and arrangement of causes is central to historical interpretation. It is important to draw a distinction between causation and explanation, despite their close relationship (Stanford 1994). Causes are relationships between aspects of the past such as events and processes (Ritter 1986). It can be helpful to distinguish between specific circumstances and prevailing conditions. A relationship may be said to be causal if an aspect of the past results in (or

contributes to) a consequent event, process or condition. In contrast, explanations are constructed by historians. Causes vary in importance, as well as duration and nature. Historians identify causal relationships and then use them to describe, explain, argue, and narrate. The use of the term in historical writing has diminished in recent times (Wong 2011). Having said that, narrative is the signature form of historical explanation (Munslow 2006). Historical narrative occupies a significant and multi-faceted position in classrooms (Whitehouse 2015b). Causal relationships are essential to narrative. For Collingwood (1961), understanding the past necessitates repeating the thoughts of historical actors:

When a scientist asks ‘Why did that piece of litmus paper turn pink?’ he means ‘On what kinds of occasions do pieces of litmus paper turn pink?’ When an historian asks ‘Why did Brutus stab Caesar?’ he means ‘What did Brutus think, which made him decide to stab Caesar?’ The cause of the event, for him, means the thought in the mind of the person by whose agency the event came about: and this is not something other than the event, it is the inside of the event itself.

The processes of nature can therefore be properly described as sequences of mere events, but those of history cannot. They are not processes of mere events, but processes of actions, which have an inner side, consisting of processes of thought; and what the historian is looking for in these processes of thought. All history is the history of thought. (pp. 214–5)

The reader is presented with a comparison of science and history. The scientist seeks to comprehend a physical event. The historian, on the other hand, endeavours to understand the interior of an event. Collingwood holds that the interior is to be found in the thought of historical actors. To grasp the past, the thoughts of historical actors must be re-enacted in the mind of the historian. From this perspective, causes exist as the thoughts of people in the past. For a cause to be identified, it must be repeated in the mind of the historian (and subjected to critical analysis). This the doctrine of re-enactment has been the subject of extensive criticism. There is a distinction between inferring intentions and repeating the thoughts of historical actors. Having said this, Collingwood is right to underscore the importance of intentionality in historical writing. When an historian explains the death of Caesar, for example, that response is based on presuppositions that are taken as given. It is helpful to turn to the work of Patrick Gardiner here. Gardiner (1952) holds that the language of causation enables the historian to manage aspects of the past:

For common sense, the cause of an event is frequently conceived of as being a kind of handle, an instrument for achieving, or helping to achieve, an end that we desire. We say that striking a match causes it to light: but, of course, this is not the *only* condition of the match’s catching fire. The match must not be damp or a dummy, the sand-paper must not be worn out, the match must not be struck with a certain minimum degree of force, and so forth. (Gardiner, 1952, p. 11)

When historians mention causes, or causal factors, or origins it is understood that they are privileging a certain aspect or aspects of the past over others. Although the events of the Ides of March required the births of the protagonists, for example, the historian does not need to mention these events. All sorts of other aspects of the past need not be invoked because they do add nothing of significance to the explanation.

Croce (1921) observes that causes serve as the ‘cement’ that binds historical explanations together (p. 80). If this is so, then the mortar is as important as the bricks to the outcome. The reader needs to critically examine historical narrative for the presence of causal relationships. This is not an easy task. Scriven (1966) notes that causes are often hidden by other terms. When historians use terms such as ‘because’, for example, causal relationships are invoked. Philosophers distinguish between necessary and sufficient conditions. The distinction holds for causes in history. A cause is sufficient if the consequence invariably results. A necessary cause is required for the consequence to occur.

51.8 Teaching and Learning: Causation

How do school students understand historical causation? The research of Denis Shemilt is foundational. In his evaluation of the UK Schools History Project, Shemilt notes that the concept of causation often enters discussion about the past in a surreptitious manner; numerous terms used in class suggest causation (‘because’, ‘since’, ‘hence’, for example). Furthermore, any historical narrative consists of a series of events which are linked by causal relationships. Although teachers may treat causes as links between aspects of the past, Shemilt (1980) notes that students do not necessarily share this understanding. From the perspective of some students, causes are characteristics of some events, rather than relationships. Graphic representations of webs of causal links can help students to grasp the relational nature of the idea. Having said this, history teachers frequently encounter other misconceptions associated with the topic.

Building on work by Arthur Chapman and Peter Lee, Kitson and Husbands with Steward (2011) identify six misunderstandings about causation that hamper learning in history. The first of these is *presentism*: the imposition of the mindset of the present on the past. This leads students to misunderstand motives for the behaviour of historical actors (or renders their actions unintelligible). The next misunderstanding is *voluntarism*: the belief that historical events occurred simply because historical actors wanted them to. This leads students to regard events as the product of individual or collective decision-making without addressing other causes. *Mechanical causality* limits students to a linear conception of causal processes: change is understood as a series of individual causes and consequences. The fourth misunderstanding leads students to attribute equal importance to all the causal relationships involved. Historical inquiry depends on the ability to weigh causes against each other. The fifth misunderstanding is *monocausality*: the inability to recognise more than one cause. The sixth misconception is *determinism/inevitability*: the view that events could not have unfolded in any other way.

The epistemological beliefs held by students are pivotal to understanding causation. Maggioni et al. (2009) distinguish between *objectivist*, *subjectivist* and *criticist* beliefs about the nature of knowledge in history. The objectivist fails to grasp the role of interpretation in history (e.g. the belief that the historian has direct and

unproblematic access to the past). In contrast, the subjectivist gives too much importance to the knower (e.g. the belief that all interpretations are valid). Criticalist thinkers employ disciplinary heuristics and insights to construct an understanding of the past. Such students understand that the past does not speak for itself. They know that a range of explanations are possible in history, but that not all such views are well-founded. Stoel et al. (2015, 2017) apply these distinctions to the concept of causation. Their research endorses the importance of explicit teaching of causation as a procedural concept. The objective is for students to construct historical interpretations on a sound foundation.

51.9 History Teaching and Conversation

Roberts (1996) offers models of epistemic authority for teacher knowledge. Each consists of three elements: teacher, student and domain. In the preferred 'social construction' model, the teacher observes the domain (history) and constructs representations of it. The student does the same. The interaction between teacher and student is pivotal to learning. As Roberts argues, a significant aspect of this exchange is exploration of reasoning. In the case of history, a student might read a source on food shortages in Paris in 1789 and conclude that the French Revolution was the result of hunger. It is not incorrect to suggest that crop failures caused shortages and price increases. This represents one causal factor for the emergence of the revolutionary crisis. Having said that, many causal factors were at work. These include Enlightenment thought, the financial crisis due to French involvement in Seven Years War (1756–1763) and the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the rise of the bourgeoisie, American independence, social inequalities and under the Ancien Régime, and decisions by Louis XVI. The teacher would engage with the historical reasoning of the student but also point out that further causes were at work (i.e. offer historical knowledge).

There is great value in exploring extracts from historians with students (Whitehouse 2008). This approach foregrounds the interpretative nature of the discipline. For students of the Peloponnesian War, contrasting Thucydides and Kagan creates rich opportunities for learning. Engaging with schools of historical interpretation can also be useful. Take, for example, a class that is investigating the causes of the Cold War. There are three prevailing schools of thought in the historical research: orthodox, revisionist and post-revisionist. The orthodox view blames the Soviet Union for the Cold War. Revisionist historians assign responsibility to the United States. Post-revisionist historians take a middle course between these positions. Having introduced the topic, the teacher might assign an extract from a different historian to each base group. Each extract would represent a different school of interpretation. Working in base groups, students would establish an understanding of their allocated text. Students would then be reassigned to teams consisting of a representative of each of the base groups. Each student would then explain the extract that was explored in the base group. At the end of this stage, students would

have encountered all three schools of thought. Each table group might then consider which explanation is best supported by events such as the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam, the Soviet occupation of eastern Europe, the Iron Curtain speech, the Berlin Airlift, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan.

Exchanges between students can build into whole class discussion. Whether responding to individuals, small groups, or the class, teachers need to provide feedback to students. The Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome (SOLO) taxonomy developed by Biggs and Collis (1982) can be a useful way to evaluate causal explanations offered by students. The authors distinguish between *pre-structural*, *unistructural*, *multistructural*, *relational* and *extended abstract responses*. Pre-structural responses fail to not satisfy the demands of the task. Unistructural responses consist of a single element. Multistructural responses consist of a series of separate elements. Relational responses address the links between these elements. Extended abstract responses include the elements of a relational response but generalise this material into a new context. The taxonomy can be applied to the command of syntactic concepts in history such as significance, causation and change. The aim is to identify the point of learning need.

In the case of the causes of the First World War, a pre-structural answer would not identify any causes. A unistructural response would identify a single cause, such as imperialism. A multistructural explanation could include causes such as imperialism, nationalism, alliances and militarism. A relational response might address each of the aforementioned causal factors, and link them to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the 'Blank Cheque' (German support for Austria-Hungary against Serbia), Russian mobilisation, the Schlieffen Plan, and German mobilisation. An extended abstract response would address the causes and links in the relational response but might connect these to historiography on the topic. Such an accomplishment requires the teacher to approach history as *the study of the past*. Furthermore, students must have been introduced to the historiography on the causes of the war to demonstrate this learning outcome (Zajda 2017, 2020).

The epistemic beliefs of the history teacher influence educational outcomes. In the case of the 'social construction' model advocated by Roberts (1996), the teacher makes observations and representations of the domain and shares these with students. Such constructions must constitute historical knowledge. Having said that, history is an interpretative discipline. The extant evidence may support more than one valid explanation. It can be a powerful learning experience for teachers point to these, or to highlight that a range of interpretative positions exist. In short, the teacher offers historical knowledge. The same is not true of all observations and representations built by students, but it is the case for some of them. In a constructivist classroom, the teacher must engage in informal summative assessment through dialogue with individual students, small groups and the whole class. Students can also hold conversations in small groups in which they compare explanations that they have constructed (Zajda 2021).

Van Drie and van de Ven (2017) suggest that there is considerable value in providing students with the opportunity to engage in such conversations before they attempt written tasks. An essay about the causes of the Peloponnesian War will benefit from a discussion of the positions adopted by Thucydides and Kagan, for example. Such

discussion offers the chance to highlight substantive or syntactic concepts and to underscore areas of debate within the discipline. Van Drie and van de Ven (2017) affirm the value of such discourse for students' writing. Furthermore, the written work that students produce can fuel conversation. Working in small groups, each student could share essay plan on a topic that involves historical causation. Other students would be invited to offer another supporting point or present a counter argument.

51.10 Conclusion

The concept of causation is indispensable to historical explanation. It transcends the boundaries of nation states and offers common ground for reflection on history education. Thucydides presents a celebrated treatment of the distinction between immediate and underlying causes. The debate between Thucydides and Kagan illustrates the centrality of causation to historical writing. Teachers offer causal explanations in response to *why* questions. Historical inquiry distinguishes between *necessary* and *sufficient* causes. Such causes vary in duration, kind and importance. Research on historical thinking challenges teachers to provide opportunities for students to engage in causal reasoning. The SOLO taxonomy provides a useful framework for assessing the causal explanations that students construct. *Unistructural* explanations address a single cause. *Multistructural* explanations engage with a series of causes. *Relational* explanations address multiple causes and the connections between them. *Extended abstract responses* engage with new contexts. In terms of history, this offers an opportunity to explore historiography. Students examine the use of causes by historians. This presents history as an interpretative discipline in which acts of representation are central.

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Chapter 52

Education Futures: Language and Human Rights in Global Literacy



Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite

Abstract The continued use of English, French and Portuguese for educational purposes in Africa monopolizes the control of national educational policies and goals. This chapter explores the constraints of these linguistic choices through the report of the cultural agency of the United Nations about falling education standards in the world. This chapter involves an extensive review of theory and practices regarding the consequences of the use of local languages in school in order to explore the effects of language choices on learning. Based on several field visits over a period of many years, involving observation in classrooms and interviews, the findings examine how the use of local language affects the learning in Africa. The study finds that the use of colonial languages as languages of schooling has been influenced by the still powerful notion throughout Africa that learning in a foreign language will promote development and modernization. This research shows that local languages and local curriculum need to be valued as a Human Rights and children need to be prepared in order to be reflective, critical, knowledgeable and mobile in the world, and that this will support African development.

52.1 Introduction

The Western conception of education has dominated education theories and practices worldwide. In Africa, the Western approach conflicts with a long tradition in which children learned community knowledge and history through informal learning with adults in their community. The imposition of a Western-shaped curriculum, using a hegemonic alien language is at odds with African learning traditions (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012a; Babaci-Wilhite 2017). Further, the focus on literacy as the crucial aspect of education has, unwittingly, contributed to degrading African indigenous knowledge systems, to say nothing of the use of African languages. The problem arose from the implementation of literacy as central to formal education in Africa, against the background of colonialism. The continued use of English, French

Z. Babaci-Wilhite (✉)
University of California, Berkeley, CA, USA
e-mail: z.b.wilhite@berkeley.edu

and Portuguese for educational purposes in Africa monopolizes the control of national educational policies and goals. This chapter explores the need to incorporate local learning and a local language of instruction (LoI) within local curriculum in Africa.

The cultural agency of the United Nations issued a report that amounted to an indictment of education standards in the world (2014). The report pointed out that a quarter of a billion children worldwide are failing to learn basic reading and mathematics skills in an education crisis that costs governments \$129 billion annually. The dismal observation about education in sub-Saharan Africa was that four out of ten African children ‘cannot read a sentence’. In this chapter, I argue that the prevalence of policies that impose the use of foreign languages as LoI in Africa undermine progress in learning. Foreign languages should be taught as foreign languages for mobility. Local languages and local curriculum need to be valued and children need to be prepared in order to be reflective, critical, knowledgeable and mobile in the world (Babaci-Wilhite 2014).

52.2 Local Languages and Local Knowledge in Schooling

At the onset of independence, African leaders had not only reviewed and rejected the logic or rationale of colonialism, but they also made efforts to re-assert the centrality of their languages and cultures to their societies. The linguistic plurality and diverse ethnicity of African countries is a topic that has received much commentary (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998), and has led to different strategies for the adoption of languages as national or official. The most celebrated is the story of Kiswahili that spread as trade and commerce made inroads into the East African interior from the coastal areas (Mugane 2015). Kiswahili gained the status of a *lingua franca* thus, with political backing, was poised for promotion not only to the status of national language (Brock-Utne 2000) but, also, as one of the official languages of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, as well as the African Union. Kiswahili became the LoI in primary schools under the leadership of the late Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania. Nyerere was elected President of Tanzania in 1962 and retained the office until his retirement in 1985. He was called Mwalimu (teacher), since he was a well-respected teacher with a strong vision of education and social action.

One of the key objectives of President Nyerere’s development strategy for Tanzania was to ensure that basic social services were available equitably to all members of society. Nyerere was the first Tanzanian to study at a British university and to obtain a university degree outside Africa. He questioned the concept of schooling and understood that colonialism had based the schooling systems in their colonies on “western” educational curricula and concepts. His idea was to rethink the idea of basic schooling in an African context. The collectivisation of agriculture, villagisation (Ujamaa) was a part of his political vision and incorporated his educational philosophy for Tanzania. Ujamaa really means “familyhood” and can be translated as African socialism or socialism built on African roots. One could even

view it as the harbinger to the current philosophy of Ubuntu (Enslin and Horsthemke 2004). He wanted the whole nation to live as a family and to work together towards a common objective. He instituted a unique blend of socialism and a communal-based life (Nyerere 1968). This vision was set out in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 with his view of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). According to Nyerere, knowledge should help citizens to achieve respect and freedom. But which kinds of knowledge do we recognize as important in the society? Nyerere believed that various forms of local knowledge were important, a view that the philosopher of science, Paul Feyerabend, equally championed. He maintained that “Knowledge is a local commodity designed to satisfy local needs and to solve local problems; it can be changed from the outside, but only after extended consultations that include the opinions of all concerned parties” (Feyerabend 1987, p. 28). Nyerere was convinced that the classical, European style education that had been instituted by the British did not account for this importance of local knowledge (Nyerere 1968). In the education sector, his new goals for education were translated into the 1974 Universal Primary Education Movement: to make primary education universally available, compulsory and to be provided free of cost to users, to ensure that it reached the poorest segments of the population.

The situation was decidedly different in the neighboring country of Malawi. There, Chichewa, a dialectal variant of Chinyanja, was elevated to national language because it was the language of President Kamuzu Banda’s ethnic group, the Chewa (Mchombo 2017). English retained the status of official language. Post-apartheid South Africa, in contrast to those two cases, addressed the language issue by declaring eleven official languages, nine African languages from its nine provinces, plus English and Afrikaans (Roy-Campbell 2006, Desai 2006). The national language policies of most of the other countries fall somewhere in between, with the colonial languages largely retained as official languages. This was retained despite obviously noticeable difficulties with the language.

Development, as it turns out, is a rather loaded term that, ironically, has been instrumental in undergirding arguments for the retention of English in African education, through appeals to the role of English in Science and Technology and, in turn, the role of those in development. Thus, in Malawi, in order to combat perceived falling academic standards, and acknowledging the centrality of English to, especially, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) education and development, the Malawi Government issued an Education Act in 2013 that states in section 78 that “(1) The medium of instruction in schools and colleges shall be English” Following on that the Education Act spells out a caveat, in the following words: “(2) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1), the Minister may, by notice published in the Gazette prescribe the LoI in schools” (Malawi Government Education Act of 2013, p. 42). This clearly rules out the use of African languages as LoIs.

The enterprise of educational reform in Africa has been two-pronged. On the one hand, there is the question of LoI or, rather, whether the use of foreign, colonial languages remains defensible in the education of African children and youth. Secondly, there is the issue of content. What should the curricula consist of and to

what extent, and how, should African cultures and African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) be incorporated? The issues constitute part of the narrative about democratic practice and the institution of basic rights in education (see Babaci-Wilhite 2013). In the Education Act of 2103 of the Malawi Government, section 79 spells out in plain language that the government would control the content of education. The section states that “The Minister shall exercise supervision and control of the instruction given in all schools or colleges to which this Act applies and may control the course of instruction in any schools or colleges or category of schools by prescribing the syllabus which shall be followed in the school or college or category of schools or colleges (op. cit., p. 43)”. In brief, education, in both content and LoI, is determined or controlled by the government. Thus, educational reform has to be addressed by the government, as a crucial component of the incorporation of democratic practice and the institution of basic rights in society.

52.3 Language in the African Context of Learning

The advent of the written representation of language profoundly affected humans’ ability to preserve knowledge. It is easy to gain access to the system of beliefs that constituted Greek mythology because of the written records that have survived. Indeed, some of the major “modern day” religions such as Christianity and Islam, like much of knowledge in science and the humanities, owe their accessibility and diffusion to their preservation in the written form. The current state of knowledge in the domains of history, culture, legends, religious beliefs, scientific developments and technological advancement, is dutifully facilitated by the availability of the information in the form of written material.

Unfortunately, this has sometimes led to an unwarranted conflation of knowledge acquisition with literacy. Furthermore, to the extent that knowledge and its acquisition are identified with education in general, the inevitable conclusion is that education is to be identified with literacy and the acquisition of the knowledge represented in, primarily, written forms. This conclusion is unfortunate, especially for education in Africa. The written representation of language is but one medium. There is a crucial distinction between language and medium (Abercrombie 1967). Language resides in the patterns that the sounds or the markings on paper or variants thereof represent. Those sounds or markings constitute the mediums for linguistic representation. They are different, and they appeal to different cognitive skills for production, perception and processing. Every society has a spoken language but only some societies had their languages reduced to written form. Speech is part of the biological endowment of humans, a human birthright. On the other hand, writing is a social skill, not a biological attribute. As such “every normally developed person in a society that uses writing learns to speak, but not all learn to read and write” (Connor-Linton 2006, p. 402). It is this social skill that came to define ‘literacy’. Only some forms for human communications have had writing systems or orthographic conventions developed for them. In Africa, while some languages had

been represented in written form too (Prah 2008), most of sub-Saharan Africa remains preliterate. Still, knowledge is independent of the medium of knowledge acquisition and, while it may be facilitated by the permanence that the written form represents, it is not crucially dependent on or determined by, that medium (Bruce 2013). Just as linguists distinguish between language and medium, there is a distinction between form and content with the usual observation that the connection between the two is indirect, mediated by various rules or principles, collectively referred to as “grammar”.

The unfortunate aspect of this conception of education, where it is identified with literacy, is that it has relegated the oral transmission of knowledge, and the education that is imparted in that format, to the status of inferior or non-existent. The knowledge systems that are transmitted through oral presentation, lacking specific authorship and intellectual property rights or copyright protections, do not receive the recognition that is preserved for the knowledge embodied in written literature. The tradition of literacy has even impacted the characterization of ‘language’ and ‘literature’. For instance, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) report the following view about the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’: “One would define language as national and dialect as local. A second defines language as the standard, written form; dialect as the nonstandard, substandard, or unwritten form” (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993, p. 37).

The characterization of language as “the standard, written form” exacerbates the situation through the conventional implication that unwritten (or recently written) languages are less than languages, charitably referred to as “dialects”, a term that, for society at large, is imbued with connotations of lack of political and/or economic empowerment, or intellectual acuity. The less charitable reading takes the term ‘dialect’ as connoting ‘primitive’, characterizing signals for communication that consists of ‘squeaks and jibbers’, totally lacking in grammar (July 1992). The term ‘literature’ fares no better. In fact, the written tradition has influenced its very definition. The fifth edition of the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language characterizes ‘literature’ as follows: 1. The body of written works of a language, period, or culture. 2. Imaginative or creative writing, especially of a recognized artistic value. 3. The art or occupation of a literary writer. 4. The body of written work produced by scholars or researchers in a given field. Thus, ‘literature’ has to do with written material. Conversely, the body of knowledge that constitutes legitimate matter for education must be that which is accessible in written form. Alternative systems of education or embodiment of knowledge either do not exist or their existence requires lobbying.

This characterization of language and literature is, unfortunately, too narrow. Knowledge systems are, technically, independent of the medium used for their preservation or transmission. For instance, languages embody systems of knowledge that have cultural significance and practical utility. Their transmission in oral form has characterized the forms of education for all, practiced by various societies where mastery of the norms, values, practical skills, is central to the upbringing of the youth. Fafunwa (1974) made the point forcefully in the observation that: “Every society, simple or complex, has its own system of training and educating its youth.

Education for good life has been one of the most persistent concerns of men throughout history. What may differ from place to place, nation to nation, or people to people are goals and the method of approach” (Fafunwa 1974, p. 17).

The observation here is that many societies and, until the advent of the writing systems, virtually all societies engaged in education through the medium of oral transmission of knowledge. The independence of knowledge systems from the medium is accompanied by the observation that human systems of communication, languages in brief, are comparably complex in their grammatical structure. The intrinsic presence of grammar in human language means that education need not be identified with any particular medium, any more than it is better suited to specific languages. This does not, in any way, reduce the importance of the medium with respect to its utility in long-term preservation of knowledge, a property that correlates with reduction in dependency on human memory and the vicissitudes of that, not the least of which is the (untimely) death of the knowledge bearers.

52.4 Language, Science and Technology in Education

A particularly persistent view is that advocates of mother tongue instruction merely engage in obfuscation of the problem. The subterfuge has been to recast the issue in the form of claims that it is not that African languages could not be used as languages of instruction. They may indeed be good for poetry, singing and some kinds of conversation. Rather, it is simply that they are not suited to science, mathematics, and technology. Rugemalira et al. noted that the appeal to this view, with regard to the suitability of Kiswahili in education, is the observation that “a major objection to Kiswahili has traditionally been the supposed inadequacy of the language with regard to technical terminology...and, further, that the language does not have the same international role as English...” (Rugemalira et al. 1990, pp. 30–31).

The inadequacy of African languages in the expression of knowledge embodied in science, mathematics, and technology is, really, more of an unsubstantiated axiom than anything that derives from empirical studies or theoretical validity. It is simply a conclusion based on the history of education in Africa, itself imbued with all the colonialists’ prejudicial views about Africans.

Science and Mathematics in particular, require the acquisition and coordination of three kinds of knowledge: *Conceptual Knowledge*, *Procedural Knowledge* and *Utilization Knowledge*. These comprise, respectively, “the ability to understand the principles that underpin the problem; the ability to carry out a sequence of actions to solve a problem; and, the ability to know when to apply particular procedures” (Cole and Cole 1993, p. 482). Cole and Cole (ibid) further note that “...most children arrive at school with some of each kind of knowledge, and cross-cultural research reveals that even societies with no tradition of schooling and literacy use methods of counting and solving arithmetic problems...” (ibid). Clearly, the early acquisition of such knowledge is not dependent upon the child’s exposure to a foreign language (Mchombo 2018).

The statement about the international role of English, a quality that has given English its global appeal, merely spells out its importance in international communication, highlighting the advantages of gaining functional literacy in it. English is perceived as the language of power, lending itself to language politics that get intimately connected with economics and resource planning. The profile of English as the global language and language of power does not, in and of itself, constitute a valid argument that African languages are unsuitable for instruction. It serves the politics of power and elitism, acting as the “gatekeeper” for access to the realms of power and economic advantages, rather than to the purpose of education (Mtenje 2002, Brock-Utne 2012a, b; Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012b). The perennial negative results and lackluster performance of the non-English speaking students who learn in English is ample evidence of its unsuitability as LoI.

52.5 African Knowledge in African Schools

Educational systems in Africa have largely been grounded in the history and ideas of western civilization. A good example is that attention is given in teaching to the rivers and mountains of Europe and America, with little, if any, attention given to African rivers and hills well known to African students (Nyerere 1968; Warren et al. 1995). The near total exclusion of African studies in schools and colleges led to a reaction referred to as African “renaissance”, spurring the rhetoric of self-government, independence, and equality. Africans began to ask how they could promote their values when knowledge acquisition remained oriented to that of foreign cultures, values, and systems of government, history, and literary traditions? This foreign-based educational program effectively lent credence to the view that African knowledge systems, religious beliefs, cultural traditions, values, history, legends, and literary traditions were all inferior.

To redress this imbalance there have been efforts in recent years to have the curricula reflect local knowledge. For instance, at the University of Nairobi scholars like Kimani Gecau, Micere Mugo, Ngugi wa Thiong’o and others tried to establish studies of African literature. The idea of Education for Self-Reliance (Nyerere 1968) or Education for Development has led to the engagement of African scholars in investigations of their cultures and technical knowledge, as well as traditional religions and literary arts, all of which had thrived in oral tradition. Drawing upon on-going discussions of the issue, Banda (2008) has come to advocate the incorporation of AIKS into the curriculum to counter-balance the Western influence. Banda (2008) envisages a curriculum that would constitute a “hybridization” of the two systems of knowledge, the African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) and the “World Knowledge Systems” (WKS). Building on previous scholarship on the content of African education (Pottier et al. 2003) he seriously challenges educationists in Africa to address the question of Education for All (EFA). There are two aspects to the lobbying for AIKS in the curriculum. The first is that of being ‘reactionary’ in that it aims to counter the dominance of Eurocentric knowledge systems. The other

aspect to AIKS is non-reactionary. It is grounded in the realization that ordinary life in the villages provided an education for all. The knowledge acquisition involved learning technical skills that were task-related as well as general cultural values, legends and history of the society, religious beliefs and practices, sacred symbols or objects, power relations and societal organization for administration, literary activity (songs of different genres, riddles, proverbs), etiquette, food production, environmental and ecological conservation, modes of politeness, the nature and determination of one's role and responsibilities, as well as socially constructed gender roles and more. The education included knowledge in specialized domains that contributed to continued survival and increased prosperity of the society.

The incorporation of AIKS into the curriculum merits serious review. It would contribute to robust development of African Studies in the educational programs and to "decolonization of the mind" (Ngugi 1986). It would boost the knowledge base of the African academy, eliminate the image of education as serving to produce culturally alienated elites, and would lead to cultural emancipation. Banda's recommendation for "hybridization" of the curricula of formal education exploits the view that knowledge production is to be treated as "negotiated translation" rather than something that is "transferred" from one "superior" system of education to another "backward" education system. This is consistent with the Culture-based curriculum model and contrasts with the positivist conception of the nature of knowledge, characterized in the following statement: "The positivist view that knowledge is unitary and systematized explains why scientists continue to regard science as superior to local bodies of knowledge, and why they believe that their superior knowledge can easily be transferred, indeed needs to be transferred, in order to replace 'backward' local [indigenous] Knowledge" (Pottier et al. 2003, p. 15).

The formulation of culture-based curricula incorporating a hybridization of the knowledge systems would be a major step towards the achievement of education for all in Africa. A program that addresses "hybridization", appropriately elaborated and promoted through policy formulation and financial support, should enhance the achievement of education for all. Naturally, there is a need for massive political will and economic investment for the program to be successful, not easily countenanced in the age of globalization (Zajda 2020a).

52.6 Language-in-Education Policies and Development Aid

Bamgbose (1991) claims that the policies of language in education in Africa provide the best illustration of *an inheritance situation*. This has to do with "...how the colonial experience continues to shape and define post-colonial problems and practices" (Bamgbose 1991, p. 69). This is exemplified in the formulation of policies in education that merely carry out the logic and practices of the past. In the case of the language in education policies, Bamgbose ruefully observes, "all former British colonies have English, all former French and Belgian colonies have French, all former Portuguese colonies have Portuguese and the only former Spanish colony has

Spanish” (ibid). In addition, those countries that had come under the influence of Arabs, leading to the establishment of Islam, tend to have Arabic as a school subject or as a medium of instruction, besides its status as an official language and, certainly, as the language of religion. Clearly, the inheritance situation must have some rationale for its perpetuation. In recent times “globalization” in its core usage reflects the porousness of various nations in the world to the intrusion of foreign capital and the financial institutions’ access to their local resources, human or material. Soros (2002) argued that globalization allowed ‘financial capital to move freely’ globally:

The salient feature of globalization is that it allows financial capital to move freely; by contrast, the movement of people remains heavily regulated. Since capital is an essential ingredient of production, individual countries must compete to attract it; this inhibits their ability to tax and regulate it. Under the influence of globalization, the character of our economic and social arrangements has undergone a radical transformation. The ability of capital to go elsewhere undermines the ability of the state to exercise control over the economy. (Soros 2002, p. 3)

At the same time, globalization has power asymmetry built into it in that, the nations with the financial capital have the power to influence events and control resources in the weaker nations (Zajda 2020b). In many respects, colonialism constituted an initial phase of globalization. Although the immediate association of globalization has to do with economic and social arrangements that have allowed financial capital to move “freely” across nations, its impact is seen as extending to other social aspects as well (Zajda 2015). These have included sports (Giulianotte and Robertson 2009), trade imbalances, and the destruction of culture in the weaker nations. Mazrui dichotomized globalization into (1) economics and (2) culture. The main players in economic globalization are the transnational and multinational corporations seeking to extend the horizons for their markets for raw materials. Concerning culture, globalization contributes to the erosion of indigenous cultures and indigenous languages. In this quest for cultural influence, the form of education in the economically weaker nations has proved useful. Education requires massive financial investment and, for economically weaker nations facing a multitude of problems on virtually every front of state building and administration, international aid is a source of support. The aid normally comes with conditions, traditionally in the form of “Structural Adjustment Programs” (SAP) and, in some cases, the requirement that the receiving countries, especially in Africa, abide by certain stipulations about respect of human rights (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012b). The content of that is normally determined by the donor nations.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have, traditionally, been the organizations that have channeled the aid. As such the World Bank has certainly been viewed as one of the greatest agents of globalization (Babaci-Wilhite 2014). The aid to education in Africa has, inevitably, had to go through the strictures of World Bank conditions. On the issue of language in education, while the World Bank has advocated the use of indigenous languages, especially in the lower levels of schooling, it still maintains the belief that the use of English as medium of instruction improves the quality of education. Mazrui notes that: “It is no

coincidence that soon after Tanzania had submitted to the clutches of the World Bank and IMF in the 1980s, the British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) moved in, in full force, to launch the multi-million dollar English Language Teaching Support Project”.

Colonialists have retained an interest in maintaining their economic and cultural presence in their former colonies. An effective method to achieve that has been through the financial aid provided to support the continued flourishing of their languages. Their assumed importance to the improvement of academic standards contributes to the realization of that goal. This has practically contributed to the normalization of the sad situation where, after more than fifty years of independence, it can still remain ‘acceptable’ to shame students for using their own languages, instead of English, on school grounds. Brock-Utne (2012a) noted about the student who died in Tanzania while performing a punishment meted out to him by his teacher for speaking Kiswahili in class (*see endnote ii*). Yet, the practice continues to thrive in schools in some African countries.

The use of European languages is further boosted by local attitudes towards education, especially relating to the question of LoI. The arguments for retention of English as LoI include the view that it is the language of globalization; it is the language of opportunity and work; it eliminates isolation from the world; parents prefer to have their children taught in English because the language will give opportunities to gain employment; finally, that it would be costly to translate the books into the local languages (Babaci-Wilhite 2015a, 2017). The arguments are not merely confined to English. The majority of them apply to the use of European languages in education in general. The situation has held for Portuguese in Mozambique. The situation there is, in principle and in practice, comparable to the attitudes towards English that the utility of English is that it will prevent isolation from the rest of the world which is, of course, a myth, as many non-English speaking countries that use their own LoI are not isolated, for example Japan and China (Prah 2013; Babaci-Wilhite 2013, 2015b). Henriksen has noted that: “One of the beliefs which still persists is that the schools should do all within their power to improve the standard of Portuguese language teaching and learning, instead of wasting the meagre resources on languages that are not going to lead anywhere in academic, professional and economic terms. The ideology is surely inspired by an assimilationist position, that is, the idea that everyone, regardless of his or her mother tongue should speak the official language of the country” (Henriksen 2010, p. 22).

These arguments do not constitute a rational basis for the retention of the colonial languages as LoI. They point to the utility of the foreign languages for international communication, but as foreign languages. Their usefulness as languages of instruction is not predicated on their inherent quality to improve academic standards, although that might be incidental; but, rather, on the legacy of their centrality to upward mobility and access to arenas of power. The profile of English as the language of globalization and internationalism has led to the promotion of English education in various countries including those formerly under French/Belgian

colonialism (Rwanda) and under Portuguese rule (Mozambique). The view is that the language will enhance equal participation in the globalization process. In reality the reasoning is fallacious. Globalization has to do with capital, access to markets, and extraction of raw materials. While capital has free movement, Soros (2002) does point out that the movement of people remains heavily regulated. Put bluntly, the advantages of proficiency in English or the European languages do not immediately translate into a leveling of the “globalization playing field.” The control on human movement deprives globalization of the free trade doctrine. As Chomsky has pointed out: “Free movement of people is a core component of free trade. As for free movement of capital, that’s a totally different matter. Unlike persons of flesh and blood, capital has no rights, at least by Enlightenment/classical liberal standards. As soon as we bring up the matter of free movement of capital, we have to face the fact that although in principle people are at least equal in rights, in a just society, talk of capital conceals the reality: we are speaking of owners of capital, who are vastly unequal in power, naturally” (Chomsky 2006, p. 111).

In other words, the international role of English does not mean that individuals immediately get the advantage of traveling just because they are fluent in English even when they are lacking in knowledge obtained from the “right” education. The use of those languages in education merely serves the function of enhancing the influence of the former colonial powers. The Department for International Development (DfID) in the United Kingdom is, arguably, always on hand to promote studies and uses of English, more so given its admonition against a narrow focus on a minority language of instruction that “may reinforce social and economic marginalization” (Gacheche 2010, p. 9). There is an instructive story from the Seychelles about another globally dominant language, French. Brock-Utne tells of a Mr. Ferrari, the leader of a new Institute for Democracy formed to distribute information on democratic methods of governance. He revealed to her that at some stage he had sought financial help from a development agency in France to further the work of the Institute. The French agency promised the aid on the condition that the Institute would use French as the medium of communication and would work for the strengthening of the French language in the Seychelles, and distribute their brochures also in French! Mr. Ferrari declined the offer. In Tanzania, a statement attributed to a Minister responsible for Education in Tanzania that the government “...did not have money to do experiments and ‘waste’ the few resources on the language of instruction. ‘The little money that is available will be spent on improving the quality of education and not on the language of instruction’” (Brock-Utne 2012a, b, p. 6), must be viewed as defeatist. This is ironic especially coming from a Minister responsible for Education in the very country that set the example of promoting the use of an African language, Kiswahili, as LoI. Scheduling the reforms for the moment when the economic situation will improve, or there will be political support for them, amounts to deferment of the program to perpetuity.

52.7 Conclusion

It is time that African leaders seriously back up their stated commitment to reclaiming African identity and control over African education systems that were lost as a consequence of a colonial cultural dominance. The need to acknowledge oral traditions in language and learning, the use of local language in curriculum is crucial. This should begin with a serious review of *the inheritance situation*. African nations need to invest in their languages especially in the education of the youth and in a program of education for all. African development will be achieved when the education is not for the production of culturally alienated elites. The frameworks applied for word knowledge and link-making are effective in terms of enhancing conceptual learning actively engaged in making the links. Therefore in order to enable inquiry, language facilitates the learning process and supports students in their preparation to engage with the world. Such a model, which represents an opportunity to apply a well-tested inquiry-based Science model to the teaching of Science, will lead to improved science literacy including significant scientific knowledge, and personal efficacy for students, as well as greater professional efficacy for teachers. This will contribute to human rights in education, improve teachers and learner's confidence in their skills in STEM, and facilitate their ability to apply knowledge to projects in their community (Zajda 2020c). Drawing language and cultural perspectives into educational models make teaching and learning in the classroom more accessible which we recommend as a new field of research focusing on STEM which includes Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics (STEAM) as language and culture in global literacy is the way forward.

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Chapter 53

Academic Freedom Between History and Human Rights in a Global Context



Antoon De Baets

Abstract This chapter examines the phenomenon of academic freedom from a global, historical and human rights perspective. Its first part presents academic freedom as a right that comes with duties and conditions. Professional norms and duties toward the academic community, the university and society determine its limits. The internal condition under which academic freedom thrives – institutional autonomy – and the delicate balance between academic freedom and institutional autonomy are then analyzed, indicating historical antecedents of both in the process. The external condition for academic freedom lies in the guarantees offered by the state and by society to universities in constitutions, laws and policies. The question of why academics are so often among the first targets of repression is tackled and the external parties exerting improper pressure on them identified. This first part also deals critically with the problem of how to measure academic freedom. The second part examines how academic freedom is related to the broader web of human rights and which of the latter serve as basic conditions for the former. It tries to dissipate the persistent confusion between academic freedom and freedom of expression. This part also contains an appraisal of the most controversial question: how can academic freedom be justified? Four positions about its right to exist are weighed. The outcome of that evaluation leads to the bigger discussion of what exactly the role of universities in a society is. Three unique tasks are identified. Assessing each of them leads to the conclusion that academic freedom is necessary for the university’s survival.

Misunderstandings about academic freedom abound.¹ These are partly caused by ignorance but also by the concept itself which on closer scrutiny is very complex. This chapter aims at clarifying the global phenomenon of academic freedom from a

¹A Dutch draft of this chapter was prepared at the occasion of the Seventh Hendrik Muller Summer Seminar of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences that I directed from 22 to 25 June 2015; it was entitled “Academic Freedom and Scientific Integrity.” The text was published as “Academische vrijheid tussen geschiedenis en mensenrechten” (Academic freedom between his-

A. De Baets (✉)
University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands
e-mail: a.h.m.de.baets@rug.nl

historical and human rights perspective. The point of departure is UNESCO's *Recommendation Concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel* (UNESCO 1997).² This Recommendation from 1997 is not binding but over the years it has gained worldwide authority as the standard for academic freedom. "Higher-education teaching personnel" means all those involved in teaching and research at universities and other public or private institutions of higher education and all those who provide educational services to students or the community at large (UNESCO 1997, §§ 1e–1f). I shall, however, use "academics" as shorthand for "higher-education teaching personnel" and "universities" for the entire higher education sector. I first introduce academic freedom as a right that comes with duties and discuss the internal and external conditions under which it thrives. Then, I clarify the relationship between academic freedom and the broader web of human rights with the purpose of answering the important question of whether academic freedom has any justification.

53.1 Academic Freedom: A Right with Duties

Ask academics randomly what academic freedom means and the answer always is: freedom to teach and do research. That is only part of the answer if we look at the UNESCO definition:

Higher-education teaching personnel are entitled to the maintaining of academic freedom, that is to say, the right, without constriction by prescribed doctrine, to freedom of teaching and discussion, freedom in carrying out research and disseminating and publishing the results thereof, freedom to express freely their opinion about the institution or system in which they work, freedom from institutional censorship and freedom to participate in professional or representative academic bodies (UNESCO 1997, § 27; United Nations Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1999, § 39; see also United Nations Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 2020).

This definition shows that not only the freedoms to teach and do research are part of academic freedom, but also the right to criticize the own institution and the right of the staff to co-govern. The scope of academic freedom is not limited to the campus; it also includes off-campus activity – on public fora, for example – provided that academics speak or write about the areas of their expertise. If they express themselves off-campus on topics outside their field of expertise, they are *not* protected by academic freedom, although their statements are still protected by their right to free

tory and human rights) (van Berkel and van Bruggen 2020, pp. 15–32). The collection contains many contributions that discuss the state of academic freedom in The Netherlands and Belgium.

²Unanimously adopted by the UNESCO General Conference. The principles of this Recommendation are also used by the United Nations Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations, which monitors implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). All websites mentioned in this chapter were last checked on 16 November 2020.

expression (Barendt 2010, pp. 270–277; Vrielink et al. 2010, §§ 57–58).³ As we shall see, academic freedom and freedom of expression are not the same thing.

Academic freedom is not absolute. It is limited by professional norms and by duties toward the academic community, the academic institution and society at large. The Swiss philosopher André Mercier once summarized these limitations in the maxim *sagesse oblige* (wisdom obligates) (Mercier 1970, 342). Professional norms limit academic freedom because teaching and doing research is a profession: a type of public service that requires its members to acquire and maintain expert knowledge and specialized skills through rigorous and lifelong study and research (UNESCO 1997, § 6). In this context, UNESCO specifies that academics should use their academic freedom “in a manner consistent with the scholarly obligation to base research on an honest search for truth” (UNESCO 1997, § 33; see also Council of Europe 2012, § 5).

Defining professional norms has a long pedigree. To limit ourselves to the twentieth century: in 1902 John Dewey called truth the essential value in science (Dewey 1976, pp. 55, 66), in 1918 Max Weber argued that intellectual honesty was a minimum duty of the academic (Weber 1992),⁴ and in 1942 Robert Merton proposed the so-called CUDOS-formula containing the four core values of science: communalism, universalism, *disinterestedness* and organized skepticism (Merton 1973). Nowadays, we tend to emphasize Weber’s intellectual honesty although we prefer to call it “scientific integrity.” The opposite of scientific integrity is intellectual misconduct, the most fraudulent of which can be subsumed under the FFP-formula: the fabrication, falsification and plagiarism of data (See, for example, Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity 2018, p. 23).

Professionals monitor their colleagues in the fulfillment of duty. Within strict limits, department heads or subject coordinators can impose restrictions on *how* academics teach. Peer review is an integral part of the scientific habit and helps guarantee objectivity and reach provisional consensus. As Thomas Haskell formulated it: “The price of participation in the community of the competent is perpetual exposure to criticism” (Haskell 1996, p. 47). Professional norms enable to draw a line between eccentric but permissible positions and unacceptable incompetence or dishonesty. Pseudoscience (Holocaust denial or creationism, for example) does not meet these norms and can be removed from the protection of academic freedom (Fish 2001).⁵

³More on experts acting outside their field of expertise in Oreskes 2019, pp. 57, 60–61, 263, 265, 274, 278.

⁴Weber typifies “intellektuelle Rechtschaffenheit” as both a duty and a virtue. Originally delivered as a speech at Munich University in 1918, his text was published in 1919 by Duncker and Humboldt, Munich.

⁵See also United States District Court for the District of Utah 2001, C (“free speech”). The discussion of whether knowledge is scientific or not is known as the demarcation debate. See De Baets 2009, 11–14; see also De Baets 2021. Theories which according to the scientific consensus are pseudoscientific do not meet the UN requirement of acceptability because they lack quality: see CESCR 1999, § 6c. Of course, scientific research into pseudoscientific theories is allowed.

The duties toward the academic community are an extension of these professional norms. They prescribe that one respects the academic freedom of one's colleagues and that a fair discussion of contrary views is guaranteed (UNESCO 1997, § 33, also §§ 34–36; CESC 1999, § 39). Students enjoy academic freedom also, but there is no consensus about its scope (Barendt 2010, p. 37).⁶ Historically, a distinction was made in Germany between the *Lehrfreiheit* (freedom to teach) of teachers and the *Lernfreiheit* (freedom to learn) of students. Within the context of *Lernfreiheit*, it is uncontroversial that students should be able to express their thoughts freely. Furthermore, they are entitled to receive quality education. They are allowed to defend controversial opinions in the classroom and have the right to be free from indoctrination and propaganda. They can claim a right to receive an impartial assessment of their work and to have a say in the determination of curricula (UNESCO 1997, §§ 22, 34, 47; AAUP a.o. 1967; AAUP n.d., 2007).

Academics also have duties toward the higher-education institution in which they work because they combine their professional status with an employee status. This combination is special in the sense that UNESCO's definition allows academics (in contrast to most other employees) to criticize their institution and to participate in its governance.⁷ Finally, academics have duties toward society at large: like everyone else they have to respect the laws of the country in which they live and work (UNESCO 1997, § 34).⁸ And we shall see that human rights (applicable to all members of society) such as the rights to education, to take part in cultural life and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress entail duties for academics. Taken together, professional norms and duties toward the academic community, the institution and society at large determine the limits of academic freedom (More on the idea of an academic, or scientific, community in Oreskes 2019).

53.2 Institutional Autonomy as an Internal Condition for Academic Freedom

The academic freedom of academics can only prosper if the university itself is free from inappropriate outside pressure. To that aim, it needs institutional autonomy – “that degree of self-governance necessary for effective decision-making by institutions of higher education regarding their academic work, standards, management and related activities” (UNESCO 1997, §§ 17–18; CESC 1999, § 40).

⁶The same goes for higher-education staff falling outside the lecturer/researcher definition. The question whether secondary-school lecturers enjoy academic freedom is controversial (but see the surprising statement in CESC 1999, § 38: “[S]taff and students throughout the education sector are entitled to academic freedom”).

⁷In the United States, this is called the “Garcetti reservation,” after Supreme Court of the United States 2006, part III (Justice Souter).

⁸Among the laws of special interest to them are laws regarding the protection of human subjects, intellectual property, privacy, data protection, defamation, and hate speech. See De Baets 2018.

Philosopher and historian Arthur Lovejoy, one of the founders of the American Association for University Professors, argued in 1914 that the university had to be a “self-governing republic of scholars.” (Lovejoy 1913–1914, p. 191). In the famous legal case *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957), Justices Felix Frankfurter and Marshall Harlan formulated the core idea:

It is the business of a university to provide that atmosphere which is most conducive to speculation, experiment and creation. It is an atmosphere in which there prevail “the four essential freedoms” of a university - to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study (Supreme Court of the United States 1957, itself quoting a statement of the Open Universities in South Africa).

Institutional autonomy has several dimensions: legal, strategic, organizational, financial, personnel, and academic.⁹ A university can rank high on one dimension of institutional autonomy and low on another (Kenesei 2018). It is, however, unclear where the power to exercise institutional autonomy resides: in the governing board, the senate, or the board of trustees.

It is a fatal fallacy to confuse academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Institutional autonomy is not a goal on its own, its basic rationale being the protection of academic freedom. At first sight, it may surprise that UNESCO’s definition of academic freedom – through the rights of criticism and co-governance, protects academics against their own universities. On closer scrutiny, however, this is not so strange because in practice institutional autonomy and academic freedom often have a tense relationship (UNESCO 1997, §§ 20, 22c; Council of Europe 2012, § 8). The reason is that, in exercising the four tasks identified by Frankfurter and Harlan, universities sometimes take very controversial decisions that put academic freedom under pressure. One can think of their powers to dismiss staff, to not promote personnel, to suspend subjects and disciplines, to reorganize or close departments, to reallocate personnel, and to associate or merge with other institutions. All these operations potentially cause much tension among staff members (and students as well). As a rule, efficient governance has a tense relationship with academic freedom (For an illustration, see van Galen 2019). If the principle that institutional autonomy should be at the service of academic freedom is not heeded, the tension between both can degenerate into institutional autonomy becoming a threat to academic freedom.

Historically speaking, this classic tension can only be understood if one realizes that institutional autonomy and academic freedom emerged separately. In the Middle Ages universities had much autonomy but their academics little freedom. These academics largely adapted to the prevailing political and religious traditions and dogmas. The idea of freedom of research arose later: in the seventeenth century, its precursor was called *libertas philosophandi* (freedom to philosophize). The idea became substantial only in late eighteenth-century Germany, where it was known as

⁹Strategic autonomy means the right to determine long-term goals; personnel autonomy covers recruitment, salary, dismissal, and promotion; academic autonomy encompasses programs, quality control, teaching language, and admission of students.

Lehrfreiheit (Sutton 1953).¹⁰ Seven centuries after the first Western university was founded, both ideas – *Lehrfreiheit* (academic freedom) and institutional autonomy – merged into Wilhelm von Humboldt’s view when in 1810 he formulated the idea of the autonomous research university (von Humboldt 1903, von Humboldt 1970. See also Shils 1991, pp. 6, 18–20; Altbach 1991, pp. 29–33; Fellman 1973–1974; Haskell 1996, p. 54; Carlson 2017, pp. 57–69; Labrie 2020). If institutional autonomy has existed without any substantial academic freedom for centuries, there have been, of course, also many cases in which the institution defended the academic freedom of its staff and students in moments when its own autonomy was under pressure. This means that there can be institutional autonomy without academic freedom and (some) academic freedom without institutional autonomy (see also Spannagel et al. 2020, p. 16).

Alongside the duty to protect the academic freedom of their staff and students, universities have another essential duty: public accountability to the government and to society at large. They should prove how exactly they protect academic freedom, how they spend public funds entrusted to them, and how they assure quality in teaching and integrity in research (UNESCO 1997, §§ 22–24). No autonomy without accountability. Both have to be in balance (UNESCO 1997, § 22; CESCR 1999, § 40).

Over the last decades, critics have complained that the balance between institutional autonomy and academic freedom and the balance between institutional autonomy and public accountability have both been disrupted, the former in favor of autonomy, the latter at its expense. These critics of “the university system” identify a series of worrying trends, including:

- the restriction of on-campus freedom of expression, including requirements to create *safe spaces* or issue *trigger warnings* when sensitive subjects are treated or to annul invitations to controversial speakers (*no-platforming*);
- the fragmentation of the academic community into identitarian communities;
- the perception of students as paying customers;
- the culture of cheap grades and diploma inflation;
- the surveillance, privacy and copyright aspects of online learning;
- the short-sighted career focus of many studies, the lack of broad education and the structurally problematic position of the social sciences and humanities;
- the perception of the university as a corporation and its personnel as “stakeholders” or “human resources”;
- the demise of tenure as a procedural guarantee for academic freedom;
- the steadily increasing numbers of temporarily employed without financial security, whose free expression is restrained by fear of job loss and the associated dangers of meek obedience, arbitrariness, patronage and corruption;
- the aberrant task load and work pressure of academics;

¹⁰The *libertas philosophandi* can be traced back to Baruch Spinoza (1670), Tommaso Campanella (1622), and probably earlier.

- the inefficient competition to obtain research funds and the Matthew effect in distributing them;
- the problem of how universities and their scientists should share intellectual property profits;
- the permanent threat of budget cuts and output-related funding;
- the increasing improper importance of rankings, free-market principles and entrepreneurship;
- the excesses of a managerial culture with its quantification craze and micro-regulation;
- the bureaucratic accreditations with their disproportionate performance agreements and questionable quality indicators;
- the difficulty of measuring science’s social impact;
- the confusion about the possibilities and limits of citizen science;
- the confusion between the social relevance of science and following fashions;
- the problems of individual and collective, small-scale and large-scale abuse of science (pseudoscience, sham science, fake science, facsimile science), including predatory “scientific” journals;
- and, finally, loss of trust in science or denial of science among sectors of public opinion (UNESCO 1997, §§ 43a, 45–46; Oreskes 2019, *passim*; Halfman and Radder 2015; Lorenz (Ed.), 2008).¹¹

Now that the duties of academics and universities toward government and society (as well as the risks that accompany them) have been clarified, let us look at the government and society at large, who have duties toward academics and universities as well.

53.3 State and Societal Guarantees as an External Condition for Academic Freedom

State duties toward society, including its universities, are usually split into a duty to respect, a duty to protect and a duty to fulfill. Applied to our context, the duty to respect means that the government abstains directly and indirectly from inappropriately interfering with the universities. The duty to protect requires governments to prevent third parties – private persons and groups – from applying improper pressure upon universities on the one hand and to protect society against the abuses and harmful effects of science and technology on the other. The duty to fulfil is a positive duty implying that the government must facilitate academic freedom through legal, administrative, financial, promotional, and other measures (UNESCO 1997, §§ 19, 22; CESCR 1999, §§ 46–50; UNESCO and others 2009, §§ 14–16; United

¹¹ See also the part “The Threat Within,” in Ignatieff and Roch (Eds.), 2018, pp. 75–110. For a discussion of problems such as speech codes, (no-)platforming, safe spaces, trigger warnings, etc., see PEN America 2016, pp. 8–9.

Nations General Assembly 1975; UNESCO 1999; Vrieling et al. 2010, §§ 10–12, 77–84).

Given that the state is required to operate on behalf of society, the three state duties can also be regarded as societal guarantees for academic freedom. The UNESCO Recommendation, however, goes further: it claims that academic freedom can only prosper “if the environment . . . is conducive, which requires a democratic atmosphere; hence the challenge for all of developing a democratic society” (UNESCO 1997, § 27). The Recommendation explicitly recommends a democratic political system. This choice for democracy does not necessarily mean that the risk of external pressure on academics is smaller there, but it embodies the idea that criticism of outside pressure is expressed quicker, suppressed less, and accommodated better in democracies.

Paradoxically enough, many democracies do not have better constitutional guarantees for academic freedom than other political systems, as a graph by Scholars at Risk (an international NGO to protect the academic freedom and human rights of academics) reveals (Fig. 53.1).

In 2014, Scholars at Risk divided all constitutions of the world into three groups: constitutions that *explicitly* guaranteed academic freedom through mention of the term (21 countries), constitutions that *directly but not explicitly* guaranteed academic freedom, by mentioning some of its constituent elements such as “freedom of scientific inquiry” or “right to teach” (99 countries), and constitutions that *indirectly*

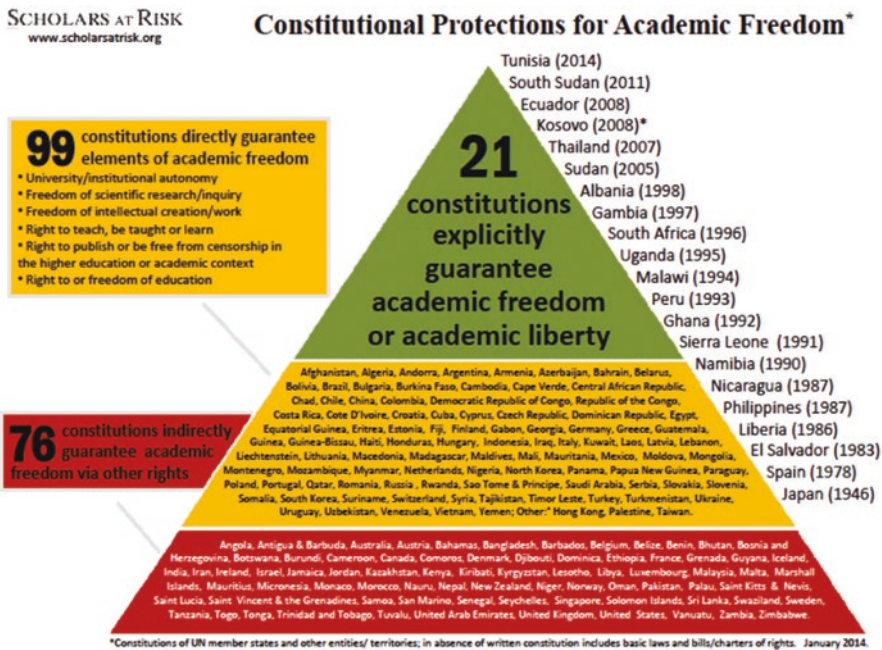


Fig. 53.1 Constitutional protections for academic freedom in the world. (Source: Scholars at Risk 2014)

guaranteed academic freedom either by referencing the general rights essential to the exercise of academic freedom such as free expression or by referencing human rights treaties (76 countries).

The graph invites comment. Against the expectations, the list of 21 countries with explicit guarantees for academic freedom is not very reassuring; among them are notorious violators of academic freedom, as is shown in *Scholars at Risk's* annual world report on academic freedom, *Free to Think* (Scholars at Risk 2015–2020; see also Kinzelbach et al. 2020, p. 9; Spannagel et al. 2020, pp. 2–3). Another observation is that several countries in this group (Spain, Japan, El Salvador, South Africa, Tunisia...) introduced explicit constitutional guarantees for academic freedom only *after* long periods of repression, ostensibly because their universities had been among its first casualties at the time. A final note is that most consolidated democracies, including some where academic freedom was introduced early, only provide indirect guarantees for academic freedom. This remarkable state of affairs is probably due to two circumstances: their constitutions have not been updated for a long time, and their citizens have known long periods of stability that may make it less urgent for them to press for direct guarantees than for citizens with recent memories of academic repression.

The history of universities is scattered with breaches of academic freedom and institutional autonomy by the state and other parties. According to Edward Shils – the founder of *Minerva*, an important journal about higher education – the single most frequent form of repression against academics is unfair dismissal. Academics appear especially vulnerable to such dismissal after critical performances on off-campus public fora (Shils 1991, p. 12; Shils 1997, pp. 154–155, 159). This is an important argument to place expertise-related activities of academics outside the campus within the orbit of academic freedom.

The question that insistently comes back each time is this: Why are universities and academics so often among the first targets of repression by intolerant regimes? I see three reasons (World University Service 1990, pp. 5–7; Commager 1964). The first is that academics are trained in questioning dogmas and ideologies at all levels, including and above all at the political level, and in voicing critical opinions. Sometimes, this turns universities into bastions of protest against authoritarianism and into centers of cosmopolitanism. The second reason is that academics educate the younger generations, including the future leadership of the country, which triggers a desire for official control over curricula, especially in countries where large parts of the populations are young. The final reason is that time and again teacher trade unions and student movements act as progressive forces of reform and change in national politics. It is this explosive cocktail of criticism, education of talented youth and political action that transforms academics and students into prime targets of intolerant – and sometimes of democratic – regimes.

The next obvious question is which external parties in particular exert improper pressure on academics and universities. This is, first of all, the state. As Catherine Stimpson formulated it:

Authorities can strip individuals of their passports, visas, rights to speech on any media, livelihoods, freedoms, and life itself. Authorities can strip institutions of their money (that power of the purse), accreditation (that power of the license), physical security (that power of violence and force), and legal identity (that power of dissolution) (Stimpson 2018, p. 64).

It is not surprising that the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights contains a guarantee against this temptation in article 15.3: “The States Parties ... undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.” And the UNESCO Recommendation “[e]xpress[es] concern regarding the vulnerability of the academic community to untoward political pressures which could undermine academic freedom.” (UNESCO 1997, preamble; CESCR 1999, § 38). Political pressure can adopt many guises between the extremes of mediocre laws and active repression. The line between legitimate and illegitimate intervention is thin. Legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin described it as follows:

[O]nce political officials have established a university, fixed its academic character and its budget, and appointed its officials, they may not dictate how those they have appointed should interpret that character of who should teach what is to be taught, or how (Dworkin 1996, pp. 183, 191; see also Council of Europe 2012, § 7).

Next to political entities, economic and financial circles like to be associated with the prestige of science in order to achieve commercial goals. In some cases, enterprises exploit contract research to suit their own needs, censor unwelcome messages, or sponsor endowed chairs with willing chair holders (Köbben and Tromp 1999). Publishers can exert unreasonable power over access to scientific journals. And military, patriotic or religious pressure on academics to conform to the powers that be is as old as higher education itself. Finally, public opinion itself may impose demand exaggerated accountability burdens. More profoundly, anti-intellectual currents in society can diminish the willingness of politicians to afford universities their legitimate freedom to act. In short, external threats are as dangerous as internal ones.

53.4 Measuring Academic Freedom

In line with the difficulty to unpack the concept of academic freedom, there is the problem of measuring it consistently across countries and time. Until recently, roughly four approaches co-existed, each relying on different datasets: monitoring and counting individual attacks on academic freedom, self-reporting of institutions about academic freedom, surveying academics and students about academic freedom, and examining constitutional guarantees for academic freedom. None of these approaches is seen as entirely satisfactory, especially if one wants to measure trends (Spannagel et al. 2020, pp. 1–4). In March 2020, therefore, a consortium consisting of the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin, Scholars at Risk in New York, and the V-Dem Institute in Gothenburg presented a new Academic Freedom Index,

based on a fifth dataset: experts (1810 scholars in 180 countries) who assessed five indicators of the realization of academic freedom over the last century (1900–2019) (Kinzelbach et al. 2020, pp. 7–8; Spannagel et al. 2020, pp. 6–13):¹²

- *Freedom to research and teach*: To what extent were scholars free to develop and pursue their own research and teaching agendas without interference?
- *Freedom of academic exchange and dissemination*: To what extent were scholars free to exchange and communicate research ideas and findings?
- *Institutional autonomy*: To what extent did universities exercise institutional autonomy in practice?
- *Campus integrity*: To what extent were campuses free from politically motivated surveillance or security infringements?
- *Freedom of academic and cultural expression*: Was there academic freedom and freedom of cultural expression related to political issues?

In presenting the index and its indicators for the entire period 1900–2019 (Kinzelbach et al. 2020, p. 10), the authors concluded:

Overall, we see a small dip in global levels on all academic freedom indicators during World War I (1914–1918) and a very substantial dip during World War II (1939–1945). Furthermore, all indicators show a slow degradation between the early 1960s and the late 1970s – likely associated with repressive policies in the Soviet Union, the installment of several military dictatorships in Latin America, as well as Cold War–related pressures on academia in other parts of the world. The 1980s are a period of slow improvements, which accelerate in the early 1990s with the third wave of democratization before stabilizing at a relatively high level (though not at the top of the scale). Since 2013, we see a slight decline in several variables (Spannagel et al. 2020, p. 13; see also Kinzelbach et al. 2020, p. 10).

With the important exception that it apparently does not reflect the manifold attacks on academic freedom by scores of authoritarian regimes during the interwar period, this general overview is a credible overall assessment (which may be refined in the future). The authors further report that the third indicator, institutional autonomy, was generally at moderate levels (roughly at 1.8–2.3 on a scale ranging from 0 to 4), but as an institutional process less subject to extreme fluctuations than the other indicators (Kinzelbach et al. 2020, pp. 9–10). Countries that respected institutional autonomy reasonably or highly also tended to have high levels of freedom to research and teach (the first indicator) (Spannagel et al. 2020, p. 16; Kinzelbach et al. 2020, pp. 20–21).

¹²The data themselves are at <https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data/v-dem-dataset/>; the graphing tools at <https://www.v-dem.net/en/analysis>

53.5 Academic Freedom and Human Rights

Threats to and violations of academic freedom make us want to understand how academic freedom is related to the broader web of human rights. Although human rights loom large in the UNESCO Recommendation (UNESCO 1997, § 26, also §§ 17, 22, 28, 34, 75), academic freedom itself is no human right. Human rights are universal, academic freedom is not. This is the reason why the concept of academic freedom is not mentioned in the world's two most important human rights treaties, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Instead, article 15.3 of the ICESCR stipulates the state duty to respect the “freedom indispensable for scientific research.” This phrase can indisputably be summarized as “freedom of scientific research” but the question is whether this latter phrase can be further condensed into the phrases “freedom of research,” “scientific freedom” or “academic freedom.” “Freedom of scientific research” is *narrower* than “freedom of research” in that not all research is scientific. “Freedom of scientific research” is also *narrower* than “scientific freedom” because science encompasses more than research activity alone; scientific freedom also includes the freedom to teach implied in the right to education (article 13 of the ICESCR). Finally, “freedom of scientific research” is also *narrower* than academic freedom for the same reason: academic freedom does not only encompass freedom of scientific research but also freedom to teach. At the same time, however, “freedom of scientific research” is also *larger* than academic freedom because science can be carried out outside higher education institutions. Depending on the angle, “freedom of scientific research” is narrower or larger than academic freedom (see also De Baets 2020).¹³

The conceptual confusion between these terms is all the more a reason to gain a better understanding of the relationship between academic freedom and human rights. This relationship can be described in a straightforward way: human rights constitute direct conditions or indirect preconditions for academic freedom, regardless of whether they are viewed from the perspectives of academics, society or the state.¹⁴ In the following overview, only those human rights that constitute direct determinants of academic freedom are listed (Table 53.1):

¹³In that contribution, I also discuss the term “intellectual freedom,” which is a part of the freedom of thought. As described in article 18.1–18.2 and 19.1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), freedom of thought is universal (like freedom of expression) and non-derogable (unlike freedom of expression which can be restricted and derogated). According to article 4.2 of the ICCPR, article 18 of the ICCPR is non-derogable; according to article 18.3 of the ICCPR, manifesting a belief – but *not* holding it – can be restricted (under firm conditions). Consistent with this, article 19.1 of the ICCPR stipulates that everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference. See also United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression 2020, § 16.

¹⁴My approach is not monolithic (as is Klaus-Dieter Beiter's who infers academic freedom unilaterally from the right to education), but pluralistic: see our discussion in *University values: a bulletin on international academic freedom, autonomy & responsibility* (2011–2015).

Table 53.1 Human rights as basic conditions for academic freedom

<i>A. Human rights from an academic's perspective</i>	
The right to leave one's country and return	art. 12 ICCPR
The right to privacy (especially non-interference with correspondence)	art. 17 ICCPR
The right to reputation	art. 17 ICCPR
The right to freedom of thought	art. 18 ICCPR
The right to freedom of expression	art. 19 ICCPR
The right to peaceful assembly	art. 21 ICCPR
The right to free association	art. 22 ICCPR
The right to benefit from copyright	art. 15.1c ICESCR
<i>B. Human rights from a societal perspective</i>	
The right not to be subjected without one's free consent to medical or scientific experimentation	art. 7 ICCPR
The right to education	art. 13 ICESCR
The right to take part in cultural life	art. 15.1a ICESCR
The right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications	art. 15.1b ICESCR
<i>C. State duties</i>	
The duty to prohibit war propaganda by law	art. 20.1 ICCPR
The duty to prohibit hate speech by law	art. 20.2 ICCPR
The duty to prohibit discrimination by law	art. 26 ICCPR
The duty to improve scientific knowledge about food in the struggle against hunger	art. 11.2 ICESCR
The duty to promote science and culture	art. 15.2 ICESCR
The duty to respect freedom of scientific research	art. 15.3 ICESCR
The duty to recognize the benefits of international cooperation in the scientific field	art. 15.4 ICESCR

From the perspective of academics and universities, some rights on the list appeal more to individual academic freedom, others more to institutional autonomy. Articles 21 and 22 of the ICCPR in particular protect university autonomy (but they also support teacher trade unions and student associations). From the perspective of society, some human rights (for example the right to education) create duties for academics. Other rights have a tense relationship, for example articles 15.1b (the right of everyone to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications) and 15.1c (the right of academics to benefit from copyright) of the ICESCR.

The most important observation, however, is that there is a special relationship between academic freedom and the right to free expression (article 19 of the ICCPR). Many academics think that academic freedom is the freedom to say everything, others think that it is the same as freedom of expression or that it is freedom of expression in an academic setting. These assumptions are false. Important differences exist between both, as is seen in the following table (Table 53.2):

Table 53.2 Differences between the right to freedom of expression and academic freedom

	Freedom of expression	Academic freedom
Basis	ICCPR (1966), art. 19.	ICCPR (1966), art. 7, 12, 17–22, 26. ICESCR (1966), art. 11, 13, 15. UNESCO, <i>Recommendation</i> (1997), § 27.
Human right?	Yes.	No, but some human rights are its direct conditions.
Scale	Universal.	Not universal: only for academics and students in universities.
Scope (persons/ groups)	Individual.	<i>Individual</i> : academic freedom for academics; right to learn for students. <i>Collective</i> : university autonomy.
Scope (expression/ conduct)	Facts and opinions (expressed in spoken and written language, in symbols, in images and objects).	Discipline-related facts and opinions on- and off-campus. Conduct such as experimenting, organizing conferences and debates, etc.
Limits to the right	<i>For the state aiming at limiting opinions</i> : restrictions are provided by law and are necessary for respect of the rights or reputations of others; for the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals (ICCPR art. 19.3). The right is temporarily derogable in time of public emergency (ICCPR art. 4.1). <i>For the person expressing the opinion</i> : no war propaganda, hate speech or discrimination (ICCPR arts. 20, 26).	<i>For the state aiming at limiting opinions</i> : same as for freedom of expression. <i>For the person expressing the opinion</i> : same as for freedom of expression, <i>plus</i> : – The opinion should satisfy professional norms, <i>including</i> : – The opinion has to be subjected to peer review.
Epistemology	Protects, within these limits, the expression of (all) opinions and (all) true and (most) untrue statements of fact.	Protects, within these limits, opinions and facts that are provisionally true and possibly untrue. Does not protect opinions or facts which after academic debate are held to be definitely unfounded (opinions) or false (facts).

(continued)

Table 53.2 (continued)

	Freedom of expression	Academic freedom
Rights-related duties	<p><i>For all:</i> special duties and responsibilities (ICCPR art. 19.3).</p> <p><i>For states:</i> the duty to respect the limits of the right.</p>	<p><i>For all:</i> the duty to respect the academic freedom of other academics and students, to ensure fair discussion of contrary views, to honestly search the truth (UNESCO Recommendation, § 33). <i>plus:</i></p> <p><i>For academics:</i> duties to the academic community, to the university, to society.</p> <p><i>For universities:</i> duty to respect academic freedom; duty of public accountability.</p> <p><i>For states:</i> duties to respect, protect, fulfil.</p>

On balance, academic freedom is more restricted than freedom of expression in almost all respects, except one: it does not only comprise expression but also conduct such as laboratory work or the organization of conferences (and freedom of expression does not, at least not in principle). Academic debates are actually more restricted, in the sense of more regulated, than public debates, as was clearly seen by moral philosopher Bernard Williams:

[I]n institutions that are expressly dedicated to finding out the truth, such as universities, research institutes, and courts of law, speech is not at all unregulated. People cannot come in from outside, speak when they feel like it, make endless, irrelevant, or insulting interventions, and so on; they cannot invoke a right to do so, and no-one thinks that things would go better in the direction of truth if they could (Williams 2002, p. 217).

A similar idea was developed by legal scholar Robert Post:

Disciplines are grounded on the premise that some ideas are better than others; disciplinary communities claim the prerogative to discriminate between competent and incompetent work ... Disciplines do not create expert knowledge through a market place of ideas in which content discrimination is prohibited and all ideas are deemed equal (quoted by Wallach Scott 2018, pp. 18–19).

Freedom of expression is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for academic freedom (De Baets 2011; Shils 1991, pp.18, 20–21; Shils 1997, p. 155; Dworkin 1996, pp. 184–185; Barendt 2010, pp. 17–22; for the difference in practice, Scholars at Risk 2020, pp. 8–9.) The same is true for other human rights. We are ready now to answer the most controversial question: how can academic freedom be justified?

53.6 The Justification for Academic Freedom

Academic freedom's right to exist has been passionately defended and fiercely attacked. By and large, four positions can be distinguished, the last of which I shall defend:

Academic freedom has no right to exist

- Position 1: Academic freedom is unnecessary because it is not a right but a privilege that should be abolished.
- Position 2: Academic freedom is unnecessary because human rights already offer all guarantees.

Academic freedom has a right to exist

- Position 3: Academic freedom is the right to freely practice the academic profession.
- Position 4: Academic freedom is a combination of human rights and the right to freely practice the academic profession.

According to the first position, academic freedom is not a right but a privilege that is no longer justifiable: a university is an institution like any other and its specialty, knowledge production, does not need specific protection. It is better, therefore, to abolish academic freedom and its historical corollary, tenure. This is an anti-intellectualist position which is increasingly popular today. The second position stands in sharp contrast to the first but arrives at the same conclusion from entirely different premises: academic freedom is superfluous because the guarantees it promises are already covered by international human rights treaties (Ziman et al. 1986, p. 10).¹⁵ Both positions do not take into account the special role of the university.

The other positions do imply a discussion of the university role. The third looks at academic freedom as the right to freely practice the academic profession necessary to properly fulfil the specific tasks of higher education. The particularity of these tasks is that they are open-ended and do not have predefined goals (Rorty 1996, p. 27; Fish 2001, pp. 520–524; Fish 2008). The last position argues that academic freedom, while it has its roots in human rights, is an *additional* guarantee necessary to perform the special role society expects academics to play.

Thus, the proponents transfer the academic freedom discussion to a more general level, the level at which the particular role of the university is discussed (Shils 1991, pp. 20–22; World University Service 1990, pp. 7–10; Barendt 2010, pp. 50–72). In

¹⁵The authors think that “With only one exception – the lack of a right to enter a country of which one is not a citizen, for professional scientific purposes – *all the rights necessary for the free and effective pursuit of science are already covered by the existing international code of human rights law*” (italics in original). If we accept that the right to visit other countries is included in the right to liberty of movement (article 12 of the ICCPR) combined with the state duty “to recognize the benefits to be derived from ... international contacts and co-operation in the scientific ... fields (article 15.4 of the ICESCR), even this exception can be eliminated.

itself a major and never-ending debate, the role of the university is usually seen as consisting of three types of tasks:

- The first task is to develop a culture of criticism and creative thinking independent of fashion and public opinion (Dworkin 1996, pp. 185, 187, 189–191, 197). As the philosopher Immanuel Kant said in 1784 already: *Sapere aude* (dare to be wise) (after Horace; Kant 1991, p. 54.).
- The second task is to advance knowledge through the search for and transmission of important truths about reality (among many others, UNESCO 1997, preamble; Dewey 1976, p. 55; Weber 1992; Shils 1997, pp. 3–5; Wallach Scott 2018). This task recognizes the crucial role of fundamental research. Fundamental research requires “a right to err” – a right to develop ideas which may prove to be unfruitful or false in the end (Vrieling et al. 2010, §§ 27, 49, 87; this idea can be traced back to Mill 1865).
- The third task is to train experts and future leaders, to encourage politically active citizenship, to promote democratic institutions and to advance socio-economic welfare (among many others, Drenth 2013, p. 70.).¹⁶

Most think that the special role of the university consists of critical thinking, the search for truth and the advancement of knowledge, and multiple services to society. If we compare these three tasks with the reasons why academics and students are among the first targets of repression by intolerant regimes – summarized above as criticism, education of talented youth and political action – we note that the first task (critical thinking) and some elements included in the third (train experts and future leaders, encourage politically active citizenship, promote democratic institutions) are the most sensitive.

Several objections can be raised against this triple view of the tasks of the university. For example, all of them can be performed outside higher education. While this is true, proponents reply, nowhere does this happen with the same intensity and critical mass necessary to make a decisive difference. Others point to a contradiction: the first two tasks (critical thinking and the advancement of knowledge) require distance and long-term thinking, while the third needs close contact with society. Proponents answer that rather than a contradiction, this is a tension which can be constrained by the academic ethic.

In this discussion about the role of the university among proponents of academic freedom, the third differs from the fourth in that it avoids big words about human rights in formulating this role. In responding to this objection, the fourth position argues that it is difficult to understand how universities can fulfil their role with any depth without permanent reference to human rights as direct conditions for academic freedom. And it is a hard fact that repressive regimes often directly attack the

¹⁶The third task is supported by UNESCO 1997, § 33 (also § 10), which stipulates that “Teaching, research and scholarship ... should, where appropriate, respond to contemporary problems facing society as well as preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the world.” The preamble of the UNESCO *Recommendation* says that higher education and research themselves “constitute an exceptionally rich cultural and scientific asset.”

human rights of academics rather than their academic freedom in particular with the sole purpose of curbing the latter. Not taking human rights explicitly into account, then, is to miss the entire value infrastructure of academic freedom.

Finally, academic freedom proponents also argue that their positions can be tested empirically, for example by investigating the following theses:

- Historically, the introduction of academic freedom at universities has stimulated their growth (Shils 1991, p. 22).
- The highest-ranked universities are known for high degrees of academic freedom (Altbach 2009, p. 2).
- Universities with high degrees of academic freedom show more quality in teaching and research than the others (Barendt 2010, p. 72).
- Violations of academic freedom and institutional autonomy have always resulted in intellectual relapse and consequently in socio-economic stagnation (Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 2006, § 4.3).

Claims such as these can be proved convincingly, proponents argue, and the accumulated evidence leads to a single conclusion: academic freedom is justified and it represents added value.

53.7 Conclusion

Like the ship of Theseus, the university has been renovated thoroughly many times over the centuries while sailing in order to keep it seaworthy and protect it against the storms. Past results, however, are no guarantee for the future. The impression arising from the above analysis is that academic freedom and university autonomy are under fire today in unprecedented ways, from the inside as well as from the outside, either through direct attacks or indirect pressure. The question is how long the classical research university will survive. Are we not witnessing the end of an institution which has prospered for many centuries throughout the world and which has provided plenty of services to society – in spite of a turbulent and sometimes shameful history? A university without academic freedom and university autonomy is devoid of its special character. I do not yearn for the good old times that have never existed and I am keenly aware of the myopic tendency to perceive one's own time as unique. And yet I see a Faustian moment. One can only hope that our great-grandchildren, when asked their opinion about the university, do not feel compelled to answer: "I think it would be a good idea."¹⁷

¹⁷After Mahatma Gandhi ("What do you think of Western civilization?" "I think it would be a good idea").

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Chapter 54

Critical Pedagogy and Rights-Respecting Curriculum: Their Intersection and Implications for Globalised Neoliberal Discourse in Education



Brendan Hyde 

Abstract This chapter analyses the intersection between critical pedagogy in the context of learning, in which the power differential between teachers and learners is brought to the fore, student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum, with its focus on respect for the worth of the individual and the entitlement of the student to exercise influence over her or his own learning. Such an intersection is fundamental to the effective and meaningful promotion of student voice in relation to curriculum and pedagogy. Having established such an intersection, the chapter proceeds to examine some implications of a rights-respecting curriculum for the prevalence of globalised neoliberal discourses that prevail in contemporary education, in which performativity and individual responsabilisation may effectually serve to repress the rights of learners to exercise influence over their own learning.

54.1 Introduction

In building on a number of the key tenets found in previous iterations of signed declarations on education in Australia, the recently released *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* (Education Council 2019) maintains that improving educational outcomes for all young Australians “is central to the nation’s social and economic prosperity and will position young people to live fulfilling, productive and responsible lives” (p. 4). Statements on education elsewhere indicate similar aims. For instance, the Ministry of Education, New Zealand (2014) states that, “Education is vital to building a strong and successful society” and that “Our education system performs well overall and in global terms, and it must if young New Zealanders are to be equipped with the values, knowledge and skills to be successful in the 21st Century” (p. 4). Likewise, the Department for Education in

B. Hyde (✉)
Deakin University, Burwood, VIC, Australia
e-mail: brendan.hyde@deakin.edu.au

England (2014) maintains, “The national curriculum provides pupils with an introduction to the essential knowledge that they need to be educated citizens. It introduces pupils to the best that has been thought and said; and helps engender an appreciation of human creativity and achievement” (p. 6).

The common theme in each of these statements reflects the importance of education equipping students to be successful citizens in a global context. On the face of it, this seems like an admirable aim. However, on closer examination, each of these statements reflects the neoliberal values of performativity, productivity and economic competitiveness that have come to characterise much of the discourse on globalisation (Zajda 2020a). To be fair, each of these documents also places an emphasis on the importance of education addressing the cultural and spiritual needs and expressions of the human person. However, the neoliberal agenda in each document is made explicit, and this has implications for pedagogical approaches that seek to respect the worth of the individual and the entitlement of the student to exercise influence over her or his own learning. In the case of the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* (Education Council 2019), this notion is particularly pertinent, since the declaration itself states that it has consulted young people in its drafting, yet there are few further statements in any of the goals indicating the importance and necessity of students’ right to exercise influence over their own learning.

The belief that learners have a right to exercise influence over their own learning is reflected in the notion of a rights-respecting curriculum, seen as fundamental to the effective and meaningful promotion of student voice in relation to curriculum and pedagogy (Bron and Veugelers 2014; Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). Underpinning the notion of a rights-respecting curriculum are elements of critical pedagogy, signalling voices that have been silenced or obscured in learning processes by the dominant structures of schooling. Such an obscuring of voice has effectively denied students an active role in the learning process and has hindered their preparation for respectful participation in society. For too long children’s perspectives have been either over-looked or excluded altogether in educational matters and decisions that are made by educators on behalf of children (Lundy et al. 2015).

This chapter, then, seeks to examine some implications of a rights-respecting curriculum for the prevalence of globalised neoliberal discourses in contemporary education. It begins by exploring the concept of critical pedagogy, noting some significant elements which, in turn, give rise to the notion of student voice and a rights respecting curriculum. Neoliberalism and the neoliberal discourses of performativity and neoliberal responsabilisation are then discussed in relation to education (Zajda 2020b). The chapter concludes by highlighting some implications of a rights-respecting curriculum for the prevalence of globalised neoliberal discourses in contemporary education, including the stifling of student voice, the crafting of student identity and the existence of calculation, and the respect for the learner.

54.2 Critical Pedagogy

Emanating from the foundation of critical theory, which is concerned with exposing and transforming oppressive relations of power that result in human oppression, critical pedagogy examines the ways in which schooling reproduces inequality and injustice through power and the roles of the social, cultural and political in shaping human identity. In many ways, power operates to create purposes for schooling that “are not necessarily in the best interests of the children that attend them”. Critical pedagogy then calls for a fundamental rethinking and a reconceptualization of the purposes and educational vision of schooling. In particular, and of relevance to this chapter, critical pedagogy calls for the notion of position, power and agency to be examined in relation to the pedagogical encounter (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016).

While there are a number of writers whose theory is foundational to critical pedagogy (e.g., Giroux 1981; hooks 1994; McLaren 1989; Wexler 1996), the work of Freire (1972) is of particular importance. Freire noted that much of what occurs in education may be described as a “banking model”, in which the teacher holds all of the knowledge and deposits it into the empty minds of the learners. In such a model, “the teacher chooses the programme content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it” (p. 47, parentheses in the original). Learners are thus viewed as being manageable beings, since “the more the students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world” (p. 47). Their role in the learning process is passive and they are seen being capable of adapting to the fragmented view of reality that is presented to them by the teacher.

Freire (1972) issues a warning here, maintaining that there are in fact many well-intentioned educators who, either knowingly or unknowingly, employ the banking model in their practice. When such well-intentioned “bank-clerk teachers” (p. 48) utilise this approach, they effectually seek to perpetuate the control of the learners’ thinking and action, and to inhibit their creative power to envision the world otherwise. Education, for Freire (1972) is rather concerned with the process of humanisation, which liberates learners from the powers that view them as empty vessels merely to be filled, or deposited, with knowledge. Such liberation is a praxis, that is “the action and reflection of men [sic] upon their world in order to transform it” (p. 52).

An important notion of Freire’s approach to education is the concept of “problem-posing” in which the taken-for-granted social roles and expectations of people are made problematic. In problem-posing, people “develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves” (p. 56, italics in the original). For Freire, problem-posing stimulates authentic reflection and action upon reality, that is, praxis, viewing people as “engaged in inquiry and creative transformation” (p. 56).

Importantly for Freire (1972), there is an inseparability between learning and being, that is, between learning and ontology. As suggested above, learning is grounded in the learner’s own being, in their interactions with the world, and in who

they are *becoming*. Problem-posing affirms learners as “beings in the process of *becoming* – as unfinished, incompleting beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality” (p. 56–57, italics in the original). The unfinished character of the learner and the transformational character of reality therefore requires that education must therefore be an ongoing activity.

Ira Shor is another whose theory is foundational to critical pedagogy. Influenced by Freire and Dewey’s (1916) notion of education as an exercise in democracy, Shor calls for a dialogical pedagogy in which the teacher begins with student experience in relation to learning and teaching. The teacher then seeks to engage students in a critical discourse about the issues and problems that arise from the material being studied. Such a pedagogy displaces the teacher-centred authoritarian type of instruction and replaces it with a dialogical one which is democratic and decentralised. In his work *When Students have Power*, Shor (1996) puts his dialogic pedagogy into practice, reporting and analysing an exercise in democratic education in which he engages his students in the decision-making processes of learning and teaching. While Shor maintains a general framework for how the course might proceed, students are involved in negotiating other elements of the curriculum, including the structuring of the material. Students are invited to annotate their decision-making processes and to discuss their opinions with their peers. Further, students are invited to undertake elements of the course in community settings outside of the classroom since he believes that knowledge is social constructed (see Hyde 2020) and that the lived experiences and everyday concerns of students ought to shape what is understood to be important in the classroom context, because students – as well as teachers – have expertise.

Through his dialogical pedagogy, Shor (1996) is able to engage in teaching as problem-posing (Freire 1972). Instead of simply telling student what is essential for a thorough understanding of the content being studied, he assists students to identify problems in their everyday lives. Like Freire, Shor does not envisage the minds of learners as empty vessels waiting to be filled. Rather, he views learners as participants in the world. In this way, and of particular relevance for this chapter, Shor effectually foregrounds students’ interests in their worlds. In doing so, he helps to create a space in which student voice is both heard and valued. Both Freire (1972) and Shor (1996), as well as other scholars in the field of critical pedagogy essentially advocate for the notions of position, power and agency to be examined in relation to the pedagogical encounter. This includes the notion of student voice and its role within the process of learning and teaching.

54.3 Student Voice

With the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989, recent decades have seen the child’s voice elevated into the political agenda, with a number of formal arenas in which children are now given a say, and in which their opinions are sought. Broadly speaking, these include (but are not limited to)

education, health, family separation and child protection (Adams et al. 2008). The UNCRC gives children the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account (Article 12), the right to freedom of expression (Article 13), as well as the right to an education that should develop their personality and talents to the full (Article 29).

Article 12 of the UNCRC is of particular importance because it “recognise[s] the child as a full human being with integrity and personality and with the ability to participate fully in society” (Freeman 1994, p. 319). Essentially this means that not only are children able to express their views, but that they are *entitled* to do so in *all* matters that affect them. Specifically in terms of education, Lundy (2007) thus notes that the practice “of actively involving pupils in decision making should not be portrayed as an option which is in the gift of adults but a legal imperative which is the right of the child” (p. 931).

There is an important connection between Article 12 and Article 29. An education that has sought to develop a child’s personality and talents to the full ought to help the child to exercise her or his right to freedom of expression and vice versa. The connection between these two Articles was emphasised by the United Nations Committee, which stressed that “[e]ducation should be child friendly, inspiring and motivating the individual child” (United Nations, in Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016, p. 265).

It is important to note that while student’s rights are frequently referred to in discussions of student voice, there is not always a specific reference to the UNCRC (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). The right of young people to have a voice is often seen more of, and evoked as, an ethical, or moral principle rather than a legal mandate.

Emanating from the child’s voice more broadly, the term “student voice” is used to describe efforts to create opportunities for students to speak from their own experiences and perspectives in relation to school and classroom practices, to collaborate with teachers to revise educational approaches, and to participate as genuine and active partners in educational research (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). There is a plethora of scholarship advocating for student voice and reporting on research in this area (see for example Beattie 2012; Black and Mayes 2020; Hulme et al. 2011; Rudduck and Flutter 2004; Serriere and Mitra 2012; Walsh et al. 2019). All of these are based on the notions that young people have unique perspectives on schooling and learning, that their insights deserve the attention and appropriate response of adults, and that they should be afforded opportunities to actively shape their education.

Stemming from the notion of critical pedagogy and the right of children to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account, student voice as both a moral principle and an ethical mandate, is central to the idea of a rights-respecting curriculum. It is to this that the focus of this chapter now turns.

54.4 Rights-Respecting Curriculum

One of the means by which efforts have been made to enhance student voice in schooling is through the notion of a rights-respecting curriculum and pedagogy (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). A rights-respecting curriculum is informed by a respect for the student and ensured opportunities for the student to influence matters that affect her or him. It is a curriculum that develops Dewey's (1902, 1916, 1938) notion of a respected and responsible self through a curriculum characterised by the interactions between teachers, students and knowledge. It highlights Shor's (1996) notion of a dialogic pedagogy in which teachers invite and integrate learners' previous experiences, aspirations, expectations and intentions into the planned curriculum. In this way, students are accorded their right "to have a voice in matters that affect them", thereby altering the power relations between teachers and students such that "those who customarily hold positions of power [now] listen and hear" (Bron and Veugelers 2014, p. 135).

When implemented effectively, a rights-respecting curriculum changes the dominant arrangements of power and participation (Arnot and Reay 2007). When students and teachers becomes partners in this way, students' personalities, talents and abilities develop through constant engagement. Students develop respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and are able to extend these to others because they themselves have experiences these within the learning environment (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016).

There are some valuable examples of rights-respecting curricula being put into practice. For instance, students aged 8 and 9 having input on the text that will be used in their mathematic class, and older students planning and running small group sessions for younger students in mathematics and geography exemplify a rights-respecting curriculum in action (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). Further, such examples are, in fact, common to many school settings, and represent straightforward ways in which a rights-respecting curriculum might be adopted and introduced. Other examples could include students having input into the design of a unit of work at the classroom level (cf. Shor 1996), with the teacher seeking feedback from students in relation to what they already know about a particular topic and what they want to know, as well as what might help them to learn.

A rights-respecting curriculum is responsive to the diversity of students in the classroom. It is culturally sustaining and attentive to students' particular experiences and interests, and can affect curriculum and pedagogy within schools (Ferguson et al. 2011; Mitsoni 2006). However, it is pertinent to note that a rights-respecting curriculum is not intended to replace achievement standards or teacher authority. Instead, such an approach is intended to position students as partners in the educational project, providing them with the opportunity, and indeed the right, to "contribute to and actively participate in their own and others' learning and the realisation of their potential" (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016, p. 273).

There is, then, a clear intersection, and indeed relationship, between the notions of critical pedagogy, the voice of the child and student voice, and a rights-respecting

curriculum. Critical pedagogy gives rise to the voice of the child and student, which in turn, may be given expression through a rights-respecting curriculum in which students are given an active voice to influence decisions about, and approaches to, their learning. Such a curriculum involves teachers listening to and partnering with students as legitimate collaborators in relation to their education.

However, the prevalence of globalised neoliberal discourses in contemporary education, with their emphasis on performativity and individual responsabilisation, may effectually serve to repress the rights of learners to exercise influence over their own learning, and can undermine the goals of student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum. The following section of this chapter discusses neoliberalism, and the neoliberal discourses that hold sway in contemporary western education, with a view to exploring some of the implications of such discourse for student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum.

54.5 Neoliberal Discourses in Education

In broad terms, neoliberalism can be described as practices relating to marketization, consumerism and deregulation (Wilkins 2012). It extends to those capitalist countries participating in the global economy (Davies and Bansel 2007) and comprises both ideology and policy models that emphasise the value of free market competition (Zajda 2020b). It is typically characterised in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means by which to achieve human progress (Bockman 2013). It is a term that has been applied to a wide range of phenomena, including the corporatisation of universities, the shift of welfare policy to philanthropy and entrepreneurship, and the privatisation of state companies. Neoliberalism manifests itself differently in different places and is often viewed as one of the characterising features of globalisation (Hyde 2020), itself understood to involve the universalisation of markets and production, along with profit-driven managerialism (Urzua 2000). Examples of terms that are prevalent in neoliberal rhetoric include “the information economy”, “the knowledge economy”, “globalisation”, “flexibility”, “mutual obligation”, and “enterprise” (Davies and Bansel 2007, p. 254).

One of the effects of the neoliberal nature of globalisation is that educational institutions are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos, in which education takes up its relationship with the economy (Davies and Bansel 2007). In its quest for global competitiveness, excellence and accountability, the education sector as a whole has begun to turn to international and comparative education data analysis (Zajda 2020a). This is trend that has continued since the 1980s, in which education has come to be defined through the lens of public management and consumerist discourses. Both teachers and students are viewed in utilitarian terms that presuppose “the willingness and capacity of individuals to behave as consumers of education services”.

Keddie (2016) warns that, today, neoliberal discourses in education have become naturalised and taken-for-granted in terms of what counts as being a good student

and a good citizen. The business-derived concepts of measurement, evaluation and comparison as tools by which to represent school effectiveness have become commonplace and presupposed, reducing students, schools and teachers to “auditable commodities” so that they can be held to account and assessed against quantifiable standards of “success” (p. 109). Success, in such a climate, involves being enterprising and competitive.

There are two particular neoliberal discourses prevailing in contemporary education that impact upon student voice and the rights of learners to exercise influence over their own learning in a rights-respecting curriculum. These are the discourses of performativity and neoliberal responsabilisation.

54.5.1 Performativity

Performativity refers to “a culture and mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic)” (Ball 2003, p. 216). The performances of individuals serve as measures of output, or productivity, and they represent the worth, value or quality of a person within a particular field of judgement.

In education systems influenced by neoliberalism, students’ success in the classroom is measured in terms of how well they perform and compete. Students come to learn that the successful student is one who is good at doing what a test or examination requires, and who can successfully apply her or himself to whatever is required to succeed, for with the promise of success comes the opportunity to acquire a “good” score, and hence a “good” job and rewarding lifestyle. The better one performs, the greater the chances of being able to take advantage of the economic and material benefits of the social world. In this way, students are “incited” to “conduct themselves as competitive subjects” (Wilkins 2012, p. 202).

In education influenced by the neoliberal agenda, there are a myriad of opportunities for students to perform and compete. Such opportunities abound not only in the academic arena, but also in the sporting field as well as in the popularity stakes. When students organise themselves in response to attainment targets, performance indicators, achievement standards and the like – which they are effectually forced to do – they are living “an existence of calculation” (Ball 2003, p. 215).

However, and this is the critical point, the targets, goals, achievement standards and so forth that matter, or count, in this existence of calculation are neither decided upon by the school or classroom teacher in negotiation with students. They are externally prescribed according to utility and what is good for the economy, and manifest in the forms of classroom ability settings (streaming) and standardized tests, such as NAPLAN in Australia, the Standard Attainment Tests (SATs) in the UK, and the Progressive Achievement Tests (PATs) in New Zealand. These constitute the fields of judgement that encompass and represent students’ worth and value.

In terms of the performativity of students, Thompson (2010, p. 416) astutely notes that, like teachers, students are:

...exposed to cultures that prioritise measurement and testing, reporting using mandatory standards and systems, state-sanctioned teaching methods, reformed organisational curriculum policies. In short, student are at the centre of those...practices and pedagogies [that] shape the subjectivities of students.

As a result, students in contemporary classrooms are compelled to position themselves to compete within the external parameters of achievement that are deemed to “matter”, or which are of value. The research of Ball (2003), Thompson (2010), Wilkins (2012) and Keddie (2016) demonstrates that when students do this, their efforts may be viewed as highly strategic and active. They are continuous endeavours of calculation, in which students comply with the demands of performativity through learning to “playing the game” (Keddie 2016).

54.5.2 Neoliberal Responsibilisation

When students position themselves to perform and to compete, it is perhaps not surprising that they ways in which they think about their achievement and success reflects a sense of neoliberal responsibilisation (Davies and Bansel 2007; Shamir 2008; Wilkins 2012; Keddie 2016). At the most fundamental level, responsibilisation operates so as reconfigure the roles of individuals – managers, employees, consumers, students, and so forth – mobilising them to actively undertake and perform self-governing tasks (Shamir 2008). Responsibilised individuals are those who have been “persuaded to willingly take over responsibility for areas of care that were previously the responsibility of government” (Davies and Bansel 2007, p. 251). Thus, the newly responsibilised individuals come to fulfil their obligations to the nation, to the state, and to their employers by pursuing economic wellbeing for themselves and their families.

By way of example, Shamir (2008) notes that welfare programs in many countries now link welfare entitlements to the recipient’s willingness to share the responsibility for enhancing their own earning capabilities. Catch-cries such as “no rights without responsibilities”, along with the notion of “partnerships” (that is, “we are all in this together”) are indicative of the culture in which the individual is persuaded to take on the responsibility for things that were previously obligations of government and social and economic systems more broadly.

Neoliberal responsibilisation, in the sphere of education, is the mechanism by which students are positioned as self-sustaining individuals whose choices “are rational expressions of free will, the consequences of which they will solely bear and are responsible” (Keddie 2016, p. 117). Achievement and underperformance are seen as self-determined choices on the part of students, which are freely made. But, with the choice comes the responsibility for, and consequences of, the decision made by the student. In this way, students are praised for achievement and success,

but are admonished for underachievement. Both of these outcomes are viewed as the result of the decision made by students for which they themselves are responsible, rather than shortcomings of an education system that may have failed to address issues such as adequate funding, appropriate education programs, and disadvantage.

Implications of a Rights-Respecting Curriculum for the Prevalence of Globalised Neoliberal Discourses It is important to recall, and as noted earlier in this chapter, that a rights-respecting curriculum is not intended to replace achievement standards or teacher authority, the former of which is closely associated with neoliberal discourses. Instead, such an approach is intended to position students as partners in the educational project, providing them with the opportunity, and indeed the right, to “contribute to and actively participate in their own and others’ learning and the realisation of their potential” (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016, p. 273).

However, in the neoliberal culture, Kincheloe’s (2008) salient reminder that power operates to create purposes for schooling that are not necessarily in the best interests of the children that attend them needs to be heeded. It is in this light that the notion of student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum present a number of tensions for contemporary systems of education that have been reformed to align with the neoliberal agenda. While neoliberalism is not necessarily the “evil enemy” here, it is the reality in which education systems in countries participating in the global economy find themselves. Neoliberalism, in these contexts, is the reality in which education systems need to operate and function. But there are some clear implications of a rights-respecting curriculum for neoliberal discourses that need to be raised and considered.

The first implication is in relation to student voice. The key principle here is that not only are children able to express their views, but that they are *entitled* to do so in *all* matters that affect them. This is not only an ethical and moral principle, but a matter of human rights – a legal mandate from the UNCRC. The question, then, concerns the extent to which students can legitimately have a say in matters that affect them in education when many of those very matters are externally decided upon and prescribed according to utility and what is good for the economy, sometimes as opposed to what is good for students. Curricula are designed and prescribed at the state and national levels, indicating the achievement standards, progression points, and so forth that are to be maintained. Various high-stakes testing regimes are implemented to determine the extent to which students succeed in their learning endeavours, envisioned as the attainment of achievement standards. In all of this, student voice is non-existent. Students are not positioned as partners in the educational project. This was evident in the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* (Education Council 2019) presented at the beginning of this chapter. Although young people were consulted in the drafting of this declaration, presenting an illusion of partnership, there appear few further statements in any of the goals indicating the importance and necessity of students’ right to exercise influence over their own learning either at the national or local classroom levels.

In many cases the design of national curricula is such that the achievement standards are stated in board terms, allowing for degrees of flexibility in terms of content presentation, learning and teaching approaches, and the like which can be decided and drawn upon at the local school level. And, it is at this level that a rights-respecting curriculum, with its focus on student voice, could be introduced and implemented. However, in the current educational climate it takes a very skilled and creative teacher to put into practice a dialogic pedagogy, as an exercise in democratic education, that foregrounds students' interests in their worlds, creating a space in which student voice is both heard and valued. Indeed, in neoliberal education reforms, teachers are not encouraged to exercise this type of agency, since they are viewed as technicians. Their work is "deprofessionalised" in terms of curriculum design and expert pedagogical and content knowledge, and "reprofessionalised" as technical deliverers of a set curriculum in which outcomes, achievement standards, and progression points have been externally determined (Ball 2003, p. 218).

When student voice is effectively stifled in this way, young people are denied opportunities to actively shape their education, and their ability to participate fully in society remains unrecognised. This is ironic, considering that most declarations and other statements on education, for instance, the Ministry of Education, New Zealand (2014) understand the role of education to be "vital [in] building a strong and successful society" (p. 4).

A second implication of a rights-respecting curriculum for neoliberal discourses concerns the notion of student identity. When students are afforded the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account, and when they are actively able to shape their education, their worth and value is affirmed. However, when students' worth and value are tied to performativity, and are judged according to the extent to which they succeed in attaining high examination scores, they are incited to live "an existence of calculation" (Ball 2003, p. 215). Such an existence affects their identity, because students effectually craft their own identities in response to neoliberal imperatives which seem, to them, natural, or the norm (Thompson 2010). The research of Keddie (2016) shows that when students fashion their identities in this way, they are compelled to constantly measure themselves "against a narrow vision of studenthood and citizenship" (p. 120). They are compelled to engage in "competition, individualism, utility and pragmatism rather than collaboration, social responsibility, creativity and experimentation" (p. 120). In contrast to neoliberal imperatives, collaboration, social responsibility, creativity and experimentation are hallmarks of a rights-respecting curriculum.

Further, the crafting of such identities by students is not without anxiety and inner conflict. It is a task that is marred by ontological insecurity, typically characterised by guilt, uncertainty, and a constant questioning of whether one is performing well enough, or doing as well as others (Ball 2003; O'Flynn and Peterson 2007). In her research, Keddie (2016) presents instances of students' ontological insecurity being experienced in terms of not being satisfied with their achievement, of never being "quite good enough", as well as anxiety about maintaining the status of being

a “clever kid” (p. 117). These anxieties were internalised, and seen by these students as “matters of personal responsibility” (p. 118), and impacted negatively on the development of their identities.

The negative tone of the ontological insecurity of which Keddie writes is, to some degree, in contrast to Freire’s (1972) notion of students as beings in the process of *becoming*, a process which understands education and ontology to be inseparable, and in which learners are engaged in inquiry and creative transformation. If students are to become active and informed citizens who are capable of respectful participation in society, then education ought to affect the way that student “are”, that is their being, and so should also be concerned with ontological, as well as epistemological issues (Hyde, submitted manuscript).

If, however, students are supplied and equipped with knowledge about how they are constituted within and subjected by the neoliberal discourses of performativity and responsabilisation, they will be better positioned to take a critical stance and begin to question and transform them. As Davies (2005, p. 13) maintains:

We must...enable [students] to become critically literate, to become citizens at once capable of adapting and becoming appropriate within the contexts in which they find themselves as responsible citizens capable of critique; citizens who can...work creatively, imaginatively, politically, and with passion to break open the old where it is faulty and to envisage the new. Even more urgent is the task of giving them some personal tools for withstanding the worst effects of neoliberalism, for seeing both the pleasure and the danger of being drawn into it, for understanding the ways in which they are subjected by it.

It is here that critical pedagogy, which gives rise to student voice and to a rights-respecting curriculum, has an indispensable role to play. Teachers who draw upon the principles of critical pedagogy in their practice equip and empower learners as highly skilled democratic citizens who have the confidence and competence to improve their own lives and to make their communities more vibrant places in which to live and to work (Kincheloe 2008).

A third implication is in relation to the notion of respect for the child. At the core of a successful implementation of both student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum is respect for the child, or respect for the learner. In the context of schooling, students should be seen as possessing rights, entitled to be treated with respect and therefore able to influence decisions about and approaches to their learning (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). These are the foundations of a rights-respecting curriculum. The extent to which neoliberal discourses in education enable students to influence decisions about and approaches to their learning is, at best, questionable. Education reformed to align with the neoliberal agenda views students in terms of utility. Students are denied the opportunities to influence decisions about and approaches to their learning. The discourses of performativity and neoliberal responsabilisation position students as bearing the brunt of their “success”, or lack thereof, in those elements of education that are deemed to matter. This does not demonstrate a genuine respect for the learner.

Respect for the learner would, instead, seek to find ways in which student voice could be authentically honoured through a dialogic and democratic pedagogy. It would seek to actively involve students as partners in educational process. It would

seek to address questions as to why inequality in the types of learning opportunities might exist within schooling systems, and avoid “forcing failure on children who do not measure up to [a narrow set of] priorities and expectations” (Keddie 2016, p. 119). It would avoid sending to learners a narrow message about what counts in terms of being a good student, or a good person. Importantly, too, respect for learners would entail finding new and innovative means by which to unlock the different ways in which students learn, thereby increasing their chances of experiencing success, and also broadening what “success” in learning might look like.

Such respect for the learner would entail those in positions of power – including those at the ministerial levels, those in administrative positions, schools, classroom teachers, as well as scholars and researchers – redefining their roles and responsibilities through the lens of human rights education and professional learning (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2016). This is not an easy task! It would require each of these parties, along with students themselves, to develop the dispositions, knowledge and tools that would be necessary to make such a shift. In the present educational climate, some might consider such a task too great. Yet it is one that must be considered if a genuine respect for the learner is to be realised.

54.6 Conclusion

This chapter began with a quotation from the *Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration* (Education Council 2019) that reflected the neoliberal values of performativity, productivity and economic competitiveness that have come to characterise much of the discourse on globalisation. However, and as noted, the Alice Springs declaration also places an emphasis on the importance of education addressing the cultural and spiritual needs and expressions of the human person. It is fitting, then, to conclude with a statement from that same document which suggests, at least, the possibility of respect for the worth of learners and their entitlement to exercise influence over her or his own learning. The document does state in Goal 2 that it hopes students will “have a sense of self-worth, self-awareness and personal identity that enables them to manage their emotional, mental, cultural, spiritual and physical wellbeing” (p. 6). But further, and importantly, this document (p. 20) also states that the educational goals for young Australians will be achieved, declaring that:

With shared commitment and sustained efforts of Australia Governments and the education community, working in partnership with young Australians, their families and carers and the broader community, all young Australians will have the opportunity to reach their full potential.

Here, at least, there is the recognition of working in genuine partnership with learners in the educational process, in a way that shows respect for the individual. It is here that the possibility of student voice and a rights-respecting curriculum might come to the fore, providing opportunities for learners to speak from their own experiences and perspectives in relation to school and classroom practices, to collaborate

with teachers to revise educational approaches, and to participate as genuine and active partners in educational research.

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Chapter 55

An Exploration of SDG 4 Coverage in Voluntary National Reviews



William C. Smith

Abstract Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs) have been described as the “cornerstone” of the follow-up and review process used to country progress on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. As the primary government report presented at the High Level Political Forum (HLPF), VNRs are a key resource in understanding country’s sense-making and integration of the global goals, including the goal for education (SDG 4). 2019 was an important year for education, as for the first time SDG 4 was reviewed at the HLPF, increasing the likelihood that participating countries would include information on SDG 4 in their VNR. This study takes advantage of the flexibility embedded in the follow-up and review process to identify which indicators countries prioritize in their reporting and how national VNRs reflect basic principles in the 2030 Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals. Drawing from 33 VNRs produced by country participants in the 2019 HLPF, this study explores the extent the principles of universal participation, holistic education, and country ownership are illustrated in VNRs. Focusing on indicator inclusion, the results suggest that few country have actively embraced the flexible design by including context-specific national indicators or translating SDG targets and that global indicators dominate national reporting, hampering the holistic ambition of SDG 4. Finally, while participation in the VNR process appears inclusive of countries across regions and income levels, there is some concern that small island nations may be underrepresented.

55.1 Introduction

One hundred and ninety-three countries signed onto the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In doing so, they agreed to a transformative agenda spanning the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainable development. Nearly 5 years in, much attention, and anxiety, are placed on the progress of countries and the implementation of the agenda in national policy. Voluntary National

W. C. Smith (✉)
The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK
e-mail: W.Smith@ed.ac.uk

Reviews (VNRs) have been described as “the cornerstone of the follow-up and review framework of the 2030 Agenda” (UN DESA 2017a, p. 1). Developed primarily by high-level government officials (Sarwar and Nicolai 2018), VNRs can provide an insider perspective to how countries prioritize goals related to the 2030 Agenda (Sustainable Development Goals; SDGs) as well as self-reported challenges and advances. VNRs are presented at an annual High Level Political Forum (HLPF), providing space for leaders to share experience and lessons. With rotating priorities, the 2019 HLPF was the first HLPF to review the global goal for education (SDG 4) – making the review of VNRs presented at the 2019 HLPF a key resource in understanding country’s understanding and integration of the global goal for education.

The creation and adoption of global goals can be seen as part of a harmonization process, where local policies are eventually aligned with global initiatives, blurring the lines between nation-states (Steiner-Khamsi 2014). While harmonization may be the aim of the SDGs, whether they are effectively diffused to the local level remains a question. VNRs provide an avenue to examine the extent to which the SDGs, as a global model, are “adapted, modified, selectively adopted and recontextualized in local settings, based on socio-political, historical and cultural factors” (Eta and Vubo 2016, p. 497). As global models or discourses transcend to local spaces a window for translation is present (Ball 1998). Translation is not a passive process but rather involves the active adaptation or modification of a policy by those looking to take it on (Steiner-Khamsi 2014; Suárez and Bromley 2016).

Recognizing that “carriers and receivers almost never embrace or enact an idea without changing it in the process.” (Suárez and Bromley 2016, p. 147), VNRs can shed light into the whether, and to what extent, SDG goals, targets, and indicators have been directly copied or translated into national policies and monitoring. The result may be a bricolage (Ball 1998), where various parts of policy are taken up at differing rates by countries, creating a diverse range of policy tapestries. Each tapestry would illustrate selective, context-specific justification for adoption and adaptation (Steiner-Khamsi 2014). While the flexibility and ‘country-led’ principles inherent in the SDGs suggest that multiple local versions, or policy tapestries, would be reflected in national VNRs, with harmonization as an overarching goal some degree of homogeneity is still possible. This may be due, in part, to the increased acceptance of a singular interpretation of the SDGs, historical path dependence in policy choice (Suárez and Bromley 2016), or selective adoption of policies that align with the domestic agenda (Steiner-Khamsi 2014), vindicating, and at times re-branding, existing practices.

This study uses VNRs to evaluate whether basic principles of the SDG for education (SDG 4) are replicated or translated in the presentation of national indicators. Providing the first detailed review of SDG 4 indicators in VNRs, this descriptive study looks at evidence (1) that the SDGs are universally accepted and embraced across countries, (2) that a more holistic or comprehensive approach to education is reflected in national monitoring, and (3) that SDGs and the VNR process provides for, and demonstrates utilization of, flexibility in which countries contextualize indicators to better represent local realities. The chapter proceeds by first reviewing

the SDGs and their measurement. This is followed by a review of the follow up and review process, including the creation and role of VNRs and the HLPF. The aims and methods of this study are then introduced, identifying how this research differs from prior reviews of VNRs. The evaluation of each of the three identified principles makes up the main results and discussion of the chapter, which is followed by a conclusion.

55.2 The Sustainable Development Goals

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as its core, results from the merging of the environmental agenda, initiated in 1992 at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, and the poverty reduction agenda, associated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UIS 2019). Considered by some as the most consultative process in UN history, the development of the SDGs included consultations in over 60 countries (Naidoo 2016; Sachs-Israel 2016). Momentum for education culminated in 2015 at the World Education Forum in Incheon, South Korea, which largely set out the education agenda that would become SDG 4 (Benavot and Naidoo 2018).

The SDGs differ from the MDGs in some important areas. Tosun and Leininger (2017) suggest that the primary differences are that the SDGs are universal, indivisible, and add a layer of monitoring and evaluation. In addition to better country coverage, the SDGs also present a better balance between the economic, social, and environmental components of sustainable development (Allen et al. 2018). For education, the SDGs revise and expand on some of the Education for All (EFA) goals laid out in Jomtien in 1990 and Dakar in 2000 (Sachs-Israel 2016). These messages were often diluted and overtaken by the MDG focus on primary school access (UNESCO 2019a). SDG 4 increases the attention given to outcomes, while also requesting disaggregation beyond gender, expanding the content of education, and including lifelong learning (UNESCO 2019a).

The overall goal of SDG 4 is to ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all’. To achieve this ambitious goal SDG 4 consists of ten targets, three of which (4.a, 4.b, 4.c) are considered means of implementation (Wulff 2020). The targets take SDG 4 beyond the scope of the MDGs and EFA goals. Four types of indicators are suggested to measure the targets: global, thematic, regional, and national. Countries need to ‘customize’ their set of indicators to better reflect national circumstances. This may include choosing to report on or emphasize a subset of global indicators and complementing them with more country-specific thematic, national, and regional indicators (Bizikova and Pinter 2017).

Eleven global indicators were identified to measure progress on the ten targets of SDG 4. Global indicators, developed by an inter-agency expert group (King 2017), are the primary indicators in reporting. Thirty-two thematic indicators have been

specified for SDG 4. These pre-defined complimentary indicators are provided to help countries contextualize their education experience while maintaining a sense of cross-national comparability. Regional and national indicators were suggested in the Education 2030 Framework for Action (UNESCO 2016) to encourage country ownership and facilitate a country driven process. They have not been pre-determined and their conceptualization and construction is entirely up to the country or region, making their comparability limited at best. Some past research has questioned the efficacy of the multi-indicator approach, suggesting that global indicators – being prioritized by international actors and receiving resources and guidance for their creation – will dominate reporting from countries (Smith 2019). While having non-specified national and regional options may create national flexibility, it may also highlight capacity concerns in countries already struggling to collect information for global indicators.

55.3 Accountability in the SDGs: Follow Up and Review Process

Although countries agreed on the challenges the world faces with the SDGs there was less desire to accept responsibility and be held to account. The result was a soft mechanism for tracking progress through a follow up and review process (UNESCO 2019a). The goal of the follow up and review process was to create a voluntary process that is transparent and encourages participation of countries at the global level and of citizens to hold countries accountable at the national level (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018). The process is designed to provide more local control and national ownership over progress. The approach is “country-led” to “take into account national realities” (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018). Progress is understood from a long term perspective with an emphasis on human rights and the most marginalized, and guided by rigorous evidence (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018).

The High Level Political Forum (HLPF) is the central platform for follow up and review process (UIS 2019) with Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs) laid out as the key mechanism for reporting progress on the SDGs (UN DESA 2017a). Fukuda-Parr et al. (2018) suggest that VNRs are not an instrument for accountability but rather an avenue for sharing experiences and lessons learned. This is accomplished by national presentations to in-country civil society both before and after participating in the HLPF (UN DESA 2019a). Discussions on the VNR during the HLPF are expected to feed back into national level policies and SDG implementation pathways (UN DESA 2019b). The effectiveness of the follow up and review process is still in question. Some fear that governments may not be willing to highlight their own challenges or call out issues in other countries and that the time allocated for discussion prohibits in depth examinations of issues and potential solutions (Wulff 2020).

55.4 The High Level Political Forum (HLPF) and Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs)

The High Level Political Forum (HLPF) is the “global structure responsible for assessing progress” (Bernardini 2018, p. 6). The forum aims to provide political leadership by drawing high level attention to global challenges and identify recommendations that can accelerate progress (Bernardini 2018; UNESCO 2019a). Following the inaugural HLPF in 2016, subsequent HLPFs have been based around a theme with a concentrated review of five to six SDG goals as well as SDG 17 each year – allowing for every goal to be reviewed on a 4 year cycle (UNESCO 2019a). For the 2019 HLPF the theme was ‘empowering people and ensuring inclusiveness and equality’ and SDG 4, 8, 10, 13, 16, and 17 were reviewed for the first time (UNESCO 2019a). Multiple inputs are included in the HLPF. The primary inputs are provided by governments in the form of Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs). Cross-government inputs are also provided through intergovernmental bodies, such as the SDG-Education 2030 Steering Committee. At the non-government level ‘major groups and other stakeholders’ (MGoS) are invited to report. MGoS include 13 thematic groups that collectively produce collaborative statements for the HLPF, with representatives provided 2 min to deliver their statements at the HLPF (2019). While education can be an important part of all groups, the two most closely linked to SDG 4 are the ‘education and academia’ group and the ‘children and youth’ group. Finally, the UN system produces a range of inputs in preparation for the HLPF (UNESCO 2019a).

An assortment of education specific inputs were included in the first review of SDG 4 at the 2019 HLPF. This included reports from the education and academia group (Education and Academia Stakeholder Group 2019) and the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity (The Education Commission 2019). UN agencies responsible for education offered a set of coordinated reports. With reports from both the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS 2019) and the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report (UNESCO 2019a) complementing the regular input from the SDG-Education 2030 Steering Committee (UNESCO 2019b). The UIS report, *Meeting Commitments: Are Countries on Track to Achieve SDG 4*, reviewed the global state of indicators with the best available data, focusing on global indicators. This included progress on global indicators for 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 4.7, 4.a, 4.b, and 4.c. Some global indicators were not provided do to limitations to the data or methodology for the indicator not being fully developed. Additionally, UIS provides sections on education finance and data coverage (UIS 2019). The GEM Report input, *Beyond Commitments: How Countries Implement SDG 4*, draws on survey responses for 72 governments to identify avenues to accelerate progress (UNESCO 2019a).

At the HLPF, the VNR takes center stage. Each country that completed a VNR is given time to present, with first time presenters given 30 min total for presentation and interaction with participants during the ministerial segment of the HLPF. Repeat presenters are provided less time and present outside of the ministerial meetings

(UN DESA 2019b). MGoS are also able to provide coordinated feedback during the interaction with participant time (UN DESA 2019a). Prior to the HLPF guidance documents are provided to help participants understand how VNRs fit within the larger activities taking place over the 10 days of the forum. This includes a Civil Society Quick Guide (UN DESA 2019a) which discusses how civil society organizations can participate in national consultations, review VNRs, and participate in the HLPF.

VNRs were initially laid out in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development where member states “conduct regular and inclusive reviews of progress at the national and sub-national levels, which are country-led and country-driven” (UN 2015). VNR is designed as an open, inclusive, and transparent process (UN DESA 2019a) which aims to accelerate implementation of the 2030 Agenda, in part by mobilizing multiple stakeholders around a common set of goals (Bernardini 2018). The UN suggests that benefits for countries participating in the VNR process include the strengthening of political will and national institutions, the identification of areas in need of support, and encouragement toward national implementation of the agenda following the HLPF (UN DESA 2019a).

Country reporting in VNRs has evolved since 2016 and become more standardized. A review of 16 VNRs in the 2016 cycle demonstrated substantial heterogeneity in following guidance documents and in length. China, for instance, only produced an executive summary, while Georgia included each of the 14 suggested main components to some extent. The shortest VNRs, such as that of Switzerland, contained less than 30 pages, while others, such as Uganda, were over 100 pages long (Bond 2016). To improve comparability guiding principles laid out in paragraph 74 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development led to the development of a set of guidelines for countries to use in the creation of their VNR (UN DESA 2017a). The original 2016 guidelines were updated in 2017 to include more information under each suggested component (Sarwar and Nicolai 2018). Key sections related to indicator monitoring and reporting include ‘progress on goals and targets’ in which countries are encouraged to review trends, successes, and challenges for all 17 SDGs. While countries “may examine the agreed global indicators for SDGs” they “may also choose to refer to complementary national and regional indicators” (UN DESA 2019a, p. 4). Countries also have the option to include an annex, which, in addition to including global indicators, they are encouraged to add “priority indicators identified at the regional and national levels where appropriate” (UN DESA 2019a, p. 4).

Over time more explicit directions have been given to countries in the form of the *Handbook for the Preparation of Voluntary National Reviews*. Heading into the 2020 HLPF, the more comprehensive 67 page handbook, provides countries with templates and country exemplars to model and is available in English, Arabic, Chinese, French, and Spanish (UN DESA 2019c). Preparation is also enhanced through global preparation meetings and regional workshops, starting approximately 6 months before VNR submissions are due (UN DESA 2019a).

55.5 VNRs as an Under-Tapped Resource for Research

Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs) represent government priorities in communication and policy. In deciding what to include and what to exclude, countries are highlighting some areas while omitting others. Although guidelines are provided, the flexible, country-led principle of the SDGs and VNR process suggest that VNRs can provide clues to how countries understand, value, and translate SDG goals, targets, and indicators for their local context. With over half of all countries having participated, VNRs are key primary documents for comparative, and eventually historical, research on education policies and trends. As Sarwar and Nicolai (2018) suggest VNRs will “play a growing role in our understanding of how countries are approaching and progressing towards the SDGs” (p. 8).

While an increasing number of academic and policy based research has used VNRs as the central data in their analysis, no identified study focuses tightly on the SDG for education. In their review, Sarwar and Nicolai (2018) identified 22 VNR analyses from 2016 and 2017. The reviewed analyses suggested that VNRs were commonly used to showcase political commitment and do not regularly cover all 17 SDGs. The ‘leave no one behind’ agenda is often central in VNR analyses, with countries either highlighting the inclusion of stakeholders in report preparation or policies that are being planned to support vulnerable populations. For example, Fukara-Parr and colleagues (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018) examined the 43 VNRs from 2017, focusing on three cross-cutting themes that make up core objectives of the 2030 Agenda: leaving no one behind, applying an integrated agenda; and pursuing global partnerships.

Research has also focused on the implementation of SDGs and interlinkages across SDGs (Bernardini 2018; Bond 2016; Elder and Bartalini 2019). Using 6 VNRs from 2016 and 2017, Tosun and Leininger (2017) examined policy coherence and connections between SDGs. Reviewing academic literature and VNRs in 26 countries, Allen et al. (2018) map SDG integration in national policy and implementation efforts to the identified phases to highlight common implementation gaps. Other research has use VNRs to investigate gender mainstreaming in national policy (Oda 2017).

The UN also produces analyses of VNRs in the form of synthesis reports. Produced after the HLPF, synthesis reports are based on themes identified in the UN Secretary General’s voluntary common reporting guidelines (UN DESA 2018). Reports are about 80 pages long and highlight best practices and existing challenges to implementing all 17 SDGs. Very little focus is given to individual SDGs. In the 2017 and 2018 (UN DESA 2018; 2017b) synthesis reports, approximately one page was provided on country reporting of SDG 4. In 2019, with SDG 4 as one of the focus areas for reporting, approximately two of the 92 pages in the synthesis report covered national reporting on the goal (UN DESA 2019d). This is not to say that education was absent elsewhere. Clearly education, and SDG 4, are central to some of the themes identified, including ‘leave no one behind’ and ‘stakeholder engagement’.

Limited research has used VNRs to review country presentation and monitoring of indicators. The IIED (2017) reviewed country awareness and use of monitoring and evaluation processes in 22 VNRs from 2016. They found that evaluation is generally undervalued, with only 4 of the 22 providing specific information on how the monitoring and evaluation process are going to be used to assess regular progress. Bizikova and Pinter (2017) examined country inclusion of SDG indicators across nine countries using 2016 VNRs. Looking across the 16 SDGs (not counting SDG 17), they concluded that the most reported indicators were those that focused on the social and economic dimensions of sustainable development. SDG 4 was one of the five most reported SDGs. An analysis from the GEM Report of 111 VNRs between 2016 and 2019, however, suggests education is less commonly communicated, with SDG 4 directly analyzed in only 56 VNRs (UNESCO 2019a).

55.6 This Study

This study draws on VNRs to provide a first of its kind review of the SDG 4 indicators preferred by and presented by national governments. This study, therefore, is not examining country progress in SDG 4 but instead how countries have bought in and adapted or translated the indicators laid out in the global goal for education. VNRs are used to review three key claims or principles of the SDGs, namely that the:

1. SDGs are universal
2. SDG 4 takes a holistic approach to education, covering almost every level and dimension of education (UNESCO 2019a)
3. SDGs are flexible and country-driven

In examining the first principle, countries submitting VNRs from 2016 to 2019 are identified. Universal acceptance of the SDG agenda would be reflected in broad, general participation in the VNR process. To evaluate this principle participants are classified by national income level, using the 2020 World Bank income categories, and into regions, based on those presented in the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report. Tracking participation over VNR cycles provides insight into country uptake of the SDGs and complementing this analysis by probing within key VNRs can give us a sense of whether the universal principle is present in practice.

The investigation into the second and third principle are based on an in depth inspection of SDG 4 indicators included in VNRs from 2019. Here, the study aims to evaluate the educational priorities and local understanding of global goals by systematically reviewing what indicators country's report on and whether, if at all, national, regional, and thematic indicators are included to better contextualize education – thus examining the claim of local ownership. VNRs from 2019 provide an important source of information on education as SDG 4 was reviewed for the first time in the associated HLPF (UNESCO 2019a). While technically countries are encouraged to report all indicators in their VNR, in reality they tend to prioritize those that are under review at the HLPF (Beisheim 2016; Street 2017).

While the broader goals for education were largely agreed with, the selection of indicators of SDG4 was, and to some extent remains, contentious (Benavot and Smith 2020). Some have questioned how targets were reduced to indicators and concerns have been raised that indicator classification would differentiate country energy and efforts, with increased attention spent on global indicators (King 2017; Smith 2019). Still, indicators play an important role in implementation efforts and as such “the use of indicators is itself an indicator of the degree of policy commitment to implementing the SDGs” (Bizikova and Pinter 2017, p. 5”).

Indicators from 32 VNRs submitted for the 2019 HLPF are included in the analysis. Selection of VNRs was based on the following criteria: (1) Publicly available VNR was obtainable on the Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform (<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/vnrs/>) on September 16, 2019, (2) VNR is available in English, and (3) VNR includes a section dedicated to the monitoring of SDG 4. In the dedicated section for SDG 4 and SDG 4 statistical annexes (if provided) global, thematic, and alternate (regional or national) indicators are identified (see Appendix for global and thematic indicators). Global and thematic indicators are further distinguished between those including full information and those reporting only partial information. As necessary, the *SDG Data Digest* (UIS 2019) was referenced to clarify global, thematic, and alternate indicators. Two rounds of VNR coding were completed to ensure accuracy. This approach is similar to Bizikova and Pinter (2017) who review indicators countries have used in their reports and the data attached to those indicators.

Indicator presence and dispersion provide evidence to aid evaluation of the second and third principle. For the second principle, a more holistic approach is demonstrated when presented indicators range across SDG 4 targets. This analysis focuses primarily on global and thematic indicators and also aims to evaluate whether global indicators are preferred in country reporting. The third principle questions whether countries have taken advantage of the flexibility seemingly embedded in the SDG and VNR process. While some research has identified the diversity of approaches taken by countries in VNRs (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018) and the non-comprehensive coverage of SDG goals and indicators (Elder and Bartalini 2019) as a limitation, this study views variance in presentation, especially when indicators are adapted to national context, as evidence of a more country-led and country-driven process.

Three caveats underline this study. First, although we are nearly 5 years into the SDG era issues with timing may still be present. Past research has highlighted the limited time countries have had to operationalize and implement the SDGs (Allen et al. 2018; IIED 2017; Tosun and Leininger 2017). As the creation, collection, and presentation of adapted indicators can take considerable time and resources, this study is not able to capture monitoring efforts in process but not yet presented. Second, VNRs are self-reported. This is both a challenge and an opportunity for this study. Self-selected indicators better represent country preferences than mandated reporting requirements. Still, there may be inconsistencies in who participates in VNR creation that may hamper the quality of the information presented (Krupar and Taneja 2020) and countries may avoid presenting information that puts them in

a negative light (Beisheim 2016). Finally, many global and thematic indicators have not been fully developed. In 2020, indicators whose methodology has not progressed with be reviewed and reconsidered (Wulff 2020).

55.7 Examining the Universal Principle

Between 2016 and 2019, 142 countries participated in the VNR process. Across the four reporting cycles 15 countries have submitted multiple VNRs. This includes Togo, which submitted three, and Benin, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Qatar, Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Uruguay, Chile, Switzerland, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sierra Leone, all of which have participated twice.

In examining which countries have taken part, Fig. 55.1 suggests regular participation of countries across income levels. Specifically it indicates that over 50% of countries at all four income levels have now submitted at least one VNR. Approximately seven out of ten lower- and upper-middle income countries have submitted while 54% of low-income countries have participated. The rate of which new high-income countries submitted VNRs in 2019 is noticeably below rates from 2017 and 2018.

To better understand whether there is universal participation in the SDG process, VNRs submissions from 2016–2019 were divided by geographic region. Once again over 50% of countries in all regions have submitted at least one VNR. Latin America and the Caribbean and Oceania are the two regions with the lowest participation rates, at 51% and 53% respectively. In contrast, 21 of 24, or 87.5% of

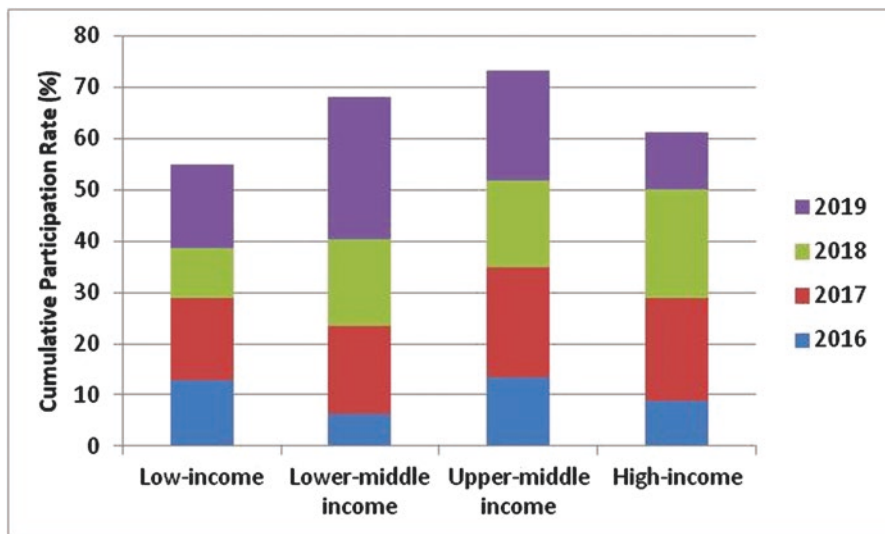


Fig. 55.1 Submission of VNRs, by year and income level

countries in Northern Africa and West Asia have engaged in the VNR process. Figure 55.2 presents a pie chart of relative participation by region. If all regions had equal relative participation rates, portions of the pie chart would be equally distributed at 14.3% (1 out of 7) per region. The figure highlights the relatively greater contribution to total participation from Northern Africa and West Asia, Europe and North America, and the Central and Southern Asia region.

Combining information from these two figures, suggests that low income countries, especially from Latin America and the Caribbean, Oceania, and Sub-Saharan Africa may be less likely to participate. In reviewing the underlying data it seems as if small island nations in these regions are particularly under-represented. For instance, 82% (18 out of 22) of countries from Latin America and the Caribbean that have yet to report are small island nations. For many of these countries capacity and resources may be a challenge. Collecting and monitoring information related to the global indicators of SDG 4 is estimated at approximately US\$1.35 million per country per year (UIS 2018). Lack of capacity does not necessarily indicate lack of ambition. As UN DESA (2019a) found, the proportion of countries that announce but do not prepare a VNR is relatively higher in Africa than in other regions, most noticeably East and West Europe. Not included in the aggregate breakdown but noticeably absent are the United States or Russia, neither of which have, to date, submitted a VNR.

High income countries in Europe appear to be nearly fully engaged in the VNR process. Separate analyses evaluating VNRs among G20 countries (Elder and Bartalini 2019) and EU countries (Bernardini 2018) have been conducted. With the addition of Croatia and the United Kingdom in 2019, Austria and Bulgaria are the only EU countries who have yet to provide a VNR (Bernardini 2018).

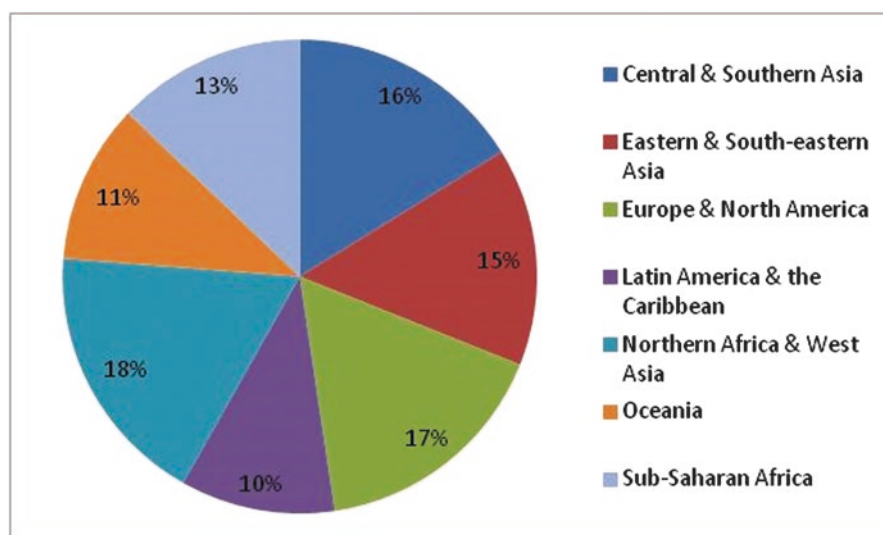


Fig. 55.2 Relative participation in VNR process, by region

Providing a VNR, however, can be a limited measure of universal participation. Given the history of global goals focused on developing countries, questions may arise as to whether high-income, traditionally donor, countries have fully embraced the universal dimension of the SDGs. Past analysis of VNRs suggests this is not the case. For instance, challenges in VNRs are more often identified by developing countries (Beisheim 2018) and developed countries fail to recognize the ‘furthest behind’ within their border, instead insisting that the ‘furthest behind’ are represented in developing countries (Fukuda-Parr et al. 2018). Across the SDG 4 section in the 2019 United Kingdom VNR, more attention is paid to participation in development efforts in developing countries than on education in Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland. Given these findings, additional studies examining the content of VNRs are needed.

55.8 Examining the Holistic Principle

This section reviews the breadth of indicators presented by countries in sections dedicated to SDG 4. Given the more holistic and comprehensive goals of SDG 4, a dispersion of reporting across the ten SDG 4 targets are expected. Yet, the flexibility in reporting can also point to country priority areas.

Table 55.1 present’s country reporting on SDG 4, by global and thematic indicator. Global indicators have a dark black outline. Dark grey boxes indicate the VNR provided full report on that indicator. Light grey boxes indicate that partial information was provided. Full and partial information differ widely by indicator, based in part of the construction of the indicator. The majority of the partial information cells are due to a lack of disaggregation. Many indicators, such as 4.1.1, 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.6.1, require disaggregation by sex. Others have multiple components that make

Table 55.1 Select alternate indicators

SDG	Select alternate indicators
4.1	Country mean score (ILSAs); country ranking (ILSAs); early leaving rate; drop out rate; primary and secondary net/gross enrollment rate; exit exam pass rate; transition rate from primary to secondary; attendance rate; proportion of primary students that attended some form of pre-primary
4.2	# of children in pre-primary; pre-primary net enrollment rate; proportion of preschools, by ownership
4.3	# enrolled in TVET; # enrolled in HE; proportion of those age 15/18–24 not in education, employment or training; HE net enrollment rate; # of apprenticeships
4.4	Mean years of education; unemployment rate, by education level;
4.5	# of special schools; education spending as % of government spending; education spending as % of GDP; proportion of school age children with disabilities in school; proportion of HE enrollment, by sex
4.a	Pupil-toilet ratio
4.c	Pupil-teacher ratio; # of teachers trained in inclusive education

full information difficult. SDG 4.7.1 requires the inclusion of two areas of content (global citizenship education and education for sustainable development) across four components of education (national education policy, curricula, teacher education, and student assessment). No countries provide full information on this indicator, and when included, partial information was generally related to the inclusion of new content in curricula. Similar challenges of construction can be found in other indicators, namely 4.5.1 and 4.a.1.

To provide a fuller description of country reporting general and alternate columns are also included within each SDG target. The general column captures broad statements made about relative progress/position in relation to an indicator. For example, South Africa reports that ‘virtually all school now have electricity and access to drinking water’ and that ‘nearly all adults are literate’. These statements provide non-specific reporting on SDG 4.a.1 and 4.6.2 and therefore the general column for 4.a and 4.6 is filled. Instead of reporting on a global or thematic indicator many countries presented a related, alternate indicator. Alternate indicators are covered later in the chapter. Taken together, this table can provide a rough snapshot of country priorities.

Not surprisingly, given the limited number of applicable countries, SDG 4.b is only reported in any extent in 3 of the 32 VNRs examined. Omitting SDG 4.b, only Azerbaijan presents some monitoring information on the other nine SDG 4 targets. Looking across targets, the most commonly included is target 4.1, where all but Serbia present some information on related indicators. The worst country coverage is found in target 4.7, where 20 out of 32 countries provide no monitoring information. The inclusion of target 4.1 is fueled in part by the most reported indicator. Thematic indicator 4.1.7 – capturing the number of years of free and compulsory primary and secondary education – is included in 63% of VNRs.

Global indicators are more regularly reported. It is telling that 14 out of the 31 suggested thematic indicators are not included in the VNR of a single country (omitting target 4.b). In contrast, each global indicator of the same nine SDG targets are reported on by at least one country, including over 50% reporting at least partial information on 4.5.1. Looking deeper into the VNRs, a predilection toward global indicators is clear in the structure and text of some countries. For example, the Ghana VNR is organized around global indicators, using them as sub-titles. Furthermore, while Timor-Leste recognizes that they only have 56% of data available for SDG 4, their data availability section focuses primarily on learning outcomes and global indicator 4.1.1. This finding is in line with Bizikova and Pinter (2017) who found that across 9 VNRs from 2016, 65% of presented indicators were global indicators. The dominance of global indicator reporting is difficult to evaluate given the somewhat contradictory guidance provided to countries during VNR preparation. While a flexible, country-driven process is clear in most documents, the Q & A document developed for the 2019 HLPF suggests VNRs are designed to “track progress in implanting the universal goals and targets” (UN DESA 2019b, p. 1). The document continues by encouraging countries to use VNRs to improve comparability and “make the HLPF discussion of good practices and the tracking of global trends more effective” (UN DESA 2019b, p. 2).

The dispersion of country reporting can highlight target education areas within a country. Although not reported on by 8 of the 32 VNRs, when included early childhood (target 4.2) appears to be an area of emphasis in countries, such as Ghana, Kuwait, Lesotho, and the United Kingdom. In the Kuwait VNR this priority is clearly mirrored in the text where the country “is endeavoring to meet all SDG 4 targets, particularly 4.2”. Kuwait’s full reporting for indicator 4.2.2 and 4.2.4 is complemented by figures presenting gross enrollment rates and breaking down enrollment by sex and nationality. In Ghana, attention to early childhood is apparent through figures associated with 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.4 as well as the establishment of a Technical Working Group to “provide guidance for accessing the state of early childhood education”. The emphasis on early childhood reflects research by UNESCO (2019a) which found that when asked which area best represents their country’s commitment to SDG 4, early childhood was the most commonly identified education level or policy area across the 72 government respondents.

Table 55.1 also draws attention to Israel’s focus on target 4.7 and South Africa’s emphasis on target 4.1. Israel’s coverage of target 4.7 can be traced to a substantial section on human rights, including the incorporation of human and civil rights and environmental studies in their curriculum. Multiple, country specific indicators are also provided, such as the number of certified green schools, the number of schools participating in an education for sustainability program, and the number of teachers and principals participating in an education for sustainability in-service. Beyond indicator 4.1.7, South Africa’s reporting on target 4.1 focuses on achievement scores. This includes partial information on proficiency rates in primary and secondary education (4.1.1) and an alternate indicator capturing the pass rates on the Grade 12 NSC exam.

For 18 out of the 32 VNRs, the statistical annex also had an SDG specific section. Here, we see a more pronounced difference in the reporting of global and thematic indicators with many countries reporting only global indicators. Tanzania and Mauritius are noticeable outliers. This, however, does not mean their annex is not structured around global indicators. In Tanzania, for instance, the annex introduces the global indicator and then relays national indicators that are (or in some instances are not) related to the global indicator.

Given the range of data available for global indicator reporting, it is not surprising that some global indicators are included in VNRs at higher rates than others. For instance, the difference in coverage for global indicators 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 is reflected in this VNR analysis where at least twice the number of countries report on 4.2.2, relative to 4.2.1. The hyphen on global coverage for 4.7.1 indicates that a methodology for measuring the global indicator has not yet been fully developed, which may have stymied country reporting in VNRs.

In looking across both tables, attention to teachers (4.c) is below what might be expected given the available information. Teachers, as a central means to high quality education, were only included in the main SDG 4 section in 19 out of 32 countries. When included, it was often in the form of a basic pupil-teacher ratio (4.c alternate indicator) providing no information on the training or qualification of teachers.

55.9 Examining the Flexibility Principle

The SDGs are, by in large, a country-driven exercise with flexibility in reporting allowing governments to include indicators that best represent their specific context. The Framework for Action (UNESCO 2016) lays out three types of indicators that country's can present to provide a comprehensive, context appropriate view of progress toward SDG 4: thematic, regional, and national indicators. Thematic indicators, which are pre-selected to allow for better comparability, were covered in the above section. It is clear that thematic indicators are rarely used by countries to monitor their progress on SDG 4. In addition, in this review of 32 VNRs no country presented a regional indicator as part of their reporting.

National indicators, however, were fairly common, and SDG 4.1 includes alternate indicators related to student achievement, enrollment and completion. While proportion proficient on international large scale assessments (ILSAs), such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), is one approach to reporting on global indicator 4.1.1, some countries focus attention on other results from ILSAs. Kazakhstan, Kuwait, and the United Kingdom all use national rankings on an ILSAs as part of their reporting. Some have suggested reliance on rankings may be increasing as they are 'often the only evidence used in policy debates on education' (Klemenčič and Mirazchiyski 2018, p. 309).

In some countries raw numbers are included instead of rates. Multiple countries report the number of children in pre-primary, the number enrolled in technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and higher education (HE), the number of apprenticeships provided, and the number of special schools available. Alternate indicators for target 4.5 also highlight one of the glaring weaknesses in the SDGs, a lack of an indicator for financing education (Wulff 2020). To remedy this, six countries (Iceland, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Mauritius, Mongolia, and Palau) report either education spending as a percent of GDP/GNI or education spending as a percent of government expenditure. Alternate indicators that are provided for targets 4.6, 4.7, and 4.b are unique to the reporting countries. Only one similar alternate indicator is provided for target 4.a, with Rwanda, Tanzania, and Tonga all reporting pupil-toilet ratios.

Many of the alternate indicators provided by countries could be considered legacy indicators. Legacy indicators have a longer history and well established methodology. These include net enrollment rate (NER) and gross enrollment rate (GER) for primary and secondary. Remnants of early global and national efforts, such indicators may already be locked into existing national processes (Bizikova and Pinter 2017). Reliance on legacy indicators to contextualize education progress may call into question the ability of the SDGs to reshape national monitoring efforts.

Beyond legacy indicators, the alternate indicators in Table 55.1 can point to potentially useful ways to capture progress on the associated SDG target, which could input into the 2020 review of SDG indicators. The proportion of those not in education, employment, or training (NEET), associated with target 4.3, seems to be

a promising indicator. Instead of segmenting the population into those in TVET or higher education, NEET captures the percent of youth that are not actively participating in society. A version of this indicator is reported in six countries (Iceland, Indonesia, Israel, South Africa, Timor-Leste, and the United Kingdom). In Timor-Leste, the NEET rate for youth ages 15–24 is 20.3% while in Iceland the NEET rate for youth ages 18–24 is 5%.

The principle of country-driven reporting is apparent in the VNRs of some countries which present unique indicators that capture the contexts and concerns present in their education system. Exemplars using national indicators to more fully capture education progress within a country can be seen in the VNRs of Lesotho, Kazakhstan, the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and the United Kingdom. Lesotho, for instance, provides alternate indicators for six of the ten SDG 4 targets. Indicators unique to Lesotho include the presence of government subsidies for early childhood care and development (associated with target 4.2), differences in female participation rate by ecological zone (target 4.5), the percentage that have missed school due to sexual violence (target 4.a), and the percent of the education budget spent on recurrent items (target 4.7). These indicators highlight areas of emphasis or challenge in Lesotho. When combined with other reporting in the country, Lesotho's VNR better captures the intention of the SDGs as country-led and country-driven.

55.10 Conclusion

This first of its kind analysis of indicators for the SDG on education, highlights the potential of VNRs as a source of information in examining country priorities. It also provides insight into some of the key principles of the SDG and VNR process: that SDGs represent a universal agenda, that SDG 4 can activate a holistic approach to education, and that the selection and incorporation of the SDGs into national monitoring efforts is country-driven to better capture the differing contexts and aims in national education systems.

On the first point, findings indicate that participation in the VNR process is common regardless of national income level or region. This, however, does not mean that all countries have participated in the first four rounds of VNRs. Key countries, such as Russia and the United States, have yet to participate. While this may not be surprising given the country's engagement with other global goals and efforts, the lack of participation by large influential countries may undermine the SDGs and validity of the VNR process. As more countries submit VNRs pressure may increase on other countries to participate (Sarwar and Nicolai 2018). Declining rates of new higher income participants and capacity concerns, however, raise the question on whether there is a ceiling on participation. Disproportionately absent in VNR submissions are small island nations. Over 80% of countries yet to report in Latin America and the Caribbean are small island nations.

The second aim, that the SDGs can spur a holistic approach to education, is not supported in the findings. Of the 32 VNRs from 2019 reviewed, only Azerbaijan reported information related to at least nine of the ten SDG 4 targets (target 4.b omitted). Within targets, the global indicator dominates reporting. Fourteen of the 31 suggested thematic indicators (target 4.b omitted) are not included in a single VNR. When combined with the reporting in statistical annexes, these findings reinforce concerns that the global indicators may dominate national efforts and reporting (King 2017; Smith 2019). It also deflates a potential argument that global indicators would be less reported in VNRs because they are reported by other global actors, such as UIS and the Global Education Monitoring Report. In looking across VNRs, there are some concerns that the teachers are undervalued. Relative to available data, fewer countries are presenting information on target 4.c.

While there are some positive examples of countries taking advantage of the flexibility inherent in the SDG monitoring and VNR process, many countries rely on global indicators or use legacy alternate indicators that may not capture the unique context and issues faced by their education system. Amongst the four types of indicators suggested in the Education 2030 Framework for Action (UNESCO 2016) only global indicators are reported with any regularity. As mentioned above, thematic indicators are not being used by countries to contextualize their experience. In addition, no VNRs are reporting regional indicators in their SDG 4 specific sections. National indicators can help provide a fuller measure of progress. Yet, many countries limit such indicators to legacy or historic indicators such as gross or net enrollment rate in primary and secondary education. Lesotho, Kazakhstan, the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and the United Kingdom are identified as examples of countries using national indicators to paint a more comprehensive nation-specific picture of education.

The findings on the use of national indicators suggest some countries have more fully translated and re-contextualized SDG 4 indicators. Alternatively, harmonization has not been achieved, but this is hardly surprising as it conflates with the principle of country-driven flexibility. While Tosun and Leininger (2017) suggests that domestic policy processes are likely to shape adoption and adaptation of SDGs nationally, more research, over time, is needed to fully evaluate their claim. Some have suggested variance in the presentation of indicators may also be due to differing interpretations of the goals and targets (Tosun and Leininger 2017). The reliance of some countries on global indicators in their reporting, however, raises questions about the range of interpretations present. As global goals and actors align toward, and communicate out, a single interpretation, additional changes may be seen in the diversity (or lack thereof) of country VNRs.

Before ending it is important to re-emphasize that this chapter represents a limited, largely descriptive exercise. In part this reflects the issues surrounding a reliance on indicators (and the chosen indicators) to report on the SDGs. This leads to an overemphasis on parts of the education system prone to numeric representation and highlights the fact that very little attention in SDG 4 is placed on structural and process indicators, including laws and policies. The outcome focus of SDG indicators suggests it does not matter how you get there, as long as you get there. This can

undermine some important initiatives that help countries reach the end goal, such as school feeding programs and non-discrimination laws. While some VNR research has focused on the integration of SDGs into national policy and more qualitative cross-cutting themes, the influence of initiatives or policies – such as Azerbaijan’s Decision 102 providing people with disabilities and children that have lost their parents with competition free admission to TVET or Israel’s 2018 amendment to their Special Education Law (both outlined in 2019 VNRs) – on prioritized outcomes takes time to realize and should not be ignored. Additional fruitful research using VNRs may explore the discourse in which education is situated. For example, Guyana appears to adopt a strong economic approach, including suggesting that “Matriculation is...a critical signal for the economy to determine when and if it will have the necessary human capital to meet its needs in terms of skills and production”. Mixed-methods research that uses qualitative textual analysis in unison with the inclusion and representation of indicators can further our understanding of why countries prioritize one area of education over another and draw attention to the relationship between national adaptation and broader global discourses in education.

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Chapter 56

Scaffolding Human Rights Education



Yvonne Vissing, Jennifer Vernick, and Sarah Burris

Abstract Human rights education (HRE) is mandated as an important vehicle for dissemination of human rights education in both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. While some nations and schools have incorporated some aspects of HRE, it has not been comprehensively or universally embedded at the primary, secondary or higher education levels. Reasons why are explored. Possible explanations include variability of HRE, lack of teacher training, inadequate knowledge of resources, lack of system support, cultural bias, and insufficient research on best-practices. Four tables provide online resources that teachers can access to assist them to incorporate HRE, for primary, secondary, higher education, and programs that aren't HRE but are designed to promote pro-social student behaviors.

Human rights education (HRE) is fundamental to student's development of democratic views and social justice. By being exposed to human rights knowledge can foster greater attitudes of tolerance, respect and responsibility. It can equip students with skills and attitudes for the protection of human rights that can lead to the development of a more peaceful, equitable world (Osler and Yahya 2013). HRE facilitates youth agency, helps them to act and make good decisions as they actively remake themselves and their social environments (Lekkai 2016). Researchers claim that HRE has long-term benefits for children, like building well-being, self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-regulation, and learning empathy (Malone and Hartung 2010). Active positive engagement with the world inspires foundational brain development and neurological functioning (Bandura 2001).

However obvious these benefits may seem, HRE has not been well-integrated into school systems around the world. Here we explore scholarly and pragmatic reasons for this. We are operating from the assumptions that: (a) HRE is beneficial for students; (b) teachers are not well-trained in how to incorporate HRE into their classes, and (c) that teachers need more access to HRE materials. These assumptions are explored below, after which extensive HRE resources are provided so access of HRE information is improved.

Y. Vissing (✉) · J. Vernick · S. Burris
Salem State University, Salem, MA, USA

56.1 What Is Human Rights Education?

Human rights education is mandated as part of states ratification of human rights treaties. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) are the international standards underlying human rights education (HRE). Rights education is required by the UDHR in Article 26 (2) to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, promote understanding, tolerance and friendships among all nations and people in pursuit of maintaining peace. The UNCRC (Article 28, 29 and 42) requires rights education for all ratifying nations in order to ensure the understanding and protection of child rights. Also, the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Article 13 (1) asserts that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, sense of dignity and strengthen respect for human rights.

While these articles outline what rights are, how they are taught is widely variable. The language of human rights education is broad. There is no universal definition or distinction of what HRE is. Human rights education, as a term, has become more frequently interjected into materials, discussions, and policies without a clear-cut determination of what it actually means (Tibbitts 2002). The United Nations definition of HRE is multi-fold and includes the following aspects: to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; assist in the development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity; to promote understanding and tolerance among all nations and groups; and to assist all persons with the ability to participate effectively in a free society (Tibbitts 2002). According to the Plan of Action: World Programme for Human Rights Education (2006), human rights education can be defined as education, training and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights.

These treaties attest that a comprehensive education program in human rights should not only provide knowledge about human rights and the mechanisms that protect individuals, they also impart skills needed to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life. Human rights education should support attitudes and behaviors needed to uphold human rights for all members of society. HRE requires a “holistic understanding of the meaning and scope of human rights as well as of the systemic implications of applying human rights at all levels of the educational system, including legal framework, institutional policies, educational projects, codes of conduct in schools, curriculum, class management, pedagogical activities, student government, and community life” (Potvin and Benny 2013: 4; Zajda 2020).

56.2 Underpinnings of Human Rights Education

Human rights is a field that is under development (Cargas 2020). The approach to HRE is shaped by the definition used; how it is implemented in turn re-shapes its definition, pedagogical approaches, and applications. How HRE information gets transformed into curricula is seldom studied as a process. There is an array of disciplinary approaches to how to contextualize human rights (Civil Service India 2020). Whether human rights are natural, moral, universal, and something to which all people are entitled is debated within academic circles (Cruft 2012; Hart 1955). How are decisions made about what it is and how it will be taught (Harpham 2012; Hawkins 2010)? Rather than focusing on those issues, the HRE literature tends to focus on the rightness of human rights education and usually addresses curriculum, implementation or pedagogy.

In order to institute a comprehensive HRE education model, the United Nations World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE) reports HRE/CHRE is essential in promoting and facilitating the creation of rights-respecting actions and recommended a multi-year implementation plan. Its first phase (2005–2009) focused on HRE in primary and secondary school systems; its second phase (2010–2014) focused on HRE within higher education and on human rights training for teachers and educators, civil servants, law enforcement officials and military personnel. Its third phase (2015–2019) focused on strengthening the implementation of the first two phases and promoting human rights training for media professionals and journalists. The UN Human Rights Council, in its resolution 39/3 (Sept. 2018), makes youth the focus group of the fourth phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2020–2024). It emphasizes education and training in equality, human rights and non-discrimination, and inclusion and respect for diversity with the aim of building inclusive and peaceful societies, and to align the fourth phase with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and specifically with target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals. It appears that there have been scattered implementations in the different phases, but there has not been a universal, comprehensive implementation of them.

Jerome (2016) dissects HRE into three approaches. One is a legalistic perspective, that views rights education as a matter of technical implementation. This position treats HRE interpretation and implementation as pragmatic matters requiring administration, monitoring and accountability of HRE policies and practices at local, state, and national levels. For example, the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights urges governments to incorporate human rights standard into national legislation, develop relevant content and methodologies in curriculum policy documents, plans and study programs and textbooks, and provide support and training for teachers. Another approach is a reformist-hermeneutic perspective, in which rights are interpreted and elaborated upon in materials and pedagogical delivery of HRE instruction. An example of this is UNICEF's Child Rights Education Toolkit. The tool-kit is a set of materials and pedagogy designed to deliver HRE that pertains specifically to child rights. They provide benchmarks to strive for and provide

examples of outstanding programs. They also have ready to use materials for instruction. The third approach assumes a more radical view that sees human rights as part of a broader political struggle for education. What is taught, how material is taught, and to whom it is taught are all issues of consideration, as some students may receive more rights-empowering information than others. A neo-liberal education approach that focuses on individualization, student monetized, market-based success could be replaced with a competing value system that emboldens the dignity and potential of all students. Jerome argues that the first two perspectives are unlikely to achieve radical change for children or society. Teachers and institutions may be more comfortable talking about dispensing information at the abstract level rather than empowering students to challenge systemic inequalities. Challenging the marketing of education for the good of businesses and the economy, rather than the goodness of society and humanity, may ironically be met with structural opposition. Jerome argues that it is at the activist level that social change can occur that truly addresses human rights issues.

In an attempt to create a framework for inclusion of information into a child rights focused educational program, Hammarberg (1990), found that UNCRC/child rights education can aptly focus on “the three Ps”. Provision rights refer to the child’s right to be provided with basic social and economic needs such as health care (article 24), economic welfare (article 27) and education (articles 28 and 29). Protection rights are the child’s right to be protected from harmful practices such as abuse and neglect (article 19) and sexual exploitation (article 34). Participation rights refer to the child’s right to have a voice in matters affecting children (article 12) and to fundamental freedoms such as freedom of expression (article 13), freedom of thought and religion (article 14), and freedom of association (article 15). Others note that the UNCRC’s main guiding principles are the best interests of the child (article 3), non-discrimination (article 2) and age-appropriate participation (Flekkooy and Kaufman 1997; Freeman 1996, 2014; Lundy 2007).

Some attempts have been made to codify models of HRE instruction. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)/Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) have identified five components that include: educational policies; policy implementation; the learning environment; teaching and learning; and the education and professional development of school personnel. Policies reflect the commitment of the school to promote a rights-based approach to education that is designed to benefit the community. Policies need to be implemented with a consistent strategy that includes funding, coordination, monitoring and accountability. The creation of a rights-based learning environment incorporates understanding, respect, and responsibility, both in school and in the community. Since human rights education requires a holistic approach to teaching and learning that reflects human rights values, it is important to start as early as possible and integrate human rights concepts and practices into all aspects of education. For the school to serve as a model of human rights learning and practice, all teachers and staff need to be able to both transmit and model human rights values. Education and professional development must foster educators’ knowledge about, commitment to, and motivation for human rights. Another well-regarded curriculum

program is the Rights Respecting Schools of Hampshire (Hampshire City Council, nd). It has five layers of instruction, starting with aims and core beliefs. Level 2 focuses on pedagogy, theory, and cognition/learning, while Level 3 targets curriculum design. Level 4 looks at the experience of learning, which ultimately leads to whether rights information goals are attained (Level 5).

HRE educator Ian Lister (1984; University of Denver n.d.) describes three methods of teaching human rights: learning *about* human rights, learning *for* human rights, and learning *through* human rights. Learning *about* human rights includes learning the rights and responsibilities that are a part of the UDHR or UNCRC, as well as the people (like Nelson Mandela) and organizations engaged in struggles to ensure these rights, such as the Civil Rights Movement. Learning *for* human rights focuses on developing the skills necessary to take appropriate action and assumes a more advocacy approach. Learning *through* human rights (service learning) lets students develop skills and experience values associated with human rights. This engagement empowers students to engage with human rights in their daily lives, both inside and outside of school.

Tibbitts (2015) identified distinct types of HRE that include: (1) a Values and Awareness Model, which is designed to transmit basic knowledge of human rights issues and to foster its integration into public values through public education awareness campaigns and school-based curriculum; (2) an Accountability Model, where learners are already expected to be directly or indirectly associated with the guarantee of human rights through their professional roles, such as social workers, police officers, and lawmakers; and (3) a Transformational Model, which is a psycho-social approach geared towards empowering the individual to both recognize human rights abuses and to commit to their prevention. Bajaj (2012a, b) found three types of HRE, including a global citizenship model, a coexistence model, and a transformative action model. Potvin and Benny (2013) identified four theoretical and pedagogical approaches in HRE that include: a) Intercultural or multicultural approaches; b) Transformative, anti-oppression, post-colonial, anti-racist perspectives and their variants such as critical race theory, critical pedagogy, or afro-centric perspectives); Democratic citizenship education and its variants such as global, peace or human rights education; and what they call an Inclusive approach.

HRE efforts such as those from the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010) and the Political Engagement Project of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2007) suggest the best teaching practices to foster HRE are those which encourage students to exercise and defend their democratic rights, value diversity, and contribute to the building a universal culture of human rights (Gatens and Johnson 2011). Personal empowerment and fostering and empowering leadership skills are important at the individual level to embed appreciation for HRE and its implementation into everyday life. HRE programming should also take on an interactive pedagogical approach. The language of HRE speaks of being relevant to daily life and to employing methodologies that engage participants in the development of skills and attitudes as well as knowledge. The participatory approach is viewed as motivating,

humanizing and ultimately practical, since this form of learning is linked stronger integration of concepts than merely reading the material or receiving it in lecture form (Tibbitts 2002). Human rights education encourages students to empathize with those who suffer at the hands of others and to act on behalf of the common good (Wood 1992). Effective HRE promotes empathy, global civic consciousness, and activism by incorporating a myriad of practices (Levin-Goldberg 2009) that include exposing students to multiple perspectives on global conflicts as well as different cultural, social, and political ideologies, focusing on experiential learning opportunities, by allowing students to research, debate, and reflect upon targeted human rights topics (Gradwell et al. 2015).

The debate over whether human rights education should be focused on the learning of information, treaties, articles and content OR advocate a direct-practice, activist approach is contentious within the field. What is to be taught in a HRE curriculum? Who determines what is in “best interests” of society, when various groups may all feel that their interests are best and the ones to be most supported? The UNCRC implies that participation does not mean decision-making power or self-determination, but the right to be heard and the views of the child to be given due weight ‘in accordance with the age and maturity of the child’ (article 12). Therefore, the instruction on human rights provided to young children would logically be different in content and style than that provided to older youth. Similarly, as Wells (2015) points out, what is relevant information to one society may be different from what is important HRE to another. As the world becomes increasingly diverse, how HRE can be meaningful to people across all walks of life around the planet is worthy of examination.

56.3 Teachers and Schools as Gatekeepers to HRE

In most parts of the world, schools are responsible for children’s education of all types, including HRE. However, in some places non-government organizations may also impart HRE. Teachers are directly and indirectly responsible for imparting human rights information to students. Teachers are implementers, gate-keepers and collaborative agents, and can be change agents by what they give students to read, do, experience, and mold how they think. HRE is an interactive process between teachers and students, no matter what type of pedagogical approach is used. Students are always engaged with the material and decide how they will use it.

The CRC sets forth standards on what ought to be considered “good childhoods” that serve as inspirational benchmarks for how children are to be treated. School systems play a central role in preparing young people to understand, cherish and claim human rights. As a social institution, schools—hence teachers—have a direct and meaningful influence on children’s lives. They have contact with most children in the community and provide them with opportunities to learn about what it means to have rights in both course material and through everyday interactions with others. Educators have a responsibility to understand and be familiar with the scope of

children's rights, to facilitate the practical realization of these rights and to proactively participate in equity advocacy to ensure those rights are protected within the school (Osler and Yahya 2013). In conjunction with this responsibility, all educational personnel need to be educated in human rights and the ways in which human rights education can be carried out in schools. Human rights education should be mainstreamed in all spheres of the education sector, starting with early childhood development and pre-primary education and carried forward into secondary and higher education. Schools are ideally places where the dignity of every child is upheld and where knowledge about human rights is connected to everyday interactions. This could enable students to practice skills and attitudes that empower them to enjoy and exercise their rights as they learn to respect and uphold the rights of others. Six key areas for accomplishing this include the human rights-based approach to human rights education; core competencies; curricula; teaching and learning processes; evaluation; and professional development and support of educational personnel (ODIHR 2012).

Early HRE Education Educational systems inevitably grapple with the question of at what age should HRE begin? Some fail to ever incorporate human rights education, while others do so when children are toddlers. From a child-rights perspective, the bottom line is that children benefit from human rights instruction from the moment they are born. Children watch what is going on, how people speak, how they touch each other, and through these everyday interactions they gain a conceptualization of what the world is like and how people are to be treated. Ensuring that they receive the provisions necessary for good health and development and protecting children from harm are all part of HRE. Viewing children as participants and actors, not as passive objects, helps to establish a democratic, rights-respecting view of the world from early in their lives, establishing a pattern that they can then carry forth into adulthood.

When children are very young, a formal HRE curriculum may not be necessary when children are well-cared for and learn the importance of kindness. As children become toddlers and preschoolers, adults who role-model respect and require respectful behavior from those who interact with the child transmit important messages. Listening attentively to children's opinions, engaging them in real conversation, and respecting their influence over their everyday affairs as they learn good decision-making skills helps to teach democracy-in-action (Long 2017; Theobald and Kultti 2012).

Turnšek (2009) views children's participation in democratic decision-making in early years as a necessary condition for democratic and active citizenship. Cultivating and instilling a democratic ethos from an early age is a cornerstone for developing social competence and exercising later adult citizenship behavior. Children are already active citizens of their societies in the 'here and now', whether recognized as such or not. But sometimes teachers report experiencing role conflict between their professional duties to educate, cultural normative power hierarchies with adults in charge, the role of being nurturing, and the role to facilitate partnership on more of an egalitarian basis with students Antoniadou and Bibou-Nakou 2012).

Knowing which hat to wear when may be challenging, and unless human rights is mainstreamed to be an important part of a teacher's role, other roles may take precedence.

The Challenges of a Participatory Approach Participation is one of the central 3 P articles of the CRC (provision, protection and participation), yet what participation means operationally is unclear and debatable. I have been informed by many teachers and parents that participation is the central component of the CRC that makes them most uncomfortable with children having rights. Their concern? If children think they have rights then they will say and do whatever they want. Teachers fear youth will do things that will get them in trouble or won't listen. Teachers are concerned they can't control students if they think they're in charge. Inherent in these arguments lies the assumption that there is a hierarchy in which adults are to have power and children are to do what they are told. Another assumption is that children cannot make good choices and will run like wild animals in the street, uncontrollable and who won't listen to reason. Perhaps the biggest assumption is that if children have rights, it means that parents don't. None of these assumptions are necessarily true. If all people have rights, then it means that everyone is to be respected. The question about whether some people may not be entitled to the same privileges as others is a grey area that produces debate and conflict. Different conceptualizations in which childhood and children's ability to exercise agency exist and have implications for understandings of children's right to participation.

Traditional education has been based on a passive paradigm in which teachers possess knowledge that they share with students, and students acquire that knowledge by listening, memorizing and regurgitating it. HRE taught within this paradigm focus on teaching human rights information to pupils and then examining the thoroughness of their acquired knowledge. Although teaching about human rights in this way might help students learn their rights and the mechanisms available to them to demand protection, it doesn't empower them with the capacity to collaborate for the promotion of those rights in their social setting. Students need opportunities to practice how to use them. In a participatory paradigm of HRE, teachers and students create knowledge together in an investigatory dialogue in which the authority is neither in the curriculum nor the teacher, but emerges in the exploratory process itself. This model has its roots in the Socratic approach to education, helping people to learn through dialogue, to think for themselves, to find their own solutions. HRE scholars have suggested that prior participatory instructional strategies for engaging participants were too limited. The vision of the participatory paradigm is that HRE should empower participants' agency through their genuine participation in all stages of the educational process, not just in class.

While a significant part of children's daily experience takes place in classrooms, the actual practices of engaging young children as participants in everyday activities remains a challenge for early childhood educators. As pointed out earlier, teachers are challenged to encourage student participation when it infringes upon traditional teacher assumptions of how education is to be delivered, especially

within top-down institutions. Participation as a component of HRE emphasises the significance of children learning about, through and for human rights through their lived experiences. It is important to realize that participatory learning often focuses on pleasant, enjoyable, controlled situations rather than spontaneous, conflictual experiences of injustice, aggression, exclusion or discrimination. By neglecting to help students negotiate 'negative' experiences, including those that breach their human rights, HRE fails in one of its fundamental aims: empowering individuals to exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others (Lundy and Saniz 2018).

A focus on what rights children have now and how to use them is different than learning about rights as abstract, historical or legal concepts. Promoting advocacy for oneself or in one's community may not always be the focus of HRE in schools. Teachers may find themselves to be uncomfortable with advocating for certain human rights positions, especially when they feel vulnerable for losing their jobs or receiving negative feedback from supervisors, students or parents. Advocacy is a central element debated for its place in human rights education. Is it the job of teachers to teach concepts or to engage students to take the material forward to implement personal and social change? How to handle participation in a constructive way is often challenging for teachers.

Quality of Teacher Training There is inconsistency in HRE instructor training, if it formally occurs at all. Most teachers at every level are poorly-trained in what HRE is or how to teach it. A UNICEF survey of 26 nations (Jerome et al. 2015) sums up the problems concisely. Their study of rights education around the world indicated that the most frequently cited problems are: teacher's lack of knowledge and lack of training about rights education (54%); a lack of policy commitments on behalf of administrators and implementers (38%); the need to teach not just rights but how to use them (36%); having an inadequate curriculum (26%), and not having rights education supported by political leadership (19%).

There appear to be no universal standards for HRE or HRE instructors. Effective human rights education requires committed and skilled teachers. While many teachers have a commitment to human rights principles such as justice and equality, and while many are skilled in the art of educating and socializing children and young adults, few have any training in human rights law. They may act on ethical principles that support human rights but they may not actually know much about international human rights instruments (Osler and Starkey 2010).

HRE is not necessarily taught as a course for students at any level. People who go on to teach about human rights often do so out of good-intention without benefit of having a pedagogical approach. Few teachers universally get trained in human rights education. Most have not taken human rights courses, courses on how to teach human rights, nor have they received training on specific pedagogical strategies or curricular resources and materials. Many teachers report that they have to find materials on their own time, at their own expense, and figure out how to incorporate HRE into their classes and still meet the larger demands of an overarching course, department, organization, field or discipline (Fernekes 2014). As Fernekes

(2014) noted in his evaluation of teacher-training programs in the United States, there is a lack of HRE incorporated in any course. When it is taught, it is usually at the initiation of individual teachers who believe it is important. The content of what is imparted, and the method of dissemination, may vary widely. This same trend was also found in a study of Scottish teachers. HRE is thus often practitioner-driven.

HRE could be instituted into the curriculum from preschool through higher education, and into training protocols of professionals, but it isn't. Schools have an important contribution they can make in dissemination of human right education. They can educate students about their rights, and about the rights of others, through the formal school curriculum. They can establish themselves as model human rights communities in which they reflect the principles of HRE in structure, process, policy and practice. If schools fail to do this, what children learn about human rights will be transmitted through their informal networks and the hidden curriculum, which teaches students unintended information, such as dissemination of power, inequality, regimentation, and the like (Osler and Starkey 1998).

56.4 Slow Implementation of HRE into the Classroom

It should be no surprise that inadequately trained teachers and school administrators are not expert in how to implement HRE into school policies, procedures, curriculum and interactions. Also, in the development of any conceptual field, it is natural for a progression of sophistication to emerge. While treaty articles, such as in the UDHR or CRC, identify what human rights are broadly, how those rights are operationalized into educational material for students is a field under development. Part of the slowness of HRE implementation worldwide may be due to the lack of curricular materials, but part of it may be due to uncomfortability with the concept of human rights itself.

Human rights treaties assume a values orientation that views equitable and just treatment of everyone as essential. Some world culture theorists suggest that globally education is converging towards a similar model that values humanity and diversity. However, the movement toward developing intercultural competency, human rights and democratic views may not be universally embraced. There are cultural, local, regional and national contexts that undermine the homogenous integration of such views (Ridley 2011). Human rights may be regarded as a strategy that doesn't fit with many cultures, especially within the Global South, where there may be opposition to integrating a human rights program that stems from a White, affluent, Global North perspective (Wells 2015). A concept of HRE that will accommodate cultural differences continues to be a challenge. The typical approach to studying HRE is a "top down" approach which makes it difficult for non-western societies to support the claim of a world culture of human rights, as they do not focus on the interpretations, actions, understandings and competencies of individuals within specific cultural contexts (Parish 2015).

In many nations there is a need to reconceptualise education in broader terms when it comes to HRE. Integration of HRE may be easier for societies that have a well-developed education foundation for all students. Many schools have inadequate funding, experience persistent forms of inequalities, discriminate against different marginalised groups, and make inadequate efforts to provide a high-quality, integrated system of education for all (Mehendale and Mukhopadhyay 2018). For instance, free public education for all students may not be available for students in many parts of the world. In Southeast Asia, length of compulsory education varies, ranging from 5 years to 12 years. Free education may be more commonly found in primary grades than at the secondary level. Depending on where the child lives, children may not be aware that they even have a right for education. Children who have health problems, malnutrition, disabilities or special needs may be less likely to be included in education systems. Teaching children in native tongues is important so that they comprehend what is being taught, yet this does not always occur. Some governments have stringent school admission policies barring those without proper documentation or those unable to comply with school requirements from being enrolled. Globally there is an insufficient number of qualified teachers, which creates challenges to the availability and acceptability of education. Resources available to schools may vary significantly. Learners in remote and underserved areas are sometimes unable to access quality education. Even going to school may be a safety issue for many children, especially those who are female. Conceptualizing schools as a vehicle to address inequality through promoting rights is under development in schools throughout Southeast Asia. Child-friendly school projects that have been introduced in countries like Cambodia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, but their integration of HRE is far different than that found, for example, in the UK (SIREP 2017).

A UNICEF study of HRE in 26 countries found no entitlement existed in the official curriculum for all children to learn about children's rights; only 11 countries had in place such an entitlement (Jerome et al. 2015). While there are ample opportunities for children to participate in decision making, inclusion of the HRE is not consistently monitored in most countries. Many states do not have adequate legislation or policy frameworks in place to enact child rights education. Teacher training is essential in carrying out the HRE mandate, yet most teachers are inadequately trained in content or pedagogy. Rights education is not consistently monitored for implementation of quality assurance. While teacher training is thought to be of utmost importance, none of the countries ensured teacher training in HRE (Jerome et al. 2015).

In a review of 42 journal articles on human rights education published between 1990 and 2014, three content themes were identified. They were on children's rights in the classroom context, children's participation in school management, and children's rights education in schools. The authors of that study (Urinboyev et al. 2016) found that most came from Europe (particularly the United Kingdom) and Canada, with few articles about human rights education in African and Asian countries and none about Latin America. They concluded that little progress had been made in mainstreaming the children's rights from the CRC into classroom relations and

school management, as most countries embraced social norms that view children as passive and immature actors who are incapable of making adequate decisions. Hence, everyday classroom interactions between pupils and teachers are guided by these hierarchical normative patterns which undermine the participatory premise of the CRC.

The International Training Centre on Human Rights and Peace Teaching (CIFEDHOP) is a non-governmental organization based in Geneva which attempts to provide training in HRE. They have brought together teachers, educational theorists, researchers, attorneys, NGO representatives as well as governmental and non-governmental experts with a view to sharing and developing teaching methods focused on respecting human rights and individual freedoms. However, there remains no national or international certificate to demonstrate that HRE trainers are competent and there are no clear standards for study or practice of HRE. Standards for the field and HRE instructors could increase the credibility of HRE and further its status as a legitimate field to be included in routine student education programs (Tibbitts 2002).

In sum, the lack of speed and comprehensiveness with which HRE is instituted globally stems from multiple factors – but all the factors are related to human rights not being regarded as a high priority.

56.5 The Variability of What Constitutes HRE

On the surface, it would seem that HRE is a straightforward concept. But operationally, it is much more confusing and complex a concept than a surface definition would indicate. There are articles in the CRC, mandates for HRE in the UDHR, as well as in other human rights treaties, and while there is much overlap the mandates may not be the same (Tibbitts 2002). How these rights are transformed into educational components may vary significantly. This is the case from preschool through higher education. There is no uniform mandate of a prescribed curriculum or pedagogy for teaching HRE. This has led to educators developing materials that suit their vision of HRE, but may not be inclusive or comprehensive. Thus other HRE materials have gotten developed to fill the gaps and voids.

Human rights education is far from a unidimensional field and HRE is heterogeneous, varying in goals, content, and delivery. Many approaches related to human rights, but not authentically human rights as outlined in the CRC, have emerged. These alternatives may be presented as citizenship education, democracy education, global education, civic education, peace education, social skills education, social studies or other names. In general, they all seek to promote the benefits of human rights being a more peaceful, sustainable and inclusive world (Merryfield 2008, 2010, 2011; Tibbitts 2002; Parker 2003; Bromley 2014). HRE may include a focus on particular aspects of the human condition, such as gender, religious, racial, ethnic, ageist, classist, or LBGQTQ issues. But the topics, curriculum content, or manner of instruction of HRE are not necessarily the same. This is understandable since

even the main human rights documents may include slightly different focal points. For instance, while HRE may underscore the importance of child rights, the UNCRC articles contain information that may be more specific to addressing needs of young citizens than those in the UDHR.

These alternatives have become competitors to HRE, since the literature indicates that little evaluation has been actually conducted on which HRE approaches reflect best-practices. The human rights education field needs evidence of having successfully achieved learner goals, for all models. It would be helpful to identify which programs have been successful, and why. Creation of research tools and instruments are central to the success of any program. Without reference to these mechanisms or instructions about their use, human rights education has trouble distinguishing itself from other fields such as peace education or global education (Tibbitts 2002).

Mainstream HRE Programs UNICEF's Child Rights Toolkit, mentioned earlier, is one of the most widely used HRE curriculums. But there are others as well. One of the most touted models of such children's rights education is a program launched by the Hampshire (England) Education Authority in 2004. Known as RRR or Rights, Respect and Responsibilities, the program has been implemented in varying degrees in over 300 Hampshire primary schools and in other countries, such as Canada. Research on this program indicates there are many benefits of appropriate teaching of children's rights. It has been found that when children are taught about their rights, they understand the nature of rights, that they are inalienable and behave in a more socially responsible way (Covell and Howe 1999; Decoene and De Cock 1996; Howe and Covell 2005; Murray 1999).

The Human Rights Educational Model (University of Denver n.d.) has been found to transcend any age group, from the youngest student through adulthood, while allowing for individual differences. It is premised on the importance of HRE needing to begin with young students and that every individual has different personal experiences and backgrounds. They find that the best way to engage students and have them understand the concept of human rights is to bring it to the local level, since there are plenty of human rights abuses and issues in local communities that can be used as examples. According to Betty Reardon (1995), Founding Director of the International Institute on Peace Education, students in grades K-3 can be introduced to concepts such as fairness, personal responsibility, respect, diversity, cooperation, and rules through things like classroom rules and the UNCRC. In early grades, daily routines can become convenient opportunities to introduce human rights concepts. Students in grades 4-6 can begin to tackle concepts like citizenship, community rights, freedom, and social responsibility through exploring the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the U.S. Bill of Rights, and Convention on the Rights of the Child. By grades 7-9 concepts like justice, equality, and global responsibility can be introduced through looking at U.N. covenants and conventions like the Elimination of Racism; Discrimination Against Women, Civil and Political Rights, or Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. By grades 10-12, concepts like moral exclusion/inclusion, moral responsibility, and ecological

responsibility through the Nuremberg Principles and other U.N. Conventions (Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, Prevention and Elimination of Torture, etc.) should be included in the curriculum. (University of Denver, nd).

56.6 Community-Focused HRE Approaches

Western ideas about rights education of top-down programmatic directives may not necessarily fit the context of many people throughout the world (Wells 2015). What child or human rights may mean can vary significantly according to the culture, needs and developmental stage of a society. Human rights education in developing nations may be linked with economic and community development or women's rights. In post-totalitarian or authoritarian countries, human rights education may be associated with the development of civil society and the infrastructures related to the rule of law and protection of individual and minority rights. In older democracies, human rights education is often conjoined favorably with the national power structures but geared towards reform in specific areas, such as penal reform, economic rights and refugee issues (Tibbitts 2002). Tibbitts premise is that all HRE is ultimately about building human rights cultures at community levels.

When communities can embrace central tenants of human rights and adapt them to fit their own communities and cultures, there is a higher probability of students receiving HRE instruction. For instance, Transforming Human Rights Education, or THREED, is advocated as a comprehensive way to insert HRE not just into schools but also into the larger community. Inspired by the work of Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire, integration of HRE into school curricula is supported by a community-based approach to HRE. This can help ensure that school children as well as parents, government leaders, and others, are also educated in HRE. A partnership approach like this can increase human rights support and reduce potential community resistance for it. Transformative HRE has been found to have positive results for individuals and groups. Distinctive to THREED are its (1) goal, (2) pedagogy, (3) context, (4) approach, (5) process, and (6) outcomes (Tibbitts 2015).

It is challenging for schools to implement a comprehensive HRE program without community support. The community climate and culture within schools may influence the degree to which schools will be rights respecting. For instance, in Hong Kong, attempts were made to institute human rights ethos into schools. This was accomplished with the use of commitment to this by school leaders, use of supportive practices by teachers, and a strategic institutional design that nurtured student participation and a spirit of equality and respect (Yuen et al. 2013).

HRE Alternatives Let us explore a few of HRE alternatives. Citizenship education has evolved as a field over the last century. Historically, only certain people – like men or landowners – were eligible to be citizens. But civil, political, and social movements have pushed a broader, more inclusive understanding of citizenship. An

increasingly globalized world has shifted conceptions of what it means to be a citizen, and if one can be a global citizen (Starkey and Osler 2005). This may indeed be the case for children whose parents hail from one country but they live in another, and they have cultural, familial, and relationships with multiple national identities. UNESCO defines global citizenship as a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasises political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global. Core dimensions of citizenship education may include cognitive skills on how to understand interdependency, socio-emotional skills including empathy and respect for others, and behavioral skills on how to act responsibly for a more just, peaceful and sustainable world.

Global education is often regarded as a substitute for human rights education, but they are not the same (Parish 2015). While there are overlapping components, they may be used to accomplish different educational goals. HRE and global education both use similar central concepts of contemporary world society and both represent a shift away from traditional Western ideas of rights. Yet they have one fundamental difference (Bromley 2014): Human rights claim universal equality for all persons, while global or diversity rights approaches promote focus on distinct and unique groups. Thus one issue in the field of HRE is the degree to which general or specific group rights should be the focus of instruction.

According to the Global Education Network (2017) global education is an approach to create change in society through an active learning process based on the universal values of tolerance, solidarity, equality, justice, inclusion, co-operation and non-violence. It begins with raising awareness of global challenges such as poverty or the inequalities caused by the uneven distribution of resources, environmental degradation, violent conflicts or human rights. By exploring a topic in detail it allows for students to have a deeper understanding of the complexity of its underlying causes. Because the field of global education is so broad and diverse, most global education efforts are often relegated to a piece-meal approach in which one problem, nation, culture, group, or situation is explored in detail. This has both benefits and drawbacks. The benefits are that students can learn details about a specific group or situation. But the drawback is on their ability to generalize what they learn about one specific phenomenon to others. How can students meaningfully compare poverty in the Sudan with that of Mississippi? This contextualization is where the instructor's art is of utmost importance.

HRE emphasizes the importance of racial, gender, ability, economic, social, and cultural equality. While global education may help students to understand details of a particular group, HRE's benefit is that it focuses on identifying standards for treatment that apply to all people, everyone, no matter who they are or where they live. A rights-based approach is designed to value human dignity, promote democratic principles, improve communication skills, and informed critical thinking, which are all part of a global education model. HRE identifies conditions that are necessary to the wellbeing of individuals and the steps that could be undertaken to promote benefits and equity (University of Denver n.d.). HRE can incorporate all of the aspects

of global education within a larger umbrella framework that provides students with the opportunity to logically make generalizations between groups that a more fragmented global education approach does not (Vissing 2018).

Civic education is also known as citizen education, democracy education or civic engagement. It focuses on learning experiences that equip and empower citizens to participate in democratic processes (Rietbergen-McCracken 2018). The education can take very different forms, including classroom-based learning, informal training, experiential learning, and mass media campaigns. Civic education can be targeted at children or adults, in developed or developing countries, at the local, national or international levels and can employ a range of different methods and skills. The goal of civic education is to promote civic engagement and support democratic and participatory engagement for the common good, especially around building tolerance, civility, and the willingness to listen, negotiate and compromise with others. This has led to a rise in appreciation of deliberative dialogue and discourse to teach students how to interact respectfully with others to address sensitive and conflictual issues (McCoy 2002).

Even within a single one of these alternatives, such as civic engagement, there are multiple dimensions to be considered, as illustrated in Fig. 56.1.

Alternatives to HRE have sprung up for a variety of reasons, with some embracing the participatory aspect of human rights while others in an attempt to downplay advocacy while focusing on more benign content. Some disciplines, like science, have undertaken incorporating human rights studies (Rubenstein 2008), as the higher education in general is trying to figure out where to best place human rights education and how best to teach it (Cargas 2020; Kingston 2018).

Pedagogically, we are in the midst of change about how human rights should be taught to children. We have seen that instead of waiting until children are in secondary school, experts advocate beginning HRE instruction in children's early years. Priscilla Alderson (1999, 2008) found that the most common approach to HRE was to teach children about the roles, rights and responsibilities that they will acquire as *future* adult citizens. Schools may teach human rights through historical examples, such as the Suffragette movement or the Civil Rights movement. Their emphasis may be on the past with abstract generalizations instead of focusing on understanding current events from a rights perspective. But a shift in the sociology of children from viewing children as human becomings to human beings in the here and now (James and Prout 2014) has moved the field of HRE towards looking not just at human rights in the past, but through the participatory framework in which children learn how to realize their rights now.

Pedagogically, there has been a movement in HRE towards the use of experiential education, more use of activity-centered learning opportunities in which students are to participate in collective endeavors as they seek to figure out how to solve problems in respectful ways. There is less focus on lecture and more on discussion, more empowerment of student engaged learning and reduced reliance upon an authoritarian teacher model of instruction. Analysis of phenomenon from different perspectives is encouraged, rather than assuming a one-way-is-right approach.



Fig. 56.1 Civic Engagement Components

56.7 Movement Away from HRE to a Responsibility Approach

It appears that human rights education has moved beyond simply spreading knowledge about human rights treaties and articles. HRE instruction may also include the shaping of values, attitudes, expectations, behaviors as well as policies and practices. The diversity with which HRE is taught and the alternative forms it may take shows a shift in how HRE is being transformed. This transformation is facilitated by the lack of comprehensive teacher training about what HRE is and how to teach it, along with teacher concerns over repercussions if they promote human rights advocacy activities or positions that are incongruent with community norms.

Sometimes rights are taught in tandem with teaching children about responsibilities. Howe and Covell (2010) note that teachers often unduly focus on responsibilities instead of teaching children about rights. In order to avoid or minimize controversy and de-politicize claims about rights, some teachers focus on responsibilities as well as rights, or responsibilities in lieu of rights. A focus on teaching responsibility without putting them into an overarching rights perspective results in student miseducation on what human rights actually are. They note that a focus on responsibilities does not necessarily promote actual responsibility in children - but a rights focus does.

A major reason for a focus on responsibilities is to soft-peddle rights into a curriculum when a rights-based focus is seen as provocative or inflammatory. But experts in the field note that there is no Convention on the Responsibilities of the Child – and argue that the focus should be on rights. Children’s rights to provision, protection and participation do not depend on them fulfilling their responsibilities. If people are given human rights, they are entitled to them whether they act in a responsible way or not. A responsibility-focused curriculum teaches that only people who fulfill their responsibilities enjoy their rights. This approach implies that if people are naughty they do not get rights and masks the notion that all people are entitled to human rights (Howe and Covell 2010; Jerome et al. 2015).

Many countries have not taken a “learning to live together” approach to education, and have not included life skills needed to teach students how to be good citizens in their individual or social lives. Learning to live together in the wider society requires awareness of and respect for human rights and the responsibilities of local, national and global citizenship. HRE could help reduce tensions due to ethnic or other divisions and social disparities which contribute to the instability or civil conflict seen in many nations today (Sinclair 2008).

Some of these responsibility-focused programs come from private companies that sell curriculum packages to schools who are looking for a quick-fix to promoting positive student behavior without going through the effort to teach HRE. Schools who use responsibility-focused programs may feel they have done due-diligence to promoting positivity by using such programs may also feel that they no longer have to institute human rights curriculums. However, it is important to note that they are not the same. Just as global education may make contributions to a student’s education and knowledge of the world, global education or responsibility focused programs without a HRE framework fails to provide students the over-arching understanding of human rights.

56.8 Methodology

In this descriptive study, we attempted to identify human rights materials that are readily available for teachers. The literature review we conducted clearly indicated that one reason HRE was not well-integrated into schools was because teachers had not been trained in human rights and they did not know where to find materials that

were easily accessible and implementable. The question pursued in this study was – are there materials and resources actually available, and if so, how comprehensive and usable are they?

The methodology used to identify the curriculum materials included in this study were obtained through a Google search using four categories of key terms. These included: (a) human rights education, HRE, or human rights curriculum; (b) Universal Declaration of Human Rights curriculum or UDHR curriculum; (c) United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, UNCRC, or CRC curriculum and (d) student responsibility type school programs/curriculum. While millions of results were reported, only those that were from reputable organizations that had been included. In reviewing these key documents, sometimes other human rights curriculum programs were identified and then included into this study, resulting in a snowball sample strategy. Analysis of the websites resulted in sorting of results into research materials, curriculum materials, and miscellaneous materials by different age-level of students. The research materials helped us to understand the nature of research that had been conducted on HRE and its efficacy.

The curriculum materials were used to create charts on HRE materials that could be used to educate: (a) the general public, (b) preschoolers, (c) primary school aged students, (d) secondary school aged students and (e) higher education students. Assessment was made on whether the materials were general in nature or so specific that lesson plans or hand-outs were created so that teachers could implement them easily. These were coded as “grab and go.” If materials were not coded as grab and go, the web resources were rich with information that could help guide teachers in building their own teaching materials.

There may be other curriculum guides available that we did not locate using this methodology. We are confident that there are. In this study, we relied upon a methodology that could be commonly used by the public to find materials. Most people will use a Google search using the key words we employed to locate HRE curriculum materials. It is appropriate to view this as a preliminary study of HRE curriculum materials that could set the stage for future research projects.

56.9 Findings

There are a variety of instructional materials for human rights education available. Therefore, the assumption that there aren't materials available would be inaccurate. However, few are comprehensive in content. Most HRE materials do not link to specific treaties or articles. Most do not take a concept or issue and then generalize them to the larger human rights framework. This requires teachers to help students to take an assignment and then generalize a specific issue to the larger, general understanding of human rights.

If a teacher wants to focus on a particular aspect of HRE, that material may, or may not, be available. If a teacher wanted to access a unit on LGTQ+ rights, for instance, there are many materials available for them to do so. On the other hand, if

a teacher wanted to focus on the rights of people with disabilities or the rights of unaccompanied youth crossing borders alone, they may not find curricular materials to be readily available. Therefore, what a teacher needs or wants to teach may not be readily accessible.

The HRE materials ranged in focus from preschool-aged children through students in colleges and universities. We identified 37 primary, 64 secondary and 21 higher education websites with HRE materials that can be easily used or adapted. We also identified 16 websites that focus on social responsibility. Some of these 138 websites were cross-listed for inclusion in multiple tables. Materials were divided by the audience age targeted by the developers of each curriculum, including preschool, elementary school, middle school, high school, higher education. They were then organized to focus on primary, secondary, and higher-education age groupings in four tables, shown below.

While the literature review indicated that human rights education should begin early in life, the number of preschool curriculum results for human rights education was limited in the search. Because there were so few preschool HRE curriculum available, they were included in primary school HRE analysis (Table 56.1).

Materials for young children largely addressed issues of kindness and difference. Many concerned race, gender, and differences that young children could easily identify. Most did not focus on teaching HRE from a UNCRC or UDHR focus. Learning how to be respectful was key in these materials. The topics could be broad (human rights in general) or specific to a particular issue (such as race or gay rights). Most of the curriculum materials were rated to be “grab and go”, meaning there were instructional materials and activities that were packaged in a way that made them easy for teachers to use and implement. Amnesty International was the primary creator of information for young children, given that they had created different programs that were identifiable in searches.

Table 56.2 focuses on HRE in secondary schools. Amnesty International continues to be a primary developer of curriculum, and provides many different materials for use. UNICEF also is a leader and has many programs, as does the Southern Poverty Law Center which produces Teaching Tolerance materials. Other groups emerge to develop curriculum as well, but many pick a particular topic (such as gay rights) as their HRE focus.

Secondary school HRE curriculum tends to be focused on issues of discrimination instead of rights. These included anti-racism, gender, LRBTQ+ or global issues. The topics covered in secondary schools are more diverse and complex than those discussed in the earlier grades. While gender, race, and sexual orientation may still have distinct HRE curriculum, issues may include war, refugees, and geographic-specific rights violation examples. It is interesting that most do not target everyday rights violation examples. Rather, the focus is more on what could be termed special-interest group rights. There is also a greater emphasis on rights advocacy and service learning. This would indicate that HRE literature recommendations for students to learn attitudes and activities, as well as abstract rights information, is being implemented. The number of “grab and go” materials were high, indicating

Table 56.1 Primary school human rights education curriculum

Source	Name of lesson or curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
Advocates for human rights	Many	Youth	Yes	http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/k-5.html http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/curricula_links
Amnesty international	Amandla	Elementary level ELLS	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/amandla_elem_eil_0.pdf
Amnesty international	Becoming a human rights friendly school	All	No	https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/pol320012012eng.pdf
Amnesty international	Our world our rights	Elementary	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/OurWorldOurRights.pdf
Amnesty international	Rights and responsibilities	Grade 2–5	No	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/rights_and_responsibilities.pdf
Amnesty international	The right start	Youth	Yes	http://www.developmenteducation.ie/resources/human-rights/the-right-start-introducing-human-rights-education-within-the-primary-curriculum.html
Anti-defamation League's <i>A World of Difference</i> institute	Building a Foundation for Safe and Kind Online Communication	Grades 2–5	Yes	http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/education-outreach/curriculum-connections-winter-2008.pdf
Center for Global Education	Children's rights in the early years	Preschool	Yes	http://www.centreforglobaleducation.org/includes/documents/ChildrensRightsintheEarlyYearsSetting.pdf
Child reach	My school my voice	Youth	No	https://www.childreach.org.uk/projects/my-school-my-voice-uk?gclid=CjwKEAIA7MWyBRDpi5TFqmm6hMSJAD6GLEAZo16y0yBrVqxg8ilZG6ElvaVAYhsFqk_JhLoWSH2gBoCJWHw_wcB

(continued)

Table 56.1 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson or curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
Children's rights education	Children's rights education	Children and youth	Yes	http://childrensrighseducation.com/curriculum.html
Civics and citizenship education	Child rights curriculum	Children and youth	Yes	http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/cee/human_rights_childrens_rights_up,9458.html
Gay, lesbian, and straight education network (GLSEN)	Ready, set, respect!	Elementary, lessons K-2 and 3-5	Yes	http://www.glsen.org/readysrespect
GLSEN	No name calling week	Elementary	Yes	http://glsen.org/honamecallingweek/elementary
HR teacher compendium	Example lessons	Primary, older primary, middle	Yes	www.du.edu/tdge/media/documents/Teacher_Compndium.pdf
Human rights campaign	All children, all families	Children and LGBTQ families	No	http://www.hrc.org/resources/all-children-all-families-training-curriculum
Human rights educators USA	Every child, every right toolkit	Teachers and youth	Yes	https://hreusa.org/projects/every-child-every-right/every-child-every-right/
Human rights educators USA	HRE curriculum integration guide	Teachers, specifically in social studies (pre-k - 12)	Yes	https://hreusa.org/hre-guide/
International Institute for Child Rights & development	Child rights curriculum	Teachers and youth	Yes	http://www.iicrd.org/resource-categories/child-rights-curriculum-health

Learn	Child rights	Children and teens	Yes	http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/childrens_rights/childrens_rights_curri.html
Open educational resources	Child rights curriculum	Youth	Yes	https://www.oercommons.org/authoring/5400-global-nomads-group-child-rights-curriculum-semester/view
PBS	Activities that promote racial and cultural awareness	Preschool, kindergarten, early primary	No	http://www.pbs.org/kets/preciouschildren/diversity/read_activities.html
Rights sites news	Everyone has the right to be safe at school	Grades 4-7	Yes	http://discoverhumanrights.org/uploads/rights_sites_bullying_2.pdf
Rock your world	Human rights education	Youth	Yes	http://rock-your-world.org/curriculum/get-started/exploring-human-rights-and-finding-what-sparks-you
Southern poverty law center	Teaching tolerance	Different lessons for grades pre K-12	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources
Teaching tolerance	Gender Doesn't limit you	Grades K-5	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/gender-doesnt-limit-you
Teaching tolerance	Think outside the box	Grades 3-5	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/supplement/think-outside-box-grades-3-5
Teaching tolerance	Teaching hard history: A framework for teaching American slavery	Grades K-12	Yes	https://www.tolerance.org/frameworks/teaching-hard-history/american-slavery
Trinity college	Children's rights:	Children	Yes	http://www.trincoll.edu/~anselmi/ChildDevelopment/solutions/2006%20Fall%20-%20Children's%20Rights%20Curriculum.pdf

(continued)

Table 56.1 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson or curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
UNICEF	Color it rights	PreK-2	Yes	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/color_it_rights_educator_guide.pdf
UNICEF	Rights respecting schools	School-wide communities	No	https://www.unicef.org.uk/frights-respecting-schools/resources/teaching-resources/
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human beings/ human rights	Preschool-adult with modifications	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity1.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human rights squares	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity4.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Mapping human rights in our community	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity7.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Giving human rights a human face	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity_11.htm
Welcoming schools	Making decisions: Ally or bystander	Grades 4–6	Yes	http://hrc-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/welcoming-schools/documents/Welcoming-Schools-Lesson-Ally_or_Bystander.pdf
Welcoming schools	Name calling and feeling safe in school	Grades 1–4	Yes	http://hrc-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/welcoming-schools/documents/Welcoming-Schools-Lesson_Name_Calling_and_Feeling_Safe_at_School.pdf
Youth for human rights	Human rights curriculum	Youth	Yes	http://www.youthforhumanrights.org/educators/human-rights-curriculum.html

Table 56.2 Secondary school human rights education curriculum

Source	Name of lesson/curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
Advocates for human rights	Many	Youth	Yes	http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/6-8.html http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/9-12.html http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/curricula_links http://www.iwvc.org/ideas/24_equal.pdf
Advocates for human rights	All different all equal education pack	High school	No	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/american_dream.pdf https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/poi320012012eng.pdf
Amnesty international	The American dream	Middle/high school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/bornintobrothelscurriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	Becoming a human rights friendly school	All	No	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/bornintobrothelscurriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	Born into brothels	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/bornintobrothelscurriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	Blood diamond	High school, college, adult	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/bd_curriculumguide_0.pdf
Amnesty international	Catch a fire	High school, college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/catchafirecurriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	The conflict in Darfur and eastern Chad	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/final_curriculum_draft.pdf
Amnesty international	Death penalty as a form of torture	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/the_death_penalty_as_a_form_of_torture.pdf
Amnesty international	Freedom from discrimination: Sports history	Age 13, grade 7	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/freedom_from_discrimination_-_sports_history.pdf

(continued)

Table 56.2 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson/curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
Amnesty international	Hotel Rwanda	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/rwanda_brochuredivided_0.pdf
Amnesty international & WITNESS	In plain sight	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/dtpleessonguide.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/systemfailurelessonguide.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/amazonwatchlessonguide.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/raawalessonguide.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/equalslessonguide.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/outlawedlessonguide.pdf
Amnesty international	Innocents lost curriculum guide	Grades 9–12	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/innocents_lost_curriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	The kite runner	High school/college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/kiterunnerhigh_0.pdf
Amnesty international	Racial discrimination and the death penalty	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/racial_discrimination_and_the_death_penalty.pdf
Amnesty international	Respect my rights, respect my dignity	Ages 15–22	Yes	Module 1 : Poverty- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/act350212011en.pdf Module 2- housing- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/16000/act350052012en.pdf Module 3- sexual and reproductive rights- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ACT3000102015ENGLISH.PDF
Amnesty international	The right start	Youth	Yes	http://www.developmenteducation.ie/resources/human-rights/the-right-start-introducing-human-rights-education-within-the-primary-curriculum.html

Amnesty international	Service learning	Upper middle school, high school, college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningP1.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningP2.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningP3.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningP4.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/the_refugee_rights.pdf
Amnesty international	The status and rights of refugees	Middle/high school	Yes	
Amnesty international	UDHR poster series and teachers guide	High school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/UDHRPosterSeriesAndTeachersGuideP12.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/UDHRPosterSeriesAndTeachersGuideP11.pdf
Amnesty international	War dance	Middle school	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/wardance_0.pdf
Anti-defamation League's <i>A World of Difference Institute</i>	Cyberbullying and online cruelty: Challenging social norms	Grades 9–12	Yes	http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/education-outreach/curriculum-connections-winter-2008.pdf
Anti-defamation League's <i>A World of Difference Institute</i>	Dealing with the social pressures that promote online cruelty	Grades 5–9	Yes	http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/education-outreach/curriculum-connections-winter-2008.pdf
Canada's Centre for digital and media literacy	Exposing gender stereotypes	Middle school	Yes	http://mediasmarts.ca/sites/mediasmarts/files/pdfs/lesson-plan/Lesson_Exposing_Gender_Stereotypes.pdf
Child reach	My school my voice	Youth	No	https://www.childreach.org.uk/projects/my-school-my-voice-uk?gclid=CjwKEAIA7MWyBRDpi5TFqmm6hMSJAD6GLeAZoI6y0yBrVqxg8iZG6EIvaVAYhsFqk_JhLoWSH2gBoCJWHw_wcB
Children's rights education	Children's rights education	Children and youth	Yes	http://childrensrighseducation.com/curriculum.html

(continued)

Table 56.2 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson/curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
Civics and citizenship education	Child rights curriculum	Children and youth	Yes	http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/ccc/human_rights_childrens_rights_up,9458.html
GLSEN	No name calling week	Middle	Yes	http://glsen.org/nonamecallingweek/middle-school
GLSEN	No name calling week	High school	Yes	http://glsen.org/nonamecallingweek/high-school
HR teacher compendium	Example lessons	Primary, older primary, middle	Yes	www.du.edu/tdge/media/documents/Teacher_Compendium.pdf
HREA, UNHR, Soka Gakkai international	A path to dignity	Not listed-high school?	No	http://www.path-to-dignity.org/
Human rights campaign	All children, all families	Children and LGBTQ families	No	http://www.hrc.org/resources/all-children-all-families-training-curriculum
International Institute for Child Rights & development	Child rights curriculum	Teachers and youth	Yes	http://www.iicrd.org/resource-categories/child-rights-curriculum-health
Learn	Child rights	Children and teens	Yes	http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/childrens_rights/childrens_rights_curri.html
Open educational resources	Child rights curriculum	Youth	Yes	https://www.oercommons.org/authoring/5400-global-nomads-group-child-rights-curriculum-semester/view
The media education foundation	Killing us softly	High school	Yes	http://www.filmsforaction.org/watch/killing-us-softly-4-advertisings-image-of-women-2010/ http://www.mediaed.org/assets/products/241/studyguide_241.pdf

Not in our town	Not in our school	Middle-high school	No	https://www.niot.org/niot-video/not-our-school-anti-bullying-video-action-kit
Rights sites news	Everyone has the right to be safe at school	Grades 4-7	Yes	http://discoverhumanrights.org/uploads/rights_sites_bullying_2.pdf
PBS	Brown eyes, blue eyes	High school/adult	Yes	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/ http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/teach/divided/
REX foundation	The world as it could be	High school/adult	Yes	Theworldasitcouldbe.org
Rock your world	Human rights education	Youth	Yes	http://rock-your-world.org/curriculum/get-started/exploring-human-rights-and-finding-what-sparks-you
Southern poverty law center	Teaching tolerance	Pre K to high school	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources
Teaching tolerance	Female identity and gender expectations	Grades 6-12	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/lesson/female-identity-and-gender-expectations
Teaching tolerance	Understanding disabilities	Middle school	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/supplement/understanding-disabilities-middle-grades
Teaching tolerance	Understanding disabilities	High school	Yes	http://www.tolerance.org/supplement/understanding-disabilities-high-school
Trinity college	Children's rights:	Children	Yes	http://www.trincoll.edu/~anselmi/ChildDevelopment/solutions/2006%20Fall%20-%20Children's%20Rights%20Curriculum.Pdf
UN high commissioner for human rights	Speak up: Stop discrimination	Middle-high school	No-videos only	http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Discrimination/Pages/LGBTVideos.aspx
UNICEF	CRC debate lesson	Grades 6-12	Yes	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/crc_debate_lesson.pdf

(continued)

Table 56.2 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson/curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
UNICEF	Nelson Mandela and the right to education	Grades 6–12	Yes	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/nelson_mandela_lesson_0.pdf
UNICEF	UNCRC-an introduction	Grades 6–8	Yes	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/Child_Rights_Unit_6-8.pdf
UNICEF	An introduction to UNCRC	Grades 9–12	No	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/SOWC_Special_Edition_Youth_Report_9-12.pdf
UNICEF	Activity sheet: CRC	Grades 9–12	No	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/activities/CRC_Activity_Sheet_FINAL%20%281%29.pdf
UNICEF	I believe in zero	Grades 9–12	Yes	https://teachunicef.org/sites/default/files/documents/units-lesson-plans/I%20Believe%20in%20ZERO%20Teacher%27s%20Guide.pdf
United for human rights	Bringing human rights to life	Upper high school, college	Unknown	http://www.humanrights.com/educators/educators-kit.html
US Institute of peace	Peace building toolkit for educators	Middle school	Yes	http://www.buildingpeace.org/train-resources/educators/peacebuilding-toolkit-educators/peacebuilding-toolkit-educators-middle-sch
US Institute of peace	Peace building toolkit for educators	High school	Yes	http://www.buildingpeace.org/train-resources/educators/peacebuilding-toolkit-educators/peacebuilding-toolkit-educators-high-school
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human beings/human rights	Preschool- adult with modifications	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity1.htm

University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human rights squares	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity4.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Mapping human rights in our community	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity7.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Giving human rights a human face	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity_11.htm
Welcoming schools	Making decisions: Ally or bystander	Grades 4–6	Yes	http://hrc-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/welcoming-schools/documents/Welcoming-Schools-Lesson_Ally_or_Bystander.pdf
Western states center	Dismantling racism: A resource book for social change groups	High school adult	No	http://intergroupresources.com/rc/RESOURCE%20CENTER/OWEN'S%20CATEGORIZATION%20OF%20RC/2%20-%20Curricular%20Materials/2a%20-%20Publicly%20available/Dismantling%20Racism-%20A%20Resource%20Book%20for%20Social%20Change%20Groups%20%2D%2D%20Western%20States%20Center.pdf
Youth for human rights	Human rights curriculum	Youth	Yes	http://www.youthforhumanrights.org/educators/human-rights-curriculum.html
YWCA	Anti-racism toolkit	High school, adult	No	http://www.ywca.org/atf/ctf/%7BE8D61FD8-7CED-4851-805D-C673BBD5C88CD%7DYWCAANTI-RACISMTOOLKIT.pdf

that teachers could access materials that they could implement into their classroom instruction without too much preparation.

Our literature review indicated that some teachers are leery of incorporating human rights materials if they are seen to be political or create possible tension within the community. As a middle-range solution, a considerable number of programs have been developed to improve school climate or encourage pro-social student behavior.

Given the increase of alternative programs that are not exactly human rights focused but are geared toward social responsibility and “be nice to each other” programs, Table 56.3 contains a sample of some of the most referenced of these types. In reviewing these programs, it was unclear whether the programs were designed to protect student rights or teacher, school and community well-being. If students were encouraged to express themselves in positive ways, a question emerged about whether the positive outcomes were directed to the students themselves, other students, or to the larger school or community. It is possible therefore that not all of the programs contained in Table 56.3 were actually human rights promoting or whether they were designed to fulfill some other agenda.

As shown in Table 56.3, these responsibility-type programs are geared around building pro-social skills, good communication, and how to get along with others. Most of them have designated short-term lesson plans, but others like PBIS or Responsive Classrooms are more of a generalized philosophy that teachers/schools are free to adopt and adapt to fit their circumstances. None of these “be nice” programs address any human rights or HRE components directly. They are more geared towards creating a positive school climate and environment.

Table 56.4 contains human rights education resources geared for higher level secondary students and college level students. Human rights experts and the literature have indicated that HRE needs to occur at every level of education, from the youngest children through those who are in higher education. Few college teachers have learned human rights education, which makes it difficult for them to then teach it to their students (Vissing and Williams 2019). As students in colleges and universities prepare to take professional roles, it is important that they have a keen understand of human rights – both for themselves and for those with whom they will work and serve.

It did not appear that unique HRE materials were designed for use in college. There were few or no explicitly designed HRE materials for use by college-level students. Most websites contained with materials that overlapped between upper-level secondary school student and higher education levels. There was not an organized set of curriculum materials created for use at the college or university level, despite higher education being the training ground for professionals in fields like education, social work, criminal justice, or health care. The materials designated for colleges were topic or unit specific. They were not integrative across disciplines. They would appear to reinforce findings that HRE is not taught in college, and if it is, it is provided by individual professors who happen to have an interest in the topic and bring it into their classrooms.

Table 56.3 Social responsibility, Non-HRE, programs

Name	Lessons	Ages	Brief overview	Website
Building belonging	No premade lessons. Uses a structured restorative circle.	6–12 grade	This program uses restorative justice principles to create a safe space where middle school students discuss things on their mind, and share their experiences and feelings to increase classroom community.	https://www.morningsidecenter.org/building-belonging
Caring school community	Premade lesson plans. Thirty weeks of daily lessons are available for each grade level, with thirty minutes for each lesson.	K-8th grade	Goal to increase positive behavior through teaching students about responsibility, empathy, and cooperation.	www.collaborativeclassroom.org/pricing-school-community
Choose to be Nice school program	Year-long program. Offers premade lessons.	K-8th grade	Focuses on 9 values—Respect, kindness, acceptance, teamwork, honesty, responsibility, friendship, patience, & courage. Goal is to improve the way students interact with each other and the world.	https://info.choosetobenice.com/sel-school-curriculum
Compassionate schools project	This is a pilot study being done in schools. There is not enough information on their website about what the lessons are and how they are presented to teachers.	K-5th grade	Curriculum focuses on socio-emotional learning, exercise, nutrition & self-understanding. Goal is to help students empathize with others, become resilient, be connected with their peers, and decrease bullying.	https://www.compassionschools.org/program/
Global game changers	Premade lesson plans. Lessons match up with common Core standards, as well as Kentucky state standards.	Pre-K-5th grade	Program focuses on superpowers & superheroes to help children become real life superheroes through doing kind acts. Goal to build child's empathy, socio-emotional learning, citizenship & individual service	https://globalgamechangers.org
Kindness education project	Premade lesson plans, enough lessons to be taught each month for nine months.	Preschool - 12th grade	Program teaches self-esteem, confidence, communication, positive thinking, leadership, philanthropy, and community.	https://www.honeyfoundation.org/kindness-education-program/

(continued)

Table 56.3 (continued)

Name	Lessons	Ages	Brief overview	Website
Kindness curriculum	Premade lesson plans. There is one unit for each grade. Each unit has six lessons.	K-5th grade	Curriculum uses Common Core State Standards & Bloom's taxonomy to teach kindness, empowerment, tolerance & social interaction	https://www.lifevestinside.com/kindness-curriculum/#curriculum
Lions quest	Premade lesson plans. At the elementary level lessons are made to be taught once a week (40 minutes) for the school year. At the high school level 16 lessons per grade level for health classes. They offer pre and post tests for each unit to allow teachers to track student growth.	Pre-k-12th grade	Focus on positive behavior, learning about emotion, anti-bullying and for the older grades drug alcohol and tobacco awareness, and service learning projects.	https://www.lions-quest.org/
Mult-i-grees	Premade lesson plans. Taught weekly for 30-40 minutes. Each lesson includes an objective and an activity.	Pre-k-12th grade	Goal to encourage empathy, co-operation, citizenship, and community service through connecting children to animal shelters.	https://education.muttigrees.org/
Positive action	Premade lesson plans, 7 units on self-concept, positive actions, self-control, responsibility, pro-social acts, truth-telling. Lessons last for 15 minutes 4 times a week for 35 weeks.	Pre-k-12th grade	Program focus on socio-emotional learning, positive self-image, emotional control, kindness, empathy, prosocial behavior, drug & bullying prevention.	https://www.positiveaction.net/
Positive Behavioral Interventions & Support (PBIS)	No lessons. This is a philosophy that schools can adapt in different ways. A few stand-alone lessons and activities on their website.	Pre-k-12th grade	Goal of PBIS is to increase student outcomes in a data driven model. Intervention focus using 3 tiers of support for different student needs	https://www.pbis.org/

Name	Lessons	Ages	Brief overview	Website
Random acts of kindness: Kindness in the classroom	Premade lessons in a yearlong curriculum with 6 units each with a 6-week format—Four weeks of lessons & projects. Links with common Core standards.	K-8th grade	Focuses on 6 key concepts at each grade level—Caring, courage, inclusiveness, respect, integrity responsibility, & digital citizenship	https://www.randomactsofkindness.org/for-educators
Responsive classroom	No lessons. This is a philosophy that underlies all choices made in the classroom. Teachers are encouraged to practice specific, grade level practices such as morning meeting for the younger children, or brain brakes for middle school students.	Pre-k-12	Focus is on 4 areas. “Engaging academics”, “positive community”, “effective management & “developmentally responsive teaching” about students social, emotional, and cognitive development	https://www.responsiveclassroom.org/
Second step	Premade lessons. Lessons are 20–30 minutes for younger children and 35–40 minutes for older children and are taught once a week. These are followed by 5–10 minute daily activities.	Pre-kindergarten-8th grade	Curriculum on socio-emotional learning, bully prevention, empathy, self-regulation, and good decisions-making.	https://www.secondstep.org/
The 4Rs program	Premade lessons. 35 lessons per year.	Pre-k-5th grade	Through use of diverse books, children develop empathy, community building, and conflict resolution.	https://www.morningsidecenter.org/4rs-program
Too good for violence	Premade lessons. One less per week for ten weeks. 30 minute lessons for k-3, 45 minute lessons for 4–5, 50 minute lessons for 6 and up.	k-12	Curriculum focuses on bullying, targets prosocial behaviors communication, problem solving, and conflict resolution skills.	https://toogoodprograms.org/collections/too-good-for-violence

Table 56.4 Higher Education Human Rights Education Curriculum

Source	Name of lesson/ curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
American Academy of Pediatrics	Children's rights curriculum	Pediatricians Health providers	Yes	https://www2.aap.org/commpeds/resources/childrensrights.htm
Amnesty international	Becoming a human rights friendly school	All	No	https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/poi320012012eng.pdf
Amnesty international	Blood diamond	High school, college, adult	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/bd_curriculumguide_0.pdf
United for human rights	Bringing human rights to life	Upper high school, college	Unknown	http://www.humanrights.com/educators/educators-kit.html
Amnesty international	Catch a fire	High school, college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/catchafirecurriculum.pdf
Amnesty international	The kite runner	High school/ college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/kiterunnerhigh_0.pdf
Amnesty international	Respect my rights, respect my dignity	Ages 15–22	Yes	Module 1: Poverty- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/act350212011en.pdf Module 2- housing- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/16000/act350052012en.pdf Module 3- sexual and reproductive rights- https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ACT3000102015ENGLISH.PDF
Amnesty international	Service learning	Upper middle school, high school, college	Yes	http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningPt1.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningPt2.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningPt3.pdf http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/HumanRightsAndServiceLearningPt4.pdf
Child rights curriculum for health professionals CRED-PRO	Child rights curriculum for health professionals	Health care professionals	Yes	http://www.rightsofthechild.org/pdf/RevisedCurriculumHealthCareProfessionalsJuly2008Canada.pdf

PBS	Brown eyes, blue eyes	High school/adult	Yes	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/ http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/teach/divided/
Peaceful schools international	Child rights	Teachers	Yes	http://peacefulschoolsinternational.org/wp-content/uploads/childrens_rights_a_teachers_guide.pdf
Save the children	Children's rights: A Teacher's guide	Teachers	Yes	http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/resources/online-library/childrens-rights-a-teachers-guide
UNICEF	Child rights education toolkit	Teachers	Yes	http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/UNICEF_CRE_Toolkit_FINAL_web_version170414.pdf
UNICEF	Teaching and learning about child rights	Teachers, professionals for children	Yes	http://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforChildrensRights/filestore/Filetoupload,503563,en.pdf
United for human rights	Human rights curriculum	Teachers	Yes	http://www.humanrights.com/educators/why-human-rights-education.html
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human beings/human rights	Preschool-adult with modifications	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity1.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Human rights squares	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity4.htm
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Mapping human rights in our community	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity7.htm

Table 56.4 (continued)

Source	Name of lesson/curriculum	Target grade/age	Grab and go?	Website
University of Minn. Human rights resource center (HRRC)	Giving human rights a human face	Elementary-adult	Yes	https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hereandnow/Part-3/Activity_11.htm
YWCA	Anti-racism toolkit	High school, adult	No	http://www.ywca.org/atf/cf/%7BE8D61FD8-7CED-4851-805D-C673BD5C88CD%7DYWCAANTI-RACISMTOOLKIT.pdf
Western states center	Dismantling racism: A resource book for social change groups	High school adult	No	http://intergroupresources.com/rc/RESOURCE%20CENTER/OWEN'S%20CATEGORIZATION%20OF%20RC/2%20-%20Curricular%20Materials/2a%20-%20Publicly%20available/Dismantling%20Racism-%20A%20Resource%20Book%20for%20Social%20Change%20Groups%20%2D%2D%20Western%20States%20Center.pdf

56.10 Summary

Most of the HRE materials and curriculum identified in this research tend to be created by a small core of organizations. It is our assessment that other HRE materials exist but they are harder to locate. Accessibility is an important consideration if human rights education is to be provided to students at all age and ability levels. There are some pre-packaged HRE curriculum materials available. However, many are limited in scope or have to be tweaked to meet the needs of students. So while our designation of “grab and go” may be helpful, these may require adaptation and preparation in order to be effectively used.

Standardization of HRE materials has not yet emerged. The content varies dramatically across the materials. Most HRE instructional formats do not require any teacher training. There is no certification for human rights educators. The lack of assessment leading to documentation for best practices is virtually nonexistent. This is a concern for advocates of human rights education that needs to be addressed in order for HRE to be regarded as a serious scholarly topic that should be implemented into schools (Zajda 2020).

56.11 Conclusion

Children can be regarded as ultimate potential change agents for societies. How children are socialized impacts their perceptions of themselves and others. While children are the recipient of culture and the messages it imparts, they are also responsible for replicating or changing culture (James and Prout 2014; Wells 2015). It is in both individual and social best interests to impart a collective vision of respecting the rights of others. In order to do this, children have to learn what human rights are and how to use them. We believe that comprehensive human rights education has the potential to transform the world to be a safer more respectful place. The field of human rights education is off to a respectable start with the creation of a variety of curriculum materials. However, it appears that there is a significant distance to yet travel to transform HRE into a scholarly field. Existing HRE curricular materials have a wide amount of variability both in terms of content and comprehensiveness. Greater development of the field of HRE could lead to increased implementation of human rights content, and hopefully more rights-respecting behavior.

We recommend the following steps to be undertaken in order to transform the field of HRE into a more standardized, quality-based, scholarly field:

- (a) creation of a comprehensive database of curriculum and materials for different age levels
- (b) analysis of the process used to create curricular materials, especially decision paradigms on the process used to determine what is included or omitted;
- (c) evaluation of HRE to identify best-practices models;

- (d) more uniformity and agreement upon what HRE is; and
- (e) increased systematic training for HRE instructors at all levels.

Ongoing evaluation of HRE would result in the creation of better instructional materials and more effective teacher training and student instruction strategies. It is essential to focus as well on macro-level institutions and their influence on HRE. Schools are part of larger educational institutions and systems. In order for HRE to be comprehensively integrated into the education of students, there must be organizational support of the importance of human rights. This means supporting teacher instruction and providing teachers both resources to use, time to learn them and support to incorporate them into their classes. School systems are reflections of their larger communities, and it is important to have community buy-in at the governmental and parental levels. This has not occurred in communities where adults have an inadequate understanding of human rights or knowledge of the value of human rights education. Widespread human rights education at the adult level is also, therefore, essential. Perhaps the most effective long-term strategy is to ensure that comprehensive human rights education is provided to all students today, since in a generation or two they will be the parents and leaders of the community.

It is our opinion that HRE has great potential for improving the lives of students, schools, communities and societies. As a fledgling field, it requires sincere efforts to ensure that students around the world obtain the same messages about what HRE is, why it is important, and how it could be used to transform lives for the better. This is no small task. But it is a vitally important one for people who believe that human rights education has the potential to change the world.

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Chapter 57

Globalisation and Human Rights Education in Australia



Sev Ozdowski

Abstract The chapter argues for giving a higher priority to human rights education in our schools. While the humanities-based subjects of History, Geography and Legal Studies in the senior secondary years, and Civics-based subjects in the lower secondary years have clear references to human rights in the curriculum (as noted earlier the discussion of Human Rights Education in the School Curriculum Report), for many other subjects, including such important subjects as English, the focus is more diffuse. Therefore, the overwhelming evidence is that there is a relatively narrow base of subjects in the curriculum spectrum across Australia that specifically offers human rights-based learning opportunities for students. The chapter suggests that teachers need to be better trained to work with human rights issues and some of the controversies that surround them. For sustained change and to ensure quality pedagogical practices in the teaching of human rights issues, teachers need professional development support and access to quality innovative resources that enable global perspectives and linkages that highlight human rights issues.

57.1 The Evolution of Human Rights Education in Australia

Modern Australia is a vibrant social democracy with one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse societies in the world. Historically most migrants came from the United Kingdom and Europe with significant Asian and African minorities emerging in recent years. The 2016 Census shows that two thirds (67%) of the Australian population were born in Australia. Of the 6,163,667 **overseas-born** persons, nearly one in five (18%) had arrived since the start of 2012. Australia's cultural heritage includes over 300 ancestries¹ as separately identified in the 2016 Census. The most reported ancestries were English (36%) and Australian (34%). A further six of the leading ten ancestries reflected a European heritage. The two

¹**Ancestry** is an indication of the cultural group that a person most closely identifies with.

S. Ozdowski (✉)
University of Western Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia

remaining ancestries in the top 10 were Chinese (5.6%) and Indian (4.6%). Australia's Indigenous population is growing though figures are still small making 2.8% of the total population.

Today, more than 200 languages are spoken in Australia – this includes some 40 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. Apart from English, the most commonly used languages are Chinese (largely Mandarin and Cantonese), Arabic, Italian, Vietnamese and Greek languages. There is also enormous religious diversity with some 57.7% reporting affiliation to Christianity in 2016 Census and 7.4% reporting an affiliation to non-Christian religions, and 29.6% reporting 'No Religion'.² Please note that end notes in text are marked by roman numerals and at the end of text in Arabic numerals. Also I could not place my additional two end note in the text of endnotes. The evolution of Australia from a homogenous, predominantly Anglo-Celtic nation that imposed restrictive immigration policies for non-white migrants, to the modern cosmopolitan representation of a global community is largely the result of the growing diversity brought about by the post-World War II changes in the nation's immigration programs and policies. This diversity and the need to respond to the growth in the wealth and political influence of non-British settlers resulted in successive governments applying multicultural approaches to population management. Essentially bipartisan policies sought to support new migrants in their transition to an Australian way of life and values, emphasizing our egalitarian ethos and enabling cultural, linguistic and religious differences to exist within democratic structures.

Human rights are closely related to core Australian values such as justice, equality, a fair go and democracy and play an important role in the management of our cultural diversity. In fact, any culturally diverse society needs standards that determine working relationships between different groups and empower individuals especially in the current context when collective protections are weakened by global tension and the power of technology. International human rights provide an internationally recognized universal set of secular values that apply to all peoples regardless of their culture, religion or ethnicity. International human rights frameworks links well to Australian core values and are generally regarded providing the agreed minimum standards of human decency. Therefore, the promotion of a culture of rights through human rights education programs is of particular importance in a diverse society (Zajda and Ozdovki 2017; Zajda 2020a; Zajda and Majhanovich, 2021).

²For more information about Australian multiculturalism and its history see: Ozdowski, S. (2013). Australian Multiculturalism: The Roots of its Success. In K. Mazur, P. Musiewicz & B. Szlachta (Eds.), *Promoting Changes in Times of Transition and Crisis: Reflections on Human Rights Education*. Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka. Available at www.akademicka.pl

57.2 Human Rights Education Internationally

Human rights education aims to build an understanding and appreciation for learning about rights and learning through rights.³ Australian human rights education is strongly anchored in the international human rights system. Indeed, Australia was a leading protagonist in designing the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It was steered through the United Nations (UN) General Assembly by Dr. H. V. Evatt, eminent lawyer and Labor politician, as the president of the General Assembly at that time.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights continues to be a key plank for education in schools and elsewhere with other key conventions (namely the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Rights of the Child). They also encouraged practical platforms for the legal enforcement of rights and for the engagement of individuals and communities in discussions of topical rights-based issues.

The UN Decade on Human Rights Education (1995–2004) provided a global framework through its Plan of Action for nations to implement education on human rights. However, the lack of necessary reporting or monitoring mechanisms lessened its impact. In Australia, its impact was limited with the establishment of the National Committee for Human Rights Education being the most significant and long-lasting achievement.

The implementation by the UN of the World Human Rights Education Programme since 2004 had a greater impact. The 1st Phase (2005–2009) of the Programme emphasized the primary and secondary school curricula and formal education, while the 2nd Phase (2010–2014) focuses on those who further mentor tomorrow's citizens and leaders, e.g. higher education institutions, government officials, the military. The 3rd Phase (2015–2019) focussed on media professionals and journalists, and an emphasis on education and training in equality and non-discrimination.

One important result of this emphasis on human rights education was the formulation of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2011. The Declaration asserts that everyone has the right to know, seek and receive information about their human rights and fundamental freedoms and recognizes that human rights education and training is a lifelong process that includes all parts of society. This non-binding Declaration also defines human rights education and training as comprising “all

³ Julie McLeod and Ruth Reynolds use the term ‘peaceful pedagogy’ to describe a model for learning about, through and for human rights. McLeod, J. & R. Reynolds (2010). *Peaceful Pedagogy: Teaching Human Rights through the curriculum*. Similar language is used in the UN General Assembly, *Draft Plan of Action for the First Phase (2005–2007)* of the World programme for Human Rights Education, UN GAOR, 59th session, UN Doc A/59/525/Rev 1, 2 March 2005 which sees “three task fields of human rights education: learning over, by and for human rights”.

education, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms” and calls on all to intensify efforts to promote the universal respect and understanding of human rights education and training (United Nations General Assembly Resolution, A/RES/66/137, 19 December 2011). Unfortunately, the government commitment to the implementation of the World Programme for Human Rights Education in Australia has been at best limited.

57.3 The Need for Human Rights Education in Australia

Accessible and wide-reaching human rights education is key to the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The best ways to implement human rights education and education about our civic responsibilities and our rights as citizens have been debated in Australia for decades. Australia is one of the few democratic countries that do not have a human rights framework embedded in its Constitution. The statutory responsibility to provide human rights education is however laid out in the Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986 (Cth), Age Discrimination Act 2004 (Cth), Disability Discrimination Act 1992 (Cth), Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth) and Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth). Research illustrates that Australians, overall, have a poor knowledge of their human rights. Neither have human rights been solidly embedded in the school curriculum (Civics Expert Group 1994; NHRCC Report 2009). In fact, the lack of presence of human rights in the Australian Curriculum appears to be the key obstacle in integrating of human rights education in teaching practices.

The Australian legal system does not avail itself easily to human rights education purposes. Unlike other western democracies, Australia does not have a Bill of Rights, either constitutional or in a form of an act of parliament. In fact the human rights protected by the Australian Constitution are limited to the right to vote (Section 41); the right to a trial by jury in the State where the alleged federal offence took place (Section 80); the denial of federal legislative power with respect to religion (Section 116); and the prohibition against discrimination on the basis of State of residency (Section 117). There are also two “economic rights”. Section 92 guarantees freedom of interstate trade; and Section 51 mandates payment on just terms for property acquired by the Commonwealth. In addition, the High Court established some implied rights, e.g., parliament cannot pass laws that adjudge a person to be guilty of a crime or restrict freedom of discussion in the context of an election.

But the Constitution is silent on the fundamental freedoms such as the freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of thought, belief and opinion, freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to a fair trial or due process and equality of all persons in Australia before the law.

The lack of a national Bill of Rights in Australia is particularly relevant in light of evidence showing that the introduction of a Bill of Rights in the United Kingdom (UK) resulted in massive gains in human rights education, especially within the UK

civil service. Similar educational value has been shown through the Australian Capital Territory and in the States of Victoria and Queensland which introduced human rights charters as ordinary acts of Parliament.

The importance of human rights education in Australia has an added relevance in the context of the declining importance of Common Law and the erosion of Habeas Corpus. For example, during the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Case (1998) exchange between Justice Kirby and the Commonwealth Solicitor General, Justice Kirby asked, whether: “Under the “race” power of our Constitution, Nuremberg-style race laws or South African apartheid laws, if enacted by our federal parliament, would be binding?” The Solicitor General responded “Yes”. In other words, the federal parliament is free to legislate in a morally ambiguous way, so long as it stays within the Constitution’s head of power.

57.4 Australian Governments and Human Rights Education

Australia is a federal state with a national Commonwealth or Federal government and State governments having responsibilities for human rights enforcement and education. In this paper we concentrate on the human rights education initiatives at the federal level.

Most federal educational activities are associated with international human rights treaty obligations and with the domestic implementation of anti-discrimination legislation such as *Age Discrimination Act 2004*, *Disability Discrimination Act 1992*,⁴ *Equal Employment Opportunity (Commonwealth Authorities) Act 1987*, *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999*, *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, *Racial Hatred Act 1995* and *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*. For example, when lodging with the United Nations Australia’s combined 6th and 7th Report on the implementation of the UN Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in December 2008, the government launched in Australia an education pack entitled Women’s Human Rights. The pack provides information on human rights treaties, CEDAW and the Optional Protocol and is publicly available through the Office of Status of Women website. Another example would be the formulation of disability standards by the Federal Attorney General under the Disability Discrimination Act 1992. The standards regulate access by people with disabilities to premises, public transport and education and are well known across Australia. To implement the World Programme for Human Rights Education, federal Department of Education introduced human rights themes into ‘Civics and Citizenship’ and ‘Values’ educational programs.

⁴For a paper dealing with access and inclusive pedagogy for students with disabilities see: Zajda, J. (2011). Trends in education policy and pedagogy for students with disabilities in Australia. In K. Mazurek & M. Winzer (Eds.), *Special education in an international perspective*. Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.

A particular mention is warranted for the 2009 National Consultations on Human Rights initiated by the federal government and chaired by the well-known lawyer and Jesuit priest, Fr. Frank Brennan. These massive public consultations consisted of 66 community round tables, 3 days of public hearings, received some 35,000 submissions and commissioned research, including a phone survey. In addition to the educational value of the consultations a formal report was produced with 31 recommendations. The report on the Consultations was transmitted to the Attorney General on 30 September 2009.

The report recommended a range of measures to improve human rights education in Australia. Critically, Recommendations 1 and 2 named education about human rights as the highest priority for cultivating a human rights culture and ultimately improving the human rights situation in Australia. Other recommendations were also of direct relevance to human rights education. For example, Recommendation 4 called for a Human Rights audit of all federal legislation, policies and practices; Recommendation 6 called for a parliamentary statement of human rights compatibility to be required for all Bills; Recommendation 7 called for the establishment of a new parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights to review all Bills; Recommendation 8 sought the development of a whole-of-government human rights framework; and Recommendation 18 called upon the federal government to adopt a federal Human Rights Act. Here it is interesting to note that 27,888 submissions were in favour of the establishment of an Australian Bill of Rights while 4203 were opposed (NHRCC 2009).

57.5 Australia's Human Rights Framework

In response to the Brennan report and Australia's international human rights obligations, the federal government established an *Australian Human Rights Framework* that outlines a range of key measures for the further protection and promotion of human rights. The framework is based on five key principles and focuses on:

- re-affirming a commitment to our human rights obligations
- the importance of human rights education
- enhancing our domestic and international engagement on human rights issues
- improving human rights protections including greater parliamentary scrutiny
- achieving greater respect for human rights principles within the community.

Specifically, the Australian Human Rights Framework put in place several practical measures requiring more than 18 million Australian dollars for the implementation of government responses to the Report over 4 years. This included an allocation of almost seven million Australian dollars to the Australian Human Rights Commission to increase its educational activities to promote a greater understanding of human rights across the community. In addition, a new Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights was established in 2012 to provide greater scrutiny of legislation for compliance with our international human rights obligations. One

outcome of this was the provision enabling each new Bill introduced into the Federal Parliament to be accompanied by a statement of compatibility with our international human rights obligations.

The government decided against the establishment of the Human Rights Charter because it proclaimed that such a charter would be divisive in the society and it did not proceed with the bill to consolidate the federal anti-discriminations law.⁵ Furthermore, over the last 5 years the Federal government funding for human rights education has been significantly reduced and the support for implementation of Australian Human Rights Framework has ceased. Also, specific funding for the delivery of human rights education by the Australian Human Rights Commission has ceased in 2014.

57.6 National Action Plan on Human Rights

The Federal government also adopted in 2012 the 3rd National Human Rights Action Plan to outline what the Australian Government will do to improve human rights situations in Australia. It is worth noting that the concerns reflected during the National Human Rights Consultations and the outcomes of Australia's first Universal Periodic Review before the UN's Human Rights Council in 2011 provided an extensive evidence base for adoption of the Plan.

The Action Plan's key priority areas included establishing a National Disability Insurance Scheme; creating a new official position of National Children's Commissioner at the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC); ratifying the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture; strengthening the protection of rights of people with a mental illness in the justice system; reviewing Australia's reservations under the international human rights treaties; introducing the *Living Longer Living Better* aged care reform; acknowledging the unique and special place of Australia's First Peoples and implementing the National Anti-Racism Strategy. These priorities form the basis of activities in the human rights field now.

57.7 Australian Human Rights Commission Public Inquiries

The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) is a statutory authority created by the Federal Parliament. One of its responsibilities is to provide human rights education and in fact the AHRC engages in various education projects to target a range of contemporary issues. The AHRC website contains a range of educational resources targeting school teachers, but it is also available to the wider public. The

⁵For more information, visit the Australian Human Rights Commission, <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/parliamentary-joint-committee-human-rights>

resources focus more on equality and anti-discrimination but could be improved around civil liberties and freedoms.

The AHRC also conducts public inquiries into topical human rights issues and the outcomes of these provide one of the best human rights education vehicles in Australia. Looking back, it is important to acknowledge the important educational role of such inquiries as the 1997 *Bringing them home* Report, known as the Report of the *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*; the 1993 *The National Inquiry on Human Rights of People with Mental Illness*, and the 2005 follow up report *Not For Service – Experiences of Injustice and Despair in Mental Health Care in Australia*. All these inquiries brought major human rights issues into the public domain enabling major government reform and the allocation of resources to address the problems they identified.

A particularly good example of the human rights education value of these AHRC inquiries was the national inquiry into the children in immigration detention that was conducted by the then Australian Human Rights Commissioner, Dr. Sev Ozdowski, between 2001 and 2004. It resulted in a detailed report entitled *A Last Resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention*.⁶ The report was tabled in Parliament on Budget Day 2004 and found that the mandatory immigration detention of children was fundamentally inconsistent with Australia's international human rights obligations and that detention for long periods created a high risk of serious mental harm.

This inquiry took over 2 years. Its methodology was very comprehensive and included visits to all immigration detention centres, written and oral submissions, public hearings, subpoenas of the then Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) documents, and focus group discussions. What is of particular importance is that it was conducted in the public domain to alert Australians to the fate of children in long-term detention, to win their hearts and minds and secure the children's release. With the explanation of the extent of the mental health damage suffered by children in immigration detention, Australians changed their minds and stopped supporting government policy of indefinite mandatory detention of children. In fact, public opinion shifted dramatically during the inquiry from about 65% of Australians supporting government mandatory detention policies to 65% opposing children being kept in immigration detention because of human rights violations. Following the tabling of the report, the Howard Government released the approximately one hundred children who were still being detained in June 2004.

⁶A last resort? Report of the National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention. HREOC, Sydney, May 2004, http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/human_rights/children_detention_report/report/PDF/alr_complete.pdf. See also: An Absence of Human Rights: Children in Detention. *Political Crossroads*, Vol. 16(2), pp. 39–72, 2009. <http://sevozdownski.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/An-absence-of-human-rights-Children-in-Detention-2009.pdf>

57.8 Human Rights Education in Australian Schools

Human rights education in school is an effective means to assist children to incorporate human rights values into their attitudes and behaviours. In December 2008, federal and state ministers for education released the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians which aimed to provide a direction for Australian schooling for the next 10 years. This declaration followed the Adelaide Declaration of 1999 and was developed in collaboration of the Catholic and independent school sectors. The Melbourne Declaration stated that active and informed citizens:

- act with moral and ethical integrity
- appreciate Australia's social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, and have an understanding of Australia's system of government, history and culture
- understand and acknowledge the value of Indigenous cultures and possess the knowledge, skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from, reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians
- are committed to national values of democracy, equality and justice, and participate in Australia's civic life
- are able to relate and communicate across cultures, especially the cultures and countries of Asia
- work for the common good, in particular sustaining and improving natural and social environments, and
- are responsible global and local citizens.

Statements of Learning, agreed to by all Australian ministers for education recognised that civics and citizenship aspects of school curricula will seek to provide students with the opportunity to develop, inter alia, 'an appreciation of the local, state, national, regional and global rights and responsibilities of citizenship and civic life.' However, studies of the implementation of human rights education in Australian schools indicate that Australia has still not achieved a systematic and integrated approach to human rights education. The transformative potential of human rights education to challenge existing systems and pedagogical practices remains largely untapped in the school environment of Australia. The issue of children's rights remains contentious. In the absence of an effective integration of human rights education into the new national curriculum, Australian schools are likely to continue to find it difficult to prioritize human rights issues to the extent necessary to have a sustained impact on student learning.⁷

The first national study of the place of human rights in the Australian school curriculum was undertaken by Associate Professor Nina Burridge and a group of researchers from the Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre, at the University

⁷For a useful contribution to the development of a national school curriculum, see: Australian Human Rights Commission "Human rights education in the national school Curriculum: Position Paper of the Australian Human Rights Commission (2011).

of Technology, Sydney during the 2012–2013 period. The final report was launched in November 2013.⁸ The Report, *Human Rights Education in the School Curriculum*, is the outcome of a review of curriculum documents in each Australian state and territory, as well as the new national curriculum which is currently being developed and progressively implemented. Roundtable discussions were also held with key stakeholders in each state and territory.⁹

The Report found that current opportunities to learn about human rights issues are fragmented and that the implementation of human rights education initiatives is largely dependent on the interest of individual teachers.

The Report's authors noted that "[S]tudents are missing out on the opportunity to discuss what having the right to vote or the right to freedom of speech means and understand that we all have the right to live with dignity in our community." Furthermore, "[T]eaching about human rights allows students to see that ... showing respect for all peoples – whether we are rich or poor, old or young or whether of differing cultural and religious backgrounds is part of being a good global citizen."

The research confirmed that the obvious humanities-based subjects of History, Geography and Legal studies in the senior secondary years and Civics-based subjects in the lower secondary years have explicit references to human rights in the curriculum. However, for many other subjects, including important subjects such as English, while there is the perception that human rights exists explicitly within the curriculum, more often this is not the case. There is an implicit assumption that "*it would fit in the section on...*" but this is not backed up by explicit directions or descriptions in the syllabus content.

Therefore, the overwhelming evidence is that there is a relatively narrow base of subjects in the curriculum spectrum across Australia that specifically offer rights and freedoms-based learning opportunities for students. There exist opportunities for students to have related learning experiences in a more generalized sense about fairness and respect, but these are not couched in terms of rights issues and they are often localized to the individual committed teacher.

The Report found that in the absence of an effective integration of human rights education into the new national curriculum, Australian schools are likely to continue to find it difficult to prioritize human rights issues to the extent necessary to have a sustained impact on student learning. It is of particular importance not to miss opportunities to embed a human rights culture in our education systems. The Report suggested several ways to help school educators move towards the inclusion of a human rights discourse in school curriculums and in teacher professional development.

⁸Burridge, N., Chodkiewicz, A., Payne, AM, Oguro, S., Varnham, S., *Human Rights Education in the Schools Curriculum Report* (UTS Printing Service, 2013). The full report can be downloaded at <http://cfsites1.uts.edu.au/ccs/news/details.cfm?ItemId=35498>

⁹Burridge, et al., 2013 "Human Rights Education in the Australian School Curriculum," This paper contains short excerpts from this report's Executive summary pp. 5–12.

57.8.1 Embed a Rights/Freedoms Framework in the School Curriculum

Education systems need to take the lead in implementing curriculum reform to teach about the history of human rights, and the evolution of democratic systems; to explore what constitutes human rights and freedoms for the ordinary citizens; and to discuss human rights violations both in a historical context and in the current context, nationally and internationally. For this to happen, a new mindset is needed among policy makers to ensure that new syllabus documents embed human rights education in the curriculum.

In 2015, Australia adopted a new national curriculum for schools, with most Australian schools now using this curriculum. The curriculum contained only limited references to human rights and no explicit reference to human rights education.

Recently a new review of the national curriculum has been commissioned the Federal Government. This provides a timely opportunity to expand curriculum documents to embed human rights education perspectives in key subject areas. It is also possible to work with the Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (ACARA) to integrate human rights language and principles in the descriptions of the *general capabilities* and *cross-curriculum priorities* that currently exist in the national curriculum and explore the potential of including a specific capability related to understanding human rights and freedoms.

57.8.2 Professional Teacher Development

Another way of achieving these ends is through a program of professional teacher development that provides teachers with opportunities to work together in exploring ways and strategies for teaching particular elements of our history and our democratic institutions as well as what developing a human rights culture really means.

57.8.3 Improved Use of Technologies

Providing schools with the resources for improved communication using internet technologies can enable students and teachers to create national and international connections to assist schools to reach out beyond their own classrooms. In today's classrooms modern technology such as social media pages, interactive whiteboards, 'Google Earth' and the latest Web 2 technology exposes children and young people to the myriad of cultures that comprise the global village. Schools should be well equipped, and teachers well trained to access these resources so that students from a very young age are able to engage in discussions on global issues.

57.8.4 *Schools as Learning Communities*

Strategies for teaching about human rights should include closer collaborations between schools and civic bodies as learning communities. Schools could connect with elderly and other groups in their local community, as well as local community agencies, other key government agencies, and in some cases local businesses, to provide students with a more holistic education. For example, bringing “seniors” into schools as mentors for children and young people who do not have extended family connections often provides opportunities for very positive interactions for both groups. In these ways schools can more effectively promote universal values, intercultural dialogue and democratic citizenship. They will be able to develop processes where peoples live more safely and with more dignity in their communities.

For example, the former federal Minister for Education, the Hon Christopher Pyne announced a further review of the Australian School curriculum. The Minister has rightly noted in an article in the *Canberra Times* that:¹⁰

[T]his nation’s curriculum policy must not be captured by any fad, by any vested interest group, or by those pursuing political or narrow agendas. ... It must be balanced, ensuring students are exposed to a full array of ideas; up-to-date, relevant and help students develop the appropriate critical skills so they can make their own choices about what they want to believe or support.

In fact, one of the key purposes of education, within Australian contemporary society, is to develop in our children as they grow to become citizens of a democratic state the critical thinking skills that will allow them to weigh up evidence to make valid judgments about issues that affect them in their everyday lives.

Let us hope that the review of school curriculum will acknowledge that understanding of democratic processes is a vital aspect of our education system. This includes knowing the history and evolution of our robust democratic systems from the signing of the Magna Carta, through to the various social and political upheavals of the last three centuries, to the complexities of living in a globalized world. In this context it is our belief that students must have an understanding of our rights and freedoms. Dr. Ozdowski noted in his online opinion article that “[C]ivil liberties and freedoms, and in particular freedom of speech, play a very important role in modern society, adding to innovation, eliminating costly mistakes and giving modern societies their competitive edge.”¹¹ (Ozdowski 2013a).

¹⁰Pyne, C., “Politics have no place in curriculum review: Christopher Pyne”. *Canberra Times*, 20 January 2014, <http://www.canberratimes.com.au/comment/politics-have-no-place-in-curriculum-review-christopher-pyne-20140119-312p8.html#ixzz2sbTRUFQb>

¹¹Ozdowski, S., Appointment of Mr. Tim Wilson as Human Rights Commissioner Online Opinion, 23 December 2013, <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=15858>

57.9 Other Players

Federal and state anti-discrimination laws that we have outlined earlier prohibit discrimination and harassment in employment, education and service delivery based on an extensive list of grounds such as race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, ethno-religious background, sex, marital status and pregnancy. They apply to a range of other players, in both the public and private sectors that contribute significantly to Australian human rights education efforts. A brief discussion of their focus and activities are noted below.

57.9.1 Australian Human Rights Commission

The Australian Human Rights Commission has responsibility to implement a range of legislation that requires the Commission to undertake human rights education. The Commission has developed and maintains an internet collection of human rights education resources for use in schools. Classroom resources, mapped to the Australian Curriculum and Early Years Learning Framework, are periodically released for schools and early learning centres. The resources are linked to the teaching of Recommendations History, Civics and Citizenship, Digital Technologies, Health and Physical Education and Humanities and Social Sciences and include topics relating to anti-racism, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories, digital privacy, and democracy. In addition, the Commission has recently developed a series of introductory online learning courses on a range of issues.

The Commission also delivers specific training on a fee for service basis on a range of topics including sexual harassment, the rights of people with disability, the rights of older workers, drafting statements of compatibility with human rights and challenging interactions.

57.9.2 Public Employers – The Federal Public Service Commission (PSC)

The Federal Public Service Commission has the responsibility of maintaining “[T]he principles of good public administration, [that] ... lie at the heart of the democratic process and the confidence the public has in the way public servants exercise authority when meeting government objectives.”¹²

¹²Australian Public Service Employment Principles and Code of Conduct, www.apsc.gov.au/aps-employment-policy-and-advice/aps-values-and-code-of-conduct

The recommendations of the National Human Rights Consultations Report¹³ included human rights education in the public sector, such as the introduction of human rights action plans and the incorporation of language consistent with human rights values into the Australian Public Service (APS) values structure.¹⁴ The Australian Human Rights Commission, as part of the funding received from the federal government, has undertaken human rights education training of staff within the public service. As part of this process it introduced the Australian Human Rights Network for APS staff and produced resources for public servants such as *Human Rights at your Fingertips* e-learning package that at the time was mandatory for all public servants to undertake (2012).¹⁵ The Attorney General's Office has also produced an e-learning model titled *Human Rights in your Hands*.¹⁶ Unfortunately, in 2016 the Attorney General's Department was defunded and the human rights education for public servants e-learning package is no longer accessible.

Although this paper deals mainly with Federal matters it is important to note that some states and territories are pursuing their own Human Rights Act or Charter in the absence of national legislation. For example, The Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act of 2006 came into full effect in January 2008.¹⁷

The Victorian Charter stipulates that all public authorities and their employees must respect and promote the human rights set out in the Charter and as an

¹³For the full report, see Attorney General's Department, <http://www.ag.gov.au/RightsAndProtections/HumanRights/TreatyBodyReporting/Pages/HumanRightsconsultationreport.aspx>

¹⁴The 2009 National Human Rights Consultation Report has the following relevant recommendations on pages 31–32: Recommendation 8 The Committee recommends as follows:

- that the Federal Government develop a whole-of-government framework for ensuring that human rights-based either on Australia's international obligations or on a federal Human Rights Act, or both – are better integrated into public sector policy and legislative development, decision making, service delivery, and practice more generally
- that the Federal Government nominate a Minister responsible for implementation and oversight of the framework and for annual reporting to parliament on the operation of the framework.

Recommendation 9

The Committee recommends that the Federal Government incorporate human rights compliance in the Australian Public Service Values and Code of Conduct.

Recommendation 10

The Committee recommends that the Federal Government require federal departments and agencies to develop human rights action plans and report on human rights compliance in their annual reports.

¹⁵This pocket guide for public sector officials is available at Australian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/human-rights-your-fingertips-2012>

¹⁶See Australian Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/education/aps-human-rights-network>

¹⁷For the full text of the Charter, visit the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, <http://www.humanrightscommission.vic.gov.au/index.php/the-charter>

employment principle. This means that human rights must be upheld in an employee's daily work (Victoria Department of Justice).

57.9.3 Private Employers

The Australian government has rigorous legislative processes related to private employers' responsibilities for the implementation of anti-discrimination provisions in places of employment. The occasional breaches in employment of any-discrimination or occupational health and safety provisions result in court cases and associated publicity that contributes to public knowledge about human rights.

Furthermore, increasingly, good corporate governance is seen as an important aspect of a large private corporation's social responsibility. For example, some large mining companies such as BHP Billiton Iron Ore or Rio Tinto Alcan Weipa have indigenous mining and employment agreements and offer indigenous traineeship programs. Such programs are also well known and given as examples of good practice.¹⁸

57.9.4 The Higher Education Sector

The University sector has a strong human rights governance focus and most higher education institutions are model employers when it comes to upholding human rights laws. Equity and diversity principles are an integral part of a university's character. Most universities have a department or unit dedicated to ensuring that the university complies with equity and diversity principles and supports these with programs and resources that promote workplaces that are socially just and accessible to all. These units provide specialist advice and support to all areas of the university on diversity policy development, program implementation and equity-related grievance resolution (Burridge and Walker 2010).

In addition to these standard activities, many universities provide specialist programs, scholarships, affirmative action strategies and assistance to socially disadvantaged groups in the community. For example, scholarship assistance or special entry provisions are provided to certain university faculties for students from rural and remote communities. Similarly, many universities have designated policies

¹⁸See for example: the pioneering "Rio Tinto Human Rights Guidance" document published in April 2001. This document has been produced to guide operations in implementing Rio Tinto human rights policy and to show how it can be applied in complex local situations. It codifies existing human rights standards, was written in consultation with managers across the company and focuses on building good relations with local communities and company employees.

following Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA)¹⁹ principles and are the employers of choice for women (EOWA: <https://www.wgea.gov.au/>).

In terms of research and teaching, many universities have human rights law centres as part of their faculties of law. Some, such as the Centre for Human Rights Education at Curtin University or the Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney teach human rights education courses as part of humanities. Most recently the Western Sydney University has established Diversity and Human Rights Research Centre with particular focus on human rights education.

57.9.5 Human Rights Education and Non-governmental Organizations

Finally, it should be remembered that Australia has a well-established civil society with many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in human rights. Many, such as Amnesty International and Save the Children, have well-developed human rights education programs, and many church-based organizations have social justice or human rights groups like Caritas Australia. There are asylum seekers resource centres and migrant organizations, law societies, disability organizations, gender and sexuality NGOs, trade unions and employee organizations concerned with unlawful workplace discrimination, bullying, work condition, charities, to name only a few.

57.10 The Australian Council of Human Rights Education (ACHRE)²⁰

The ACHRE, formerly known as the National Committee for Human Rights Education, was established in 1999 by a group of committed and dedicated teachers, academics and community members to actively pursue human rights education in Australia in response to the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. It focuses exclusively on the promotion of human rights education in Australia and internationally. His Excellency General the Honourable David Hurley AC DSC (Retd) Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia is Patron-in-Chief of ACHRE. Its members have extensive human rights education expertise, including

¹⁹The Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency was renamed the Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) under the Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012 (WGE Act). See <http://www.wgea.gov.au/about-wgea/our-vision-values-and-functions>

²⁰Australian Council for Human Rights Education, <http://humanrightseducationaustralia.com/about.php>

academic research and project management; resource development; professional development and training and online learning.

Despite its limited budget as a small independent NGO, the ACHRE has undertaken a range of important activities to promote human rights education in academia, in primary and secondary schools, and in the wider community. For example, in 2003 it was an important player in establishing the Centre for Human Rights Education at Curtin University, Western Australia, with the generous donation by a Japanese philanthropist, Dr. Haruhisa Handa. In 2007, ACHRE established the National Centre for Human Rights Education at RMIT University in Melbourne. In addition, ACHRE participates in international human rights education initiatives such as provision of human rights training in developing countries and participation in international forums and conferences.

ACHRE maintains a clearinghouse of online human rights educational materials for primary and secondary school teachers and community organizations as well as for government representatives and officials. In 2002 it launched the Australia-wide Citizen for Humanity Project at the Parliament House, Canberra. This project is focused on teaching about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to school children. ACHRE awards ‘Citizens for Humanity’ certificates to schools that participate in educational activities based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ACHRE also collaborates with the federal and state governments and their various government departments and human rights bodies on the promotion of specific human rights programs or issues. It is an active lobbyist for human rights education and makes numerous submissions to Federal, State and Territory Governments on human rights education in Australia.

Most importantly, ACHRE has initiated and co-sponsored a range of national and international conferences, seminars and workshops bringing together academic scholars, teachers, students and human rights practitioners from around the globe to engage in debates and discussions about human rights and the importance of promoting human rights not just within our local communities but within the most vulnerable states. For example, it has been the leading organizer of International Conferences on Human Rights Education (ICHRE) held so far in Sydney, Australia (2010),²¹ Durban, South Africa (2011), Cracow, Poland (2012),²² Taipei, Taiwan (2013),²³ Washington, DC, USA (2014), Middleburg, the Netherlands (2015); Santiago, Chile (2016); and Montreal, Canada (2017); and Sydney, Australia (2018) with the next conference planned for Kathmandu, Nepal.²⁴

²¹ Inaugural Conference – Sydney, Australia 2010, <http://www.humanrightseducationconference2010.com.au>

²² 3rd International Human Rights Conference – Krakow, Poland 2012, <http://www.hre2012.uj.edu.pl>

²³ 4th International Human Rights Conference – Taipei, Taiwan 2013, <http://scu.hre2013.org.tw>

²⁴ For more see the 9th ICHRE website: <http://ichre2018.com.au>; see also: www.westernsydney.edu.au/equity_diversity/equity_and_diversity/conferences. Some of the conference papers could be found in Zajda and Ozdowski (2017).

57.11 The Way Forward – Opportunities for Human Rights Education in Australia

We can conclude on an optimistic note. Although Australia is the only modern democracy without significant formal constitutional protections of civil liberties, which, as some would argue, might be provided by a statutory Bill of Rights to impede the capacity of the Parliament to pass discriminatory laws, it has a well-founded culture of human rights and has made significant progress in developing and improving Australians' knowledge of such rights. Nevertheless, there remains a need to improve ongoing human rights education across Australia, for both the general public and for specialised audiences. In particular, further effort must be made to advance human rights education, with special focus on civil liberties and freedoms, and social justice for all and with paying particular attention to the multicultural nature of Australian society (Zajda 2020b, c, d). Of enormous benefit to the advancement of human rights education would be the establishment of an Australian Bill of Rights that would define Australian human rights standards; provide for better "checks and balances" for interactions between individual citizens and their governments and assist in the development of our own jurisprudence. To achieve this, Australians need to be persuaded that such a Bill is about the reassertion of their individual liberties. Given that an Australian Bill of Rights is unlikely to emerge in the foreseeable future we need to concentrate on other facets of the human rights discourse as outlined by the recommendations of the National Human Rights Consultation Committee that gave human rights education a major focus.

A priority should be given to develop a high rights education in all areas of the public sector, particularly for those working with children and in the administration of justice and places of detention. Extension of funding for implementation of *Human Rights at your Fingertips* e-learning or similar package should be considered.

A priority should be also given to inclusion of human rights education into school curricula Australia wide. While the humanities-based subjects of History, Geography and Legal Studies in the senior secondary years, and Civics-based subjects in the lower secondary years have clear references to human rights in the curriculum (as noted earlier the discussion of Human Rights Education in the School Curriculum Report), for many other subjects, including such important subjects as English, the focus is more diffuse. Therefore, the overwhelming evidence is that there is a relatively narrow base of subjects in the curriculum spectrum across Australia that specifically offers human rights-based learning opportunities for students (Burrige et al. 2013, p. 65).

And while rights-based NGOs do work in schools, much of their work is project-based, requiring committed teachers, and is not sustained in curriculum documents. In addition, teachers are not well trained to work with human rights issues and some of the controversies that surround them (Zajda and Majhanovich 2021). For sustained change and to ensure quality pedagogical practices in the teaching of human rights issues, teachers need professional development support and access to quality innovative resources that enable global perspectives and linkages that highlight

human rights issues. We are now embarking on the Third Phase of the UN World Programme on Human Rights Education and there is a clear opportunity for governments at all levels in Australia to encourage educational institutions through policy development and resources provision to embed human rights education within our national curriculum and our everyday practices in our schools and communities.

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Chapter 58

The Right to Education



Iris Bendavid-Hadar

Abstract Education is a fundamental human right that promotes individual freedom and empowerment, and yields important development benefits. Yet, the issue of financing education undermines this fundamental human right. The governmental school finance is universal, and public education is accessible to many children in the western world. The objective of the policy that promotes the universal right to education is equality of opportunity. Moreover, economic literature states that when market choices allow supplements to government financing, equal opportunity cannot be achieved. This chapter examines the right to education by analyzing *fairness* in the educational system, using Israel as a case study. Fairness is defined in this chapter as the extent of equality of educational opportunity and equity. Measuring equity at the output side is done by calculating the extent of equality of educational opportunity. Measuring equity at the input side is done by calculating the extent of wealth neutrality, horizontal equity, and vertical equity. The Israeli example is interesting, given the societal and ethnic diversity of Israel's population, the majority-minority balance of power, and its recent school finance policy (SFP) reform, enacted in 2009.

58.1 The Right to Education: Introduction

Education is a fundamental human right that promotes individual freedom and empowerment, and yields important development benefits (Zajda 2020). Yet, the issue of financing education undermines this fundamental human right. The governmental school finance is universal, and public education is accessible to many children in the western world. The objective of the policy that promotes the universal right to education is equality of opportunity. Moreover, economic literature states that when market choices allow supplements to government financing, equal opportunity cannot be achieved. This chapter investigates the right to education by analyzing *fairness* in the educational system, using Israel as a case study. Fairness is defined in this chapter as the extent of equality of educational opportunity and equity. Measuring equity at the output side is done by calculating the extent of

I. Bendavid-Hadar (✉)

The School of Education Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel

© Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

J. Zajda (ed.), *Third International Handbook of Globalisation, Education and Policy Research*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66003-1_58

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equality of educational opportunity. Measuring equity at the input side is done by calculating the extent of wealth neutrality, horizontal equity, and vertical equity. The Israeli example is interesting, given the societal and ethnic diversity of Israel's population, the majority-minority balance of power, and its recent school finance policy (SFP) reform (enact on 2009).

Israel has advocated equity throughout its 64 years of existence. However, Israeli students' academic achievement distribution in international and national examinations is characterized by wide gaps (BenDavid-Hadar 2013). In fact, at the PISA examinations (2006, 2009, 2012, 2018) the achievement gap of Israeli students was the highest amongst the OECD. However, by 2015, PISA scores were declining. This gap was the motivation for this study, and leads to the following question: to what extent, if at all, equality of educational opportunity is achieved? Namely, are academic achievements equitable across Israel? Moreover, how equitable are the supplemental resources allocated to schools by local authorities?

These questions were obtained using fairness analyses of the data from 2006 and 2011 before and after the elections of 2009 to the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) and the SFP policy reform (enacted in 2009). The analyses were done by measuring several statistical measurements that were developed in the literature. Before addressing the research question, the Israeli background is introduced to the international reader (Sect. 58.2). The social and economic background on Israel is provided (Sect. 58.2.1), followed by some background on the Israel SFP (Sect. 58.2.2). Section 58.3 reviews alternative concepts related to fairness, and analyses them with a focus on their enactment in the Israeli context. Section 58.4 uses empirical measurements to analyze the fairness of the Israel SFP on 2006 and on 2011. Section 58.5 highlights the need for reform in the design of the Israel school finance policy (ISFP), Sect. 58.6 concludes with implications.

58.2 Background

58.2.1 *The Social and Economic Context of the ISFP*

58.2.1.1 Characteristics of Israel's Population

Israel is a small country (9.2 million residents in 2020) with a diverse population. 6.8 million are Jews (74%), most of them immigrants or descendants thereof (from Western and Central Europe, North Africa and other Middle Eastern countries). The rest of the population is comprised of ethnic minorities, mainly Arab (1.93 million, or 21%), and non-Arab Christians or adherents of other faiths (454,000, or 5%), according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics). Income inequality in Israel is high and increasing (OECD 2018, 2019, 2020).

Income inequalities between municipalities are among the highest in the OECD, despite Israel being one of the smallest OECD countries. Poverty rates vary significantly between different areas... as ethnic and religious groups with weak labour market outcomes are concentrated in separate cities or neighbourhoods. (OECD 2020, p. 5)

The Gini coefficient of income inequality (0.392) increased between 2000 and 2011 (in comparison to, for example, 0.408 in the US). Over this time, the average income of the highest decile increased while the average income of the lowest decile was on the decline. The average standard of living increased, yet 24% of permanent residents are poor, as are 34% of Israeli children (National Insurance Publication 2013).

58.2.1.2 Student Characteristics

From 1996 to 2008, two major trends occurred that have implications regarding Israeli students' characteristics. First, the minority (Arab) segment of the students showed a 69.9% growth rate in all schooling levels (from 231,000 to 391,000), which is higher than a quadruple of the Jewish students' growth rate of 14.7% (from 942,000 to 1,081,000)¹ (Ministry of Education 2009). Second, the rate of poverty among Israeli children has increased by almost 50%, from 25.2% in 2000 to 35.9% in 2006. In comparison to the rest of the Western world, this is a high rate of child poverty. For example, in the USA, 27.6% of the children are poor, in the Netherlands 9.8%, in France 11.5%, and in Germany 17.5% (National Insurance Publication 2008). Therefore, when comparing Israel's national spending on education with that of other developed countries, the effect of this high poverty rate should be taken into consideration.

58.2.1.3 School Structure

The Israeli school system is primarily public and comprises primary, lower secondary (middle) and upper secondary (high) schools. Pluralism is a central feature of the system. There is a public education system, comprised of schools where the curriculum is taught in Hebrew and schools where the curriculum is taught in Arabic. In addition, there is an independent, separate system of Ultra-Orthodox Jewish religious schools, which have different curricula and personnel, yet enjoy financial support from the State.

58.2.1.4 Achievement Distribution

Israeli students' achievements in international examinations are low, and the achievement gap between low and high achieving students in Israel is wider than that of any member country of the Organization for Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD 2006, 2009b). Specifically, in international comparative examinations on mathematics and science, according to Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the Israeli students' level of achievement was lower

¹ Figures represent absolute numbers.

than average (in mathematics, for example, it was ranked 28th out of 38 countries participating in the test) (Mullis et al. 2000). It is important to note that only Jewish students took part in the examinations; if minority students had been included, it is likely that the Israeli achievement level would have been even lower.

Similar trends were made evident by the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), an international comparative study on science, literacy, and mathematics among 15-year-old students, Israeli students were ranked in 40th place out of 57 countries. Some 20% of Israeli students achieved below the minimum required level of achievement in the PISA tests, in comparison to the OECD average of 5% (OECD 2006). Moreover, the achievement gap between the high and low achievers in Israel is high compared with that of countries in the OECD, as was evident in both the 2006 and 2009 PISA examinations. Specifically, the achievement gap of Israeli students, measured by the 95:5 achievement ratio, is higher than that of Chile or Jordan (2.3, 1.9, 2.1, respectively) (OECD 2006, 2009b).

58.2.2 School Finance in Israel

58.2.2.1 Educational Investment

Between the years 2000 and 2007, Israel increased its educational investment per student by 4%. This increment is rather modest compared with the average 38% increment in the countries of the OECD during that period. This gap is even larger when compared to other Western states that, like Israel, have significantly diverse student populations in terms of ethnicity (e.g., the UK, which increased its educational investment by 55.9%). Furthermore, although Israeli national investment in education increased between the years 2000 and 2008, the proportion of national spending on education as part of the GDP decreased during that period from 9.2% to 7.3%.

Although the national education investment as a share of the GDP is high (7.3) compared with the OECD average (6.1), the average investment per student is rather low, since Israel's population includes a high percentage of school age children. From an international comparative perspective, Israel's per student investment is some 30% lower than that of the OECD countries, and this gap grows wider as the schooling level rises (i.e. primary, secondary). Specifically, at primary school level, the average per student investment is \$5060, compared with the OECD average of \$6741 (in PPP terms in 2008). This gap is even wider when compared to the investment per student in countries that resemble Israel's diverse student population (e.g., the UK, \$8222). On the secondary school level there is a wider gap, as in Israel the investment per student is \$5741, while the OECD average is \$8267. Using per student investment as a percent of the GDP per capita as a measure of comparison, it is evident that Israel's investment is located at the bottom of the distribution (12%, 17%, and 17% at the primary school level in Israel, the UK, and the Netherlands,

respectively, 20%, 22%, and 27% at the secondary level in Israel and the UK, and the Netherlands, respectively) (OECD 2009a).

Globalization has created a different era for education, as nations compete globally based on the quality of their educational systems. Thus, education can no longer be examined only at the national-state level, and should also be considered at the international comparative level. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the widening gap in allocation between Israel and the OECD countries.

58.2.2.2 The Structure of School Finance in Israel

The national investment in education in Israel is mostly governmental (68.8%). However, additional non-governmental funds from local authorities (9%) and households (22.2%) are a meaningful factor in creating disparities in access to resources, as they are strongly and positively correlated with SES (ICBS 2013a, b; Golan 2005). Further analysis of the detrimental effects of non-governmental funds on equity in Israel can be found in Sect. 58.4. Prior to this analysis, the following section introduces several relevant concepts of fairness within the school finance literature and their Israeli enactment.

58.3 Fairness Within School Finance

The notion of fairness in SFP literature is addressing different principle of allocation both at the input and output sides of the educational process. Each principle is derived from a different viewpoint as to how to achieve fairness. In this section, some principles are reviewed and further discussed in the Israeli context.

58.3.1 Equality of Opportunity

Equality of opportunity is defined by Berne and Stiefel (1999) as normalizing the academic achievement distribution across students' various starting points. Since students' abilities are normally distributed, it is expected that the academic achievement would also be normally distributed. Any other type of academic achievement distributions would therefore reflect unfair access to resources, or a situation of unequal opportunities (Roemer 1998). One example of striving for *equality of educational opportunity* is Florida's school finance policy, which allocates larger compensatory funds dichotomously, according to student background variables, such as whether English is their second language (ESL) and their eligibility for hot meals (Owens and Maiden 1999). Similarly, the resources of the city of San Francisco are

distributed dichotomously, according to the specific needs of each student, such as special education, ESL, and socioeconomic status (Shambaugh et al. 2008).²

58.3.2 *Neutrality*

Fiscal neutrality as a school finance equity concept specifies that no connection should exist between the education of children and the property wealth (or any other fiscal capacity) that supports the public funding of that education (Coons et al. 1970; Berne and Stiefel 1999). Within this mindset, the varying starting points of students are addressed by ensuring equal overall funds. However, the issue of needy students who may require more educational dollars is not explicitly addressed. Yet, the strength of the concept of neutrality is in putting forward the need for a sufficient condition to allow for the advancement of *equality of opportunities*, so that no correlation exists between the wealth characteristics of the students' community and the budget allocated to them. In the Israeli context, it is important to pay attention to wealth neutrality, as the total per-student funding is positively correlated with wealth features (BenDavid-Hadar 2013).

58.3.3 *Horizontal Equity (HE)*

The principle of *horizontal equity* (HE) is derived from the idea that fairness requires students who are alike to be treated the same way (Downes and Stiefel 2008; Odden and Picus 2000; Berne and Stiefel 1999). Berne and Stiefel (1999) state that, when analyzing inputs, researchers have usually treated general education, at-risk (or educationally disadvantaged) and special education students as separate groups. In the Israeli context, the *HE* of inputs can be regressive (i.e., it widens the achievement gap), because all "regular" schools in primary education (i.e. those that are not designated for "special education") receive the same amount of resources per student from the state, regardless of the academic starting points of the student body.

58.3.4 *Vertical Equity (VE)*

Vertical equity conceptualizes fairness as the idea that differently situated children should be treated differently (Berne and Stiefel 1999) or as '*unequal treatment of unequals*' (Odden and Picus 2000). This concept raises a question: unequal in what?

²The situation in these countries resembles Israel's societal diversity, and they also include sizeable ethnic minorities.

What is the element (or elements) in the starting points of the students according to which one should differentiate treatment? In the Israeli context, determining which group is entitled to a larger share of the public resources is a political question, which—given Israel’s large minority/majority ratio—may reinforce the instability of the political system as multiple, minority groups struggle for a greater share of resources.

One extension of the *VE* is the *Needs-Based* concept, striving for fairness through per-student differential compensation for initial deficits (Ross and Levacic 1999). According to this principle, high weights are assigned to factors that explain a low level of outcomes in the funding formula.

To exemplify, England’s and the Netherlands’ SFPs allocate resource using a *needs-based* principle of allocation. In England, the principle compensates for poverty (e.g., a student is entitled to a free meal at school) (Adnett et al. 2002). Similarly, the principle of allocation used in the Netherlands compensates for disadvantaged backgrounds as well as non-Dutch ethnicity, so that a larger compensation is allocated to non-Dutch students from a disadvantaged background than to Dutch students from a disadvantaged background (Ritzen et al. 1997; Canton and Webbink 2002).

Israeli governmental allocation (at the primary school level) also compensates needy students (though only to a small extent, as pointed out in Sect. 58.5). Both San Francisco and Florida, who resemble the Israeli case in their level of ethnic diversity, use dichotomous compensatory allocation. In contrast, in Israel the extent of compensation was positively correlated with the depth the students’ needs (Shoshani 2001). The SFP literature has developed empirical measures of the theoretical concepts reviewed above, which provide us with alternative measurements for the extent of fairness in the ISFP.

58.4 Analyzing the ISFP

This section analyzes fairness within the ISFP using empirical measurements of equity from both the output side and the input side of the educational production process. The analysis compare two years, that of 2006 and that of 2011 (the latest years that the data is available). These years represent the policy before and after the elections to the Israeli parliament (on 2009) and the reform of the ISFP enact on 2009.

58.4.1 Data

The data analyzed in this research was obtained from Israel’s Central Bureau of Statistics publication on local authorities in Israel (for 2006 and 2011), and from Israel’s Ministry of Education (for 2006 and 2008). The data from the Israel’s

Central Bureau of Statistics comprises local sources of per-student investment, per-student local tax revenue, SES level, the percentage of minority residents within each locality and the matriculation certificate eligibility rate within each locality. I decided to focus on 2006 and 2011 to examine the changes after the 2009 Israeli Parliamentary elections. Data from 2011 was published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics in 2013, and is the most recent available data. The Data from the Israeli Ministry of Education is at the student level and comprised of high school diploma matriculation eligibility variables, and students background features (e.g., the wealth of the locality in which the students resides).

Table 58.1 (see the [Appendix](#)) presents the descriptive statistics of the 197 local authorities on 2006 and of 201 local authorities of 2011 data. From Table 58.1 it is evident that *the local tax revenue per student* ranged from 78 NIS at the lowest SES to more than 71,000 NIS at the highest SES, on 2006 and this range was even wider on 2011. In addition, *the per-student local investment* ranged from 669 NIS at the lowest SES to more than 25,000 NIS at highest SES, on 2006 however, this range was reduced on 2011. Moreover, the median *per-student local investment* has increased from some 2900 NIS per student on 2006 to 3900 NIS per student on 2011. This indicates that per student local allocation has increased from 2006 to 2011.

58.4.2 Method

The extent of equity, both, from the output side and the input side of the educational process is measured. Equity of the output side was measured using equality of education opportunity. Equity of the input side was measured using empirical measurements of fiscal neutrality, HE, and VE. The statistics measurements were developed in the SFP literature. Specifically, an empirical analysis of *Equality of Educational Opportunity* via calculation of correlations between the eligibility rate (as the dependent variable) and per-student funds as one of the independent variables, and other student background variables (i.e. SES and Ethnicity) is done. Since “pure” *equality of opportunity* means normalizing the academic achievement distribution (e.g., across SES, or across per student funds) (Berne and Stiefel 1999), the statistically significant correlations indicate the extent of *equality of opportunity* (e.g., high positive correlations indicate a low extent of *equality of opportunity*).

In addition, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* was also measured using logistic regression. The dependent variable is dichotomy (i.e., it is comprised of two values: 0 = The student is not eligible, and 1 = The student is eligible to high school matriculation diploma), and the independent variables were the local authority wealth and maternal education. The reference group was determined as the lowest maternal education (i.e., maternal education equals 0–8 years of schooling). The logistic regression was conducted using the ministry of education data.

The empirical analysis of *fiscal neutrality* is comprised of regression analyses using per-student funding as the dependent variable and tax revenue as one of the independent variables. Since “pure” *Neutrality* specifies that *no* connection should exist between the wealth of school community and the overall per student funding (Coons et al. 1970; Berne and Stiefel 1999), the statistically significant coefficients found in the regression analysis indicate the extent of *fiscal neutrality* (e.g., high positive coefficients indicate low *fiscal neutrality*).

This analysis is followed by an analysis of HE that is comprised of four measures: range, standard deviation, 95:5 ratio, and the McLoone index.³ The use of these statistics is based on Berne and Stiefel (1999), who found that 11 relevant statistics could be grouped into four categories based on pattern similarities to measure HE. According to Downes and Stiefel (2008), analysts who wish to provide a comprehensive picture of the equity of a school finance system should choose only one measure from each group. Therefore, the above-mentioned four measures (one from each category) are used. Finally, *VE* is calculated by measuring correlations between different sources of per-student funds, SES, and the percentage of minority students residing at a locality. Since *VE* means low SES students should be allocated larger funds (Berne and Stiefel 1999), the strength of these correlations indicates the extent of *VE* (e.g., a high positive correlation between SES and overall per-student funds indicates a low level of *VE*).

58.4.3 Results

58.4.3.1 The Output Side: Equality of Opportunity

Table 58.2 reveals a positive and statistically significant correlation between students’ academic attainment and per-student local funds ($r = 0.15^{**}$, and $r = 0.24^{**}$, on 2006 and 2011, respectively). The positive correlations between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and the local funds per student means that the extent of equal opportunity is low, and is decreasing, as this correlation is growing larger in the researched years ($r = 0.15^{**}$ and $r = 0.24^{**}$, in 2006, and 2011, respectively, Table 58.2). Similarly, the low extent of *equality of opportunity* is also evident in the positive and statistically significant correlation between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and SES ($r = 0.66^{**}$, in 2011, Table 58.2), and from the high *negative* correlation between the high school matriculation certificate eligibility rate and the percentage of minority students within the local student body ($r = -0.35^{**}$, in 2011, Table 58.2). These findings indicate that students from high-SES localities perform better than students from low-SES localities, and that the performance of minority students is lower, compared to other students.

³The McLoone index compares the sum of actual spending in all districts that spend less per pupil than the median district to what total spending would be in these districts if their spending was brought up to the median. The index range is between 0 to 1, with 1 representing perfect equality.

The following Fig. 58.1 (see the [Appendix](#)) illustrates the relationship between local funding and SES across ethnicity. From Fig. 58.1 it is evident that there is a linear positive relationship between SES and local funding per student. Specifically, larger supplemental resources are allocated to students in high SES localities. Additionally, this trend of larger supplemental local resources is less dominant at the Arab education. The following Fig. 58.2 illustrates the relationship between eligibility rate for high school matriculation diploma and SES across ethnicity. From Fig. 58.2 it is evident that there is a linear positive relationship between SES and eligibility rate of high school matriculation diploma. The higher the SES the larger the eligibility rate. Figure 58.3 illustrates the relationship between eligibility rate and local funding across SES quintiles. From Fig. 58.3 it is evident that the higher the level of local funding the higher the eligibility rate at each SES quintile.

58.4.3.2 The Input Side: Fiscal Neutrality

The regression analysis conducted explains some 50% of the variation in local per-student funds, both in 2006 and in 2011. This analysis reveals a positive statistically significant beta coefficient ($\beta = 0.9^{**}$, sig = 0.00, on 2006, and $\beta = 1.2^{**}$, sig = 0.00, on 2011, Table 58.3) of the per-student local tax revenue. This finding indicates that a high revenue local tax-base is translated to high per-student funds. The 2006 analysis reveals that solely the local per student tax explains the variation of per-student local investment. However, in 2011, it was also explained by SES ($\beta = 0.16^*$, sig = 0.04, Table 58.4), and by the interaction between SES and minority status ($\beta = -0.16^{**}$, sig = 0.00, Table 58.4), and by the interaction between SES and local tax revenue per student ($\beta = -0.7^{**}$, sig = 0.00, Table 58.4).

58.4.3.3 The Input Side: Horizontal Equity (HE)

Table 58.3 summarizes four measures of HE in per-student funds by source of funding. Although the range of per-student local investment was reduced (as mentioned before) the extent of HE measured by the 95:5 ration remains high. Specifically, the upper 95% receive resources which are greater (times 9.8, Table 58.5) than the lower 5%, both in 2006 and in 2011.

Israel's local funding indicates a lower level of HE Compared to North Carolina (Rolle et al. 2008) and Texas (Rolle and Wood 2012). Specifically, North Carolina's local spending 95:5 ratio was lower than that of Israel (2.435, and 9.8, respectively, in 2006).

Moreover, by focusing solely on the bottom of the distribution of per-student investment using the McLoone index, a low degree of HE is evident. The McLoone Index was 0.62 in 2006, indicate a low level of HE, and it was even reduced in 2011 (McLoone index = 0.58, Table, 5). In comparison to Rolle, Houck, and McColl's

results from North Carolina, Israel's results in terms of the McLoone index represent lower level of HE.

58.4.3.4 The Input Side: Vertical Equity (VE)

Analyzing the extent of vertical equity (VE) in the Israeli school finance⁴ reveals a low level of VE and an incremental trend in the years examined. Students at high-SES levels thus receive larger local resources than those in low-SES levels. There is a high and positive correlation between SES and local funds per student and it is on an incremental trend ($r = 0.43^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 193$, in 2006; $r = 0.49^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 197$, in 2011).

Using the minority students' percentage in the locality as a differentiation dimension provides a similar view on VE. Localities with a smaller percentage of minority residents allocate larger per-student funds ($r = -0.44^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 193$, in 2006; $r = -0.55^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 197$, in 2013). It is important to clarify that the partial correlation between these two variables, controlling for SES is also negative, statistically significant and also exhibits an incremental trend ($r = -0.22^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 190$, in 2006; $r = -0.31^{**}$, $\text{sig} = 0.00$, $n = 195$, in 2011). However, from a regression analysis in which the per-student local funds are explained by the SES, the local tax revenue per student, and the interaction between these variables, it appears that the minority percentage was not found to be statistically significant in explaining variation in per-student local investment.⁵

58.5 Discussion

Education is an important human right. It provides the ability to flourish in the global society. Financing education is a major issue when addressing this human right. Yet, while education is traditionally financed by the government, it is currently supplemented by other players, like the local authorities. These supplemental resources might create inequities and inequality in allocation of resources to education thus violating the universal right to education. The extent of fairness across localities in Israel was analyzed in this chapter. Measures of equality of educational opportunity and of equity (i.e., fiscal neutrality, horizontal and vertical equity) indicate a low and declining extent of fairness in the Israeli education system. Therefore,

⁴Measured by correlations amongst per-student local funds, and differential dimensions (such as SES).

⁵Though these two variables, SES and minority percentage, are both highly correlated with per-student local expenditure, they are also correlated with each other and therefore, integrating them into the regression analysis and allowing for interaction yields the understanding that SES is the differential dimension that explains, together with the per-student tax revenue, the variation in per-student investment.

it appears that Israel's actual SFP in the years examined did not promote its declared goal of equity, and is in need of reform.

Indeed, a reform was launched quite recently, in 2009–2010, aiming to make Israel's SPF more effective in achieving its goals. However, while the current declared policy remains focused on equity, a careful analysis of the changes made to the allocation mechanism and funding formula reveals that the *new* ISFP has two major shortcomings. First, its potential to achieve equity and narrow the achievement gap is limited, because (a) its design allows for unlimited additional non-governmental resources, which means that high-SES students receive larger overall resources compared with low-SES students (as demonstrated in Sect. 58.4); and (b) the recent school finance reform, which reduced governmental compensation to needy students (from 13% of the total budget to solely 5%). The implications are important in terms of achieving and maintaining social cohesion in Israel, which is essential for its existence in the troublesome region.

The second shortcoming in the current ISFP design lies in its lack of rewards for improvement. There is no incentive for increasing the level of achievement and creating a competitive advantage for Israel in today's global economy. One could argue that Israel's fiscal constraints limit its ability to conduct a fairer SFP while maintaining such an advantage. Given the challenges Israel faces – the high and increasing poverty rate, the widening socio-economic gaps and the high percentage of minorities (Sect. 58.2), this does not seem like a far-fetched argument. However, as Stiglitz (2012) claims, 'critics of redistribution sometimes suggest that the cost of redistribution is too high... The reality is just the opposite... We are, in fact, paying a high price for our growing and outsize inequality' (p. xxii). SFP designers must re-think ways of implementing the notion of fairness while addressing the need for developing quality human capital and maintaining social cohesiveness.

In these days (June, 2014), a joint initiative of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance is the fourth attempt to reform the Israeli school finance policy towards a more equitable policy. This decision complies with the OECD's recommendations. The goal is to design an affirmative action policy that compensates students of low background characteristics. However, the politics of redistribution in Israel may hinder it from becoming the "de-facto" policy.

58.6 Conclusion

Although the current study focused on the Israeli SFP, it has potential value for other multicultural states advocating pluralism. These states face the challenge of promoting fairness while at the same time repositioning themselves in the global market through their intended SPF. Moreover, it should be noted that money is not the only thing that matters when improving the academic achievement distribution. Other issues need to be addressed as well, such as school effectiveness, management style, and so forth. As Baker and Welner (2011, p. 4) conclude, 'funding alone works no magic.'

Appendix

Table 58.1 Descriptive statistics: Mean (Median), and Standard Deviation

Variables	2006				2011			
	N	Range	Mean (Median)	S.D.	N	Range	Mean (Median)	S.D.
SES (0 = lowest, 10 = highest)	197	1–10	4.7 (4)	2.3	201	0–10	4.5 (4)	2.3
Minority status (in percent)	197	0–100	40.1 (10)	48.3	201	0–100	44.4 (10.7)	46.6
Local tax revenue per student (in NIS)	193	78–71,159	8260.1 (5507.0)	9412.8	198	0–83,044	10,358.1 (7090.9)	1136.3
Per-student local investment (in NIS)	193	669–25,164	3765.9 (2917.0)	3250.7	198	0–21,477	4679.5 (3906.4)	3442.3
Eligibility (in percent)	197	0–93	47.2 (50.7)	20.6	201	0–96	43.8 (44.7)	20.8

Table 58.2 Correlations between eligibility rate and other variables^a

Correlations	Local investment per student	SES	Minority status
Eligibility rate (2006)	$r = 0.15^*$ ($n = 179$)	NS	NS
Eligibility rate (2011)	$r = 0.24^{**}$ ($n = 198$)	$r = 0.66^{**}$ ($n = 201$)	$r = -0.35^{**}$ ($n = 201$)

^aAt the local level

* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 58.3 Logistic regression (odds ratio) eligibility rate and local authority wealth (by maternal education)^a

	Eligibility rate	Local authority wealth	2006			2008		
			9–12	13–15	16+	9–12	13–15	16+
Large cities	53.3	4	2.1*	3.2*	8.5*	2.6*	4.3*	10.3*
	56.6	5	1.7*	4.5*	6.5*	2.3*	4.6*	6.5*
	63.6	6	1.6*	3.2*	6.4*	1.6*	3.3*	7.6*
	65.5	7	2.1*	5.4*	10.5*	2.2*	5.2*	11.3*
	70.7	8	1.5*	3.9*	9.6*	2.7*	6.5*	14.7*

^aReference group: Maternal education of 0–8 years

* $p \leq 0.05$

Table 58.4 OLS regression coefficients for per-student local investment

Explanatory variables	2006		2011	
	B (SE)	Beta (sig)	B (SE)	Beta (sig)
SES	–	NS	225.6 (110.0)	0.16* (0.04)
Minority status	–	NS	–	NS
Local tax revenue per student	0.3 (0.1)	0.9** (0.00)	0.38 (0.06)	1.2** (0.00)
Interaction between SES and minority status	–	NS	–4.2 (1.46)	–0.16** (0.00)
Interaction between SES and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–0.03 (0.01)	–0.70** (0.00)
Interaction between minority status and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–	NS
Interaction between SES, minority status and local tax revenue per student	–	NS	–	NS
Adjusted R ²		0.50		0.54

*p ≤ 0.05, **p ≤ 0.01

Table 58.5 Horizontal equity statistics^a

Source of funding	2006	2011
Range	24,495	21,477
SD	3250.7	3442.3
95:5	9.8	9.8
McLoone	0.62	0.58

^aPer-student local investment by SES (2006, 2011)

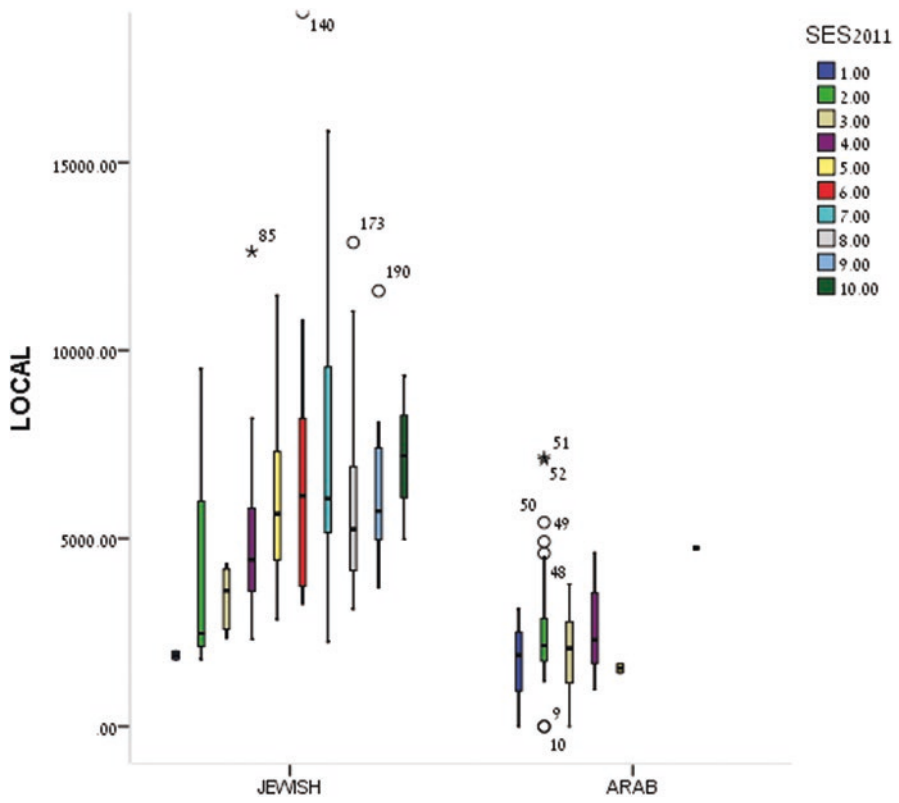


Fig. 58.1 Box plot of local funding across SES

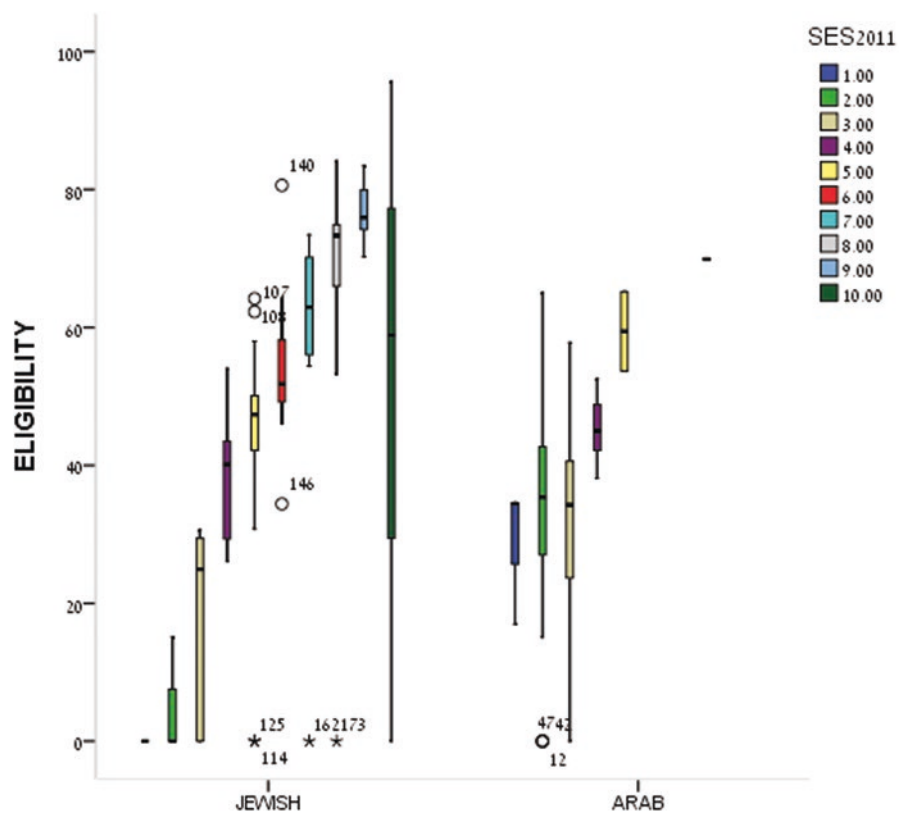


Fig. 58.2 Box plot of eligibility rate across SES

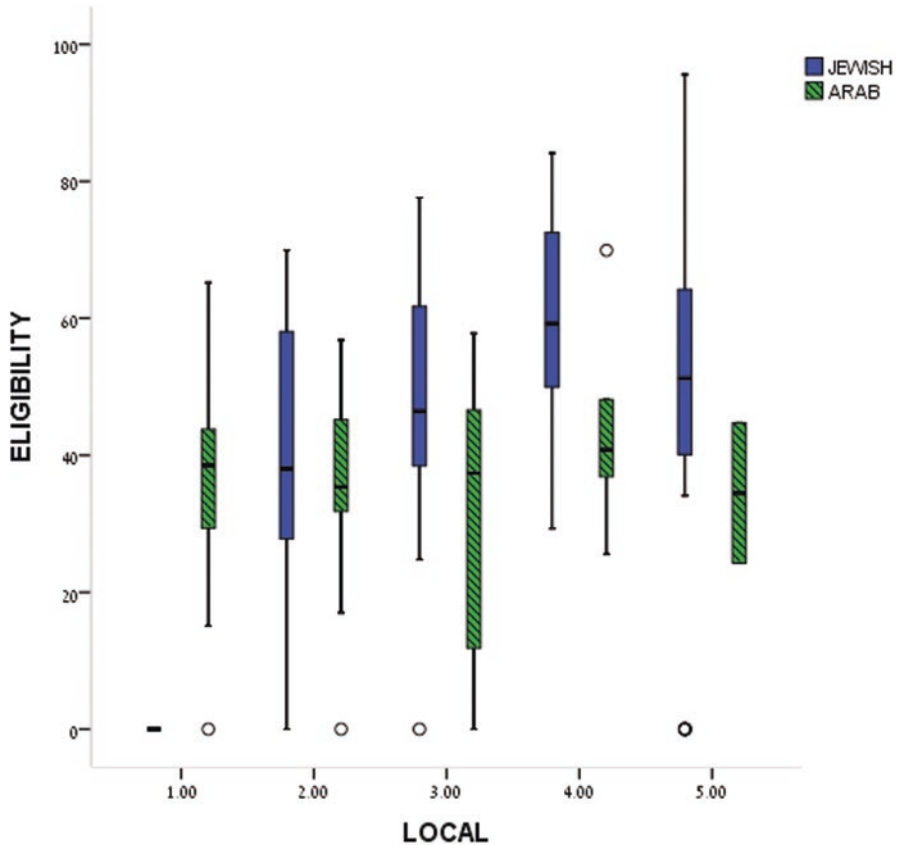


Fig. 58.3 Box plot of eligibility rate across local fund levels (in Quintiles)

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Chapter 59

The Imperative of Realising the Child's Right to an Education of Substance



Jonathon Sargeant

Abstract The actualisation of the child's rights in education contexts requires shared understandings between adults and children. While the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is conspicuous in declaring not only *what* children are owed but also *how* those obligations can be realised in school, rights attainment in many education contexts remain unfulfilled. The rights of the child are materially important as those rights relevant to child safety, protection, provision directly reflect the overarching principles of human rights understandings. Where child rights understandings become problematic is when the material aspect of the "child" that can be universally considered as worthy of protection is interchanged by socially and culturally constructed notions of the child viewed through various sociocultural and developmental lenses. By referencing children's school participation through the criteria identified in Article 29 of the UNCRC, more practical, educationally relevant and effective adherence to child's rights can occur. Anchoring practice to the explicit mandates of the United Nations will enable the visible actioning of the child's education rights. In this chapter the author will identify the synergies and divergences of children's educational experiences with the mandates of the UNCRC.

The actualisation of the child's rights in education contexts requires shared understandings between adults and children of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations 1989) which is conspicuous in declaring not only *what* children are owed but also *how* those obligations are to be fulfilled. Considerate of sociocultural theory that explains not only how individuals learn from interaction with others, but also how collective understanding is created from interactions amongst individuals, this chapter will discuss the synergies and divergences of children's educational experiences relative to the mandates of the UNCRC. Considering the interpretive theories of social constructionism and symbolic interactionism and drawing on evidence from the author's research projects

J. Sargeant (✉)
Australian Catholic University, Ballarat, VIC, Australia
e-mail: jonathon.sargeant@acu.edu.au

that have engaged with children in a range of international educational contexts, the key issues of rights attainment in educational context are explored.

There is no question that many of the rights of the child are materially important as those rights relevant to child safety, protection, provision directly reflect the overarching principles of human rights understandings. Where child rights understandings become problematic is when the material aspect of the “child” that can be universally considered as worthy of protection is interchanged by socially and culturally constructed notions of the child viewed through various sociocultural and developmental lenses. These multidimensional constructions of the child & childhood are most often problematized when the civil and political rights of the child are applied. Actualisation the civil and political rights of the child such as freedom of association, voice and access to media are dependent on a (adult) viewpoint that considers the child as both ready and able, with a level of autonomy and independence. Such views relating to the child’s capacity are rarely universal. Ultimately, though all rights are considered equal and applicable to all children, realising these rights depends on who the adult is and, who the child is. It is known that most children can and do effectively organise themselves when left to their own devices (Shier 2010), but in formal interactional activities such ingenuity is often unheralded and unrealised as a pedagogical tool, often due to adult preconceptions of the child’s potential for contribution (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019).

59.1 The Nature of School

Despite, protestation in policy, research and rhetoric, contemporary education continues to prioritise collective convergence with limited practical acknowledgment of the personal characteristics and perspectives of the student as an individual. As such, every morning, millions of children travel to school in varying states of readiness for the tasks of another day. On arrival they assemble, move to predefined workgroups and proceed to complete the daily and weekly tasks assigned to them. Throughout the day each child is expected to follow the instructions of multiple teachers, leaders, and mentors. In school, children are expected to adjust their focus on activities that fluctuate from the physically taxing to the cognitively burdensome. Each child’s performance is assessed in comparison with other children and with those who have gone before. Teaching and learning activities occur in groups or alone, with or without technology and, with or without assistance. Participation is compulsory and there is rarely any choice in the order or time taken for each activity. Dissent results in consequences ranging from warnings, extra work or isolation, through to exclusion from activities. Socialising with other children (often the same age) is permitted and often encouraged but is monitored. Indeed, in many countries, the school day does not end when the child leaves, as the end of each day signifies the commencement of further tasks for completion as homework.

In these activities, interactions that represent the functions of schooling, the actualisation of the child's fundamental human right to a *quality* education, to be safe *and* to feel safe can be compromised (Moore 2017). Despite the extensive organisational and pedagogical planning that occurs in the name of student wellbeing, educational enhancement, and the safety of children in school, not all children have their rights actualised through their schooling journey. In addition to the compliances described above, experiences of sexual abuse, bullying, discrimination, disaffection, anxiety, and isolation at school are a defining feature of some children's experience. For many, school is a difficult and challenging experience.

Schools are by their very intention, motivation and purpose, constructed experiences that are refracted through the lenses of either the leader or the learner. However, without a common understanding that these varying perspectives actually exist there can be no assurances that the goals of either the leaders (teachers) or learners will be achieved. As Hart (1992, p. 37) noted; "we must work with educational authorities to change their conception of schooling. Currently they fear too much the collapse of control which would result from practising democracy". There is a need for teachers to strategically balance authoritative talk with dialogue. However, such a transformation in teaching methodology relies on a capability appreciation by teachers of their students. If teachers do not fundamentally believe their students are skilled (or have potential for skilling) in developmentally appropriate dialogue, the 'traditional' teacher and learner interactions are likely to prevail (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019).

In primary schools there is a significant pedagogical focus on class groups, community, and strong teacher-student relationships and the teacher takes on many roles in order to support children. Each child's social and physical development, and emerging independence relies on a level of trust between adult and child. Paradoxically, each of these non-academic features of primary schooling also position children who are socially marginalised as vulnerable to manipulation and in some cases grooming (Moore 2017). In school, the right to be heard is often contingent on the adult's willingness to listen (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019) and to notice as expressed by the student comment below (Sargeant 2014):

There's probably about 3 kids in every class that would not tell someone if they were feeling unsafe – that's when we rely on the teacher to notice something's up... My teacher notices (Student comment 11 years old, 2016).

Equally, in secondary schools, trust in the child's viewpoint can be compromised by assumptions that teens are self-obsessed, risk takers and naturally antagonistic towards those in authority (Rhodes et al. 2012). While entry into secondary school coincides with the emergence of independence, boundary pushing and a period of social adjustment, such institutions are also often large, busy systems where students mix beyond age groupings and are not 'anchored' to a particular class group. As such, personal vulnerability is often less readily identified when subtle changes in behaviour are dismissed as a 'phase of adolescence'. When concerns are raised by students in secondary settings, they are sometimes mistaken for antagonism towards adults and are not recognised as educational opportunities. Such reactive

methods are keenly observed by children and can diminish rather than affirm a teacher's influence, as noted by one respondent in a study by Sargeant (2014, p. 196):

When the teachers have no class control and when the teacher is really horrible and annoying' (England, female, 13 years old)

Scaffolding for robust emotional health needs to be the objective of every school program and is reflected in the commentary of many students '*when the teacher doesn't look at your individualities*' (New Zealand, male, 11 years) (Sargeant 2014, p. 196).

59.2 The Education Experience and the Rights of the Child

By virtue of the time spent in education settings, predominantly school and early learning settings, the enactment or denial of the rights of the child become most apparent. At its core, the institution that is 'the school' remains as it did 150 years ago; a top-down, hierarchy where imbalances between the powerful and the powerless prevail. While it is generally agreed that the intentions of parents, teachers and policy makers predominantly have the best interests of children at the forefront of their decision making, the fact remains that in school systems, the power structures that demands compliance enables abuse and silences the individual is maintained through a range of traditions such as uniforms, assessments, unchallenged authority, privilege and community placation (Quinn and Owen 2016). Historical and contemporary issues that cause community concern; child abuse, bullying, radicalisation, behavioural disruption, and academic disengagement have persisted for decades and continue to dominate these systems. Yet despite the widespread ratification of the UNCRC, the methods applied in many schools to maintain control that perpetuate these concerns such as collective or group punishment and undermine a rights respecting framework in education, remain embedded in the daily practices.

The UNCRC has direct application to the most aspects of the schooling experience of children yet its visibility remains limited in many systems. While Article 42 (knowledge of rights by both adult and child) of the UNCRC explicitly directs signatories to promote and educate its community of adults and children, on the rights of the child, Such promotion remains limited in many nation states (Tavakoli 2017; Yamniuk 2017).

In recent years a number of models, frameworks and treatises have espoused the merit of rights actualisation in child related settings. Such frameworks often denote the cascade of practices that either enable or restrict child participation. Hart's ladder of participation, Shier's Pathway to Participation (2001) and the Lundy model of participation (2007) assist practitioners in identifying the extent child's rights are being afforded in context. However, such models tend to rely on a pre-existing acceptance that the child's rights are both known and understood by practitioners. It is apparent however, that a child rights awareness remains muted at the operational

level (Horgan et al. 2017), even when child voice is proclaimed as an institutional focus.

Article 3 of the UNCRC explicitly relates the importance of the responsibilities of adults, including parents and teachers to uphold the rights of the child. The convention also specifies the child's obligations to respect adult decisions that are made in their best interests. However, embedded in the substance of the UNCRC is the stipulated importance of hearing (and taking seriously) the child's opinion, allowing them access to information, and giving them opportunities to voice their perspectives via the media of their choice (Articles 12, 13, 17). Regrettably, these participatory rights remain restricted in many of the domains of the child life, most noticeably school.

Many rights perspectives in education are led by the *voice* imperatives of education and invariably rely on Article 12 (the right to express an opinion) (Lundy 2007). While the realisation of Article 12 is critical to enabling empowered participation in school, such application should be considered as a contributor to the child's enhanced educational outcomes rather than as a sole determinant of educational and rights attainment. As shown in Table 59.1 below the convention is replete with key Articles that have direct application and implication on the education of children.

Table 59.1 Educationally relevant Articles of the UNCRC (simplified version)

UNCRC Article	Simplified description (United Nations 1989)
3	All organisations concerned with children should work towards what is best for each child.
5	Governments should respect the rights and responsibilities of families to guide their children so that, as they grow up, they learn to use their rights properly.
12	Children have the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account.
13	Children have the right to get and to share information, as long as the information is not damaging to them or to others.
17	Children have the right to reliable information from the media. Mass media such as television, radio and newspapers should provide information that children can understand and should not promote materials that could harm children.
23	Children who have any kind of disability should receive special care and support so that they can live a full and independent life.
28	Children have the right to an education. Discipline in schools should respect children's human dignity. Primary education should be free. Wealthier countries should help poorer countries achieve this.
29	Education should develop each child's personality and talents to the full. It should encourage children to respect their parents, their cultures and other cultures.
31	Children have the right to relax, play and to join in a wide range of leisure activities.
34	Governments should protect children from sexual abuse.
37	Children who break the law should not be treated cruelly. They should not be put in a prison with adults and should be able to keep in contact with their family.
42	Governments should make the Convention known to all adults and children.

It is evident that a rights-based view of educational achievement is more than student voice (Lundy 2007) and may be better attained through the recognition and application of the entire convention. With a particular focus on the aims of education, Article 29 and the breadth of articles that pertain to quality education (see Table 59.1) provides an inclusive and holistic reference point for considering the actualisation of the child's emerging and extant citizenship with relation to their educational experience. The education rights stated in the UNCRC clearly recognise the child as citizen and active participant in their education but until the conversation moves towards their enactment through the shared imperatives of education and citizenship, the conditions in schools that limit the child's participation will persist.

Article 29 highlights the progressive and cumulative intentions of school education while acknowledging a community's responsibility for the child's educational experience including those expressed in Articles 23 (children with special needs), 28 (right to an education) and 37 (prevention of physical punishment). Article 29 stipulates the overarching aims of education and provides an impetus for children's capacity to be acknowledged, explored and developed. It states:

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:
 - (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
 - (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
 - (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
 - (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;
 - (e) The development of respect for the natural environment.
2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State. (United Nations 1989)

By referencing children's school participation according to the aims of education identified in Article 29, more practical, educationally relevant and effective adherence to the whole UNCRC can occur. In essence, Article 29 offers a blueprint for how these rights can be upheld if schools choose to do so. By anchoring practice to Article 29, the visible actioning of the child's education rights is more likely. While the processes of pedagogy that support learning have principally responded to the advances in information technology, social media and gamification in education (Bates 2016; Blau and Shamir-Inbal 2018; Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018), three decades since most nations ratified the UNCRC, a system-wide acknowledgment of the child as a capable informant remains unfulfilled (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019). Those who *should* represent the central focus of all education endeavours remain unheard and as such, the actualisation of Article 29 remains unmet.

59.3 Actualising the Right to an Education of Substance and Safety

Constructivist derived teaching techniques are now commonplace in many contemporary educational settings and are considered pedagogically effective. However, alongside this evolution in teaching practice, many of the punitive and hierarchical traditions of the past remain (Font and Cage 2017). Such traditions directly conflict with the aims of education to develop, respect and prepare the child to their fullest potential (United Nations 1989). Ethically successful educational approaches that enact open communication, positive relationships, and shared input into decision-making respect the child's capacity and recognise the value of their direct experience. A plethora of research and empirical evidence indicates that non-aversive, inclusive methods that incorporate the views of all stakeholders, including children, are the most effective method to support both student wellbeing and educational success (Lundy and Cook-Sather 2015; Quinn and Owen 2016; Sargeant 2018; Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015).

Schools are complex places that change markedly in dynamic as each child grows. School is a very different place to a 5-year-old compared with a 16-year-old and as such the notions of childhood and the child's best interests must also adjust to an individual's evolving capacities (Article 5) as reiterated by the United Nations in General Comment 20 (General comment No. 20 'on the implementation of the rights of the child during adolescence' 2016). Such progression 'through' childhood is also reflected in the developmental notions embedded in the text of Article 28; 'States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity' and in Article 29 1 (d); 'The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin'.

Guiding children's safe passage through childhood and a successful education relies on an awareness of the many facets of the child's world that can support or threaten their wellbeing. An absence of a general rights awareness diminishes the opportunities to reinforce and uphold, through prevention and education the more sensitive rights such as those represented by Article 34; 'States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse' the absence of open educative dialogue with children is magnified. As noted by the student comment below (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2017), ignoring such truth is no longer acceptable and all members of the community have a role in supporting children's development in safe, innovative, nurturing and inclusive education:

Oh, we know about it (child sexual abuse), but no one (teachers) wants to talk to us about it. (Student comment 9 years old)

The starkest example of systemic and sustained rights violation in education has been revealed through the multinational investigations into historical child sexual abuse. These inquiries have exposed shocking acts of abuse and the devastating effects of systemic inaction over many decades. The emerging knowledge of systemic failures over the many decades that have been revealed through such outlets as The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse in Ireland (Ryan 2009) and the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (Blakemore et al. 2017) presents a real and powerful opportunity to enact long term and powerful change to the way we empower all members of our communities to support a safe childhood.

While most abuse occurs in the child's home, not surprisingly, school represents a significant proportion, up to 10% of reported cases and must take responsibility for ensuring the safety of its children. Child sexual abuse happens on school premises, where activities take place, or in connection with the activities of the school. Child sexual abuse happens in circumstances when the school has, or its activities have, created, facilitated, increased, or in any way contributed to, (whether by act or omission) the risk of child sexual abuse or the circumstances or conditions giving rise to that risk. It happens in other circumstances when the school is responsible for adults having contact with children (Blakemore et al. 2017).

There is a sense that the wider community is now receptive to supporting and acting on matters of child rights, child safety and child wellbeing, however there is also the ever-present and mistaken notion that such crimes are artefacts of history and not 'possible' in contemporary schools (Palmer et al. 2016). Any school and system that seeks to address the issue of child sexual abuse cannot look at the issue in isolation or consign such crimes to the historical record. Instead, with a futures view, it is necessary to explore and address the many educational traditions and practices that can enable abuse to occur, not least of which is the silencing of children. A protective factor identified in the majority of recent safeguarding research focuses on the empowerment of children in terms of listening to their perspectives and through open dialogue and education focused on child sexual abuse (Blakemore et al. 2017; McKibbin et al. 2017; Rudolph and Zimmer-Gembeck 2018).

Child Sexual Abuse is the most confronting of harmful events that has, can and does occur in educational contexts but the threats to quality education also extends well beyond such extreme violations. One only needs to read the States parties submissions to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and subsequent United Nations concluding obligations for each nation to see that child rights are not widely known, nor abided by (see United Nations States Parties reports and concluding observations (OHCHR 1986–2018)). It is also apparent that children receive insufficient education regarding their rights and rarely experience the prioritisation of their rights except when specific injustices occur.

59.4 The Merit of Voice

It is apparent that the rights of the child are far less frequently honoured when compared with the rights afforded to other UN identified groups. Perhaps this is because children rarely ‘rally together’ as protagonists for their collective rights in the ways other agenda driven groups tend to do. It is also apparent that many children as a cohort remain marginalised and vulnerable as they are often coerced to conform to adult directive, policy and station (Alderson 2007). Moreover, the extent to which schools support children to become knowledgeable about their own rights remains at the behest of those in power. In a series of international studies by, Sargeant (2014; Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015) children provided commentary on a range of issues relating to their personal lives and schooling experiences. The children responded to open ended questioning individually in written form and verbally in focus group discussions and despite not being explicitly asked about their rights, the children’s expressions reflected many of the themes that permeate the UNCRC with particular relevance to the educational focus of Article 29. The major themes identified by the children included, family relationships, the future, friendships, the environment, the local community, the global community, global unrest, and self. These key themes pervade the idiosyncrasies of each child’s response and highlight a direct connection with the aims of education stipulated in Article 29.

Despite these deficiencies in rights awareness, an abundance of student voice initiatives in education do offer important contributions to the growing body of research that demonstrates children’s ability to advocate on their own behalf (Cuenca-Carlino et al. 2016; Hart and Brehm 2013; Schultz et al. 2008; Shogren et al. 2016). However, many professionals who work with and support children in their daily endeavours continue to view the child as essentially immature and vulnerable; only to be consulted in exceptional circumstances (Alderson 2007; Sargeant 2014).

A professional error made by many teachers is to over-simplify and under-rate the capacity of their students (Kane and Chimwayange 2014; Sanders and Mace 2006). In doing so, teachers are at risk of ignoring the participatory elements of Article 29 and may see it only as an extension of the provision rights expressed in Article 28. Such a view further limits the opportunities for children to evidence their capacity, thus maintaining a system of stakeholder exclusion (Bae 2009). This furthers the disempowerment of the child as “participation risks fitting into a niche within bureaucratic structures, perhaps with good intentions but fundamentally kept within its place”. As Bae (2009, p. 394) notes, “the views the staff hold are important regarding the extent to which the children are allowed to take part and contribute on their own terms in everyday interactions”. By limiting the child’s participatory

opportunities, a direct contravention of their participatory rights as mandated by the United Nations (1989, 2009) is also apparent.

Such power imbalances can be ameliorated however, through direct consultation with children regarding their educational experience. The development of a deeper understanding of the motivations and expressions of the UNCRC (Rudduck and Fielding 2006) through consultations with children may create authentic possibilities for Voice-Inclusive Practice (VIP) (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019; Sargeant 2018; Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015). Raising the status of the child's voice will take time but will ultimately fail if at any point the child's voice is considered in contest with adults' voice. Such risks are significant when considering the breadth and scope of education systems as not all adults are convinced of the value of the child's voice particularly as it relates to core educational provision. The education of teachers towards understanding the capacity of children to form and express a view so that those views can be included in educational decision making remains and will remain a critical challenge for some time (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2019).

59.5 Conclusion

In an age of high communication, educational transformation and pedagogical evolution, policymakers, practitioners and researchers often deliberate but largely ignore children's positions on key issues relating to education. In real terms, children are at the centre of these deliberations but despite their proximity to the focus of educational reform, they regularly confront policies, techniques, programs, curriculum and people that actively distance them from the decision-making processes. Despite the challenges discussed above, it is recognised that conventional pedagogy and teaching practice has undergone significant evolution in recent decades. Teachers that actualise constructivist theories of learning recognise that individuals have unique understandings of their world and embrace the learner's contribution to meaning and learning through both individual and social activity (Bruning et al. 2011, p. 193). Such approaches have clear links to the participation and education rights of the UNCRC (United Nations 1989).

However, there remains a reluctance at a system level to utilise such pro-social strategies where ironically, 'modern' teaching techniques that offer children a more active role in their education by seeking and incorporating their perspectives, are often seen by teachers as permissive, lacking in sufficient boundaries and limited in educational relevance (Coates and Vickerman 2013) This educational paradox apparent in many schools not only impacts on classroom cohesion but can also impact on a teacher's willingness to enact children's UNCRC participation rights. While Kane and Chimwayange (2014) assert that "for teachers to develop new ways of supporting student learning, they must gain access to student perspectives", the reticence by teachers to adopt such methods endures. As Mason and Fattore (2021, p. 275) note; "practitioners can assume, by virtue of their adulthood, the right to

make decisions to exclude or ignore children's contributions, on the basis of notions that children lack maturity and the ability to understand what is in their own best interests".

The propensity for teachers to adopt the approaches used by others in order to "fit in", whether they are effective or not remains a pedagogical concern in many settings. Many teachers continue to select strategies that are reliant on the hierarchical maintenance of control and power. Traditional strategies remain the method of choice for many practitioners for reasons that are also discounted by the literature but are seemingly justifiable in the field. Moving beyond the traditional approaches, towards a Voice-Inclusive Practice (Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2019) pedagogy that seeks and acts upon children's expressed needs in concert with a shared understanding of the child's educational rights and their aims, is critical to educational renewal.

Education is a field that is in a state of continued evolution. New practices are essential as societal values and priorities change but in essence the notions of citizenship detailed in the UNCRC remain stable. By anchoring professional renewal to the established elements of Article 29 education can maintain efficacy and relevance in contemporary society. However, educational change relies on new ideas and innovation. Drawing on the perspectives of all stakeholders and rights holders, including children will initiate innovation, a responsive curriculum, improved teaching strategies, and a greater adoption of modern technologies, communication, and management strategies. The alignment and divergence of children's expressed views on the school experience can contribute a perspective to a school ecology that deserves more than occasional attention. When considering the prevailing evidence that children value their genuine place in the global community through their awareness and concern for people under threat of issues that they themselves do not experience (Sargeant 2018) it is apparent that elements of Article 29 are being actualised in the child's schooling and home life but without a coordinated focus. By recognising that children are expressing a strong sense of place in their local community but are increasingly concerned about theirs and others' futures, an opportunity exists to better provide a holistic and progressive educational agenda that encompasses Article 29. Educators are charged with an important task of acquiring the knowledge and understanding of the aims of education so that emerging practices allow for the perspectives of all stakeholders are gathered, heard and seriously considered.

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