Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 21

Joseph Zajda *Editor*

Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-Liberal Higher Education Reforms

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Volume 21

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Aims and Scope

The *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research* series (Vols. 13–24) aims to present a global overview of strategic comparative and international education policy statements on recent reforms and shifts in education globally and offers new approaches to further exploration, development and improvement of comparative education and policy research globally. In general, the book series seeks to address the nexus between comparative education, policy, reforms and forces of globalisation.

The series will present up-to-date scholarly research on global trends in comparative education and policy research. The idea is to advance research and scholarship by providing an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information for researchers, policy-makers, college academics and practitioners in the field. Different volumes will provide substantive contributions to knowledge and understanding of comparative education and policy research globally. This new book series will offer major disciplinary perspectives from all world regions.

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Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-Liberal Higher Education Reforms

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To Rea, Nikolai, Sophie, and Imogen

Foreword

Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reforms, the 21st book in the 24-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, sets out to examine neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives that have impacted on higher education reforms. It critiques the notions of accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism and the market-oriented and entrepreneurial university model, based on a neo-liberal ideology. The expansion of economic rationality into educational sector is one the most ubiquitous dimensions of neo-liberalism and one of its most powerful ideological tools, resulting in commodification, commercialisation and marketisation of education and knowledge. The book critiques structural changes in education and the impact of neo-liberalism and globalisation on educational systems globally. With this as its focus, the chapters represent hand-picked scholarly research on major discourses in the field of global neo-liberal education reforms.

The book draws upon recent studies in the areas of globalisation, neo-liberal education reforms and the role of the state. It critiques the neo-liberal ideological imperatives of current education and policy reforms and illustrates the way that such shifts in the relationship between the state and education policy affect current trends in education policy reform outcomes. The chapters offer a timely analysis of current issues affecting neo-liberal education policy research globally and provide ideas about future directions that education and policy reforms could take.

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Preface

Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reforms offers a synthesis of current research findings on globalisation and neo-liberalism in higher education. The book analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy, global university rankings, internationalisation, quality assurance, entrepreneurialism and competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. Higher education policy reforms reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on vocationalism and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. The book analyses the shifts in methodological approaches to globalisation, and neo-liberalism, and their impact on education policy.

The book critiques neo-liberalism, policy and education reforms and suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism as cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. Globally, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms has been a characteristic of capitalist societies since the 1980s. Hence, the politics of higher education reforms reflect this new emerging paradigm of accountability, efficiency, global university rankings and academic capitalism, performance indicators and standards-driven policy change. This is characterised by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for universities. The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status and the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity.

Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda. Such imperatives as accountability, efficiency, profit maximisation, academic capitalism and market-oriented and 'entrepreneurial' university

model represent a neo-liberal ideology in education. It focuses primarily on the market-driven forces of economic globalisation, defining all spheres of education. Consequently, the commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives. Liberal ideology is constantly fuelled by global university rankings, internationalisation, quality assurance and entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities. It all suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations.

East Melbourne, VIC, Australia Joseph Zajda

Editorial by the Series Editors

Volume 21 is a further publication in the Springer book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research edited by Joseph Zajda.

Globalisation, Ideology and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reforms, the 21st book in the 24-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research edited by Joseph Zajda (Series Editor), sets out to examine neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives that have impacted on higher education reforms. It critiques the notions of accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism and the market-oriented and entrepreneurial university model based on a neo-liberal ideology. The expansion of economic rationality into educational sector is one the most ubiquitous dimensions of neo-liberalism and one of its most powerful ideological tools, resulting in commodification, commercialisation and marketisation of education and knowledge. The book critiques structural changes in education and the impact of neo-liberalism and globalisation on educational systems globally.

The book also presents a global overview of the nexus between globalisation, ideologies and standards-driven education reforms and implication for equity, democracy and social justice. Globalisation and competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology and governance defined fundamentally by economic factors. It is important to note that neo-liberal political and economic policy imperatives are defined by the ideology of laissez-faire economics, with its cost-saving policies, efficiencies and maximising profits, as their goal.

One of the significant global trends in higher education is internationalisation of teaching and research. The internationalisation of higher education has been monitored by the International Association of Universities since 2003. In 2018, they conducted its global survey, the fifth in a series and the first one that reflects the

changing political climate in many parts of the world. The survey demonstrated an enhanced international cooperation and capacity building. This was identified as the most important expected benefit of internationalisation at global level in all regions except North America. There exists a growing differentiation and divide in the level of commitment to internationalisation among HEIs, and these international opportunities are accessible only to students with financial means. Examining the policy rhetoric of the internationalisation of higher education, one notices that universities were driven to maximise their profits in this sphere. It became one of the key motives for all internationalisation projects in the for-profit sector and for some traditional non-profit universities with financial problems. This reflects both economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism in higher education policy.

The more ubiquitous manifestation of neo-liberal ideology in university governance is the increasing control of academics' professional lives through summative evaluation of the teaching and research performance in universities. It involves annual faculty career and performance plans, annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching. Evaluation of teaching is compulsory for all teaching staff and is administered in the online mode. Students rate their professors online. An annual career and performance plan for an academic covers teaching workload, short-term and long-term career goals and agreed performance objectives for teaching, research and other activities (such as university leadership, profession and service), as well as strategic links to school, faculty and university targets and professional and career development, which includes development to be undertaken to achieve agreed performance outcomes. All these are typical features of a neo-liberal ideology and its focus on accountability, efficiency and ongoing performance surveillance of learning, teaching and research.

All these new ways of evaluating teaching and research in higher education globally represent a very high degree of surveillance, power (Foucault, 1980) and control over academics' professional lives. It becomes a global and ubiquitous managerial version of 'panopticon' or the all-seeing environment. Certain offices, without walls, all in glass, are modern examples of surveillance and panopticon. Panopticon, as a concept, was an institutional building designed by English Philosopher and Social Theorist Jeremy Bentham (c. 1798). In Foucault's development of this notion, the individual is under constant surveillance in the prison/organisation. This power/knowledge mechanism over time becomes *internalised* by the subject, resulting in a self-surveillance and self-analysis in terms of the *normalising* pressure of the system. This power/knowledge mechanism 'compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short it normalises' (Foucault, 1979, p. 183). Its contemporary manifestation is present in such managerial systems as ongoing annual appraisals, performance reviews and constantly reworked CV and E portfolios – a ubiquitous feature of today's neo-liberal higher education environment.

The book draws upon recent studies in the areas of globalisation, neo-liberal education reforms and the role of the state. It critiques the neo-liberal ideological imperatives of current education and policy reforms and illustrates the way that such shifts in the relationship between the state and education policy affect current trends

in education policy reform outcomes. The chapters offer a timely analysis of current issues affecting neo-liberal education policy research globally and provide ideas about future directions that education and policy reforms could take. In addressing the topic globalisation and neo-liberal higher education reforms, some authors, like Joseph Zajda, critique and evaluate a neo-liberal and neoconservative education policy reforms globally. He discusses meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education.

Majhanovich (2020) analyses critically the corporatisation of higher education, underpinned by the ideology of neo-liberalism globally. She argues that, as a result, life and work in academia have changed drastically. Education has been affected in a way that is concerning to those who believe that higher education, rather than focusing on producing skilled workers for the global market, should concentrate on the development of creative, critical thinkers engaged in work for the betterment of society. The author, drawing on the critical discourse analysis in the work of Apple, Giroux, Ball and others, reviews the dramatic changes to university policy, education and research. These policy changes are dictated by accountability, efficiency and cost-saving strategies.

Omwami and Rust (2020) argue that the current state of education reform is best understood within the context of a rise in nationalism and human rights discourse and a retreat in neoliberalism. They also examine the implications in education reforms under the global shift towards human rights-based development, with the adoption of the 2000 United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the more recent 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and analyse ideological shifts in education reforms against the background of neo-liberalism.

Zajda (2020) focuses on the current research trends in higher education in Australia. He analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy in Australia, globalisation and practices of governance education, global university rankings, internationalisation, quality assurance and entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. Higher education policy reforms reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology.

Neoh (2020) in her comparative research examines a new democratic citizenship education in Singapore and Australia under the banner of neo-liberalism. She analyses the role of globalisation and neo-liberalism in shaping the conceptions of citizenship education in democracies and points out that the tensions and contradictions between ‘citizenship and the state’ and ‘nationalism and capitalism’ highlight the growing prominence of neo-liberalism that influences educational policy decisions based on the premise of the competitive market.

Henderson (2020) examines the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalisa-

tion of higher education in neo-liberal times. She addresses how outbound mobility programmes (OMPs) can serve as a means to secure global citizenship in higher education and meet university requirements to produce graduates for the global market place whist enabling immersion experiences that build pre-service teacher intercultural capabilities. She also argues that neo-liberalism is generally recognised as the dominant economic philosophy of globalisation and that neo-liberal policies focus on competition, economic efficiency, choice and growth.

Shapiro (2020), using his philosophical perspective, inspired by French Philosopher of Existentialism Jean-Paul Sartre, examines the notions of violence and the crisis of meaning in a neo-liberal world. He analyses the powerful influence of global capitalism which disrupts the communal bonds of traditional communities, leaving an atomised individualism in its place, and argues that neo-liberal economy is ruled by the culture of capitalism, consumerism and competitiveness, which erodes participatory democracy.

Olssen (2018) in his latest research critiques anti-democratic aspects of neo-liberal ideology in education policy. He analyses the economic dimension of neo-liberalism and examines the differences between liberalism and neoliberalism, most essentially concerning 'the principle of the active or positive state' that which he argues characterises neoliberal governmentality globally.

Turner (2014; 2018) examines neo-liberalism as a political, economic and educational ideology and suggests that while it has been a powerful force in the economic and political sphere, it manifests itself differently in education, as market priorities are different in the education sector. According to him, the education sector is constantly responding to increasingly competitive local markets for students.

Finally, Zajda (2020) analyses the role of neo-liberalism and resultant paradigms shifts globally. He argues that it demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms – where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy are equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights while, on the other hand, globalisation, perceived by some critics at least, as a totalising force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor and which results in a hierarchical in nature pyramid of power, domination and control by major social, economic and political organisations.

We thank the anonymous international reviewers who have reviewed and assessed the proposal for the continuation of the series (volumes 13–24) and many other anonymous reviewers who reviewed the chapters in the final manuscript.

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Series Editor

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https://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/world-studies-in-education/ Editor, *World Studies in Education*, volume 20, 2020

His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 10,500 university library holdings globally.

He is the recipient of the 2012 Excellence in Research Award of the Faculty of Education, Australian Catholic University, which recognises the high quality of research activities and particularly celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He was also the recipient of the Australian Awards for University Teaching in 2011 (Citation for Outstanding Contributions to Student Learning, for an innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication) and the Vice Chancellor's Excellence in Teaching Award at the Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus. 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). Also, he was elected as Fellow of the Australian College of Educators in June 2013.

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Chapter 1
Current Research Trends in Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education

Joseph Zajda and Val Rust

Abstract The chapter analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neo-conservative higher education policy, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. Higher education policy reforms reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on vocationalism and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. The chapter analyses the shifts in methodological approaches to globalisation, and neo-liberalism, and their impact on education policy. The chapter critiques globalisation, policy and education reform and suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism as cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations.

Keywords Academic achievement · Authentic democracy · Business-oriented model of education · Competitive market forces · Critical discourse analysis · Cultural imperialism · Discourses of globalisation · Economic inequality · Education reforms · Global citizenship · Global university ranking · Globalisation · Global university rankings,governance · Higher education policy · Human capital · Human rights education · Ideology · Intercultural understanding · Internationalization · Macro-social perspective · Marketisation · Neo-conservatism · Neo-liberal higher education policy · Neo-liberal ideology · Paradigms ·

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Performance indicators · Progressive pedagogy · Quality education for all · Social inequality · Social stratification · Social justice · Social stratification · Transformative pedagogy

Current Research Trends in Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education: Introduction

Globally, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms has been characteristic of capitalist societies (Turner and Yolcu 2014). The politics of neo-liberal higher education reforms, both locally and globally, reflect this new emerging paradigm of accountability, globalisation and academic capitalism, performance indicators and standards-driven policy change (Carnoy 1999). The divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, mirroring social stratification, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality. Hence, equity-driven policy reforms in higher education are unlikely to succeed. Furthermore, national economic priorities, aligned with a knowledge economy, human capital and global competitiveness, compel increasingly entrepreneurial universities to reward high-level over low-level knowledge, skills and training. One of the effects of globalisation is that the higher education sector, having modelled its goals and strategies on the market-oriented and *entrepreneurial* business model, is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism. Recent changes in the world economy have resulted in at least *four* responses of the higher education sector to market forces and increased competitiveness:

1. Competitiveness-driven reforms (reforms due to shifting demands for skills, commodities and markets)
2. Finance-driven reforms (reforms in public/private sectors, budgets, company income, cuts in education spending)
3. Market force–driven reforms for dominance globally
4. Equity-driven reforms (reforms to improve the quality of education and its role as source of upward social mobility) to increase equality of *economic opportunity.*

Continuing Trend Toward Internationalization of Higher Education

One of the outcomes of finance-driven reforms, competitiveness-driven, and market-driven reforms for dominance globally was the expansion of the internationalization of higher education. There is a long tradition of internationalization in

higher education, featuring cooperation and harmony between countries. This feature of internationalization addresses an increase in university partnerships, flow of ideas, and exchanges of students and scholars. Marinoni and deWit (2019), argue that the first time in the history of the International Association of Universities (IAU) Global Surveys, 'enhanced international cooperation and capacity building' has been identified as the most important expected benefit of internationalization at global level, in all regions except North America, especially international student recruitment:

> The stronger emphasis on international collaboration might be a reaction to current nationalist political trends and to the past when competition (international student recruitment, rankings, publications) was the primary driver of internationalization initiatives. Capacity building might relate to lack of staff commitment to internationalization and lack of staff expertise, referenced as a key obstacle to successful internationalization in other surveys like the 2018 EAIE Barometer on internationalization in Europe (Marinoni and deWit 2019).

The internationalization of higher education has been monitored by the International Association of Universities since 2003. In 2018, they conducted its Global Survey, the fifth in a series. It is also the first one that reflects the changing political climate in many parts of the world. The survey also demonstrated an 'enhanced international cooperation and capacity building'. This was identified as the most important expected benefit of internationalization at global level, in all regions except North America. Marinoni and deWit (2019) have noted a growing differentiation and divide in the level of commitment to internationalization among HEIs, and that international opportunities are accessible only to students with financial means:

> Inherent in this growing divide is of the perception that internationalization is limited by resources. The main institutional risk identified by respondents is in concern that, "International opportunities are accessible only to students with financial means". This might reflect the concern that many people are left out of globalization and that institutions are not sufficiently inclusive in their internationalization strategy Marinoni and deWit (2019).

The expansion of the internationalization of higher education was discussed by Altbach and Knight (2007), which they summarised as:

> The international activities of universities dramatically expanded in volume, scope, and complexity during the past two decades. These activities range from traditional study-abroad programs, allowing students to learn about other cultures, to providing access to higher education in countries where local institutions cannot meet the demand. Other activities stress upgrading the international perspectives and skills of students, enhancing foreign language programs, and providing crosscultural understanding (Altbach and Knight 2007, p. 292).

Examining the policy rhetoric of the internationalization of higher education, one notices that universities were driven to maximize their profits in this sphere. Altbach and Knight (2007) confirmed in their analysis of internationalization that 'profits earning money', was one of the key motives for all internationalization projects in the for-profit sector and for some traditional nonprofit universities with

financial problems. This reflects both economic and political dimensions of neoliberalism in higher education policy:

> For-profit higher education providers—such as Laureate (formerly Sylvan Learning Systems) and the Apollo Group (the parent company of the University of Phoenix, now the largest private university in the United States)—entered the international market by establishing new institutions, purchasing existing institutions, and partnering with firms or educational institutions in other countries. Many countries also host new private universities with overseas links, some in the for-profit sector. Many universities use American, British, German, or other foreign curricula; many teach in English, and some are accredited in other countries. Traditional nonprofit universities also entered the international market (Altbach and Knight 2007, p. 292).

Furthermore, Albach and de Wit (2018) also notice a policy change in the global landscape for higher education internationalization:

> The global landscape for higher education internationalisation is changing dramatically. What one might call 'the era of higher education internationalisation' over the past 25 years (1990–2015) that has characterised university thinking and action might either be finished or, at least, be on life support. The unlimited growth of internationalisation of all kinds—including massive global student mobility, the expansion of branch campuses, franchised and joint degrees, the use of English as a language for teaching and research worldwide and many other elements—appears to have come to a rather abrupt end, especially in Europe and North America (Altbach and de Wit 2018).

We have identified the above conventional features as internationalization, because they have long stressed cooperation, harmony, and interdependence, but more and more we are finding internationalization in higher education focuses more on competition, a 'profit-making machine', and commodification in higher education, rather than being seen as a broad public good. Even internationalization efforts by nation states are often undertaken with the aim of gaining a competitive edge in the global arena. In other words, internationalization is often overwhelmed by economic global imperatives (Rust and Kim 2015).

Higher Education Political Environment and Governance in Education

As Jacob (2015) explains in his concept map below (Fig. 1.1), higher education political environment is defined and shaped by four core dimensions: structure, culture, strategy and technology. I would add here ideology as well. It is this dominant ideology which is responsible for accountability, academic standards, competitiveness-driven reforms, and global university rankings.

Recent education quality and standards-based reforms in higher education are influenced by forces of globalisation, and, in particular, by the World Bank, OECD and PISA indicators. Education reforms, targeting academic achievement, skills and standards have resulted in a significant expansion of the monitoring of educational outcomes both locally and globally. Current trends in governance in education

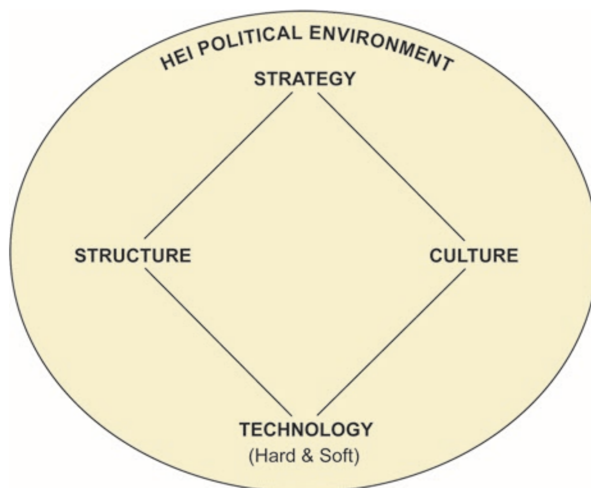

Fig. 1.1 HEI political environment. (Source: Jacob 2015)

indicate that education and policy reforms are accountability, performance and output driven.

The prominence given to the nexus between globalisation and practices of governance education, reflect changing dynamics in the governance in education, and education policy reforms. The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms around the world has become a strategically significant issue, for it expresses one of the most ubiquitous, yet poorly understood phenomena of modernity, and associated politico-economic and cultural transformations. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that forces of globalisation have contributed to a new dimension of socio-economic stratification, which offers immense gains to the very few of the economic elite in developed nations and in the emerging economies, especially in the BRICS countries (Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China, and South Africa). At the same time, this emerging socio-economic stratification creates a growing divide between the rich and the poor globally, thus planting seeds of discontent and conflict for the future.

Global University Rankings

One of the outcomes of higher education policy reforms both locally and globally, and demands for accountability and transparency, is world university rankings and *university league tables.* The USA and several European countries have used national HEI rankings or league tables for a number of years. However, the first *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (*ARWU*) was published by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education in 2003. It was a significant

higher education policy and research move, because higher education rankings became a global endeavor at this point. Current major and global university ranking models include the Shanghai Jiao Tong University's *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU), the *Times Higher Education* (THE) *World University Rankings (powered by Thompson Reuters), QS World University Rankings, and the European Commission's U-Multirank.* The global ranking of universities by the *QS World University Rankings,* the *Times Higher Education World University Rankings,* and Shanghai Jiao Tong University's *Academic Ranking of World Universities* dominate higher education drive for excellence and quality in education.

Institutional rankings indicate the governance of a neo-liberal ideology of accountability, competition, and cost-efficiency. Accountability instruments increasingly control the lives and careers of academics. They assess and govern the quality and standards of higher education, and include "accreditation, cyclical reviews, and external evaluation by peers, inspection, audits, benchmarking, and research assessments" (Robertson 2012, p. 241). Furthermore, it becomes increasingly evident that university rankings and university league tables are "taking on a life of their own, well beyond the purposes imagined by their originators" (Robertson 2012, p. 244), which is clearly a "reification" of the phenomenon.

Reification occurs when an abstract concept describing a social condition, in this case economic priorities for globalizing higher education reforms, becomes the reality, and the truth. According to Berger and Luckmann, "reification" occurs when specifically, human creations are misconceived as "facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, p. 89). Unlike Marx, who used the concept of reification in his *Das Capital* (1867/1996) to demonstrate that it was an inherent and necessary characteristic of economic value; I use "reification" in a broader sense, covering all policy and education reforms which involve power, domination and control. Reification, in this sense, also connects with Baudrillard's (1994) idea of signification, where perceived key concepts and policy goals have no referent in any "reality" except their own.

Higher education reforms represent policy responses to a globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality, standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. The latest higher education reforms focus more on economic competitiveness, academic elitism, and quality and standards, rather than on addressing access and equity, in order to solve serious educational inequalities in the higher education sector.

Evaluating Teaching and Research Performance in the Higher Education Sector

Summative evaluation of the teaching and research performance in universities involves annual faculty career and performance plans, annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching. At some universities, evaluation of teaching is compulsory for all teaching staff, and is administered in the online mode. Students rate their lectures online. An annual career and performance plan for an academic covers teaching workload, short-term and long-term career goals, and agreed performance objectives for teaching, research and other activities (such as university leadership, profession and service), as well as strategic links to school, faculty and university targets, and professional and career development, which includes development to be undertaken to achieve agreed performance outcomes. All these are typical features of a neo-liberal ideology and its focus on accountability, efficiency and ongoing performance surveillance of learning, teaching and research.

All these new facets of evaluating teaching and research represent a very high degree of surveillance, power (Foucault 1980) and control over academics' professional lives. It becomes a global and ubiquitous managerial version of "panopticon", or the all-seeing environment. Certain offices, without walls, all in glass, are modern examples of surveillance and panopticon. Panopticon, as a concept, was an institutional building designed by English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham (c. 1798). In Foucault's development of this notion, the individual is under constant surveillance in the prison/organization. This power/knowledge mechanism over time becomes *internalized* by the subject, resulting in a self-surveillance and self-analysis in terms of the *normalizing* pressure of the system. This power/knowledge mechanism "compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short it normalises" (Foucault 1972, p. 183). Its contemporary manifestation is present in such managerial systems as ongoing annual appraisals, performance reviews, the constantly reworked CV and E portfolios—a ubiquitous feature of today's neo-liberal higher education environment.

In deconstructing modes of evaluation of the performance of universities, we may also refer to "simulacrum", to critique the reification of systemic accountability, quality and standards. The simulacra that Jean Baudrillard (1994) refers to are the significations and symbolism of culture and media that construct perceived reality. According to him, our perception of the world/reality is constructed out of models or simulacra, which have no referent or ground in any "reality" except their own. One could argue, in terms of reification, that the models employed in for measuring the overall quality of the higher education system are taking on a life of their own and parading as truth in their own right. It is essential, argues Robertson, to remember that ranking universities is based on a selection of criteria of *preferred* "fragments" of knowledge:

> That we remind ourselves of just what a ranking is a fragment of knowledge about what university knowledge and experiences mean, rather than some essential understanding, or distilled essence of the whole (Robertson 2012, p. 244).

Evaluation

In higher education policy rhetoric, both locally and globally, there is a tendency to argue, using a powerful tool of logic, that there is a need to increase global competitiveness, and to improve excellence and quality in education, training and skills. The major problem with policy rhetoric is that its main thrust is on traditional values and commonsense. Who would argue against improving global competitiveness, and excellence and quality education, training and skills that contributes to better living conditions, and creating a world-class higher education system that benefits all, regardless of their background? It has been argued that the politics of higher education reforms surrounding standards, excellence and quality have "largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies" (Watson 2000, p. 140; see also Zajda 2005; Zajda and Geo-JaJa 2005; Zajda 2015).

The divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality. In general, students from lower SES are unlikely to be successful in entering universities, let alone prestigious universities. Hence, equity-driven policy reforms in higher education are unlikely to succeed. Furthermore, national economic priorities, aligned with a knowledge economy, human capital and global competitiveness, compel increasingly entrepreneurial universities to reward high-level over low-level knowledge, skills and training. The latest higher education reforms focus more on economic competitiveness, academic elitism, quality, and academic standards, rather than on addressing access and equity, in order to solve serious educational inequalities in the higher education sector.

Conclusion

Higher education reforms globally, defined by a neo-liberal ideology, represent policy responses to globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality, and standards-driven policy reforms. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The above analysis also demonstrates that neo-liberal dimensions of globalisation and market-driven economic imperatives have impacted on higher education reforms in four ways: competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, equity-driven reforms and quality-driven reforms. Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, the quality of education, and the market-oriented and "entrepreneurial" university model represent a neo-liberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of cultural, economic and political globalisation. It represents the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism as

cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. Furthermore, the divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality.

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Chapter 2
Neo-Liberalism in a Globalized World: The Case of Canada

Suzanne Majhanovich

Abstract As corporatization underpinned by the ideology of neo-liberalism has taken hold in institutes of higher education in the English-speaking world and elsewhere, life and work in academia has changed drastically. Education has been affected in a way that is concerning to those who believe that education rather than focused on producing skilled workers for the global market, should concentrate rather on the development of creative, critical thinkers engaged in work for the betterment of society. In this article, drawing on the work of Apple, Giroux, Ball, and others, the author reviews the troubling changes to university education and research: restriction of the curriculum, less choice in learning materials, growth in on-line courses, growth of managerialism, fewer tenured faculty, larger numbers of contract workers, interference in research from funding corporations, and even public funding with strings attached forcing universities to focus on graduation rates, employment rates of graduates and their earning potential. As a case in point the author highlights changes in policies and reforms to teacher education programs in a Canadian faculty of education in a large university in Ontario. The author questions the sustainability of such a program in the faculty of education and points out possibilities for resistance to counter the narrow approach now viewed as the norm for teacher education and higher education in general.

Keywords Canada · Corporatization · Economic globalization · Economic neo-liberalism · Globalisation · Higher education · Inequality · Internationalization · Managerialism · Neo-liberalism · Social justice

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Quo Vadis Education in a Neo-liberal Age?

Neo-Liberalism in a Globalized World: Introduction

The effects of neo-liberalism are felt everywhere in our globalized society from government policies that undercut whatever of the social safety net we still enjoy; through deprivation of public funding and the encouragement of privatization, and deregulation, affecting public health care and education; and through the encouragement of consumerism to feed the market, and commodification of everything. We live in a "brave new world" where business ideology dictates policies in every area of endeavour. Definitions of neo-liberalism abound. For the purposes of this chapter, I will cite Henry Giroux who characterizes neo-liberalism as follows:

> Neoliberalism, or what can be called the latest stage of predatory capitalism, is part of a broader project of restoring class power and consolidating the rapid concentration of capital. It is a political, economic and political project that constitutes an ideology, mode of governance, policy and form of public pedagogy.
>
> As an ideology, it construes profit-making as the essence of democracy, consuming as the only operable form of citizenship, and an irrational belief in the market to solve all problems and serve as a model for structuring all social relations.
>
> As a mode of governance, it produces identities, subjects, and ways of life free of government regulations, driven by a survival of the fittest ethic, grounded in the idea of the free, possessive individual, and committed to the right of ruling groups and institutions to accrue wealth removed from matters of ethics and social costs (Giroux 2015 interview with Polychroniou).

Globalization has abetted the neo-liberal project; it is not a new trend. One could argue that globalization has been a goal of world powers since at least the Age of Discovery. Opening up the known world for contact among nations and peoples as well as creating opportunities for colonization and trade have figured in the goals of powerful nations states for centuries. The current iteration of globalization however is influenced by economic policies linked to neo-liberal free market ideas. The exercise of globalized markets is highly dependent on modern advances in technology that can quickly link all parts of the world and has been promoted in particular by the Anglo-American world. As Bourdieu (2001) has stated:

> "Globalization" serves as a password, a watchword while in effect it is the legitimatory mask of a policy aiming to universalize particular interests and the particular tradition of the economically and politically dominant powers, above all the United States, and to extend to the entire world the economic and cultural model that favors these powers most while simultaneously presenting it as a norm, a requirement, and a fatality, a universal destiny, in such a manner as to obtain adherence or at the least, universal resignation (Bourdieu 2001, p. 84).

Economic globalization as described by Bourdieu has come to represent a very persuasive version of the way the world economy should operate, making resistance

difficult. Of particular concern is the effect of neo-liberalism on public education. In this chapter I review how work and life in North American public schools, colleges and universities have changed over the past two or three decades using as a particular case in point a Canadian Faculty of Education. The influence of globalization and neo-liberalism on the educational reforms is examined along with the tensions between the more idealistic vision of education and the harsh bottom line reality of the new corporatized institution. In so doing, I revisit a previous article of mine, "Neo-liberalism takes hold: educational reform in the brave new faculty of education" (Majhanovich 2015), and assess how things have changed in the past 5 years with regard to education in a neo-liberal age. Unfortunately, it appears as if the neo-liberal position has hardened, resulting in growing corporatization of educational institutions at all levels.

The Context: Competing Visions for Education

Is education a commodity? Should it be one? When I was asked that during an interview for an administrative position in a faculty of education almost 2 years ago, my response was "I certainly hope not!" It is not that I was naively unaware of the push to make education a commodity, the massive profits to be made from "edu-business" all around the world, nor that I discounted how educational technology was making it possible to make state of the art educational content and programs available anywhere in the world (at a price, of course). It is just that I resist the notion of education as a commodity foremost, and prefer to include in my vision of education interaction with a liberal humanistic subject content to prepare students to think critically, to participate in society in an informed way, to engage in activities that promote social justice and human rights. And I firmly believe that teacher candidates in faculties of education should encounter a wide range of educational experiences and possibilities so that they can inspire their students to become active and engaged individuals.

It would be a great loss if education with its possibilities for cultivating intellectual curiosity, personal transformation and engagement in activities for the benefit of humanity became an instrumental pursuit, merely serving to train complacent workers for the knowledge economy. Or worse, if it were considered as merely a commodity to be bought and sold on the world market. And yet, today more voices are raised in criticism of the irrelevance of the humanities and education that does not have a practical application when the real goal according to them should be a focus on preparing students to enter skilled jobs and serve the global economy. This presents not only a grave threat to the noble ideal of education and its pursuit of knowledge, but as many have noted (among others, Giroux 2004, 2013, 2014; Chomsky 2011; Westheimer 2010) undermines democratic principles.

The Impact of Globalization on Education

Joel Spring (2015), for example, has outlined some of the variations that globalization can take in relation to education in *Globalization of Education: An Introduction* (2015, 2nd Edition), and relates these changes to the growing commercialization of higher education in North America. Spring is quite concerned with what he calls the "global corporatization of education" which involves pressure from global corporations on school systems to create policies that will favour the needs of corporations in their workplaces and will mold future workers for the free market economy. In speaking of corporatized education he identifies several components of current educational globalization such as the trend world wide to adopt similar curricula, school organization and pedagogies along with the global discourses that drive educations systems to become more uniform as well as networks across the globe that communicate "best" practices (p. 5). Multinational corporations are there to provide services and sell tests, curricula and other school materials and reap huge profits for their wares. These trends are greatly facilitated through information technology and e-learning. One cannot discount the influence of English as the recognized "lingua franca" of global commerce and evidenced in the growth of English as the medium of instruction in universities around the world, especial for business, science and technology. Many universities in the US, UK and Australia have set up off-shore campuses to offer programs usually focused on business and offered in English. Naturally the course content of such off-shore courses will reflect the neo-liberal approach to building the economy in the global world. But higher education programs offered in English around the world is not just evident in offshoots of universities in the English-speaking world; now one can find programs offered in English in universities where the language of instruction is normally the local official language. Some universities in Asia have now declared themselves as English medium universities in the hopes of making themselves more competitive on the world stage. Piller and Cho (2013) detail the transformation of an elite university in South Korea to require English as the Medium of Instruction with devastating effects on staff and students (Piller and Cho 2013).

How Economic Globalization Encourages Corporatization of Universities

I am struck by the proliferation of articles warning of creeping corporatization of higher education institutions and its effect on education in general, the type of research that is carried out, and on the work of those on the front lines—researchers, professors and teachers. The messages are depressingly similar. In the English-speaking world in particular, governments have embraced the market model for higher education and consequently have drastically cut public funding to universities

forcing them to raise tuition considerably, and, seek funding elsewhere to maintain their global competitive place. In a recent working paper from the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), "Canada's Universities and Colleges are Being Taken over by Big Corporations and Wealthy Donors" (January 31, 2019), the authors show how funding patterns for higher education institutions have changed. In 1985, 81% of operating revenues at Canadian universities came from the government; by 2015 that amount had shrunk to 50%. In 1985 only 2.7% of operating revenues at Canadian universities came from private funding whereas by 2015 the figure had risen to 10%. This is troubling because when corporations and private donors underwrite research, their funding comes with strings attached that ultimately undermine academic freedom.

The notion of corporatization of higher education as a sell out by universities of their traditional values has been well documented. Article after article provide the same message signalling the dangerous results of corporatization on the traditional role of the university (See "Higher Education or Education for Hire? Corporatization and the Threat to Democratic Thinking", Westheimer 2010; "Academic Freedom and the Corporatization of Universities", Chomsky 2011;" The Corporatization of Higher Education", Mills 2012; Interviews with Henry A. Giroux, Polychroniou 2013, Harper 2014, McLean 2015; "Academia, Inc. How Corporatization is Transforming Canadian Universities", Brownlee 2014; "The Corporatization of post-secondary education", CUPE 2019a, b to name a few). They all cite the same problems: growth of managerialism and administrators and reduction in tenured professors; growth in contract positions; threats to academic freedom; redirection of emphasis to certain areas of the academy such as business, applied science, engineering and health sciences to the detriment of humanities, arts and social sciences; downplaying of pure research in favour of directed research required by business and corporations; emphasis on research for profit making rather than knowledge creation *per se*; "internationalization" with ever growing enrolment of international students allegedly to enhance international awareness and global communication but actually for revenue generation provided by the exorbitant tuition fees international students have to pay (Buckner 2019).

In 2010, Joel Westheimer in his commentary "Higher Education or Education for Hire? Corporatization and the Threat to Democratic Thinking" warned that corporatization of higher education institutions was threatening the democratic mission of universities and even to democratic thinking itself. He argued that by adopting a corporate culture that seeks to "maximize profit, growth and marketability" (p. 2) universities undermine their traditional goals to develop critical thinkers and abrogate the intellectual independence of their researchers. There are already numerous examples of researchers, especially in science and medicine who have been forced by the corporate donor to essentially compromise their research because of non-disclosure clauses. The universities have not stood behind their researchers fearing loss of future revenue from the corporations. David Robinson, the executive director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers has commented on the nefarious influence of corporations on research:

> We did a report back in 2014 looking at the major collaborations across the country and what we found that of the 12 we examined, over half of them did not have any protections for academic freedom. A significant number gave what is essentially a veto to the corporation over regards to the publishing of research (Robinson, cited in the Canadian Union of Public Workers article: "Canada's Universities and Colleges are Being Taken over by Big Corporations and Wealthy Donors", January 31, 2019).

Joel Spring (2015) provides concrete examples that show how under economic globalization, education is more corporatized with huge conglomerates providing texts, standardized tests, educational technology and software. The World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has given business the right to sell their wares around the world, thus minimizing local development of educational materials. This has, of course, contributed to the growing uniformity of education worldwide but has particularly affected the developing world. Still, the effects are also felt in North America. Although Canada has not signed on to the GATS for elementary and secondary school materials, tertiary education is fair game for transnational educational products. Even so, when it comes to textbooks, in elementary and secondary schools, there is often no choice but to go with books produced by one of the large publishing conglomerates. In Canada more textbook companies have been taken over by global giants such as Pearson publishing, based in the UK. When I personally was involved in writing French second language texts for the Canadian market, there were still Canadian companies such as Copp Clark that encouraged Canadian authors to create texts with Canadian content. The University of Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education's language centre created many excellent cultural units and modules for French second language programs that featured French Canadian events and holidays and made study of FSL very immediate to Canadian students. Today such cultural modules are no longer produced locally. Now authors are typically told that the Canadian market is not large enough to justify "Canada only" materials; texts have to become more neutral or reflect American culture if they are to find a market. Of course, the result is pedagogical material that may contain cultural content that is not relevant to local students. However, this is all part of the movement that is seeing more uniform texts and shallower presentations of materials in a cultural context. It will be up to individual teachers to create cultural units with meaningful content for their students.

Regarding the influence of large technology companies on schools, it is true that Canadian schools were never subject to TV1 with all its advertisements and agenda for creating little consumers out of students. As an aside, it is troubling to note that in the past few decades the architecture of Canadian schools colleges and even universities has changed to make them look more like shopping malls, thus reinforcing the notion of education as a commodity to be bought. As far as universities in Canada are concerned, they too are constrained in text selection by the monopoly on educational materials and texts by such companies as Pearson. Certainly, every year, professors typically receive messages from Pearson book agents offering to help plan their program using the educational materials they publish. The increasing practice of offering courses on line is another example of the extent to which universities worldwide are all part of the global network.

The recent additions of MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) is an American initiative that will effect higher education around the globe. Courses taught by prominent professors from prestigious universities are offered to anyone who has access to the internet. On the surface it seems to offer a chance to students in remote areas to gain access to superior teaching and content. However, viewed cynically, this initiative is only promoted because it provides an opportunity for the developers and universities whose courses are used to make a profit from the certificates students purchase for having participated successfully in the course. Indications so far are that few people actually complete an entire program through the MOOCs or even complete the requirements of the single MOOC they have chosen. MOOCs provide another example of growing uniformity of the content of higher education as well as the export of the American version of what counts as educational content. As Spring notes, "There is an element of cultural imperialism embedded in the US State Department's efforts to support global online courses" (p. 98).

Aside from trying to cash in by developing their own on-line courses for foreign consumption, Canadian universities have not yet felt a major impact of MOOCs. Still, the notion of offering total programs on-line taught by a few professors has changed the nature of higher education from small seminar classes endeavoring to create a community of scholars to the large impersonal world of education through cyberspace. On-line education makes economic sense for universities struggling to balance their budgets in a time of diminishing government grants. It has contributed to reducing the number of tenure track professors in faculties and at the same time has increased the workload of those tasked with providing the on-line courses with large classes of students demanding immediate feedback from professors for the day-to-day posts required in such courses. Secondary schools have been affected as well. Recently the Ontario Conservative government mandated that as part of the course requirements needed for secondary school graduation students must take four on-line courses during their 4-year program.

Stephen Ball has been documenting how the influence of business on education has changed its very nature. As Robertson (2008) comments in her review of Ball's 2007 work *Education PLC. Understanding Private Sector Participants in Public Sector Education,* "Ball does come to the conclusion that what we are witnessing is a major rupture/dislocation that is transforming the very concept of education" (p. 3). Education today is following the business model to transforming society into a 'commercial civilization'—in other words everything is measured by its value as a commodity and its possibilities for making profit. In a more recent book, *Global Education Inc. New Policy Networks and the neo-Liberal Imaginary* (2012), Ball expands on this bleak vision of education policies that are encouraged because of the possibility of profit making. He provides examples of how the multi-nationals and philanthropic organizations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation use the global networks to sell educational products that will contribute to the production of workers for the global economy.

Neo-Liberalism's Role in Changes to Education

The type of economic globalization that we are experiencing today is driven by neo-liberal principles, first introduced in the 1980s, under Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US. These policies favour *laissez-faire* or free-market economic practices, reduced government spending on social services, privatization, and deregulation with less government control or intervention in business, thus giving the private sector free reign to make profits and exploit markets wherever they find them. Neo-liberalism has become accepted as common sense despite the damage its policies have done to the developing world and to a lesser extent to the developed North. However, particularly after the near economic collapse in 2008 of world markets, there have been powerful critics who warn of the dangers of continuing to follow neo-liberal policies. Joseph Stiglitz, for example, has pointed out that as neo-liberal policies have become the accepted way to run the world economy, disparity between a small elite (the 1%) and the working class has risen in alarming proportions; unemployment has risen and the standard of living of the middle class has fallen. He warns that without adjustments, market collapse is possible. As he noted in 2008 "Today, there is a mismatch between social and private returns. Unless they are closely aligned, the market system cannot work well"; and further, "Neo-liberal market fundamentalism was always a political doctrine serving certain interests. It was never supported by economic theory" (2008, p. 3). Even an erstwhile supporter of neo-liberal policies,

Francis Fukuyama, is concerned that continuing to embrace fundamentalist neo-liberalism will undermine democratic society when he states "The current form of globalized capitalism is eroding the middle class social base on which liberal democracy rests" (2012, p. 12). After the economic shock in 2008, many began to reconsider their faith in the market's ability to correct itself as well as to ensure eventually a more prosperous world; governments did move to rein in some of the more noxious practices under neo-liberalism: some regulations on financial dealings reappeared and against the advice of the neo-liberal fundamentalists, governments were forced to intervene with stimulus packages to help re-start the ailing economy in the US, in Canada and to a lesser extent in Europe. And yet, neo-liberalism seems to prevail as evidenced by the European Union's preference for austerity over stimulus to solve the economic problems of member states like Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain.

It is developing countries that have suffered the most under neo-liberal policies driven by the Washington Consensus and the structural adjustment programs implemented by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (See Abdi 2013; Geo-JaJa and Magnum 2001; Geo-JaJa 2004, 2006; Majhanovich 2013). Developed countries have not felt the damaging effects to the same degree and so continue to operate under the tenets of neo-liberalism. With regards to education, the "new order" has changed our understandings of what education can and should do. Most students today have never known anything other than neo-liberalism and so take for granted that the primary goal of education is to give them the skills to find jobs and

participate in the world market. As for academics, there are, of course those who are greatly concerned about the shift towards a more instrumental type of education. There is no shortage of papers from the US and the UK reminding us that education is more than a commodity. I would cite William Astore (2009) who finds college education today to be "too utilitarian, vocational and narrow", and who talks of current myths about education that prevent education from moving beyond the strictly instrumental: he notes that students today have been indoctrinated into believing that they need practical degree so that they can "stay competitive in the global marketplace" (p. 2); that technical skills equate to success and that technology provides all that is needed. As he observes: "The keys to success…are interactive SMART boards, not smart teachers interacting with curious students" (p. 2) and finally, the notion that, "if it's not quantifiable, it's not important" (the familiar cry of the academic right using the language of the market). He argues persuasively that when students become mere customers "kept happy by service-oriented professors and administrators" (p. 3) then the true purpose of education is lost and hopes for positive transformation in the country will be compromised.

David Kirp (2014) laments the fact that "Marketplace mantras dominate policy discussions [on education]. He says that "while… reformers talk a lot about markets and competition, the essence of a good education—bringing together talented teachers, engaged students and a challenging curriculum—goes undiscussed." (p. 2) Despite massive investment in technology to improve educational standards, the results are not impressive. Kirp closes his commentary with this cautionary note:

> While technology can be put to good use by talented teachers, they, and not the futurists, must take the lead. The process of teaching and learning is an intimate act that neither computers nor markets can hope to replicate. Small wonder, then, that the business model hasn't worked in reforming the schools—there is simply no substitute for the personal element" (Kirp 2014, p. 3).

From the UK voices are raised in the Putney Debater, for example (2011) to decry the reforms to university funding that are forcing universities to focus on the kinds of programs that will bring in money to run the institution and thus accept education as a commodity, run on a business model that in turn will necessitate the development of a new layer of administration to manage the changes and assess whether or not they are fiscally sound. But the author warns us of "specious measures of productivity devised by neoliberal managerialists and policy makers who are utterly alienated from the experience of teaching or caring, but insist on quantifying their outputs." But, as he argues, "Pedagogy is not like the production of commodities, education is not like mass production, teachers are not like production-line workers, and students are not commodities, they are individuals. From the individual's point of view, learning is not a matter of statistics about "learning outcomes", but it's affected by the amount and quality of attention you receive." (Debater 2011, p. 3). Machado (2013) confirms the dire predictions of Altbach (2009), Ball (2008), Tickly (2001) and others who see Higher Education in this century increasingly subjected to massification, accountability, privatization and marketization" (Altbach cited in Machado 2013, p. 29), destabilizing the academic profession. Brazil has not

escaped these trends and higher education; the professoriate and student population have suffered as a result.

But it is not just so-called "left-wingers" who decry this shift in education and in the role of the university in today's society. Bowen et al. (2015) in their polemical book *End of Academic Freedom. The coming obliteration of the core purpose of the university,* identify several trends that are undermining what they see as the true role of the university; namely, to focus on the creation, transmission, validation and application of knowledge. They believe that academic freedom safeguards the true function of the university but that it is threatened by authoritarianism, supernaturalism (conflating religious belief with scientific theory), corporatism, anti-liberalism and political correctness as espoused by both the right and the left. Their concern about corporatism leads them to argue that when universities become corporatized, managerialism grows to oversee quantifiable factors such as number of students graduating, job placement, profit making and economic efficiencies; the university tends to serve corporate interests by preparing workers for the global markets and products to be sold in them. Bowen et al. argue that corporatism makes education into a commodity but also because of managerialism and accountability factors, dissent is not tolerated—thus undermining academic freedom (something Machado 2013, has noted as well). As the real purpose of higher education institutions is lost, colleges and universities change their focus to embrace the business orientation that values "bureaucratic authority, technocratic specialization, job preparation, vocational advancement and fulfillment of the global and political exigencies of large scale, complex society" (pp. xv–xvi).

This is only a small sample of voices warning of the dangers of subjecting higher education to a business model. So, with the demonstrable failure of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism on the world stage and the cautionary statements of academics, why do universities continue to follow the neo-liberal agenda? If university administrators are aware of the dire predictions related to the consequences of following a neo-liberal agenda and the dangers of turning their institutions of higher learning into degree factories to serve the global economy, they do not seem to be listening. Or perhaps they do not believe that problems caused by neo-liberalism affect them but, on the contrary, provide opportunities for profit making. As mentioned above, the current type of market fundamentalism has been in place for several decades and its proponents have been very efficient in persuading us that theirs is the only possible way to operate in our modern materialistic consumerist world—that it is only common sense to go this route. It is increasingly difficult for universities to support any research other than that dictated by corporations and the market.

A disturbing report for the Canadian Association of University Teachers by Marc Spooner (2019) outlines how two of the most right-wing provincial governments in Canada, Ontario and Alberta, propose to link the operating funds they transfer to higher education institutions to performance in certain job/market related areas. In Ontario by 2024–2025, the government proposes that 60% of operating funds (up from 1.4%) will be based on criteria of such skills and job outcomes as "graduate

earnings; number and proportion of graduates in programs with experiential learning; skills and competencies related metric; proportion of graduates employed full-time in a related or partially-related field; proportion of students in a university identified area of strength; and, graduation rate". It is not hard to see how this will undermine the universities' traditional role of educating people rather than workers, and, will force universities to focus on research and programs best suited to prepare workers for the global market to the detriment of all other areas. It will also result in the lowering of standards as universities try to show high graduation rates. The Alberta government promises to follow the same course for funding.

Michael Apple (2000, 2006, 2013) has repeatedly warned of the effectiveness of the ideological work of the Right in persuading society at large of the correctness of its stance. He agrees with Gramsci (1971) who cautioned that "dominant groups work off of the elements of *good sense* that people have, off of people's understandings and partial insights into what is happening in their lives and communities" (cited in Apple 2013, p. 128). Since the 1990s, Apple has outlined how the ideological Right has engaged in what he calls "conservative modernization" combining values of neoliberals who see the market as the solution to educational problems, of neoconservative intellectuals who call for higher standards that will be assessed through standardized testing and a common curriculum, and of religious fundamentalists who want to see their values present in educational content (and who are naturally suspicious of notions like "multi-culturalism). This coalition of groups with what would appear on the surface to entertain very different aspirations for what constitutes a "good" education has appeal for many who have allowed themselves to be persuaded of the rightness of the message.

Nowadays many of the reforms in education have turned it into an enterprise for preparing complacent workers for the powerful corporations, underpinned by managerialism that ensures that teachers are accountable for their work and that they make a priority of teaching students basic skills that will benefit the corporations when students enter the workplace. And people by and large are convinced that this is only common sense. But it has led to corporatization and a shifting of priorities in education that Apple and others argue are not resulting in a better more equitable society let alone a good education. An example he uses in his most recent book details how Wal-Mart has been able to influence American education so that it will feed the needs of corporate America. His case study of "Wal Marting America" reflects Bowen et al. (2014, pp. 131–32) who in their admonition against corporatisation of universities point out the acceptance of such training centres as "McDonald's Hamburger University, Disney University, Motorola University and others that pass themselves off as higher education but really have nothing to do with what a university should be concerned with, eschewing such abstract activities as searching for the reason of things or seeking truth for truth's sake, while focusing on job training and preparing workers to serve the large corporations. Most do not take such training centres seriously but ominously, major universities now see as one of their goals instrumental learning for job preparation.

Privatization and Corporatization of Universities in Canada

Canada does not have a tradition of private universities but some have sprung up since the turn of the Century. Currently there are 18 private universities, mostly in the West and usually quite small, often institutes for religious education. One of the private universities, Quest, with a student population of about 700, is found in Squamish BC and lists itself as a liberal arts institution offering typical courses in the core curriculum of the humanities. It receives no grants and so tuition is rather steep at about $31,000 for the 2-year intensive program. Courses are taught in 3.5-week blocks, one course at a time and all students take 16 core courses to give them grounding in the liberal arts including courses in humanities, social sciences, life and physical sciences and mathematics. To complete the requirements of the BA degree, students must prepare a special project in an area of concentration under the supervision of a faculty member. The curriculum reminds me of what secondary students are typically required to do to complete requirements for Secondary School graduation in Ontario and one has to wonder at the depth of study one can accomplish in a 3.5 week course, even if classes are limited in size with intense treatment of course content, and instructors expert in the area. Still, in a recent survey of Universities across Canada by *Macleans Magazine* (Hutchins, February 23, 2015) where students were asked how happy they were with their university education, Quest came out on top followed by two other private universities. The major universities like my own, came in the middle of the pack. Obviously Quest students believe they are getting their money's worth! This approach even to a liberal arts education seems to me to reflect corporatization of education; students are purchasing a commodity at high cost but as Ashton noted they are really only customers, catered to by service-oriented professors (Astore 2009, p. 3).

In addition to the new Canadian private universities, there are also branch campuses from the US like DeVries and Phoenix in Canada that exist mainly for job training and which are unabashedly corporate driven. But how do the more traditional universities in Canada grapple with growing corporatization? Falling government grants in support of higher education are forcing the large universities to increase student tuition and to turn more to the private and not-for-profit sectors of society to keep themselves going financially. Indeed, it was recently reported that for the first time, student tuition provides more funding than government education grants to Ontario universities. The large established public universities still try to maintain their traditional mission of creation of knowledge for the public good. For example, the mission statement of my own university states:

> Western creates, disseminates and applies knowledge for the benefit of society through excellence in teaching, research and scholarship. Our graduates will be global citizens whose education and leadership will serve the public good (Western University 2014, www.uwo.ca).

The first sentence is as one would expect of a large research-oriented university. But in the second sentence one can see the influence of globalization that the university cannot ignore. The graduates are to be "global citizens" to serve the public

good; the title of the strategic plan is "Achieving Excellence on the World Stage". In the strategic plan there is mention that research outcomes should include "scientific and technological innovations that can be *commercialized* (italics mine) for application in health care and by private industry" (clause 3). The university acknowledges as well the need for partnerships with the private sector and non-profit sector (clause 6). So, it is the language that reflects how far along the road to corporatization with its business values the university has gone. Internationalization is listed among Western's Institutional Principles and Values where it states "We will embrace our role as an active member of the global academic community through the full range of our education, research, scholarship, and community development activities that engage our students, faculty, staff, alumni and external partners" (p. 19). However, as Ali Khorsandi (2015), a PhD graduate of Western, has commented, internationalization is rather "selective" at Western with students mainly from wealthy families and from countries with booming economies being recruited to come to the university, thus undermining the goal of diversity and inclusiveness that Western claims to espouse. Khorsandi bemoans the missed opportunities for talented but impoverished students from underprivileged areas of the world. Economic realities determine the kind of internationalization universities will engage in. Still, the message in Western's strategic plan is optimistic, reflecting commitment to social justice. But the mixture of statements in the Plan reflecting both traditional aspirations for a university education and more practical endeavours reveals the tension under which universities operate today.

Indeed "Bus-speak" seems to permeate everywhere in today's university and is now taken as normal. The branding of the university is an important exercise to reflect business preferences. It is interesting that my own university used to have as its logo a graceful gothic spired building but now the logo shows a tower that makes the university look like a powerful fortress. The name of the university was changed from University of Western Ontario to simply "Western" as that was deemed to be more international and appealing to the world at large. The everyday workings of the university have come to follow what business would do. If one wishes to mount a new initiative, a business plan must be produced to show the possibilities for the profit making. Even accessing grants which professors have won in academic competitions has to be done by going to something called "The Mustang Store" (the mustang is the mascot of the university). The notion that one accesses one's research grant money by going to a "store" underlines the commercial nature of the practice. Of course, in order to be able to gain access to the "store", every researcher had to undergo a special training course when before, all that was necessary was logging in to financial services using the code for the grant. The business approach to higher education in my university has meant a proliferation of administrative positions. When I began at the University in the 80s there was a President and Vice Chancellor, a Vice President and Provost and a number of Deans, and Associate Deans as academic administrators. Now Western has a President, four Vice Presidents, a Provost along with numerous Associate and Assistant Provosts plus Principals, Deans and Associate Deans of schools and faculties within the University and managers of special for-profit programs. Although the university is still a public higher education

institution, parts, namely, the Business School and certain centres throughout the university are run as private enterprises with deregulated tuitions for their programs.

Regarding the expansion of administrative, managerial positions in Education, my own faculty in the 90s and at the turn of the millennium when it admitted about 1200 pre-service teacher candidates to a full-service teacher education program as well as several hundred graduate students along with over one thousand teachers taking in-service professional courses, had a Dean and one Associate Dean. Now with a diminished number of pre-service students, few in-service courses and several hundred graduate students, the faculty has a Dean and three Associate Deans plus managers of some in-house special centres. Usually the academic administrators do not teach, putting a heavier burden on the rest of the faculty. Whereas in the past many courses were taught by adjuncts or graduate students and post-doctoral students, and class size was limited, now in the name of financial efficiency, workloads have risen for the tenured faculty but they are encouraged to teach in the money-making programs of the faculty that have many international students who of course pay 3 times the tuition local students pay. The faculty publicity document boasts that the international student body has grown by 48% since 2012 to 481 students. Because faculty are encouraged to teach in the special graduate programs, as a result, almost none of the pre-service teacher education courses, especially those related to subject disciplines are taught by tenured faculty. Adjunct contract instructors, often retired teachers carry that part of the program. Although they are generally excellent teachers, they lack theoretical knowledge of pedagogy and concentrate on passing on the nuts and bolts of teaching without engaging students in reflection on which methods might be most effective with different students and why. It would appear that our faculty has lost interest in pedagogy, and the theory of didactics, formerly a key area of education work and research. Now research in areas that may bring profits to the university are encouraged. As for tenured faculty, despite having increased workloads, they are expected to keep up an active research program. Managerialism has taken over and faculty are subjected to ever more assessments to ensure that they are accountable for their teaching and for the efficient use of research funds. In reviewing how the faculty has embraced the neo-liberal notion of education one need only to look at the mission statement of 2015 and compare it with the current 2019 version.

> 2015—Our mission:
>
> To prepare knowledgeable, critical, creative and courageous educators; to champion through our teaching research and service just, equitable opportunities and outcomes for all individuals and communities—in and through education (Faculty of Education Mission Statement 2014).
>
> 2019
>
> We foster informed global citizenship through transformative educational opportunities. We are an engaged academic community guided by the values of integrity and ethics, equity and social justice, and academic and research excellence. We are deeply committed to the delivery of innovative research-intensive and online professional academic programs, which aim to enhance equity and accessibility for all learners; rigorous research defined by high academic and social impact; and culturally and socially responsive service that aims to

produce high-quality outcomes that positively benefit all of society (Faculty of Education Mission Statement 2019).

We notice immediately that the more recent statement begins with a nod to globalized citizenship; critical, creative and courageous educators are no longer mentioned. Is preparing educators capable of and engaged in critical thinking no longer a goal of the education faculty? In fact, teaching itself is barely referenced. Of course, laudable goals are mentioned, but the purpose of a faculty of education, to prepare excellent educators, seems to have been lost in the new vision.

Working and learning conditions under neo-liberal policies have deteriorated: course offerings have diminished, class sizes have risen (and indeed subject preparation courses cannot be offered without a minimum number of at least 25 students), philosophy of education courses have disappeared altogether, and on-line courses are becoming more common, even for pre-service students. Mindful of diminished prospects for finding jobs as teachers, many subject discipline preparation courses are no longer offered. We can no longer claim to be a "full-service" faculty. Such is the reality of the new education faculty guided by business models and instrumental reasoning. When special centres are allowed, such as our Language Bridging Program to help prepare international students with language and cultural skills to succeed in their chosen university course programs, the centres can only exist on a cost-recovery basis so staff are always in a precarious position as to the length of time they will be able to work at the faculty.

Faculty members are encouraged to undertake research that may result in financial gain for the university and, if possible, create a product that can be sold. In the past the usual place to apply for research grants would be to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) that used to fund any research for new knowledge in the social sciences area. Now funding has been drastically cut to this Council and professors are actively encouraged to go to the private sector or to other research councils where funding is tied to practical outcomes. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council has also altered the kind of research it accepts to fund to include more practical topics. Current possibilities for research in social sciences in Canada encourage partnerships with the private or public sector to ensure that research has a practical side. And yet our Faculty and University still aspire to engage in worthwhile activities that will benefit society and humankind. But it is no longer taken for granted that such humanistic endeavours are the priority in our more materialistic world held accountable to fiscal realities. Lynette Shultz (2013) from the University of Alberta reports on a recent speech given by someone invited under the auspices of the "University of Alberta's Innovative Leaders" program (p. 43). This respected Leader in Business gave a talk entitled "If universities were in business, they'd be out of business" (p. 43), and the gist of his talk was apparently that universities must embrace the business model of operation in order to survive in our modern globalized world. His contentions regarding the role of the university reflect all the neo-liberal notions of the values of corporatism and a need for less influence from the public sphere. As Shultz sees it, this view of the world and of higher education's place in it suggests that the "traditional university is not

sufficiently accountable to the economy and therefore must be reformed" (p. 45). This is not a vision of higher education that Shultz (nor I among many others) can accept. Shultz, instead urges that scholars reject the notions of the commodification of knowledge, teaching and learning (p. 47) and instead strive for engaged scholarship and community engagement resisting" loyalty to the corporatization of their work " through a kind of "epistemic disobedience" (p. 49). Shultz offers an alternative to the neo-liberal, business-driven views of what education can be today. Although the current situation is grim, there are other possibilities for our work as educators beyond preparing workers to serve the global market within the environment of fiscal accountability.

Conclusion

Today the neo-liberal project pervades every aspect of society and is difficult to resist despite its obvious failings (See Stiglitz 2008). Higher education has not remained untouched by this agenda that views the market as the organizing principle for everything, with business as the ideal model for universities to follow. In the neo-liberal context, university education increasingly is being redirected to focus on the instrumental task of creating a skilled workforce for the global market, and conduct research that will turn a profit, rather than being concerned with developing new knowledge, and critical thinkers who will question and combat injustice, inequality and the growing disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots". In this chapter, I have provided examples of the changes and reforms to education which is becoming ever more corporatized. I cite Joel Spring (2015) who has detailed the ways in which multinational corporations have capitalized on the lucrative business of the creation of educational materials, tests and curriculum models. The result has been a tendency for educational systems worldwide to become more uniform and more narrowly focused on skill development.

The universities have undergone structural changes that entail more managerialism, more administration but fewer tenured professors, more contract workers (a workforce largely made up of highly qualified academics with crushing workloads who are unable to undertake research), and courses focused more on the potential employment outcomes, as well as more on-line programs. Universities no longer can rely on government funding for operating expenses and have had to raise tuition, attract affluent international students, as well as turn to corporations and wealthy donors to underwrite research. But private partnerships and corporate funding come with strings attached; certain topics of research that will result in a saleable product are encouraged rather than pure research; results that indicate a defective product are buried or not allowed to be published by the corporate donors concerned with the bottom line and potential loss of profit. As Giroux, Apple, and many others have pointed out, corporatization of higher education has resulted in loss of academic freedom and ultimately undermines democracy.

I have outlined how the mission of my own faculty of education has changed reflecting a neo-liberal rather than liberal arts perspective. Instead of aiming to prepare "knowledgeable, critical, creative and courageous educators" my faculty now focuses on global citizenship and research with high-quality outcomes of benefit to society. Teaching and pedagogy seem to have been lost in the new iteration of the mission. Currently, the situation for education is grave. It is important for academics to be aware of the dangers of economic neo-liberalism to education and be prepared to resist wherever possible so that they can continue to foster the enlightened education needed to prepare future informed generations. We must never lose sight of the important role of education to prepare educators capable of critical thinking, and committed to work for just, equitable opportunities and outcomes for all individuals and communities through education", perhaps the higher purpose of our endeavours can survive.

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Chapter 3
Globalization, Nationalism, and Inclusive Education for All: A Reflection on the Ideological Shifts in Education Reform

Edith Omwami and Val Rust

Abstract This chapter examines the concept of inclusive education for all as articulated in the United Nations against the rise of nationalism and ethnicism. We begin with a discussion of the concept of globalization. At the turn of this century, globalization was a positive force in the forward march of modernization. The former Soviet Union had collapsed barely a decade earlier, and liberal democracy became the dominant regime form around the world. In fact, no other option appeared to be possible. As we examine the rise in nationalism and ethnicism in the post-2000 era, that point of view now seems quaint. We explore the implications in education reforms under the global shift towards human rights-based development, with the adoption of the 2000 United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the more recent 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). We offer a reflection on global education reforms that began with the adoption of the Dakar 2000 Framework of Action and the more recent 2015 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4. We conclude with an extrapolation of the education reform outcomes arising from the synergy and contradictions embedded in the global shift that has taken place.

Keywords Democracy · Education reforms · Global education · Globalization · Human rights-based development · Inclusive education · Liberal democracy · Nationalism · Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) · United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

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Education Reforms for Human Rights and Inclusive Education: Introduction

The central theme of this section is an examination of the education reform processes towards the realization of United Nations 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the UNESCO 2015 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action goal of inclusive education for all. This took place in the context of a rise in nationalism and ethnicism. The idea of an inclusive education for all builds on the progress made under the global promise of Education for All (EFA) that has been pursued alongside the expansion in globalization into the new millennium. The World Conference on Education for All-Inter Agency Commission, taking place in Jomtien in 1990, delivered a world declaration on education that was to be realized by 2000 with a national mandate for the public financing of all education (WCEFA 1990). However, the entrenchment of neoliberalism from the 1990s presents a contradictory policy framework that ultimately defined the characteristic feature of educational reform around the world. It focused on the institutionalization of the private cost in education (Lockheed 1990).

Throughout the 1990s, The World Bank, as the dominant multilateral source of finance in developing countries, promoted expanded access to low cost primary education (World Bank 1995). At the time, the world also accelerated cost-sharing through tuition fees and the elimination of subsidies to mobilize private financing in public higher education (World Bank 1994). While there was a marked growth and expansion in education opportunities, the sector became characterized by exclusion and inequality and declining enrollment in poor households (Bentaouet Kattan and Burnette 2004).

The 2000 United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the more recent 2015 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) framed the global development agenda from a human rights-based perspective. These values were encapsulated in the UNESCO 2000 Dakar Framework of Action that reaffirmed the right to quality education for all with a focus on meeting the basic needs of all learners (UNESCO 2000). The follow-up UNESCO sponsored 2015 SDG 4 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action committed governments to ensure that they implemented an inclusive and equitable education opportunity and promoted lifelong learning opportunities for all citizens (World Bank 2015). The current analysis here examines the concept of inclusive quality education for all as a reflection of the shift in ideology towards a human rights-based education reform process, against a backdrop of a retreat from globalization and a backlash against neoliberalism.

Globalization and Changing State Interventionism

At the turn of this century, globalization was seen as a positive force in the forward march of modernization. The concept of globalization is broad and encompasses a variety of facets of the human experience. The founding of the Bretton Woods institutions in 1944 set in motion the contemporary process of globalization through the expansion of free market capitalism (Mikesell 1994). The nations of the world became intricately intertwined through trade, international finance, and macroeconomic policy, usually on the part of the dominant economic power blocks (Zajda 2018; Carnoy 1995).

The post-World-War II redistributive form of capitalism enabled the actualization of an expanding global system in which the economic, political, and sociocultural experiences of people around the world came to be intricately intertwined. For the next half century, the nation state and the citizenry remained the unit of reference in all accounting of economic intervention and the measure of growth and development. Keynesianism, or the belief in the necessity of state control over the economy, dominated the economic thinking about global development, with the state often intervening to redress market failure on behalf of the citizens.

The 1970s oil crisis compromised the world economies, leading to the proliferation of austerity measures. In the USA, the Nixon administration response to the first oil shock of 1973 was to introduce fiscal austerity in the social sector, while the Carter administration domestic policy response to the second oil shock of 1978–79 was ambiguous; however, both administrations introduced deregulation policies (Sill 2007; Weatherford and Fukui 1989), that introduced what became the dominant brand of neoliberalism in the American economy. The oil crisis also negatively impacted the global economy, leading the World Bank to mandate Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the developing regions. A globalized world in which communism and capitalism had hitherto offered opposed economic models, also enabled the continuation of governmental intervention in the lead up to the end of the 1980s.

By then, Western economies had adopted the expansion of free market globalization of production of goods and services, with the USA having pursued restrictions on public spending and the elimination of controls in the private sector (Crotty 2012; Weatherford and Fukui 1989). Implementation of similar restrictions were imposed on developing economies, as a result of the structural adjustment policies, with the education sector reforms moving towards an escalation of the use of cost-sharing, cost-recovery mechanisms in higher education, and the adoption of parental and community financing models in primary education (Haddad and Demsky 1987; Jee-Peng et al. 1986; Bray 1996). Nevertheless, throughout the 1980s, governments continued to intervene in the delivery of education services through public sector budgetary allocation and subsidies to the education sector that included non-tuition costs.

The globalization ideal of the 1990s represented a marked shift in both the status of the nation state and the relationship between the state and her citizens. With the

collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Francis Fukuyama 1992) would write that we have reached the "end of history," suggesting that the world had finally reached the conclusion civilization had been pointing toward for centuries. It seemed inevitable that liberal democracy would take root in every country of the world, and its economic expression, globalization, would soon dominate as well.

The last decade of the twentieth century ushered in a globalization of political democratization across the world, as countries began to relinquish authoritarianism. The demise of the Soviet Union presented Western countries with an opportunity to eliminate the cost of protection of their cold-war authoritarian allies, paving the way for breathing space for agents of human rights and democratization.

As the world progressed through the 1990s, global democratization and neoliberalism replaced Keynesianism, with implications for access, participation, and financing of education. Community and parental financing in basic education had become entrenched as a mechanism for mobilizing private resources for education (Levin and Lockheed 1991). The globalization of the 1990s largely expanded individual freedoms through democratization of the political spheres and decision making opportunities as liberal democracies became the dominant regime form around the world, a phenomenon that had been assumed to be the epitome of forms of governance for Western-inspired civilization.

The 1990s also marked the entrenchment of individualism as citizenry communitarian rights were upended by the globalization of unfettered free-market capitalism that cemented individual consumerism. Governments accelerated their divesting from delivery of social services, with the costs of education to individuals rising at all levels as budget cuts eroded the fiscal health of education institutions.

If the 1980s protests against budget cuts to social services and the negative effects of the SAPs among poor populations were mostly targeted against national governments, the 1990s saw growing and globalized protests against neoliberalism. The global democratization movement enabled civil-society organizing and the centering of a human-rights agenda in development discourse. Together with public sectors workers, civil-society groups mounted protests against governments, corporations and global capitalist institutions that promoted austerity measures and the erosion of the rights of workers (Warner 2005). The anti-globalization movements presented a counter force to the notion of a progressive and emancipatory globalization and shed light on the oppressive conditions of the global poor around the world.

While the ideology of neoliberalism was to promote a global free-market, it had not contemplated the issue of inequality and poverty within and across nations (Fischer 2003; Ravallion 2003). The level of absolute poverty rose in the most economically vulnerable developing regions, including Sub Saharan Africa and Central European (Chien and Ravallion 2001). It is the persistence of political globalization that enabled the expansion of protest activities, which were key to the adoption of the rights-based development ideology after the turn of the century, under the MDGs global compact, including a right to education for all.

Globalization and the Rise in the Manifestation of Nationalism

The current state of education reform is best understood within the context of a rise in nationalism and a retreat in neoliberalism, as the nation state is being forced to become accountable to her citizenry. While the contradictory existence of an articulation of a human-rights agenda and nationalism exist in the same space, it is important to recognize that these counter paradigms are united in their rejection of neoliberalism. While the civil society and citizen activism of the 1990s was directed towards global governmental institutions and national governments, the current protests also include counter-protests between residents characterised by a process of othering and xenophobia. It is also the case that reforms in the education sector that reflect the response to the adverse effects of neoliberalism on individual rights to education opportunities have been implemented in both the developed and the developing regions of the world, marking a retreat from neoliberalism and a return to mitigated Keynesianism.

The United Nations member countries from the developing regions of the world adopted the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MGDs), inspired right-based agendas, and enshrined the human rights of their citizens in their respective constitutions and new laws. This process had been contemplated as a mechanism for guaranteeing the realization of the MDGs by nations (Ghai and Cottrell 2011). Universal access to basic education had long been guaranteed in the developed countries of the West and in much of the better performing economies of Asia and South America. The MDGs pertaining to expanded access only promoted a guarantee to universal primary schooling, making it a much more relevant goal for the developing regions of the world. As such, the principles of neoliberalism continued to be applied to post-secondary education in all nations connected by a global capitalist market place. The MDGs implementation also moved development partners to shift emphasis from a focus on access towards consideration of quality and outcomes.

The global advance of neoliberalism that followed the demise of the Soviet Union represented a radical shift in the role and status of governments in the Western economies in relation to the rights and expectations of the citizenry. With the focus on individual capitalism, there was a concurrent acceleration in the loss of manufacturing jobs, as technology adoption increased and production shifted to the low-cost production zones in Asia (Berman et al. 1994; Bacchetta and Jansen 2011). At the same time, there was an acceleration in the gutting of labour protections and an erosion of welfare safety-nets in the West as well as further elimination of subsidies to social programs and consumer protections as a means to preventing capital flight (Drezner 2001).

The outcome in rising poverty, coupled with growing income inequality and vulnerability to unemployment personalized the protest movements in the West (Alderson and Nielsen 2002), This turn of events connected Western-focused civil society groups and individual agency to the growing anti-globalization and anti-Neoliberalism protest movements in the developing regions of the world. This is

evident in the protests against the World Trade Organization, and the more recent protest ritual at the annual G20 Summits that have focused on employing human agency in advancing human and environmental rights. Nevertheless, the application of the principles of neoliberalism continued to dominate the global economy, and in the shaping of the delivery of social services, defining the nature of access to public education.

The 2007–2008 global economic crisis was occasioned by the crash in the US real estate mortgages (Verick and Islam 2010). The magnitude of the recession has been compared to the great depression of the 1930s in terms of duration and severity and lasted well into 2009 (Thomas 2013). The financial crisis also exposed the economic vulnerability of populations in developing countries, whose economy is dominated by the service and financial sectors. The experience furthered the perception of economic dispossession of middle-class and working-class citizens of Eurocentric racial groups.

The expansion of political instability in the Middle East, in the post-2000 era, has created an ever increasing crisis of refugee migration into neighbouring countries and across borders into Western countries. While former refugees from around the world have been resettled in the Western countries, the most visible political face of dissatisfaction with Western neoliberal democracies in recent times has been refugee populations. This has been much the case given that migrants from North Africa and the Middle East seeking refuge in Europe (UNHCR 2018). Their seeking safety in the Western countries is wrongly perceived as contributing to economic vulnerability of the citizens. This shift towards an economic nationalist and ethnicist response to global socio-political change, has gained momentum in the post 2010 period, and represents an advent of a politics of dissatisfaction with neoliberal democratic governments and an embrace of anti-democratic ideology (Foa and Mounk 2016).

Education Reform Implications of a Right-Based Development

Expanded provision for access to education for all was one of the pillars of the 2000 Millennium declaration. The resolution provided for access to a full cycle of primary education for all children. Gender equality in all levels of education also became the goal, with a target of realizing the goals by 2015 (UN General Assembly 2000). As such, while it represented a shift towards a rights-based development approach in the delivery of education services, the focus of the reforms in the education sector did not differ from the priority advanced in the 1948 human rights declaration in terms of the issue of access to education. The international development efforts articulated within the World Bank emphasized the need to ensure access to education for all nationals, particularly in those countries with significant populations impacted by social, economic and political vulnerability (World Bank 2002, 2005; Sperling and Balu 2005).

The World Education Forum meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, had earlier offered a more comprehensive commitment to education for all, noting that a free and compulsory quality education is a right for every child regardless of their station in life (UNESCO 2000). The World Education Forum also committed itself to expanding comprehensive early childhood education, eliminating gender inequality, providing equitable access to skills development and life-skills training, and working to increase adult literacy rates by 50% (p. 8).

In spite of the commitments coming out of the World Forum on Education, the ability of nations to deliver on the commitment in the first decade of the new millennium remained subjected to the tenets of a neoliberal global economy. It is not surprising that the United Nations and UNESCO focused on primary education and left higher education to be subject to the free-market. The World Bank had consistently pushed for an ideology informed by rate-of-return to public investment in education and a prioritizing of primary education, because of perceived higher social and private returns to investment (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004). The focus on basic education also meant that the developing regions of the world were the geographic regions where any reforms pertaining to universalization of education would take place. The cost-recovery and cost-sharing policies in higher education continued to be pursued globally (Johnstone 2004a; Woodhall 2007), and tuition increases were witnessed in public higher education across nations and growth in the private sector in terms of delivering education services.

Among the reform measures that reflected the spirit of the 2000 Millennium Declaration and the Dakar Framework was the expanded access to basic education across the developed regions of the world. The only shift taking place, in terms of a rights-based development, ensuring the right to primary education and elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education within constitutions across developing countries (Ghai and Cottrell 2011), While not all children are enrolled, many developing countries and regions had made significant gains in expanding access to primary and secondary for previously excluded populations (World Bank 2006).

The development focus on basic education was understood as the major challenge of the developing regions of the world. The human development index continued to demonstrate that developing countries had achieved an almost universal level of access to primary schooling with a significantly high secondary education attainment in the adult populations (UNDP 2013). Average enrollment at primary education in both developed and developing countries was almost 100% and secondary enrollment rapidly expanded within the first decade of the new millennium. In addition, the average of the global population with at least a secondary education attainment for those above 25 years of age then stood at 57% (Majgaard and Mingat 2012; UNDP 2013). Nevertheless, as we entered the second decade of the new millennium, education remained out of reach for a majority of populations in social, political and economic vulnerable position. Of course, post-secondary education remained subject to free-market principles.

Global Reforming in Education as a Sustainable Right

The United Nations 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) went beyond an articulation of rights to encompass the element of sustainability in the global development agenda. The SDGs also spelled out seventeen goals and one hundred and sixty-nine (169) targets that were to be pursued simultaneously, in regards to the realization of human rights for all, gender equality, and the empowerment of all women (United Nations 2015). The SDGs represented a more comprehensive and holistic approach to human development and economic growth that captures the element of sustainability, while redressing the deprivation of exposure to neoliberalism with respect to exclusion and poverty conditions.

The proclamations in the SDGs were forward looking as they committed to address issues of marginalization in all forms, including the economically vulnerable, gender inequality, ability-based exclusion and discrimination, and ethnic marginalization (United Nations 2015). For the first time, proclamations regarding a guarantee of human rights recognized the inequality and deprivation faced by the marginalized and excluded populations in developed regions of the world and inadequate protection to the environment by all. Since then, all members of the United Nations system participating in monitoring the state of the various indicators of sustainable development, with the USA and the United Kingdom leading the way (Sachs et al. 2018; Lynch et al. 2019).

The UNESCO sponsored Education 2030 Incheon Declaration (UNESCO 2015) reiterates the declaration of the United Nations General Assembly to work towards a more equitable and sustainable global development. The SDGs education development commitments, in both the United Nations and UNESCO, were retrospective and prospective in anticipating implementation of interventions and programs that would promote sustainable development for all humanity. On the retrospective front, the proposed global interventions were intended to remedy the failure of governments to provide education for all the citizens. The Incheon declaration had noted that special measures and financial investment were needed to meet the needs of the millions of adults, youth, and children that remained illiterate. Moving forward, the world nations committed to eliminating illiteracy and ensuring the delivery of an inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels (UNESCO 2015; United Nations 2015).

The education sector reforms that have been implemented since the adoption of the MDGs represent a right-based paradigm and focus on expanding access to education with an emphasis on improving quality and learning outcomes in developing regions of the world. As neoliberalism continued to define global capitalism, it has not been surprising that education reform processes of the MDG era were limited to basic education, a focus on outcomes, and on expanding market access in tertiary education. While many countries opened their doors to primary schooling and expanded access to secondary schooling by eliminating user-fees, the donor driven interventions mostly limited their scope to early grade learning (Bentaouet Kattan and Burnette 2004; Graham and Kelly 2018). Teacher recruitment, training, and

incentives were aimed at improving the quality experience for learners and promote achievement (Nielsen 2006).

Conditional cash-transfer programs and food-aid programs were also employed in order to incentivize education participation amongst the economically vulnerable and mobile food-insecure families (Reimers et al. 2006; Gitter and Barham 2008). Poor school feeding programs have demonstrated that they improve enrollment and participation among food-insecure households, with the largest single donor of school-feeding intervention being the World Food Program (Drake et al. 2016). Reforms aimed at improving learner outcomes in basic education were also explored in developed countries as well. Unlike the developing countries context, whose focus was on a basic right to education, the primary policy focus was to prepare students for a twenty-first century economy and global competitiveness. For example, the adoption of the 2001 No Child Left Behind policy in the United States mirrors the global concern of improving learning outcomes for vulnerable children and America's readiness for a twenty-first century economy (United States Congress 2002).

In developing countries, education finance reforms in higher education were meant to expand access to groups that had previously been excluded. Such reforms touched on user-fee policies involving tuition-costs and living expenses for students attending public higher education as marketization of the post-secondary tier of the school system remained in place even with the implementation of MDGs. The expansion of education opportunities from the 1990s allowed for the public university to establish parallel admission tracks for publicly-subsidized and full-fee paying students, most of the later are likely to be from a disadvantaged backgrounds (Canning et al. 2007; Murakami and Blom 2008).

In the developing regions of the world, excluding the non-university sector, student loans were expanded to include students attending both public and private universities While the student loan markets were more mature in the developed countries, the private financing programs in developing regions were nascent and characterized by challenges in uptake (Abdo et al. 2015), with implications for accessibility and affordability regarding economically vulnerable students (Murakami and Blom 2008).

Advances in expanding access to primary education has significantly contributed to reduction in illiteracy rates in developing countries (Chowdhury 1995). Nevertheless, a focus on interventions in adult education continues to be a reflection of the inefficiencies and failures of the formal school systems. Illiteracy rates remain high in developing regions of the world and are found to be considerable in the older populations, with more significant negative life outcomes for isolated illiterate individuals (UNESCO 2018). The MDGs opened up opportunities for a continued fight to eliminate illiteracy, including adult literacy and adult education focused interventions in a decentralizing policy environment (UNESCO 2013).

The MDGs provided for previously excluded youth and adults to be reintegrated into the school system. An examination of case studies from national school systems in sub-Sahara Africa revealed that governments have adopted re-entry and

continuation policies or practices for pregnant learners but do not always enforce compulsory schooling (Birungi et al. 2015). Other policies have addressed the issue of elimination of exposure to gender-based violence, safety, and pregnancy-related discriminatory practices through promotion of learner-friendly environments for girls (UNESCO 2014). Elimination of fees following the adoption of the MDGs has also seen surges in enrollment, with attendant increase in participation for previously marginalized populations (Morgan et al. 2014).

When there was consensus about a global economy and democratization, the task of the school was relatively clear. There has been consensus that a democracy requires well-schooled citizens. But rarely have policy makers confronted the issue of how democratic attitudes are to be developed. How was an institution, the school, that has been traditionally built on hierarchy, authoritarianism, and patriarchy, all antithetical to democratic values, going to adjust itself so that it contributes to globalizing, democratic values and attitudes among the young (Dalin and Rust 1995)? The naïve argument might be that schools were the only institutions that could make the necessary adjustments. We could not rely on the workplace to do the job. Most workplaces do not help youth learn democratic, global values. Employers expect workers to be obedient to arbitrary rules. Factories expect workers to perform a limited number of tasks in a tightly defined manner, and in coordination with all the other tasks being undertaken. We could not rely on religious institutions to instill democratic values. They expect adherents to engage in strict obedience to God's laws and mandates. Even sports are not easily adapted to democratic thinking. Players are usually expected to follow prescribed plays and follow the rules and guidelines of the coach. The home is also not inclined to be democratic. Good parenting is usually defined as strict parenting, where mom and dad are in control and the kids obediently follow their mandates.

The one aspect of our contemporary culture that may claim to be democratizing and globalizing is digital technology. In prior decades such technology has fallen within the realm of national entities, but in the recent past technology has broken away from national boundaries and has become, for better or worse, globalized. The former gatekeepers of information have lost their gatekeeping powers and communications technology has demonstrated that it has the capacity to become instantly viral, to become global in its capacity to race around the world. Information technology has the capacity to assist a single, humble individual or a national tyrant to take advantage of its capabilities.

Having no other options, we must rely on schools to instill global, democratic values. Typically, schools have adopted formal curriculum units to teach youth about formally defined democracies. Kids learn about the various parts of the formal constitution of countries, the processes of government, including laws and governance practices. They learn about citizenship and what it means to be a good citizen. However, most studies suggest schools have not done particularly well in imparting civic knowledge and behavior, mainly because formal learning does not translate well into civic behavior. But today, where these goals are contested, the role of schooling becomes not only contested, but in question. Many would argue

that schooling is, inherently, anti-democratic and because it is generally sponsored by national governments, its curriculum is too often dedicated to the interests of those national sponsoring agencies.

Inclusive Education and Shared Sustainable Prosperity

Education sector reforms that have come into effect since 2015, reflect a paradigm shift towards a more inclusive education sector development and a shared sustainable prosperity. The more recent reforms also reflect a global shift away from the neoliberal ideology. This emerging development paradigm and ideological shift extends the agency and policy reform efforts of the first decade of the twenty-first century and attempts to respond to the education needs of marginalized populations in both the developed and the developing regions. Neoliberalism had resulted in the globalization of inequality and poverty in ways that compromised access to basic services (Ravallion 2003). The present sector reforms are bringing together concerted efforts to meet the education needs of citizens whose voices were unleashed with the anti-economic globalization movements.

Education reforms that have been implemented since the adoption of the SDG are both target and context specific. In school systems, for all United Nations member countries, there is a shift towards expanding access through inclusive practices. Early childhood education, previously not considered an aspect of universal basic education, has now been incorporated into the plan of education for all. Nevertheless, the goal of universal education remains elusive. Many children, especially the most vulnerable, have not yet found access to schools (UNESCO 2016, 2018).

Significant efforts have been made to expand access to pre-school and pre-primary education with variations in the delivery of education services reflecting the unique differences in national context (White and Friendly 2012; van Huizen and Plantenga 2018). For example, the American states of Georgia, Texas, Florida and California have expanded access to pre-kindergarten state-funded programs. New York City has been the first to implement an acceleration towards universal access to pre-kindergarten education (Potter 2015). Pre-kindergarten education covering three to 5 year olds has also been opened in some public primary schools in developing countries of the world (UNESCO 2019).

Attention to the consideration of an inclusive education has been framed more as a function of expanding access to children. The interventions have also recognized that vulnerabilities exists in multiple dimensions for some children. As a result, countries have begun to implement practices that address access to education for children with disabilities by developing inclusive learning environments, pedagogical support structures for learners with special needs, grants and nutrition needs for children from low-socioeconomic background, and education needs of migrant children (UNESCO 2019).

Investment in infrastructure is one other area we have seen being undertaken by countries implementing SDG4. The early childhood education area now benefits from investment in buildings, construction, and rehabilitation of classrooms in developing countries (Roca and Proulx 2016).

Another dimension of the articulation of inclusive education practice is evident in the reforms in higher education that are focused on creating a more inclusive and diverse learning environment. In the US, for example, while diversity has been an issue institutions have grappled for some time. Many institutions now clearly articulate requirements in their mission statements, as well as practices that account for diversity in the composition of their faculty, staff, and student populations (U.S. Department of Education 2016). Universities in Europe have also adopted strategies to maximize diversity (Claeys-Kulik and Jørgensen 2018).

The direction of reforms centered around the issue of access seems to be diverging across countries and is context specific. The Norwegian higher education system is more socially inclusive, compared to the German higher education system owing to its tuition-free policy (Schulze-Cleven and Olson 2017). The discourse on American campuses now embraces a social-justice framework and is moving away from a limited focus on diversity in ways that attempts to find solutions to the conditions of marginalization (Stachowiak 2015). This is reflected in reforms that include the growing trend in some states in the US that have embraced policies that promote access to free or subsidized public education. The focus is mainly on a guaranteed, tuition free, two-years community college education (College Promise Campaign 2019). Private student loans and federal financial aid continues to be accessible to students in US higher education, irrespective of the provider and the nature of the delivery of post-secondary education (Radwin et al. 2018).

In much of the developing world, the higher education finance reforms have mostly centered on expanding access to public funding sources for economically vulnerable populations. (Johnstone 2004a, b). Previous efforts were focused on cost-recovery for students attending public university systems, particularly for publicly subsidized student loans being made available to students qualified as low income (Albrecht and Ziderman 1992). Besides government subsidized student loans, the private sector has increasingly been involved in lending to students, who are participating in private higher education institutions (Johnstone 2004a, b). The MDGs allowed for devolution of resource management in previously centralized governments that embraced representation among minority regions and ethnic minority inclusion in national development (UN General Assembly 2000). More recently, devolved governments have emerged as the most accessible source of grant support to higher education for students from low socio-economic background in the regions. The Kenyan example of the deployment of the Constituency Development Funds for bursary allocation to higher education does illustrate this trend (Ayako 2015).

Summary and Conclusion

The post-Sustainable Development Goals era represents a paradigm and ideological shift in global relationships and in the relationship between citizens and those seeking protection from violence and other forms of indignity. The erosion of the social and economic safety-nets under neoliberalism gave rise to civil and nationalist discontent. In both cases, a shared belief in the exclusion and dispossession of rights by the governments has precipitated the demand for accountability and a recognition of rights to compensatory intervention. The outcome has been two contradictory social paradigms in which nationalist forces advance exclusion, while the rights-based social movement advocates promote an inclusive prosperity agenda. The global education sector reforms reflect a more inclusive development paradigm shift, expanding access to education and eliminating economic barriers to higher education for marginalized populations.

The more recent reforms in the education sector signal a shift away from neoliberalism and towards a mitigated Keynesianism in policy and practice. The SDGs build on the gains of the UN Millennium Development Goals, by allowing for governmental intervention in the delivery of education services. They also expanded the articulation of the relationship between the citizen and the state by centering on rights in national development. While free-market capitalism continues to be the economic ideology, the demarketization of aspects of education services signals a shift away from the practice of neoliberalism that dominated the last 30 years of global development. The education reforms that are being implemented under the SDGs, address issues of access and quality from a multidimensional perspective. For example, basic education has been expanded to include school readiness in the form of universalized pre-schools and early childhood education. They have also paid special attention to the condition of children in difficult circumstances and those for whom participation may be hindered by a compromised learning environment. More and more governments are investing in education infrastructure and teacher supply in order to boost delivery of quality education for all. Elimination of user fees and tuition charges at postsecondary education expands access to previously marginalized socio-economic groups of students. Overall, governments are now more responsive to the rights of their citizens in ways that they have not been since the advent of the unfettered free-market capitalism of the neoliberalism brand.

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Chapter 4
Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education: Australia

Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter focuses on current research trends in higher education in Australia. The chapter analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neo-conservative higher education policy in Australia, globalisation and practices of governance education, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. Higher education policy reforms reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology.

Keywords Globalisation · Higher education · Higher education policy · Governance · Neo-liberal higher education policy · Social stratification · Global university rankings · Internationalization · Quality

Globalization and the Politics of Higher Education Reforms

Recent public pronouncements on the crisis of higher education in some countries reflect, to a certain degree, a degree of "moral panic". The term was coined by Cohen (1972) to define the condition that favours media responses to a perceived crisis in society. Cohen explains the aetiology of moral panic:

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> Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion … the moral barricades are manned … socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. (Cohen 1972, p. 9)

In higher education policy rhetoric, both locally and globally, there is a tendency to argue, using a powerful tool of logic, that there is a need to increase global competitiveness, and to improve excellence and quality in education, training and skills. Global competitiveness and the drive to attract more students are also governed by global university rankings. It has become increasingly evident that university rankings and *university leagues tables are "taking on a life of their own, well beyond the purposes imagined by their originators"* (Robertson 2012, p. 244), which is clearly a "reification" of the phenomenon. Reification occurs when an abstract concept describing a social condition, in this case economic priorities for globalizing higher education reforms, becomes the reality, and the truth. According to Berger & Luckmann, "reification" occurs when specifically, human creations are misconceived as "facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, p. 89). Unlike Marx, who used the concept of reification in his *Das Capital* (1867/1996) to demonstrate that it was an inherent and necessary characteristic of economic value; I use "reification" in a broader sense, covering all policy and education reforms which involve power, domination and control. Reification, in this sense, also connects with Baudrillard's (1994) idea of signification, where perceived key concepts and policy goals have no referent in any "reality" except their own.

Globalization and Neo-Liberal Higher Education Policy Reforms in Australia

Neo-liberalism in the education sector can be defined in terms of competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, equity-driven reforms, and quality-driven-reforms. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, the quality of education, and market oriented and 'entrepreneurial' university model represent a neoliberal ideology, which focuses primarily on the market-driven imperatives of economic globalisation. The ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy, which has redefined education and training as an investment in human capital and human resource development, has dominated higher education reforms in Australia since the 1980s. The literature relating to human capital theory demonstrates that education consistently emerges as the prime human capital investment. Human capital refers to "the productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy" (Zajda 2008, p. 45). Human capital research has found that education and training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills; improves a worker's socio-economic status, career

opportunities and income (Becker 1964, 1994; Schultz 1971; Levin 1987; Carnoy 1999; Saha 2015; Zajda 2018); and plays a significant role in driving overall economic performance. In general, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms focuses on "meeting the needs of the market, technical education and job training, and revenue generation" (Saunders 2010, p. 54).

Globally, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms has been characteristic of capitalist societies, including Australia, since the 1980s. It resulted in "education and training, public debates regarding standards and changed funding regimes" (Davies and Bansel 2007, p. 247). Hence, the politics of higher education reforms in Australia reflect this new emerging paradigm of accountability, "globalisation and academic capitalism" (Delanty 2001, p. 120), performance indicators and "standards-driven policy change" (Zajda 2010, p. xv).

Globalization, policy and the politics of higher education reforms in Australia suggest new economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism, and a new dimension of cultural imperialism. As the UNESCO's humanistic model for education, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, "the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was gaining in prominence" (Zajda 2010, p. xvi). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy were likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for the Australian higher education system, reforms and policy implementations. Forces of globalization, manifesting themselves as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, tended to legitimate an "exploitative system" (McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005), and have contributed to the ongoing neo-liberal globalization of the higher education sector in Australia. This is characterized by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalization of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for the universities (Zajda 2008, p. 3). The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status, the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. In higher education policy documents in the OECD, the World Bank, and Australia, policy reforms appear to be presented as a given, and as a necessary response to economic globalization and global competitiveness.

One of the effects of globalization is that the higher education sector in Australia, having modelled its goals and strategies on the market-oriented and *entrepreneurial* business model, is compelled to embrace the "corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism" (Zajda 2018). Recent policy changes in the Australian higher education sector represent a major policy shift from a traditional humanist model to a highly technicist model of the university. In this new market-oriented model of university, the ideals of humanistic education have been replaced by "economic rationalism and neo-conservative ideology", which have become a dominant ideology, in which education is seen as a "producer of goods and services that foster economic growth", based on the key concepts "from the discourse of global economy, including productivity, competitiveness, efficiency and maximization of profits" (Zajda 2010, p. xiii).

The neo-liberal aspect of the policy reforms was already present in the higher education reforms in Australia in the 1980s. Smyth (1994), in his neo-Marxist analysis of Dawkins's higher education policy reforms in Australia in the context of globalization, suggests that from a macrosocial perspective one needs to locate policy reforms in the context of "the wider international economic and political imperatives" and that "the dramatic changes to higher education in Australia have been intricately connected to the increasing globalisation of world capitalism" (Smyth 1994, p. 39). This policy shift, Smyth (1994) argues, was depicted by such indicators as "pedagogy for profit", "the instrumentalisation of knowledge" and "the proletarianisation of educated labour", and represents:

> a significant shift of higher education away from a social agenda towards individualistic market-regulated modes of responding to broad international economic force. (Smyth, 1994, p. 66)

Current Imperatives of Globalization and Higher Educational Policy Reforms in Australia

The Bologna Process and Australian Higher Education

One of the outcomes of forces of globalization affecting societies, including Australia, was a manifest phenomenon of standardizing university degree structures. In order to be seen as delivering high-quality education, training and skills, and all relevant to international standards and requirements, Australia had to respond to these global developments affecting the higher education sector. In 2006, the Australian government issued a discussion paper, "The Bologna Process and Australia: Next Steps" (April 2006). Julie Bishop, the then minister for education, science and training, in her preface, wrote that Australia had to respond to globalization by aligning its higher education sector with "frameworks with international standards and benchmarks", in order to retain its globally competitive edge in attracting international students:

> If Australia is not able to maintain alignment with these developments, a significant proportion of the current 32,000 European enrolments in Australian institutions may find other destinations more attractive. Similarly, should Asian countries or institutions choose to align with the Bologna Process, Europe may become a more attractive destination for those students. The Bologna Process provides a series of opportunities and challenges, and is an opportunity for Australia to better align its frameworks with international standards and benchmarks. The challenge is how to achieve this and retain an Australian higher education sector that meets both domestic and international expectations of quality. (*The Bologna Process and Australia*, 2006, p. 2).

University Rankings and University League Tables

One of the more controversial outcomes of higher education policy reforms globally and demands for accountability and transparency is world university rankings and *university league tables.* The first university league tables appeared nearly 20 years ago and have been subjected to ongoing criticism regarding research methodologies employed and the quality, validity and reliability of the data collection process. Current major and global university ranking models include the Shanghai Jiao Tong University's (2019) *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU), the *Times Higher Education* (THE) *World University Rankings* (powered by Thompson Reuters, since 2010), *QS World University Rankings* (2020), and the *European Commission's U-Multirank* (2019). These four main global ranking schemes of universities use the databases provided by Thomson Reuters and Elsevier. The US has its own rankings of universities and colleges, reported annually in *US News and World Report*. According to Rust and Kim, the US has "long maintained rankings of its universities and colleges … the most prominent current example is the annual rankings by *US News and World Report*" *(*Rust and Kim 2012, p. 6). The ARWU and THE university rankings are the two most widely used models among "more than 30 variably known ranking systems" (Robertson 2012, p. 241). All of these models for ranking universities are different in design, scope and data collection methods.

In Australia, higher education policymakers are very keen to contribute to the making of Australia's higher education system as a world-class standard. Rowbotham (2012) reported on Australia's progress to date on ranking Australia's higher education system as world-class

> A NEW world ranking for higher education systems places Australia eighth, with a high output in graduates and research despite a low input of resources … The ranking of 48 countries for the Universitas 21 group of 24 local and international institutions shows the US, Sweden, Canada, Finland, Denmark, Switzerland and Norway lead Australia, with The Netherlands and Britain in ninth and tenth positions. (Rowbotham 2012)

Australian universities are represented through the national universities' lobbying body *Universities Australia* (previously called Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee). Eight universities in the list have formed a group in recognition of their recognized status and history, known as the "Group of Eight"or "G8". Academic quality, status, prestige and academic achievements vary across universities. Some universities in Australia have gained international recognition and have been ranked highly in the Shanghai JiaoTong University *Academic Ranking of World Universities*, and the *Times Higher Education* (THE) *World University Rankings*. The *Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2020* listed eight Australian universities among the world's top 75 institutions.

However, the global ranking of Australian universities by the *QS World University Rankings 2020,* the *Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2020*, and Shanghai Jiao Tong University's 2019 Academic Ranking of World Universities, entered consecutively in Table 4.1, reveal inexplicable fluctuation and flaws in the

Table 4.1 The Global Ranking of Australian Universities

Australian National University	29, **50**, 76	50 in 2020
University of Melbourne	38, **32**, 41	32 in 2020
University of Sydney	42, **60**, 80	60 in 2020
University of Queensland	47, **66**, 54	66 in 2020

rankings of Australian universities, as illustrated in different rankings of the four universities by the three ranking systems. For instance, the University of Sydney ranking fluctuated between 42 and 80, and the ANU fluctuated between 29 and 76. Such variations cast doubts of validity and reliability of cross-country empirical data collected.

Institutional rankings, as described earlier, demonstrate a neo-liberal ideology of accountability and efficiency. Accountability instruments increasingly control the lives and careers of academics. They assess and govern the quality and standards of higher education, and include "accreditation, cyclical reviews, and external evaluation by peers, inspection, audits, benchmarking, and research assessments" (Robertson 2012, p. 241).

Measuring Quality in Higher Education in Australia

Higher Education Quality and Standards Agencies

It has been argued that the politics of higher education reforms surrounding standards, excellence and quality have "largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies" (Watson 2000, p. 140; see also Zajda 2015). At the same time, Moses and Nanna (2007) argue that high-stakes testing reforms, driven by political and cultural ideology and concerns for efficiency and economic productivity, serve to impede the development of *real* equality of educational opportunity, particularly for the least advantaged students (p. 56). Although centralization and decentralization reforms in education reflect a neo-liberal ideology at work, they do not necessarily capture a complexity of forces fuelling educational and policy change. Academic standards, performance and quality of schooling continue to dominate the reform agenda globally, especially the performance leagues tables.

Between 2000 and 2011, the Australian federal government, drawing on international research on quality in higher education, has established three quality systems for assessing university performance. The Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) was formally established by the Ministerial Council on Education, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) in March 2000. Its primary goal was to audit and report on quality assurance in Australian higher education – all designed to enhance the academic quality in higher education. As to be expected, one of the key recommendations of the Bradley Report was to establish a standards and performance monitoring body:

> Australia must enhance its capacity to demonstrate outcomes and appropriate standards in higher education if it is to remain internationally competitive and implement a demand-driven funding model. More systematic processes will be needed at both the institutional and the individual discipline level to provide stronger assurance of organisational and academic standards … Australian higher education could become vulnerable in the longer term to questions about its quality … A discipline-based approach will be required to strengthen the quality assurance framework as the nature and level of learning outcomes in higher education depend heavily on the particular field of study and reflect the judgments of those who are expert in it. (Bradley et al. 2008, p. 128; p. 133)

One of the outcomes of the Bradley Report was the establishment of a new quality and standards body in 2011. The previous *Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA*) was replaced by the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA). TEQSA was established on 30 July 2011 by the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Act 2011. The leading role of TEQSA is to evaluate the performance of universities and other higher education providers every 5 years, and to measure the overall quality of the Australian higher education system:

> It will accredit providers, evaluate the performance of institutions and programs, encourage best practice, simplify current regulatory arrangements and provide greater national consistency. TEQSA will take the lead in coordinating this work and establishing objective and comparative benchmarks of quality and performance. The agency will collect richer data and monitor performance in areas such as student selection, retention and exit standards, and graduate employment. (*Transforming*, 2009, p. 31)

Prior to the Bradley Report, in 2008, the minister for innovation, industry, science and research, the Hon Senator Kim Carr, announced the release of a new research quality and evaluation framework, Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA). It replaced the Research Quality Framework (RQF). The RQF was similar to the Research Assessment Exercise in the United Kingdom. The Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) initiative was developed and managed by the Australian Research Council (ARC), as a major funder of public sector research.

Summative evaluation of the teaching and research performance in Australian universities involves annual faculty career and performance plans, annual research plans for individual academics and obligatory evaluation of teaching. At some universities, evaluation of teaching is compulsory for all teaching staff, and is administered in the online mode. Students rate their lectures online. An annual career and performance plan for an academic covers teaching workload, short-term and long-term career goals, and agreed performance objectives for teaching, research and other activities (such as university leadership, profession and service), as well as strategic links to school, faculty and university targets, and professional and career development, which includes development to be undertaken to achieve agreed performance outcomes. All these are typical features of a neo-liberal ideology and its focus on accountability, efficiency and ongoing performance surveillance of learning, teaching and research.

All these new facets of evaluating teaching and research represent a very high degree of surveillance, power (Foucault 1980) and control over academics'

professional lives. It becomes a global and ubiquitous managerial version of "panopticon", or the all-seeing environment. Certain offices, without walls, all in glass, are modern examples of surveillance and panopticon. Panopticon, as a concept, was an institutional building designed by English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham (c. 1798). In Foucault's development of this notion, the individual is under constant surveillance in the prison/organization. This power/knowledge mechanism over time becomes *internalized* by the subject, resulting in a self-surveillance and self-analysis in terms of the *normalizing* pressure of the system. This power/knowledge mechanism "compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short it normalises" (Foucault 1980, p. 183). Its contemporary manifestation is present in such managerial systems as ongoing annual appraisals, performance reviews, the constantly reworked CV and E portfolios--a ubiquitous feature of today's higher education environment. It could also be seen as redolent of the historically recent phenomena of "samo kritika" (self-criticism) in the former Soviet Union.

In deconstructing modes of evaluation of the performance of universities, we may also refer to "simulacrum", to critique the reification of systemic accountability, quality and standards. The simulacra that Jean Baudrillard (1994) refers to are the significations and symbolism of culture and media that construct perceived reality. According to him, our perception of the world/reality is constructed out of models or simulacra, which have no referent or ground in any "reality" except their own. One could argue, in terms of reification, that the models employed for measuring the overall quality of the Australian higher education system are taking on a life of their own, and parading as truth in their own right. It is essential, argues Robertson, to remember that ranking universities is based on a selection of criteria of preferred "fragments" of knowledge:

> That we remind ourselves of just what a ranking is a fragment of knowledge about what university knowledge and experiences mean, rather than some essential understanding, or distilled essence of the whole. (Robertson, 2012, p. 244)

Evaluation

As argued earlier, the higher education sector in Australia responded in four ways to the market forces dictating accountability, quality of education and training, labour market prospects and global competiveness. The second challenge was to provide the necessary funding to the higher education sector. The proportion of higher education funding from the federal government was "shrinking" during the 1995–2009 period (Suri and Beckett 2012, p. 200). Every year the sector educates 1.2 million students and attracts $23 billion of expenditure, almost 2% of GDP (Westacott 2013, p. 3). In overall spending as a percentage of GDP, Australia is right on the OECD average at 1.5% (Group of Eight 2011, p. 22). In 2008, total Commonwealth Supported Places (CSP) EFTSL cost just over $8 billion, of which about $4.2 billion was Commonwealth contributions, nearly $3 billion was student contributions and $0.9 billion was Commonwealth HECS subsidies (Group of Eight 2011, p. 16).

International students add to the education system financially, by contributing some $3.8 billion to the sector (Westacott 2013, p. 4). The third challenge was to respond to market-driven reforms for economic and technological dominance. This was achieved, to some extent, by the foregoing measures. The final challenge was to enhance the quality of education and equity. University offers to low socio-economic–status applicants increased faster after 2010 (8.8%), and the goal was "to increase participation of low SES students to 20 per cent by 2020" (Gillard 2010).

Conclusion

Higher education reforms in Australia, as discussed earlier, represent policy responses to globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality- and standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. The divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality. In general, students from lower SES are unlikely to be successful in entering universities, let alone prestigious universities. Hence, equity-driven policy reforms in higher education are unlikely to succeed. Furthermore, national economic priorities, aligned with a knowledge economy, human capital and global competitiveness, compel increasingly entrepreneurial universities to reward high-level over low-level knowledge, skills and training. The latest higher education reforms focus more on economic competitiveness, academic elitism, quality and standards, rather than on addressing access and equity, in order to solve serious educational inequalities in the higher education sector.

The foregoing demonstrates that neo-liberal dimensions of globalization and market-driven economic imperatives have impacted higher education reforms in four ways: competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, equity-driven reforms and quality-driven reforms. Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda. Accountability, efficiency, academic capitalism, the quality of education, and the market-oriented and "entrepreneurial" university model represent a neo-liberal ideology, which focus primarily on the market-driven imperatives of economic globalization (Zajda 2018).

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Chapter 5
Neoliberal Education – A New Citizenship Education in a Globalised World? Comparing Citizenship Education in Singapore and Australia

Jia Ying Neoh

Abstract This article explores the role of globalisation in shaping the conceptions of citizenship education and the expectations of citizens in democracies. By exploring the key ideas of democratic participation and critically analysing the goals of the curricular reforms in Australia and Singapore, and the subsequent curricular arrangements for citizenship education, this chapter's central premise is that globalization has prompted the need for countries to look beyond the cultural and nationalistic confines of nations to consider a broader concept of global citizenship, based on democratic visions. This approach is also necessary for the balancing of the economic and social demands of globalisation. The chapter reiterates the view that without a firm commitment to democracy, citizenship education can inadvertently become a tool to support the goals of neoliberalism, which are fundamentally at odds with the classical tradition of democracy. This is problematic as it can undermine the capabilities of citizens to '[energize] and [spread] the basis of a global radical democracy' (Giroux 2005, p. XXVII).

Keywords Australia · Citizenship education · Curriculum reforms · Democracy · Global citizen · Globalisation · Neoliberalism · Singapore

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Neoliberal Education – A New Citizenship Education in a Globalised World? Comparing Citizenship Education in Singapore and Australia: Introduction

Globalisation can be interpreted in a variety of ways, depending on the goals of globalisation and the elements and sectors of social activity that are considered significant (Gopinathan 2007). Broadly, globalisation can be understood as 'a multi-dimensional cultural construct that reflects the interdependence and connections of all core facets of culture: the economy, politics, ideology, languages, education, consumer goods, travel, modes of communication, technology, and the people around the world' (Zajda 2018 p. 2). New levels, sites and structures of governance are created in response to globalization (Staeheli 1999), providing locations for the core facets of globalization to compete for significance. In particular, there are implications for the assumptions that confine citizenship within nation-states (Staeheli 1999). The ability of a 'static, territorial and status-bound notions of citizenship' to capture young people's contemporary engagement in 'transnational, social and relational processes' are now being challenged (Wood and Black 2018, p. 186).

The investigations of citizenship in the context of globalisation inevitably involves the comparative study of the rights and duties of citizens across diverse societies, which often converge at two modern movements – nationalism and capitalism (Ampuja 2015; Isnin and Turner 2007). The tensions and sometimes, contradictions between 'citizenship and the state', and 'nationalism and capitalism' highlight the growing prominence of neoliberalism that influences educational decisions based on the premise of the competitive market and the focus on 'real knowledge' (Ampuja 2015; Apple 2011; Gandin and Apple 2002; Isnin and Turner 2007, p. 6; Zajda 2015). This brings attention to the questions of what constitutes 'real knowledge' and what core facets of globalisation are privileged over the others in the process? What are the purposes of emphasising these facets and what are the possible consequences on a democratic society?

Using Singapore and Australia, two countries that purportedly champion democracy in the Asia-Pacific region as a platform for discussion, this chapter focuses on conceptualising the citizenship concepts that are promoted in the two education systems to identify the core facets of globalisation that are emphasised. It examines the influence of societal contexts on the views about citizenship and democracy, and how they shape the approaches towards citizenship education. Discussions concur with Howard and Patten (2006) that unless countries are explicitly committed to democratic citizenship, citizenship education will be shaped by the 'dominant ideology' of neoliberalism (p. 454).

Expanding the Boundaries of Citizenship Education

If the key goal of education is to serve the moral primacy of preparing individuals for effective and active participation in democracies (Dewey 1916; Gutmann 1987; Reid 2002), then citizenship education for democratic ends should be an overarching goal of schooling in every society. Yet, depending on the society in which citizenship is practised and the form that democracy takes, citizenship education can take varied conceptions and hold different statuses in the curriculum. With the dynamic nature of democracy (Crick 2008; Engle and Ochoa 1988; Giroux 2004; Reid 2002), it is possible for a wide spectrum of conflicting groups to claim democracy (Engle and Ochoa 1988). Even among countries with similar political orientation and within each country, democracy can be interpreted in a variety of ways (Cook and Westheimer 2006; Zyngier et al. 2015). Depending on their political ideologies, tensions exist between those who view citizenship education as a form of political liberation and democratic emancipation, and those who see it as a necessary form of social control and socialization (Cogan et al. 2002; Crick 2008).

As the economies of Asia grow rapidly, the promotion of Asian values over Western notions of democracy and human rights has intensified (Mendes 1996). Some argue that the study of citizenship education in Asian and Western societies is often complicated because citizenship concepts are rooted in Western ideologies. For example, Lee (2004) contends that any attempts to trace non-Western concepts within a conceptual background that is fundamentally Western, is itself, a paradoxical task. Presumably, a dichotomy of Eastern and Western values exists, classifying the West as individualistic and the East as collectivist (Lee 2004). With globalisation, this East-West distinction of democratic concepts is being challenged by the support for a universal interpretation of democracy in Asian and Western societies to help understand citizenship education in 'the richness of its local contexts, while recognizing its commonalities, shared values and aspirations in developing an intelligent citizenry' (Kennedy and Fairbrother 2004, p. 289). It is argued that with globalisation:

> 'education cannot be understood without recognising that nearly all educational policies and practices are strongly influenced by an increasingly integrated international economy that is subject to severe crisis; that reforms and crises in one country have significant effects in others; and that immigration and population flows from one nation or area to another have tremendous impacts on what counts as official knowledge, what counts as a responsive and effective education, what counts as appropriate teaching…' (Apple 2011, p. 223).

Indeed, globalisation has facilitated dynamic interactions and flow of ideas among countries and consequently, citizenship developed in Asia are a hybrid combination of Western and Asian concepts (Lee 2004). Kim noted that 'Asia has already made great strides towards democratisation and possessed the necessary conditions to develop democracy even beyond the level of the West…Asia should lose no time in firmly establishing democracy and strengthening human rights… Culture is not necessarily [Asia's] destiny. Democracy is.' (Mendes 1996).

Taking the view that democracy is desirable as a structure to resolve problems and negotiate differences (Crick 2000), this article sees the ultimate goal of citizenship education as effective democratic participation. Through a consideration of societal contexts, the following sections discusses the key goals of citizenship education and the experiences identified to support this learning area in Australia and Singapore. What are the similarities and the differences and what may be the impacts on the societies as globalisation draws closer relationships among countries in the Asia-Pacific region?

Goals and Experiences of Citizenship Education in a Globalised World: Five Key Ideas

One of the key implications of globalisation for citizenship is the prospect of living permanently with variety and difference (Apple 2011; Staeheli 1999; Wood and Black 2018). While it may be naïve to argue that the nation-state is unimportant or to call for complete deterritorialization, it is necessary to conceptualise citizenship beyond the geographical confines of the states to incorporate the multi-layered and multi-scaled nature of political opportunities and structures to influence the ethical, political and social decisions that citizens need to make (Ampuja 2015; Staeheli 1999; Wood and Black 2018). The multilateral arrangements and international consensuses among nations implicate citizens in a complex web of rights and responsibilities, concerning a vast network of issues including the environment, trade, refugees, war and children (Isnin and Turner 2007). Consequently, a consideration of effective ways to negotiate differences amidst growing diversity is necessary to address competing social interests through a process of deliberate conciliation (Crick 2013). This perspective sees education as a site for linking learning to social change by critically engaging with social life (Engle and Ochoa 1988; Giroux 2005; Gutmann 1987).

The consideration of the nature of citizenship against the backdrop of globalization points democratic participation points towards five key ideas. The first, and fundamental essence of democratic participation lies in the *dynamic* nature of citizenship, one that requires citizens to be involved in social debates and reconstruction (Crick 2007; Engle and Ochoa 1988; Kincheloe 2001; Staeheli 2011; Westheimer 2015). This is motivated by the aspiration to balance the elements of social and cultural diversity with those of cohesion through critical understanding of social issues and high levels questioning (McLaughlin 1992; Wood and Black 2018). In this way, a genuine nature of politics can be taught by addressing how citizens can 'study and control, in varying degrees, the means by which they reconcile or manage conflicts of interests and ideals' (Crick 2000, p. 14).

The second and third ideas emphasise *participation* in the civil, political and social spheres of the society and on *multiple levels* – local, regional, national and international levels (Dalton 2008; Grossman 2010; Hoskins 2006; Kincheloe 2001).

The idea of politics is applied in broad contexts and democratic citizens' identities are not merely viewed in formal, legal and juridical terms, but are actively involved in decision-making. The forth and fifth ideas see democratic citizenship as a *collective endeavour* for *collective ends*, requiring a rootedness in ethical and moral responsibility to others. It is underpinned by an egalitarian intention of *social justice and democracy* and a shared democratic culture involving obligations, rights and responsibilities, a sense of the common good and the ability and willingness to participate in its improvement (Crick 2007; Engle and Ochoa 1988; Giroux 2005; McLaughlin 1992; Print 2013; UNESCO 1998).

Taken together, these five ideas of democratic participation summarised the key qualities expected of global citizens in the twenty-first century. The implication for citizenship education pedagogies is a shift from merely teaching knowledge to emphasising individual experience and searching for practices to promote attitudes and behaviours that addresses issues of human rights and democratic citizenship (Audigier 2000). To do this, two related but somewhat disparate parts are emphasised – *socialization* to the commitment to the habits and commitments necessary to democratic survival and *counter-socialization* to develop the abilities to think independently and critically and exercise individual responsibility (Engle and Ochoa 1988, p. 11; Westheimer 2015).

Neoliberalism and Citizenship Education

With growing influence of globalisation, competitive market forces are shaping societies and educational institutions (Abowitz and Harnish 2006; Connell 2013; Zajda 2015). Strong democratic systems can provide some hope to balance the emphasis on economic competitiveness by expanding the democratic possibilities for diverse groups to conciliate conflicting interests and needs (Giroux 2005). Yet, studies have shown that although greater value is accorded to democracy as a system government, the functioning of democratic governments are concurrently threatened by existing social and economic inequalities (Schulz et al. 2010). With neoliberalism becoming a common political ideology that influences ways of reasoning in discussions about globalization, it is necessary to address its political implications (Ampuja 2015; Harvey 2007; Sim 2013). These changes have significant implications for citizenship and triggers a reconsideration of one's global responsibilities to others and what it means to be a global citizen (Staeheli 1999; Wood and Black 2018).

Neoliberalism can be classified under the economic branch of liberalism, which makes the basic assumption that freedom of ownership and economic entrepreneurship, as well as the freedom to enter and exit markets are fundamental human rights (Daun 2015; Harvey 2005; Hindess 2002). The goal of neoliberalism is the improvement in competitive positions in the global market and while personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, individuals are held responsible and accountable for their actions and well-being (Baildon and Alviar-Martin 2016;

Harvey 2005). The perimeter of politics is relatively restricted, contrasting the goal of democratic participation and the interpretations of social justice and democracy discussed in the earlier section. Fundamental human rights as the revitalisation of the conditions for individual and social agency to address the basic problems facing the prospects for social justice and global democracy (Apple 2011; Giroux 2004) is subordinated by the importance accorded to economic progress.

Neoliberal societies are fundamentally suspicious of democracy and governance by majority rule is perceived as a potential threat to individual rights and constitutional liberties (Harvey 2005). Strong preference is given to governance by experts and elites and by executive order and judicial decision, rather than democratic and parliamentary decision-making. This confinement of 'politics' within the formal political sphere is a key characteristic of neoliberal governance. Other than engaging minimally in formal political activities, such as voting, citizenry participation is largely considered to be apolitical (Crick 2007).

From this perspective, dynamism and the idea of collective endeavours for collective ends are largely applied in economic contexts. As opposed to the requirements of citizens to think critically about the possibilities of any systemic failures in democracies, neoliberalism attributes individual success or failure to entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings. Consequently, the idea of democracy and social justice as a form of enhancing agency for social reconstruction is subordinated by a 'good business climate' (Connell 2013; Harvey 2005, p. 70). With neoliberalism's definite view of education as 'human capital formation'` (Connell 2013, p. 104), there are two key implications of neoliberalism on citizenship education.

First, citizenship education for neoliberal ends tends to narrow the realm of politics. The civil society is portrayed as apolitical and beyond the sphere of state authority. Active citizenship in neoliberal societies focuses on developing personal capacities as self-reliant members of the society – someone who contributes through individual enterprise and private voluntary institutions and charity is likely to become a substitute for state intervention (Howard and Patten 2006). Second, neoliberalism limits classroom-based exploration of societal issues (Baildon and Alviar-Martin 2016). The focus is on socializing students to existing societal norms and to ensure political and social stability. Although the skills of innovation, criticality or problem solving may be evident in neoliberal curriculums, these skills are 'couched within rationalisations such as preparation for work or addressing demands in the global economy' (p. 66).

The growing influence of neoliberalism on the process of democratic citizenship preparation should not be ignored (Hindess 2002). A new political contest is created from economic market-driven globalisation, pushing an alternative global civic agenda and challenging the citizenship concept and the structures and practices of democracy (Reid 2002). It creates tensions between economic globalisation and the advancement of the political, cultural and technological dimensions to address growing inequalities (Gopinathan 2007). It also highlights concerns about claims

that suggest that schools, teachers and children should turn to the competitive market to find the 'only way out' by 'return[ing] to real knowledge' (Gandin and Apple 2002, p. 99). The contradictions of neoliberalism with democracy suggest that if democracy is truly to be considered a desirable system to address growing social diversity brought on by globalisation, then a rearrangement and reconsideration of the priorities between nation-states, markets and citizens is needed.

With globalisation, Singapore and Australia are not immune to the effects of neoliberalism (Gopinathan 2007; Harvey 2005; Howard and Patten 2006; Zyngier et al. 2015). Neoliberalism has impacted citizenship education in both countries. Equally, the approach and design of citizenship education can reinforce the impact of neoliberalism, creating a cycle of supporting neoliberalism through citizenship education and neoliberalism impacting citizenship education. The following sections will explore the relationships between state formation, economic organization and educational systems in the two countries to understand how these relationships are exhibited through citizenship education in the contemporary neoliberal moment.

Country Contexts

Globalisation – The Tensions Between Economic Competitiveness and Democracy

Singapore and Australia are two countries located in the Asia-Pacific region. Singapore is an Asian state with a population of 5.61 million while Australia is a Western nation with a population of approximately 24 million. The characterisation of the two countries as 'Asian' and 'Western' stems largely from the countries' identification with the origins of their political ideologies. In recent years, globalization has increased the two countries' sensitivity of their geo-political positions in the Asia-Pacific region and the awareness of their interconnectedness with the world. Global happenings have impacted on the countries' economics and social dynamics (MCEETYA 2008; Ministry of Education 2009; The Straits Times 2018). In particular, the rise of China and India as economic powerhouses and increased migration across the globe prompted a series of reconsiderations about the 'directions' and 'transitions' that Singapore and Australia have to make to ensure their abilities to face the challenges of the twenty-first century (MCEETYA 2008; The Straits Times 2018).

Although the two countries share some common approaches towards the challenges of globalisation, differences in their political ideologies sets their ways of approaching diversity apart. As result, the analysis of the two countries' contexts highlights tensions between economic and democratic goals.

Historical, Political and Social Contexts and their Relationships with Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Democracy

Singapore's contemporary history can be summarised as transitions from a British colony to self-government in 1959, being part of Malaysia in 1963 and finally gaining independence in 1965 (Chia 2015). Australia's history is relatively more contentious and dates back to approximately 60,000 years ago. With contemporary rights movements that are calling for recognition and reconciliation of past discrimination towards the Aboriginal people and the abolishment of the White Australian policy in the 1960s, these parts of Australia's history become significant examples of the struggles for rights in Australia. They also demonstrate some of the contested areas of citizenship in Australia. As an independent nation, Australia has a longer history than Singapore, tracing back to 1 January 1901 when the Australian Constitution came into effect. Australia was established as a constitutional monarchy, follows a federal system of government with powers divided between the federal and state governments.

With globalisation and immigration, both countries seek to cope with the changing natures of their societies and economies. For Singapore and Australia, discussions about globalisation consistently converge at two key concerns – social cohesion, concerning issues of nationalism, and economic advantage, concerning issues of capitalism. Considering these two concerns within the contemporary social and political contexts of the two countries reveals their competing natures and highlights the view that a balance between the two is crucial for the nations' progress (Heng 2012; MCEETYA 2008; Ministry of Education 2011). However, both countries approach the balance of economic competitiveness and social cohesion from very different political ideologies. The different ideologies differentiate how democracy is interpreted, how social cohesion is approached and the forms that citizenship education take in both countries. Yet, a neoliberal focus that emphasises global economic competitiveness remains a key constant, and a fierce competitor with the wellbeing of democracy in the two countries.

Australia explicitly identifies herself as a liberal democracy based on the Westminster model (ACARA 2016b). In contrast, Singapore leaders have consistently rejected the Westminster model, emphasising its inappropriateness for Singapore and that nations must be allowed to develop their own forms of human rights – a form that takes into account the cultural context for its expression (Gopinathan 2007). The neo-Confucian ideology was identified as 'a sensible alternative framework for socio-economic and political organisation' for Singapore (p. 59). Alluded with the civic republican (Sim and Print 2009) or communitarian tradition (Chua 1995), Singapore's conception of the good takes precedence over citizens' individual rights. This conception of the good is rooted in the 'survival' ideology, emphasizing social cohesion and economic growth. As a former Minister of Education explained, Singapore's survival was to be achieved through economic and social strategies, focusing on the constant strategizing of the best ways to work with globalization to reposition Singapore in the larger scheme of capital flows,

while '[working] harder to keep a sense of shared identity amongst all [her] citizens and keep [her] society cohesive' (Sim 2013, p. 67). Social cohesion was to be achieved by focusing on national allegiance and identity (Sim 2013). From this perspective, Singapore's strategy towards social cohesion emphasises commonalities and takes on a nation-centric nature, emphasising rootedness in a Singaporean identity and the common goal of promoting economic progress for the country.

This strategy has been translated onto Singapore education since independence and two features of Singapore education are particularly prominent in nation-building efforts – the policy of *meritocracy*, which promised opportunities for everyone based on merit and the *bilingual* policy which is associated with social and moral education programmes in school (Gopinathan and Sharpe 2004). However, despite their success in securing economic progress for Singapore, these policies set the scene for either a 'shrinking of the realm of state' or a limitation of citizens' role in thinking critically about social issues. A sense of vulnerability permits the neoliberal discourse to be embedded in Singapore's political and social contexts and consequently, reinforced through education.

Quite evidently, the neoliberal ideology has been influential in shaping policy-making processes in Singapore. The policy of meritocracy is instrumental in wealth generation and ensuring economic competitiveness for Singapore. Singapore policy-makers identify the merits of meritocracy with the new right conservatives' neoliberal sentiments that the ideology and institutions of progressive welfare states were responsible for inefficient governments and a lack of economic competitiveness (Gopinathan 1996). During the crisis of Western capitalism in 1980s, the translation of this ideology in education saw the implementation of the streaming system to channel students into different academic pathways according to their academic performances at school, over the choice of comprehensive schooling to enhance equity (Gopinathan 1996). This contradicts the intention of moral/civic education for social cohesion, as meritocracy intensify individualism and challenges the formation and action of group allegiances (Gopinathan and Sharpe 2004). It also undermines the development of democratic competencies to participate in collective endeavours for collective and democratic ends by '[heightening] competition and individualism' ….to produce entrepreneurial subjects best suited for the neoliberal workplace (Davies and Bansel 2007, p. 254).

However, there appears to be an increasing awareness of the side- effects of neoliberal educational practices on the Singaporean society, particularly on social cohesion. The neoliberal approach has created a huge income inequality among Singaporeans and 'class, not race nor religion, is potentially Singapore's most divisive fault line' (Paulo 2018). In the last 10 years, the Singapore government has attempted to open up greater number of pathways to balance the rigidity of the streaming process and to ease the pressure on examinations. Large scale changes to assessments have been recently announced to reinforce the message that 'learning is not a competition' (Davie 2018; Teng 2018). Such policy intentions and political moves can be interpreted as attempts to address the intensity of neoliberalism on the society's social wellbeing.

Next, the bilingual policy is a political move to draw East-West distinctions by attributing Singapore's success to a framework of basic Confucianism ethics and tightly-knit Asian family structures (Gopinathan 1995). Bilingualism was introduced to ensure that Singaporeans knew their traditional Asian values and cultures. This distinction is rooted in the political view that Asian cultures and traditions are inimical to Western liberalism and so, Western liberalism is undesirable for Singapore (Chia 2015). As a former Cabinet Minister explained, 'more and not less authority and discipline are necessary' if Third World societies are not to 'relapse into anarchy as modernization gathers pace' (Gopinathan 1995, p. 17). The dynamism of democracy is viewed as undesirable for the nation's progress. Instead, a strong paternalistic government for rapid economic development, one typical of neoliberal governance, is favoured and liberal democracy is regarded as an impediment to economic growth (Chia 2015).

The 'survival' ideology is also used to control citizen dissent. If a measure of social control is shown to contribute to economic growth, it is considered as necessary to Singapore's survival (Chua 1995). The impact of such beliefs on the Singaporean citizenry is that the population has been 'largely depoliticized in the belief that political argument, debate and opposition are destabilizing and detract from more pressing issues of economic growth and national unity' (Baildon and Alviar-Martin 2016; Gopinathan 1995, p. 17). Within and beyond the nation, citizenry participation is portrayed as apolitical. The integrative purposes of education continue to be reflected in the form that citizenship education takes today. It stresses the importance of survival in the market place by emphasizing citizens' responsibility to self, fellow citizens, and the state, thereby shrinking the scope of state intervention and limiting citizens' critical involvement in society (Alviar-Martin and Baildon 2016; Chia 2015).

Unlike Singapore, where political contestation is largely discouraged and hence, leads to more homogenous political views, Australia's political climate is more dynamic. This can be attributed to the different views that stakeholders hold about embracing the dynamism of Australian democracy. As a liberal democracy, Australia is constantly challenged to find new and effective ways of conciliating the demands of an increasingly diverse society. However, the reality is that the political views in Australia oscillate between a neo-conservative and a more liberal orientation, subjecting the purpose of education, particularly of citizenship education, to a 'good deal of debate and discussion' (Kennedy and Howard 2004, p. 90).

Multiple changes in Australian politics in the past few years has led to a former Prime Minster to comment that 'Australian politics has become vicious, toxic and unstable' and the political state was described as 'cancer eating the heart of Australian democracy' (Rudd 2018). On the basis that Australia regards high levels of political citizenry participation as a desirable trait, the data showing only 52% of younger Australians aged between 18 and 29 supporting democracy as a preferable form of government (Roggeveen 2017) sounds an alarm for the well-being of Australia's democracy.

Clearly, the changing nature of the Australian society has modified Australian's allegiances with the Australian government. An optimistic view suggests that that

the moral values on which people base their democratic support have turned dramatically more liberal over the generations and therefore, a drop in support for democracy, particularly among the young, may reflect the rising expectations of what a democracy should be able to do (Roggeveen 2017). However, global politics and the immaturity associated with Australian politics were also held accountable for contributing to citizens' low levels of confidence for Australia's democracy (Rudd 2018). These views about the contemporary state of Australia's democracy reflect a highly dynamic, but not necessarily healthy state of Australia's democracy, putting the ability of Australia's democracy in approaching diversity to test.

As compared to Singapore's relatively definite expectations of citizens, Australia continues to deliberate about what it means to be Australians in a globalising world. Australia has to decide between an identity connected with England, or one in a globalising world of economics in the twenty-first century (Davidson 1997; Print et al. 1999). In response, the federal government started reclaiming citizenship education in schools (Reid and Gill 2009). Unlike Singapore's response to globalisation that emphasises nationalistic goals, Australia saw the need for citizenship education to transit beyond early motivations of nationalistic conceptions of social order, social cohesion, the inculcation of national pride and a sense of nationalism that mainly served the purpose of nation-building and national identity formation, to one that can meet the new demands, including growing diversity and complexity of the modern Australian society (Reid and Gill 2010).

From this perspective, Australia adopts a more liberal political view of progress, one that calls for a more open, confident and outward-looking Australia that could engage with the world (Kennedy and Howard 2004; Macintyre and Simpson 2009). Australian education is identified to serve the purpose of developing a firm understanding of how civic and political freedoms and wellbeing could be maintained to cope with the significant social and economic changes that Australia was facing (Macintyre and Simpson 2009). Instead of merely accommodating diversity with the ethics of tolerance, Australians needed to respond to it with a 'new and richer concept of citizenship' that involves a strong grasp of decision-making processes whereby differences are negotiated and resolved (CEG 1994, p. 4). In this way, Australia's education is identified to support the dynamism of Australia's democracy and citizenry participation as political is considered desirable.

However, the dynamism of Australian politics can be a double-edged sword. While the existence of social debates and participation in social reconstruction supports democracy, the waves of disparate ideological influences compound the implementation of citizenship education for democracy in Australia (Kennedy 2008). At the broader educational context, neoliberal educational policies started emerging more prominently in the early 1990s and bears resemblance to Singapore's policies of meritocracy.

First, Australia's increasing competition between school sectors is creating stronger market-driven imperatives in education (Connell 2013), threatening to turn public education into a 'residualized' system, which becomes 'a safety net for those who could not afford private education' (Reid 2002, p. 575). Second, the introduction of state and national testing contradicts the 'inclusive character of educational

relationships' by undermining respect and trust through the jockeying for position in competitive markets (Connell 2013, p. 106). Consequently, instead of working for the common interest and self-knowledge of the society, the education system looks for ways to 'extract private advantage at the expense of others' (p. 106). Similar to Singapore, the result of neoliberal policies is the widening of the inequality gap, challenging the concept of citizenship, the structures and practices of democracy and declining the public sphere (Reid 2002, p. 578).

The discussions above demonstrate the tensions between promoting economic competitiveness and maintaining social cohesion in the face of diversity. The Australian context illuminates the contest and struggle between 'globalisation from above', arising from the neoliberal political economy of market-driven globalisation, and 'globalisation from below' arising from grassroots social justice movements and human rights advocates pushing the agenda to nurture and sustain a global civic society and its mechanisms of democratic government (Reid 2005). However, the existence of continuing debates among people with different ideologies indicates some value are still accorded to critical deliberation and provides some optimism for the wellbeing of Australia's democracy.

In comparison, Singapore leaders appear to be unified on their views on national policies and the concept of democracy. Singapore's favour for the neoliberal ideology is less contested as economic competitiveness is deemed to be key to the 'survival' of the country. Consequently, efforts to sustain Singapore's democracy pale in comparison. Nevertheless, the two countries' examples indicate the growing influence of neoliberalism on the countries' approaches towards the challenges of globalisation and the competition with democracy. Depending on the dominant political ideologies of the countries at a particular time, the levels of the acceptance of neoliberalism as a basis for progress vary. This reinforces the view that the capitalist economy, the rule of law, and democratic polity do not automatically go hand in hand' (Frazer 1999, p. 6).

Implication for Citizenship Education in Singapore and Australia – Educational Developments in the Last Ten Years

Education is identified as a vehicle to prepare citizens for the new demands of globalisation (MCEETYA 2008; Ministry of Education 2009). Two broad goals were identified – the preparation for economic competitiveness and the maintenance of social cohesion. Despite holding fundamentally different conceptions of democracy and citizenship, both countries emphasised the need to balance the two goals in their education reforms (Heng 2012; MCEETYA 2008; Sim 2013).

With her current heavy reliance on trade, 'a transformation towards an economy that is more innovation-driven, that is more productivity-driven' is necessary for Singapore (The Straits Times 2018). Singapore education is identified as the key to address Singapore's labour needs and economic transformation. The latest reform in

Singapore began with the introduction of the twenty-first century competencies (21CC) framework in 2009, which underpins holistic education in schools. Similarly, with realisation of new economic challenges facing the Australian economy, Australia redefined her educational goals in the Melbourne Declaration in 2008. These frameworks guided the development of the new *Character and Citizenship Education* curriculum (CCE) in Singapore and a first *Australian Curriculum – Civics and Citizenship Education* (ACCC) curriculum in Australia.

'Active citizenship' is emphasised as one of the key responses to globalisation in both countries' citizenship education and concepts such as cross-cultural skills, global awareness and civic literacy as important educational goals were identified. However, the concept of 'active citizenship' appears to be interpreted differently in Singapore and Australia. The following section explores the goals of citizenship education in the two countries, focusing on their responses to globalisation, and the identified experiences to understand the interpretations of active citizenship in the two countries.

Goals and Experiences of Citizenship Education: **Character and Citizenship Education** *in Singapore and* **Civics and Citizenship Education** *in Australia*

The twenty-first Century Competency (21CC) framework guides Singapore's education towards the goal of helping students 'capitalise on the rich opportunities of the new digital age, while keeping a strong Singapore heartbeat' (Ministry of Education 2009). Two key areas are emphasized – developing students holistically (moral, cognitive, physical, social and aesthetic) and 'sharpen[ing] the focus' on values and character development (Ministry of Education 2011). A set of values underpins the Singapore curriculum, including respect, responsibility, resilience, integrity, care and harmony. These values were not linked with Singapore's democracy in the curriculum frameworks. Instead, the purpose was identified for moral development with the goal of developing *concerned citizens'* who are rooted to Singapore, has a strong sense of civic responsibility, is informed about Singapore and the world, and takes an active part in bettering the lives of others around him (Ministry of Education 2009).

The twenty-first century competency of '*Civic Literacy, Global Awareness and Cross-cultural skills'* was identified to be necessary for the 'globalised world that [citizens] live in. Strong emphasis is placed on the development of 'character' and 'values and largely for socialisation purposes. Consequently, 'Character and Citizenship Education' (CCE) replaced Civics and Moral Education in the formal curriculum. Together with the 'Values in Action' programme, which aims to 'foster student ownership over how they contribute to the community', they support the cultivation of 'values and commitment to Singapore and fellow Singaporeans' (Ministry of Education 2015).

In Australia, the Melbourne Declaration encompasses the development of 'active citizens' in Goal 2. In addition to the qualities of Singapore's 'concerned citizen', 'active' citizens in Australia also need to 'have an understanding of Australia's system of government, history and culture' and be 'committed to national values democracy, equity and justice, and participate in Australia's civic life' (MCEETYA 2008, p. 9). Efforts to address the wellbeing of Australia's democracy are explicit in the Declaration. The reform saw 'Civics and Citizenship education' developed as an identified subject in the Australian Curriculum (ACCC). ACCC emphasizes the understanding of Australia's federal system of government, the Westminster system and the liberal democratic values that underpin it, including freedom, equity and the rule of law (ACARA 2016a).

Comparing the goals of citizenship education in both countries highlights some common approaches. These include addressing the concept of 'active and informed global citizens' in their Years 5–6 curricula. Both countries view the attributes of being informed about current and global issues and the implications of this understanding on the qualities of global citizens, including the idea of 'help-providing' (ACARA 2016a; SDCD 2014, p. 28). Conversely, differences in the two countries approaches towards global citizenship lie in the differences in political ideologies. As a result, it accentuates the distinction between 'good' and 'active' citizens.

Developing Good *Citizens Versus* Active *Citizens*

> '*Active citizens are as political as they are moral; moral sensibility derives in part from political understanding; political apathy spawns moral apathy*' (Hargreaves 1994)

'Good' citizens are different from 'active' citizens (Crick 2007; Westheimer 2015). As Crick (2007) elaborates, 'one can *only* be a good citizen in a democratic state….obey the laws, pay taxes…behave oneself socially….but not work with others on any matters that effect public policy, either at all or minimally – minimally may just be voting or signing a Standing Order for a voluntary body'. Citizenship education that aims to develop active citizens will encourage participation in informed critique and the making of collective choices (Westheimer 2015). In other words, the expectations of active citizens are political, while that of good citizens are apolitical.

The key distinction between Singapore and Australia's conceptions of citizenship education lies in the extent to which citizenship is considered to be political. Singapore largely adopts an apolitical and nation-centric view of citizenship, in support of Singapore's 'survival' ideology. The idea of global citizenship focuses on developing competencies to help students respond effectively to the challenges of globalisation, in order to contribute to the good of the Singaporean society, hence, 'staying rooted to Singapore' (SDCD 2014, p. 4).

The apolitical intention of citizenship education is reinforced in the design of the Singapore curriculum. First, it is fundamentally rooted in a set of apolitical values

that describes the desirable traits of citizens living in the Singapore community. It is not about supporting democratic citizenship, but focus on supporting Singapore's abilities to meet global economic demands. Second, while '*Critical and Inventive Thinking'* is one of the twenty-first century competencies in the 21CC framework, no relationship was drawn with CCE. Instead of encouraging critical deliberations about deep-seated social problems or challenging existing social, economic and political norms as a way of strengthening democracy (Westheimer 2015), experiences are characterized by the socialization of students to the existing social norms. The approaches for character and citizenship development are identified as 'instruction, skills practice, role modeling by teachers or peers, and positive reinforcement during structured lesson time and teachable moments' (SDCD 2014, p. 9).

With Singapore's citizenship education confining citizen's political participation minimally within the formal political sphere, the conception of 'good' citizens aligns largely with apolitical expectations. Collective choices or collective endeavors are limited to apolitical movements, such as voluntarism (SDCD 2014). While Singapore refers the purpose of global citizenship as the utilization of 'strengths and abilities to meet the needs of a globalized world' (SDCD 2014), the focus is on the maintenance of a strong nation-state by retaining an identity with Singapore while participating directly in a global economy (Spring 2014; The Straits Times 2018). As such, global citizenship education in Singapore can be summarized as '[thinking] global, but be rooted to Singapore' (Spring 2014, p. 26).

The implication is that Singapore education aims to create 'good' citizens, but not active ones. 'Creative and critical thinking skills' are narrowly defined by an instrumental discourse of academic achievement (Lim 2014). It continues to reveal a pragmatist and instrumentalist intention for promoting critical pedagogy in Singapore – one that 'does not accommodate the critique of the political economy and society (Koh 2002, p. 263). Consequently, it discourages dynamism in Singapore's democracy and reinforces the neoliberal agenda through the discouragement of critical deliberation of societal and political issues. While this approach may be considered necessary to overcome the vulnerabilities of Singapore, the side-effect is that students will not be adequately prepared to 'acknowledge fully other forms of identity, agency, affiliation or aspirations available to young people in Singapore' and to 'think critically about complex issues central to living in a diverse global society' (Baildon and Alviar-Martin 2016, p. 69). These negative effects neoliberalism are manifested in the growing social inequality that are increasingly apparent as one of the key fault lines threatening social cohesion in Singapore (Paulo 2018).

Conversely, citizenship education in Australia promotes a political conception of citizenship that encourages students to understand 'how the system safeguards democracy by vesting people with civic rights and responsibilities' and how laws and the legal system protect people's rights and how individuals and groups can influence civic life' (ACARA 2016a). By also positioning active citizens as 'global citizens' in Australia, who are rooted in the liberal democratic values of have an awareness of human rights issues and concern for the environment and sustainability, it suggests that the citizenship concept, consequently the global citizenship concept, is a political one.

As with Singapore, the conception of citizenship is reinforced in the curriculum design of the ACCC. First, the content in the ACCC is guided by the 'inquiry and skills strand', which are represented broadly as 'questioning, researching, analyzing, evaluating and reflecting, and communicating' (ACARA 2016a). Students are expected to 'apply these skills to investigate events, developments, issues and phenomena, both historical and contemporary' (ACARA 2016a). When applied to the understanding of global citizenship, the inquiry approach allows students to construct their own conceptions of the obligations of global citizens through the examinations of current global issues. Hence, it supports, or even encourages, dynamism of Australia's democracy based on values of social justice and democracy and through opportunities for social debates.

Second, the concept of participation is extended 'beyond their own national borders as active and informed global citizens', including 'an awareness of human rights issues, concern for the environment and sustainability and being active and informed about global issues' (ACARA 2016b). While it can be maintained that like Singapore, Australian citizenship also involve a nationalistic conception such as those revolving around the implications of dual citizenship on issues of 'identity' and 'belonging', the differences in rights and responsibilities of Australians and non-citizens and the discussion of the Australian citizenship pledge, the simultaneous acknowledgement of the other identities that citizens may be part of suggest efforts to be inclusive of multiple identities.

Third, the ACCC encourages an understanding of democracy that involves collective endeavors. These include the understanding of how citizens can make submissions to parliamentary committees to effect the deliberation of bills and the role of interest groups in the community in the law-making process (ACARA 2016a). In this way, the scope of citizenry participation is extended beyond the political sphere, into the civil and social spheres.

Taken together, the ACCC can potentially provide a platform for Australian students to acquire competencies to become 'active' citizens. Yet, it is important to recognize the struggles that currently exist between federal and state policies for civics and citizenship education and with school implementation and practice. For example as of 2018, New South Wales has not implemented, or started to plan for the implementation of ACCC in primary schools. Taking into account that it has been 10 years since the commitment to develop 'active and informed citizens was made explicit in the Melbourne Declaration in 2008, such struggles imply that current batches of students are missing out on learning to become democratic citizens.

Additionally, the differences in political perspectives about citizenship in Australia can also continue to prompt schools to '[shy] away from teaching values' and 'cling to the myth of value neutrality' (Macintyre 1995, p. 15).

Values education can be highly controversial in liberal democracies like Australia, as any attempts to define common values in a pluralistic society is also likely to be divisive (Macintyre 1995). Since values and citizenship education are intricately linked, it is important for Australia to consider how the *commitment* to democratic values to foster the well-being of Australia's democracy can be made

clearer as the foundation of Australian education so that the teaching of values does not become a piecemeal approach towards citizenship education.

Evaluation

Using Singapore and Australia as a platform to understand the effects of globalization on the societies has highlighted the countries' sensitivity to their changing economic and social needs (ACARA 2016b; Ministry of Education 2009). The need to respond to these demands consequently prompted educational reforms in the two countries around the same time in the last 10 years. The tension between economic competitiveness and social cohesion based on democratic ideals were consistently present in the two countries' social and political contexts. Consequently, differences in political ideologies influenced the ways that social challenges were approached through education, creating another tension between the socialization and counter-socialization roles of education. Despite these differences, discussions also reiterated the growing influence of neoliberalism on the countries' approaches towards the social and economic challenges of globalization. In Singapore, a clear East-West distinction is drawn to identify the country closely with a neo-Confucian ideology. Ideas of Western liberalism were regarded as a potential threat to Singapore's progress, as dynamism of her democracy could not provide the political stability needed for the country that is heavily reliant on external trade. An apolitical approach was therefore, regarded as necessary for Singapore's 'survival' by securing economic success and social cohesion through an emphasis on commonalities – a set of common values and the common goal of bettering the Singaporean society. Consequently, *Character* and Citizenship Education was introduced to develop students who have the '*moral resolve to withstand an uncertain future, and a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to the success of Singapore and the well-being of fellow Singaporeans'* (SDCD 2014). In this way, the neoliberal agenda is easily reinforced through the depoliticised portrayal of the civil society, which discourages citizens' critical deliberation and involvement in societal issues.

On the other hand, effort to sustain Australia's democracy is apparent in Australia's education reform. *Civics* and Citizenship Education curriculum was designed and included in Australia's first national curriculum. A moral and ethical foundation, rooted in national values of democracy, equity and justice, an understanding of Australia's system of government, history and culture and a willingness to participate in civic life were needed by young Australians to become active and informed citizens. Contrary to Singapore's depoliticized approach, politics is extended into civic life in Australia.

While this provides optimism for Australia's democracy, the effectiveness of Australia's education reform will depend on how well, and how soon the 'struggles' between the neo-conservative and the liberal political views are resolved. A strong commitment to the democratic values is needed in the broader political and social

climate to effectively sustain the wellbeing of Australian democracy through education. Otherwise, citizenship education in Australia risk being dominated by the neoliberal ideology (Howard and Patten 2006).

A strong commitment to the liberal democratic concepts throughout the Australian Curriculum by the federal and state government authorities, school leaders and expert teachers is also needed to firmly embed citizenship learning within the whole school culture, the curriculum and communities. To do this, schools have to find ways to integrate ACCC into the growing initiatives in global citizenship (Print 2016) and find a balance between citizenship education and the other subjects that are regarded to be more helpful to meeting the economic demands of the globalizing economy. Australian teachers would need extensive professional development to implement the ACCC effectively (Print 2016). Being the first curriculum written for citizenship education, 'many teachers remain unclear about the nature and purpose of [citizenship education]' and 'considerable negotiation will be required by curriculum planners and school leaders' for effective implementation of the ACCC (Tudball and Henderson 2014, p. 10).

Conclusion

An implication arising from the awareness of the growing prominence of neoliberalism despite differences in political ideologies is the consideration of the realism of drawing clear East-West distinctions of citizenship in a globalizing world. While Singapore has explicitly rejected Western notions of democracy, there is now growing realization of the threats that neoliberalism has on social cohesion in Singapore. Instead of arguing for an East-West distinction, there is a more pressing need for deeper reflections about how a balance can be achieved between pursuing economic competitiveness and social cohesion. An exclusive focus on either end of the tension is insufficient to prepare students effectively for democratic participation. Finally, returning to the five key ideas of democratic citizenship, educators are reminded of the key purpose of education in preparing students for participation in democracies and the appreciation the benefits of using democratic structures to resolve problems and negotiate differences (Crick 2000). Growing globalization inevitably involves growing diversity. There is tendency among the countries to look to the market for solutions to address the economic and social challenges brought on by globalization (Apple 2011; Connell 2013). Yet, it need not be this way.

The methods of approaching diversity have implications on the extent to which societies remain dynamic and socially cohesive. With globalization, it is crucial for countries to renew their commitment to 'revitalize the language of civic education as part of a broader discourse of political agency and critical citizenship in a global world' (Giroux 2004, p. 36). This requires an inclusion of a broader of concept of global citizenship to encourage participation beyond national borders and extending the realm of politics beyond formal political structures to encourage collective

citizenry participation in the improvements of the countries. As values are fundamental in citizenship education, they need to be accepted as the basis for democracy and be explicitly committed to supporting democracy. For without an explicit commitment to democracy in the education systems, citizenship education risk becoming the tool to reinforce the effects of neoliberalism by promoting individualism over solidarity, minimising citizens' critical involvement in the society and weakening the democratic base.

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Chapter 6
Neo-Liberalism and Configuring Global Citizenship in Higher Education: Outbound Mobility Programs

Deborah Henderson

Abstract This chapter examines one aspect of the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education in neo-liberal times. It addresses how Outbound Mobility Programs (OMPs) can serve as a means to secure global citizenship in higher education and meet university requirements to produce graduates for the global market place whist enabling immersion experiences that build pre-service teacher intercultural capabilities. Following a review of the literature, the chapter draws from a small empirical study that applied Nussbaum's (Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. In: Nussbaum M, Cohen J (eds) For the love of country: debating the limits of patriotism. Beacon Press, Boston, pp 3–20, 1996; J Hum Dev 7(3):385–395, 2006) notion of cosmopolitan citizenship capabilities as an analytic framework to analyse findings from one iteration of a New Colombo Plan funded OMP for Australian pre-service teachers in Malaysia. Findings indicate that a carefully planned OMP can contribute to the formation of globally competent, work-ready graduates as global citizens; confirming Rizvi's (Teach Teach 17(6):693–701, 2011) view that transnational collaborations in higher education can be socially and culturally productive in neo-liberal times.

Keywords Asia literacy · Cosmopolitan citizenship · Entrepreneurial universities · Global citizens · Globalisation · Higher education · International students · International student mobility · Internationalisation of higher education · Outbound mobility programs (OMP) · Neo-liberalism · Pre-service teacher education · Quality in education · World citizenship

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Introduction

This chapter examines one aspect of the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education in neo-liberal times. In this uncertain context, universities face conflicting aims and a range of challenges (Marginson 2011; Zajda and Rust 2016). Confronted with diminished public funding, they are required to be entrepreneurial and seek alternate revenue sources. Universities are also expected to contribute to national productivity (Rizvi and Lingard 2010) and deliver socially responsible graduates capable of working in, and contributing to, the global market place. Concomitantly, universities must market themselves as attractive learning sites to local and international students whilst demonstrating performativity outcomes in higher education ranking regimes that purport to measure quality (Global University Network for Innovation [GUNI] 2009). Finally, there is the more traditional knowledge-related mission of universities to function as sites of learning and moral formation, whilst providing opportunities for students to gain intellectual enrichment and develop new capabilities.

Of the suite of institutional policies and strategies that have emerged in this context, the chapter addresses how universities endeavor to educate global citizens, or globally competent graduates, through outbound mobility experiences (OMEs). Transnational collaborations are increasingly valued in universities in current times. This is because international student mobility programs are considered to be a means of internationalising higher education and integrating those learning goals that respond to the conditions of globalisation (Stromquist and Monkman 2014; Suárez-Orozco 2007). As Knight (2004) reminds us, internationalisation involves the integration of 'an international, intercultural or global dimension into purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education' (p. 11). The literature suggests that providing opportunities for students to study off-shore opens new learning spaces through which they can develop skills such as 'problem-defining and solving perspectives that cross disciplinary and cultural boundaries' (Hudzik 2004, p.1). A range of personal and professional benefits such as 'mutual understanding and a respect for difference' (Gu 2001, p. 105) are noted in the literature on transnational collaborations programs generally, and in the research that specifically focuses on students who travel overseas on OMEs for various lengths of time (Brown 2009; Gray et al. 2012; Lean et al. 2014).

As with definitions and theories of globalisation, global citizenship is a concept that prompts debate and contestation (Zajda 2018). Given that the notion of citizenship rests on membership of the nation state (Marshall 1950), and that global or 'world citizenship' has no authentic legal status, some contend that global citizenship encompasses contradictory discourses and metaphors (Davies 2006; Oxley and Morris 2013; Tawil 2013). In addition to the problematic discursive coupling of the words global and citizenship (Gaudelli 2016), it is possible to question whether there is, in fact, a set of global or universal expectations and values about what constitutes 'the global'. From the various ways in which the global citizen has been

addressed in the literature, this chapter employs the following broad definition drawn from an empirical study of a range of stakeholders in the United States (Hunter et al. 2006). This study refers to global citizens as 'having an open mind while actively seeking to understand cultural norms and expectations of others, leveraging this gained knowledge to interact, communicate … outside one's environment' (Hunter et al. p. 277).

In addressing the ways in which global citizenship in higher education might be configured through university mobility experiences, the chapter is structured as follows. First, it draws from the literature on how universities in global times can be conceived via three different imaginaries (Taylor 2004). Second, the chapter explores the positioning of the global citizen in higher education via two contrasting viewpoints; namely through a neo-liberal lens (Simmons 2010), or, from a moral and transformative form of cosmopolitanism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Third, by way of extrapolating this context further, reference is made to an empirical study of a short-term OME that aimed to foster a group of Australian undergraduates as interculturally-aware global citizens with cosmopolitanism 'capabilities' (Nussbaum 1996, 2006) and a reflective mind-set. The findings suggest that such reflexive capabilities foster various intersecting attachments and consciousness (Banks 2008) which enable an individual to approach ideas from multiple perspectives (Hanvey 1976). In conclusion, chapter contends that a carefully planned OMP can contribute to the formation of globally competent graduates as global citizens.

Imaginaries, Global Citizenship, Cosmopolitism and Capabilities

Imaginaries – The Sense of the Possible in Higher Education

With reference to the global context for public higher education, Taylor's (2004) notion of imaginaries is useful in considering the purpose of universities in contemporary times. Put simply, this idea of imaginaries encapsulates a fluid mixture of thoughts, images as well as material and discursive practices that, in combination, construct the social relations and conditions through which universities might be considered (Taylor 2004). According to Marginson (2011), three different imaginaries can coexist, albeit with different foci and tensions, and that together they shape 'the sense of the possible in higher education' (p. 421). One imaginary is essentially a human capital view of education (Becker 1964), whereby higher education is an arm of the economy and its business role is to produce and distribute value-added knowledge products that enhance other sectors and, in turn, contribute to national economic outputs. Commonly critiqued as a form of neo-liberalism (Naidoo 2010), this imaginary is powerful in shaping higher education policy agendas and state blueprints for university reform in capitalist and socialist nations (Rizvi and Lingard 2010; Wang 2009). In the spirit of Bourdieu (1991), and the sociology of status

ranking, the second imaginary draws from longstanding notions of higher education as a producer of knowledge elites and universities as status-driven and competitive institutions. As Marginson (2011) puts it, 'university status ladders are conservative, reproducing much the same pecking order from generation to generation' (p. 422). University pedagogy that typically guide teaching and learning in higher education for the first and second imaginary usually privilege intellectual and rational learning, competition, perfection, and it could be argued, until recently, monoculturalism (Kanagala and Rendón 2013).

The third imaginary is characterised by forms of networks such as collaborative communications, linkages, partnerships and global consortia. As Marginson (2011) notes universities are 'soaked in transmitting, studying and creating knowledge and part of a larger network of institutions that do this; a network that has always been international' (p. 414). Indeed, this characteristic has been fueled in recent years by new forms of global communications and the increased transnational mobility of university staff and students. Such mobility creates a range of opportunities for individuals to collaborate with and from others in different cultural contexts and to participate in experiential learning. This first-hand learning in another culture can be linked to higher education pedagogies that connect intellectual understanding with reflective practice (Tangen et al. 2017). As the notion of 'the possible' in higher education is potentially more collegial and egalitarian, the third imaginary informs the lens through which the global citizen is considered with reference to undergraduates participating in an OME. Prior to addressing this, the next part of the chapter examines some of the ways in which the global citizen is positioned in higher education discourse.

Global Citizenship – Contrasting Discourses

As noted earlier, citizenship is traditionally viewed as linked to membership of nation state and entailing certain rights and responsibilities (Marshall 1950); whereas the idea of global citizenship is more flexible and involves the individual placing importance on particular cultural and/or social attributes deemed of personal and social significance (Castells 2010). Two broad and contrasting discourses can be identified in the discussion of the global citizen in the higher education literature. Such discourses are framed by neo-liberalism on the one hand, and by moral or transformative cosmopolitanism which encapsulates reflexive and relational thinking, on the other. These discourses are briefly discussed as follows. According to Simmons (2010), neo-liberalism encompasses processes whereby 'government, its institutions and the law are used proactively to create competition and to drive the market in all areas of social life' (p. 370). It can be argued that neo-liberalism is generally recognised as the dominant economic philosophy of globalisation, and that neo-liberal policies focus on competition, economic efficiency, choice and growth (Zajda 2014). Indeed, Hursh and Henderson (2011) suggest that

neo-liberalism elevates 'the markets and profit above all other considerations' (p. 172). Furthermore, neo-liberal ideology drives those processes whereby national governments and institutions have 'reinvented themselves as global entities in order to survive in a global economy' (Gaudelli 2009, p. 71). In this context, as with the notion of the first imaginary discussed briefly above, a neo-liberal global citizen can be envisaged as someone who graduates from university with skills that enable them to work effectively in a capitalist society by demonstrating professional competence in a competitive employment market (Zajda and Rust 2016). It could also be contended that the formation of global citizens is widely recognised as a university responsibility (Development Education Association 2006; Global University Network for Innovation [GUNI] 2009; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 2009).

By contrast, Davies and Pike (2009) refer to global citizenship in more cosmopolitan terms as 'a state of mind' (p. 67). From this standpoint, the global citizen can be envisaged as someone who views and cares about the world as an interconnected system in ways which transcend national borders; and as someone who is also willing to participate in communities of discourse and practice (Khondker 2013). Put simply, the concepts of belonging to, and participating in, a world community are core to coming to terms with global citizenship and identifying as a global citizen. Agency and critical thinking are also significant in this view of citizenship and university graduates as global citizens. In a list of desirable qualities for evaluating the distribution of graduate capabilities in universities, Walker (2006) suggests the following capabilities:

> being able to use critical thinking and imagination to comprehend the perspectives of multiple others and to form impartial judgements … awareness of ethical debates and moral issues … being able to show empathy, compassion, fairness and generosity, listening to and considering the other person's point of view in dialogue and debate (p. 128).

Higher education pedagogy that fosters global thinking in university students is similar to the emphasis on global education in school curricula and its capacity to promote 'open-mindedness leading to new thinking about the world' (Education Services Australia 2008, p. 2). Some of the literature in higher education indicates that global and cosmopolitan citizenship are often used interchangeably. For example, Crosbie (2013) employs the term cosmopolitan citizenship with reference to a list of capabilities of students of English as a foreign language in Dublin City University. These students reporting qualities that encompassed, amongst others, learning more about themselves, their ethnicity and their social roles in society, together with their understanding of global issues. More recently, in referring to the sort of skills twenty-first global citizenship entails, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) emphasized the need for young people to develop capabilities such as global competence. This skill set entails:

> the capacity to analyse global and intercultural issues critically and from multiple perspectives, to understand how differences affect perceptions, judgments, and ideas of self and others, and to engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions with others from different backgrounds on the basis of a shared respect for human dignity (OECD 2016, p. 4).

Cosmopolitism and Capabilities

Whilst few would question the view that university graduates need to demonstrate professional competencies to navigate the increasingly globalised nature of work and economic exchange, others contend that graduates also need additional intellectual and personal capacities or capabilities that enable them to manage the trans-cultural and transnational social realities prompted by globalisation. Amongst these qualities is a sense of openness towards other people, cultures and ways of life which is referred to by some as a form of cosmopolitanism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). The idea of cosmopolitism can be traced back to the Stoic philosophers and their conception of 'citizens of the world' (Nussbaum 1996, p. 11). In more recent times, as noted above, a corporatist view of cosmopolitanism (Rizvi 2009), which aligns with neo-liberal assumptions about the supremacy of the minimalist state, privatization, deregulation, competition and free trade, has been powerful in shaping university policies such as, for example, those entailing the enrolment of international students. In this context, corporate cosmopolitanism 'celebrates individuals who are able to take advantage of global mobility, negotiate linguistic and cultural diversity, and have the class-consciousness of the transnational elite … [and] encourages values that are associated with global economic exchange, social entrepreneurialism and cultural adaptability' (Rizvi 2009, p. 260).

There is some empirical evidence to suggest that this elitist notion of corporate cosmopolitanism can co-exist with a more nuanced understanding of university graduates as global citizens, as evinced in the third imaginary and the potential for university staff and students to participate in experiential, reflexive learning in other cultural contexts (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). For example, in their empirical study of how international higher education experts conceptualize the global citizen or related terms representing the 'ideal global graduate', Lilley et al. (2017, p. 6), found that perceptions of knowledge, skills, and attitudes described by all participants could align with notions of moral and transformative cosmopolitanism as well as graduates who are work-ready professionals to compete for employment in the global market-place. Similarly, in a previous study of the characteristics of global citizenship conducted in European and Australian Universities, the authors (Lilley et al. 2015) reported participants referring to qualities such as tolerance, openness, respect and responsibility for self, others and the planet. This notion of global citizenship is closely aligned to moral and transformative cosmopolitanism, which some describe in terms of a mind-set involving 'recognition that our world is increasingly interconnected and interdependent globally, and that most of our problems are global in nature requiring global solutions' (Rizvi 2009, p. 253).

Relatedly, the term cosmopolitan citizen has been employed to refer to an individual who is engaged with the global community. For example, the philosopher Martha Nussbaum (1996) provided four reasons for utilizing the notion of the cosmopolitan citizen as a basis for civic education. These reasons are first, the possibility of learning more about ourselves; second, the need to solve global problems through international cooperation; third, the acknowledgment of moral obligations

to the rest of the world, and fourth, to be able to prepare a robust and logical series of arguments based on the differences that individuals are prepared to defend. Nussbaum also positions this definition of a cosmopolitan citizen within a 'capabilities' approach by postulating three capabilities necessary for democratic citizenship. The first of these capabilities include a capacity for demonstrating critical thinking, or conducting a critical examination involving the ability to 'reason logically, to test what one reads or says for consistency of reasoning, correctness of fact, and accuracy of judgement' (Nussbaum 2006, p. 388). The second cosmopolitan capability concerns making sense of 'the differences that make understanding difficult between groups and nations and the shared human needs and interests that make understanding essential, if common problems are to be solved, which includes the related task of understanding differences internal to one's own nation' (Nussbaum 2006, p. 390).

The third capability, narrative imagination, is concerned with the capacity to envisage what it might be like 'to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions, wishes and desires that someone so placed might have' (Nussbaum 2006, pp. 390–391). Similar views on cosmopolitanism are reflected in the literature on capabilities in higher education such as Walker's (2006) notion of university graduate capabilities discussed earlier. From a moral and cosmopolitan perspective, it can be argued that a citizen may develop a sense of belonging to a global political community through identification with those values that inspire principles such as social justice, equality of rights, and respect for human dignity upon which the tenants of international frameworks, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (United Nations 1948), are based. Hence, whilst global citizens are not legally recognized individuals, it is possible to contend they can exist in practice (Tawil 2013) and display cosmopolitan capabilities.

Out-Bound Mobility Programs

As noted, transnational collaborations are increasingly valued in higher education as means of addressing learning goals that respond to the conditions of globalization (Stromquist and Monkman 2014; Suárez-Orozco 2007), and as a strategy to address employer demands for graduates to acquire a broader set of generic skills for the global work-place (Bennett et al. 2015; Treleaven and Voola 2008; UNESCO 2015). Research commissioned by a cross-sector group of stakeholders in higher education and industry in the United Kingdom (Diamond et al. 2012) identified that that graduates with global attitudes, knowledge, and skills are better prepared to respond to a changing work-place. The findings noted:

> Some recruiters used the term global mindset to describe an individual whose outlook naturally considers wider global influences, and who sees themselves in relation to others around them. Attributes such as openness, curiosity and innovation are integral to a mindset as well as beliefs and values towards other cultures and their perspectives (Diamond et al. 2012, p. 8).

With reference to Australia, Donleavy's (2012) research indicated that higher education institutions are cognizant of employer demands for such skills and that all Australian universities refer to developing a global perspective and sense of citizenship as one of their five leading graduate attributes on their websites. In recent years, Australian Governments of different political persuasions have made funding available to support Australian undergraduate, postgraduate and vocational education and training (VET) students to have an overseas study experience through programs such as the Study Overseas Short-term Mobility Program (STMP) that contributes to their Australian qualification. In 2014, these programs were reconfigured by a newly elected federal government under the New Colombo Plan (NCP) to focus on supporting Australian undergraduates to study and take up internships regionally (Australian Government 2015). Essentially, NCP policy goals center on building young Australians' knowledge of the Indo-Pacific; a region that exerts considerable influence globally and in Australia (Henderson 2015). In the pre-service teacher education context, OMEs provide authentic opportunities for future teachers to participate in an immersion experience and develop understandings about the cultures and histories of some of the countries of the Asia/Indo-Pacific region, and, by reflecting on their learning, develop insights into themselves as global citizens (Henderson et al. 2018).

The literature suggests that the potential positive outcomes of OMEs are not dependent on the length of time spent immersed overseas and that benefits acquired through experiential learning and cross-cultural interactions abroad include developing an increased intercultural capacity and capability and a more nuanced global perspective as citizens in an interconnected world (Gray et al. 2012; Henderson et al. 2018). Other international research suggest positive outcomes from short term mobility programs which incorporate sociocultural, pedagogical and also language learning experiences for pre-service teachers (Barkhuizen and Feryok 2006). With reference to research in the United States, Pence and Macgillivray (2008) note that their US pre-service teachers developed awareness and respect for cultural diversity as an outcome of their 4-week practicum in Italy. Similarly, Willard-Holt's (2001) US-based research of a 7-day immersion experience in Pachuca, Mexico, found that 27 American pre-service teachers reported increased levels of empathy and flexibility in working with culturally and linguistically diverse children. The authors also noted that these students felt more globally connected to 'a world of teachers' (Willard-Holt 2001, p. 511).

A Short-Term OMP for Australian Pre-service Teachers in Malaysia

This part of the chapter draws from one component of a larger qualitative empirical study aimed at investigating the outcomes of a short-term outbound mobility program in Malaysia designed for Australian pre-service teachers studying at a metropolitan university in Brisbane, Queensland. The OMP ran annually for 4 years from

2013–2016 as a 2-week highly structured intensive immersion program, and unlike many other Australian OMPs, outside providers were not employed to oversee the program. Rather, each year the OAM was collaboratively planned and facilitated by the Australian and Malaysian participating academics for their pre-service teachers. Ten Australian pre-service teachers were selected annually to be based in Kuala Lumpur, attend classes on campus and participate in a range of cultural and social activities with fellow Malaysian pre-service teacher as their ‘buddies’. Malaysia was chosen as the site for all four programs as the Australian academics had an established relationship through previous projects with their Malaysian colleagues in Kuala Lumpur. The first three OMEs were funded under the Australian Government’s Study Overseas Short-term Mobility Program. For the 2016 iteration, funding was provided by the Australian Government’s NCP and the OMP was considerably revised based on feedback from students and accompanying university staff members from the previous programs.

The OAM was also developed as a means to prepare pre-service teachers for the education priorities prompted by the agreed policy document which informs national and state/territory initiatives for schooling and post-school training in Australia, the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians* (MCEETYA 2008), henceforth, the *Melbourne Declaration*. This statement on education goals explicitly foregrounded the impact of globalisation and the new knowledge economy in its Preamble, 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. Furthermore, the *Melbourne Declaration* stipulated that young Australians need 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 and be responsible global and local citizens’ (MCEETYA 2008, p. 8–9). In this context, much of the school curriculum emphasis was directed to China, India, Japan, Indonesia and Vietnam. Indeed, studies of Malaysia have not traditionally been emphasised in Australian school curricula despite the fact that both countries share a long history of cooperation, evidenced by the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Australia’s diplomatic presence in Malaysia in 2015. The OMP provided an opportunity for both the Australian and Malaysian pre-service teachers to be cognisant of this significant bilateral relationship as global and regional citizens through authentic intercultural engagement.

Participating in the OMP also enabled these future teachers to develop new attitudes and work-place skills to prepare them for their teaching careers in increasingly culturally diverse classrooms in their own nation and in the Asia/Indo-Pacific region. Developing a global mind-set and intercultural capability for global citizenship were major goals of the OMP; and in designing the program and specifying individual and collaborative tasks, the Australian academics drew from Spencer-Oatey’s (2008) definition of culture to inform the series of pre-departure briefings

for participants, to guide their in-country reflective activities as well as the assessment task linked to the university unit they were studying. Spencer-Oatey (2008) refers to culture in terms of:

> a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behavior (Spencer-Oatey 2008, p. 3).

Methodology

The research adopted a qualitative case study approach (Stake 2005) for its scope and capacity to enable a reflexive and comprehensive interpretation of data. Case studies support an in-depth investigation of an issue or phenomenon within the boundary of their context (Creswell 2014) whilst allowing an investigation of the research problem from the circumstances of those involved. The limitations of case studies are their bounded context; hence the findings in this small study do not purport to be generalizable. However, the richness of case study data offers insights which may be valuable to other educators seeking to understand the impact of outbound mobility experiences on pre-service teachers. The guiding research question for this component was, 'How do Australian pre-service teachers reflect on their in-county intercultural experiences and to what degree do they develop a mind-set as global citizens?' The following discussion addresses research on the Australian pre-service teachers who participated in the fourth iteration of the OMP in 2016 and agreed to participate in the research.

Following the grating of ethical clearance, data were gathered before, during and after the program from each of the three male and seven female Australian participants ($n = 10$). In Malaysia, data gathered include transcriptions of the Australian pre-service teachers' reflections recorded in an individual video-diary (AVD). These reflections were prompted by a series of questions designed to guide and support participants to move beyond simply reporting events and impressions, to developing deeper levels of responding, relating, reasoning and reconstructing their experiences, as proposed by Bain et al. (2002) in the 5R reflective model. Other data included transcriptions of two audio-recorded focus groups conducted in Kuala Lumpur (AFGM-1; AFGM-2). After the program concluded, data were also gathered in Australia from reflective testimonials (RT) written by all participants 4 weeks after they returned, and from two lots of focus groups held 3 months (AFG-A3), and then 10 months later (AFG-A10). These focus groups were also audio-recorded and transcribed. The assessment task (AT) all students were required to complete, was submitted 4 weeks after they returned to Australia, had two components. Pre-service teachers were required to select three entries from their video diary that indicated their critical engagement with emerging/developing intercultural capacity and Asia literacy and write a reflective statement about how each of these three video extracts demonstrated aspects of this. The second component

asked participants to select five photographs from those they took in Malaysia that were indicative of different aspects of Malaysia's present and/or past such as globalisation in Kuala Lumpur; colonisation in Malacca; and the impact of Islam. Participants were asked to analyse how these selected images intersect with each other to represent the intercultural aspects of their learning during the OMP, and to identify and explain a connecting thread or theme to illustrate their understanding of global citizenship.

Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2008) was conducted in two phases across data sets. The inductive phase identified emerging codes, categories and concepts which were subsequently grouped into themes. Four key themes emerged from the inductive analytic process. These included the impact of in-country experiential learning and collaborating with others; the critical role the Malaysian buddies played in enabling the Australian pre-service teachers to develop their knowledge and understanding of Malaysian culture, social practices and beliefs; the use of guided, critical reflection in making sense of and responding to the range of everyday experiences in a different cultural environment; and, gaining new personal and professional insights about teaching in culturally and linguistic diverse classrooms. Following the inductive phase, a deductive approach drawing from Nussbaum's (1996, 2006) notion of cosmopolitanism citizenship 'capabilities', was applied to review these data. This served as an explanatory schema to assist in identifying those themes associated with global citizenship and pre-service teachers' reflections on themselves as culturally responsive future teachers and is discussed with extracts from data identified by pseudonyms as follows.

Findings and Discussion

The Capability for Critical Examination/Critical Thinking

The impact of in-country experiential learning and collaboration with others, identified during the inductive phase of analysis, was deductively analysed with reference to the participants' capabilities to critically examine their observations and experiences in Malaysia as global citizens. Evidence of these pre-service teachers' capacities to critique their taken-for-granted viewpoints, and often essentialist assumptions, indicate the OAM afforded opportunities for growth in reasoning and judgement about their emerging interculturality. One participant observed:

> My reflections this first week have shown me just how naïve I was about what I'd see in KL. I had no idea globalisation can be experienced in different ways. I was surprised there were Billabong outlets … and I didn't expect to see so many instances of international brands such as Starbucks and KFC in the shopping malls and major business sections of the city next to more modern and traditional Malay outlets, shops and street stalls … by Thursday I'd become even more aware of how pervasive global consumerism is and how little I know of it in my own city let alone somewhere else. It really hit me when a few of us went with some of the buddies to eat nasi lemak at PappaRich in Bangsar, and when I was

> telling Nerryl, Rebecca, and Noel about eating traditional Malay food in a modern Malay restaurant that night they laughed and said I could have eaten it Wintergarden Shopping Centre in Brisbane as there is a PapaRich outlet there. I just couldn't believe how unworldly I was and it has taken me to be in another place to actually think about the globalisation of food (AFG-A2, Gillian).

Another participant also referred to re-thinking globalisation in relation to the consumption of food and the imposition of Western norms on diet. In David's reflection about the photograph of a KFC menu in Kuala Lumpur he included in his assessment task, he explained the photo represented a selection of KFC meals to highlight:

> … the impact of globalisation on Malaysian society, as well as how cuisines can be adapted to accommodate cultural traditions … it is fascinating to see how the fast-food chain adjusts its menu, from items offered to language used, to cater for the needs of the local demographic, through marketing strategies to respect cultural differences … By offering rice as a side dish alternative to fries, KFC is successfully adjusting their standard menu to cater for Malaysian consumers, with rice being a staple in the Malaysian diet. This image may have appeared atypical to some viewers, however the photograph aims to justify that food acts as a cultural trademark and organisations have to be culturally sensitive when apparently implementing Western ideology and products in Malaysia … this may have given the impression that Malaysia is becoming increasingly Westernised, due to the omission of 'traditional' Malaysian dishes on the menu but it shows how food habits also evolve and change (AT, David).

The participants' capacities to critically examine environmental issues as global citizens were evident in their video diaries and their focus group discussions. As part of the program, at the end of the first week the participants and their buddies were scheduled to spend the week-end at the UNESCO World Heritage listed historical city of Malacca. During the 3-h bus journey, the Australian students were surprised by the extensive nature of the palm oil plantations they observed. Noel recollected of his conversations with some of the buddies on the bus and later that evening:

> We talked about the impact of deforestation and the loss of habitat for birds and animals. Gan [Malaysian buddy] told me about working as a volunteer at the Kuala Gandah Elephant Sanctuary for endangered elephants outside KL … that night on the boat trip on the Malacca River, we talked about the trade in animal parts and if we can buy ivory in Australia. Also the Malaysians were really keen to know if we have problems with land clearing and pollution from forest fires. I told them about the Australian Youth Climate Coalition and showed them the website and we discussed the sorts of actions that can be taken to address environmental issues (VD, Noel).

Nerryl recalled how she'd been warned by the buddies that every year in September the smoke haze from illegal forest logging and burning in Indonesia reaches Malaysia and causes terrible pollution. 'The buddies told us that last year the haze and pollution were so bad that schools had to be closed and they wanted to know if we had this problem in Australia' (AFG-A3, Nerryl). Another Australian participant reflected about the conversations on the bus:

> We all were concerned about environmental issues in our part of the world and what we could do about them in our daily lives. We talked about food labels in Australian supermar-

> kets and the problem that oils can be labelled as vegetable oil and this means and palm oil can be 'hidden' in this labelling. So even if you make a conscious decision as a consumer not to buy anything with palm oil in it, so many the packaged foods contain palm oil and you just don't know about it. And this just doesn't happen in Australia – it is all over the world (AFG-A2, Lara).

The participants' capacities to critically examine those issues prompted by their experiential learning and their collaborations with each other, and with their Malaysian buddies, were also evident in their focus group discussions about Islamic religion and culture. The OMP was scheduled after the July 2016 Australian federal election, which saw the rise of the One Nation Party in Australia on an anti-Muslim and anti-immigration platform and discourse about racism, Islamic extremism and terrorism in the region was foregrounded in public media at this time. As two of the Australian female participants, Sheria and Naima, were Australian-born Muslims and wore the hijab, there was considerable discussion about religious observations and cultural practices in both Malaysia and Australia. Sheria's grandparents migrated to Australia from Turkey and Naima was of Palestinian and Iraqi heritage. Whilst they were 'buddied' with Malaysian pre-service teachers who were also Muslim to make it more convenient for observing ablution before prayer, and praying; Sheria and Naima shared their accommodation with a fellow Australian participant, Gillian, who was not Muslim.

Sheria recalled that, at first, her fellow Australian participants, did not ask questions about her cultural practices as an Australian-born Muslim. However, this changed during the first week-end of the program in Kuala Lumpur when the Australians and their Malaysian 'buddies' participated in a scheduled visit to the Islamic Arts Museum. This visit prompted the Australian students to raise questions with Sheria about Islamic history and culture; questions they expected her to be able to answer. This prompted Sheria to critically reflect on her cultural knowledge as a Muslim Australian and as a Muslim visiting Malaysia:

> I was like, whoa – I don't know how to answer a lot of these questions about our faith and then I thought to myself I need to teach myself more … and then I can answer questions like this so I think that was really good too because I think they [fellow Australian pre-service teachers] learnt a little bit more about us as Muslim Australians … and I felt like they [the Muslim Malaysian buddies] were much more comfortable with us because we were wearing a hijab as well and just because we are also Muslim. They [the buddies] were really interested about how life in Australia is for us … they asked about that, they were like do you know people who say anything racist or like is anyone this to you? How do you deal with it [racism] and things like that? (AFG-A3, Sheria).

As noted, Gillian shared a room with Sheria and Naima and all three participated in conversations about Islamic dress and 'about prayer, because obviously they had to get up and pray; it made me a lot more comfortable with Muslim people. But also, with, like again like being able to talk about it and stuff. So, I realized … you don't know much about your own culture until you talk to someone else' (AFG-A3, Gillian). In her assessment task, Gillian selected an extract from her video-diary to demonstrate her capacity to critically reflect on her intercultural experiences and the shifts in her interculturality:

> My group discussed how, when compared to Malaysia, religion is often a taboo subject in Australia. I spoke about how this could be seen in the way I had never interacted with the two Australian Muslim girls prior to going with them to Malaysia. This shows that I was able to reflect on my past behaviour towards intercultural encounters, and illustrates that my new friendship with Sheria and Naima helped me challenge and re-think the way I used to respond to intercultural experiences (AT, Gillian).

It must be noted, however, that some of the participants found the process of critically reflecting on their experiential learning and efforts to understanding themselves better during the OMP to be confronting at times. In referring to the requirement to use the series of reflective questions to structure her video-diary recordings every few days, Nerryl made clear that while it was helpful to thinking more deeply about her reactions to religious and cultural issues, it was also difficult. ‘I had to assess my thinking as I reflected on what we were observing and learning, and it was very challenging and difficult at times … I felt very uncomfortable and awkward about my lack of knowledge about Malaysian culture and history, and about the region in general’ (VD, Nerryl).

The Capability for Understanding Differences

The important role the Malaysian buddies played in enabling the Australian pre-service teachers to develop their knowledge and understanding of Malaysian culture, social practices and beliefs, identified during the inductive phase of analysis, was powerful across data sets. It was deductively analysed with reference to the participants’ capabilities to understand differences (Nussbaum 2006). In the following extract from his Testimonial, Donald relates how his regular interactions with the buddies fostered his developing interculturality:

> I felt I was immersed in Malaysian culture from the onset ... I got to experience what everyday life was like for a Malaysian University student, which was personally the most rewarding experience. Through genuine frequent intercultural conversations, you were equipped with a new cultural filter that allowed you to interpret reality from a Malaysian perspective, while affording you the opportunity to present what life is like as an Australian. (T, Donald).

Donald also reflected that the OMP experience enabled him to overcome ‘some of the superficial aspects of culture’ and this enabled him to form ‘some personal connections with my Malaysian and Australian friends because of this’ (T, Donald).

One of the video diary tasks required the Australian students to reflect on a critical cultural incident that challenged their awareness of their developing intercultural capacity. In her video-diary, Lara reflected on the roles her buddies played as cultural mediators in supporting her during a ‘street walk’ task to a local market where she was required to purchase local food speaking only in the Malay language, Bahasa Melayu. At first Lara noted ‘I tried so hard to use the right words but it was so difficult. I pointed to the items I wanted to buy but I could not understand what the food stall operator was asking me. I felt so stupid. It was as if I hadn’t developed any understanding of this culture’ (VD, Lara). Lara then recalled that ‘the buddies

were so wonderful today and helped me explain what was happening even though my Bahasa was so bad. They were critical to me adapting, to help me see and make sense of things as an Australian in their country' (VD, Lara).

Another participant, Samantha, referred to a structured intercultural story telling activity with the buddies and how this enabled her to feel more confident in asking the Malaysian pre-service teachers questions about their religious beliefs. She recalled 'through the intercultural story telling activity conducted with the Malaysian buddies, I learnt a lot about the Islamic faith. By having this understanding of the Islamic faith, I have a developed a respect and appreciation for the religion' (T, Samantha). Significantly, Samantha referred to the role of the buddies as seminal to the experience: 'the time spent with the buddies allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the three cultures within Malaysia and as a result has allowed me to become more accepting of others attitudes and beliefs' (T, Samantha).

Several of the Australian pre-service teachers ($n = 6$) commented on the value of unstructured time to get to know their buddies and their 'insider' knowledge as fellow students. One activity all 10 participants ($n = 10$) reflected on during the two focus groups after the OMP concluded and they were back in Australia (AFG-A3, AFG-A10) occurred spontaneously in the first week of the program. After a day of language and music classes on campus, the Australians and their Malaysian buddies decided to share a meal at a local Malay food outlet, and as they chatted during the meal, one of the Australians suggested that they go ten pin bowling together at the center close by. Even though many of the buddies had not participated in a bowling session before, all the students agreed to participate. Neal thought this was pivotal to both groups 'bonding' together as young people. He reflected:

> The moment where I felt the buddies became our friends versus our tour guides, was bowling. It wasn't an overly cultural thing to do, it was just more of a bonding activity. Personally, I felt like I bonded with the buddies more there, than doing a lot of the other stuff, initially … (Neal, AFG-A3).

Rebecca concurred and recalled: 'It broke down barriers. We'd finished our formal day, it was an informal setting, it was sport which really brings people together and gets everyone comfortable, and that competitiveness as well' (AFG-A3, Rebecca). She added, 'a lot of the Malaysians had never bowled before, so helping them … it was just a really good environment' (AFG-A3, Rebecca). Michael referred to the fun and conversations over bowling as a 'turning point', noting 'I'm not sure what exactly it was, but it was the moment that sort of connected everyone' (AFG-A10, Michael).

The closeness that developed the Malaysian and Australian students after the bowling experience opened up the possibility for more personal conversations. Lara reflected on her interactions with the Malaysian buddies about becoming a teacher in her testimonial. She wrote that in one of her conversations with the buddies 'we talked about the comparison of Malaysian and Australian education system and how each different system has their positives and negative perspectives' (AT, Lara). Lara also noted how some of the buddies revealed they gradually developed their interest in becoming teachers despite not initially choosing it themselves, as they followed

their parents' wishes. She reflected 'I feel that I developed interculturally through these experiences such as interacting and empathising with others through our interesting conversations' (AT, Lara). It could be argued that this sort of empathetic response is indicative of the transformational learning and reflection that can result from authentic intercultural engagement. This is evident in the discussion that follows regarding the Australian pre-service teachers' capacity to see things from the perspectives of others and imagine themselves adopting more culturally appropriate pedagogies.

The Capability for Narrative Imagination

A common thread emerging from the analysis of the OMP's impact on the Australian pre-service teachers was the developing capacity to draw from the immersion experience in Malaysia to then reconsider some previous experiences in Australia. This process prompted students to imagine themselves acting differently as interculturally aware future teachers. This capacity is evidenced in Michael's reflections on his lack of proficiency in Bahasa Melayu during the OMP and his practice as a beginning teacher with reference to the individual needs of students who do not have English as their first language.

> I gained valuable knowledge relating to treating each student as an individual. Prior to the [OMP], I often grouped EAL/D students together, considering them to have the same language and learning capacities. However, the trip provided me with an eye opening realisation that just like cultures, EAL/D students have different nuisances that impact how they learn in the classroom. The importance of not assuming a student's capabilities is a skill that I believe to be invaluable and it is something I will rely upon and develop throughout my entire teaching career (T, Michael).

In a similar reflection that drew from learning experientially what it was like to lack proficiency in the mainstream language, Rebecca referred to gaining new professional insights about teaching in culturally and linguistic diverse classrooms. With specific reference to an on-campus music lesson in Bahasa Melayu in Kuala Lumpur, Rebecca noted that 'because we were the ESL students in that classroom … it gave me a different perspective and really put myself in the shoes of students that I may one day be teaching' (AFG-A3, Rebecca). Furthermore, Rebecca noted 'I brought that to my teaching practicum [in Australia after the OMP concluded]. One of the students in my classroom had English as her second language, so I felt I had a lot more understanding of the situation that these students were in, and I tried a lot harder than I otherwise would have previous to going to Malaysia (AFG-A3, Rebecca).

Another student, Gillian, noted the impact of 'learning firsthand about others' values and beliefs which has helped me to broaden my own worldview as a future teacher' (T, Gillian). She also referred to the importance of being challenged to think differently about diversity; about what can be encountered in classrooms, and in doing so, to become more accepting of others. In her testimonial, Gillian noted 'I

believe I have come back to Australia more accepting of diversity. The program continually required me to step outside my comfort zone, meaning I had to push myself to the next level and challenge myself, which I think has made me a more flexible, patient, and adventurous person' (T, Gillian). Significantly, Gillian reflected that although the OMP placed her in 'less comfortable situations' she was able to build 'strong friendships, both with Australian and Malaysian students' (T, Gillian).

One of the pre-departure briefings required the participants to work in pairs and prepare a lesson plan based on an Australian children's picture book for primary school children, and then teach this in a classroom in Kuala Lumpur. This task necessitated pre-service teachers explaining aspects of Australian culture, history and the natural environment during their interactive reading to the class and in the follow up activities they designed for their students. Participants' critical self-reflections on their experiences teaching their respective lessons in Malaysian classrooms indicated that the personal and professional learning which occurred was critical to their future teaching capability for engaging diverse learners in Australian schools. In her Testimonial, Gillian reflected that this experience helped her to develop a 'deeper understanding of how to create an inclusive classroom where difference is valued' (AT, Gillian), while Neal noted that his experience co-teaching with Samantha made him consider 'how complex educational contexts are when you have students from so many different cultural backgrounds' (AFG-A10, Neal). Meanwhile, profounder understandings of religious and cultural practices were evident in Donald's reflection, which evinced that he was able to draw from his experiences during the OMP and apply them to his 4-week teaching practicum in a culturally diverse school in Brisbane which commenced immediately after returning to Australia:

> That was a very interesting experience and nothing like any school I'd been at [in the previous practicum] … the Malaysia trip did motivate me to go into that sort of culturally diverse placement and … with reference to Ramadan … there were a few students in my class who were observing Ramadan and I was more cognizant of what their beliefs entailed and things like, oh I understand this now from Malaysia. So, this is how I sort of relate it, to the Islamic sort of side of things and to other cultural differences. I am not so concerned about dealing with these differences when I have my own classes (AFG-A10, Donald).

The discussion of findings through the analytic lens of cosmopolitanism citizenship (Nussbaum 1996, 2006) indicated that embedding reflective practice, notably critical self-reflection in Malaysia and upon to return to Australia, engaged participating pre-service teachers in the processes of meta-practice. By critically examining their world views, being open-minded, seeking to understand the differences they encountered and changing their perspectives, these young people imagined themselves as interculturally-aware future teachers and global citizens capable of 'developing new thinking about the world' (Education Services Australia 2008, p. 2). It is argued here that those skills and capabilities gained through this immersion process were not only both personally and professional rewarding for the participants; but also, that these capabilities enable them to be work-place ready on graduation. Furthermore, recent research confirms the ways in which participating in outbound mobility programs directly impacts on the employment of university graduates and post-graduates (European Union 2014).

Evaluation

This chapter examined one aspect of the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalization of higher education in neo-liberal times (Marginson 2011; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). It foregrounded Outbound Mobility Programs (OMPs) as a strategy to meet university requirements to produce graduates for the global market place and to produce globally-minded graduates as global citizens. In traversing some of the relevant literature, the chapter argued that global citizenship in higher education can be achieved though providing immersion experiences that build pre-service teachers' intercultural capabilities. It referred to a small empirical study of Australian undergraduates who participated in an OMP during 2016 that drew from Nussbaum's (1996, 2006) notion of cosmopolitanism citizenship capabilities.

In this study, Malaysia served as both a regional and cultural context for encountering globalization, and the Malaysian pre-service teacher buddies acted as brokers or filters for engaging with, and in, the community. Over the duration of the program, the Australian pre-service teachers began to display the qualities of global citizenship; their collaborations indicated an emerging moral ethic or global-mindset of 'otherness' as they cooperated together during the program and their conversations revealed their increasing awareness of how global issues and concerns can be shaped through regional contexts. The current research indicates that a cosmopolitan view (Nussbaum 1996, 2006; Vertovec and Cohen 2002) of the global citizen can be applied to the short-term learning outcomes of this outbound mobility program in Malaysia. Findings suggest that such reflexive capabilities foster various intersecting attachments and consciousness (Banks 2008) which enable an individual to approach ideas from multiple perspectives (Hanvey 1976) and these are critical capabilities for future teachers who will work in culturally diverse classrooms.

There are obvious limitations to the case-study research component this chapter draws from. New Colombo Plan funding enabled only limited numbers of students to participate for the OMP's 2-week duration and generalisability to other contexts are restricted. Furthermore, it is not possible to make claims about the long-term impact of the learning outcomes from this program and further research is required to ascertain the degree to which in-country collaborations and related intercultural experiences continued to impact upon these pre-service teachers as global citizens and as beginning teachers. Nevertheless, findings align with Delanty's (2003) view of understanding citizenship as a learning process; one not limited to the rights or membership of a polity, but a view linked to participation in a community.

Conclusion

The above research examined one aspect of the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education in neo-liberal times. It addressed how

Outbound Mobility Programs (OMPs) can serve as a means to secure global citizenship in higher education and meet university requirements to produce graduates for the global market place whist enabling immersion experiences that build pre-service teacher intercultural capabilities. The above findings indicate that a carefully planned OMP can contribute to the formation of globally competent, work-ready graduates as global citizens; confirming Rizvi's (2011) hypothesis that transnational collaborations in higher education can be socially and culturally productive in neoliberal times. The chapter contends that a carefully planned OMP can contribute to the formation of globally competent, work-place ready graduates as global citizens.

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Chapter 7
Violence and the Crisis of Meaning in a Neo-Liberal World

Svi Shapiro

Abstract The struggle for meaning is central to human existence. This is an existential global crisis. Beyond material needs meaning offers purpose and hope to our lives. The present context of our existence is now shaped by the powerful influence of global capitalism which disrupts the communal bonds of traditional communities leaving an atomized individualism in its place. In the more developed world capitalism offers a shallow and endless desire for more things, a technocratic rationality that speaks only of efficiency and productivity, and a culture that erodes communal solidarity with an invidious competitiveness among individuals. Schooling, in the main, reproduces and reinforces subjects' desires, beliefs and values of a neo-liberal world-view. It defines education in ways that connects it to jobs and conformity to the culture of capitalism. Little there now speaks to a civic culture and the dispositions of a critical democracy. Within this global context it becomes possible to understand the way that autocratic religious beliefs or aggressive forms of nationalism and ethnic identity emerge to provide alternative cultures to satisfy the human demand for meaning and purpose. Each constructs imaginary communities of meaning that offer narratives of purpose and connection among individuals. Of course such communities are ones connected around a binary understanding of the world in which others are viewed as enemies who seek their destruction. The author suggests that education now has an immense responsibility addressing this existential global crisis in ways that affirm the human need for meaning and community but in ways that are reparative of our collective and environmental bonds.

Keywords Capitalism · Civic culture · Community · Culture of capitalism · Neo-liberalism · Meaning · Technocratic rationality · Violence

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This paper draws on an earlier essay in the author's book, *Educating Youth for a World Beyond Violence*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.

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> *The potency of myth is that it allows us to make sense of mayhem and violent death. It gives a justification to what is often nothing more than gross human cruelty and stupidity. It allows us to believe we have achieved our place in human society because of a long chain of heroic endeavors, rather than accept the sad reality that we stumble along a dimly lit corridor of disasters. It hides from view our own impotence and the ordinariness of our own leaders. By turning history into myth we transform random events into a chain of events directed by a will greater than our own, one that is determined and preordained. We are elevated above the multitude. We march towards nobility. And no society is immune.* (From *War is a Force that Gives Meaning to Our Lives,* by Chris Hedges)

The Importance of Meaning

Jean-Paul Sartre, the French philosopher of existentialism, famously noted that 'man is condemned to meaning'. Very succinctly this statement alerts us to the fact that human beings are impelled by needs that go beyond simply material desires. Sartre's assertion denied those crude versions of Marxist philosophy that reduced the human quest for social change and improvement to being only about the struggle for power and material interests. In place of this the struggle over purpose and meaning in our lives looms large in the quest for a worthwhile and satisfying existence. The need to find overarching purpose to our lives is as central to our being as is the demand for food and shelter. Meaning is as essential to human well-being as is the satisfaction of bodily needs. Sartre's words points us towards recognizing that a world that is without symbolic value and coherence constitutes a deep crisis in human existence and a profound indictment of a society. To live in such a world means to live an animal-like existence dependent on habit and repetition rather than being impelled by any sense of transcendent purpose, direction, or reason for our presence in the world. Such individuals are, in the words of philosopher Maxine Greene, 'sunken in everydayness', (1988) merely going through the motions and routines of their lives without connection to something beyond the self that provides significance or value to our efforts and energies. The underside of such a life quickly becomes one of despair and emotional emptiness, frequently degenerating into depression, rage or violence.

Today, in that part of the world where many live in historically unprecedented levels of affluence, there looms another kind of crisis of scarcity; this time a scarcity in any kind of compelling meaning in people's lives. It is a world in which many people, especially the young, feel adrift in a sea of purposelessness. Such a crisis of meaning provides significant opportunity for those who would mobilize around hate, war, and xenophobia as a way to fill the widespread emotional emptiness felt by so many individuals. And in that part of the world where multitudes of people struggle for even a modest subsistence, symbols that provide existential purpose take on extraordinary importance. In this latter world, frustration and the urge to find consolation for deprivation and injustice, combine to produce ferocious counter narratives that can give individuals meaning to their lives through militant religious beliefs or aggressive assertions of ethnic or national identity. But in both – the

worlds of affluence *and* of material hardship, human beings find themselves 'condemned' to search for meaning in order to counter the pain of purposeless suffering, and to find those symbols and narratives that might make life livable and worthwhile again. Whether in conditions of deprivation, or of material surfeit, our world is one in which there is a growing and desperate need to give purpose to lives of gnawing human pain; whether the pain of empty stomachs or of empty spirits. It is a search that too often comes with increasing costs in violence, killing and destruction.

Human beings, as has been said many times, require more than bread to live satisfying lives. Without structures of meaning that offer purpose and coherence to our lives existence becomes miserable at best, and a source of emotional pathology at worst. Bereft of meaning life quickly becomes a nightmarish journey into despair. And despair offers fertile soil not just for the internalized anger of depression, but of outwardly directed rage at a world that seems to offer frustration without consolation. One can say that any society concerned with its emotional health, and the expectations of a worthwhile future, must ensure that its young, in particular, are socialized into a culture of authentic meaning and purposefulness. The epidemic levels of depression and attempted suicide among the young in this country, or the endless distractions of video displays and digital technology, surely points to just such a crisis of meaning in the lives of many children and adolescents. While schools, as Henry Giroux argues, become more and more focused on preparing young people for college entrance or the job market (Giroux 2011) and there are loud and persistent demands about teaching basic skills to our students, few voices are raised concerning education's role as a vehicle through which purposeful identities and meaningful lives can be explored and acquired. Schooling becomes entirely an instrumental vehicle for transporting individuals along the tracks of the credentialing society. It is all about the grades, test scores, exam results and diplomas that allow one to ultimately claim some niche, however precarious, in the hierarchy of the marketplace.

Schooling and the Crisis of Meaning

I have talked elsewhere (2006) about the way the environment of school is one that alienates individuals from one another through the relentless emphasis on competition and invidious comparison. Here we need to emphasize the way that education has become a process that estranges students from themselves; from their passions, interests, creativity and imagination. Indeed schooling becomes a process that alienates young people from their authentic voices and the significance of their own experience. Human agency – the power to question, challenge and change social reality, becomes little more than teaching students to mindlessly follow directions and conform to what is required of them in order to pass the test or complete the assignment. Here there is no room for what Maxine Greene calls the 'ache' for meaning without which, she says, no purposeful education exists. In the world of contemporary schooling where students spend a great deal of time filling in bubbles

on their test sheets, there is little space for young people to explore and pursue those questions that speak to the purpose of their lives. Why are they here? What are the pressing questions and concerns that confront them within this culture and this world? How does one live a life of meaning in a society where so much rings hollow and fake In the arid and sanitized landscape of the American school the pressing dilemmas and concerns of an endangered and dangerous world have no place in the curriculum. Indeed attempts to put questions of meaning on the curriculum will likely threaten a teacher's future career. It is no wonder that so many young people complain about the boredom and pointlessness of schooling – apart from the fact that it provides the ticket that allows one to move on to college or a job.

I often note to my undergraduates about how much their education is about *extrinsic*, not *intrinsic*, value. In other words, I joke, their attitude towards school is one in which the *less* education they receive the *better*. If they could receive a passing grade without ever attending a class or cracking a book that would be just fine with them. This perverse and hostile relationship to their own education, I explain, is a manifestation of what it means to be alienated from one's own being. It means that one can go through the motions and satisfy the institution's demands (and thereby get the extrinsic reward that is needed), but do so while being thoroughly disinterested and estranged from one's own activity and presence. What we actually do, learn, or study, represents nothing but the labor required in order to satisfy a distant authority. In this sense school might be said to be "good" preparation for a society in which authentic meaning and purpose to our live becomes increasingly scarce. It is paradoxical when so many, especially parents, anguish about the negative effects of culture on their children's lives, that school is thoroughly dominated by the goals of efficiency, effectiveness, and behavioral measurability. School has become less and less a place that enables young people to explore and discern the wisdom of what might constitute a purposeful life. As in the culture as a whole, a 'technical rationality' dominates life in this institution which means that 'how' rather than 'why' questions shape our concerns and practices; how do we get kids to read more fluently?; know more math?; achieve higher results on the tests?; reduce drop-outs and increase college attendance?, and so on. The goals are always about doing more, remembering more, covering more, achieving more. Of course none of this speaks in any way to the deep and pressing concerns about living lives of deep meaning and significance. That would take a quite different kind of education. The failure in our schools is only part of a larger crisis of meaning that afflicts American society as well as many others, and we will look at other dimensions of it below. It is a crisis that opens the door to other forces that seek to exploit and capitalize on the widespread existential emptiness in ways that offer to fill it with authoritarian, jingoistic, and militaristic beliefs and values. God, flag and country with all their aggressive, Manichean and dogmatic certainties will fill the void of lives desperate for compelling purpose and meaning.

School, just like work for many, is purely an instrumental chore that enables us to survive and move on (and, for some, move up) in the world. Yet at the end of the day one is left emotionally and psychologically empty from the experience. There is little here that nourishes our human need for spiritual sustenance. In other words

what we are offered is a very thin gruel of purpose; something that might speak to that quintessentially human desire for connection to things that gives significance to our lives beyond mere existence or survival. In his moving book, *The Left Hand of God,* Michael Lerner (2009) reports on his research with working people about the importance of non-economic issues in their lives. His report is a riposte to those on the Left who define political allegiances and decisions *only* in terms of economic issues. Far from this being the important factor in how individuals decide their political preferences Lerner argues that questions of meaning (or meaninglessness) loom increasingly large in people's lives:

> … we discovered, these people have needs that go beyond a narrow focus on the economy. People earning close to the median income in the United States told us that they wondered what their life was really about, what the purpose of living was, what they could tell their children they had achieved while living on the planet. Many complained that their work did not offer them an opportunity to contribute in some way to the well-being of the human race. They told us they wanted to feel that their work was about something more than just making a living, that it served some higher purpose. Some asked us, the group leaders, to tell them how we saw our own lives. Were we oriented towards serving something more than ourselves? (Lerner 2009, p. 43).

The Meaning of Life

Should it be puzzling that the question of purpose and meaning looms so large in our lives? The very idea of what constitutes meaning may be an elusive one. My belief about this is that our compulsion to find meaning is rooted in the precariousness of the human condition itself. Painfully aware of our own brief stay upon the earth, and or confronted with the insignificance of our own presence against the enormous magnitude of what exists outside of us, we are driven to find, or create, significance to our own finite and limited lives. Whether or not this significance is seen as rooted in a divinely impelled purpose for human beings, or whether it is understood as a sheer act of imagination and creative story-telling, there is the powerful need to construct a narrative that overcomes the painful limitations of a human life. Such a narrative creates meaning for us by showing the way a single life represents something much more than a precariously assembled, thoroughly contingent, depressingly short-lived phenomenon or presence. Meaning in this sense becomes the way we can overcome our own very brief and temporary existence by connecting us to a much larger 'chain of being'--one that links us to the multitude of other lives both in the generations gone by, as well as to those who will follow us future generations. Meaning here gives us historicity; a life that becomes much more than a flickering moment of presence through its links to an unfolding narrative set against time and place. Contemporaneously, meaning represents those connections that bind us to what Benedict Anderson calls 'imaginary communities' (2006); whether these are communities of religious belief, ethnicity, tribe or nationality. Each of them powerfully offers us ways to enlarge our presence in the world. They provide the means to locate ourselves in a much bigger story than one that a single,

solitary life could possible supply. To understand religious narratives in this way, as a response to the human quest for existential purpose, is certainly not meant to belittle the extraordinary contribution religious traditions have made to the store of humanity's moral and spiritual wisdom, or the contribution they have made to sensitizing men and women to the awesome wonder of existence and the universe. Nor does it deny their importance in speaking to the ultimately ineffable mystery of life itself.

Not surprisingly, the power of the narrative is deepened, and becomes more emotionally compelling, through the way it embodies the heroism of survival; or through the manner in which it might claim some special chosenness of purpose or mission; or through its claim to represent nobility of spirit, creative genius, or high intelligence. Whatever is associated with each of our own particular stories, its special power and resonance resides in its capacity to contribute to some larger human narrative of purpose and meaning. I ask the reader to understand that my take on meaning as a socially constructed web of belief is not meant in any way to trivialize or ridicule this quintessentially human process. As I like to tell my own students, it's really all we have got! A single human life is a pretty insignificant event when viewed against 15 million years of human history, or when seen in the context of a universe that contains literally hundreds of billions of stars, or seen against the background of an earth that today contains about 6 billion human beings. The truth is that after seven or eight decades (if we are among the lucky ones) we do indeed shuffle off this mortal coil knowing that few if anyone will know or remember us or our deeds within a generation or two. It is hardly surprising that we have a strong desire to expand the significance of these short years through the construction of an identity that connects us to a much greater and compelling narrative of purpose and presence. This is especially so given the difficult, vexing, and too often painful journey that constitutes any human life. Certainly life itself contains the almost inevitable suffering of loss, illness, aging, and disappointments in our relationships or what we achieve. But beyond this is what Herbert Marcuse called the 'unnecessary suffering' that besets so many lives. He was referring here to the consequences of a particular set of social, economic and political arrangements that can add immense suffering to people's lives through war and violence, social injustice, dehumanization and exploitation, discrimination and repression, and so on. While these have blighted and destroyed countless human lives none of them are the *inevitable* fate of humankind. Even if the search for meaning is eternal, the meanings that we do construct usually represent a response, not just to the inevitable forms of pain we experience, but also to the particular social reality we must confront.

Jurgen Habermas (2010), the distinguished German philosopher and social theorist, noted several years ago that in our kind of modern society, cultural meanings seem less and less like they are firmly rooted in tradition. Values and beliefs no longer are experienced as having the solidity and permanence of something that is grounded in antiquity; or something that appears to be beyond the vicissitudes of change and the mutability of history. In the pre-modern world meaning had an unquestioned legitimacy and inviolability. It offered individuals the enormous reassurance of living in a world that was securely grounded in purpose. Human beings

could feel assured that their identities were firmly established through the dense network of relationships, obligations, and expectations that regulated their lives. However harsh life might be, the security of knowing who one is, what is expected of you, and what is the significance of one's life, provided a powerful source of consolation and reassurance for people. It just this kind of world that, Habermas argued, has gone for many of us. To live in a world without stable and coherent meaning to guide us is to live in a disorienting and unanchored psychological state. It is as if one is looking at a TV screen and can only see the pixels from which the picture on the screen is constituted. There are bright flashes and rapid movement of images but nothing comes together in a way that gives some coherent sense to what we are looking at. Or one is looking at a newspaper photograph in which we can see only the black and white markings that give the picture its form, but without seeing the overall connections that together provide a meaningful and recognizable image. To live in that kind of condition is immensely painful. It is to feel oneself dislocated and disoriented; lacking an existential compass that gives one a secure sense of identity. It is as if, in the famous words of Karl Marx, 'all that is solid melts into air'. Where meaning has become elusive or ephemeral human beings become agitated and anxious. The lack of a reliable path for life's journey produces despair and the inclination towards suicide. It also generates frustration, anger and rage. When the solidity of meaning evaporates we may expect that violent behavior is never far behind.

Anger in a World of Change

If we are to understand something about violence both at home and abroad we must take seriously the way that such things as modernity, capitalism, consumerism and liberal democracy undermine or erode the stability of meaning in people's lives. Of course this is not meant to suggest that stability is in and of itself a good thing. The undermining of long assumed forms of domination and inequity such as patriarchy, absolute monarchies, and racist regimes are welcome changes. But we must still recognize that the dissolution of long established cultural frameworks through which people have come to know and understand their world is immensely stressful for individuals and societies. If we are to become better able to see the sources of violence around us we must pay attention to the changes and conflicts that increasingly beset people, and the erosion of the meanings they live by. And we will have to consider the possibilities of alternative structures of meaning that are needed. Nowhere is this more apparent when we consider the forms of militant fundamentalism that now play such a large role in the Middle East. We have been fed the idea that the angry forms of Islam that have emerged represent a rejection of "our values" of freedom and democracy. As Slavoj Zizek (2008) has forcibly reminded us such a view is far too simplistic and in no way provides an understanding of the forces and currents that are running through many societies producing rageful violence and terror directed against innocent civilians Certainly it ignores the anger that is

provoked by American and western intervention in the affairs of many Middle Eastern and Muslim states. Reinforced the view of the United States as an imperial power bent on dominating the Middle East in order to secure a continued supply of cheap oil. In addition to all of this, there is the pervasive corruption in so many countries which allows elites to maintain their profligate lifestyles at the expense of the mass of people who barely manage to subsist.

But beyond western policies and the corruption of local elites which continue to create deep feelings of resentment among many in the middle east there are other, more systemic, kinds of causes that foment instability, anger and violence among many people who feel like their lives and world are being undermined by foreign influences and corrupting values. In his book *Jihad vs. McWorld* Benjamin Barber (1996) provides a powerful picture of the way that global capitalism has assaulted and torn apart the cultural tissues that provide the meaning maps of so many societies. The free-market ideology, he says, is a battering ram against every kind of parochial or traditional identity, whether that of nation, religion or ethnicity. The new world of global corporate power is less about manufactured goods than about goods tied to telecommunications and information. It is, he says, about the cultural software and images manufactured in advertising agencies and film studios.

This new world of global capitalism with its extraordinary capacity to shape wants and needs is nothing less than an assault on our very identity as human beings. It seeks to transform every human desire into a market supplied commodity. The soul's quest for the sacred and transcendent become, in the hands of capitalism, transformed into the desire for the material and the profane. Barber continues:

> The new telecommunications and entertainment industries do not ignore or destroy, but rather absorb and deconstruct and then reassemble the soul. In their hands it becomes a more apt engine of consumption than the physically limited body…When the soul is enlisted on behalf of plastic – even protean – bodily wants, it can guarantee a market without bounds (Barber 1996, p.78).

This is a world in which consumption becomes the central human activity. In turn, (reality, reality into virtual reality and completing the circle, virtual reality back into actual life again so that the distinction between reality and virtual reality vanishes. In this world, Barber tells us, we are urged to see ourselves as individuals who are private and solitary beings who interact with others primarily through commercial transactions. It is a world that inculcates secularism, consumerism, materialism, immediate gratification, boundless sexual expression, hedonism, and limitless desire. Such a values system is in collision with the traditional values and beliefs of parochial religious culture. It is a collision that produces militant and sometimes violent forms of Jihad (as well as angry fundamentalist religious responses within other religious traditions including Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism).

William Barber argues that the forces of Jihad are best understood as actually the consequence of a neo-liberal world (what he refers to as *McWorld*). They are its dangerous stepchild. Its imagined political community is the invention of the agitated modern mind forced to deal with the dissolution of meaning and the virtual reality of consumer culture. Its quest for the durable self and an unchanging social

reality are the result of the upheavals and psychic tumult of this world of endless novelty, unleashed desire, and ungrounded identity. While the forces of Jihad may seem like a throwback to pre-modern times with its emphasis on "religious mysteries, hierarchical and communities, spellbinding traditions", it is really a response to the feeling of being overwhelmed by the corrosive influences of western corporate interests and the culture of unbridled consumerism.

Of course it is not consumer values alone that dissolve the glue of traditional culture. The unabashed flaunting of sexuality associated with consumer values is joined to the assertion of a global feminism which demands women's equality in the political, economic and social arenas. Together they present a profound challenge to the patriarchal values of traditional religious communities. In addition, scientific rationality and empiricism undermines the epistemological certainties of fundamentalist belief systems. They challenge the literal authority of the religious text and the unquestioned validity of religious faith. The reflexive mind-set that is at the heart of the scientific community calls into question the unexamined claims and beliefs of any tradition-rooted system of belief. It turns more and more of us into *provisional* believers of what is true. In other words all of our beliefs are seen as only temporarily reliable or convincing. What we know is only as good as the latest experimental proof or the persuasiveness of current arguments. Scientific rationality calls into permanent question the unexamined, the conventional, and the traditionally accepted. The turn towards fundamentalism whether among Muslims, Christians, Jews or Hindus must, in some sense, be seen as the consequence of this deep erosion of the authority of tradition, and the turn towards more conditional and tentative views of what is or might be true.

Let me emphasize here that the corrosive effects of consumer values on traditional beliefs and behavior, the challenges of more open and reflexive ways of approaching truth, as well the profound challenge towards patriarchal values do not inevitably lead to violent aggression. This is only one possible response to the shifting landscape of so many people's lives. It is simply wrong to assume that everyone responds to such stresses and challenges with hateful rage. And the belief that this is the case augments the view of those who see the world as locked into a Manichean struggle of good versus bad, evil versus unblemished virtue. While no one can be immune from the seismic changes of consciousness underway in the world there are a full range of responses to it from those who would turn the world into a battlefield against infidels or satanic forces to those who struggle to understand and integrate the best of these changes into their structures of meaning and belief.

The Struggle for Meaning at Home

While we have focused above on the Middle East as perhaps the most visible arena in which tradition and global values compete, this in no sense exhausts the spaces where such conflict exists. Certainly, one might consider the resurgent nationalism in many parts of Europe, both east and west with all of its exclusivist ethnic and

religious language. There is a disturbing revival here of purist notions of who belongs, and who doesn't, to one's nation. Writers like Tony Judt, Michael Lerner, Zygmunt Bauman, and Jonathan Glover remind us that questions of meaning lie at the very heart of current political struggles and discourses. Certainly, as the emergence of Donald Trump as a popular choice on the right for presidency of the U.S. demonstrates that issues of meaning and community have loud echoes in the United States. We, too, suffer from enormous challenges and shifts in our beliefs, values and meanings. And these challenges have their repercussions in the levels of anxiety and unease in people's lives. It is very clear that for too many the response is a hateful brew of anger, and the turn towards an aggressive, exclusivist nationalism or an intolerant Christianity.

We, too, live in the shadow of postmodern uncertainty. For many there is the sense of being assailed by a moral relativism which offers no sure guideposts to wrong and right behavior. It seems to undergird an egoistic and irresponsible moral outlook in which any and all behaviors can be justified or rationalized. From this point of view Wall Street greed and a more accepting view of the diverse forms of sexual expression and identity are lumped together as equal manifestations of unbridled desire and self-satisfaction. No distinction is made here between the legitimate struggle to free oneself from historically repressive social norms that have blighted the lives of so many of our fellow citizens, and the obviously selfish and socially irresponsible acts of greedy corporate traders. From the point of view of anxious and angry believers all the world appears as a den of selfish iniquity, and politics and religion become fueled by an angry and resentful struggle to impose what is nostalgically seen as a prior world of individual responsibility, hierarchical authority, unchallengeable truth, and identity purified of the contaminants of the 'other'.

There is no avoiding the fact that our postmodern era is one that creates a profound dis-ease that fuels a vitriolic politics of meaning. For many, the sense of certainty about who we are, what we ought to believe, and the rightness of our national and religious narrative feel buffeted and besieged. Globalization is profoundly reshaping the contours of power and influence in the world. The short-lived unipolar world of American power that followed the demise of the Soviet Union is now giving way to a world of multiple sites of economic power. There is good reason to believe that the new century will belong to the rising countries of China and India. Deregulation of finance and the resulting free and inadequately controlled flows of capital have plunged United States and European capitalism into an era of enormous economic instability. And huge and ever-expanding national debt has made countries increasingly vulnerable to global financial crises and a sense among many of living on borrowed time.

The unrestricted capital markets that now rule the globe mean that more and more goods are manufactured elsewhere, usually in those places that offer the cheapest and most easily exploitable workers. The result is increasing insecurity for workers who watch their jobs disappear to other countries that will pay far lower wages to their employees. The unrestricted flow of labor across our national boundaries while providing the cheap labor upon which so much of our standard of living depends, brings huge numbers of foreign workers into the richer country not only

depressing pay for local workers but altering the long established cultural make up of communities who must deal with unfamiliar languages and ways of life. In the United States all of this represents an enormous challenge to the belief that the country embodies unassailable power in the world, and convictions about our national purpose and role.

It represents a profound crisis around those deep assumptions about the meaning of American identity and values. One commentator on this crisis, the eminent scholar Robert Jay Lifton has argued that the calamity of September 11, 2001 and subsequent events, have eroded the sense of invulnerability that has accompanied America's role as a superpower. At the heart of what Lifton terms the 'superpower syndrome' is the need to maintain this nation's belief in its omnipotence. While other nations, he says, have experiences in the world that render them and their citizens all too aware of the essential vulnerability of life on earth, 'no such reality can be accepted by those clinging to a sense of omnipotence' (Lifton 2003, p.129). Fueled by apocalyptic religious beliefs, our unilateral military exercise of power is justified by our special responsibility to rid the world of evil and to protect our God anointed role to be the dominant nation on earth. He notes:

> It is almost un-American to be vulnerable. As a people, we pride ourselves on being able to stand up to anything, solve all problems. We have long had a national self-image that involves an ability to call forth reservoirs of strength when we need it, and a sense of protected existence peculiar to America in an otherwise precarious world (Lifton 2003, p.125).

The deep antipathy that Americans feel for the instruments of their government and of those who control their economy indicates a profound loss of conviction in the legitimacy of our national purpose. As this sense of loss deepens we can expect a return to a politics of meaning centered on re-establishing national purpose around the ideology of American power and supremacy. The discourse of such a politics will likely center again around the view of a Manichean world of good and evil, and America's historic mission of safeguarding the world from evil. The consequences of this are a politics that emphasizes patriotic zeal, unquestioning affirmation of America's chosen role, and a fierce reassertion of military values.

In this kind of world-view, war and militarism have a special role in giving meaning and purpose to the lives of citizens. It harnesses a theology of what Michael Lerner calls the 'Right Hand of God' (2006) in which a wrathful and coercive divine power legitimizes America's special and chosen role in the world to quell the 'evil ones'–those who appear to oppose or threaten us. The sense of loss and vulnerability is also a catalyst for hatred and intolerance towards those who are seen as outsiders to our national culture (such as Muslims, immigrants, minorities, Jews, gays and lesbians). Such 'outsiders' can be defined as fomenting and exacerbating our national decline. Without ensuring a widely held alternative paradigm regarding our values and beliefs as a nation, this angry, imperialist, uncompromising and dogmatic vision will again be able to grow and hold sway. Such an alternative paradigm will require us to educate our kids to see themselves as part of an interdependent, mutually responsible, community of nations where power is widely shared, and in which no one country is able to define itself as the true voice of all that is right and

certain. And where military force is the very last instrument to be called upon to resolve any conflict or disagreement. We will need to ensure that our children understand just how dangerous and destructive it is when we seek to address our crisis of values through a vision of global domination, unilateral power, and a belief in one nation being selected to fulfill a God-inspired purpose. Or they learn that those defined as 'other' come to be regarded as the cause of national decline or the symptom of this crisis. It will require us to educate our young so that war and militarism no longer appear as the privileged expression of patriotism and national purpose, or the means through which a culture in disarray may be cemented into cohesion and solidity.

The Confusion of Having and Being

The crisis of meaning we, and especially our children face is not just about national purpose. It is also about the way we have been taught to seek purpose in our individual lives. However much Americans, for example, profess a religious faith (certainly much more so than among people in other western democracies), it is arguable that our true faith lies not in the direction of our churches and other religious institutions, but is found in the shopping mall. As one writer, John De Graaf, asserts the mega-malls today are our version of the gothic cathedrals (2005) This same writer notes that 70% of us visit malls each week, more than attend houses of worship. Our true religious passion is about consuming. It is about the desire to own and have more. Our true zeal is the quest to purchase and acquire as much as we possibly can in the belief that this is the way to achieve satisfaction and happiness in our lives.

Since how people think about their standard of living tends to be in relative terms there is the paradox that as people own more and more, have bigger houses, more luxurious cars and so on, they tend to feel no happier about their lives. In that so much advertising urges us to compare ourselves to others, the more we have bears little on how satisfied we feel. We continue to see ourselves as worse off than others around us. De Graaf and his colleagues noted that 1957 was the year that the percentage of Americans describing themselves as happy reached a plateau never exceeded since then. Certainly in order to buy all of the things we now feel we need means we are compelled to work more and more days, and longer hours. Our so-called normal way of life provides a recipe for a deep crisis of meaning. We are taught to believe that having more will lead to a life of greater satisfaction. Yet the opposite seems to be the case. Over any given year nearly half of American adults suffer from clinical depression, anxiety disorders or other mental illnesses. Over and above a reasonable level of material satisfaction greater gains in what we produce little real gain in the quality of our inner lives.

The endless pursuit of material things does not result in more fulfilled lives. Indeed the opposite is the case. Living our lives so focused on getting and having more leaves us with a deep ache for meaning. The narrative of all advertising follows the same pattern in which a human need or problem is resolved through the

promise of something we can buy. Yet it is a promise that is rarely redeemed in any deep and sustained way. Advertisers spend millions of dollars to connect human needs –sexual appeal, beauty, health, popularity, novelty and excitement, security and peace of mind, the capacity to impress others – to what we buy. Yet the result is rarely quite what is expected. Excitement is perfunctory, satisfaction temporary, the sense of security only fleeting.

Consuming is *not* intended to leave one in a state of deep contentment. Far from it, the corporate interest is in stimulating addictive behavior around material desire; of creating an itch for buying things that can never be fully quieted. The goal is to keep the customer restless and perpetually dissatisfied so that he or she will keep coming back for more. Paradoxically, the fuller our closets and storage spaces become the emptier do we feel. The more we invest our life energies into this futile quest for meaning and contentment the more do we feel a lack of real satisfaction in our lives. The truth is that dissatisfaction is built into the very nature of consumer culture. However much we seem to have, it never feels like it is enough.

We are always wanting more – the more that promises to leave us feeling satisfied but does not. The present financial crisis has its roots in the greed of those who direct our banks and our financial institutions. Such individuals with their astronomical salaries and other forms of remuneration wanted still more. And to achieve this they shamelessly constructed a financial house of cards that finally plunged many other countries into an economic disaster. Yet however much we excoriate these individuals, in one sense they represent all of us in our shared voracious quest to always have more in the mistaken belief that this will provide real purposeful satisfaction in our lives. More is always better; bigger is always more desirable. There is in this quest the confusion Erich Fromm referred to as that between 'having' with 'being' (2005). There is the mistaken idea that human fulfillment comes from what we own, instead of who we are and how we live. Consumer culture systematically confuses for us these two things. As De Graaf and his co-authors put it; 'The products and the media distract us from the soul's cry for truly meaningful activities' (De Graaf et al. 2005, p. 80).

The Culture of Buying Starts Young

Consumer culture puts us on a treadmill of increasing desire for commodities paid for by increasing debt with all of its stresses and anxieties. It forces us to commit ourselves to ever more working hours in order to pay for our purchases with its loss of social time, and time with our loved ones. It produces in us moments of delight with our new purchases followed by the ennui and boredom that quickly follows as our newest possession turns into 'yesterday's' thrill. It seeks to convince us that having more means greater meaning and satisfaction in our lives instead of a restless sense of unfulfilled desire, and the sense that someone else has it better than we do. The consumer culture is one that emphasizes the private over the public, the individualistic over the shared or collective. It is easy to see this in America where

private wealth has long co-existed with public lack and sometimes squalor. The market is concerned with what can be sold at a profit to the individual, not what raises the standard of living of the greatest number. And our consciousness is one that measures the good life in terms of what I, or my family, have or own, not what improves the well-being of everyone. Consumer culture, in short, encourages a selfish, me-oriented approach to life with little interest in the broader ramifications for what we can get or buy.

The selfishness inherent in consumerism is also propelled by the nagging sense that someone has more than you do. Advertising's sub-text is always one that encourages a comparing of what is our experience to the experience of another. Someone seems happier than I; looks better, healthier, sexier than I am; has a more attractive or spacious house or car than I do; or has a more exciting and adventurous life than I have. The process of continuous evaluation of one's life through comparison to someone else is sure to promote a great deal of dissatisfaction, and a nagging degree of self-criticism. It also produces a culture rife with envy and jealousy. Increasingly consumer culture is about what Zygmunt Bauman (2007) refers to as the promise of living *optimally*. It is no longer enough just to live comfortably.

Advertising urges us to live life to the maximum. Every experience needs to be of surpassing value – an ecstatic and orgiastic thrill ride! There is always another TV, videogame, computer, cell phone, or iphone, that offers a more amazing service or set of functions. Of course, the tension between this and the essentially prosaic nature of everyday is one that must, in the end, produce intense boredom with our actual experiences and circumstances. As critics of our 'egoic culture' point out, consumer culture is one that promotes an instrumental view of one's life. In other words we are preoccupied with how we can reach our destination. Life is to be lived somewhere else – when I have the right job, enough money, perfect partner, own the best products and so on. Never right now. Our goal is to maximize the attainment of extrinsic goals (money, appearance, fame) in order to provide satisfactions that we can only ultimately find through the quality of how we actually live, work and play, and in our relationships with others. Yet it is the energies demanded in pursuit of the former that occupies so much of our lives, depriving us of the opportunity to live fully in the moment rather than at some future time when we have acquired the things the consumer world tells us are needed if we are to live optimally. It is important to bear in mind that inculcation into this culture of buying starts early. Young children are targeted as easily manipulated consumers, or as goads to their parents' decisions about what to buy:

> For the first time in human history, children are getting most of their information from entities whose goal is to sell them something … The average twelve-year-old in the United States spends forty-eight hours a week exposed to commercial messages (Bauman 2007, p. 55).

Increasingly young people are taught the values of instant gratification, materialism, an insatiable desire for things, a restless need for novelty and entertainment, and a constant concern with whether they are 'keeping up' with others. The latter concern, we know, fuels the insecurities of youth and the obsessive fears about

whether one has the 'right' gear, or possesses a 'cool' appearance to enable one to fit in and be socially accepted. At times the focus on what we and others have, become markers of difference and conflict; violence occurs as rival groups of young people associate the things they own, wear or drive, with the right to belong and be recognized. The constant focus on the need to 'keep up' with the ever-changing marketplace becomes the source of enormous stress and tension in young people's lives. Added to the competitive emphasis of the classroom it can be no wonder that depression and anxiety disorders have reached record numbers among young people.

Finding Meaning Through War

Faced with a culture that generates so much dissatisfaction, restlessness, and emptiness it should be no surprise about the way that other beliefs and values become powerful alternatives, or consolations, to this culture. Chris Hedges (2002) in his essay on war articulates the seductiveness of patriotism and militarism to the spiritual and emotional emptiness of so many lives. In contrast to the self-interest and materialism of consumerism, patriotism or nationalism offers the possibility of investing in something that feels greater and nobler than the former's shallow individualism. Such patriotism is typically understood in the context of a world that opposes or threatens who 'we' are and what 'we' believe. In this sense it is possible to see oneself as standing up against a dangerous or evil force on the side of a collective good. Hedges writes: 'Patriotism, often a thinly veiled form of collective self-worship, celebrates our goodness, our ideals, our mercy and bemoans the perfidiousness of those who hate us.' He continues: "The goal of such nationalist rhetoric is to invoke pity for one's own. The goal is to show the community that what they hold sacred is under threat. The enemy, we are told, seeks to destroy religious and cultural life, the very identity of the group or state.' (Hedges 2002 p. 15).

Such a world-view gives grand meaning and purpose to one's life. It places our necessarily small efforts inside a much larger narrative of history and collective mission. Of course there is a high price to pay for this. Those who oppose us are usually stripped of their humanity; they become an evil or dangerous abstraction that must be stopped. We must do whatever it takes to maintain and safeguard our own nation. It also leads us to obfuscate or deny history. The strong sense of purpose is augmented by seeing a world that is clearly, unambiguously divided into us and them, good vs. evil. It is, but a short distance from this kind of thinking to the embrace of war. Hedges notes:

> War makes the world understandable, a black and white tableau of them and us. It suspends thought, especially self-critical thought. All bow before the supreme effort. We are one. Most of us willingly accept war as long as we can fold it into a belief system that paints the ensuing suffering as necessary for a higher good, for human beings seeks not only happiness but also meaning. And tragically war is sometimes the most powerful way in human society to achieve meaning.

He continues:

> …war forms its own culture. The rush of battle is a potent and often lethal addiction, for war is a drug, one I ingested for many years. It is peddled by mythmakers – historians, war correspondents, filmmakers, novelists, and the state – all of whom endow it with qualities it often does no possess: excitement, exoticism, power, chances to rise above our small stations in life, and a bizarre and fantastic universe that has a grotesque and dark beauty (Hedges 2002, p. 10).

While consumer culture urges us to be preoccupied with the self and leaves society as a place of small-minded, competing egos, war urges us towards concern for the whole society and sacrifice for the greater good becomes a valued calling. No wonder in this kind of materialistic, greedy culture the military becomes lionized as the embodiment of something selfless and sacred. The uniform and the flag represent a higher purpose; they become emblematic of a community of shared meaning and collective responsibility. Consumer culture can offer only the most superficial, shallow and vulgar form of meaning to our lives, and in this context patriotism and war fill the existential vacuum. In the U.S. they frequently join together with a triumphalist "exceptionalist' myth about our perennial goodness as a country (interested only in bringing the fruits of freedom and the free-market to those deprived of them). A distinctly American Christianity sanctions and blesses our military power and imperial involvements in other countries, and decries as ungodly those who would question or criticize these adventures.

Consumerism as a way of life leaves in its wake a crisis of authentic meaning. It is a crisis for which war, militarism and an aggressive patriotism is one particularly powerful response. It is a crisis that opens the door to dogmatic and fundamentalist religion which offers belief and purpose that is free from ambiguity or doubt. It speaks to purpose more uplifting than the materialism, greed and the endless dissatisfaction of consumer culture, but, it needs to be remembered, at a heavy price. In this kind of religion there is no room for the questioning and critical mind that is the life blood of democracy. Instead authority must be believed and respected without reservation. Here the military mind and the authoritarian mind are easily twinned; each insists on the unquestioned correctness of those in control.

While consumer consciousness is one that is constantly in flux – always looking for what is new, exciting or optimal, fundamentalist religion offers the assurance of a permanent unchanging truth. And while the consumer culture creates the lone buyer restlessly seeking to expand his or her world through what they can own, have or experience, authoritarian religion offers the solace of the community of believers who support one another in their conviction of being right in a world filled with unbelievers and heretics. Such a community finds its strength in being both separate and incommensurable with the rest of the unbelieving world. It is a community that grows stronger by becoming more intolerant and opposed to what is outside of it. It is, not surprisingly, a place where the apocalyptic vision of an 'end time' is preached and welcomed. A gigantic collision of the forces of good and evil fills the heads of believers. Armageddon is eagerly anticipated in the form of wars or a nuclear holocaust when the earth will be purified of unbelievers. It can be of little surprise at the way these beliefs mesh easily with an extreme right wing politics that categorizes the world in terms of good and evil, and where military engagement and the sacrifice

of blood is proof of a nation's high moral state. Where there is no higher calling than the readiness of the young to die for the cause of God and country.

Education today has the extraordinary obligation of offering an alternative path for finding meaning in these dangerous and critical times. There can be no greater responsibility today than educators' role in helping individuals recognize the crisis of meaning which engulfs us, while encouraging something other than the seductions of war, militarism, blind patriotism and dogmatic belief as the antidote to this crisis. We must affirm to our students the deep "ache" for meaning that besets so many of our lives and the futility of the obsessive consumerism that offers to fill our time and energy with endless distractions and superficial novelties. Educators can help reveal the nature and dimensions of this spiritual crisis. They can deconstruct for students the mechanisms of the market which get us to endlessly want more. They can point to the dangerous and destructive ways society's can respond when there is an absence of compelling meaning through the glorification of death and violence. But most of all they can help suggest other, more inclusive, life-affirming and healing responses to our crisis which do not involve demonizing others, declaring or threatening others with war, and do not assume that we are always perfect or right in our judgments as a nation. Of course this demands a very different understanding of why and how we educate – one that unabashedly links education to moral and spiritual concerns.

The classroom becomes a place in which young people are encouraged to pursue questions about the purpose and meaning of our lives. And these questions are set against the limits, shallowness and ultimate emptiness of a consumer-driven life. Such an emphasis in our education must be contrasted with today's limited focus on skills, competencies and careers. The latter, of necessity, will form part of preparing young people for our complex and technologically developed world. But it cannot be allowed to constitute all of our schooling. Education must not be severed from its deeper task of nurturing among the young a thoughtful and sensitive humanity, and the wisdom to discern authentically worthwhile lives. Educators, parents and citizens cannot stand by while those whose sole interest is in making our kids malleable consumers hold so much power to shape the identities of the young. Nor can military careers monopolize our nation's vision of selfless and public spirited service. Education's task is to challenge the limited imagination for what might constitute a purposeful life beyond either the peddlers of merchandise or the state sanctioned machinery of violence and destruction.

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Chapter 8
Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Laissez-Faire: The Retreat from Naturalism

Mark Olssen

Abstract The chapter starts by restating the core theoretical thesis in my previous writings on neoliberalism, drawing attention, specifically, to the differences between liberalism and neoliberalism, most essentially concerning the principle of the active or positive state that I have claimed characterizes neoliberal governmentality globally, entailing as it does if not the abandonment at least the downscaling of laissez-faire. After summarizing this thesis briefly, the contributions and limits of Michel Foucault's research on neoliberalism especially regarding the distinction between naturalistic and anti-naturalistic views of state functioning will be re-stated. Foucault's view will also be surveyed with reference to the work of a recent doctoral student, Lars Cornelissen, who has recently questioned the accuracy of Foucault's genealogy of neoliberalism concerning the central origins and founding events that most clearly signaled the shift from liberal to neoliberal policies. Of the differences between liberal and neoliberal government, I will recommit to my original thesis of the distinction between the positive state and laissez-faire, as well as to Foucault's distinction between naturalism and anti-naturalism as being centrally important to understanding the two variants of liberalism and to understanding as well the anti-democratic tendencies of the neoliberal variant. Once having established this view, I will briefly discuss the contributions of those writers who contributed most significantly to the neoliberal cause. Here, I will maintain that the key neoliberals in a theoretical sense are the European ordo liberals, such as Walter Eücken and Wilhelm Röpke; as well as the US writers such as James Buchanan (Public Choice theory)

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and Howard Becker (Human Capital theory) while others, such as Henry Simons, Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, although supporting and politically mobilizing for neoliberal forms of government control, were much more cautious about jettisoning laissez-faire thereby adopting an anti-naturalistic perspective. In terms of authors, the chapter is centrally devoted to surveying the specific theoretical contributions of Eücken, Röpke, Buchanan, Simons, and Hayek. After setting out the distinctive features that characterize neoliberalism, the likelihood of a crisis of neoliberalism globally and the possibilities for a transition beyond it will briefly be investigated.

Keywords Active state · Foucault · Governance · Human capital theory · Laissez-faire · Liberalism · Neoliberalism · Neoliberal policies

The Problem of *Laissez-Faire* in Neoliberal Thought

Foucault's (2008) analysis of the ordo liberals in Germany focused on the discrepancy between their advocacy of laissez-faire and the polarity between their views on the role of government. On the one hand, the German ordo liberals distrusted large concentrations of power and opposed action to 'interfere' in markets, through wages and price fixing, or administrative or bureaucratic involvement, but on the other hand, they favoured and supported the actions of government to reinforce and strengthen the institutional infrastructures, to arrange and enable the 'conditions' necessary for the market to operate. This was supported, for instance, by ordo liberals such as Walter Eücken, who took the view that the economy required an 'economic constitution,' which must be created and protected by the state. The possible conflict with free market principles is evident in the following statement:

> A solution of this task of which much depends (not only men's economic existence), requires the elaboration of a practicable economic constitution which satisfies certain basic principles. The problem will not solve itself simply by our letting economic systems grow up spontaneously. The history of the last century has shown this plainly enough. The economic system has to be consciously shaped (Eücken 1992, p. 314).

Eücken sought to chart the basic principles of 'economic politics' [*Wirtschaftspolitik*] in order to establish the 'conditions' for a competitive market order to arise and continue. Establishing competition as the cornerstone of the economy became the key principle of a neoliberal order. It was concerned not with 'interfering' with the day-to-day processes of the economy, but seeking to establish and protect the 'conditions' that were favourable to an effective and efficient economic system. As Eücken put it, "[t]he answer is that the state should influence the *forms* of economy, but not itself direct the economic process" (p. 95)

It was also supported amongst the US free market advocates, such as Henry Calvert Simons. As 'father' of the Chicago School of free market economics, Simons was expected to champion a consistently traditional approach accepting the

classical postulates of *laissez-faire.* This was as a natural equilibrium between supply and demand which ensured the 'self-regulation' of the economy, as if directed, in Adam Smith's phrase, by an 'invisible hand', i.e., laws of nature. Yet, in his pamphlet, *A Positive Program for Laissez-Faire,* first published in 1934, Simons seems ambivalent over *laissez faire*:

> The representation of *laissez-faire* as a merely do nothing policy is unfortunate and misleading. It is an obvious responsibility of the state under this policy to maintain the kind of legal and institutional framework within which competition can function effectively as an agency of control. The policy should therefore be defined positively, as one under which the state seeks to establish and maintain such conditions that it may avoid the necessity of regulating 'the heart of the contract'- that is to say, the necessity of regulating relative prices. Thus, the state is charged, under this 'division of labor', with heavy responsibilities and large 'control' functions: the maintenance of competitive conditions in industry, the control of the currency … the definition of the institution of property … not to mention the many social welfare functions (Simons 1947, p. 42).

Indeed, Ronald Coase was so shocked at Simons pamphlet that he questioned Simon's credentials as a classical liberal and free market advocate:

> I would like to raise a question about Henry Simons … [His] *Positive Program for Laissez-Faire* … strikes me as highly interventionist pamphlet … [I]n antitust, [Simons] wanted to … restructure American industry…. In regulation … he proposed to reform things by nationalization … I would be interested if someone could explain … (cited, Kitch 1983, pp. 178–79).

Coase maintains that Simons' *Positive Program* constitutes a blueprint for intrusive state interventions in the market of the sort advocated by social democrats and socialists who Simons most vehemently opposed and who advocated forms of state regulation of economic processes because they distrusted unregulated marketplace interactions. According to J. Bradford De Long of Harvard University, who also cites the quotation above (1990, p. 601), Coase's question (above) raised some interesting responses:

> Simons former Chicago pupils, his successors as upholders of classical liberalism in economics, did not rise to his defense. Instead, they responded as follows: First, they acknowledged that Simons was not a pure liberal but at best a mixed breed. "You can paint him with different colors …," said Harold Demsetz. "It's quite a mixed picture", said George Stigler. Second, they admitted that Simons *was* an 'interventionist,' that he did not believe that in general economic activity should be organized through free markets. "[H]e was the man who said that the Federal Trade Commission should be the most important agency in government, a phrase that surely should be on no one's tombstone", joked Stigler. "Everything Ronald Coase says is right." And Milton Friedman joined in: "I've gone back and re-read the *Positive Program* and been astounded…. To think that I thought at the time that it was strongly pro-free market in orientation!" (cited, De Long, pp. 601–2.).

Not only did Simons advocate regulation, but he even advocated nationalization. As Simons states in his pamphlet:

> Political control of utility charges is imperative … for competition simply cannot function effectively as an agency of control…. In general…the state should face the necessity of actually taking over, owning, and managing directly, both railroads and utilities, and all other industries to which it is impossible to maintain effectively competitive conditions (Simons 1947, p. 57).

De Long defends Simons as a classical liberal on the grounds that "[Simons] thought that a primary function of government in a free society is to manage competition" (De Long, p. 610). Simons represented a strain of thinking in liberal economics that had been prominent in Europe in the work of the German ordo liberals, foremost amongst them, economists such as Eücken and Röpke, who distinguished the 'conditions' necessary to sustain a free market economy from the intervention of the government in the processes or actual functioning of the economy itself.

State intervention is necessary for the ordo liberals in order to establish the conditions under which *laissez-faire* can effectively operate. Indeed, Eücken appears to be quite dismissive of what is central to *laissez-faire*:

> The solution to the problem of control was seen by [the advocates of *laissez-faire*] to be in the 'natural' order, in which competitive prices automatically control the whole process. They thought that this natural order would materialise spontaneously and that society did not need to be fed a 'specific diet', that is, have an economic system imposed on it, in order to thrive. Hence, they arrived at a policy of *laissez-faire*; this form of economic control left much to be desired. Confidence in the spontaneous emergence of the natural order was too great (Eücken 1989, p. 38).

This interventionist current in liberal thought was alive and well in America amongst other liberals than Henry Simons. James Buchanan, the founder of Public Choice theory, shares with the ordo liberals this more directive orientation to state action. Although the classical liberal tradition had stressed the role of markets as 'self-regulating,' representing a strong commitment to liberalism as a naturalistic doctrine, and as supported by arguments based on the freedom of the individual from the state, Buchanan so distrusted that the required efficiency gains would emerge through automatic mechanisms of the market that, in a way similar to writers like Röpke and Eücken, he supported efficiency achievements through a the deliberate tightening of state control. As he says in his criticism of Hayek:

> My basic criticism of F. A. Hayek's profound interpretation of modern history and his diagnosis for improvement is directed at his apparent belief or faith that social evolution will, in fact, ensure the survival of efficient institutional forms. Hayek is so distrustful of man's explicit attempts of reforming institutions that he accepts uncritically the evolutionary alternative (1975, p. 194n).

It was on this ground that he opposed Hayek's naturalist faith in markets as spontaneous self-ordering systems which had been the hallmark of the classical liberal view since its inception. In Buchanan's view, the state should actively construct the competitive market economy and utilise supply-side monitoring in the interests of promoting efficiency in market terms.

Foucault, Röpke and Neoliberalism

Michel Foucault studied neoliberalism in his 1978 course at the Collège de France, *The Birth of Biopolitics*. For Foucault, neoliberalism signals "a shift from exchange to competition in the principle of the market" (2008, p. 118). Competition assumes

the role of a fundamental principle that subtends democracy, which is to say, that the basic ordering of society as an enterprise culture structured by competition is to be enforced by government across all domains of the society. It becomes, as it were, the organising framework guaranteed by the state rather than as a function of the market. Foucault marshals evidence by citing Eücken who tells us that the government must be "perpetually vigilant and active" (p. 138), and must intervene to establish this context through both regulatory actions (*actions régulatrices*) and organizing actions (*actions ordonnatrices*) (p. 138).

Although during the first half of the twentieth century western welfare states were constituted through democratic determination, the accomplishment of neoliberalism, for the ordo liberals at least, was to attempt to establish the principle of competition as prior to and outside of democratic decision making; as determining the 'framework' through which the market would rule. The framework must attend to both the population, the order of justice and opportunity, as well as the techniques, such as the availability of implements concerning such things as population, technology, training and education, the legal system, the availability of land, the climate, all seen by Eücken as the 'conditions' for the market. Foucault refers to this active, top-down, positive role of the state as constituting a "sociological liberalism" (p. 146, footnote 51), or a "policy of society" (p. 146) which permits a new 'art of government' which differs radically from Keynesian-type systems. What is crucial is that for neoliberalism the object of government action becomes "the social environment" (p. 146) acting on behalf of capital, or those the create wealth. The aim is to engineer competition:

> It is the mechanisms [of competition] that should have the greatest possible surface and depth and should also occupy the greatest possible volume in society. This means that what is sought is not a society subject to the commodity effect, but a society subject to the dynamic of competition (p. 147).

Competition becomes the new "*eidos*" (p. 147), the new dynamic of this new form of society:

> Not a supermarket society, but an enterprise society. The *homo oeconomicus* sought after is not the man of exchange, or man the consumer; he is the man of enterprise and production (p. 147).

Wilhelm Röpke fundamentally sets out the neoliberal social policy in his text 'The Orientation of German Economic Policy' where he says that social policy must aim at:

> …the multiplication of the enterprise form within the social body…. It is a matter of making the market, competition, and so the enterprise, into what could be called the formative power of society (cited by Foucault, p. 148).

In his book A *Humane Economy: The Social Framework of the Free Market* (1971)[1958], Röpke's new form of liberalism becomes even more readily apparent. The book aims to establish the appropriate foundations of the market economy by outlining the conditions necessary for the free market beyond the previously accepted context of supply and demand. For such a market order cannot function, he

says, “in a social system which is the exact opposite in all respects” (p. 94). The cultural context of the social structure is a part of this and must support this:

> We start from competition…. Competition may have two meanings: it may be an institution for stimulating effort, or it may be a device for regulating and ordering the economic process. In the market economy competition…constitutes therefore an unrivalled solution of the two cardinal problems of any economic system: the problem of the continual inducement to maximum performance and the problem of continuous harmonious ordering and guidance of the economic process (p. 95).

The foundation for this is not *laissez-faire*; Röpke, like Eücken, and like Simons, is not describing a naturalistic but has succumbed to advocating an historical thesis. *Laissez-faire* was the naïve thesis of early liberalism. For Röpke it was a fiction. “In all honesty, we have to admit that the market economy has a bourgeois foundation” (98).

> The market economy, and with it social and political freedom, can thrive only as a part and under the protection of a bourgeois system. This implies the existence of a society in which certain fundamentals are respected and color the whole network of social relationships… (p. 98).

Röpke’s conception of liberalism is clearly more authoritarian in the sense that it seems to represent an imposed order. Such a view seems reinforced when he acknowledges that:

> “In a sound society, leadership, responsibility, and exemplary defense of society’s guiding norms and values must be the exalted duty and unchallengeable right of a minority that forms and is willingly and respectfully recognized as the apex of the social pyramid hierarchically structured by performance…. What we need is true *nobilitas naturalis*…. We need a natural nobility whose authority is, fortunately, readily accepted by all men, an elite deriving its title solely from supreme performance and peerless moral example and invested with the moral dignity of such a life …. No free society…which threatens to degenerate into mass society, can subsist without such a class of censors….” (p. 131).

Röpke adds that “the task of leadership falls to the natural aristocracy by virtue of an unwritten but therefore no less valid right which is indistinguishable from duty” (p. 133). Only such persons can save us from the “slowly spreading cancers of our western economy and society” (p. 151), which include the “irresistible advance of the welfare state …” (p 151).

Hayek and Neoliberalism

Did Friedrich Hayek also accept this new view of ‘economic politics’? My answer is not in the same sort of way, although he shared the pro-free market values that they supported. Hayek was too steeped in the classical liberal tradition to easily give up its naturalistic assumptions concerning *laissez-faire* and the conception of the subject who should be trusted as a rational, autonomous citizen and who should remain unconditioned or uncoerced by the state. Yet the theoretical difficulties that afflicted Simons, Buchanan, Eücken, and Röpke, also weighed heavily on Hayek.

He not only struggled with the notion of *laissez-faire*, but also appreciated that over time the democratic will of citizens tends to favour restrictions on the free market and also supports an expanded role for government as respects to both welfare and redistribution.[1]

Although I have written several articles and chapters on Hayek, one is always learning new things. In a PhD doctoral *viva voce* examination on Foucault and neoliberalism that I had the honour to examine at the University of Brighton in 2018, Lars Cornelissen, the disputant, alerted me to several works of Hayek that I had been unaware of. One was an article by Hayek, titled ‘Marktwirtschaft und Wirtschaftspolitik’,[2] published in the journal *ORDO* in 1954 where Hayek laments the fact that classical economists had not adequately defined ‘intervention’ because, as Cornelissen summarizes Hayek's view, “many of them held ‘economic politics’, of the sort advocated by Eücken and Röpke, to be antithetical to ‘the fundamental principles of liberalism’” (Cornelissen 2017, p. 206; citing Hayek 1954, p. 4).

Being aware of the controversy between classical liberalism and the ‘economic politics’ of Eücken and Röpke, Hayek is more careful to limit the active role of the state to establishing the juridical structure of society. For Hayek, the creation and maintenance of a competitive order is primarily a *legal* affair. The only type of intervention for an ‘economic politics’ is in the “permanent juridical framework” as opposed to “constant intervention of state force [*Staatsgewalt*]” (Cornelissen, p. 206; Hayek, p. 5). Hayek thus restricts intervention of the state to the legal order and thus has a much narrower view of active state intervention to establish the ‘conditions’ of economic activity than does either Röpke or Eücken.

Planning and the Rule of Law

Throughout his career Hayek remained steadfastly committed to the idea that markets best guaranteed the freedom of citizens, and on this ground remained staunchly opposed to all forms of state planning and control. What essentially undermines state planning in Hayek's view is that real knowledge is gained and true economic progress made as a consequence of locally generated knowledge derived from “particular circumstances of time and place” and the state is not privy to such knowledge (Hayek 1949b: 79). Planning ignores this localistic character of knowledge and thus interferes with the self-regulating mechanism of the market.

It is on these grounds that Hayek argues that the state should only be concerned with the protection of individuals by ‘general rules’, such as the ‘rule of law’, but

[1] Hayek blames this on the fact that the prevailing conception of democracy is, as Cornelissen puts it, “rooted in the collectivist tradition, and that as a result, ‘the particular set of institutions which today prevails in all Western democracies’ is inherently inclined towards unlimited government” (p., 246, 2017). Cornelissen cites Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, (2013, p. 345); *New Studies*, (1978, pp. 92, 107, 155).

[2] ‘Market Economy and Economic Politics’ (translation).

not with what he refers to as "central planning." If we look to Hayek, both to *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) and *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960) where Hayek discusses planning and the rule of law, in contrast to the rule of law's *formal*, and *a priori* character, the plan's approach to decision-making is *ad hoc* and *arbitrary*. A plan also embodies, says Hayek (1944, p. 91) 'substantive' commitments on ends and values, whereas the rules constitutive of the rule of law are 'general', 'formal', 'impartial' and 'systematic' (p. 90–92). Formal rules operate "without reference to time and place or particular people" (p. 92). They refer to "typical situations…. Formal rules are thus merely instrumental in the sense they are expected to be useful to yet unknown people" (p. 92). On the other hand, planning involves "a conscious direction towards a single aim" (1944, p. 72), and "refuses to recognize various autonomous spheres in which the ends of individuals are supreme" (p. 72) As such the plan embodies general substantive goals linked to the "'the general welfare', or the 'common good', or the 'general interest'" (p. 72) Yet, it is Hayek's view that the welfare of people "cannot be adequately expressed as a single end" (p. 73) for to have such a conception of the general welfare requires a "complete ethical code," which would require knowledge of everything. The difference between the two kinds of approach, says Hayek, is like the difference between the "'Rules of the Road', as in the Highway Code, and ordering people where to go" (1944, p. 91).

A Critique of Hayek's Concept of Planning

Hayek acknowledges that while his distinction between formal rules, and planning "is very important…at the same time [it is] most difficult to draw precisely in practice" (1944, p. 91). This, it seems to me, understates what is problematic about his argument. While his points about the need for general rules that are formal, and apply to all, are highly important, his characterization of planning is largely a caricature, and his arguments against it do not stand serious scrutiny. Indeed, it would seem, as many economists in his own Department at the LSE believed, that any serious analysis of Hayek's arguments leads us straight to Keynesian conclusions.[3]

Hayek's arguments against central planning have been seriously challenged.[4] What is conflated in his treatment is a failure to distinguish 'central planning', as exemplified by the model of the Soviet Union, and aspects of planning in general, as adopted routinely in western democracies.[5] While his arguments may be persuasive against the idea of highly centralized decision-making for the entire economy,

[3] Hicks, Kaldor, Lerner. Scitovsky, and Shackle, all deserted Hayek, and became Keynesians in the 1930s.

[4] See, for instance, Gray (1984), Hindess (1990), Tomlinson (1990), Gamble (1996).

[5] It can be claimed as a bold conjecture at the outset that empirical research has not revealed any significant erosion of democracy in a country like Britain during the period after the inception of the welfare state. Leaders like Asquith claimed that the state was in fact necessary to safeguard freedom.

beyond this the assessment of his legitimate empirical arguments are difficult to untangle from what is the deeply ingrained ideological nature of his opposition to social democracy or socialism. Certainly the emergence of highly centralized economies of Eastern Europe from the 1920s could be seen to inhibit the emergence of Schumpeter-styled entrepreneurs, and to erode possibilities for enterprise and initiative. As developed in the Soviet Union after the Revolution of 1917, the model of state capitalism (*capitalisme de parti*) which was based on the attempts by a single political party to manage the operations of the economy through the direct transmission of orders from the center, including the establishment of centralized socialist trusts, involving the direct control of recruitment, production schedules and wages, met with severe problems of the sort Hayek describes. Beyond this, however, it can be claimed that the problem is not so much with planning, but with the broader political model in operation.

That Hayek extends his objections from a concern with Soviet-styled central planning to forms of state planning in western societies, and specifically against those forms of general planning being developed in countries like Britain at the onset of the welfare state constitutes a major problem. For what can be claimed is that there is no objection to planning as such, nor even to central planning, but only against types of planning that are ad hoc and arbitrary, and not subject to democratic controls of auditing, accountability, contestation, debate and revision. Planning, in fact, is amenable to the same types of assessment as Hayek maintains for the rule of law, and like the rule of law, it should comprise codified procedures which are formal, systematic, a priori (written in advance) and general or impartial. Planning also must be democratically accountable. Planning, in this sense, is compatible with open economies, individual initiative, local autonomy in decision-making, and decentralization.[6]

One important issue that Hayek never considers is whether markets and planning could (or should) co-exist? That is, whether there is not some middle ground position between the 'serfdom' associated with state planning, and the 'freedom' associated with markets. As Jim Tomlinson (1990: p. 49 fn. 3) notes:

> [I]n his 1945 article, ['The Use of Knowledge in Society'] Hayek typically dismisses any mid-way point between centralised and decentralised planning except 'the delegation of planning to organised industries, or, in other words, monopoly' (p. 521). Plainly this does not exhaust the possibilities of levels of planning, nor does it provide a helpful starting point for discussing mechanisms of planning.[7]

[6] There is no evidence that the development of the welfare state, either in Britain from 1945, or New Zealand from 1933, resulted in an erosion of democracy, or human rights under the law, which, if corroborated, would offer an empirical refutation of Hayek's thesis in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944).

[7] Hayek, F. (1945) 'The use of knowledge in society', *American Economic Review*, 35 (4): 519–530.

Knowledge and Planning

Markets are also preferred to planning on grounds of efficiency and because of the local nature of knowledge. When planning takes the place of markets, mistakes and errors become 'entrenched' because only the price mechanism can coordinate the diverse activities of individuals, says Hayek. Partly, this is due to the absence of local or contextual knowledge which actors in the marketplace have and state bureaucrats don't have. But, although Hayek distinguishes important characteristics of local knowledge, he fails to consider whether other sorts of knowledge might not be important; or perhaps whether or not knowledge might not work differently at the macro, meso, and micro orders of society. To use Hayek's language, from 'The Use of Knowledge in Society', while he celebrates knowledge of 'time and place' which is not accessible to planners, he gives no value to the benefits of 'aggregated' or 'statistical-type' knowledge, which enables perspective, and which could be held to constitute an equally important type of knowledge which 'planners' *do* have, and which is *denied* to agents in local contexts. This later type of knowledge might be claimed to be concerned with general guidelines, limits, or contexts, and coordination, rather than specifically with day to day operations. It therefore maintains a different relation to time and place, and hence, the practical problem which Hayek notes about transmitting information about events which are situationally local, need not arise.[8] Certainly, if planning sought to replace or override market mechanisms, or disregard, interfere with, or over-ride local knowledge, one could see that would constitute a serious problem, but this does not mean that markets and planning cannot compliment and assist each other in turn.[9]

Various distinctions could be made which Hayek also does not make, between 'normal' versus 'exceptional' operations of markets, between the 'macro', 'meso', or 'micro' levels of the economy, or the distinction made above, concerning the context effectively regulated by supply and demand and the price mechanism (where a rough equilibrium may persist for a certain time) versus the context of coordination (requiring macro-management, planning, agenda setting, and steering). While

[8] Hayek makes this point repeatedly in 'The Use of Knowledge in Society' (1945: pp. 525, 526). My point is that a different type of knowledge, concerned with guidelines, or limits, or 'steering', may not be so sensitive to issues of time and place, but may have a longer term frame of reference. An additional point might be that advances in communications technology may make the transmission of what knowledge is relevant to the centre, easier and faster to transmit.

[9] Hayek's argument against early communist regimes which sought to replace markets with state planning are indeed valid, but these were based on the idea that markets were not important, and sought amongst other things, to override the price mechanism as a routine matter of policy. I am accepting Hayek's argument that markets convey an important form of knowledge through the price mechanism which determines that the context of operations should be semi-autonomous from the state. This also applies, I would argue, to the family, the educational system, the health system, and personal life, although clearly, there is no such thing as the price mechanism as an indicator of quality. But I am suggesting that the knowledge generated by markets, or in other local contexts, is not the only form of knowledge necessary to a healthy social structure, and that planning can (and must) compliment markets in this quest.

it may well be so that local knowledge and the fragility of the price mechanism means that normal day-to-day operations of markets should be relatively autonomous from the arbitrary interference of the state, there will be exceptional circumstances where 'communicating knowledge to a board' for urgent or non-urgent action is highly appropriate. Within normal markets, behavior which signals exceptional development ('a run on the pound'); or behavior which signals unusual development ('a contaminated product'; 'a suspicious behavior') are cases in point. Just as the doctor-patient relation for the most part is a private contract, evidence of certain types of symptoms must be immediately reported. In addition, there will be routine situations where guiding the economy within established limits require specific actions in line with established policies. Introducing policies to counter economic inequalities in capital accumulation, or to assist in creating fair opportunities, also constitute legitimate activities that can be planned for. Hence, there are different sorts of functions which require different types of coordination, and different types of knowledge.

"In a democratic society", wrote Karl Mannheim, "state sovereignty can be boundlessly strengthened by plenary [planning] powers without renouncing democratic control" (1940, p. 340). Yet, Hayek maintains that democratic assemblies have problems producing a plan. Either they cannot manage the whole view, or obtain adequate knowledge, or, if delegated, they cannot integrate it. (Hayek 1944, pp. 82–84). Such a claim is highly dubious, especially given the sophisticated planning instruments and communication technologies available today. But regardless of that, government has responsibility to oversee and steer the whole. The delegation of particular powers to separate boards and authorities is a part of that responsibility. Yet the parliamentary system renders the state as democratically accountable, and is as necessary to the formal legitimacy of the rule of law as it is to the formal legitimacy of planning.

Amongst existing democratic mechanisms, parliament is one mechanism of accountability; the official opposition are charged with discussion and debate, and with highlighting abuses, identifying shortcomings, as well as criticizing delegated or contracted groups whose performance is not up to the mark. In addition, the free mass media, as well as institutions of judicial review, make existing democratic assemblies and procedures crucial underwriters to both the formality and generality of policy, whether through law, or planning, and they legitimate *both* law *and* planning. It is the democratic assemblies which both enable and legitimate the formality of the rule of law, and are accountable for good as opposed to bad legislation.[10] What Hayek doesn't seem to realize is that they are similarly able to perform this function in relation to planning. Through various codified and formal rules of

[10] Hayek of course sees legislation as emerging in the spontaneous order of society and formed solely out of natural rights. His faltering commitment to laissez-faire and naturalism would make this assumption problematic even on his own terms. But that negative and positive liberty, or state action on such a ground, could be used to justify law *vis-a-vis* planning is disingenuous. The law even it is claimed only to codify natural rights needs *interpreting* and *being acted upon*, and these functions imply a positive dimension to all state action, whether law or planning.

procedure and process, planning can be legitimate or illegitimate. Hence, I would reject Hayek's thesis that "planning leads to dictatorship" (p. 88) or that "dictatorship is essential if planning on a large scale is to be possible" (p. 88), just as I would reject the thesis that planning is necessarily arbitrary.

Another factor makes planning important here. At the start of the twenty-first century, collective action and sophisticated planning operations have become increasingly necessary on all manner of issues ranging from matters relating to general security and the response to crisis and urgency, to arranging social insurance, and the provision of opportunities, structures, and capabilities, on a fair and equitable basis. Increased pressures associated with global population growth, climate change, ecological degradation, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, or economic or political collapse, create a situation in which *not* planning is simply *not an option.* Believing that *laissez-faire* will deliver security and stability for all on a global basis simply constitutes the naïve faith of classical economic liberalism.

While Hayek's opposition to all forms of state planning might be seen as viable if he can argue that the economic system is naturally self-regulating, should this later thesis founder, so the former will also be in difficult straights. Yet, just as we found for Simons, Buchanen, Eücken and Röpke, Hayek's views on the self-regulating capacity of the system, implying *laissez-faire*, do not inspire confidence. Although he had substituted his 'empirical conception' (of *laissez-faire*) for what he considered to be the inadequate neoclassical conception, his 'knowledge papers' of the 1930s and 1940s revealed increasing doubts about both its theoretical and practical viability. In his paper 'Economics and Knowledge,' first presented in 1937, he notes that although traditional experience has more or less confirmed equilibrium theory "since the empirical observation that prices do tend to correspond to costs was the beginning of our science" (1949a, 51), his own confidence in the idea was waning. The following statement is not exactly brimming with confidence:

> I am afraid that I am now getting to a stage where it becomes exceedingly difficult to say what exactly are the assumptions on the basis of which we assert that there will be a tendency toward equilibrium and to claim that our analysis has an application to the real world. I cannot pretend that I have as yet got much further on this point. Consequently all I can do is to ask a number of questions to which we will have to find an answer if we want to be clear about the significance of our argument (1949a, p. 48).

In the same article, Hayek observes that both Smith and Ricardo had noted that the stability of community structures were essential preconditions for any equilibrium to operate (1949a: 48, note 13).[11] By 1945 in 'The Use of Knowledge in Society', he recognizes that the concept of equilibrium was irrelevant for practical

[11] He quotes Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*, Bk. I, 116): "In order, however, that this equality [of wages] may take place in the whole of their advantages or disadvantages, three things are required even when there is perfect freedom. First, the employment must be well known and long established in the neighbourhood…"; and David Ricardo, (Letters to Malthus, October 22nd, 1811, p. 18): "It would be no answer to me to say that men were ignorant of the best and cheapest mode of conducting their business and paying their debts, because that is a question of fact, not of science, and might be argued against almost every proposition in Political Economy."

purposes, had "mislead[…] leading thinkers" [in economics], and he represents it as "no more than a useful preliminary to the study of the main problem" (1949b: 91). In 'The Meaning of Competition' of 1946, also, he notes how "the modern theory of competitive equilibrium assumes the situation to exist" (1949c: 94). In his doubts, expressed across all of these papers, Hayek was also to observe that even if it can be recast as an empirical proposition, subject to verification, equilibrium theory then becomes only a possibility rather than an actuality. More to the point, Hayek was by no means certain what sorts of empirical tests could validate it, and he very much doubted "whether [any] such investigations would tell us anything new" (1949a: 55). He also notes how simply to assume equilibrium overlooks the negative externalities and global disparities associated with markets, including increasing inequalities of wealth and resources, and increasingly monopolistic behavior of large companies and multinationals. His confidence did not improve in later years.

It was related to these doubts that many economists from Hayek's own Department – Hicks, Kaldor, Lerner, Scitovsky, and Shackle – retreated to Keynesianism under the influence of the Cambridge Model in the 1930s. Shackle reasoned that given Hayek's conception of history emphasizing as it did the limits to reason, uncertainty, spontaneous unpredictable choices, as well as the unpredictability of unintended effects at any single point in time, we can have little faith in the logical coherence of market equilibrium over time to 'self-regulate' unless we believe in a metaphysic of nature as functionally optimal at the economic and social levels, or as tending towards the functionally optimal. If the market cannot be relied upon, then what mechanism can guarantee socially optimal consequences for distribution and for the continuance of the market mechanism as a predictable framework in terms of which economic interactions between humans can be guided? Further, what mechanism can guarantee that the effects of the market are not dysfunctional in relation to the social and physical environment? In Shackle's view, these ideas suggest a coordinative mechanism is required, not to substitute for the rational decisions for individuals, but to ensure distribution, security and liberty and to undertake collective action in areas where individuals are unable to address. For Shackle, and his fellow Keynesians at least, planning was clearly back on the agenda.

Keynes had argued something similar to this in his theoretical justifications for the welfare state. In Keynes view, as a general consequence of our ignorance of the future, planning was an essential feature of the welfare state. In a letter he wrote to Hayek while on the ocean liner *en route* to Bretton Woods Conference in June 1944, after reading Hayek's book *The Road to Serfdom*, in what could possibly be seen as a case of classic understatement, Keynes (1980, pp. 385–8) raises the issue that he regards Hayek as not addressing or resolving:

> I come finally to what is really my only serious criticism of the book. You admit here and there that it is a question of knowing where to draw the line. You agree that the line has to be drawn somewhere [between free markets and planning], but that the logical extreme is not possible. But you give us no guidance whatever as to where to draw it. In a sense this is shirking the practical issue. It is true that you and I would probably draw it in different places. I should guess that according to my ideas you greatly under-estimate the practicality of the middle course. But as soon as you admit that the extreme is not possible, and that a

> line has to be drawn, you are, on your own argument, done for since you are trying to persuade us that as soon as one moves an inch in the planned direction you are necessarily launched on the slippery path which will lead you in due course over the precipice. I should therefore conclude your theme rather differently. I should say that what we want is not no planning, or even less planning, indeed I should say that we almost certainly want more.

Lars Cornelissen on Hayek and Democracy

One question remains for Hayek is how, if the state can intervene only in the legal structures of society, through formal processes, is Hayek able to protect free market economics from the possibility of democratic rejection. This is, after all, why Eücken and Röpke wanted state intervention to establish the 'conditions' of an enterprise culture in a much broader sense; not only legal, but political, cultural, and educational as well. This is an important question for Hayek especially given his own doubts about the efficacy of *laissez-faire*. The answer is, as Cornelissen argues, Hayek has a vastly attenuated conception of democracy which:

> …must give way to a form of constitutionalism that explicitly seeks to eliminate popular sovereignty. This … does not entail a principled rejection of democracy. Rather, it comprises a far reaching restriction of the democratic mechanism, such that democratic citizens may exert an influence on the governmental apparatus but are simultaneously prevented from changing the overarching legal framework (2017, p., 222).

Hence, Cornelissen argues that "the primary aim of Hayek's democratic theory is to banish popular sovereignty from political thought" (p. 223).

Noting that Hayek's democratic theory constitutes the "privileged object of analysis for a critical account of the place occupied by democracy in neoliberal thought" (p. 226), Cornelissen start's by noting Hayek's "ambivalence towards democracy" (p. 244), and his decision to limit it to "describe a method of government – namely majority rule" (p. 244). Democracy then constitutes a "method of deciding but emphatically not 'an authority for what the decision ought to be'" (p. 244). In general terms Hayek claims to support democracy as the best method of change; as the best mechanism compatible with liberty, and as the best method for educating the majority, because it has better results overall. At the same time, Hayek makes frequent negative comments about democracy, or aspects of democracy. Cornelissen notes Hayek's antipathy to what he refers to as "the doctrinaire democrat" (cited from Cornelissen, p. 245). In a previous article of my own I also noted Hayek's disparaging reference to forms of "plebiscitarian dictatorship" (1944, p. 86), which may suggest a rather disrespectful slur on citizens in general. Various negative comments can be found, such as in *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960) where Hayek says: "[t]hose who profess that democracy is all-competent and support all that the majority wants at any given moment are working for its fall" (1960, p. 183). Cornelissen concedes however that as he aged, Hayek became inclined to mount a principled defense of democratic government" (p. 245). Where he falters, in Cornelissen's view, is in the model democratic constitution he develops in volume

3 of *Law, Legislation and Liberty.* Here, Hayek favours the establishment of both a representative government as well as an upper house legislature, the latter which would "completely be insulated from popular control" (p. 253). As Cornelissen continues:

> In Hayek's model constitution, then, the average citizen can exert some influence on the direction of government, thus modestly guiding the allocation of public resources, but has virtually no control over the law, which is articulated by a council, consisting of 'wise and fair' legislators, that can neither be recalled nor corrected by the people. In Hayekian democracy, concisely put, each individual citizen is equal before the law over which they can exert no significant control (pp. 253–54).

It is perhaps unfair to suggest that Hayek's model constitution invokes 'echoes' of Plato's Guardian Rulers.[12] Yet, Cornelissen notes that Pierre Rosanvallon (2011) also observes that Hayek has "'abandoned' the 'democratic idea,' in "radically severing the concept of democracy from legislation" and thereby in insulating legislation from popular sovereignty (Cornelissen, p. 254, citing Rosanvallon, p. 153).[13]

Education

For Foucault, the fear of power does not in his case give rise to an unbridled love of markets. Foucault makes it clear in 'The Risks of Security' that the he is no supporter of those who denigrate the state:

> In fact, the idea of an opposition between civil society and the state was formulated in a given context in response to a precise intention: some liberal economists proposed it at the end of the eighteenth century to limit the sphere of action of the state, civil society being conceived of as the locus of an autonomous economic process. This was a quasi-polemical concept, opposed to administrative options of states of that era, so that a certain liberalism could flourish (2000, p. 372).

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[12] Unfair, of course, in that Plato was not a democrat, and opposed democracy. Yet, many of the details of Hayek's constitution seem to be excessively protective of the legislators with respect to immunizing them from economic hardship once they have served their time. He specifies, for instance, elaborate conditions and 'safeguards' such as that members of the legislature should be elected for reasonably long periods, of 15 years so that they would not be subject to insecurity. Only people "who have proved themselves in the ordinary business of life" should be eligible for election; they should only be removable for "gross misconduct"; after serving their term "they should not be re-eligible nor forced to return to earning a living in the market but be assured of continual public employment." See Volume III of *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, pp. 95–96, 448–50.

[13] Cornelissen argues that the separation of legislation from democracy became increasingly pronounced in Hayek's thought over time, reaching its ultimate status as part of the spontaneous order of society in Volume 3 of *Law, Legislation and Liberty*. There is, it seems, more scope for further study of Hayek's conception of democracy.

Foucault's writings on neoliberalism represent it as a dis-equalizing and anti-democratic force.[14] What is more important, however, is that while liberalism represented man as free and uncoerced, who obeyed market laws because they were natural laws, as if ruled by an 'invisible hand,' in Smith's words, neoliberalism is authoritarian in important respects. This is in the sense that the faltering confidence in *laissez-faire* and naturalism by liberals led those we can dub as neoliberals to advocate the necessity of the state constructing the 'framework' and the 'conditions' by which the free market could be assured. What we have seen is that for the German ordo liberals, their distrust in *laissez-faire* has meant that rather than see the market as natural they see it as historical and in need of conditioning by the state. There is the danger, of course, that this function will be progressively 'immunized' from genuine democratic contestation or control.

Amongst the public sector institutions who constitute part of the 'conditions' for a competitive market economy, are the various educational institutions, from pre-school to higher education, including universities. In higher education, for instance, neoliberal governmentality has subverted what I have called elsewhere a 'collegial-democratic' model and replaced it with a new model based upon external audits and performance appraisals, premised upon performance incentive targets and increased monitoring and managerialism.[15] You can see the top-down, authoritarian aspect of neoliberalism in the new forms of governmentality implemented from the 1980s in universities. It gives a new significance to the notion of 'rule by managers' when one understands that the neoliberal theorists advocated the interpellation of a new strata of managers to counter the classical liberal conception of professionalism, based as it was upon an autonomy of spheres, and to counter it as a form of what Buchanan refers to as 'rent-seeking' behavior. In Britain, 4 years after Margaret Thatcher was elected, for instance, the Griffith Report of 1983 premised reforms for the health sector, which included the creation of a new senior management roles in the NHS, in order to replace the traditional management functions in health as carried out by professional medical staff. This emergence of a stratum of dedicated professional managers quickly became embedded in legislation and transferred laterally from health to higher education and then across the entire public sector. Ideas of 'internal markets' were also current in relation to health in the 1980s, and received expression in health the 1989 White Paper, 'Working for Patients'. New models of 'student-led' funding and new corporate managerial models of governance and line-management were also implemented at this time, feeding off theoretical ideas developed in supply-side economics, public choice theory, agency theory, and transaction-cost economics. Ideas of line-management, based upon 'principal-agent' hierarchies of command and compliance replaced 'collegial-democratic' patterns of governance based upon classical liberal models of professionalism premised upon autonomy and self-governance, exercised through Senates. Suggestions that universities should increase the appointments of lay and business personnel on

[14] But see Zamora and Behrent (2016) who maintain a contrary thesis.

[15] See Raaper and Olssen 2016.

councils and boards of governors, as advocated in America by McCormick and Meiners (1988), was intended to reduce academic internal influence and increase the responsiveness of universities to the outside business community. Further governance ideas and techniques saw the downgrading of the influence of Senates, the rise of closed 'executive boards,' to augment the implementation of line-management systems. In Britain, the major responsibility for all of these developments emanates directly from the state through the funding councils. The major levers are all imposed by the state, which itself responds to global interests. The revolution in the way universities were run was world-wide. Collegial models of self-governance premised upon autonomous institutional spheres are replaced by 'top-down' managerial models, directed from the center – the state and global capital.

This also undermines universities semi-autonomous power within civil society, which is itself historically important in terms of understanding liberalism as a natural autonomous system of the different spheres of society and of the free expression of rational individuals. Universities, as once-upon-a-time, a fifth estate, a critical bulwark for the safeguarding of democracy, are now in this new age of neoliberalism, compromised in relation to the powers of business, superbly administered by the state. The neoliberals' analysis seems particularly apt as a form of market rationality. The abolition of tenure and the enforcement of new norms with regards to research, research funding, and teaching, means that most academics are too intent on watching their backs to speak of opposition or serious critique. The assessment of 'impact' in Britain escalates this process, and seeks now to control and monitor the 'content' of what universities produce, to render knowledge production as 'useful' for the society. In this sense, it constitutes a very worrying 'sign' especially given the epistemic difficulties with the way impact is capable of being assessed. The implications for democracy here are in a number of senses: in relation to the end of self-governance through collegial models of academic participation, as well as externally through the erosion of the independent critical authority of universities, relatively free of dependence on finance, in relation to business and the state.

In higher education, state conditioning or engineering has substantially undercut the university as a traditional liberal institution. For the difference between liberal and neo-liberal is important here. The liberal university was premised upon the freedom of the subject and the dispersal of power across different domains. The parallel at the institutional level was what I have called elsewhere the 'collegial-democratic' model administered and managed by academics themselves institutionally provided for by democratic forum of senates.[16] The neoliberal university is top-down, run from the center. While neoliberals typically heralded their policies with catch-cries of freedom and liberty, neo-liberalism is in fact a highly centrist, authoritarian, form of liberalism. Distrusting *lasissez-faire* naturalism, they came to share the same perspective on the economy as writers like Karl Mannheim[17] and

[16] See Raaper and Olssen (2016).

[17] See Mannheim (1940, 1977).

Karl Polanyi[18] who saw the market order as a historical rather than a natural construct. Whereas Mannheim and Polanyi argued that the government should control and condition the market in order to redistribute wealth in the interests of greater equality, and protect freedom, the neoliberals argued that it should work in the interests of capital by creating the conditions for the market to operate as efficiently as possible. The state conditions the market in order that subjects conform.

Conclusion

We could conclude this chapter by asking a number of questions designed to highlight the possible problems with neoliberal governance: Why did the neoliberals feel uneasy with naturalistic explanations of the market and start seeing it as an historical phenomenon that must be conditioned? Is there a problem with naturalistic explanations? Does intervention by the state to establish and maintain the conditions for the market run the risk of frustrating the democratic aspirations and rights of citizens? Could such action by the state be seen to contradict the core principles upon which classical liberalism was founded upon? In whose interests ought the government to act in legislating laws for society? In creating the conditions for competitive market behaviour, is the state reflecting the interests of the whole society or of particular groups in the society? Is it appropriate to subject higher education institutions, such as universities, to market norms of competition as a general strategy of administration and governance? In what ways is education not like other consumer commodities? What are the costs and benefits of such policies in relation to education? The neoliberals said that academics, teachers and educators were not subject to reliable standards of accountability, but, could accountability be organized that didn't involve the competitive restructuring of the entire system of education? Do competitive norms conflict with those norms that are deemed to be important in education? What is the difference between treating education as a market commodity, as opposed to treating it as a public good? Do supply-side funding policies, such as student fees, exercise conservative pressures on curriculum planners? If so, in what ways? What other effects might they have? Given the relatively modest salaries that are paid to academics and educators, to what extent are academic change-management strategies, such as restructuring, which were initially introduced for those in management on very high incomes, acceptable to use in education institutions? To what extent are managers any less biased or subject to 'provider-capture' than academics? Have managers or educators and academics become more or less professionalized over the last 30 years? Is there a conflict of interest between professional managers on the one hand and educators on the other?

[18] See Polanyi (2001).

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Chapter 9
Globalisation and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reforms

David Turner

Abstract The chapter argues that globalisation and neo-liberalism are inadequate frameworks of theoretical analysis for examining, or even describing, national policy and responses to national policy in different settings. The suggestion that we are seeing a developing isomorphism in higher education is mistaken. This is not an argument that denies the increasing developments of international links and the (mis-)application of similar policies in different contexts. There are many, observable social phenomena that might well be described by the terms "globalisation" and "neo-liberalism", but those globalised policies produce different outcomes in different contexts. If we are to understand those different outcomes, we will need modes of analysis which can incorporate local differences, at the very least at the national level, and possibly at still smaller levels of aggregation.

Keywords Comparative education · Educational policy · Globalisation · Higher education policy · Higher education reforms · International markets · Neo-liberalism

Globalisation and Neo-liberal Higher Education Reforms: Introduction

In this chapter I shall argue that globalisation and neo-liberalism are inadequate lenses through which to view the reforms of higher education that have taken place around the world since 1990 (Yolcu and Turner 2014). In the broader context of comparative education, the argument has been put forward that we are all subject to the same international pressures, and that there is growing convergence in national systems, and even that there is a spreading world culture that renders national differences irrelevant (Zajda 2018). The nation state, it is argued, is no longer relevant

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to the understanding of educational policy, because, to compete in increasingly competitive international markets, there are pressures to conform that transcend national sovereignty.

To pursue this argument, it is important to distinguish between globalisation and neo-liberalism as cultural phenomena, and globalisation and neo-liberalism as modes of analysis. I do not wish to argue that there is no such thing as globalisation. On the contrary, over the last 60 years there have been the most remarkable and comprehensive changes that might be described under the general heading of "globalisation" (Zajda 2015). The flow of money across frontiers, the ease and speed of communication, the availability of international transportation, the integration of networks and supply chains for manufacturing and retail, the rise of global corporations that have a direct impact in all countries of the world, have all been transformed beyond recognition. When I was a child, international travel for leisure purposes was relatively rare. As recently as the 1990s, there were many countries where the transfer of money was rigidly restricted. And surely nobody needs to be reminded that Google and Amazon have changed the way that we live. From the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to the General Agreement on Trade and Services, we have seen progressive moves to create a world system of trade under the auspices of the World Trade Organisation.

Similarly, it would be foolish to deny that neo-liberalism has been a potent force in politics and economics around the world (Yolcu and Turner 2014; Zajda 2014). Since the period of "Reaganomics" in the 1980s, neo-liberalism, in the sense of promoting individual responsibility and reducing the role of the state, has been a potent influence on policy. Neo-liberalism has been widely used as an excuse for reducing state support and for removing interventions that are designed to reduce inequality in societies as diverse as the United States and South Africa.

However, if there is one consistent lesson from comparative education it is that intra-group variation is always greater than inter-group variation. At the national level, this means that we should expect huge variations among the richest countries in the world, as well as among the poorest in the world, variety that is much greater than the differences between rich and poor countries. Although we cannot ignore the phenomena of globalisation and neo-liberalism, it would be irresponsible to assume that all nations will respond similarly to those global trends. Globalisation and neo-liberalism are not the most important aspects of higher education reforms, and their impact can only be understood in terms of very specific national contexts. Consequently, as a form of analysis, excessive dependence on the theoretical frameworks offered by globalisation and neo-liberalism is totally inadequate. Higher education reforms can only be fully and properly understood in the context of nation-specific elements, and those who argue that globalisation renders the nation state obsolete as a unit of analysis are completely mistaken.

Of crucial importance in this context is the concept of path dependence. What a system is, and how it responds to external pressure, depends upon the historic sequence of events that brought the system to its current position. Two individuals, or two countries, that are extremely similar on all measured parameters may nevertheless respond to a new policy in very different ways. Their histories will predispose

them to respond in different ways. For this reason, only a partial analysis can result from the application of concepts of globalisation and neo-liberalism, and there will be a need to revive nation-specific profiles or something that would once have been described as "national character". Indeed, key concepts of globalisation and neo-liberalism may be interpreted quite differently in different national contexts, and what they mean may vary according to the national or linguistic context.

Some Examples of Loss in Translation

If we take even the simplest concepts of globalisation, we can see that there is considerable difficulty produced when these words travel. Indeed, it is not simply a matter of words, since the etymology of words, and the context of language in which they are used, can influence the way in which those words are associated with emotions and purposes.

One of the key concepts in globalisation, and an outcome of the idea that education, especially higher education, should prepare the individual to be a productive worker, is the notion of "competence" (as a noun). A competence, which is broadly equated with a skill, is something that a person has, an ability to do something, which they can take to the market place as product and sell. A competence is something, an object that one has. Where once we thought of education as a process of self-development, through which a rounded personality was created, or at least enabled, we now think of people as fundamentally unchanged, but through education they are able to acquire these add-on abilities. This is in stark contrast to the earlier concept of a skilled craftsperson, a person who not only had a skill, but through acquiring that skill had developed the patience, judgement and pride in their work that rendered that skill effective.

In the early 1970s I spent some time in an establishment that trained skilled craftsmen (exclusively men) as toolmakers and fitters. The first 3 weeks of the training involved hand filing pieces of metal into shape. The milling and grinding machines that rendered hand filing and fitting redundant were already available and would form a later part of the training. So, the practical value of filing was doubtful. But it was thought that the process of making usable machine parts from metal by hand developed a sense of patience, a feel for the raw material of machinery and a sense of achievement in making something out of nothing that were necessary concomitants of possessing a skill. In its migration into the discourse of globalisation the word "skill" has been changed, not to say cheapened, into a description of a knack or ability that a person has, but which does not touch his or her central self-concept.

This new idea of a skill is captured in the word "competence". I would not wish to argue that this meaning of competence is neutral, since it clearly involves a specific interpretation of how we learn, how we function in the labour market, and how we incorporate what we have learned into our personality and self-image. However, the idea of a competence is really a neologism. Formerly, competence was, more or

less, an amorphous and indivisible quality that a person had. He or she was competent; able to perform a job with a certain degree of resilience in the face of unforeseen circumstances. The idea of dividing competence down into specific abilities, and of having a plural form of "competences" or "competencies" is a relatively recent development, which consequently fails to invoke any particular associations.

This might be contrasted with the use of the concept in Mexico, where I have seen the word "competence" translated as "competencia". While this might seem a perfectly straightforward translation of an English word to make it useful in the Spanish-language context, "competencia" is a pre-existing word in Spanish, and it means "competition", as might be used in the context of a race or contest.

Competition is not absent from the meaning of the word "competence" in English, in the sense that one of the great ideological achievements of neo-liberalism is to disseminate the idea that the purpose of education is to give the individual the skills to compete in the labour market. In this sense, it is argued that unemployment is the consequence of an individual being ill-equipped to compete. And because this engagement with the labour market is the responsibility of the individual, the state has no role in managing levels of employment or unemployment. The underlying message here is that the individual could, had they the will power, moral fibre or strength of character, improve his or her position by acquiring more competences. Obviously, this is nonsense. The possession of competences may explain who is employed, but at the level of society, if the labour market only creates a certain number of opportunities, the entry of one successful applicant into the labour market at one end will only push a former employee out at the other. But the belief that unemployment is a mark of individual failure rather than of societal failure is one of the great propaganda successes of globalisation and neo-liberalism.

So, one would not wish to say that the translation of "competence" into Spanish as "competencia" was wrong; the idea of competition hovers in the background of the developing use of the word in the Anglophone world. But the association is much more direct in Spanish than in English, and consequently the way the concept is interpreted differs from place to place. "Globalisation", "neo-liberalism" and their associated concepts are not truly global.

This is not only and purely a question of translation; even when a word like "governance" travels without translation, there may be differences in interpretation. To me, "governance" means the organisational structures through which accountability is secured. That is to say, it is a neutral term that can describe a range of different ways in which people can be held accountable, ranging from the dictatorial, through the bureaucratic to the democratic. But it is clear that in the context of Mexican higher education the concept of "governance" is far from neutral. Navarro Leal and Contreras Ocegueda (2014) offer an alternative interpretation, and imply that "governance", far from being neutral, implies specific modes of accountability. "Governance", in the hands of Navarro Leal & Contreras Ocegueda, but also in the hands of a number of authors whom they cite, becomes a particular mode of new management, in which the state engages private sector agencies to enforce its rules, while allowing apparent autonomy. This system, which Navarro Leal and Contreras

Ocegueda (2014, p. 76) describe as "steering from a distance", suggests a kind of puppet show in which the state continues to direct public institutions at the same time as maintaining plausible deniability.

Again, in the context of neo-liberal reforms, one can understand the point that the authors are making. Many systems of governance developed in higher education over the last four decades have been exactly of that form. But it is a restricted meaning of the word "governance". In the original English-language context it was possible to speak of good governance and bad governance. In the Mexican context, and perhaps more widely in Latin America, this is no longer possible, and all governance is bad governance. Open, transparent and democratic governance is seen to be an oxymoron.

The point that I am making here is not that the concepts of globalisation and neo-liberalism have been mistranslated, misinterpreted, misunderstood or mis-anything-else. Nobody owns the concepts, and the concepts can be reinterpreted in different contexts. One can understand why the ideas may have different associations and receive different emphasis according to the settings in which they are applied. But that means, very simply, that globalisation is not a global phenomenon. If we are to understand what globalisation means in a particular national context, we will need to understand the peculiarities of that national setting. And if we wish to understand how specific policies, whether borrowed from international think tanks or not, will play out in a specific context we will need something like an understanding of national character, or national dispositions, in addition to any frameworks of globalisation that we may have.

The Antidote to Globalisation

The best way of overcoming the spell that globalisation has cast over the analysis of educational phenomena is to look at the data about what actually happens in educational systems. Figure 9.1 uses data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (http://data.uis.unesco.org/), and shows the proportions of students studying in higher education in each of seven different subject specialisations for the years 1998 to 2014 in Australia.

The tallest bars at the back of the figure are for the subjects of social sciences, business and law. These show a clear upward trend in the early years of the century, peaking around 2006, and then dropping off. In contrast with that, there is a rising trend in health and welfare throughout the period (the next sequence of bars). Neither science nor engineering show any marked trend one way or the other, although the number of science students seemed temporarily to rise in the years 2000 to 2005. After an initial drop in the proportion studying humanities and arts, the numbers in those subjects also remain fairly constant. The proportion studying education is steady throughout, while the proportion studying agriculture is small and declining.

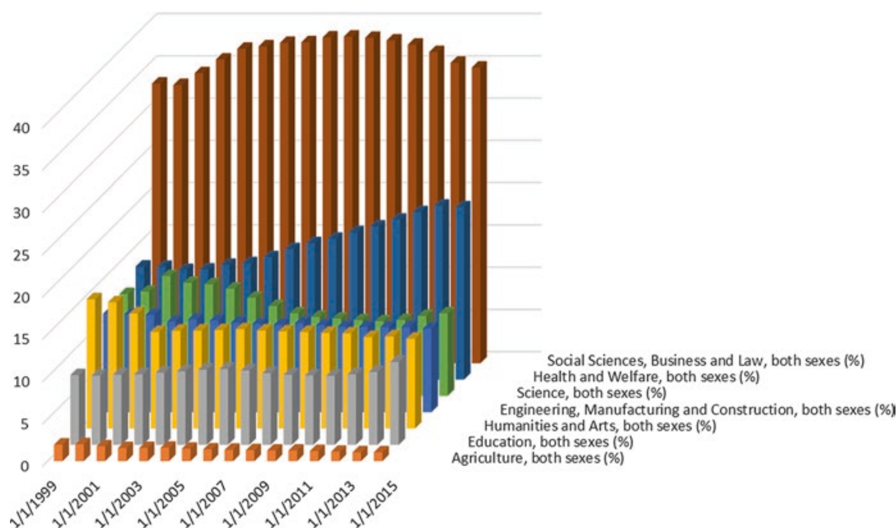

Fig. 9.1 Percentage of students studying subjects in Australian higher education

Similar graphs can be drawn for many countries for which there is data held by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, and the different trends in the popularity of various subjects can be compared. If globalisation alone could account for those trends, we would expect to see similar patterns in different countries. We might, for example, expect to see health and welfare rise as the age of populations rise and more resources are needed for the elderly. We might expect to see numbers rise in the social sciences and humanities (associated with service industries) and fall in engineering (associated with manufacturing industry) as economies age and become more mature. Or alternatively, we might see engineering and science rise, driven by a nearly global government emphasis on STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics). We see none of those trends. Or, at least, none of these trends is universal.

More precisely, we see each of those trends very clearly, but only in a few specific national systems. So, as with Australia, we see a rise in health and welfare in higher education in Japan and Denmark, but not much elsewhere. We see a slight decrease in science and engineering in many countries, but not all. And we see a sharp increase in engineering, but only in Iran. The proportion of students in education is consistently twice as high in Cuba as it is in Finland.

Each of these different changes in educational preferences make some kind of sense as responses to the restructuring of society and the development of the knowledge economy, but only in terms of elements of the national context. Expectations about what is required to be a qualified teacher in Cuba and Finland are different. Both Japan and Denmark have made concern for an ageing population a matter of priority. And so on.

But there are no overall trends. Even taking higher educational systems that appear to have much in common, using whatever criteria might seem appropriate,

similar countries have very different profiles. Scandinavian countries, Latin American countries, formerly socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Asian tigers, OECD countries or small island states – whatever groupings one forms demonstrate as much intra-group variation as they do inter-group variation, and no trends are consistent across all countries. This is what I think a comparative educationist would expect, but it seems to fly in the face of the theory that globalisation is producing homogeneity.

Butterflies and Bombs

In recent decades there has been growing interest among social theorists in complexity, and one of the most famous aspects of complexity theory is the butterfly effect. Called the "butterfly effect" because is it supposed to indicate that the flap of a butterfly's wing in the Amazon can produce a tornado in Texas, it embodies the idea that very small inputs can have major outcomes. How tornadoes develop is well understood. If we assume a small disturbance, such as the flap of a butterfly's wing, then the development of stronger and stronger cyclones driven by the energy of a hot atmosphere is more or less inevitable. What is less well understood is where and how those original disturbances arise, and why some disturbances give rise to tornadoes and others do not.

But in general, the idea that very small events can have large effects, is recognised to be a feature of complex systems. What is less well recognised it the corollary; very large inputs can have insignificant or negligible outcomes. While the flap of a butterfly's wing can produce a tornado, the tornado eventually dies away to nothing. The largest imaginable intervention in weather patterns, such as the explosion of an atom bomb, leaves almost no tract on weather systems a few days later. Small and easily overlooked events can have a massive impact, while huge and very evident events can leave no trace. Of course, this makes looking for evidence-based policy in complex systems very difficult, because the antecedents of outcomes that we are interested in may be very small, and by no means the most obvious features of the landscape. Situations that appear to be very similar on all major variables may nevertheless diverge and behave very differently, thanks to the presence of some differences that are so tiny that they escape notice.

Among other things, systems can differ because they have arrived at seemingly similar configurations by different routes. This is a feature that is described as "path dependence"; how a system got to its present state is likely to affect how it progresses in the future. In a series of experiments on blacksmiths, Bernstein (1967) sought to measure the optimum movements of a blacksmith in order to strike a rivet with a particular force. Inspired by Taylorist visions of time and motion, and a mechanical view of the universe, Bernstein at first thought that such a supposedly mechanical action as striking a rivet again and again would best be reproduced by identical movements of the shoulder, elbow and wrist. What he discovered was that the shoulder, elbow and wrist form a complex system with far too many degrees of

freedom to treat in a mechanical way. The only think that was consistently repeated, blow after blow, was the movement of the hammer head striking the rivet. But the combination of movements of shoulder, elbow and wrist was unique to each instance.

This is not surprising if we consider that each case of striking the rivet has to start from, or compensate for, the movements with which the hammer, shoulder, elbow and wrist leave the preceding cycle. And since each movement is unique, the starting conditions of each next movement are unique. Path dependence implies that apparently identical systems will respond to the same stimulus in rather different ways, so long as there are sufficient degrees of freedom in the system for it to behave as a complex system.

From this perspective we can see that the vision of globalisation that is put forward, that systems as complex as national systems of higher education will converge under the influence of similar pressures and reciprocal influence, is a view that is rooted in a mechanical and Newtonian vision of systems that is at least a century out of date (Zajda and Rust 2016).

But the idea of path dependence means much more than just that apparently similar systems can behave differently, or that inputs to a system can produce unexpected results. It means that history is important for understanding the current state of a system, and history is generally conceived in national terms. A person or a situation that is put in the same situation twice is likely to respond in very different ways on the two occasions. Although, of course, being in the same situation twice is impossible, since the two situations must be different; at the very least a memory of the first occurrence will be present in one and absent in the other.

This makes several approaches to policy very difficult. Evidence based policy, in the sense that it is usually understood, namely spotting "what works", is impossible, because identifying what is important in a situation is impossible. We apply a policy, and we see results. But whether it is possible to say that it is the policy that works is quite another matter. Most approaches to what is happening in a social setting are based on the assumption that we can form a concept of applying a policy in two distinct settings, "all other things being equal". But the idea of path dependence undermines any sense that all other things can be equal. The ramifications of this are too complex to go into here. Indeed, they may be too complex to grasp altogether, and may require a complete reconsideration of what it means for an event to be an effect or outcome, or for it to have causes or impacts. It may be necessary to rethink our concept of causation in social settings altogether.

Conclusion

Globalisation and neo-liberalism are theoretical frameworks that have been widely applied in the study of education in comparative contexts. There can be no doubt that globalisation and neo-liberalism have been potent forces, in the sense that specific theoretical frameworks have been applied in a wide range of contexts and

national systems. The ideas have been influential, both in how policy has been framed, and in how those policies and their effects have been interpreted. But in this chapter, I have argued that as modes of analysis, as opposed to social phenomena, they are completely inadequate. How concepts are interpreted is subject to contextual influences that are not universal. As a result, how policies are interpreted and implemented are very different in different national settings, as are the responses of different groups in society to those policies. To analyse social situations in higher education, something more is needed than a theory of either globalisation or neo-liberalism. What is needed is a sense of the local context, including its history and development. In short, even where uniform policies are applied globally, in order to understand what happens in each case, a theory of national heritage, or national character, will also be needed. Of course, this argument can be taken still further, and it can be argued, and indeed should be argued, that within a nation the intra-group differences are greater than the inter-group differences. New Yorkers may be American in a different way from the inhabitants of Houston. Parisians may respond to policy differently from the inhabitants of Marseille. And Londoners may be different from Liverpudlians. Indeed, inhabitants of north London may be different from the inhabitants of south London. But this is not an argument that recovers globalisation and neo-liberalism as a theoretical perspective; it simply means that any concept of national character should not be reified into something concrete. The nation state and national systems of education are a clumsy and provisional way of dealing with contextual difference. They are just much better than the belief that the world is flat.

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Chapter 10
Research on Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education

Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter offers a synthesis of current research findings on globalisation and neo-liberalism in higher education. The chapter focuses on current research trends in neo-liberalism in higher education. The chapter analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy, globalization, governance in education, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally.

Keywords Academic achievement · Authentic democracy · Business-oriented model of education · Competitive market forces · Critical discourse analysis · Cultural imperialism · Discourses of globalisation · Economic inequality · Education reforms · Global citizenship · Global university ranking · Globalisation · Governance · Higher education policy · Human capital · Human rights education · Ideology · Intercultural understanding · Internationalization · Macro-social perspective · Marketisation · Neo-conservatism · Neo-liberal higher education policy · Neo-liberal ideology · Paradigms · Performance indicators · Progressive pedagogy · Quality education for all · Social inequality · Social justice · Social stratification · Transformative pedagogy

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Research Trends in Globalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education: Introduction

Recent higher education policy reforms globally reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism (Apple 2006; Ball 2012; Giroux 2014; 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. This is perceived by Hastings (2019), who argues that neo-liberalism is a political and economic ideology, defined by profit maximization doctrine:

> Neoliberalism is a political project carried out by the capitalist class to consolidate their ability to generate profits by exercising influence in political processes, such as elections, in order to privatize or direct state institutions and regulatory powers in ways favorable to their interests. These efforts coincide the propagation of a neoliberal common sense that is grounded in an understanding of all aspects of society in economic terms of competition in markets and return on investment. (Hastings 2019).

Similarly, Smith (2018) argues that neo-liberalism is an ideology and policy model that is defined and driven by the ideology of laissez-faire economics and free market competition:

> Although there is considerable debate as to the defining features of neoliberal thought and practice, it is most commonly associated with laissez-faire economics. In particular, neoliberalism is often characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, its confidence in free markets (Smith 2018).

Neo-liberalism as a profit-making machine of a 'predatory capitalism', was defined by Giroux (2014), when he critiques the economic aspect of neo-liberalism:

> Neoliberalism, or what can be called the latest stage of predatory capitalism, is part of a broader project of restoring class power and consolidating the rapid concentration of capital. It is a political, economic and political project that constitutes an ideology, mode of governance, policy and form of public pedagogy. As an ideology, it construes profit-making as the essence of democracy, consuming as the only operable form of citizenship, and an irrational belief in the market to solve all problems and serve as a model for structuring all social relations. As a mode of governance, it produces identities, subjects, and ways of life free of government regulations, driven by a survival of the fittest ethic, grounded in the idea of the free, possessive individual, and committed to the right of ruling groups and institutions to accrue wealth removed from matters of ethics and social costs. (Giroux 2014 interview with Polychroniou).

Neo-liberalism, as economic, political and social policies, driven by global competitive market forces, characterised by cost-efficiency, and privatization, is also acknowledged by Thinnes (2013), when he argues that neo-liberalism is defined by cost-efficiency and competitive markets:

> …deep reductions in the cost of labour, and sharp retrenchment of the public sphere. Neoliberals champion privatization of social goods and withdrawal of government from provision for social welfare on the premise that competitive markets are more effective and efficient (Thinnes 2013)

Globally, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms has been characteristic of capitalist societies since the 1980s. Hence, the politics of higher education reforms reflect this new emerging paradigm of accountability, efficiency, global universities rankings, and academic capitalism, performance indicators and 'standards-driven policy change' (Zajda 2018). This is characterized by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalization of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for the universities. The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status, and the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity.

Global competitiveness was and continues to be a significant goal on the higher education policy agenda. Such imperatives as accountability, efficiency, profit maximisation, academic capitalism, and the market-oriented and "entrepreneurial" university model represent a neo-liberal ideology in education. It focuses primarily on the market-driven forces of economic globalization, defining all spheres of education. Consequently, the commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives liberal ideology is constantly fuelled by global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities. It all suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations.

The Changing Nature of Higher Education Globally

One of the significant global trends in higher education is internationalisation of teaching and research. British council (2012) in their report, *The shape of things to come: higher education global trends and emerging opportunities to 2020*, discuss the four key trends in international higher education:

- international student mobility flows in the next decade and the demographic and economic factors impacting on them;
- the emergence of new models of global higher education partnerships – this includes teaching partnerships and provision of degrees off-shore;
- patterns in research output and its growing internationalisation; and

- commercial research activities that higher education institutions in different countries engage in as a response to decreased investment in higher education across a growing number of countries (p. 5).

These global priorities in the changing landscape of the higher education sector include raising quality standards and global relevance. One of the economic measures, due to a neo-liberal ideology, is efficiency and cost-cutting strategies, and turning to the private sector for funding research projects meeting the market, as indicated above.

This politico-economic shift in higher education policy, from liberal-democratic model to conservative and neo-liberal one was discussed by Sabour (2015 when he examined the changing nature of higher education and the changing mission of the university. He argued that both 'institutionally and intellectually, the contemporary university has its roots in the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment' (Sabour 2015, p. 246). However, he also pointed out, the university's role shifted to be a producer of new knowledge and skills, which were necessary for social progress and wellbeing:

> …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 wellbeing of society, and the university became the epicentre and dominant field for the production and channelling of this knowledge (Sabour, p. 246).

Globalisation and Research Trends in Higher Education Reforms

The past decade has seen major changes in higher education. One of them is an increasingly aggressive, more entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally:

> Once a barometer of both university internationalisation and internationalisation of the broader economy, the presence of international students is now a core part of the student body for the world's leading universities (*International trends in higher education* (2015, p. 5).

Since the 1980s, the universities, in the global climate of competition for students and resources, had to reinvent themselves as corporate bodies and adopt the entrepreneurial image. The on-going debate on the nature of entrepreneurial universities, and associated global university rankings demonstrates that that global competition in the higher education sector, has emerged during an era of increased globalisation—a multidimensional phenomenon involving a conglomeration of social, economic, political, and cultural processes that affected international students and their search for places in prestigious universities.

In the *Understanding Tomorrow: A Research Report on Trends in Higher Education and Their Impact on UK* (2014), which examines recent changes in higher education, nine broad trends were identified:

1. *Changing Finances and Sustainability of Funding Sources* (as traditional sources of support at the state and federal levels have declined, other revenues, from tuition, private giving, large competitive grant, among others, have taken on more importance)
2. *Redefining the Purpose of Public Higher Education* (Against that backdrop of changing financial support, many in the academy, and outside of it, are asking tough questions about the purpose and governance of higher education)
3. *Greater Accountability* (All of us in higher education are being scrutinized more closely, in terms of accountability, efficiency, academic standards, and outcomes)
4. *Increased Use of Technology* (Technology holds great promise in teaching and research, in teaching and outreach to students. But how do we maximize its impact in a positive way, without compromising the level of quality we expect in all that we do?)
5. *Increased Internationalization* (Our students compete in an increasingly complex global and interdependent economy. The numbers of international students we serve and educate have grown significantly in recent years)
6. *Changing Undergraduate Population and Curriculum* (Some populations of students are growing; others are declining in terms of the numbers who attend institutions of higher learning. What do those changing demographics mean for how we teach and serve and the access and affordability we offer?)
7. *Challenges in Graduate Education: Ph.D., Master's, and Professional Degrees* (The demand for some degree programs is growing at a rapid rate; for others it is declining. How should those changing dynamics influence our strategies in providing the highest-quality possible of graduate and professional programs on a campus that prides itself for its depth and breadth)
8. *Changes in Research Funding* (The largest source of research funding for UK and other institutions, federal dollars, has been flat or declining in recent years. How do we ensure that we maximize research funding and create programs and research initiatives responsive to both that funding climate and the needs of our universities and the government?)
9. *The Changing Professoriate* (Our faculty population is aging. What strategies should we develop going forward to address the changing dynamics in ways that honor our mission of education, research and service?).

   (Adapted from: *Understanding tomorrow: a research report on trends in higher education and their impact on UK*, 2014).

To these we can add three more trends: changing patterns of governance models in higher education, equity, social justice and quality education, and dominant ideologies. Similar ideas are found in *The International trends in higher education: 2016/2017* report.

Gobalisation and Neo-Liberalism in Higher Education Reforms

The ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy, which has redefined education and training as an investment in human capital and human resource development, has dominated higher education reforms since the 1980's. The literature relating to human capital theory demonstrates that education consistently emerges as the prime human capital investment. Human capital refers to "the productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy". Human capital research has found that education and training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills; improves a worker's socio-economic status, career opportunities and income (Carnoy 1999; Saha 2005; Zajda 2015) and plays a significant role in driving overall economic performance. In general, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms focuses on "meeting the needs of the market, technical education and job training, and revenue generation" (Saunders 2010, p. 54).

Globalisation, policy and the politics of current higher education reforms suggest new economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism, and a new dimension of cultural imperialism. As the UNESCO's humanistic model for education, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, "the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was gaining in prominence". Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy were likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for the Australian higher education system, reforms and policy implementations. Forces of globalisation, manifesting themselves as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, tended to legitimate an "exploitative system" (McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005), and have contributed to the ongoing neo-liberal globalisation of the higher education sector in Australia. This is characterized by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for the universities (Zajda 2015). The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status, the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. In higher education policy documents in the OECD, the World Bank, and Australia, policy reforms appear to be presented as a given, and as a necessary response to economic globalisation and global competitiveness.

Current Research in Neo-Liberal Education Reforms

The effects of neo-liberalism, argues Majhanovich (2020), 'are felt everywhere in our globalized society':

…from government policies that undercut whatever of the social safety net we still enjoy; through deprivation of public funding and the encouragement of privatization, and deregulation, affecting public health care and education; and through the encouragement of consumerism to feed the market, and commodification of everything. Majhanovich 2020).

Majhanovich (2020), analyses critically the corporatization of higher education, underpinned by the ideology of neo-liberalism globally. She argues that as a result, life and work in academia has changed drastically. Education has been affected in a way that is concerning to those who believe that higher education, rather than focused on producing skilled workers for the global market, should concentrate rather on the development of creative, critical thinkers engaged in work for the betterment of society. The author, drawing on the critical discourse analysis in the work of Apple, Giroux, Ball, and others, reviews the dramatic changes to university policy, education and research. These policy changes, being dictated by accountability, efficiency and cost-saving strategies include:

restriction of the curriculum, less choice in learning materials, growth in on-line courses, growth of managerialism, fewer tenured faculty, larger numbers of contract workers, interference in research from funding corporations, and even public funding with strings attached forcing universities to focus on graduation rates, employment rates of graduates and their earning potential. (Majhanovich 2020).

Omwami and Rust (2020) argue that the current state of education reform is best understood within the context of 'a rise in nationalism', and human rights discourse and 'a retreat in neoliberalism':

While the contradictory existence of an articulation of a human-rights agenda and nationalism exist in the same space, it is important to recognize that these counter paradigms are united in their rejection of neoliberalism. While the civil society and citizen activism of the 1990s was directed towards global governmental institutions and national governments, the current protests also include counter-protests between residents characterised by a process of othering and xenophobia. It is also the case that reforms in the education sector that reflect the response to the adverse effects of neoliberalism on individual rights to education opportunities have been implemented in both the developed and the developing regions of the world, marking a retreat from neoliberalism and a return to mitigated Keynesianism (Omwami and Rust 2020).

Omwami and Rust (2020) examine the implications in education reforms under the global shift towards human rights-based development, with the adoption of the 2000 United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the more recent 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Omwami and Rust (2020) also analyse ideological shifts in education reforms, against the background of neo-liberalism.

Zajda (2020) focuses on current research trends in higher education in Australia. He analyses and evaluates the ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy in Australia, globalisation and practices of governance education, global university rankings, internationalization, quality assurance, entrepreneurial and competitive ways of competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally. Higher education policy reforms reflect aspects of a

dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. Neo-liberal policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideology. (See also Zajda 2014).

Neoh (2020) in her comparative research examines a new democratic citizenship education in Singapore and Australia under the banner of neo-liberalism. She analyses the role of globalisation and neo-liberalism in shaping the conceptions of citizenship education in democracies. She points out that the tensions and contradictions between 'citizenship and the state', and 'nationalism and capitalism' highlight the growing prominence of neo-liberalism that influences educational policy decisions, based on the premise of the competitive market. Neoh (2020) classifies neo-liberalism under the economic branch of liberalism, which she explains thus:

> This makes the basic assumption that freedom of ownership and economic entrepreneurship, as well as the freedom to enter and exit markets are fundamental human rights. The goal of neoliberalism is the improvement in competitive positions in the global market and while personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, individuals are held responsible and accountable for their actions and well-being. (Neoh 2020).

Henderson (2020) examines the ways in which universities are responding to the fluid and challenging conditions prompted by globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education in neo-liberal times. It addresses how Outbound Mobility Programs (OMPs) can serve as a means to secure global citizenship in higher education and meet university requirements to produce graduates for the global market place whist enabling immersion experiences that build pre-service teacher intercultural capabilities. Henderson argues that neo-liberalism is generally recognised as the dominant economic philosophy of globalisation, and that neo-liberal policies focus on competition, economic efficiency, choice and growth (Zajda 2014). Indeed, Hursh and Henderson (2011) suggested that neo-liberalism elevates 'the markets and profit above all other considerations' (Hursh and Henderson (2011, p. 172). Furthermore, neo-liberal ideology drives those processes whereby national governments and institutions have 'reinvented themselves as global entities in order to survive in a global economy' (Gaudelli 2016, p. 71). In this context, a neo-liberal global citizen can be envisaged as someone who graduates from university with skills that enable them to work effectively in a capitalist society by demonstrating professional competence in a competitive employment market (Zajda and Rust 2016).

Shapiro (2020), using his philosophical perspective, inspired by Jean-Paul Sartre, the French philosopher of existentialism, examines the notions of violence and the crisis of meaning in a neo-liberal world. He analyses the powerful influence of global capitalism which disrupts the communal bonds of traditional communities, leaving an atomized individualism in its place. He explains that neo-liberal economy is ruled by the culture of capitalism, consumerism and competitiveness, which erodes participatory democracy:

> In the more developed world capitalism offers a shallow and endless desire for more things, a technocratic rationality that speaks only of efficiency and productivity, and a culture that erodes communal solidarity with an invidious competitiveness among individuals. Schooling, in the main, reproduces and reinforces subjects' desires, beliefs and values of a neo-liberal world-view. It defines education in ways that connects it to jobs and conformity to the culture of capitalism. Little there now speaks to a civic culture and the dispositions of a critical democracy. (Shapiro 2020).

Olssen (2020) in his latest research critiques anti-democratic aspects of neo-liberal ideology in education policy. He analyses the economic dimension of neo-liberalism. He examines the differences between liberalism and neoliberalism, most essentially concerning 'the principle of the active or positive state' that which he argues characterizes 'neoliberal governmentality globally':

> …entailing as it does if not the abandonment at least the downscaling of laissez-faire…the contributions and limits of Michel Foucault's research on neoliberalism, especially regarding the distinction between naturalistic and anti-naturalistic views of state functioning will be re-stated. Foucault's view will also be surveyed of the distinction between the positive state and laissez-faire, as well as to Foucault's distinction between naturalism and anti-naturalism as being centrally important to understanding the two variants of liberalism and to understanding as well the anti-democratic tendencies of the neoliberal variant. (Olssen 2020)

Turner examines neo-liberalism as a political, economic and educational ideology and suggests that while it has been a powerful force in the economic and political sphere, it manifests itself differently in education, as market priorities are different in the education sector. According to him, the education sector is constantly responding to increasingly competitive local markets for students.

Conclusion

The above analysis of neo-liberal education policy reforms, the role of ideology and resultant paradigms shifts globally 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, perceived by some critics at least, as a totalising force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and which results in a hierarchical in nature pyramid of power, domination and control by major social, economic and political organisations (McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Klees 2016; Milanovic 2016).

Furthermore, Zajda (2020) argues that higher education reforms in Australia and elsewhere, represent policy responses to globalized market ideology, which focuses on increasing global competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, quality- and standards-driven policy reforms, and higher education stratification. They reflect aspects of a dominant ideology of neo-liberalism and neoconservatism. Neo-liberal

policies are largely based on dominant market-oriented ideologies, rather than democratic policy reforms. The commodification of higher education, with its focus on value-added education and labour market prospects for highly skilled and competent graduates, is a vivid outcome of market-driven economic imperatives of neoliberal ideology. The divided and highly elitist and stratified higher education sector, by means of their hegemonic structures, legitimises social inequality. There is need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely global citizenship, human rights education, social justice and access to quality education for all, if genuine culture of learning, and transformative pedagogy, characterised by wisdom, compassion, and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

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