COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: A DIVERSITY OF VOICES

Critical Perspectives on International Education

Yvonne Hébert and Ali A. Abdi (Eds.)

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Critical Perspectives on International Education

COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION:
A Diversity of Voices
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Comparative and International Education: A Diversity of Voices aims to provide a comprehensive range of titles, making available to readers work from across the comparative and international education research community. Authors will represent as broad a range of voices as possible, from geographic, cultural and ideological standpoints. The editors are making a conscious effort to disseminate the work of newer scholars as well as that of well-established writers. The series includes authored books and edited works focusing upon current issues and controversies in a field that is undergoing changes as profound as the geopolitical and economic forces that are reshaping our worlds. The series aims to provide books which present new work, in which the range of methodologies associated with comparative education and international education are both exemplified and opened up for debate. As the series develops, it is intended that new writers from settings and locations not frequently part of the English language discourse will find a place in the list.

Critical Perspectives on International Education

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In memoriam

Ottilia Chareka

and

Helen Harper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

We are witnessing a major historical shift that scholars from various disciplines regularly discuss under the umbrella of globalization and that represents a qualitative change that is recreating our way of life. Precipitated by the technological revolution, it has roots in the economic and political history of the Western world. Many factors contribute to the changes, but what distinguishes the current process of globalization from before is its supranational character.[1] Nonetheless, a diverse, intense relationship with knowledge and new ways of learning emerged along with new forms of social communication that nourished democratic aspirations and broadened ethical conceptions of life. The impact of globalization on education, and particularly higher education, has led to its repositioning in the global economy and the transnational political landscape.

The process of internationalization, construed as imperative by educational leaders, implies an integration of international, intercultural, and global dimensions into the purposes of the institution. But quite often, planners neglect to consider that, behind those purposes, there is or should be an ethically defensible vision of education that also informs the process of internationalization. The literature is vast and there are outstanding scholarly contributions. However, this book – which brings together scholars from around the world – goes to the core of the issue by trying to understand how views of knowledge, positioned at the heart of globalization, re-define international education; explores mobility in its positive and negative dimensions (but as a route to knowledge); and goes beyond complacency by exploring critical perspectives using concrete examples.

The introductory chapter by Yvonne M. Hébert and Ali A. Abdi provides a theoretical introduction of tremendous use to the reader, by exploring various theories and discourses that served as heuristic tools to the authors. This will help readers navigate through the understandings of complex receptions of policies and ideas and discern the interweaving of culture-specific settings and processes of supranational integration, consider the limits to exportation of reforms and political ideals (including democracy), and ponder on the many faces of diversity. Most importantly, the chapters make a unique contribution, given their specificity of well-documented case studies in various countries and settings, yet also their theoretical reach. This is a much needed book, an important point of reference for future research as well as for educators.

Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Queen's University

NOTES

[1] Dale, R/ (2003) Globalization: A new world for comparative education? In J. Schriewer (Ed.), *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education,* Frankfurt and Main, Peter Lang, 87–110.

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A project of this nature is always the result of constructive efforts that are undertaken by many more people than the editors. In the realization of this book, especially, our contributors have been supportive and willing to share their work, and it was mainly due to their hard work, patience and excellent submissions that we have achieved this substantial international education reader. We are grateful for their generosity and positive spirit of collegiality, and we are excited to contribute to the expansion of their intelligent disquisitions to the wider world of scholars, researchers and the general public.

On a more sober note, during the period of the book production, two esteemed colleagues passed away: Dr. Ottilia Chareka, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada, and Dr. Helen Harper, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA. Both editors have, in one context or another, worked with both Ottilia and Helen, and while we fondly remember their active times in the scholarship of educational and social development, we are as well, grateful to their co-authors, Pamela von Dommelen and Judith Dunkerly respectively, who have completed their contributions.

While most of the chapters in this book are original, several are adopted from previously published material, and the editors are grateful for the kind permissions granted to facilitate this: Chapters by each of Stephanie Garneau, Annie Pilote, Vincenzo Cicchelli and Abdelwahab Benhafaeidh appeared originally in *Lettre de l'Observatoire Jeunes et Société*, U Québec, vol. 7, no. 1 (2008) and were translated into English for this book. The chapter by Yvonne Hébert, Lori Wilkinson and Mehrunissa Ali originated as an article in *Brock Education*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2008): 50-70. Kazuko Kurihara's chapter first appeared in *Canadian and International Education*, vol. 38, 01 (2009). Suzanne Majhanovich's chapter was published in *World Studies in Education*, vol. 1, no. 10, 2009; and the chapter by the late Helen Harper and Judith Dunkerly has appeared in *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2009. John Willinsky's chapter first appeared in his book, *The Access Principle: The Case for Open Access to Research and Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006). Most of these have been selectively updated for inclusion in this volume.

In addition, we are grateful to the *Comparative and International Education Society of Canada* (CIESC) for its generous support of the 2008 pre-conference project in Vancouver, Canada, that planted the first seeds for this project. Many of the contributors to this volume participated in the pre-conference symposium on the intensification of international education, which Yvonne Hébert instigated and served as lead organiser. As President of CIESC, Ali A. Abdi facilitated the organisational support. Our gratitude also goes to

Professor Allan Pitman for sharing his CIESC Presidential address, which is included here, and for facilitating the preparation of the book for the *Comparative and International Education: A Diversity of Voices* Series at Sense Publishers, where he is the editor. We also would like to express our appreciation to Professor George Richardson and his team of Lucy de Fabrizio and Lorraine Parry at the University of Alberta's Faculty of Education International Office, who were instrumental in the organization as well as the setting up of the web-based procedures that hosted the CIESC pre-conference symposium. Finally, thanks to Marilyn Tobin, Marilyn Hiebert, Violet Baron, Deo Bishundayal and Alan Copeland, University of Calgary, Nada Shaban, University of Alberta, and Kathy Chang Yang, Xi'an Jiaotong University, China, for their excellent editorial and formatting support in both earlier and later versions of the manuscript.

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2008) ; « La jeunesse n'est plus ce qu'elle était » (ed. with Hamel et alii, Rennes, 2010) ; Cicchelli et Gérôme Truc, « De la mondialisation au cosmopolitisme » (Problèmes politiques et sociaux n.986-987, La Documentation française, 2011); et « L'esprit cosmopolite : Voyages de formation des jeunes en Europe ». Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2012.

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YVONNE M. HÉBERT AND ALI A. ABDI

1. CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION:

Redefinitions, Knowledge-making, Mobilities and Changing the World

INTRODUCTION

In the knowledge era, indeed, the struggle is between knowledge that is both resource and product in a world of fast capitalism and knowledge as mutual engagement in processes of shared critical social construction, and thus, more culturally inclusive and socially productive. The former has been taken for granted since the aftermath of the Second World War, but is now facing serious criticisms for its avaricious market approach. Today, the idea of knowledge as an economic product, commodified, for sale on a global market, is no longer palatable. Key to a very recent philosophical shift towards another model is the emergence of global knowledge cultures, as proposed by Kapitzke & Peters (2007). The main phenomena that globalised societies face today emerge from the issues raised around redefinitions of the nature of education; mobilities involving the internal and external movement of workers, students, teachers, researchers, tourists, business people, volunteers and people in general; as well as efforts to change the world towards a more democratic, socially responsible, culturally sensitive model, as taken up by the contributors to this book.

The purpose of this book is to assure that you/we all participate in the global conversation about knowledge, its meanings, uses and possibilities. In this light, it is vitally important to understand how knowledge is created, what it means to know, how it is shared, to whose benefit and why. Several primary questions arise:

What is the role of education in human well-being? What does knowledge making entail? How do contemporary knowledge contructions respond to prevailing social contexts? Why is it important for learning prospects to respond or not to today's globalizing political and economic contexts? These dimensions and questions of knowledge are critical to the future of educational policy and provision, and ultimately to the quality of human life, as the locations and practices of knowledge are more complex than ever.

The education-globalisation dynamic has been the object of much attention, with concomitant competing views contributing to knowledge-making and

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 1–41.

marketing. A dominant view of globalisation considers knowledge and information to be international goods and proposes that their acquisition and distribution should determine our understanding of causation in the real world. Michael Peters puts it so very well, "the transformation of knowledge production and its legitimation are central to an understanding of globalisation and its effects on educational policy" (2003: 363).

In this light, let us first consider important links between education and economics; then in a second section, discuss the various theories and discourses that provide the background to this book. Then in four major sections, we spell out how each of the chapters and how their authors contribute to the new view of knowledge as a shared social good: redefining internationalisation and international education in section three; universities as sources of knowledge-making in the global economy in section four; youth mobilities of international students and of migrant youth in section five; and finally, a sixth section on changing the world, with critical perspectives on human well-being and on intensive transformative processes. In a concluding note, we discuss briefly how we have moved from the knowledge-as-economic capital towards knowledge-as-shared socio-cultural capital while seeking to better understand the new directions in creating knowledge as a shared social good rather than as a saleable good. In so doing, we end with critical perspectives on the role of education on human well-being and citizenship development.

I KNOWLEDGE AT THE HEART OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization includes many different kinds of processes, all of which are accelerating, such as communications networks, human mobility, information technology, genetic information, organisations, as well as international trade and investment, creating a world of interconnected, open systems (Anderson, 2001). No living system is entirely closed. Globalisation brings greater mobility, not only of people but also of all manner of life forms, resulting in a transforming, bio-socially world. Similarly, globalization brings greater communication, inter-connectivity and exchange of cultural goods and creative processes, resulting in rapid movement and mixing of musical, artistic and other aesthetic expressions, linked with a fluid myriad of identity positioning and re-positioning. These globalizing processes began thousands of years ago and are as old as human evolution itself.

Set within the acceleration of globalization since World War II, a knowledge-based economy is based on the idea that future economic prosperity lies in the generation of highly skilled and knowledge-rich production and trade. According to Casey,

> such a knowledge-based economy is characterized by increased production of knowledge and information-rich projects, innovation in

> products, markets, and production processes, and global expansion and integration of economy. The knowledge economy requires, its theoreticians and policy-makers argue, vastly expanded generation of education and training and lifelong learning workers. The last two decades have witnessed considerable government activities towards this end (2009, p. 173).

It is in the aftermath of the Second World War that Hayek (1945) elaborated his theory of knowledge in society. He was dedicated to restoring classical liberalism and the free market based on the rights of individuals, thus preparing the way for others who developed what came to be known as American neo-liberalism. Two decades later, free market ideas were applied to education (Friedman & Friedman, 1962) and were further developed as new growth theory which assumed that technology and levels of information flow were critical for economic development (Lucas, 1988; Romer, 1994, Solow, 1994). From that perspective, the economics-of-education posit that an abundance of information and knowledge can be shared and actually grown through application (Peters, 2003). Thus, as discussed in this book, issues of intellectual property rights, organisational dimensions of knowledge and the marketplace of ideas have become fundamental to public policy, pedagogy and practice today.

Two terms are used today to discuss the ideas of the knowledge economy and knowledge capitalism. The former, the knowledge economy is characterised as the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialisation of the State and investment in human capital (Peters, 2003, p. 364). The latter, knowledge capitalism, is seen as a new genre of capitalism (Burton-Jones, 1999), that is, as an economic system in which the means of knowledge production, the creation of goods and services are privately owned and operated for profit. The latter approach has been taken up by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for fundamentally rethinking the relationship between education, learning and work, as well as focusing on a new coalition between education and industry. Used distinctly and interchangeable, the two terms are not mutually exclusive and have been in evidence in reports of the OECD and the World Bank throughout the 1990s, being adopted thereafter as global educational policy.

Through these lenses, education is seen as a greatly undervalued form of knowledge capital that has the power to shape society through its capacity to determine the future of work as well as the organisation of knowledge-creating institutions. Policies followed, in support of heavy investments in research laboratories and institutions of higher education, and emphasised propositional and tacit knowledge (OECD, 1996). Over at the World Bank, universities were seen as the essential connection between education and development (albeit with the select de-emphasis of so-called non-scientific areas such as the arts and the social sciences) and were to become leading future service industries to be more fully integrated into major modes of production. In this view, then, development is "less like a construction business and more like education in the broad and comprehensive sense that covers knowledge, institutions and culture" (Stiglitz, 1999, p. 2). Thus, while the Bank's prescriptions would be inclusive for western countries and their educational systems, these were historically, culturally, and even epistemically problematic for developing societies in Africa and elsewhere.

The World Bank then focussed on knowledge about technology, knowledge gaps and information problems. However, knowledge creation and transfer are unlike other markets; given human variability, the homogeneity of products is impossible in education. Furthermore, knowledge transactions require trust and reciprocity if knowledge workers are to share their knowledge. Such changes would require the institutions of an open society, such as a free press, transparent government, pluralism, minority education, checks and balances, acceptance of others, freedom of thought, and open public debate (Peters, 2003; Stiglitz, 1999). Focusing on knowledge capitalism, Burton-Jones (1999), among others, stresses the economic demand for a skilled work force as well as lifelong learning, while acknowledging that governments have an important role to play in fostering knowledge acquisition and development. These twin ways of viewing education and globalization, as economics and as capitalism, are, however, inadequate and simplistic; they blur the importance of symbolic cultural goods which are central to international education. That peoples around the world seek to trade goods or physically move to work elsewhere is not new, to wit, the race to explore and conquer the New World by European powers, such as France, Spain, Germany and Great Britain, in previous centuries as well as the legendary Silk Trade Route, for economic reasons. What is new is the scope and speed of global exchanges, or as Held and McGrew (2004) put it, the realities of the unprecedented intensities and extensities of new globalizations.

II COMPETING VIEWS AND VOICES

Four competing theories and twelve major discourses are concerned with the complex relationships between globalisation and education (Kapitzke & Peters, 2007; Peters and Besley, 2006; Spring, 2008). Briefly sketched below, these theories and discourses inform many chapters in this book.

Competing views

The *first* of four major and somewhat overlapping interpretations of the process of educational globalisation posits the existence of a *world culture* whereby Western ideals of mass schooling serve as a model for national school systems. This view proposes that all cultures are slowly coalescing into one global culture (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Boli & Thomas 1999; Meyer, Kamens & Benavot, 1992; Ramirez, 2003). Many phenomena contribute to this view, such as the emergence of world marketplaces, the proliferation of social trends especially among young people, such as short-lived world music, the popularity of beer in Russia, the use of henna for body decoration, clothing fashions and food products from around the world in local shops. Moreover, major global phenomena multiply, such as the fluctuation of value of stocks and bonds on the international currency market, the spread of contagious disease such as AIDs, and the urgency of concerns for global climate change caused by human activity, all fast-moving and made possible through the migration of peoples and through technological communication systems. The global significance of regional phenomena, such as the Arab spring summer and fall of 2011, Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 (Wong, 1997), give credence to the spread of democratic and economic ideas at the root of the liberation of peoples everywhere. At the same time, the establishment of large farms in poor countries to feed populations in larger more powerful countries proliferates, thus continuing the exploitive nature of relationships between rich-poor countries (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick, 2009; York, 2009).

Although many attempts have been made to develop global solutions for global problems, this would require that all countries and all peoples arrive at some consensus about the nature of these problems and undertake collective global solutions and action. While there is some evidence of the emergence of partial and controversial global consensus on the usefulness of free trade and democracy, there is not yet any global agreement on climate change and other pressing issues, nor any world-wide responsive mobilisation. In other words, the emergence of a global culture and global society that would act as a whole system has begun but has yet to be achieved (Anderson, 2001).

The *second* interpretation, the *world systems approach*, sees the globe as integrated, but with two major unequal zones, with the USA, Europe, Japan, probably China and possibly South Korea as the core zone and the rest of the world in the periphery, with the core inculcating its values into peripheral countries, thus legitimising its overarching power (Arnove, 1980; Clayton, 1998; Wallerstein, 1984, 2004). The idea of a clash of civilisations stems from this understanding of differing cultures and values between unequal zones which was the gist of Huntington's 1996 book on the topic. He argued that the world is changing, that its map is being replaced by a global map of civilisations based on major differences of cultures and values, and that those of the United States of American and its allies were more powerful than most zones. Although the highly critical responses in the subsequent volume of *Foreign Affairs* (74: 4) were swift, the idea of 'west is best' continues to hold a certain degree of attention. With the current new financial crisis, however, the centre may be shifting, if not now, but in the foreseeable future. According to systems theory, the intertwining economic, political, cultural and biological processes of globalisation create global challenges and global risks.

Concerns about the unequal treatment as well as the exploitation of poor nations' resources, about epidemics and the facile spread of disease, about international crime, about climate change, about overpopulation, about shortages of basic resources such as water, about the re-emergence of competing religious views with political overtones, about the world domination of certain languages, identities, cultures and erasure of others, about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, about the eventual shortages of oil and gas as sources of energy and the negative impact on food supplies stemming from the use of plants as fuel, and about the destructive power of nuclear sources of energy as illustrated with the Fukushima nuclear crisis of 2011, the Chernobyl meltdown of 1956, those of Three Mile Island, USA in 1979 and Windsack, UK in 1957, create enormous global challenges. Ulrich Beck describes these as "a world risk society" in which world politics is no longer dominated by two opposing superpowers but rather by challenges that are "global, local, and personal at the one and same time" (Beck, 1999, p. 5).

These global-local-personal challenges "generate conflicts over who is to blame, heighten differences of opinion about what is to be done, and breathe new life in old ideologies. But they are also unifying forces because they remind us that we all live in the same world" (Anderson, 2001, p. 222). The de-collectivization and de-politicization of workers has greatly weakened organizational democracy and citizen-worker participation in the workplace in recent decades, yet renewed interests in social models and social citizenship to present viable new prospects for citizen action in the socio-cultural regulation of work (Casey, 2009). Resolving these disputes requires that all parties and all countries work together constructively so as to arrive at a consensus about the nature of the problem and to undertake collective action to solve it (Anderson, 2001; Casey, 2009). Although such collaboration has occurred on a very limited global scale, it too constitutes a globalising challenge.

The *third* interpretation, *post-colonialist theory and analysis,* views globalisation as the imposition of the economic and political agendas of major world powers on the global society so as to benefit rich, wealthy nations and corporations to the detriment of the world's poor (Abdi, 2006, 1998; Apple, 2005; Brown & Lauder, 2006; Gabbard, 2000; Olson, 2006; Weiler, 2001). According to this perspective, Western style schooling spread around the world as a result of European imperialism, including Christian missionary allies, oft precursors to the appearance of merchants, during the eras of extensive world empires, which affords a remarkably different understanding of the development of a world culture and of world systems, posited by the two previous views.

Postcolonial perspectives consider the dominant global model of schooling as exploitive of the majority of humanity and destructive to the planet and propose instead that education should be more progressive so as to liberate and empower the masses (Abdi & Guo, 2008; Abdi, 2006, 1998; Camara, 2006; Crossley & Tickly, 2004; Kothari, 2006; Leys, 1996; Spring, 2008). Indeed, as an astute observer of the problems of colonial education, Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's first postcolonial president, advocated for *culturally relevant projects of* learning that were philosophically and epistemologically of Africa and African, with educational resources to be used for effective social development. Yet such educational programs were not broadly undertaken and those that were, did not achieve relevant development possibilities in many parts of the world, given unaddressed inequalities, thus necessitating new projects within critical perspectives allowing for the power of self-awareness and the development of cooperative, networked alliances to support project action taking up a capacities approach towards empowerment in the face of multiple inequalities (Abdi & Guo, 2008; Tobin, 2004; Nussbaum, 2002).

Unfortunately, the dismantling of colonial empires after WWII, mostly by means of violent movements, did not resolve the rich-poor dichotomy; nor did it assure a balance of power and an end to corruption, much to the detriment and distress of ordinary people (Bauman, 2006; Collier, 2007). Such changes of government systems raise profound questionings and redefinitions of societies and selves. Among other effects, subjected peoples sometimes produced vigorous cultures of opposition and resistance to domination. Nevertheless, multinational corporations, trade agreements such as the WTO/GATS, and international non-government organisations (IGO), move in and promote market economies, human capital education, neo-liberal educational and health reforms, all designed to continue to promote the interests of rich, powerful corporations and nations. These are new schemes of development policy recolonization, modeled on the old hegemonic structure (Leys, 1996; Abdi, 2006).

Once again, the focus on the domination of others – the idea at the very core of the notion of empire – is seen in the geographical possession of land, territories and domains (Saïd, 1993). In spite of their efforts, poor countries find themselves relegated to the status of 'third world' countries and getting poorer (Collier, 2007). From a postcolonial view, the negative effects of such domination continues historical inequalities, marks and characterises relations between poor regions with the world's richer countries (Schugurensky & Davidson-Harden, 2003). Such unresolved relations continue today, in a form of neo-colonialism, with powerful countries leasing or buying arable land in poor countries, mostly on the African continent in 2007-2008, to the detriment and disadvantage of Indigenous peoples (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick, 2009; York, 2009). According to Camara (2006) and Mbele (2009), such countries have not developed systems of knowledge production, specifically targeted for the amelioration of living conditions of their populations.

In general, postcolonial analysis considers prevailing forms of knowledge to be the result of political and economic power, in hierarchical arrangement, fostering and favouring one form of knowledge above another. In other words, postcolonial analysis:

> includes issues of slavery, migration and diaspora formation; the effects of race, culture, class and gender in postcolonial settings; histories of resistance and struggle against colonial and neo-colonial domination; the complexities of identity formation and hybridity; language and language rights; the ongoing struggles of Indigenous peoples for recognition of their rights (Crossley & Tickly, 2004: 148).

Given the possibilities of post-colonial theory which attempts to analyse slavery, racialisation and identity in conjunction with colonization, it is nonetheless, geographically limited. The term, post-colonial, does not extend its focus on forms of anti-racist and Aboriginal struggles in the United States and Canada. In the latter countries, the term, 'post-civil rights' broadly refer to the impact of struggles of Black Americans, American Indian, La Raza and Asian-American communities, collectively producing a transformation of racial awareness, racial meaning and racial subjectivity (Frankenbert & Mani,1992).This perspective places de-colonisation struggles within a pluralistic framework which tends to obscure these struggles. In writing about the struggles of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, Lawrence and Dua (2011) suggest that "on-going colonisation and decolonisation struggles need to be foundational in our understandings of racism, racial subjectivities and anti-racism" (p. 248).

What then would be an appropriate education? In response, Willinsky's proposal is "to supplement our education with a consideration of imperialism's influence on the teaching of history, geography, science, language, and literature in the hope that it will change the way this legacy works on us" (1998, p. 247). More specifically, such an education would consider the educational legacy of imperialism

> in the portrayal of the other, in the treatment of distance from the West, in the placement of the non-Western outside history, in the suggestion of evolutionary differences along moral, cultural, and/or psychological lines, in the construction of racial differences, and in the equation of cultural and or nationality with race (Willinsky, 1998, p. 256).

The *fourth* interpretation, termed the *culturalists* by Joel Spring (2008), argues that there are other educational ideas, besides human capital, of considerable relevance, especially religious ideas, Freirean views, human rights and education for democracy, environmental education as well as multiple forms of progressive education (Apple & Beane, 2007; Benhabib, 2004, 2002; Freire, 1998; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Culturalists stress the existence of different forms of knowledge as well as different ways of seeing and knowing the world

(Hayhoe & Pan, 2001; Little, 2003; Rahnema, 2001; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; and Zeera, 2001). In addition to recognising multiple knowledges and alternative cultural frameworks for schooling, the culturalists attach importance to studying the interaction between the local and the global, as well as to listening to Others' narratives in order to recognise and discover distinctive threads of human cultural thought and experience (Hayhoe & Pan, 2001).

Similarities between post-colonialist and culturalist perspectives concern the existence of multiple knowledges and the subjugation of some knowledges by others. Of considerable importance to international education is that both post-colonial and culturalist interpretations acknowledge a hierarchy of knowledges where one form is privileged above another, legitimated by power and playing out differently from one context to another.

Competing Voices

Beyond the lenses of these theoretical perspectives, *twelve sustained, and sometimes intertwining, discourses* play important roles in creating common educational practices, pedagogies and policies leading to greater uniformity as part of neo-liberalism. These discourses are typical of the knowledge economy and the development of human capital feature debates on the critical nature of technology; on the role of human capital; the feasibility of lifelong learning; the global migration of workers; living in diversity and democratisation, for now, that economies depend upon the skills and knowledge of all peoples (Becker, 2006, 1964; Spring, 2008).

1. Technology as Critical to the Knowledge Economy. Within a first discourse, growing income inequalities between individuals and countries are said to be the result of differences in knowledge and skills (Reich, 1991). Moreover, a shift from industrial to post-industrial modes of production requires a major increase in educated workers (Bell, 1973). Doing so necessitates educating students with skills, especially in the comprehension and application of technology, its reconfiguration of the processes of production and distribution, as well as its uses to access the world's knowledges, so that students and workers alike can continuously adapt to the workplace which relies primarily on ideas (Stoer & Magalhaes, 2004; Stromquist, 2002). In other words, changes in *human capital* in post-industrial contexts create a knowledge economy where wealth is tied to knowledge workers engaged with technology in lifelong learning and ultimately tied to educational systems.

This global discourse has set the agenda for many national educational policies, if not most, and has spread rapidly around the world (Spring, 1998, 2006). Furthermore, the extensive use of social technologies opens up lived experiences for sale, in that leisure, friendship, lifestyle services, media consumption are increasingly commodified. The very act of engagement becomes restrictive to the act of consumption (Hearn, 2007). Although "human knowledge as human capital is the principal productive force in contemporary capitalism," this has been shown to have very mixed benefits for workers as the narrower, specific economic goals of the corporation are the drivers behind the 'learning organisation' rather than the worker's subjective interests in his/her learning and in workplace management (Casey, 2009, p. 173). Included in the production of learning for the organisation is "the extraction and codification of workers' personal capacities, tacit knowledge and affective creativity" so that these can be shared and regenerated, not for individual but for organisational benefit (p. 174).

2. Lifelong Learning. A second powerful global discourse linked to the knowledge economy, life-long learning was originally rooted in a humanist approach as part of personal cultural growth characterised by continuous, voluntary and self-motivated learning. This humanist approach was very much part of the seventies and eighties, for example, in language teaching, as integral to the move from structuralist to functionalist perspectives of learning (Fauré et al., 1972; Galisson, 1980). Today, however, lifelong learning is clothed in economic garb, making it part of human capital theory, whereby it is considered essential for individuals to keep up with constantly changing technology and the global job market, with purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills, competence and employability (Commission of the European Communities, 2002). So learning additional languages, for example, is no longer motivated by self-development and understanding of other cultures but is undertaken to equip oneself to better fit into the market economy.

3. The Learning Organization. A third discursive notion, the learning organization is premised on the idea that human knowledge is the principal productive force in contemporary capitalism (Harvey, 1989; Drucker, 1993; Castells, 1996). Learning in organizations focuses on tasks of selection, coordination and retention of practical and theoretical productive knowledge, including the extraction and codification of workers' personal capacities, tacit knowledge and affective creativity so that these knowledges may be shared and regenerated. This effectively separates the worker from his or her knowledge and objectifies both knowledge and worker. And yet it is well known in education that knowledge is socially constructed, permitting learners to internalize and personify their knowledge.

Given these premises of the learning organisation, there are serious paradoxes inherent to this approach to organisational management, in that the intensification of work results in the diminishment of workers' control and participation in the design, management, structures and processes of their work, especially with highly skilled and often well-paid work (Green, 2006). Similarly, the complexification of the production process through knowledge enrichment has simplified the work by objectifying the knowledge of employees, rendering more extensive and irresistible the systems' control (Durand, 2007). Moreover, as pointed out in Fenwick (2001), management's usurpation of participatory models in the workplace is central to the dominant model of the learning organization. Flowing from this forceful stance, the learning organizational model is similarly dismissive of earlier socio-political aspirations toward expanded democratization in economic production as a right of social citizenship, thus contributing to a crisis in social cohesion and weakening participatory democracy (Fenwick, 2001; Casey, 2009).

4. Individual Responsibility. Further to the global recession of 2009-2010, the discourse and concomitant policies of lifelong learning have come to mean that individuals whose jobs are cut, are personally and individually responsible for upgrading for other equally elusive work at a later uncertain time, without governments being financially able to invest in postsecondary institutions of all types (vocational, professional, academic) to support continuous learning. In other words, students are to be socialised so that it is their sole responsibility to continuously adapt to a work world where technological innovations are changing almost daily, supposedly making it easier for students to access the world's knowledges (Stromquist, 2002). This evokes one of five principles of neoliberalism, the orientation now dominating Canadian ministries of education: the elimination of concepts of 'the public good' or 'community' to be replaced with 'individual responsibility'. The other four are familiar: the rule of the market imposed by government, no matter the resulting social damage; the reduction of public expenditures for social and educational services; the reduction of government regulations that might diminish profits; and privatization, i.e., the sale of government-owned enterprises to private investors (Bauman, 2011; Schuetze, Kuehn, Davidson-Harden, Schugurensky and Weber, 2011).

Moreover, as Hearn (2007) points out, terms such as 'downsizing', 'outsourcing', and 'negative growth' maintain the public invisibility of economic outcomes while distorting, obscuring, euphemising and denying the realities referred to, all the while displacing ethical concerns dealing with the fair ownership of knowledge with economic concepts. Consequently, questions arise in educational systems around the world about what counts as suitable curriculum for students of all ages so that they can become lifelong learners. Pressure is on systems and students alike to have acquired basic skills in primary school, in particular communication and math skills, as well as "ability to work in teams, to learn other subjects, to communicate effectively, to manage oneself, to question and to innovate, to assume personal responsibility" (Cheng &Yip, 2006).

Nonetheless, the idea of lifelong learning has long roots, having fermented in the 1960s and early 1970s when it was promoted by UNESCO and earlier in the post-WWI period (Field, 2001). Furthermore, this concept is recognised as being part of many intellectual traditions, including Chinese, Indian Buddhism, and Greek philosophy as well as in the spirit of the European Renaissance (Gelpi, 1985). However, its postmodern incorporation rests upon an underlying view of human beings as producers-consumers, an untenable reduction tied to human capital theory which puts the individual at the centre of the educational process in which the responsibility for learning is that of the individual who is entirely responsible for the outcomes (Borg & Mayo, 2005) whereas the reality in the work world is such that it is the corporations that benefit from learning, rather than individual learners, leaving discouragement in its wake (Casey, 2009).

5. Accountability Agenda of a Market Approach to Education. In the face of media and public criticisms of teachers and professors alike, tuned-up technological services and solutions are proposed and acted upon, so as to continuously raise achievement as measured by means of *standardized testing,* be these international such as OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), national or regional, for ex., the systematic testing of student achievement in Alberta with province-wide standardized tests in grades 3, 6, 9 and 12. The results of these obligatory province-wide tests are rarely made available to researchers but rather to neo-liberal think tanks, such as the Fraser Institute in Canada, whose reports are highly publicized in newspapers, thus furthering the accountability agenda of a market approach to education with its concomitant pressures.

These are so made of sufficient importance that school districts move significantly to deepen, broaden and strengthen effectiveness, such as the Parkland School Division in Alberta which is experimenting with a more supportive grading system that includes comprehensive descriptors of learning such as 'established, emerging, and developing' rather than letter-grading or numerical scores for feedback to students and parents through report cards (CTV, 05 May 2011; Alberta Prime Time, 07 June 2011).

These and other *educational reforms* create a great deal of pressure on school systems and especially on teachers. In consideration of the top rankings of 15-year old students in Finland and Alberta, among the top six countries on the PISA exams, a study of teachers' views of systemic changes that contribute to that dubious success, indicates that several interconnected aspects of a culture of teaching have emerged since the early 1990s when a wave of educational reforms began in Alberta (Farrell, 2011). Embedded in broader systemic pressures to implement bold education-reform plans, a 'Race to the Top' as part of economic impetus in the USA involves four areas for improvement: teacher effectiveness, data systems, low-performing schools, and standards and assessments, as instigated in 2010 with a competition for $4 billion-dollar grant funding from the U.S. Department of Education. Financed by the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, this competition has become a high-profile centerpiece of the Obama administration's education agenda.

The weight accorded to accountability, educational reforms and lifelong learning is such that it is claimed that systemic changes must be put into place to improve *teaching effectiveness*. Of these, teacher practice has become more tightly focused in terms of curriculum expectations and outcomes, a refinement that pays more attention to teaching processes and strategies, with teacher professionalism and responsibility reinvented by means of continuous professional development throughout the province (Farrell, 2011, p. 217). Key to these changes is the annual Teacher Professional Growth Plans (nicknamed TPGP's), which requires teachers to establish individual goals to be monitored by both the teacher and school principal. Initially met with some degree of scepticism, the TPGP's were taken up by many teachers, leading to various changes, including action research on their own teacher practice, early assessment, followed up with feedback and intervention especially early on, professional learning communities, collaboration and collegiality, an exhausting list of changes, contributing to the framing and surveillance of teachers, and ultimately to teacher dropout rates (Farrell, 2011, p. 233). In light of the Finnish educational system which emphases creativity and hence its successes in the PISA country comparisons, Sahlberg proposed that rather than competition between education systems, schools and students, what is needed is networking, deeper co-operation and open sharing of ideas at all levels if the role of education in economic competitiveness is to be strengthened. Given these ideas, several jurisdictions are now talking and planning cooperative efforts, including Alberta, Finland, Shanghai and still others.

6. Migration as Global Mobility. The global migration of workers is yet another much studied global phenomena, with movement generally from poorer to richer countries, from rural to urban areas. Motivated by economic and political factors, migrants and their families engage in a search for opportunities for economic betterment, social mobility, better education and political stability (Li, 2003; Isajiw, 1999). Many migrants experience variably difficult adaptations marked by downward occupational mobility relative to occupations held previously in the country of origin, such as China (Zong, 2004). International transferences and non-recognition of credentials constitute major barriers to establishment and integration into new countries, as do challenges of reconstructing social networks as primary forms of their social capital (Guo, 2009; Hagan, 1998; Hébert, Kowch & Sun, 2004; Hébert, Lee, Sun & Berti, 2003; Kazemipur, 2006, 2008, 2009). Although highly educated, recent immigrants to Canada have lower incomes compared to previous waves of less educated immigrants who came thirty years ago and to native-born Canadians (Hébert, Wanner et al, 2009, 2010; Li, 2003, 2001; Wanner, 2008), still, a generalized consensus in an extensively credentialised yet selectively networked world, ascertains that documents that certify some agreed-upon scholastic achievements could accord one a better job, a better house, more food choices and a faster transportation system. Ironically, all of these could also contribute to extensive ecological de-development and even destruction of functioning life management systems of the natural world (Abdi, 1998).

Within global migration patterns are a special class of *temporary foreign workers* who take up low-skilled work, for example, in factories, meat packing plants, construction and the oil industry, agriculture, or serve as live-in caretakers. Typically, such workers enter a richer country under stringent conditions, for limited periods of time and then must return to their country of origin (Ding, 2010; Li, 2003). Poor working conditions, low wages, and other human rights issues however may plague such workers. Consequently, employers often face more rigorous assessments to meet labour standards in Canada, for example, especially in light of many violations of worker rights. Nonetheless, established knowledge societies are continuously gaining at the expense of the educational have-nots. While this may respect historical and cultural inclusions achieved by the collective strife of all people from every continent of the world (Longino, 2002; Harding, 1998, 2008), the migration of workers may also create and continue problems of philosophical and epistemological exclusions, also historically inscribed in time and place.

The complexities of return migration, a form of *brain circulation*, also termed *brain drain* and *brain gain,* reveals that a return to countries of origin or a move to another country, of highly educated, early career professionals, is conditioned by several factors: times of economic slump; the ability to obtain high returns in their homeland for the human capital and citizenship gained in the host country; and the inability to find a professionally satisfactory place for themselves in the host society (DeVoretz & Zhang, 2004; DeVoretz & Ma, 2002; Ding, 2010; Ley & Kobayashi, 2005; Zong, 2004a,b, 2007, 2009).

7. English as Language of World Communication. Closely aligned to the realities of world-wide migration is the growth of *English as a language of world communication*, taken up by speakers around the world with their own accents, tempi and phrasing, thus creating thriving linguistic industries. Taken up from postcolonial perspectives, for example, considerable awe if not anguish accompanies the spread of English, displacing other colonial languages as well as national, sub-national, and local languages. While this represents a tremendous loss of knowledge of the particularities of the world, it also acknowledges that we live in a world of American and European (UK) domination, which could be termed as a new empire of sorts, mostly economic but to some extent, also political and sometimes militaristic.

A telling example is constituted of American and Allied military interventions in what is now termed, the Arab Spring, populist resistance movements in several countries, with an important role attributed to digital communications. The military intervention taken up by the USA and its Allies protects Western interests in oil production in this part of the world, a telling motive, rarely discussed aloud. Indeed, the USA and its allies were lukewarm, if not intentionally disinterested in popular uprising against human rights violating regimes that were their supporters, but vociferously against the governments of those countries that historically opposed USA policies in the Middle East. Given China's economic rise and its financial capacity to bear American debt, this may gradually lead to Mandarin as the next world language, as one empire replaces another. Quite importantly, the Arab uprising was motivated by a desire for democracy and economic renewal, including jobs; these ideas continue to spread around the world, tentatively moving into China as well, where any sound of insurrection, such as the torrential critical response to a train wreck, forces authorities to reverse themselves while, at the same time, to subsequently quickly put down any dissent (Wines and Lafranière, 2011).

8. Living in Diversity and Multiculturalism. Yet another complex, fulsome and powerful global discourse focuses on the realities and consequences of *living in diversity*, with global migrations resulting in increases in concerns about potential cultural and religious conflict, integration and social cohesion, as well as what is an appropriate quality education for migrant children (McAndrew, 2007; Crul, 2007; Xiao, 2011).

Attempts to cohere human diversity within a country lead to state concerns with social cohesion (Beauvais & Jensen, 2002; Bernard, 1999) and a multitude of understandings of multiculturalism although most countries have neither policy, nor law, nor founding myths, with the notable exception of Canada. To clarify, a country may be diverse or multicultural "descriptively (as sociological fact), prescriptively (as ideology), from a political perspective (policy) or as a set of intergroup dynamics (as process)" (Dewing, 2009, p. 1). These four uses of the term, *multiculturalism*, lead to considerable confusion and many claims.

Many countries, however, are constituted of considerable diversity as a sociological fact, amplified in this era of globalization by global migration patterns, including foreign temporary or guest workers. A notable example of such a country without explicit multicultural policy or law is Germany, and yet Angela Merkel as Chancellor announced that 'multiculturalism' is dead, that it had failed utterly, in a startling shift from her previous views, in reference to the 'gastarbeiters' or guest workers, mostly from Turkey, who arrived in Germany to fill a labour shortage during the economic boom of the 1960s. While her unexpected outburst against the immigrant communities was mainly political opportunism, Merkel, nevertheless, expounded on the idea of multiculturalism:

> We kidded ourselves for a while that they wouldn't stay, but that's not the reality…Of course the tendency had been to say, 'let's adopt the multicultural concept and live happily side by side, and be happy to be living with each other'. But this concept has failed, and failed utterly (17 October 2010).

The nature and causes of this presumed failure of multiculturalism are internal to the political system and its leaders, who did not act to articulate a poorly adopted ideology into effective socio-cultural and economic policy, programs and practices. This pronouncement reverberated around the world, later to be taken up by the British Prime Minister, again for political purposes, further contributing to one side of a complex discourse on the difficulties of living in multiplicity. Serious critiques were raised against these pronouncements, notably that there is no such policy in Germany and that in England, informal policies at the local and school levels are inoperable without government backing. Moreover, these statements were interpreted as political stances in a bid to retain power in a country with complex historical tradition of intolerance against others, rather than ready acceptance.

The debate continues, as it is further fueled in Australia, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway among other countries, wherein a range of extremist voices emit oft-repeated false messages that 'they', i.e., recent racially and or religiously different group of migrants, are fast becoming a majority, are all literate religious believers unable to integrate, building an impending societal takeover unless unspecified action is taken (Saunders, 2011a, b). While these voices are part of:

> A continuum of response that includes violence at its extreme end, their ideas should never be banned or outlawed. But these figures, like moderates in other such movements, have a responsibility to work to eliminate the threats that have emerged from their ranks. And we all have a responsibility to expose their dangerous fictions (Saunders, 2011b).

Applying the discourse of serious limitations to the cultural integration of immigrants, these countries have retreated from the multicultural ideology, due to a variety of factors, their importance varying across cases, such as "the chronic lack of public support, the failures of socio-economic integration, leading to downscaling and retreats from multiculturalism as ideology" (Joppke, 2004).

The only country to have formally adopted a multicultural policy and law is Canada in 1971 and 1988 respectively. The complexities of *living in diversity, in multiplicity* are revealed in terms of identity formation, social cohesion, multicultural education, citizenship or civic education, and language teaching and learning, in discussions herein and in many publications (for ex., Ghosh &Abdi, 2004; Hébert, 2002; Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt, 2006; McHugh & Challinor, 2011; Peters, Britton & Blee, 2008; Zajda, Davies & Majhanovich, 2008).

In Québec, the now well-known commission on accommodation headed by two stellar scholars, Gérard Bouchard, sociologist, and Charles Taylor, philosopher, considered public opinion, media reports as well as research findings and philosophical thought (Bouchard-Taylor, 2008). Three types of guidelines make it possible to manage accommodation or adjustment requests: restrictive guidelines (*undue hardship*), ethical reference points (*the attitudes sought in negotiations*), and incentives (*society's purposes*) (p. 53). A policy of reasonable accommodation and concerted adjustment to harmonization practices, must **not** in an educational milieu:

- Violate the student's other rights or the rights of other students;
- Run counter to the rigorously restrictive requirements of the *Education Act*, program organization or other statutes; and
- Impose undue hardship on the school with regard to its operations and its budget (p. 54)

According to these educational criteria developed by McAndrew and cited in Bouchard & Taylor (2008), accommodation or adjustment requests are limited by: (a) the institution's aims (provision of care, education, profit, and so on); (b) the financial cost and functional constraints; and (c) other people's rights.

Furthermore, the multiculturalism policy in Canada has been very productive in stimulating much scholarly work on possibilities of diversity and education for liberation with respect to its realities, possibilities and problems (Ghosh, 1996; Ghosh & McDonough, 2011; McAndrew, Potvin, Triki-Yamani, 2011) as well as a plethora of educational materials (for example, Egbo, 2008) and much more. Most of this rich and productive work assumes that the school is the ideal institution for the realization of visions of social justice and progress. Leading to a plethora of strategies, new models replace old ones. While schooling has changed and continues to change, the possibility that the school is not able to live up to the ideal of societal salvation, remains as does the claim that schools are remarkable stable, transmitting the norms of society (Tröhler, 2008). In other words, the school's own culture as an institution, termed a 'grammar of schooling', preserves its central characteristics which include the division of knowledge into identifiable school subjects; the distribution of instruction into identical time periods; the allocation of students to grades by age; the regulation of transitions between school levels; and the assessment and certification of achievements (Tröhler, 2008, p. 10).

In-depth studies have shown that there are conflicting models of schooling, existing since Greek times (Egan, 1986, 1997, 2005) and evidenced in visions of schooling articulated by Aboriginal elders (Hébert, 1997). And yet, while not perfect, schools have changed in contemporary times, responding to societal changes flowing, for example, from multicultural policies and programming, to ministerial edicts on the incorporation of digital technologies to better support learning and on personalizing curriculum so as to respond to learners' needs.

Of particular significance are the three policy debates which have been preoccupations for over a century, each of which is addressed in turn:

(1) *Common schooling versus ethnocultural institutions in the educational integration of newcomers:* School segregation is both a product of exclusion and a voluntary alternative pursued by parents and communities, given the intensification of supranational loyalties (McAndrew, 2007, p. 235). Given the generalization of pluralistic, child-centered, and human rights ideologies, the common public school is more receptive to the needs of immigrant students, and thus more attractive to parents (Banks & McGee-Banks; Glen & De Jong, 1996). Moreover, the dominance of social class over ethnic factors explains school performance and mobility, even if class does not account for all discrepancies between majority and minority students (Crul, 2007; Anisef, Blais, McAndrew, Ungerleider & Sweet, 2004).

(2) *Majority versus immigrant minority languages in the curriculum*: A broad consensus has emerged regarding the necessity of school systems to ensure mastery of an official language(s) by all students, as an essential vehicle of educational and social mobility for immigrant students, necessary to intergroup exchanges and common citizenship. The debate however has focussed on the legitimacy of making immigrant languages part of the curriculum (Berque, 1985; Krashen, 1996; McAndrew & Cicéri, 1998). The emerging trend is towards additive bilingual education and immersion programs (Cummins, 1979; Mackey, 1970; Painchaud, d'Anglejan, Armand & Jesak, 1993). Other things being equal, it is better for immigrant students to continue mastering their heritage languages while learning host languages (Greene, 1998; Dolson & Mayer, 1992; Glenn & De Jong, 1996).

(3) *The adaptation of norms and regulations of public schools in regard to religious and cultural diversity*: McAndrew distinguishes five groups of practices on a continuum from least to most actively committed to diversity, establishing some links to various models of citizenship, epistemological paradigms and ethical positions (2007, pp. 245–246):

- Selective incorporation of elements pertaining to immigrant cultures and religions in school activities to foster integration of immigrant students;
- Implementation of activities specially tailored to the needs and characteristics of immigrant minorities from an equalization-of-opportunity perspective;
- Integration of specific immigrant-oriented content or perspective into the regular school curriculum so that differences and even conflicts over interpretation are acknowledged;
- In response to religious claims made by certain immigrant groups, adaptation of norms and regulations governing school life; and
- Tailoring or transforming various elements of the curriculum in response to the demands of the 'organized' community.

9. Education for Democracy. All the more important therefore are initiatives in *critical, social and participatory citizenship education*, yet another timely discourse. The recent development of new programs of study in social studies, history and geography in Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, provide stellar examples of such approaches, as is the Council of Europe's development of education for democracy within the European Union. Embedded in other discourses, we note that this democratic discourse appears in the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* issued by the European Commission in 2000 in declaring the promotion of tailored learning opportunities, the promotion of employ ability and social inclusion, creation of an information society for all, and the fostering of mobility, i.e., more generally, active citizenship, vocational skills and social cohesion, as major educational objectives. Of considerable interest is the focus in the European model on preparation for living in democratic countries and its concomitant societal intergroupal tensions, be these religious or ethnic, and the focus on citizenship, i.e., both belonging and participation in civil society.

Thus, each state develops its own regime of citizenship education for its own political purposes, as amply demonstrated in twelve case studies and commented upon (Reid, Gill, Sears, 2010). In some countries, with each change of government, the civic education curriculum subsequently changes whereas in other countries, citizenship education is preparation for living in pluralistic society (Bruno-Jofré & Aponiuk, 2001). Evidently, there are many issues of citizenship and globalisation, rooted in previous centuries, in experiences of migrant communities, yet freshly insightful in drawing on recent and ongoing political events, making a case for a truly global citizenship education (Peters, Britton & Blee, 2008; Reid, Gill, Sears, 2010).

Yet with the recent rise of global citizenship education (GCE) and the global ethic debates (Dower, 2002), the questioning of current educational programs as democratic is a legitimate enterprise as is casting a critical eye upon the contextualizing post-Cold War politico-economic and educational impositions on developing countries (Abdi & Richardson, 2008b). These initiatives tend to represent hegemonic interventions that speak for western values and understandings of the world. At least on the ground in the majority of countries in the world, the rhetoric of democratic education should overwhelm the realities of the case. To be sure, the imposed liberal democratic system as condition for loans and aid, on poor countries in Africa, led to more economic and educational weaknesses, which at least indirectly, can justify the construction of such schooling contexts as anti-democratic. Even in supposedly highly evolved democracies in Europe and North America, the heavy colouring of learning systems by social class attributes such as sociocultural capital and by ongoing epistemic exclusions of the experiences as well as the languages of working class, minority and migrant students, deconstructs the claims of inclusive education, and thus democratic education. Nevertheless, the desire to achieve culturally inclusive democratic education is still a noble goal and critiques in this book should minimally enhance the debate on the issues.

10. Social Development. The notion of social development has been examined within research that locates and analyses the dynamism of its very active space in the current processes of globalization, learning possibilities and platforms. The meanings as well as the criticisms of such development have been taken to almost all the corners of the socio-cultural and politico-economic discourses (Schuurmann, 1993; Ake, 1996; Leys, 1996; Rahnema & Bowtree, 1997; de Rivero, 2002; Rist, 2003; Kothari, 2006; Abdi, 2006). In the most simplistic form of the case, and with the desired learning attachments considered, one could speak about development as the well-being of societies and individuals in contexts where they can make the right choices that affect their lives. Such contexts of livelihood desires and possible actions would include both societal and personal situations where groups and individuals acquire the capacity to enhance their economic, political, educational, cultural, technological and emotional well-being, and where they can effectively function to achieve vis-à-vis national and global institutions and actors. This has been especially difficult for people in developing countries who, as Ake (1996) so cogently noted, have been exposed to designs of development that were foreign to their histories, cultures, and viable needs. Here, as in other spheres of social life, the unidirectional impositions from the west have been extensive and the pragmatics of development itself were questioned in many instances (Rahnema & Bowtree, 1997). As Abdi (2006) pointed out, the need for development (precariously definable as the material endowments westerners possess) has been already injected and the potential for disengagement, especially in these times of rapid globalization, may not be possible for the less 'developed'. Hence, the critical notations are still attached to education as a developmental agent in this introductory chapter, as in a number of chapters in this book.

11. Choice. Unless people have the freedom to choose the actual character and potentially the destiny of their lives, development can only represent imposed life clusters. As Claude Ake (1996, 2000) explained, the export of development never works in foreign lands. Hence, our desire is to place development in socially complex situations where its formations and interactions with education are fluid, multidirectional, situationally metamorphosing, and selectively constructive and deconstructive both in their practical and inter-activations.

Having more life choices can facilitate people's viable connections to today's highly globalized world, as still as desirable as ever, without detaching from local realities. And while this is not detached from the previous policy and program arrangements that were responding to identified national exigencies, it nonetheless brings more possibilities of greater wellbeing. While that assertion might have some currency in the context of official discourses or to use Foucault's terms, in the established categories of officialised knowledge systems, more sober historical analyses point to other possibilities. To be sure, socio-cultural dimensions are essential for any type of development, and the greatest proof of that lies in complex relationships between Europe and Africa wherein the former assumed the dominance of its descriptive and manufacturing requirements, almost all learning dimensions, objectives and histories, thus denying the validity of the latter's historical worldview, consciousness and knowledge systems, and underdeveloping Africa and other conquered lands (Rodney, 1982).

In other words, people learn to make changes in their lives, and the learning choices they make are designed to deal with perceived deficiencies in their midst, but people also learn to improve their contexts with the understanding that the new knowledge accorded them brings the capacity to attain 'higher' life possibilities. So choice in international education should take historical inequities into account, and align educational programs to people's contemporary needs and expectations. It should also limit the current global learning impositions that always accompany the ideologies of neoliberal privatization and related problematic of education and development.

12. Building a Knowledge Culture as Integral to International Education, Moving towards Knowledge Socialism. The rapid exchange and intercontinental movement of commerce, labour, culture, information technologies and knowledge systems, in the context of increasingly extensive globalization, has instigated new issues, intensifications and critiques of international education and the knowledge systems that sustain and define its categories and sub-categories. These new formations of international education are neither accidental nor benign in the way they affect and interact with people's lives across the globe. While the the knowledge derivatives of international education should have improved social and economic well-being, especially in those areas of the world that are instructionally marginalized, there remains the need to problematise the power relations that are created, the socio-cultural outcomes that are harnessed, the linguistic categories that are deployed, the teacher training, teaching methodologies and pedagogical relationships that are established. Indeed, it is still necessary to critically examine all sectors of learning and the overall subjectivities and institutionalizations that interactively result from the overall knowledge enterprise. Schooling is still seen as one important way of catching up with developed countries, formerly perceived to be exclusively located in the Western hemisphere (Abdi & Guo, 2008). But the sources of knowledge are changing fast. With the current rise of countries such as China and South Korea, and with postcolonial and Aboriginal demands for the inclusion of indigenous epistemic systems, both national and international locations of knowledge are increasingly becoming multisource, multicentric, and more than ever, multiculturally inclusive. Even with these trends, one should have known that knowledge has always been a collective human heritage and achievement (Harding, 1998, 2008). Both the establishment and the practice of knowledge have always been a shared project, and the global co-creation of epistemic platforms is a centuries-old human tradition. But clearly, there were also many instances where such knowledge has been ethnocentrically claimed as emanating from one region and/or from one tradition. Suffice it to say here, that the co-development of knowledge systems should accord all of us a stake in the positive use of these knowledges, so that all societies can benefit from the intellectual labour of all humanity.

In terms of the processes of internationalisation that are influencing these multiplicities of knowledge locations, these can be defined with respect to three educational concepts, for example, as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the *purpose, functions* or *delivery* of post-secondary education", thus, dealing with the overall role and objectives; teaching, research and scholarly activities, and service; as well as the education course itself and programs (Knight, 2003, p. 11). This definition conveys the idea that rationales, providers, stakeholders, activities are all internationalised in substantial ways. Moreover, it recognizes internationalisation as a continuous effort at the local, institutional, and regional and national/sectors, as well as within complex, nuanced relationships, between and among nations, cultures, or countries.

Have the forces of globalization really understood the type of social and cultural development sought through education, especially in the context of these historical and social multitudes? In the views of the contributors to this book, whether clearly stipulated or not, all education is potentially development education, critically co-constructed in transdisciplinary perspectives. Even in the many cases where learning contexts are being critiqued, the intentions are shifting so as to seek new ways of improving the situation in the context of the still difficult definitional space of postcolonial socio-political systems. The problématique of the postcolonial governments in many parts of the world is the failure to realise the untenability of colonial education philosophies and epistemologies, which have for so long, suppressed the enfranchisement of local knowledges and ways of knowing, for national social and human development. Only when this realization is made explicit and deconstructed will we be enabled to move towards knowledge socialism in which knowledge belongs to us all.

In response to these timely and important educational and potential social development issues and possibilities, contributors to this volume on knowledge as a shared socio-cultural good examine four broad themes of international education:

- Redefining internationalisation and international education, in Section III;
- Universities and knowledge-making in the global economy, in Section IV;
- Youth mobilities in terms of new issues, fragmentation and routes to knowledge, in Section V; and
- Changing the world: critical perspectives on human well-being and on intensive transformative processes, in Section VI.

Each broad theme is each addressed in subsequent sections which each encompass several chapters.

III. REDEFINING INTERNATIONALISATION AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Internationalized categories of knowledge are examined in this section, as is the need to achieve some fairness among institutions, agents and spaces in advancing specific notions and practices of knowledge, and the imperative to assure that such internationalizations contribute to more equitable social and learning relationships. This should be complemented by the opening up of inclusive learning and cultural spaces for international students (especially those coming to the West from the so-called developing countries) whose numbers are expected to increase in the coming years and decades. Indeed, without achieving at least some of these, spaces of internationalization and international education will be at best limited, and will be at least partially exclusionists in both their epistemic and pedagogical intentions and practices.

For too long, international education has long meant learning programs that Western powers and parties deliver to others seen as 'underdeveloped', i.e., from nation to nation. With the advent of globalization however, national borders are no longer barriers to keep people in or out of a protected space. Instead the term, 'global education' is increasingly used to refer to education beyond boundaries and to forms of attachment and belonging that focus on the individual as a member of a global community of shared humanity.

Pursuing a deeper understanding of the idea of *Understanding Internationalisation,* Kumari Beck argues in chapter two that a comprehensive analysis of the process will support educators and scholars alike in discerning and implementing ethical practices. In addition, she contends that any analysis that overlooks globalization is incomplete and misleading. In response, she employs the scholarship on globalization theory, and illustrates how a more inclusive framework can enable an effective analysis of internationalisation and a deeper understanding of this process from a student perspective. As she suggests, this approach should help practitioners and scholars to develop a 'grassroots' understanding of internationalisation and a reconceptualization of what an academic rationale for internationalisation means.

The reconceptualization of the human capital value of education as a private good, linked to a market-oriented commodification of university knowledge, underpins a repositioning of universities as entrepreneurial enterprises, as discussed in Allan Pitman's contribution on *The Ideological and Economic Re-Positioning of Universities*. In the third chapter, Pitman further explores the implications for universities and the professoriate, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the institutions and those who work within them are being redefined, with examples drawn from Canadian and Australian experiences.

Within the context of increasing expectations that post-secondary institutions expand their international reach through changes in policy and program, there is a tendency to focus on institutional goals and individual student learning at the expense of wider social justice considerations and implications of internationalization. Lynette Shultz takes up this observation in chapter four, *Exploring Partnership Principles and Ethical Guidelines for Internationalizing Post-secondary Education.* With the need for internalization efforts to support relationships of reciprocity, Shultz says that attention must be given to the intentions and processes of partnerships for these are particularly important in the overall post-secondary education agenda. It is on this basis that she examines the work of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) in establishing international partnership principles to guide Canadian civil society organizations in building equitable and just partnerships in their international work. The issues and challenges faced by CCIC as well as the established partnership principles are explored in relation to current post-secondary internationalization trends to provide insights and to make policy and practical recommendations for Canadian universities.

In chapter five, *Japanese Aesthetics and English Education in the Global Age*, Kazuko Kurihara re-imagines Japanese education, as she discusses how, with the advent of the global information age, Japanese youth today are required to have authentic abilities to communicate with different peoples from different countries in the English language, rather than simply a good knowledge of practical and functional American English. Kurihara proposes that more affective learners of English are created through aesthetic reading, especially English poetry, when moved or inspired by the authenticity of the content implying the profound but subtle meaning of human emotion in life. In this sense, the way of affective and aesthetic English learning enhances the traditional Japanese appreciation of ephemeral beauty. As an authentic incentive to intellectual activities, this sensitivity leads to a deep, accurate, and rapid understanding of different peoples in the world. American English education in Japan therefore, Kurihara says, should be aimed at a broader goal of English as a shared language for Internet-based communication, fostering a greater sense of traditional Japanese beauty for more affective English-learning in the global community.

In chapter six, *From a Global Education Idiot to a Competent Global Educator,* Ottilia Chareka and Pamela van Dommelen redefine graduate education via their experience teaching an online global education as an elective course to M.Ed. graduate students at their university. At the end of the course, one of the students summed up her learning experience in the course as "…from a global education idiot teacher to a competent global education teacher." This remark was very similar to views expressed by other students in this course who felt that their B.Ed. programs did not prepare them to face the culturally diverse classes they were teaching today. From this pedagogical encounter, Chareka and her co-author examine the history of multiculturalism policy in Canada, its context and how it is situated in teacher education programs. They briefly distinguish the differences and similarities among multicultural education, antiracist education, diverse cultures and global education. As such, the chapter discusses the gap between multiculturalism as federal policy and teacher preparation as policy implementation in Canadian Universities. In so doing, the authors argue that today's Canadian teachers need to have a solid background in multicultural, antiracist, diverse cultures and global education because Canada is a mosaic country living in a global village in which international education is at the centre stage of the 21st century.

IV. UNIVERSITIES AND KNOWLEDGE-MAKING IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY

In this section, the contributors individually but with clear interrelated descriptive proposals achieve juxtaposed analytical platforms that discuss and critique the relationship between the institutions that create specific knowledges and the realities of the global economy that enfranchises some while essentially marginalizing others. This should be complemented by a specialized understanding of the role of higher education institutions and their professoriate who are interactively located within and sometimes around the constructions of international education and the knowledge systems that prevail in its formations and dispensations. As should be expected, a more inclusive understanding of the co-functionalities of the global and local in issues pertinent to equity and diversity, the place of instructors versus internalization, and the agency of teachers in partaking in the changes, are now very relevant and timely.

Questions of equity, diversity and internationalisation are taken by Tim Goddard who explores these with respect to programs tasked with the pre-service education of teachers and school administrators. In his previous work, he examined the implications of globalisation and changing demographics on the work of Canadian school administrators (2006, 2007). In his contribution herein, chapter seven, *Redesign or Rearrangement? The Intensification of Teacher Education and the Recognition of Equity, Diversity and Internationalization*, Goddard moves the focus beyond the school setting to examine the degree to which changing professional practice is being reflected in university-based teacher education programs.

In chapter eight, *Intensification of Faculty Engagement in the Internationalisation of Adult Higher Education: A Comparative Study of Canada and the United States.* Shibao Guo and Mary Alfred explore the issue of academics as knowledge workers, and examine the extent to which faculty members are engaged in the internationalization of research and curricular development in adult higher education in Canada and the United States. Noting that academic transformation begins with the creation and dissemination of knowledge, two questions drive their inquiry: (a) What is the level of faculty engagement in cross- national research, and (b) In what ways do adult education programs reflect an international perspective in curricula and practice? In this qualitative study based on interviews and content analyses of conference papers, Guo and Alfred's findings reveal a lack of interest in research relating to internationalization in both countries. In their critical interpretation, the authors propose that this reveals the near-static nature of Canadian and American education as well as a reluctance to move into the international arena of adult education.

In chapter nine, *Knowledge, Networks and Educational Redesign: Transformation or Reproduction?*, Carl James, Cris Cullinan and Ana Cruceru reference the need to address the problems, challenges, pressures and struggles faced by instructors of international students. It should also be recognized, they e relay, that 'local' students are affected by the presence of international students in their classes, and as such, there are to be specific changes and adjustments that institutions, along with instructors, need to make if they are to be responsive to the experiences, needs, interests, expectations and aspirations of international students, particularly if international students are to feel welcome, and not seen as mere income, meeting the growing financial needs of "Western institutions." By focusing on these and related issues, James, Cullinan and Cruceru discuss the need for systemic changes in today's institutions with regard to inequity, colonialism and racism that operate as barriers to marginalized students' full participation and successful outcomes. To do so, they suggest that instructors, administrators and 'home' students alike need to recognize and accommodate the cultural, social, linguistic, familial and aspirational capital that the growing numbers of international students bring into our institutions, understanding that in doing so we all benefit.

Beyond the role and contributions of educators, Sarah Eaton explores the precarious and arguably unethical position of directors of English in post-secondary institutions, in chapter ten, *The Administration of English as a Second Language (ESL) Programs in Higher Education: Striking the Balance between Generating Revenues and Serving Students.* With universities regarding such programs as lucrative, Eaton finds that directors are charged with the responsibility of marketing these programs and recruiting students internationally, often with little or no training on how to do so. With this problematic intersections of education and profiteering, and with limited knowledge of how to do it right, the repercussions are often severe, Eaton says, and could include the termination of instructors' contracts or the closing down of programs.

In chapter eleven, *Managing a New Diversity in a Small Campus: The Case of l'Université Moncton (Canada)*, Mathieu Wade and Chedly Belkhodja explore the changing role of the university in the context of growing international mobility and demand for regional immigration through a case study of l'Université de Moncton, in New Brunswick, Canada, part of a broader research project on the impact of Francophone universities on regional immigration in four Canadian cities. Through an analysis of federal, provincial and municipal policies concerning international students, interviews with city officials and university administrators, and focus groups with international students, Wade and Belkhodja consider l'Université de Moncton's situation in light of the recent policy changes in Canada aiming for a greater attraction and retention of international graduates outside major urban centers. They present the strategies in place for recruitment, the services offered for integration, and the overall retention of international graduates in the city of Moncton. At the end, they discuss the challenges of retention in second- and third-tier cities and in so doing, introduce the next section which focuses on youth's experiences in schooling in international settings as well as second generation youth's experiences with mobility as identity in schools in three Canadian cities.

V. YOUTH MOBILITIES: NEW ISSUES, FRAGMENTATION, AND ROUTES TO KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTIFICATIONS

The multiple routes of youth mobility call upon identity capital, in which mobility of mind, body and boundary are seriously at play. One prominent form of youth mobility is at the heart of international student exchanges which experience serious difficulties within a market economy. The next four small chapters specifically focus on student mobility. With the factual intensifications of global labour, professional mobilities and by extension, educational fluidities, higher education institutions, especially those in the West, have portrayed themselves as important learning sites that have both the educational and cultural capitals to provide the necessary training for future personal and career development. Interestingly, and while the focus of these chapters is not entirely on those, today's student mobility trends show some continuation of the educational hegemony of western institutions, which are perceived as offering superior education and credentials vis-à-vis colleges and universities in the so-called developing countries. By-and-large, the trends of student mobility seem to be driven, as much as anything else, by economic calculations (Guo, Schugurensky, Hall & Fenwick, 2010). Even when it is within a single country, the possibility of the educational ideologies and programs having some saliency over the lives of all is not uncommon.

In chapter twelve, *Student Mobility in Europe, Tunisia and French Speaking Canada*, Stéphanie Garneau discusses the case of three young people who share a common goal in pursuing their university studies in an era marked by a global trend toward the internationalization of higher education, Justine, Omar and Isabelle are also three young people whose academic and work integration paths are being mapped in very different political, economic, social and cultural contexts. In analyzing the situation, the author examines the academic and career paths of these French-speaking graduates using three different scales of observation (European, national, regional).

In chapter thirteen, *Tunisian Students Abroad: New Routes to Knowledge*, Abdelwahab Ben Hafaiedh notes how in 1980, about 900,000 youth in the world expatriated themselves to study abroad, and how in current terms, this number has almost tripled. The five counties which attract 70% of these students are the United States of America, England, Germany, France and Australia, while China, South Korea, India, Japan and Greece are main source countries. Ben Hafaiedh adds how the Maghreb countries are at the very bottom on this list, with possibilities of change complicated by select exclusionary issues that are inherent in the very processes of globalization which were supposed to facilitate these movements.

In chapter fourteen, *The Cosmopolitan 'Bildung' of Erasmus Students' Going Abroad*, Vincenzo Cicchelli notes how, in 1987, the European Commission instituted an interuniversity exchange program, *Erasmus*, later integrated into a more ample instrument called *Socrates*. Among its proposed goals, the author suggests that this education to alterity, termed cosmopolitan *Bildung*, is less of a long-lasting and irreversible learning than an ambivalent and incomplete tentative to make a place for the other in one's identity. Moreover, although the program is open to all member states of the European Union and its neighbours, it is actually Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Great Britan who share the largest number of participants coming and going.

In chapter fifteen, *Student Mobility and the Canadian Francophone: Individual and Community Issues*, Annie Pilote discusses how issues linked to student mobility are not always closely related to the internationalization of higher education. She adds that the identity dynamics that exist in any mobility process can also be found within national borders. In Canada, she notes, the post-secondary paths of Francophone students from French-speaking minority communities present specific issues for both students and their communities. For French-speaking communities in provinces outside the Francophone majority province of Québec, Pilote points out how the school is a vital locus for linguistic and cultural reproduction. Also in these provinces, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees access to elementary and secondary instruction in the language of the linguistic minority, but that is not happening to the extent and the depth it should, thus lowering the possibilities for cultural and linguistic viability.

For youth living in a multicultural polyglot country such as Canada, the positioning of self may be both joyful and problematic. Currently the focus of much research and policy attention are second generation youth, that is, youth born of parents who migrated and settled in Canada, for the question arises: *how long does integration take?* Based on graphic and narrative data recently collected in three Canadian cities, Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto, Yvonne Hébert, Lori Wilkinson and Mehru Ali, in chapter sixteen, analyse second generation youth's patterns in glocal spaces where transcultural modes of belonging are created and lived. Their analysis focuses on attachments to locality and a continuum of mobilities of mind, body and boundaries. The findings with respect to new modes of becoming are interpreted in terms of the complexities of their integration processes as well as their relevance to social policy development. Their mobilities and complex fluid identifications are situated in complex realities, localities and transcultural processes of becoming, contextualised and heavily influenced by globalisation and its attendant processes of identity formation in multicultural contexts such as Canada. Thus, four brief research notes and one chapter (sixteen) contribute to a better understanding of the realities of youth mobility as part of international education and of youth integration as part of migration.

VI. CHANGING THE WORLD: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this final section of the book, the contributors re-engage with the ongoing critical notations and practices of select epistemic and programmatic power relations that seem to be inherent in the conventional dispensations that have been attached to diverse contexts of international education and knowledge exchange and sharing. From extensive linguistic dominations that continually favour the case of colonially attached lingua franca, to problematic sustaining of learning situations that perpetuate clusters of socially sanctioned internal colonization, to the perforce imposition of uni-directional and ideologically driven educational and development blueprints that marginalize more than they enfranchise, and the need to expand to different forms and locations of knowledge, there is much that still needs to be re-analyzed and critiqued in the terrain of international education. It is by means of such critical interventions that the probability of relevant policy and programs could be enhanced.

In chapter seventeen, *English as a Tool of Neo-Colonialism and the Market Economy: Examples from Asia*, Suzanne Majhanovich notes how at the beginning of the 21st Century, the English language has become the *de facto* lingua franca of the modern world. It is the most popular second or foreign language studied such that there are now more people who learned English as a second language and speak it with some competence than there are native English speakers. But why has English gained such prominence? What effect does this have on the globalised world? In this chapter, Majhanovich argues that the importance of English in many ways promotes a neo-colonialism and certainly abets the neo-liberal ideals of encouraging a market economy. To strengthen her points, Majhanovich draws examples from Cambodia, Malaysia and Hong Kong.

Furthering inquiry into the changing nature, or not, of educators, Peter Joong and Thomas Ryan, in chapter eighteen, *Teachers' and Students' Perceptions of Secondary Reform and Implementation: China and Canada Comparison,* use survey questionnaires to discuss how teachers deal with and respond to change. In so doing, they use data from sixteen sample schools in Southwest China, and sixteen schools in six school districts in Southern Ontario. Their research findings reveal that most teachers in both jurisdictions were able to make changes that supported the reforms even though the changes required more time, effort, and new knowledge. The teachers, however, had difficulty with transitioning and with altering current teaching praxes (teacher talk) and student evaluation modes (tests). Both students and teachers experienced difficulties that arose from the conflict between activity-based learning and exam-oriented systems. Based on these points, the authors suggest that parents and society, especially in China, need to change their mindsets of valuing exam achievements.

In chapter nineteen, *Teaching China to the Chinese: Rich Opportunity for Critical Reflection or Neo-colonial Conceit*, Michael O'Sullivan explains how teaching an international and comparative education class to a cohort of Chinese graduate students raises normative issues relating to educational reform in China that might well be construed as a neo-colonial conceit. At the same time, he adds, that such a class has the potential to provide a rewarding opportunity for these students to reflect on their lived experiences and to acquire a new set of scholarly skills which could prepare them to return to China and make an informed and unique contribution to the educational reform processes that are underway in their homeland. In discussing these issues, O'Sullivan reflects on a 2007-08 academic year graduate course for a cohort of fifteen Chinese students. The objective of the course was to encourage the students to reflect deeply on the momentous changes that characterize Chinese society and the impact this is having, or soon will have, on the country's system of education. Based on this experience and feedback from the students, both positive and negative, this case study examines the legitimacy and ethics of presuming to "teach China to the Chinese". In doing so, the author raises fundamental questions of undoubted importance to professors in Canadian faculties of education who increasingly find themselves in classes composed largely, or in this case, entirely of foreign students.

The naming and work of the 'teacher' in initiatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) serves as the focus of chapter twenty, titled *Educating the World: Teachers and their Work according to UNESCO.* Helen Harper and Judith Dunkerly trace the implicit and explicit naming of the 'teacher' and the work of the teachers in documents produced by UNESCO over the last ten years. With particular attention to the *Education for All* initiative, they discuss how teaching and the teacher are articulated by the UN in relation to recent scholarship on globalization and the development of the cosmopolitan/ world teacher, and conclude with how the policies and initiatives of the UN along with recent scholarship on world/cosmopolitan teacher can be used to reformulate teacher education for and beyond the nation state.

In chapter twenty-one, *The Role of Education in the New Democracy of Bhutan*, Ann Sherman discusses the introduction of democracy in governmental structures and follows a change in the education processes used in schools, within the Ministry of Education, in the creation of educational policies. What does it mean to democratise Bhutan and its educational system? This question serves as the central focus of the planning with changes being slowly introduced by the Bhutanese Ministry of Education. Teachers are urged to think about what their roles might be within Bhutanese schools in a democratic society. Are teachers to become advocates for their students and themselves within a more democratic context? What does a democratic classroom look like and how does it differ from Bhutanese classrooms of the last few decades? The teacher education programs must also be examined carefully if it is to be revamped in a way that helps teachers think about ways to encourage student voice, the sharing of opinions, collaborative work and approaches that enable decision-making in classroom activities. As such, the magnitude of the challenges regarding the role of the educational system in a new democracy becomes very apparent, especially that the democratisation process has been imposed by the current government, rather than claimed by the populace, thus raising another question of whether democracy can be imposed on a people.

The focus on teachers continues in chapter twenty-two, *Building a Civil Society in Post-conflict Kosovo: Educators and Civil Society.* Anna-Marija Petrunic focuses on the role of educators in building effective civic spaces in post-conflict situations with respect to the Kosovo situation. Her chapter examines how learning for a democratic citizenry ensures continuous discussion that impacts upon the identity formation of young Kosovar educators especially as they move toward a more transcultural, globalised and integrated society. Petrunic points out how Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs are at different stages of adopting civil society initiatives as they emerge from conflict. With identity and self-awareness serving as key principles of the foundation upon which processes of civil society can evolve and take root, both should understand the need for a transcultural civic identification that affirms the fact of living and sharing territorial space, which itself implies an interconnectedness that will never be disengaged or divided. Continually grasping onto ethno-historical/national cleavages, however, serves to maintain the tension between Kosovar Serbs and Kosovar Albanians. But, as Petrunic points out, it does not supersede the fact that both groups dwell in a shared civic space and that, with the realities of globalization, both groups need to realize that ethnic tensions need not be dichotomous and should superseded by shared civic culture, which must be inculcated in the public sphere.

Further to democratisation efforts in the Bhutan, Marilyn Tobin engages and explores the potential for Indian women educators to attain self-actualization and to become respected partners across genders. In chapter twenty-three, Women Educators in India: Challenges, Empowerment and Template for Change, she first outlines India's gendered context and its uniqueness and emphasizes the challenges confronting Indian girls and women. Second, she describes Indian women educators' empowerment as a process, highlighting their perspectives about its complexity. Third, she etches a template for change in India, including strategic alliances in the attainment of desired results and a discussion about Indian women's positive initiatives. In closing, Tobin comments on the growing need for Indian women educators to speak out as freedom fighters with a vision.

Assumptions regarding the ‘goodness’ and justice of global interconnections and distributions of knowledge through educational structures worldwide are considered by Dalene Swanson, in chapter twenty-four, *The Owl Spreads its Wings: Global and International Education Within the Local from Critical Perspectives*. She questions the assumption that sharing knowledge, especially between an ‘all-knowing North’ with a ‘helpless South’, is for the greater good of all humanity; and further examines issues of re-contextualisation in localities which take up a ‘progressive’ educational discourse, whether ‘new ways’ necessarily serve local interests and whether such engagements provide promised recognition and access to political and economic empowerment. Swanson writes, ‘developing’ nations are so caught up in the development project that resistance or fora for imagining otherwise is increasingly difficult. The author likens this, in the Hegelian sense, to Minerva’s owl which spreads its wings at the falling of the dusk, with the imaginative capacity to think and assert otherwise coming too late for a meaningful restructuring for all global citizens in local contexts of the Earth’s ecosystems. Drawing on her research in contexts of constructed disadvantage in schooling in South Africa, complemented by her experiences in a teacher education program in Western Canada, and teaching in an online international trans-disciplinary course on global citizenship based at a Canadian university, she addresses the complexities and difficulties of the above-mentioned issues from critical perspectives.

In chapter twenty-five, Intensive Globalizations and African Education: Re-interrogating the Relevance of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), Ali A. Abdi notes how extensive and intensive realities of new globalizations have been impacting negatively on African education and development. Although school enrolments rose dramatically after independence in the 1960s and into the late 1970s, there was always a certain fragility of the qualitative context. And while that might have been dealt with in one way or another, with the advent of what many now identify as the most organized systems of globalization in history, the effects of the externally imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have expansively added to the already weakened provision of quality education in the Sub-Saharan African context. The chapter examines these and related issues and attempts to critically locate possible ways of addressing the situation.

In the final chapter twenty-six, Development, the Two-Way Knowledge Gap and Open Access to Research and Scholarship, John Willinsky discusses the contribution of the scholarly journal to the development of a sense of larger community in modern universities around the world. First he reviews the historical and contemporary situation in developing countries, then discusses the impact of a number of global initiatives to build developing countries’ technical infrastructure, as exemplified by the rise of connectivity among African scholars. Finally he discusses what is meant by the access principle in the contexts of developing countries, its first major boom in 2002, its challenges, and its successes.

CONCLUSION: KNOWLEDGE-AS-SHARED-SOCIO-CULTURAL-CONSTRUCTION

Among the main objectives of this book was to discuss and critique contemporary contexts of international education as well as the internationalization of knowledge. As we have seen above, the terrain may still be conducive to the promise of education as an important vehicle for social well-being. While the rhetoric of internationalization is commonplace, the select economizations of education can sometimes be overwhelming and developmentally problematic. But while even that is, in and of itself, not entirely undesirable, the evidence of over 60 years of international education as a first-world driven project of internalization and international development does not seem to bear much witness to the achievement of the still elusive arenas of community progress that have been multi-temporally and multi-spatially heralded.

To push the boundaries of re-reading and re-critiquing the constructions and well as the global locations of international education, therefore, we may need to heed the call for a multi-perspective and multi-centeric understanding of the meanings, the functions as well as the intentions of knowledge. This should help us at least answer some of the questions we have started with this chapter, i.e., what is the role of education in human well-being; what learning prospects can respond to today's globalizing poltical and economic contexts; what does knowledge-making entail; and how do contemporary knowledge contructions respond to prevailing social contexts.

In reading the chapters of this book, it is clear that the need for a non-monocultural, de-hegemonizing and historically inclusive international education would be required if education is to serve the interests of all. From these times of intensive and extensive globalizations, we may move beyond the exemplary suggestions of postmodernism, so as to value technically and differently created multiple knowledge systems, and to aim for a a new plateau where educational threads that connect the past are taken into account with the current and the future, leading to an appreciation of the default mandate to co-analyze, co-construct and share contemporary knowledge and, by extension, educational platforms that belong to all of us. For this to happen and for the need to affirm all current knowledge systems as hybrid blocks that represent the common of all humanity, we can clearly see, and indeed, fully accept all knowledges as shared (and shareable) socio-cultural constructions.

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2. MAKING SENSE OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

A Critical Analysis

INTRODUCTION

As more Canadian universities, colleges and schools invite and recruit international students onto their campuses and programs, and offer more 'study abroad' opportunities for their own students, notions of global citizenship, intercultural and international competencies circulate and settle to legitimate and confirm that international education is here to stay. At home, the numbers of international students arriving in Canada are increasing, and international activities and programs are on the rise. All ten provinces (except Nunavut) engage in international education (Savage, 2005) and internationalization have been identified as "an integral part of Canadian universities' institutional strategies" (AUCC, 2007b, p.5).

The presence of international students and the proliferation of programs and international activities often suffice to claim progress on internationalization at university campuses. This increased activity has not been reflected, however, in a matching productivity in research, nor has it resulted in research-based decision-making regarding policy and practice in internationalization. In Canada there has been little critical appraisal of beliefs and values that underlie both theory and practice, including the complexity of the phenomenon.

Some of the key 'problem' areas in research on internationalization, in summary, relate to conceptualizing the field (Stier, 2004), gaps in theoretical understanding (Altbach & Knight, 2006), simplistic interpretations regarding rationales for internationalization including the predominant market orientation of internationalization (Stier, 2004; Marginson, 2010), little attention to curriculum and almost none related to pedagogy, the absence of faculty and student perspectives (Bond, 2009), and overall, an uncritical acceptance of the 'imperative' to internationalize (Beck, 2001; Beck 2008, Stier, 2004).

This chapter illustrates some aspects of my attempts to make sense of internationalization from the perspective of international students arriving in Canada. Highlighting some of the rhetoric that surrounds internationalization and international education, I will argue that the assumption of an academic rationale in its present form is problematic. I will then present elements from a conceptual framework used in my research, illustrating how this framework is useful in

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 43–59.

theorizing internationalization in its complexity. Using the framework to problematize prevailing notions of the intercultural and international in the internationalizing process, I will illustrate this analysis with selected data from my study of international students enrolled in a Western Canadian university. In conclusion I will raise questions relating to popular perceptions about the benefits of internationalization and highlight implications for practice and policy.

THE RHETORIC

Internationalization of higher education in Canada is being promoted by universities and colleges as a strategy to develop intercultural and international literacies among their students. In its statement on internationalization adopted by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC, 1995), the university, referred to as inherently international, is cited as a key site for internationalization. It then describes internationalization as facilitating excellence in research and education across borders, contributing to the quality of life, and ensuring 'prominence for Canada' internationally. Its overall message, explicitly stated, is that the university is an agent of change in the internationalization process (AUCC, 1995).

This ideal appears to be reflected in the findings of the most recent AUCC study on internationalization, at first glance (AUCC, 2007b). Key findings include claims of increased attention to and increasing evidence of international activities, programs, mobility, and so on, leading to the conclusion that internationalization is becoming more mainstream. Ninety-four percent (94 %) of respondents stated they were internationalizing their institutions to prepare graduates who are interculturally and internationally competent, an increase of 19% over the previous results whereby 75% of respondents from a previous survey (Knight, 2000). This, together with the third top reason for internationalization, the promotion of innovation in curriculum and diversity of programs (AUCC, 2007, p.3), is cited as evidence of "strong academic rationales" governing internationalization in Canadian higher education institutions (AUCC, 2007b, p. 5). Domestic students enrolling in study abroad programs increased, albeit still a low 2.2 % and more institutions (81%) provided financial support for these programs. Enrolments in internationally oriented degree programs were higher, and more institutions delivered offshore programs and training. Institutions offered more scholarships to both undergraduate and graduate international students. Recruitment of international students was an increasing priority, in particular, in the light of the competitive market for international students. "Particularly, institutions increasingly appreciate the intrinsic value of globalizing their campuses and place it above any considerations of immediate revenue generation" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 6). The second priority, it should be noted however, was revenue generation.

In the absence of details of the study,[1] it is unclear what 'the intrinsic value' of a globalized campus might signify, and how the university might be fulfilling its mandate as an agent of change. Is the notion of change in the internationalization process simply satisfied by increasing activity and higher enrolment in international education? And what evidence did the respondents draw on to make claims about academic rationales and progress in internationalization? As an example of the problematic implications, while the top reason for recruiting international students was "to promote an internationalized campus and greater diversity on campus" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 6), only 47% of the respondents stated that they offered specific programs and strategies to ensure that the students had a successful experience. Furthermore, senior administrators, rather than faculty and students, provided much of the data in this and other national surveys on internationalization limiting the validity of these findings. Hence, more research is needed both across and within institutions that include data from students, faculty and staff in order to make conclusions about the purposes and motivations behind internationalization, and the notion of the university as an agent of change in the internationalization process must be critically assessed.

Agreeing with Dei (1992) that "[t]here are complex issues of international study in Canada and an attempt to understand some of the problems should begin by focusing on the subjective lived experiences as narrated by the students themselves" (p. 1), I turned to international students enrolled in a Canadian university to make sense of internationalization. Given the perimeters of this paper, I will draw on my larger study to illustrate just one aspect of this issue, the claim that universities promote interculturalism through the internationalization strategy of enrolling international students on their campuses.

A FRAMEWORK FOR COMPLEXITY

The conceptual/theoretical framework for my study integrated three theoretical strands, selected to encompass the complexity of the context, the relationships and the people who come to study on Canadian campuses. As Dale and Robertson (2003) assert, globalization is often identified as being a key influence, but analyses of its processes are rarely incorporated in educational theory and practice. Globalization theory forms the first part of my framework to understand the context of internationalization, and I argue that one cannot theorize internationalization without seeing how the economic, political and cultural dimensions of globalization influence internationalization.

The second aspect of my framework explores the nature of relationships in internationalization. While there are many approaches to analysing social relations at the internationalized university, I chose postcolonial theory to understand these relations from the perspective of power and how it operates in the multiple social and professional relationships the students must negotiate during their time of study. The third main strand of my framework is connected to understanding the participants of my study: their identities, in particular, national and cultural identity, how they come to be both identified and identify themselves as international learners in a foreign university. I will select just one key discussion point from each theme.

Theme 1: Globalization

Explicit and detailed commentaries have been written on the connections between globalization and education (e.g. Burbules & Torres, 2000; Currie and Newson, 1998; Edwards & Usher, 2000; Odin & Manicas, 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2000; Scott, 2000; Smith 2006; Van der Wende, 2007), but these are not reflected in mainstream North American scholarship and practices of internationalization of higher education. Theorizing these connections, I argue, will make it possible not only to see the influences of one on the other, but also to address problematic aspects that counter the ideals of internationalization.

Globalization has been theorized in multiple dimensions, mainly, economic, political, and cultural. The growth of transnational production characteristic of economic globalization, and the weakening of the social welfare state has precipitated intensification of the linkages between the purposes of economic globalization (and the market) and higher education (Häyrinen-Alastalo & Peltola, 2006; Magnussen, 2000; Marginson, 1999). The impact of the economic dimension on higher education accordingly, has been described as well connected to the labour market in both the public and private sectors, in a nationalist context. Tensions between the nation and the university in the face of increasing transnational possibilities for the university and the loss of state funding have driven the university to take on an entrepreneurial and even corporate identity. Another tension for the university is that it is trying to establish itself in the global marketplace through a distinct national (in this case, Canadian) identity, aligning itself to national interests, promoting a marketing image that projects a national identity. Simultaneously, the university is trying to establish an internationalizing agenda that promotes an international outlook.

Academic and student mobility tends to be influenced, argues Scott (2000), by international relations and alliances in a geopolitical context. It is his contention that internationalization, because of its reliance on the nation state and relationships among them, reproduces existing hegemonic and unequal international relations. The implications of this analysis are that it firmly places the university within a nationalistic field of influence rather than the autonomous institution that it is imagined to be, and furthermore, it implicates the university in furthering relationships and alliances that entrench and maintain a hierarchical system. This includes the seemingly ‘neutral’ and independent act of recruiting international students and participating in academic exchanges. The university is caught up in promoting a national agenda for higher education, through preparing graduates to live and work in contemporary globalized conditions. These trends reflect the changing ideas about the purposes of higher education, and a greater alignment to economic considerations.

> Globalization…refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson, 1992, p.8).

This might lead to the assumption that globalization leads to homogenization particularly heightened in the intensification of consumption and the movement of ideas and media through communication technology. Arguing that the homogenization theory is not an adequate one to explain globalization, Appadurai (1990) asserts the central problem of globalization as the "tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization" (p. 295). The more connectedness and unity produced by globalization, the more diversity it produces. Homogenization implies reproduction, and in that sense cultural forms do not reproduce themselves faithfully. Globalization, then, is not the same as homogenization, although it involves the use of a variety of homogenizing methods and tools such as communication technology, media, and so on (Appadurai, 1990). Edwards and Usher (1998) make a similar argument showing how "globalization diversifies and creolises" (p. 164), resulting in the coexistence of contradictory and paradoxical conditions and phenomena. The limits of this chapter do not allow for an in-depth discussion of the cultural dimensions, but I have argued elsewhere that these cultural dimensions are sites for resistance to the dominant manifestations of economic globalization, leading to possibilities for agency (Beck, 2008).

Theme 2: Colonial Legacies

Parallels have been drawn between colonization and globalization in a variety of disciplines (Ashcroft, 2001; McMurtry, 1998; Prasad, 2003; Smith, 2006; Young, 2001), the most commonly noted similarity being the extent of domination and control exerted first through colonization, followed by the market forces of globalization. What was notable about western (European) colonization was its domination of ideology and culture, and the extent to which dependency on the West was created (Castle, 2001). These forms of dependency that began in the economic realm continue to exert influence and have resulted in the elevation of European/Western values to a canonical status that prevails long after decolonisation (Loomba, 1998; Nandy, 1983). It has been argued that the economic dimension of globalization, explicitly represented by the agenda of multinational corporations, builds upon and reproduces these perceptions and beliefs (Altbach, 2001; Smith, 2006) and explains the demand for

Western/Northern education and credentials as the driver of the intensification of international education.

Another aspect of my framework draws from Bhabha's (1990) theory on cultural creation and containment. Bhabha situates cultural diversity in a liberal tradition that values the co-existence and encouragement of many different cultures. This is a fundamental principle of multicultural policy in nations such as Canada (Sandercock, 2005). Along with the creation of cultural diversity, however, Bhabha argues that there is a containment of cultural difference as dominant cultures 'accommodate' others only within their own norms and frames (Bhabha, 1990). "[T]he universalism that paradoxically permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 208) leaving room, for example, for many forms of racism and exclusion. This paradox of creation/containment echoes the themes of homogenization and diversity in globalization theory. This point of analysis helps to assess the rhetoric of interculturalism that drives internationalization.

Theme 3: Identity and identification

Globalization has intensified the conditions that produce cultural fluidity, and this complicates the question of how we understand our place in the world. We have come to understand identity as fluid, formed in relationship, and dialogical (Hall, 1992; Gismondi, 1999; Holland et al., 1998). Yet the story of nationhood that is created for citizens imposes an image of national identity as an essence, or as having core traits that represent an 'imagined' community (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai, 1996). Globalizing forces have on the one hand, an undermining effect on national identifications, in creating notions of 'global citizenship', and 'global village'. On the other hand, resistance to these homogenizing forces has resulted in the strengthening of national identifications, even fundamentalism, producing barriers for the newcomer. Bauman (1998) argues how these conditions produce the strategies that are used in the treatment of strangers: a demand for assimilation or exclusion.

The intensification of human migration and movement has resulted in new forms of national and transnational identifications. Globalization has heightened awareness of national affiliations and identifications, as well as produced the conditions for transcending those affiliations through notions of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. Identities, as Rizvi (2005) maintains, are defined against "encroaching forces of globalization" (p. 331). With the emergence of 'new cultural space' of the conditions of globalization, "social identities are no longer tied unambiguously to territories" (Rizvi 2005, 337). With reference to the extent of migration patterns, people define themselves "in terms of multiple national attachments…that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities" (Calgar, 1997, 169).

The implications for internationalization of higher education lie in examining how international students understand their own cultural and national identities in the context of their international study abroad, and whether and how these differ from how they are assigned identities. While I explore these questions in depth in other work (Beck, 2008), I thought it important to highlight the intersections between identity, globalization and notions of interculturalism in internationalization.

METHODOLOGY

The larger study I refer to in this chapter, investigated internationalization of higher education by examining the experiences of international students studying at a Canadian university. It was guided by the research question "What are the experiences of international students enrolled in a mid-sized university in Western Canada?" and sought to understand diverse aspects of internationalization through the lenses of student experience. The study[2] was conducted in a mid-sized university in Western Canada, 'Good University'. GU had an enrolment of 19,979 undergraduate students and 3,666 graduate students in the 2005/2006 academic year, and of this number, 1,805 (or 9.1%) undergraduates, and 505 (or 15.4%) graduate students were identified as international or visa students (GU statistics).[3] The values that guide internationalization at GU include: adherence to the university's mission, enhancing the university's standing in Canada and abroad "as a leading comprehensive university," and a belief that internationalization should "enrich educational and professional experience" of faculty, students and staff by "introducing them to the languages, cultures, and intellectual traditions of other nations" (GU website).

The students who responded to my invitation to participate were a mix of undergraduate and graduate students: 12 undergraduates from Asian countries: China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and Bangladesh, and 17 graduate students from a wider variety of backgrounds although they were still predominantly from the Asian continent: China, Japan, Sri Lanka, Iran, Mauritius, the U.K. and the U.S.A. In relation to their disciplines, the undergraduate students were from Engineering, Computing Science, Science, Business, Fine Arts and Linguistics departments, while the graduate students were from Physics, Mathematics, Biology, Computing Science and Education.

The main data collection was carried out through qualitative interviewing (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Gubrium & Holstein 2002; Kvale, 1996; Mishler, 1986; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Viruru & Cannella, 2006; Warren, 2002). The interviews were conducted in small groups and some individually, according to the preferences of the participants. In rejecting the idea of an 'objective' account that must be measured by a 'gold standard', I selected analytical processes that favour contextualized interpretation, and which are based on an active and engaged role for the researcher. Following Lather (1985, 2002), who critiques positivist notions of validity, redefining it as "a discursive site that registers a passage to the never arrived place where we are sure of our knowledges and ourselves" (Lather, 2002, p. 247), I attempted to include participant involvement in making sense of the data. This focus, I hoped, would shift from having validity solely as a legitimation process, to "research as praxis" (Lather, 1986) that will "enable[s] people to change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their particular situations" (p. 263).

And now for a few illustrations…

DESIRING AN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

The students who came forward to participate in this study were generous with their time, were somewhat surprised (and pleased) to be invited to participate in a study of this nature, and appeared to be eager to share their stories. I have selected brief summaries of selected topics from the rich and diverse data generated from our conversations to shed light on intercultural activity and learning at GU, through their eyes.

Leaving home. For most students, going abroad was a goal for personal and professional growth. For undergraduate students, prevailing attitudes in the home country about the desirability of a western education, the status of a credential from an English-speaking Western university, the marketability of the degree in getting good jobs both at home and abroad, and the cultural/linguistic value of international study, appeared to have influenced students' decisions to study abroad.

For most of the undergraduate students, ideals of Western superiority were a key factor in their decision to study overseas. Long describes the situation in China, his home country:

> Now that there are more foreigners in China, there is more influence from the Western world. There is a trend to study outside… There are many companies in China who need people, those who speak English fluently — when you study abroad and come back to search for a job, it's easier, I had a strong desire to go out.

Krystal (China) talked about how an imaginary of western ideas, people and way of doing things was created for her and her family by a family member who had travelled to the West. Her "definition of North America" was "a really beautiful place, really rich, and people are high quality… From her mouth, North America was like heaven (laughter among the 4 of us)"

…[W]hite people … do things better than us", do things "the right way", and "they are smarter than us and work harder". Some families used the promise of economic benefits to pressure their children as in the case of Sherry (Taiwan) and Sushant (India) who did not want to leave their home countries at all. Other parents groomed their sons and daughters towards an international education by raising them to be 'world citizens'.

For graduate students, professional and academic growth was the predominant reason for studying overseas. Graduate study in their disciplines was not available for students from some countries; some of the other factors related to availability of financing, family pressures, and economic factors, including the benefits of a western university credential. Peter, a doctoral student in Computer Science from China, explains:

> For me, it was a boyhood dream to go and study in an advanced country. It depends also on the discipline — some subjects like computer studies, it is in countries like that that there are lot of things happening, and it is an advantage to come and learn here and take the knowledge back to my country. For developing countries, there is no other way I think.

The two students who moved here with family chose Canada to provide learning and other opportunities for their children. Carlos left a secure and good faculty position in Mexico, to come to Canada as a PhD student in Biology: "I am here for my children. I want my children to have access to another culture, to have ideas." Canada's and Vancouver's positioning as a site for intercultural exchange and learning was clearly established among all of the students as a benefit of living, working and learning here.

In terms of early and pre-arrival interactions with the university, most of the students (both undergraduate and graduate students) reported a welcoming, invitational tone and positive experience. Visas, transcripts, and the processing of documentation were all handled extremely well by GU, according to the students. Once students had made initial contact, faculty and staff at the university were proactive, welcoming, and flexible. This is a "good, decent university" (Parth), "a really, really, flexible university" (Shabnam).

Learning. Studying abroad conjured up exciting prospects for the students when they planned their futures. After getting here, however, the excitement was tempered by the details of settling in, and encountering the reality of studying in a new place, and in many cases, in new ways, and for many, in a foreign language. For many students whose first language is not English, the conversations about their learning experiences, the quality of their experience and how they rated their programs, were described in terms of the barriers and affordances related to their fluency (or lack of) in English. Hence, 'learning' in their course work and program was seen to parallel or was even conflated with how they saw their progress with English and academic literacy. Michelle, a doctoral student in Education, summarized these student experiences well:

> [Our] major problem is our language deficiency, you know, we are classed on the basis of our incompetences. But we are good thinkers…We'll be more successful at studying and working if we can find a way to overcome our language deficiencies. So you get quiet — and when you get quiet, you … It's another suffering for us — And these are very harmful, and no one understands. It does not mean that we don't know anything. You have to be in our place to understand this — The measure is not fair I think. The measure is not fair.

Data on classroom experience from undergraduate students highlighted several challenges. Some who were not fluent in English had difficulty with course selection in the Humanities courses, as the lack of fluency interfered with participation, writing, and pace of the classroom. Fellow students in their classes were mostly unfriendly, noted in particular in the Business classes where the competitive environment exacerbated the unfriendly relations. Three students who described easier relationships with their peers were those who fit in well with the culture, language and social interactions. The large class sizes (compared to other community and university colleges) did not contribute to successful learning as professors and TAs were not as accessible. Information on resources such as learning support was not well known and not distributed. For graduate students, the main concern was a lack of respect, and disinterest from their peers. Figuring out differences in expectations, standards, and technology were other common issues.

Social lives. Undergraduate and graduate students spoke extensively of their social lives both on and off campus. They all missed their families and familiar social networks, but the impact of this loss was different on each student. For some students, it was quite debilitating, and others shrugged it off as something to be expected in a new environment, and to be suffered in order to achieve their long term goal of getting a foreign credential. Making friends was important for them, and some were successful and others were not so successful. Some spoke of taking the initiative of reaching out, and of being courageous in seeking out friends from different cultural background. Those who had families with them were unlikely to seek friendships outside of their family. For others, friendships were easier to form within students' own cultural groups, or among other international students in residence, with the exception of students like Jay and Lefty, who arrived at GU already well used to having intercultural friendships. Residence life was a positive experience for some, and for others it was isolating and lonely. In general, students' experiences with peers rated high when they assessed their learning experience in Canada.

Being international: As designated international students, it was important for the students to explore how they themselves understood internationalization. I shared the definitions of the terms and asked whether, in their opinion, the process of internationalization was happening on the campus. It was, as with other themes, a mixed response. For the most part, however, students did not think that internationalization of the campus or domestic students was happening in noticeable ways.

Chris offered the observation that, “if students don’t interact, it’s not really international — everyone sticks with their own, and nothing changes.” Many students agreed with this, noting the lack of interaction between local or Canadian students and the international students. They could not tell if the groups of same-background students were all international students, or whether they were domestic, immigrant groups clustering with others of their own background. Asked what impact they might be having on others, the students reported surface interactions which served to correct perceptions about students’ backgrounds and home countries. Hiroki stated that he didn’t bring anything to the campus, and that the diversity on the campus was created by the immigrant population. Other students agreed that, in their opinion, they didn’t add much to the university or their classrooms by way of personal experience, opinions, expertise, or background. The only time they were officially recognized by the university or programs was when there were international student events. In this sense, ‘international’ was understood as the mixing and interaction of international students among one another. In Jay’s opinion,

> the Canadians are too local — they should be more outgoing and try to mix with others more because this is what it means for the future, to mix all different cultures of people.

Carlos was critical of the lack of a language requirement, citing his home university in Mexico, which required graduate students to have three languages to graduate. In his opinion, “an immersion in another’s language is the first brain opener [to another’s perspectives, culture etc].”

Naomi spoke of the lack of interaction as a matter of reciprocity and mutuality:

> It’s more like GU offers something to us, but does not expect something from us. In that sense it is not an equal thing. Their focus is how they can introduce programs to others, not how they [the students] are going to contribute to things here. I think they just want to provide their values in their own way. If it’s reciprocal, that will be very nice. Right now it’s just all one way.

A REALITY CHECK

Making sense of these data, the notion of higher education as being available beyond national borders is well established among the participants who were part of creating this 'global demand'. This transnational pursuit of higher education is predominantly operating through an economic dimension as we see how the benefits of studying abroad are well connected to economic benefits for all of the students. The university is tapping into an already established globalized market for international education.

A glimpse at the country of origin confirms the trends in international student mobility in that East and South Asian countries lead the demand for study abroad (Savage, 2005). Students also have a role in maintaining western universality and dominance in what is considered 'a good education'. The graduate students were very aware of this unequal power and economic differential between their countries and Canada, but were very much caught up in fulfilling their dreams of studying in an advanced country. From this perspective, the university is implicated more in maintaining the status quo of an international 'order' than serving as a site for change or transformation of historical inequities. These trends, while illustrating the paradoxes produced by globalization, also show how the categories of advanced and less advanced, developed and under-developed or developing country categories are reproduced. The continuing dependence on Western universities and Western education further advances and entrenches former colonial influences. On the other hand, the reality in many 'developing countries' is that opportunities for higher education are scarce, especially for graduate studies.

The recruitment of international students is of benefit to the receiving country and university, both economically, and in terms of the anticipated benefits of diversity. One of the negative consequences being ignored is the issue of 'brain-drain' from 'developing' countries. By recruiting the 'best and brightest', GU and Canada are participating in the continued depletion of resources (human resources in this instance) from other countries. In proceeding with internationalization, universities must address the questions relating to how Canadian universities could mitigate the damage of this phenomenon, especially with declining support for development aid in the higher education sector. This issue is gaining further prominence as Canada prepares a campaign to attract international students to continue working in Canada, and even immigrate here to off-set predicted short falls in professional cadres (Bond et al., 2007).

In terms of the perception that international students contribute to the internationalisation of the university, the experiences of the students illustrate the theories of cultural creation and containment advanced by Bhabha (1990). There is much enthusiasm for facilitating the arrival of international students, and thus, a commitment to create diversity through their presence. There are repeated references in both policy documents and promotional material about the benefits of having international students at GU who enrich the campus, and encourage cross-cultural exchange of knowledge and ideas. The flexibility, the invitation, the warmth even of their pre-arrival relations with university staff and faculty correspond with this intention.

The student narratives, however, present a different reality. With the absence of consistent interaction and socialization with domestic students, there is little opportunity for cross-cultural exchange: not in the classroom, not in regular interactions with fellow students, not with faculty members or staff. In fact, the culture of the campus (with little welcome from domestic students) encouraged them to cluster in their own 'international' groupings, thus reproducing the stereotyping of international students as being exclusive, not mixing with others and drawing boundaries around themselves. The message that the students received is that "no one is interested" (Samshul). The data strongly suggest that, in order to be successful, students had to conform to dominant practices, cultural, linguistic and social. Indeed, the most successful of the students, repeatedly spoke of their own initiatives to 'fit in', join in activities, and dissociate from their 'international student' identities. There is little of the mutuality and reciprocity that students came to expect from an international experience. After their arrival, the students became invisible; the very differences that would contribute to interculturalism kept them marginalized.

In spite of this general rejection of cultural difference,[4] it is the international students themselves who were becoming internationalized. They recognize the value of an intercultural experience, and are developing those skills in the course of their study at GU. They were navigating different contexts, learning in a different language, doing 'hard things' and developing comparative/international perspectives about their fields of study and their environments. They are developing networks outside of their home and moving towards a cosmopolitan identity. In a more extended analysis, I show how the cultural dimensions of globalization facilitate this transformation (Beck, 2008).

The university has become complacent in its practice and participation in internationalization, based on the assumption that the presence of international students facilitates the infusion of intercultural and international dimensions (Mestenhauser, 2002). More attention needs to be paid to just how those intercultural interactions might be facilitated across the learning and social spaces of the university. There must be stronger commitment to critically evaluate practice and learn from student experiences, so that internationalization itself can avoid reproducing the harmful influences of globalization and colonial legacies, and become more relational and embedded in inclusive, mutually satisfying practices.

The recognition of the economic dimensions allows for resistance to and undermining of those impacts. The students' experiences illustrated the many connections between globalization and the internationalization of the university so that their experience is linked to systemic and structural issues rather than being seen as individual difficulty. Transformative action must begin with an education of university administrators, policy makers and educators of the issues that permeate internationalization and, most especially, the lived experience of the international students invited to our campuses. Difficult questions about real accountability, that is, accountability for and to the international students themselves, must be raised. Developing an understanding of internationalization through a comprehensive analysis of this process will support educators and scholars alike to discern and implement ethical practices.

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NOTES

1 The AUCC has not released a detailed research report as it did with its previous study, Progress and Promise (Knight, 2000).
2 I have made a decision not to include methodological details of the study, in this chapter, beyond very basic information. Please contact the author for more details or refer to Beck (2008).
3 These and other statistics and references, as well as documents from GU have been masked for reasons of anonymity.
4 None of the participants mentioned the fact that Canada is bilingual and that French is an official language of Canada.

ALLAN PITMAN

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC REPOSITIONING OF UNIVERSITIES

A reconceptualization of the human capital value of education as a private good, linked to a market oriented commodification of university knowledge, underpins a repositioning of universities as entrepreneurial enterprises. The implications for universities and the professoriate are explored, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the institutions and work within them are being redefined, drawing from Canadian and Australian experiences.

Une nouvelle conceptualisation de la valeur du capital humain en éducation comme un bien privé, relié au savoir universitaire comme des marchandises destinées au marché, représente un repositionnement des universités en tant qu'entreprises commerciales. Une exploration des implications pour les universités et le corps professoral suit, avec emphase particulière sur les façons dont se redéfinissent les institutions et leurs travaux, illustrées d'expériences canadiennes et australiennes.

THE PRESENT CONTEXT

I wish to locate my remarks in the context of two major developments in the global picture of education. One is the economic relocation of higher education and the transformation of knowledge into an economically grounded export commodity. The other is the UNESCO-led push for Education for All. My remarks are organized around four issues: knowledge as an export commodity; quality in the university context; the implications of education for all; and possibilities for educational research.

I. KNOWLEDGE AS AN EXPORT COMMODITY

Most of us work in universities, either as faculty or students. We need to recognize the ways in which our teaching and research environments are changing at a very fundamental level.

The 1980s and 1990s saw, in the West, the start of a repositioning of higher education, underpinned by a reinterpretation of the human capital argument. In the 1960s, there was a massive expansion in access to higher education - particularly to university education - based on the arguments of the American

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 61–74.

economist, Schultz (1961, 1979). The logic went that, parallel with the gross domestic product of a country, based upon production and output of goods and services, there existed an economic component based upon the developed capacities of the population. As a consequence of this, it was in the interests of the State to put resources into the development of this dimension of the national economy: policy outcomes of this approach included both the expansion of tertiary education and the drastic reduction or abolition of fees for access to such educational development. Thus, parties of both the left and right pursued policies of access to higher education based upon this platform, overlaid with other policies such as those based upon class or racial equity.

The emergence of neoliberal agendas, and governments based upon that philosophic position, were accompanied by a reinterpretation of the idea of human capital. In particular, the location of the capital accumulation stemming from the increase in knowledge was shifted from the realm of the State and population as a whole to that of the individual, with the national accumulation being the aggregation of the gains of the individual citizens. It would be a mistake to see this as a reversible process in the short or medium term, or to identify it purely with political parties of the right. In Australia, it was the Whitlam Labor government that introduced free university education. In the 1990s, it was the Keating Labor government that reintroduced fees.

There is an important extension of the logic associated with this redefinition: the industrialization of the system for its delivery and the positioning of education as an export commodity, which we are seeing being exploited by governments in a variety of ways. In Ontario, partially deregulated university fees in various faculties are related to the potential earnings projected for their graduates. In Australia, admission patterns have shifted from being based upon academic criteria alone to the present situation in which 35 % of places are available to full-fee paying students. An even more potent application is the recognition of knowledge as a tradable commodity. This is an issue both for reflection and for research by us with a commitment to the issues of comparative and international education.

The Increased Role of Student Fees in Operating Budgets

Across the board, student tuition fees have climbed, in both Australia and in Canada. The rationale offered is a revised view of human capital, with the transfer of benefit from the economy as a whole (the 1960s model) to the individual. This has direct implications for funding models for universities, with the introduction of the argument that the student who benefits should bear the cost. One offshoot of the educational capital argument is the attempt to quantify the return on investment by students in universities on an individual basis (Gallagher, 2005, p. 15). The common good, it is argued from this position, only flows in areas such as international competitiveness through the aggregation of the benefits gained by the individuals. In harness with the rise in student tuition fees, the levels of funding of universities flowing from government have undergone radical adjustments over the past decades. Under the Australian Howard Liberal government, there has been no real increase in expenditure on higher education for some 15 years. The situation in Canada, through Conservative and Liberal governments, is comparable.

Data from Canada provide insight into how reductions in government contributions have been compensated in large part through an increased reliance on student tuition fees. The Canadian Association of University Teachers (2005, 2010) reports that tuition as a percentage of University operating revenue in the province of Ontario has gone from 16 % in 1983 through 20% (1993) to 37% in 2003 and to 42.3% in 2008. For Canada as a whole, the trend is clear, with the percentage of government funding dropping from 82 % of operating budget in 1983 to 58 % in 2008. Over the same period, the contribution from student tuition has risen from 13 % to 29 %.

Table 1 Government Funding and Tuition as Share of University Operating Revenue, Canada

Year	*Government*	*Tuition*	*Total*
1973	79.3%	16.6%	95.9%
1983	81.8%	12.9%	94.7%
1993	75.9%	18.4%	94.3%
2003 2008*	59.3% 57.5%	29.1% 34.7%	88.4% 92.2%

Source: CAUT, 2005, p. 41; 2010*, p. 3.

The greatest changes in funding contribution from government has come at a time of rising student numbers, with the participation rate of 21 year olds in university education rising from 12% in 1972-73 to 27% in 2007-08 (CAUT, 2010; p. 27).

Another telling insight is gained by looking at the percentage of operating budgets in Canadian universities spent on academic salaries: since 1973 to 1993, this has declined from 31% (1979) to 20% (2008). This is largely an indicator of rising student/faculty ratios and hence average class sizes: in the period 1998-99 to 2007-08, full-time enrolment increased by 37%, from 580 400 (1998-990 to 796 400 (2007-08) (CAUT, 2010; p. 27). Over the same period, Federal cash transfers as a percentage of GDP have fallen from a 1983 figure of .50% and 0.40% in 1993, to 0.23% in 1998 and down to a 2003 contribution of 0.16% of GDP (CAUT, 2005). A rise to 0.22% of GDP is noted for 2009-10 (CAUT, 2010; p. 3).

The need to find funding from other sources has encouraged an increasingly aggressive search for students – particularly profitable full-fee paying ones – in the case of Australia, New Zealand and Britain. This recruitment has taken place largely in developing countries.

University Knowledge as a Commodity

The emergence of the internationally active university is a development through which we can trace a fundamental shift that is occurring in the location of universities as social institutions and a redefinition of the knowledge with which they are associated. The Australian experience is, perhaps, the most graphic example of this phenomenon. An insightful analysis of the Canadian and Australian cases is offered by Nesterova (2006).

International Initiatives

The Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) lists as one of four features of its vision for 2020 that Australian educational exports will position the country in the "global educational revolution." The "symbol" of this objective is that: "Higher education will join 'resources' and 'services' in the top three value-adding Australian exports" (Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee, 2002, p. 2). The document goes on to point out that "Australian education services have grown since 1985 to become our 8th largest export income, with the potential to grow further." The AVCC is a private company whose members are the Vice-Chancellors of 37 Australian universities, one of which is private. It has as its purpose "... to advance higher education through voluntary, co-operative and co-ordinated action" (Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee, 1999). The AVVC has since changed its corporate title to Universities Australia.

The push to internationalize the student body is not new for major universities around the world, particularly at the graduate level; universities such as Stanford, Harvard, Oxford and Cambridge have drawn overseas students to their campuses for a century. What is new is the push beyond seeking the elite among foreign student populations to the recruitment of any qualified student with the capacity to pay the fees. Allied with this have been the dual moves to provide spaces in Australia at home and satellite campuses and, at the same time, to develop arrangements to provide courses in the students' home countries. This latter move is being developed through a range of tactics, from the establishment of campuses operated by the university, and joint ventures with local universities, to subcontracting arrangements with private operators. Many foreign universities engage local private colleges to deliver bridge programs which provide direct entry into second year of degree programs on the home campuses of the universities. The bridge program arrangement is also employed for foreign students in the country of origin of the university.

In parallel with other forms of recruitment in the search for students, there has been a massive growth in the offering of distance education courses. Increasingly, the provision of such courses and programs has become a major arena of competition, as universities struggle to maintain and increase student numbers and the consequent fees. While most of these mainly on-line programs are aimed at domestic students, they do become part of the mix in the provision of courses for international students.

Along with this commodification and marketing comes the exposure to market forces. With a distortion of the student population with respect to both reliance on high-fees paying students and program offerings tied to market demand, universities are becoming exposed to the vagaries of the market. Good examples are seen in the history of Information Technology (IT) and business courses. Victoria University is an example, with some 70% of international students enrolled in business courses.

The establishment of teaching facilities overseas is a growing activity. The University of Western Ontario maintains an arm of its Ivey School of Business in Hong Kong. While we may be tempted to suggest that business schools are different, we should also note that another way of looking at it is to recognize that they were simply the first. A look at the *New Straits Times* in Kuala Lumpur quickly reveals the aggressive intrusion into the Asian education market of universities from Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Indeed, supplements in the *New Straits Times* promote Australian higher education weekly. Not only is this drive aimed at attracting students to study abroad, but a number of universities are establishing campuses: Monash University has its Kuala Lumpur and its South African campuses.

International full-fee paying students in Australia constitute a growing percentage of enrolments, to the extent that when the so-called Asian flu hit the economies of South East Asia some seven years ago, the industrial sector of the Australian economy most affected was the university industry. The explosion of demand for programs in Information Technology (IT) in the 1990s led to rapid growth of departments to cater internationally; with the collapse of the market due to saturation of the market and the economic problems in South East Asia in the late 1990s, the need came to reduce the size of those academic departments. Monash University terminated the employment of approximately half such faculty. The exposure of universities to market forces and their sometimes-violent fluctuations contributes to a radically new environment for universities.

The Demand Imperative

An analysis of new positions advertised by Australian universities in the last two quarters of 2004 revealed that Health, Management and Commerce dominated the data, with Society and Culture and University Management and

Administration positions. A codicil concerning the Society and Culture cluster is the diversity of its constituent parts, with Legal Studies, Psychology, Sociology/Social Studies/Development Studies and Economics to the fore, while disciplines such as Classics, Gender Studies, Australian Studies, and Philosophy languished (McHoul, 2005). The trends seen in Australia in this respect are not unique, as a comparison with Canada (Rosenfeld, 2003) makes clear. At my own institution, 70 % of students enrolled in the Faculty of Social Science take courses in the Organizational Management Program.

The implication of these data is that many of the traditional areas of study in the universities are at risk of closure or curtailment as a business/management preparation rationale exercises its influence through the program choices of prospective students and the institutions' responses to these market forces in the expansion of offerings and of faculty positions in these areas. Thus, the cluster of studies under the general heading of society and culture is being recast away from the classics, philosophy and the like and towards management studies and related disciplines. This is not to deny the traditional role of universities in professional preparation, but rather to draw attention to the relatively narrow focus, which is not only driven by the market, but is itself directed to preparing students to operate in that environment. Further, there has been a proliferation of non university providers, both entirely separate companies and companies established by universities, such as the ill-fated Melbourne University Private (see Cain & Hewitt, 2004, for the history of this venture).

While on the subject of education-as-industry, it is worth noting that the AVCC sits also as the Australian Universities Industrial Council in order to deal with the workplace negotiations with the national union for academic workers, which is itself a member of the Australian Council of Trades Unions, again from the 1980s. The Universities Industrial Council is a coordinated industrial bargaining unit for the universities as employers in a unionized environment.

The Transformations in Corporate Structures: Industrialization and the Creation of the Education Sector

Increasingly, Canadian university faculty associations are unionizing. The unionization of faculties and their subsequent Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) affiliation in the 1980s marked a significant relocation of the university in the Australian social and economic structure. One outcome of these organizational realignments and affiliations has been a fundamental shift in the language in which participation in higher education is discussed. A stark example is the banner for the NTEU (National Tertiary Education Union) 1999 conference, seen in a photograph in the union journal: "One Industry One

Union" (*Advocate*, 2003, p. 30). The introduction of "merit" and "market" components to salary structures is also worthy of note (Stilwell, 2003).

The advent of the North American Trade Agreement brings this development in higher education into focus for Canada and for Mexico. Education, viewed as an industry with knowledge as its commodity, as packaged as coursework and degree programs, becomes the subject of the trade rules and arbitration procedures of the agreement. One private university, the University of Phoenix, has been active in Canada for some time.

II. THE NATURE OF UNIVERSITY WORK: TO BE PROFESSIONAL

The restructuring of universities and their place within the social/economic framework has the potential to have profound effects on the nature of the work of the professoriate and how its members are employed. I have already alluded to this, but believe it requires further elaboration. A useful starting point is to consider the notion of professional work, and how it relates to the university environment. The nature of professorial work and its character as a profession becomes a contested domain. In an earlier study I drew attention to the often contradictory tendencies and their effects on teacher education in eight countries (Pitman, 1993).

A difficulty with the common parlance discussion of professionalism lies in its inability to distinguish between the behaviour of individuals, and the behaviour of members of an occupation agreed to be a profession, from those in other occupations. This can be seen quite clearly by reference to the dictionary definitions of "profession," "professional" and "professionalism." It will be seen that the idea of a professional can be given meaning fairly independently of the idea of a profession.

The Oxford English Dictionary (1971) traces the notion of a profession to its religious roots, as a vocation to which one makes profession. The religious orders then can be taken as an historical benchmark for the search for characteristics that differentiate professions from other occupations. On the other hand, a person may be professional in sport simply by accepting money to engage in it as an occupation. Simply put, the Oxford English Dictionary lists under "professional" the conflicting definitions of being a member of one of the learned professions, and one who engages in an activity for payment that others undertake for pleasure. Similarly, the use of the term, 'profession' has become ambiguous: (It is) Now usually applied to an occupation considered to be socially superior to a trade or handicraft; but formerly, and still in vulgar (or humorous) use, including these (p. 1428). It is not surprising that by the time the dictionary reaches 'professionalism', the definitions are becoming outright contradictory:

-Professional quality, character, method, or conduct; the stamp of a particular profession.
-The position or practice of a professional as distinguished from an amateur; the class of professionals (p. 1428).

It is important to pay attention to these ambiguities, as they lie at the heart of much of the debate and policy formation that has occurred. Further, the debate as to whether professional behaviour on the part of professors is manifested in upholding the standards of a profession or in faithfully fulfilling their salaried contractual obligations is paramount.

I will draw again on the Australian experience. From the 1960s, Australian universities have moved from a collegial model of operation to one based upon some (but not all) of the characteristics of corporations, and on part-commodification of teaching and research (Marginson & Considine, 2000).

A graphic instance which captured this transformation was seen when the Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne was quoted as considering that his institution was no longer a public institution, having seen the level of government budgetary support drop over 25 years from 90 % to approximately 20 % by 2005 (Melbourne Age, November 16, 2005). The report continued with information concerning the university's strategic plan to restructure its teaching programs along United States lines, in particular the reduction of undergraduate enrolment and the transfer of professional schools to the graduate sector. This extraordinary claim has a context spanning three decades. During a period of declining government funding support and of restructured faculty/management relations, universities had found it necessary to explore a range of entrepreneurial and private venture operations.

The past two decades have been marked by the intrusion of managerial language into all levels of government-sponsored education systems. Cain & Hewitt (2004) observe of the University of Melbourne that the direction away from the notion of the public university has been driven by management, supported by council, and encouraged by governments. It is the managers who have led the charge for the past fifteen years (p. 211).

While much of the more radical change has occurred at a time when the (conservative) Liberal Party has held power nationally, it must be pointed out that much of what is reported here had its genesis in policies of the Hawke and Keating Labor governments and consequently have roots back in the 1970s. Much of the reform impetus emerged when the federal Minister of Education was John Dawkins, whose name has become attached to much of what transpired.

The Dawkins reforms came at a time of massive increases in university enrolments, and the very real budgetary problem of how to fund this seismic shift in the Australian university environment. The need for expansion of the budget investment in higher education, particularly in the universities, was becoming critical. One way out of this dilemma came in the government's analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of the students. A decade previously, the earlier Whitlam Labor government had introduced free university education in order to open up higher education to all classes, and the analysis suggested that, fundamentally, the class mix had not changed over that time. The reintroduction in 1983 of student fees, by the next Labor government under Bob Hawke, was accompanied by the rationale that the stated objective of opening university education to the working classes had not been achieved and the absence of fees was simply a subsidy to the middle class. By creating at the same time an innovative deferred income-related loan repayment scheme, not only did the government start to shift the cost of education to the student, but also was able to claim that no student was denied access by inability to pay. There are long-term issues concerned with mounting debt repayment problems that will need to be confronted in the future. This was, however, the start of the shift in funding ratios for public universities to a reliance on aggressive pursuit of student fees and other non-governmental funding arrangements. With the change of government to a more right-wing administration, the trend accelerated. Under the Howard Liberal government, there has been no real increase in expenditure on higher education for some 15 years. Thus, the funds for maintaining a status quo and for any degree of growth have increasingly depended on universities becoming entrepreneurial in their activities, particularly in their teaching functions.

III. QUALITY IN THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT: THE UNIVERSITY

In a growing number of countries, for example, the United Kingdom, universities are being subjected to so-called quality audits. On the basis of these reviews, which are reduced to a numerical measure, the institutions are ranked. It behoves us to consider just what quality means in this context.

Meaning of Quality in Education

The *Oxford Dictionary* helps us to see the difficulty we have in thinking about just what constitutes a quality system of schooling. It is instructive to quote two short sections from the rather lengthy definitions provided in that it identifies certain tensions which exist within the term itself. The *Oxford English Dictionary* carries a detailed set of definitions of the word "quality." Of particular interest to this paper are the following two extracts, taken from that part which deals with the quality of a thing:

- An attribute, property, special feature or characteristic. Primary, secondary, etc. qualities: see adj.
- The nature, kind, or character (of something). Now restricted to cases

> in which there is comparison (expressed of implied) with other things of the same kind; hence, the degree or grade of excellence, etc. (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1971, p. 2383).

These usages date from at least the 14th century, as traced by the dictionary's compilers. There is an essential contradiction in the two usages of the word, in that the first definition seeks out that which is unique or different about the object; the second focuses upon the commonality between similar objects and claims to evaluate in terms of comparative excellence.

Education systems are under continuing pressures to be reshaped in ways that respond to the aspirations and fears of the societies that they serve. These concerns are grounded in the context of increasingly interconnected world systems that characterize the globalizing trends in communications, trade and discourse. Increasingly, the issue of quality has become a cornerstone of debates, and policy formation in relation to education systems and their reform. This has been coupled with governmental moves to assert greater control and surveillance over the academic activities of educational institutions at all levels. At the university level, the use of rankings such of that compiled by the London *Times*, based on citation analysis, are among the most important of these. Worthy of note is that governments pay attention to them, and it should be recognized that they are the products of commercial enterprises. Through means such as these, governments try to position themselves internationally by gauging the quality of their educational institution through comparative processes and common testing/evaluation procedures. At the same time, within nations, the role of public education in the framing of the identity and particular economic character of countries and regions is of central interest at the local level.

Clementina Acedo (2007) identified factors that influence reforms of school systems. I suggest they apply equally to universities and like institutions:

(a) *International or regional pressures*, such as the general move towards decentralization and school based reform led by International Organizations; or the pressure on Eastern European countries to reform their education systems as a precondition to be accepted in the European Union. [In the university context, the Bologna Process is a good example].

(b) *Country specific contextual variables,* among them demographic variables, for instance, ease of demographic pressure may allow for quality improvements; or on the contrary, expansion of coverage in elementary education may generate pressures for expansion of the secondary level. Other very important contextual variables are political will and economic growth that would allow or become obstacles for educational change.

(c) But *specific changes in educational policies* can also vary depending on other contextual variables such as the institutional history of each education system, the labour market structures that make specific requirements to the system and the ways in which secondary education represents, or not, a path of social opportunity (Acedo, 2007).

Here we see the tension between the local and the global; between quality as character and quality as a comparison of worth.

Quality and Accountability

It is commonplace today to see reports of the comparative “excellence” of school systems around the world. These reports draw heavily upon measures obtained from studies such as the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (formerly the IEA study of 1969, then Second International MSS and Third International Mathematics and Science Study). The name change is significant in that it signals the institutionalization of the series of tests as a continuing - indeed continuous process. The other, more obvious, salient feature is that the measure of quality is codified in terms of a narrow performance measure in a narrow slice of the curriculum: mathematics and science.

In recent years, we have seen this benchmarking spread to the university sector (see Turner, 2006a, 2006b). In a number of countries, ‘league tables’ are produced, in Canada, by *Maclean’s* magazine and by the *Globe and Mail* newspaper; and in Britain, by the *Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph.* Turner makes a trenchant point about these quality measures by introducing a defensible alternative heuristic that largely stands the generally accepted rankings on their heads. Further, if we refer back to my duality of meaning of ‘quality’, it would appear that these accountability measures and quality outcomes militate against diversity and the maintenance of the quality(ies) that make a university unique, pushing for a uniformity of scope and method in both teaching program and in research agendas.

IV. THE PRESS FOR EDUCATION FOR ALL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

An ambitious agreement was reached by which a priority for UNESCO should be to push for an elementary education for every child in the world by 2015. The Education for All initiative has undergone modifications and realignments since its inception, but has remained the major international program at a time when the United Nations has been subject to pressures for a comprehensive overhaul of its organization and how its component parts interrelate. While the time frame of 2015 increasingly looks unattainable, the project continues. Funding is of course an issue, not least in the context of the necessary emphasis being given to the fight against the spread of AIDS.

I want to mention developments at UNESCO here, and I will try to tie some of the implications back in with what I have to say later. The recommendations in the Draft Two Year 2008-2009 policy statement of UNESCO sets out how educational programs are to be focused and shared among its agencies: UIS coordination of UN projects; International Institute for Educational Policy (IIEP) country planning and field support; International Bureau of Education (IBE) promoting basic education EC-12; UIL and UNEVOC higher education.

The Biennial Sector Program priorities (2008-2009) are:

(a) *Ensuring global coordination and support for national leadership* (principal priority), with a focus on effective global coordination to achieve EFA at the country level; capacity building in policy and planning at the country level; and increased participation in the common country programming processes.

(b) *From access to success through quality education for all*, with focus upon standards, good practices and policies on access (EC to HE) with an emphasis on secondary, technical and vocational education; promotion of the right to quality formal and non-formal education; curriculum and textbook development (including content and values issues); development of Literacy for Empowerment (LIFE) country programmes; improvement of teacher education in sub-Saharan countries; the Global Initiative on HIV/AIDS; the strategic and effective use of ICTs in education, particularly in policy development, higher education and the professional development of teachers and non-formal education (UNESCO).

The implications from initiatives such as *Education for All* emerge close to home. The UNESCO policy emerges from the consensus of its member states, which then adopt and adapt its detail both with respect to internal initiatives and to their foreign funding policies. What is funded is what there is to be researched and evaluated. So a field of possibilities is inscribed for researchers. One implication of initiatives such as EFA links directly to the capacity of low income countries to develop an adequate infrastructure in its higher education sector, thus opening the door further to the entrepreneurial universities of the developed nations.

V. EDUCATION RESEARCH: POSSIBILITIES AND POTENTIAL THREATS

As universities are repositioned as units in the economy, dealing in a tradable commodity, the pressures on research may well intensify in problematic ways. The funding of research is to a large degree priority driven. The implications are both related to the substance of educational research and to the favoured methodologies.

The relation between research and program evaluation is an issue in the field of international education research. In particular, the research community is not unanimous in setting the boundaries between what constitutes research and what is evaluation, of programs and the like. To what degree can good evaluation work be regarded as case study?

The positioning of research within the geography of power relations and interests is important here. If I draw again on the duality of meaning in the term 'quality' as an example of a focus for study, then we are impelled in different methodological directions. On the one hand, research based on universal indicators lead us to assumptions of desired similarities and comparisons of relative worth; if our concern is with the capacity of a university to respond to particular and local economic, cultural and other aspirations, then we are impelled to argue for diversity of both focus and methodology.

Research as a Commodity

Every Australian university has revised its intellectual property statutes to protect their marketable properties arising from research by faculty. The delineation of the use of time and facilities of the university as opposed to work done out of university time and off the premises has become an issue of major economic importance to the universities. In Canada, the issue is one of current tension.

As research has come to be seen as outcome driven, with a commodity value attached, universities have been motivated to seek ways to close the gap between basic research and the development of advances into commercial or industrial products. One common strategy has been the development of research parks, on or adjacent to university campuses.

There are very real implications for the type of research that will be privileged within this new university environment. The danger is, I believe, that output-driven retailable research that flows from a diminished scope of economically viable units within the entrepreneurial university institution will come to dominate, at the expense of critical, intellectually and politically challenging endeavours. This will represent a loss to the whole of society, not simply to the higher education community.

I have no answers, but, I hope to stimulate focused discussion of the issues raised.

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4. EXPLORING PARTNERSHIP PRINCIPLES AND ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR INTERNATIONALIZING POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Within the context of increasing expectations that post-secondary institutions expand their international reach through changes in policy and program, there is a tendency to focus on institutional goals and individual student learning at the expense of wider social justice considerations and implications of internationalization. These considerations include misrecognition of the multi-directionality of processes of globalization and the uneven impact of internationalization on institutions in non-Western countries in what are described as institutional partnerships. Given this complexity, it is important to address issues of how to bring global justice perspectives and multiple worldviews into internationalization policies and programs in post secondary institutions. Efforts to internationalize education need to support relationships of reciprocity, therefore, attention to the intentions and processes of partnerships are important in the overall post-secondary education agenda. This study examines the work of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) in establishing international partnership principles to guide Canadian civil society organizations in building equitable and just partnerships in their international work. The issues and challenges faced by CCIC as well as the established partnership principles are explored in relation to current post-secondary internationalization trends to provide insights and to make policy and practical recommendations for Canadian universities.

There is little disagreement that as Canadian universities make their way through a rather tumultuous time of extensive multilateral education agreements, raw marketization of knowledge and learning, and demands for ever increasing student and faculty international mobility, there is a need to consider the path such policy and program directions have taken us. By studying how partnerships are being negotiated as a way to increase and extend the international reach of academic institutions, we can understand both the context and impact of these relationships. This chapter engages in a discussion of the possibility of creating ethical space to move international partnerships from instrumentalized relations between education institutions toward partnerships that serve the social goals of

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 75–87.

education and the possibilities of social justice in a world where international relations have too long been cemented in the centre-periphery dynamics of marginalization. While the current neoliberal policy context legitimizes competition over collaboration, marketization over social contracts, commodification of knowledge, people, and relations over universal human dignity and diversity, we must ask whether we can build partnerships for social justice. In a post-colonial context where both benefits and burdens are unevenly distributed, do international partnerships between universities undermine the rights and diversity of local communities, institutions, and academics? Efforts to work collaboratively across borders of marginalization are challenging and often reflect two entities that work in mute juxtaposition, pretending that things are equitable and ignoring ethical tensions. In these cases, marginalizations are reinforced and when this happens in the context of education programs, the power of education as a reproductive tool of social, economic, and political inequality is revealed. But education can also be a pathway for creating change provided it is founded on very different understandings of the way universities can serve wider social goals. While a vast number of international partnerships arranged by Canadian universities demonstrate a profound lack of awareness of the impact of their internationalization goals on others in the world, there are certainly other partnerships that act as places and voices of solidarity and struggle. Some academics are not satisfied to serve the market. They see the role of universities founded on the ethical platforms that serve humanity through such foundational education goals as equity, dignity, and full citizenship for all.

This study responds to the complex nature of international partnerships at Canadian universities by looking beyond the post secondary education sector to find how the Canadian Council for International Cooperation addressed similar policy issues by establishing ethical principles and standards to guide their members in attending to the critical issues inherent in forming international partnerships. Rather than examine individual people and their projects, this study looks at universities as institutions where groups of people, while having some individual agency, are organized around shared interests and activities, and create a group identity. Organizations exist within larger institutions and institutional fields which consist of rules and regulations, mechanisms to enforce rules, and systems of meaning and knowledge that come to define how all members within the system will understand their actions.

> [Institutions] reflect the resources and power of those who made them, and in turn, affect the distribution of resources and power in society. Once created, institutions are powerful external forces that help determine how people make sense of the world and act in it. They channel and regulate conflict and then ensure stability in society (Campbell, 2004, p. 1).

Universities are more than the programs they offer. As institutions, they are part of complex fields of norms, values, and regulations that serve to legitimize and enable some practices and discipline and restrict others. Educational institutions create and enact policies that seem natural or normal because they are expressions of the institutional field. By studying the policy, as well as the policy process, we can understand the intended and unintended impacts of the particular programs and activities. The distribution of power, the possibilities for social action, points of tension and conflict, and possibilities for change become visible in the process. Partnerships that are developed for the purposes of internationalizing education can make these policy and processes visible. Partnerships as organizational acts reflect complex relationships between individuals, collectivities, and wider historical and social contexts. Ethical considerations emerge from the relationships that exist within these contexts.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AT CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

An Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) document, based on 2006 data collection, reported that 95% of Canadian universities identified internationalization as part of their organizational and overall operational strategies (AUCC, 2007a). Building strategic alliances and carrying out collaborative work through developing partnerships were identified as important initiatives in 65% of universities, with an increasing number of these with partners in [so called] 'developing' countries. One conclusion that might be drawn from this and other reports on internationalization at Canadian universities is that, with their commitments to internationalization, universities are dependent on partnerships to achieve these goals.

Clearly, partnerships with institutions outside Canada help support internationalization. It is through partnerships that opportunities arise for faculty and student exchanges, international development cooperation, and strategic research collaboration. Correspondingly, more than half of respondents said that one of their main reasons for delivering education and training programs abroad is to develop new national or international partnerships. Similarly, developing agreements with institutions abroad to facilitate faculty exchange is the top strategy for facilitating faculty members' participation in the internationalization process – and for fostering student and faculty mobility with developing countries (AUCC, 2007a, p. 5).

In addition, in a document titled "Internationalization of the Curriculum" (AUCC, 2007b), AUCC presented findings on what strategies were used for internationalization. Those strategies that were most frequently used included some form of international institutional partnership. For example, work and study abroad programs, international scholar and visiting experts projects, study tours, and international fieldwork were commonly employed to extend universities' international reach (p.3). However, the strategy of linking with other institutions was not the only approach to internationalization. The AUCC documents also identified knowledge exports as a dominant institutional focus of internationalization, defined as “the provision of educational products and services overseas” (p.14). These international interactions focus on engaging in what has come to be known as the knowledge economy and the subsequent knowledge market. While the documents express these relations in very neutral terms, there is ample research that suggests that when the work of educational institutions becomes part of the market where survival depends on competition and entrepreneurship, the goals of the institution are directed in a very different way than when internationalization is based on collaboration and knowledge exchange (Apple, 2001; Dale, 2005; Sackmann, 2007). ”Universities increasingly rely on international activities as a source of revenue generation. Programs tend to be much more tailored and client driven. As a result, the main challenge today is finding a niche in target countries or regions (AUCC, 2007b, p. 14–15).” This highlights the constraints that will be placed on initiating, maintaining, and sustaining partnerships when partnerships become the instrument for more directly economic purposes. Some faculty and community members working within these tensions are reacting against the impossibility of building authentic relationships in a market driven model. The question then is whether there is a way to work in partnerships that further the social goals of education rather than using education partnerships as a means to achieve economic goals.

LEARNING FROM THE CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

In the early 1990s the international development sector, led by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), began to address several trends in the field by developing a sector code of ethics. First, there was a decrease in public funds available to support international cooperation and particularly the work carried out by Canadian organizations connected through partnerships to community organizations in other parts of the world. There was a significant shift toward business models of accountability and organizational management, and the discourse of privatization rather than public sector programming was making its way into policy documents at the international and national level. While the sector made significant changes to accommodate these shifts, there remained a vocal opposition to policies and practices linked to the pervasive neoliberal policy context and the structural adjustments requirements that completely changed the landscape of international development cooperation. While for some members, a sense of needing to act for organizational survival meant they quickly adapted and adopted the neoliberal requirements, there continued to be a strong group who identified the new policy direction as being harmful and creating what was arguably de-development for the people who most needed support to improve their quality of life. Many of those opponents had long-term commitments and partnerships with people in Africa, Latin America, and Asia and witnessed the destructiveness of international structural adjustment policies on local communities. These voices also posed challenging critiques of civil society members (CSOs) including CCIC members. Brian Tomlinson, a leader of the CCIC Policy Team and an internationally recognized analyst and advocate for development policy changes, highlights some of these critiques in a speech at a 2006 Africa Canada Forum:

> The issue [of lack of transparency in development relations] is also directly tied to serious questions by CSOs on governance and the role of the major donor institutions themselves, such as the World Bank and the IMF. It is ultimately, in my view, caught up with an arrogance, which often attaches itself to power, that suggests that donors and the myriad of related northern consultants, and now perhaps even some northern NGOs, have figured out what works and what doesn't…Development is profoundly a political process about rights, about the impact of policy choices on the rights of poor and marginalized people, and about citizenship and engage[ment] in public debate about the allocations of government resources... And while I firmly believe we need to engage donors on issues related to civil society and aid reform, we need to do so, keeping in mind the ways that civil society interventions in development, from the local to the global, affect the degree to [which] poor people benefit, or not, from the aid system. Civil society can also be integrated into aid reform in ways that undermine the politics and capacities of poor and marginalized people to claim their rights (Tomlinson, 2006, pg. 6-7).

With many of the same tensions that members of Canadian universities are currently experiencing related to how best to engage with internationalization and international cooperation, for example, the tension between marketization and collaborative engagements, CCIC became a leader in developing ethical principles and guidelines for practice in an attempt to shape the working context and practices of its members. By 2002 – 2003, CCIC had added partnership principles and standards to the *Code of Ethics* that also included governance, organizational integrity, finances, communications, management, and decision-making. The CCIC *Code of Ethics* forms an integrated whole with each area linked to the others, not to be delinked or considered in isolation (CCIC, 2004, p. 3.1; Murray & Aitken, 2000). Compliance is addressed through a self-certification process that involves the organization's main governing body (for example, Board of Directors) submitting an annual report outlining how they are in compliance with the code and also the activities that they engage to reach and maintain compliance. These reports are reviewed by a CCIC committee that represents the sector but also includes leading ethics experts from universities and other sectors. A key aspect of this process is the focus of ongoing learning for individual organizations and the sector as a whole.

In the ethics documentation, CCIC describes partnerships as "the fundamental bond linking organizations engaged in international co-operation through a relationship based on honesty, trust, and respect" (CCIC, 2004, p. 3.1). The principles are based on a desire for shared learning and an understanding that "international co-operation efforts are best served when organizations question, not so much whether relationships are considered partnerships and therefore must comply with the Standards, but instead how all relationships can best follow an ethical approach" (p. 3.1). These Standards address the issues that might be expected to affect partnerships and highlight the need for common understanding. While there is a description of the minimum requirement for compliance, a key message is also that there is always room for improving and negotiating more deeply ethical relationships. The Standards identify ethical concerns related to initiating, maintaining and strengthening, and ending partnerships (CCIC, 2004) reflecting the need for partnerships to develop over time and beyond short-term service provision or market-like transactions. These standards very clearly name the need to address inequalities, power differences, and respect for cultural, religious, socio-economic and political differences. In addition, the importance of recognizing partners' contributions, respecting intellectual property rights, and acknowledging appropriate ownership of products and results arising from partnership initiatives is clearly identified (CCIC, 2006, p. A1-1, A1-2). The standards highlight how partners should negotiate these aspects of relationships.

These ethical standards sit on a set of partnership principles developed through a very participatory process involving CCIC members, academics, and many organizations from "the global south" that had at some time been in a partnership with a Canadian organization. The **nine principles** are:

- Partnerships should be vehicles for long term accompaniment that support the right of people to determine and carry out activities that further their own development options, through their civil society organizations.
- Partnerships should advance and exemplify the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, social justice, equitable distribution of global wealth and environmental sustainability.
- Partnerships should be built on shared visions and goals for society which imply mutual support and solidarity beyond the implementation of specific programs and projects.
- Partnerships should be formed in a spirit of inclusiveness that respects and promotes the value of diversity.

- Partnerships should embody equity. Acknowledging that inequalities often exist as a result of power dynamics, especially in funding relations, partners should strive for equitable partnerships.
- Partnerships should be dynamic relationships built on respect and honesty, in which partners strive for better understanding and appreciation of one another.
- Partners should be transparent and accountable to one another.
- Partners should respect one another's autonomy and constraints and strive to foster a climate of mutual trust in all their partnership activities.
- Partners should endeavour to learn from one another and facilitate the sharing of knowledge (CCIC, 2006, p. A1-1, A1-2).

CCIC, through the several years of developing a *Code of Ethics* and the inclusion of a set of partnerships principles, has highlighted many key issues related to establishing ethical partnerships. Partnerships should reflect relationships based on mutuality, reciprocity, and solidarity. They should be enactments of justice thereby making justice and the processes of achieving justice visible. This requires attentiveness to the dynamic nature of partnerships and a high level of respect for diversity. But, perhaps most important, partnerships for justice involve conflict or the potential for conflict, at the personal, organizational, and institutional level.

Ethical partnerships hold the possibility of disrupting many of the institutionalized norms of the marketisation of education, processes that involve struggle and conflict if there is to be authentic change rather than the relentless "change with no difference" that the recent decades of neoliberal reforms have brought. By initiating a sector wide engagement and learning focus in the area of ethics and establishing principles, standards, and a process of certification, CCIC has made approaches to partnerships firmly located in the ethical considerations of equity, human rights, and justice.

ETHICS AND PARTNERSHIPS

As the case of CCIC and the current questions being posed in universities demonstrate, there is an increased critique of internationalization and a turn toward the ethical to understand the problems related to globalization, internationalization, and global citizenship education (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). How might we understand this ethical turn? Eagleton (2009) draws on the work of Emmanuel Levinas who helps us to (re)place ethics into the context of the "needy, afflicted, compassionate body" (p.223) where "to be a subject means to be subjected – which is to say, exposed to the bruising demands of the Other, a demand that registers itself not in the mind, but on the surface of the skin, at the edge of the nerves (p. 223). Ethics is “not a gift from the heart but of the bread from one’s mouth” (Levinas, 1981, p. 74) where the other is experienced as “someone one has under one’s skin” (p. 74). This profound level of reciprocal recognition (Honneth, 1995) can be considered as foundational to achieving justice (Abdi & Shultz, forthcoming).

As relationships move toward moral engagement and the recognition of the other as a responsible moral agent, a deeper level of social solidarity is formed that must be present as a condition of justice. We are challenged to act ethically not from a cognition of the good or as a result of the agreeable merging of egos , but from a profound responsivity toward the presence of the other- a relationship of conflict, of tension, of otherness, that becomes infinitely and irreversibly concerned beyond one’s own positionality. The ethical is not gentle, smooth, or occasional – it is raw, and disruptive and persistent. Eagleton claims, “we exist in so far as we are affected” (2009, p. 224). We are, then, joined in a knot of subjectivity from which the ethical can emerge.

Loss has made a tenuous ‘we’ of us all. And if we have lost, then it follows that we have had, that we have desired and have loved, that we have struggled to find the conditions for our desire…This means that each of us is constituted politically in part by virtue of the social vulnerability of our bodies – as a site of desire and physical vulnerability, as a site of publicity at once assertive and exposed. Loss and vulnerability seem to follow from our being socially constituted bodies, attached to others, at risk of losing those attachments, exposed to others, at risk of violence by virtue of that exposure (Butler, 2004, p. 20).

Ethics are the result of being affected by trauma or a traumatic context, where we experience a great awakening beyond ourselves that, in fact, creates our subjectivity (Levinas, 1981). Within the ethical considerations of educators, and members of organizations, there needs to be consideration of the trauma from which our ethical concerns become embodied in these subjectivities. The traumas of our time, that we organize to address and educate about and beyond, include social, political, economic, and environmental injustices that are intricately interconnected through local and global causes, impacts, and solutions. These traumas become even more significant in light of the historical contextualizations of international centre-periphery relations and the legacies of colonialism, slavery, and innumerable human rights abuses.

Universities, as the institutionalized form of educators’ collectivity, provide the processes and structures through which we move and interact in this context by exchanging knowledge and serving our communities. Here too, the ethical emerges from being affected by the traumatic experiences in the locations of the organizations’ encounters. Any member of a university would need to be intentionally closed or, in fact, oblivious to avoid the current issues related to global justice that are evident in our classrooms, lecture theatres, policies, and communities. When these are taken into globalized international relations, injustices may be even more affecting. The mobility of knowledge, information, and people continues to intensify through policy and technology, and in this mobility we must encounter the rising of the ethical as it emerges from these experiences of affection. Ethical partnerships in contested international contexts are relations of disruption as one partner is affected by the other. In the same way that Levinas describes ethical relationships based on "trauma" (1981), organizational partnership share this relational sensibility, where engagement is so loaded that organizational members are shocked, emotional distraught, or offended by the acts by and/or toward others.

Some would describe our current historical moment as one of a permanent state of emergency through, among many global traumas, the American government's war on terror and the subsequent international criminalization of dissent and the suspicion of any who might be border crossers whether at political, religious, racialized, classed, gendered, or colonized borders. It is at these borders that, again, we see the possibility of the ethical where subjectivities are created in the intersection of lived experiences. In addition, many who have labored through the neoliberalized decades of public policy where public spaces were diminished, marketization was named as the goal of all social as well as economic interactions, and where human relations were treated as commodities to be used in exports, stand in relation to the poor and marginalized in a traumatized state of ethical relationship. The challenges of negotiating any kind of relationship based on reciprocity within this context are extensive but not insurmountable.

Catherine Odora-Hoppers (2000; 2008) describes how a new generation of Third World scholars is emerging to respond to the inequities and inconsistencies in what we have come to call the knowledge economy. The free trade of knowledge, although couched in a seemingly politically neutralized language of freedom and equality, has became the framework, not of freeing the periphery from the structural impediments of the traditions of marginalization, but a conduit for the knowledge producers and knowledge entrepreneurs of the rich countries to have unrestricted access as well as full power to determine the extensivity and intensivity of all relations (Odora-Hoppers, 2000). For those institutional relations that named assistance and development cooperation as goals, Odora-Hoppers provokes a challenge:

Help is no longer a response to the cry of a person, but elegant power, an instrument for the imposition of good conduct, subjecting whoever desired help to the watchful gaze of the helper. Help and threat now go together and calculating, effortlessly robbing the one who cries for help, his/her autonomy as a crier (2000, p. 284).

It is not the goal or logics of "helping" that enable ethical partnerships to be developed. Rather, a reciprocal recognition of the partner, that is also the basis for justice, must be the foundation for an ethical relationship. Willie Ermine (1995; 2005) describes this as ethical space, where two entities with different intentions, for example, Western government agents and Indigenous and colonized populations, have an encounter where "the two worldviews [are] presently in a mesh of political, social, and intellectual meaning with no apparent solution to the entangled dilemma"(p.4). We must not assume that international engagement, even if framed as a project of justice, holds shared intention, particularly in centre - periphery encounters. Ethical space is created when people with different world views, positions, or even, organizational or personal goals, are in conflict and those people involved seek to dialogically engage across these differences. If partnerships are to be ethically based, they will need to be nurtured in this kind of dialogic space.

BUILDING UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS ON AN ETHICAL FOUNDATION

Drawing on the literature of ethical relations and the practical experience of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation, there is a potential for reworking how universities approach goals and strategies of internationalization. The CCIC case highlights the importance of putting processes in place to identify the foundational principles of ethical partnerships. In order for Canadian universities to achieve this, three key aspects of current partnership practices will need to be addressed. First, can the project of education in general and specifically international education partnerships be delinked from the competitive, marketized focus of the global neoliberal policy context? The pressure to internationalize the curriculum identified in the AUCC studies suggests the goal of internationalization of universities has become an institutional goal of increasing the quantity and extensiveness of international connections and not necessarily tied to particular educational goals. Without serious consideration of the impact of these goals, there is a danger that those who are on the receiving end of Canada's drive for internationalization will be constructed as "the exotic Other," the "deficient Other," or the "Other" as commodity and revenue source. The perils of these types of relationships have ample historical evidence to suggest that internationalization can be perilous project that will serve to perpetuate marginalization, misrepresentation, and deprivation of vast numbers of the world's citizens.

In addition, we need to question how the international project will engage with the legacies of previous projects of internationalization, including colonization and slavery, still very much present in current international relations. For many people in the world, the legacies of the colonial project continue to be deeply embedded in social, political, and economic structures.

Certainly, if there is to be any serious disruption of the silence regarding the historical legacies of such previous internationalization projects, intentional and authentic relationships across traditional exclusions must be nurtured. It will require a deep commitment to creating ethical space to ensure the partnerships that emerge will be based on mutual respect, reciprocity, and solidarity.

In order for such ethical partnerships and processes to be embedded into the practices of internationalization at universities, we also need to ask, for whom do we seek to internationalize universities? Are these programs working to create mobility for an elite who will view the world as borderless? Or can these programs be projects for educational equity supporting equity of access and promoting cognitive justice by engaging multiple worldviews and knowledge systems? How will these educational programs serve the poor and those who have been excluded through social and political marginalizations? If we are to break the institutionalized structures of marginalization, we need to engage our individual and collective moral imaginations within ethical dialogical spaces. Here, the possibilities for new relations of equity, justice, mutuality, and reciprocity have possibility.

CONCLUSIONS

In the absence of any ethical guidelines, Canadian universities continue to enact institutional norms and legitimized practices that reflect uneven centre-periphery relationships and ignore the contradictory intentions, and contingent affiliations and interests within and across these relationship boundaries. The post-secondary education sector might consider drawing on the experience of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation as an example of how, as a sector, they could address the tensions inherent in working internationally and strive to build good international partnerships. By collectively establishing a set of principles and standards, a kind of ethical space is created where ethical issues can be negotiated across seemingly impossible barriers. Instead of partnerships that serve marketized relations of service provision and knowledge export, there are possibilities that education becomes a pathway to cognitive justice, social justice, and economic justice providing the foundation to shift institutionalized norms of competition, marketization, and commodification and re-legitimising education that is founded on just relations. In this, universities would become accountable to ethics and values rather than rules and outcomes, allowing the possibility of reimagining and engaging in the important educational project of social change.

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5. JAPANESE AESTHETICS AND ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL AGE

With the advent of the global information age, Japanese youth today are required to have authentic abilities to communicate with different peoples from different countries in the English language, rather than simply a good knowledge of practical and functional American English. Affective learners of English are created through aesthetic reading, especially English poetry, when moved or inspired by the authenticity of the content implying the profound but subtle meaning of human emotion in life. In this sense, the way of affective and aesthetic English learning follows the traditional Japanese appreciation of ephemeral beauty. As an authentic incentive to intellectual activities, this sensitivity leads to a deep, accurate, and rapid understanding of different peoples in the global world. American English education in Japan therefore should be aimed at a broader goal of English as a shared language for Internet-based communication, fostering a greater sense of traditional Japanese beauty for a more affective English-learner in the global community.

NEW CULTURES AND NEW LITERACIES OVER THE SEA

Japan consists of four main islands isolated from the Eurasian continent, each of which has its own beautiful nature and four distinctive seasons. These geographical and climatic characters have nurtured and fostered Japan's own language and natural disposition. The Japanese language is presumed to belong to the Altaic language family, which also includes Turkish and Korean, due to the structural similarity to those languages. Other studies have also shown similarities to the Austro-Asian language of Southern China, the Austronesian of Indonesia and Micronesia, and the Toaripi of New Guinea (Foreign Press Center, 1999).

The Japanese language, however, greatly differed from newly arrived ones brought together with other cultures from overseas, and the Japanese were compelled to learn and study those new languages with enormous effort in order to understand the unknown cultures. That was true whenever Japan was confronted with new cultures or technologies coming from beyond the sea

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 89–103.

because the new literacies required for their acquisition were completely different from its own but, were essential to understanding and utilizing the new cultures for Japan's sake.

Since then, every endeavour was made for that purpose. In fact, in the year 538, when Buddhism was first introduced from the kingdom of Paeche through China to Japan, the Japanese were eager to learn Chinese characters to understand Buddhist doctrines and the innovative skills and arts brought together with them, until the invention of Japan's own character system in the ninth century.

The second epoch in learning and studying new literacies came with the time of Westernization in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was in 1853 that Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S.A. so extremely frightened the Japanese with modern Western arms at the port of Uraga located at the mouth of *Edo* (the old name of Tokyo) Bay. The Japanese "remembered also the results of the Anglo-Chinese war ('Opium War') of 1839-1842. They consulted the Dutch at Nagasaki, who strongly advised them to agree to the repeated foreign requests" (Murphey, 2001: 263). In 1872 the modern Japanese educational system started just four years after the Meiji government had rigidly re-established imperial rule out of the former Tokugawa feudal system.

Consequently, the Japanese national goal at that time was to catch up with advanced Western technologies through foreign studies in order to make Japan strong enough to stand against Western powers. Therefore, its educational expectation was necessarily to acquire language skills for reading advanced foreign books. To the Japanese, it seemed natural that learning and studying foreign languages meant reading and perhaps writing them, never speaking with the people coming from outside Japan. I should mention that, even in today's Tokyo, we Japanese do not see many foreign people, except in some parts of its downtown area.

The third era accompanied Japan's defeat in World War II, and a dramatic change to English education was brought through the overwhelming victory of the U.S.A. over Japan. The occupation forces, mainly American, set out to reform the pre-war Japanese educational system as their top priority in the democratization of Japanese society. In 1947, the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted under U.S. guidance. As a result, the Japanese education system started to adopt the U.S. 6-3-3-4 system, and more importantly, American English education took the place of British English, which had been taught as an authorized subject in pre-war Japanese secondary schools.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Japanese Education Reform as the Top Priority of U.S. Occupation

In 1945, U.S. Occupation forces set out to democratize Japan politically, economically, and socially. Among other areas, "education reform was an issue of top priority in overhauling the national systems that had engendered the nation's pre-war militarism and ultranationalism" (the Foreign Press Center, 2001: 1). In the process of this reformation, American English education in Japan occupied for the first time an official and compulsory position in Japanese curriculum, for three years each in Junior and Senior High. The thorough education of the Japanese youth population was achieved at such a surprising rate that over 90% of junior high graduates enrolled in high school in 1974 (*Kawai Juku*, 2002: 413). Consequently, Americanization has been also penetrating deeper and more completely into young Japanese minds.

In fact, American General Douglas MacArthur, in Japan from August 1945 to April 1952, had more absolute power over Japanese minds than did Emperor Showa, who had been said to be a "direct descendant of the Sun Goddess" (Lafeber, 1997: 218), through Japanese pre-war education. Nevertheless, many Japanese sincerely welcomed his occupational administration and American aid for the devastated Japan, severely suffering from the lack of essential supplies such as food, fuel, transportation, and infrastructure.

In addition, the U.S.-led administration in Japan received firm nation-wide support through its implementation in 1946 of land reforms, which had been untouchable since Tokugawa feudalism was legitimated at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Japanese social mobility after World War II through that land reform rapidly promoted social equality between the former landowners and their tenants. For the first time in Japanese history, "status resulted from achievement rather than birth" (Murphey, 1992: 362).

At the same time, that novel ethical code in the life of Japanese commoners created by post-war American policy began to give Japanese education a new prominence as a means of making a rise in life. An equal opportunity given to everybody enabled any ambitious young Japanese to move upward in life by going on to a prestigious university through "a standardized single career path known as the 6-3-3-4 system" (Foreign Press Center, 2001: 1).

However, the annual results clearly show that an overwhelming majority of those accepted through the national recruitment examinations for central government bureaucrats have been the students in Tokyo or Kyoto University.

Therefore, Japanese parents have been obsessed with the idea that their children should go on to one of these top universities for their future success. Thus, the severe competition among university entry examinees known as "examination hell" (Reischauer & Jansen, 2001: 194) appeared in Japanese society. The following describes the unusual situation of Japanese students, as "40 % of elementary school children, 50% of junior high school students, and 60% of high school students attend some kind after-school lessons and /or cram schools" (Itasaka, 1996: 199). The 1998 survey by the Ministry of Education also shows that 34% of junior and high school students had "almost never seen the sun rise, while 26% of them had never had a good look at the starry night-sky" (Mizoe, 2002: 189). These educational circumstances also remind me of the unusual severity of so-called examination hell in Japan.

In that way, for better or worse, the post-war Americanization brought every Japanese youth an equal number of opportunities to rise in social status through a better education. Originally, the Japanese valued harmony with others and therefore respected the virtue of modesty as the supreme good, hating the unnecessary competition among people as something disturbing their peaceful relations with others. Subsequently, the novel principle of free competition with others brought by Americanization greatly changed Japanese minds and their dispositions in everyday life. As a result, Japanese students began to make the greatest effort to obtain good marks in school for their own future rather than for society.

American English as a Means of Upward Mobility in Japanese Society

At the same time as these changes, the U.S. government was actually providing Japanese school children with affluent American food, especially milk, which I remember well was the only protein the Japanese children at that time could consume through the daily meal service in school. Many Japanese parents in those days could not pay even the smallest amount of the fees for that kind of school lunch given to their children. In such a way, I knew what poverty meant as a mere school child. To devastated Japanese eyes, the affluent richness of the U.S.A. shone too brightly.

With regard to the education of Japanese youth, the U.S. government strongly encouraged gifted young students to study in America, and it showered scholarships on them to support poor Japanese youth. As a result, Japanese leaders today in various fields are those who studied in America when they were young. Their American experiences strengthened the U.S. influence in Japan. The list of Fulbright scholarship-awarded students was once in the widely read Asahi Newspaper, and readers like me realized the fact that the current American-Japanese relations had been rigidly built on the past U.S. exchange programs for bright young Japanese.

After the overwhelming American victory over Japan, English meant everything to the lives of post-war Japanese generations because studying English gave them the greatest assurance of making a rise in life, rendering it possible to pass the most difficult entrance examinations for prestigious universities. Thus, higher English ability became a powerful means of obtaining better future employment after graduating from prestigious universities. In the process, American-English learning started to exert a great influence on Japanese people up to the present time.

In effect, American English, for a successful entry into a Japanese university, became a crucial subject for the exams. The fact is that a student with advanced English skills can gain an advantage over others, because an English score in an entry exam is often evaluated with significance double those of the other subjects.

Consequently, students at every level study American English harder than any other subject under the current Japanese school environment. Even short-term English language programs abroad have become very popular among Japanese youth, and they often visit English-speaking countries during the long holidays. In short, the enactment of the educational reform by the SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers) headquarters was in a sense able to completely change Japanese minds, with their pre-war hatred morphing into a very close brotherhood with the U.S.A.

ISSUES OF TIME AND VOCABULARY IN AMERICAN ENGLISH EDUCATION

Historically, Japan has heavily relied on language education for reading and writing skills since the Meiji period (1868-1912), during which the utmost priority was placed on the acquisition of Western knowledge in order to catch up with the powerfully advancing West. While this past reliance is likely one reason, there seem to be other reasons for the more limited English language abilities today.

The time devoted to the study of foreign languages in Japanese junior-high school is extremely limited: three classes a week in a school year. “In contrast to 117 hours in Japan, the time allotted for language study in Holland is 303 hours, 173 hours in France and 151 hours in Germany” (Mizoe, 2002: 90). Given that these languages are quite like English and belong to the same Indo-European family, the significant linguistic difference of Japanese from English should be more seriously taken into account. These aspects of English education in Japan suggest that Japan’s future in international society might be heavily hampered.

Another serious problem with the Ministry of Education’s guidelines is that they initially limited the English vocabulary learned during the three years of junior high school to about 1,000 words and reduced it even more in 2003 to 900 (*The Seventh Revised Course of Study for Junior High School*, 1999);

thus, students are less able to read, write, speak or listen to English. Furthermore, English textbooks first go through a selection process by the Japanese Ministry of Education, which always results in the use of standardized texts and therefore makes English learning more boring to students.

Focus On More Practical English in the 2003 Seventh Revised Course of Study

The Fourth Revised Course of Study invoked in 1973 reflected the special educational circumstance that Japanese universal high school education had reached almost to the final stage as the 1974 data revealed that high school enrolment was over 90 percent (Kawai Juku, 2002: 413). That Fourth Revised Course of Study announced for the first time the requirement of the English conversation curriculum (p. 413).

At that time, English language education in Japan dramatically transferred emphasis from erudite to practical. In addition to the new communicative nature of the English classes, the more practical the English reading materials authorized by the Ministry of Education became, the less interesting their contents were for both teachers and students. In reality, the reading and writing competencies of Japanese youth were far better than their speaking and listening abilities among the four areas in English language learning. That was because the other academic subjects in Japanese secondary schools were far beyond such a mundane everyday level.

As a result, able students could memorize the whole of their English text for the purpose of obtaining the best scores in the subject without being moved by the content. Given that both analytical and critical thinking are crucial to learning and studying, building such a shallow base without their apprehension or appreciation of language learning is extremely inappropriate for the improvement of their intellectual abilities, in comparison to the learning methods taken in other subjects such as math and science that promoted the mental development of these smart Japanese students to the highest levels in the world.

Furthermore, Japanese teachers continued to teach English conversation by explaining it in the Japanese language during classes, while Japan had a dearth of native instructors of American English. Thus, this kind of language education failed, in a true sense, in implementing its supreme role as a messenger of both American democracy and its merit system, despite many powerful efforts already made by the SCAP headquarters from 1945 to 1952.

It is high time that the pragmatism in American English language education should be reconsidered in the current educational context. What will be the true significance of practical American English education to Japanese youths' future? Is the emphasis on daily-conversation learning truly most helpful for Japanese youth who are fated to open their future through the globalized world? When I contemplate their future facing the irresistible power of globalization through the Internet, I cannot agree to such an easy, temporary transaction of current English education with the shift in emphasis on communicative, functional English skills, which need few authentic, affective readings of English in the midst of the global world.

Needless to say, Japanese people today cannot deny the fact that communicative skills such as speaking and listening in functional English have become more critical to their living in the age of information and globalization. However, so long as they desire to place more emphasis on the international perspective than on pragmatism, as seen in the current American English education in Japan, the quality of its education should be seriously reconsidered for a profound understanding of the global community. This is because in the advent of globalization, more advanced skills for English understanding have been required for mutual understanding between different peoples from different countries without misinterpretation, regardless of the diversities in nationalities, political and economic systems, education, or beliefs.

Furthermore, instant global communication through the worldwide network at any place and any time demands that people possess not only the ability to use electronic technologies effectively but also the ability to read English information quickly, analytically, and critically (Leu, Kinzer, Coiro & Cammack, 2004). This ability to deal with English information properly needs a truer, deeper understanding of the language rather than simply a good knowledge of its functional skills. In any case, an authentic communication between two parties should be aimed at fostering and nurturing mutual understanding with great respect through a keen cultural awareness of the other party.

Japan's Loss in the Cultural Context

Japanese people today can enjoy almost all American movies immediately after the premieres in the U.S.A., many sorts of American magazines and books are published in Japan shortly after their American releases, and any kind of American foods and clothing are easily obtained even in remote Japanese towns. As a result, Japanese youth are absorbed by trendy U.S. pop cultures, instead of learning and touching Japanese traditions, unless they are taught them in school or become aware of Japanese traditional values for themselves. Sometimes they scorn traditional Japanese ethics such as modesty, politeness, or hard work as being too old fashioned. Such an example is often seen in high school excursions to Kyoto, the former Japanese capital with a

1,200-year history of refined cultural traditions, because Japanese young students still try to find American fast food outlets in this old city.

Subsequently, travelling to the U.S.A has also become fashionable for today's Japanese youth, as they are eager to go there at least once while they are young, instead of visiting neighbouring Asian countries. Therefore, studying abroad is often synonymous with studying in the U.S.A. I had to refer specifically to Canada when I left Japan to be a Canadian graduate student.

In accordance with these America-oriented attitudes seen daily in Japanese society, many Japanese, including adults, have begun to hold an illusion that the ability to talk with Americans or to understand American TV programs guarantees a person her international sense. This is mainly because CNN TV programs in Japan are the principal means of knowing international affairs, and therefore understanding things American is often regarded as equal to understanding the world. When compared with CBC or BBC TV programs, I found that CNN treated the same issue in its own peculiar way and different meanings could sometimes be suggested to its audience. This informational environment surrounding today's Japan implies a possibility that the Japanese might look at the world through American eyes, not through their own eyes.

Perhaps Japan has become an American twin living by chance in Asia, and then Tokyo and New York should be expected to have many things in common, although each of them expects to be the world's primary global city with greater diversity in values. Most seriously, the Japanese might have lost their identity as Asians citizens, and even a sense of Japanese citizenship.

AESTHETIC PEDAGOGY IN AMERICAN ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Japanese Aesthetic Sensitivity as an Authentic Incentive to Intellectual Activities

Since 1947, much time has been devoted to English learning in Japanese schools through three-year compulsory education in junior high and three-year voluntary education in high school, whose attendance rate reached 97 % in 2000 (Foreign Press Centre, 2001: 80). Despite the greatest efforts to teach English, it is not likely that the Japanese ability to read and write English has improved since the enactment of the new education law after the end of World War II. Although English has become a more important subject for university entrance examinations all over Japan as well as established its position as a common language for globalization and the IT (information technology) revolution, the learning results are not as high as the Japanese expected.

Despite the fact that the benefits of Americanization are innumerable for post-war Japanese society, I argue that the thorough Americanization of Japanese life has nevertheless deprived Japanese youth of delicate Japanese sentiments as fostered carefully in the long course of time. In this context, insensitivity to delicate, subtle, fragile, ephemeral, and transient meanings of both the outer and innermost worlds eventually leads to less mental curiosity in Japanese life. Yet, through such an affinity for Japanese traditional beauty, one can be enlightened in an instant to the truth penetrating the past, present, and even future. This keen sense shapes an authentic incentive to any intellectual activities of Japanese youth in their lives.

My concerns as an English teacher having studied in Canada gravitate toward how the loss of this Japanese aesthetic sense in students' outer and innermost worlds affects their attitudes in learning and studying English, and also toward how the educational remedy for this loss should be restored in the current Japanese educational environment. As an English teacher in Tokyo, I am seeking an authentic way of teaching American English under the current Japanese system that will be strengthened, rather than weakened, by this historical sensitivity to beauty.

The Japanese curator of East Asian Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and founder of Tokyo National Art School, Okakura, argues in his poetic English prose work, *The Book of Tea,* which I regard as an eminent English masterpiece written by a Japanese:

> … in our self-centered century, what inspiration do we offer them (struggling artists and weary souls)? The past may well look with pity at the poverty of our civilization; the future will laugh at the barrenness of our art. We are destroying art in destroying the beauty in life (p. 92).

He then reinforced his thought:

> How can our intelligence be augmented without a sense perceptive of 'Mind speaks to mind.' We listen to the unspoken, we gaze upon the unseen (1993, p. 80–81).

A Sense of Transcendence in Japanese Art Appreciation

In Japan, the Buddhist "doctrine that everything that is born must die and that nothing remains unchanged" (*An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1996: 31) nurtured and fostered an aesthetic value particular to Japan that "exquisite beauty was considered fragile and fleeting" (p. 15). Specifically, the delicacy, subtlety, fragility, and ephemerality of beauty have transcendent functions by virtue of their changeable qualities. "Changeability itself is frequently the object of admiration, for it means movement, progress, eternal youthfulness" (Suzuki, 1959: 380).

The Japanese mind that has been familiar with those aesthetic values of beauty is presumed to be quite sensitive to the transcendental beauty in current daily life through Zen influence by virtue of *cha-no-yu*, the art of tea (which is still one of the most popular Japanese beverages).

In Western terms, according to the Swiss psychiatrist Jung (1875-1961), a sense of transcendence is defined as "the transition from one attitude to the other organically possible, without loss of unconscious" (cited in Coward, 1985: 158).

Ephemeral Beauty and a Sense of Transcendence in American Poetry

American literature, especially poetry, requires a sensuous process in appreciating its ephemeral beauty through a sense of transcendence, as equally seen in the appreciation of Japanese traditional art. For example, poems written by Emily Dickinson (1830-86), an American poetess of the nineteenth century, show her keen sensitivity of ephemeral beauty by virtue of her transcendental attitude toward Mother Nature. This is plainly stated in Bennett's remark on her poems that "the relationship between transcendent meaning and sense experience is their subject, not nature per se" (1990 203). Her poem, for example, *The Day Came Slow*, (Johnson, 1960: 143) represents this transcendent sentiment of ephemeral beauty seized in nature.

The image of ephemeral beauty in nature is likewise crystallized in the theme of the poem entitled *Nothing Gold Can Stay* by Robert Frost (1874-1963), an American poet in the twentieth century (Lathem, 1969: 222-223). Frost's sense of fragility in a flower as representative of ephemeral beauty by its one-hour life span is remarkably similar to Suzuki's attitude in the appreciation of a morning glory fading before noon in Japanese summer, as in the following:

> The one peculiarity is that it blooms fresh every morning, and there are never any of yesterday's flowers. However splendid the flowers are this morning, they fade even before noon of the same day. This evanescent glory has appealed very much to the Japanese imagination (Suzuki, 1959: 381).

In the same manner as these American poets, the Japanese have been extremely admiring of the fragile or ephemeral beauty of a morning glory as well as the momentarily falling of cherry blossoms at their best in the midst of Japanese spring.

Japanese Aesthetic Sensitivity for English Education

We Japanese could say that rapid Americanization after the defeat in World War II has deprived Japanese youth of delicate Japanese sentiments in their daily life, as fostered and nurtured through our traditional Zen culture up to the present day, for example, by means of the *cha-no-yu* (tea ceremony). Instead of responding to delicate differences in the outer and inner worlds, young Japanese today are willing to accept anything American, forgetting to criticize or analyze its authenticity in life. Especially when it comes to trendy American cultures such as American fast food, ever-changing fashions, or popular music, movies and magazines, young Japanese become absorbed in following them in order not to get behind with the current comings and goings. Thus, their identities have been taken over by American corporations who sell 'cool'; only those who have inner strength and other cultural knowledge are enabled to define themselves and to resist the power of the youth market (Côté, 2006).

Unfortunately, trendy American cultures rarely nurture or augment an aesthetic sense needed for profound appreciation of arts or significance in life. This is mainly due to over-industrialized or dehumanized qualities related to the American pursuit of high efficiency in life, as easily found in the free enterprise system and equal competition principle. These values seem more dehumanized elements of life than those that the Japanese have cultivated through Japanese traditions and cultures with a close relation to Mother Nature since ancient times. Watts, an American thinker, describes Japanese culture as "man as an integral part of his environment" (1957: 175) or "no conflict between the natural element of chance and the human element of control" (p.174). In his view, the new lifestyle of Japanese youth today brought by rapid Americanization after World War II should be called abnormal in a Japanese traditional sense of intimacy with nature.

It can be said that a prime cause of both the current chaotic situation of American English education and the regrettable loss of Japanese traditional sensitivity should be attributed to the powerful Americanization of Japanese daily life since the defeat in World War II. In that process, we have also forgotten to develop an authentic, aesthetic English understanding as cultivated through the reading of American literature like Poe's works as well as British literature like the works of Shakespeare (in modern translations), Blake, Wilde, and Wordsworth, all of which were once utilized for Japanese school texts, and are full of delicate meanings in life.

In particular, the dramatic Americanization of 1945 to 1952 had a great influence on Japanese minds and cultural life. Because the postwar Americanization was strongly supported by the vast majority of the Japanese through the historically novel land reform, it had a high potential to soon spread all over Japan, accompanied by American-style living and attractive social mobility through compulsory American-English education under the same education system as that of the U.S.A.

However, in order to improve the current problematic American English language education under the peculiar Japanese educational circumstances, I would like to make two proposals. My first proposal is a shift toward more reading-oriented English education as fostering more sensitivity to delicate meanings in life than is currently practiced in Japanese schools. A further suggestion related to the first is that English oral classes should be synthesized within a balanced reading curriculum as part of the interdisciplinary studies of the English language arts. A special frame for an English conversation class is less likely to be needed in this case. It is after students have been deeply moved by virtue of authentic, aesthetic reading and then affective learning and studying that they will surely have a desire to express their own impressions and opinions in public, without being urged by teachers. This voluntary attitude toward English learning and studying creates authentic expressions within their minds, without their making English phrases for English's sake. At this level, a team teaching situation with a native-speaking assistant language teacher would be of more effective help for improving, developing, and nurturing a true oral competency in students through her natural English. I should add that it is regrettable that there are no JET teachers in Tokyo because they are meant to work for remote areas in Japan.

My second proposal is that this education should be also aimed at fostering a sensitivity to life, or Japanese historical sensitivity to ephemeral beauty, in English learning and studying. How can our intelligence be augmented without a sense perceptive of ephemeral beauty in the outer and innermost worlds? An affective learner going through aesthetic, authentic reading studded with subtle beauty will accomplish a true appreciation of the profound meanings of life enclosed in the reading materials like the Canadian classic *Anne of Green Gables* that has been appreciated and loved most in the world by the Japanese for a long time. Another influential book with Canadian direction provided me with an invaluable suggestion that

> "the emphasis on the instrumental purposes of education (for employability) is troubling. Surely there are other more aesthetic and philosophical values that should be the priority of higher education" (Majhanovich and Geo-JaJa, 2010: xii).

As I indicated before, American poetry also crystallizes the appreciation of nature by borrowing from nature to express a sentiment in life, a keen sensitivity to beauty seized in Mother Nature. The images of ephemeral beauty caught in the theme of Frost are described as, "Whatever man sees in nature is a reflection of his mind and heart" (Doyle, 1962: 219). What is more, his sensitivity to the fragile beauty is remarkably similar to Suzuki's view on Japanese Zen culture, whose influence still remains in our Japanese daily life.

There is no doubt that English competencies will be dramatically improved by the application of this sense to daily learning and studying through

authentic, aesthetic reading, including poetry. Suzuki recognizes this sense of transience more concretely, as seen in the Zen way of looking at the world:
What constitutes the frame of mind or "psycho-sphere" thus generated here is the realization of the spirit of poverty devoid of all forms of dichotomy: subject and object, good and evil, right and wrong, honour and disgrace, body and soul, gain and loss, and so on (1959: 295).

This Japanese mind is also perceived in "Man as an integral part of his environment" (Watts, 1957: 175), which might be the same idea as Heidegger's philosophy of "being-as-a-whole" (as cited in Pattison, 2000: 103) and the issue of how Being exists in the world. Thus, Watts criticizes the Western way of behaving for the idea of an "artist conquering his medium as our explorers and scientists also speak of conquering mountains or conquering space" (1957: 175).

The idea of conquering, however, seems to me to be the same as the American principle of free competition in life, as introduced into Japanese society soon after World War II. This idea was not likely to be suitable to Japanese society where their ethical value *wa* (harmony) barred "all the arrogant, individualistic, self-assertive spirit, so characteristic of modern Japanese young men" (Watts, 1957: 305). I should add that the Japanese spirit of *wa* is rapidly disappearing from our current Americanized society in a similar way that a sense of appreciation of profound beauty is.

In the advent of the global information age, Japanese youth today are required to have authentic abilities to communicate with not only American people but also different peoples by using English as a "*lingua franca*," that is, as a shared language of communication (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000: 146). For a deeper, more accurate, and more rapid understanding of different peoples with different nationalities, creeds, and political or economic systems, American English education in Japan should be aimed at the broader goals of future generations living in the global world, that is to say,

> Global education programs aim to produce citizens who are knowledgeable about world issues, are open to different world perspectives, associate with others, are kind to strangers, and are disposed to act with other citizens of the world to improve the planet (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2011: 32).

The first effort should move beyond the standardized practical, functional American English learning and studying as aimed at the promotion of smooth communicative activities. Instead, as sensitivity to authentic beauty is an essential incentive to any intellectual activity in life, high ambition by virtue of authentic, aesthetic English reading studded with ephemeral beauty would result in the creation of a good mind, flexible intelligence, and exquisite sensitivity in the outer and innermost worlds of Japanese students. After their recognition of authentic, aesthetic beauty, students could easily capture profound and subtle meanings of life even in the midst of globalization, which otherwise gives them too much worthless information to be dealt with.

If there is anything Japan can be proud of in the global world, I believe it should be a keen sense of transient beauty, such as the delicacy, subtlety, fragility, momentarity, and ephemerality of beauty. We Japanese have prized these changeable qualities most in our life because "changeability itself is frequently the object of admiration, for it means movement, progress, eternal youthfulness" (Suzuki, 1959: 380).

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6. FROM A GLOBAL EDUCATION 'IDIOT' TEACHER TO A COMPETENT GLOBAL EDUCATOR

WHY GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION?

In this chapter, we examine the importance of the intensification of international education, in particular, global citizenship education, as an umbrella aide towards profound understanding of similarities and differences among multicultural education, antiracist education, and diverse cultures education. As a consequence of participation in a symposium on international education,[1] a graduate seminar was developed and delivered asynchronously as part of the M. Ed. at the University of New Brunswick. This chapter focuses on the justification for such a course and presents an analysis of the participants' comments regarding their learning experiences.

Definitions of Global Citizenship Education

The definitions and understandings of global education have evolved over the years. The National Council of the Social Studies first defined global education and its purpose as:

> an effort to cultivate in young people, a perspective of the world which emphasizes the interconnections among cultures, species, and the planet. The purpose of global education is to develop in youth the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to live effectively in a world possessing limited natural resources and characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence (1982, p. 1–2)

whereas, some eight years later, another definition considers global education as a process of learning about those problems and issues which cut across national boundaries and about the interconnectedness of systems-cultural, ecological, economic, political and technological. It also involves learning to understand and appreciate our neighbors with different cultural backgrounds than ours; to see the world through the eyes, and minds of others; and realize

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 105–120.

that other people may view life differently than we do and yet that all the people of the world need and want much the same things (Tye, 1990, p.9).

A similar definition provides a proactive emphasis on citizens' decision making and effective participation in the world (Merryfield, 1994; Merryfield, Jarchow & Pickert, 1997). This is closely related to a later definition which describes global education as a pedagogy that focuses on teaching global concepts and issues, with student learning outcomes leading to citizen action (Daiz, Massialas & Xanthopoulos, 1999). Recently, many scholars have written about and defined global citizenship and suggest various teaching approaches with great emphasis on an activist approach to global and citizenship education in school curriculum across Canada (Abdi & Shultz, 2008; Hébert, 2008, 2002; Hughes & Sears, 2008; Banks, 2001; Davies, 2006, 1999a & b; Davies & Issitt 2005c; Evans & Reynolds, 2004; Richardson, 2004; Sears, 2004; Evans, 2003; Brown & Kysilka, 2003; Dower, 2002; Case, 1999; Sears, Clark & Hughes, 1999; Sears & Hughes, 1996, Chareka, 1994).

Curricular Legal Foundations of Global Citizenship Education

Many curricular initiatives on teaching global and citizenship education have been undertaken in provincial and territorial jurisdictions across Canada, with their main emphasis on interconnection and interdependence as central to international survival, peace building and cooperation. These initiatives, especially programs of study, establish legal frameworks for global citizenship teaching and learning.

The new social studies curriculum in Alberta, for example, includes a focus on global citizenship education from elementary to secondary (Alberta Education, 2005a, b, c). The Yukon has greatly modified British Columbia curricula and includes global education in its school programs (Yukon Department of Education, 2005b and Yukon Government, 2004). Other provinces like British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia have also paid attention to global education action in their curricula (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2005a, b; Manitoba Department of Education and Youth, 2006 a, b, 2000, 2003, 2004a; Ontario ministry of Education, 2005a, 2004 a, b; Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, Québec, 2005a, b; and Nova Scotia Department of Education, 2004a, b). These provinces also participated in the Charting Global Education in Canada's Elementary Schools Project, funded by UNICEF Canada. Ontario included a component requiring service learning as a vehicle to produce 'good' future citizens. In the Atlantic Provinces, commitment to the study of global interdependence is well expressed in the Atlantic Foundation document (n.d.) and a global studies course is required at the high school level and the grade 6 curriculum on world cultures is currently being introduced.

These legal curricular initiatives have been undertaken with very little attention to the prior knowledge, competence and confidence of the teachers who are to teach the curriculum in the schools. Understanding the prior knowledge which teachers bring is crucial for designing effective teaching and learning of their students about global citizenship education Although teachers are asked to teach global perspectives and issues, they have not received any preparation or had professional opportunities to reflect on their own views on global knowledge and to develop their competence to teach global education comprehensively and critically. To reach such levels of global competence takes time to be able to function well with people from various diverse background; to see nationalism critically; to function well in two or more cultures; and to have internalized universality ethical values and principles of humankind and have skills, competencies, and commitments needed to act on these values (Banks, 2006, p.66).

Thus, according to Banks (2001), teachers and students alike develop a balance of cultural, national and global identifications while critically examining their own cultural and national assumptions and perceptions.

Children and Youth's Knowledge of Global Citizenship Education

Studies of children and youth's knowledge of global citizenship education are rare but revealing. No research has been carried out with young Canadian children in regards to their prior knowledge of the children's hopes, fears and concerns for the future and only two studies done with Canadian youth (Mundy, Manion, Masemann & Haggerty, 2005). Of the latter, the first was a small pilot study of Japanese and Canadian students' perceptions of the responsibilities of world citizenship (Richardson, Blades, Kumano & Karaki, 2003), finding Canadian youth to be better than Japanese students on a relative scale in terms of environmental issues. However, results from the second study found that fewer youth in Canada than in Great Britain had a global orientation and are less knowledgeable about global issues than their counterparts (War Child & Environics Research, 2006).

In Britain, this same survey showed that 80% of the youth had a global orientation and high level of knowledge about global issues. Finally, a study in the USA indicates that students are enrolled in courses that simply introduce them to a number of countries and customs (Bacon & Kischner, 2002). If Canadian teachers are to be capable of teaching global citizenship effectively, it would important for educators to understand young Canadian children's prior knowledge as it relates to their hopes, fears and concerns about the future, as well as their understandings of global issues.

Rising global issues and concerns about the new millennium makes evident the impact of globalization and raises issues about the influence of individuals, communities and governments affected by decision-making processes across national borders and about this affects educators' work to re-evaluate concepts of citizenship and to question values which could serve as foundation for global education (Ibrahim, 2005). In order to prepare young citizens to realize the importance of global citizenship education to the preparation of active responsible participants of the global community, it is imperative that policy makers provide curricular resources and competent teachers so as to better enable the engagement of students in global issues.

Key Delivery Issues

Numerous scholars discuss key issues for the successful delivery of global citizenship education (Huh, 2008; Khan, 2008; Naval & Reparaz, 2008; Nikolayenko, 2007; Brown & Kysilka, 2003). Others have written extensively on this topic and suggested frameworks for teaching and learning about global citizenship education (Davies, 2006, Davies, Evans and Reid, 2005a; Davies, Harber, Yamashita Banks, 2004; Gaudelli, 2003; Osler, 2002, 1994; Osler & Vincent, 2002, Pike, 2000, 1996 and Pike & Selby 1999, 1988).

The importance of global education, and especially of global interdependence for today's children as future citizens has been explored by Selby (1995) in Great Britain, Merryfield (1997) and Hanvey (1976) in the United States, Richardson (2004, 1999); Evans (2006, 2004), Case (1999) in Canada, and Chareka (1994) regarding Zimbabwe.

Time Restrictions. The amount of time available for instruction of global education issues throughout the day is established by ministries and departments of education (Clark, 2000), leaving little time for considering the dynamic relationship between past, present and future. Young people need to prepare for a future that will be very different from the present, hence the need to intensify international education, in particular global citizenship education (Hicks & Holden, 1995).

Political Pressures. Politics influence curricular and teacher perspectives, provincial testing and curriculum development, resulting in the public and media actively seeking to put the teachers in the public eye. Thus, there are challenges of teaching for equity, justice, and solidarity (Osler & Vincent, 2002), and yet teachers may not fully realize their power and authority with respect to what students learn, understand and how they act.

Developing Competencies. Researchers and scholars alike agree that a global perspective involves an articulation of individuals' and societies' hopes and concerns about the future, an ethic of care, and a strong orientation toward making a positive difference in the future as active citizens (Dower, 2002). Children need to thrive on hope (Clark, 2000). Quite importantly, these authors would agree that teachers need to provide meaningful opportunities for students to actively participate at both local and global levels, empowering them to gather information, to form opinions and actively take part in the democratic decision making process, so as to broaden their perspectives and develop a base for understanding others who are different from themselves, but who share the same global community.

In this light, developing required teaching competencies requires specific education regarding content, teaching and learning approaches particular to global citizenship education so as to ably deliver the official provincial programs of study in Canada.

Teacher Preparation and Competence

Although all provincial and territorial jurisdictions in Canada have adopted some form of global citizenship education in official programs of study which carries legal weight, research on Canadian teachers' competence to teach global education is similarly limited in number. Most Canadian teachers interviewed in various provinces felt incompetent to teach global education (Mundy et al, 2005). Nonetheless, many researchers and scholars in Canada, such as Sears (1996), have developed a framework where students in schools are expected to participate in matters of the world, moving from an elitist to an activist approach (Evans & Reynolds, 2004). Moreover, a capability to understand multiple perspectives provides an important framework on which to build global curriculum for 21st century learners (Bacon & Kischner, 2002). For students to develop a knowledge and skill base to understand and engage in global issues, three elements are required: context knowledge, exposure to diverse cultures, and opportunities for authentic application for both teachers and students (Bacon & Kischner, 2002).

Thus, the importance of understanding the element of human interdependence and interconnectedness so that teachers and their students can comprehend their roles as a citizens of their community, country and of the world and how global issues affect them both directly and indirectly and how they react and act in the whole process.

Teachers Making It Work

Canada holds a major role in international peacekeeping and is the only country that can pride itself for being the first to pass an official multicultural policy and law. In this context, a study of the role of teachers in global citizenship education was carried out in Ontario with a multiple case study approach with data collection through classroom observation, interviews, and documentary analysis (Schweisfurth, 2006). The study's findings reveal that teachers who are determined to make global education a priority have found opportunities to do so through the out-dated 1999 Ontario curriculum guidelines. These teachers used the expectations of the curriculum guidelines to creatively justify their global education teaching without being at odds with the academic standards in education. The teachers in this study also felt supported by a network of many like-minded teachers and a teacher-preparation program geared to their interests. Nonetheless, some of the teachers said they felt cynicism from the public and administration when teaching global issues.

Some of the teachers in this multiple case study had graduated from an Ontario university that offered a module in global citizenship education in their teacher preparation program (Schweisfurth, 2006). These teachers were the ones with a deep interest in global issues and were infusing global citizenship in the curriculum and their teaching. This program also helped students find ways to use the curriculum to justify their global approaches and gave them confidence to promote global citizenship education even when the official curriculum ignored or obscured these issues. This program gave these teachers an opportunity to learn more about community and global connections, to develop their knowledge and skills in this area, therefore fueling their interest and helping to construct the curriculum around global issues. Without such knowledge, skills and competence gained from their teacher preparation program, they would not be infusing global issues into their teaching. These teachers felt a strong sense of obligation to teach global issues with pedagogical decisions based upon their own conscience of what was important to teacher (Schweisfurth, 2006).

While this multiple case study is very promising, it cannot be over-generalized as it was intended to provide insight as to how some teachers in some Ontario schools find opportunities within the curriculum to teach global citizenship issues and to highlight what motivates these teachers to do so. It is important to realize that not all educators, teachers and schools treat global issues as do the teachers in the case study.

LISTENING TO TEACHER VOICES

Enrolled in an asynchronous graduate seminar on global citizenship education at the University of New Brunswick, participating teachers who completed the evening course in its first iteration and who willingly gave in writing informed ethical consent, comment at the end of the course on their new knowledge, its impact upon their teaching and professionalism. Delivered online using Elluminate and Blackboard, students posted their comments and reflected on their learning experience as part of their journey, without bias or concern about expressing themselves. Their voices gave rise to this research project and resulting chapter. Several themes re-occur in the teachers' reflections including an awareness even an amazement of their own growth, personally and professionally; a realisation that the complexities of global citizenship education require mastery teaching, considerable knowledge; a realisation that this is not only a school subject but a lifestyle; an immediate application of the course content and processes in their own classroom; and a strong yearning for having had this in their initial teacher preparation.

> JOHN: [2] As I entered this course I was very unsure of where it would lead me. When I thought of global issues I thought of a complex subject which requires a lot of mastery to teach effectively. I was not confident in teaching global issues. I believe my stresses came from lack of knowledge, not only of global issues, but also in how to present these issues in my own classes. I was relieved in the first few weeks to hear of the uncertainty of others in this course. I agree that global issues should be in everyone's curriculum, but I think many teachers just avoid the topics in which they don't feel comfortable teaching. However, I wish I had learned this in my B.Ed. degree program; it could have helped a lot.

> AGNES: When it came to global issues in my class in the past, I tended to 'make like rain and get the hail out of there.' This course has already greatly increased my global awareness and global consciousness, both personally and in my classroom. So often issues are seen as something that is happening "over there" or to "them" but not seen as being something that our students can impact or are impacted by. Though we were taught in this course not to feel guilty, I cannot withstand thinking about all those kids I taught for the past years and did not cover much global issues with them- how do they view the world today? What type of citizens are they - local or global citizens?

> HELEN: I found this course inspiring, thought-provoking and extremely useful in my everyday teaching. I am grateful for the opportunity to have been exposed to these ideas so early in my career. It was an amazing experience to have participated in this course and those discussions. This course should be absolutely included in the undergrad program. We must prepare our teachers to build global citizens in their classrooms. The world is a mess and it falls to us and our future citizens to fix it. The classroom is probably the best place to start and I wish if I had been exposed to this course during my B.Ed. training.

TOM: We need to think of global education as a lifestyle and a journey, not just an outcome. We have an important role of teaching global education to the future leaders of our world. As a Physical Education teacher I never thought I would teach global issue in my class. I always thought for the past 10 years that this is for social studies or global studies and history. The notion of integrating global citizenship into every subject was an eye opener for me in this course, but I still have one question: Why is this course not currently in the B.Ed. program and when will it be a required course for all teachers in Canada and other countries too?

MARY: Me too, as a Physical Education educator, I think I have been teaching about global citizenship/education, but may be in a limited way. When I was teaching about health and wellness, we looked at populations and world food shortages and homelessness in global perspectives. However, I have to admit that before this course, I always used to refer to world vision and talk about poverty in 'developing countries' and never discussed with my students about these issues here in Canada. Thank you for opening my eyes-I could not believe it when I was reading the recent Canadian child poverty report and our discussion in class about homelessness in big cities like Toronto.

ASHLEY: I have lived and led a sheltered life and a privileged one. I have learned so much that I can incorporate into my teaching. Our textbook will become a first rate tool because the activities provided are so easy to adapt and use in my class. It is fun how I always used to invite an 'immigrant' person to talk about their culture in form of the 4Fs and 1D as the prof reminded us - I am not saying I will stop inviting people but this course has just opened my eyes that even in a class full of white kids or WASP [White Anglo-Saxon Protestant] as our prof said :) :) I still have different cultures in my class. That activity on origins of our names was an excellent activity with my class as students went home and brought in artefacts - Scottish, Gaelic, Irish, etc. - it was amazing.

MARIA: At first when I saw those images in our first class thrown by the prof on the Elluminate screen, I REALLY felt guilty. I later appreciated when the prof stressed that the point is/was not to feel guilty but to become aware of the issues so that we can inflict healthy change and have a positive impact on society. One thing I personally took from the class is the need to change my thinking from an 'us' and

> 'them' perspective to a 'we' perspective. 'We' are ALL in this together; 'we' are all connected. I realize that although I am far from being an expert in the area of global issues, I feel the transformation from a global education idiot teacher to a competent global educator. The end of this course is just a new beginning for my teaching and life style too. I hope to help educate and bring up active and responsible global citizens.
>
> CATHERINE: I never thought that I could teach global issues to my grade primary class - I always feared "notes and phone calls" from parents but it was amazing how some parents even volunteered to come to my class. Once I sent the note home about the topic we were to cover - it is something I truly value from this course. I was shocked to say the least - young minds never cease to amaze me, sometimes they see the things on a level that adults tend to overlook. I hope our School Board will implement global education at a much younger age.
>
> CRISTA: Taking this course during the evening was great because I was even using the activities in my class. This course was very practical to me because before taking this course I was a bit nervous and maybe not knowing how to teach global issues to my young students.
>
> ANNA: I have really gained a knowledge base, resources, and a very cooperative, collaborative team of colleagues that I plan on tapping into for years to come. This course has opened my eyes to another whole dimension of education; Global Issues. I have really gained a knowledge base, resources, and a very cooperative, collaborative team of colleagues that I plan on tapping into for the years to come. The discussion board forums, although exhausting, were 'addictive.'

Thus, these experienced voices of practising teachers stress the need for initial teacher preparation in the area of global citizenship education and early implementation within school boards, the networking and collaboration among professionals, the practical nature of the course, as well as their own professional and personal depth of understanding. These teachers have realized that they have a degree of power and authority that dictates what their students learn, understand and how they act. Moreover, they realize that they and their teacher educators hold responsibility for the preparation of the next generations of citizens, as was argued in 1986 by the then UNESCO Secretary:

A child born today will be faced as an adult almost daily with problems of a global interdependent nature, be it peace, food, quality of resources. He [The child] will be both an actor and beneficiary or victim in the total world fabric and may rightly ask: Why was I not warned? Why did my teachers not tell me about these problems and indicated my behavior as a member of an interdependent human race? It is therefore the duty of self-enlightened interest of governments to educate their children properly about the type of world in which they are going to live (as cited in Alladin, 1989, p.8)

PROVIDING PERSPECTIVE

Education for a global perspective is learning that enhances the individual's ability to understand his or her condition in the community and the world, and that improves his/her ability to make effective judgments and to understand how the world is interconnected and fast changing (Hanvey, 1976). Above all, education for global perspective provides students with a realistic perspective on world issues, problems and prospects and the relationship between an individual's self-interests and concerns of people elsewhere. The number of horrific historical events, such as devastating world wars, clearly illustrates a lack of a world community according to Gaudelli (2003) who feels that global citizenship education should emerge as a means to prepare young people to live in an increasingly conflicting and interconnected world. Humans tend to repeat history, rather than learn from the past. It is time for future global citizens to learn from the mistakes of the past and make positive changes.

There has been a renewal of interest in global citizenship in the UK which is now a required subject with understanding global issues being taught alongside citizenship education in the national curricula. A study examined the significance attached to global citizenship through a statutory Citizenship subject at Key Stages three and four and within the national curriculum of England (Ibrahim, 2005). Within this study, an analysis of secondary school texts in use in the UK found that, since the 1970s, a number of theoretical frameworks had been developed to examine the nature and significance of global citizenship as well as the need to teach the theme of interdependence and interconnectedness between citizens at both ends of the world. Moreover, this study includes a brief account of global education projects UK educators pursued since the 1970s (Ibrahim, 2005). Conceptual frameworks were developed and a series of funded curriculum development projects were promoted in schools, as well as in teacher education programs. Educators drew on the philosophy that learners could achieve greater understanding of self and society if they were active participants in the learning process.

In Canada, the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA) and others have devoted time and energy to the development of global education materials which can be utilized by teachers if they have the knowledge and competence to teach global issues. According to Hicks (2003), the best framework available for planning in the UK is Oxfam's Curriculum for Global Citizenship (1997) that exemplifies many key principles of global citizenship, as discussed earlier. Needless to add, neither the understanding nor the needs of all citizenship contexts in especially non-Western spaces of life would be represented by such frameworks.

A possible common framework for global citizenship education in Canada would include critical attributes and global principles to permeate the whole school curriculum (Ibrahim, 2005), thus providing a vehicle through which global education can become an entitlement for all students in all subject. As examples of global principles as an important aspect of global citizenship, human rights provide a transformational response to struggles against oppression, by providing human rights frameworks that give disadvantaged people a means to claim the rights to live with dignity, as part of the commonality of humanness and as a response to the call of the oppressed (Abdi & Shultz, 2008). The greatest potential to change the world is to go beyond the us/them dichotomy so as to seek global solutions, thus realizing the power one has to save the world today and in the future because the fate is in one's own hands.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Rising global issues and concerns about the new millennium makes evident the impact of globalization and raises issues about the influence of individuals, communities and governments affected by decision-making processes across national borders and about this affects educators' work to re-evaluate concepts of citizenship and to question values which could serve as foundation for global education (Ibrahim, 2005). In order to prepare young citizens to realize the importance of global citizenship education to the preparation of active responsible participants of the global community, it is imperative that policy makers provide curricular resources and competent teachers, calling upon professional competence and initial teacher education, so as to better enable the engagement of students in global issues.

Young students need opportunities to learn about global issues, to critically reflect upon them, make informed decisions and participate in manners that can bring about positive change. By implementing strategies suggested by Diaz et al (1999), which are inquiry based, cognitive, affective and participatory, students can be engaged and come to understand the interdependent nature of global issues and systems. This will allow young people to feel competent in changing it. Young students must not only understand the world around them, but also form empathetic feelings towards their fellow citizens and make a positive difference. As citizens, children and youth need to realize that their fate is partly in their own hands. However, this can be achieved effectively if Canadian teachers are knowledgeable, competent and confident professional educators and lead as role models. Teachers educate students but also themselves to become better teachers and global citizens. After all, citizenship is one of the Essential Graduation Learning's in provincial programs of study in Canada.

We conclude with a strong argument for global citizenship education as a required Course in B.Ed. Programs for certification and an elective in M.Ed. programs as it will be useful for practicing teachers advancing their education to have an opportunity to learn new approaches in global citizenship. Canadian teachers need to have a solid background in global education to teach about global citizenship and global issues in their classes. Teachers are faced with more culturally diverse classes, with children from all over the global community, than ever before. In most cases, teachers are not ready to teach these issues because of their ill-preparation during their B.Ed. degree programs as evidenced by the foregoing discussion and learning experiences, reflections from the graduate students in the M.Ed. global education course, as well as supported by the literature and research by various researchers and scholars around the world. We believe that we become better citizens when we take an active role in the world. We need to look at global citizenship education from a community, nation and global level with a holistic lens. This is possible through the intensification of international education with focus on global citizenship education and redesigning or modifying teacher education preparation programs at all Canadian Universities, working together with Provincial Governments and Departments of Education to include global citizenship education as a required course for all graduating Canadian teachers, and the support of the Federal Government.

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NOTES

[1] The pre-conference symposium of the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada was part of the annual conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 31 May – 3 June 2008 in Vancouver. Dr. O. Chareka served as discussion leader during this event. Ms. P. Van Dommelen participated in the course in question both as student and as research assistant.

[2] All names are pseudonyms used to ensure participant anonymity.

J. TIM GODDARD

7. REDESIGN OR REARRANGEMENT?

The Intensification of Teacher Education and the Recognition of Equity, Diversity and Internationalization

INTRODUCTION

The role of educators – both teachers and administrators – in Canada is changing rapidly. If it was ever sufficient for educators to simply maintain the status quo in their communities, this is no longer the case. There is a sharpened focus on the twin pillars of achievement and accountability, both of which are firmly grounded in a context of demographic change. Increasing numbers of the students in Canadian schools were either born overseas or are first generation Canadians. Their parents hold diverse views and aspirations for the education of their children but are generally eager for their children to succeed in Canada. This context is further demarked by what appears to be a burgeoning societal desire for equity, inclusiveness, and social justice.

Those who are engaged in teacher education in Canada recognize that programs are under increasing external and internal pressures. Such pressures are not new, in the sense that teacher education has always been a contested arena, but they are different from those previously encountered in that they are grounded in contemporary national and international contexts.

In this chapter I explore some of the questions which are related to equity, diversity and internationalization in programs tasked with the pre-service education of teachers and school administrators. In previous papers (e.g., Goddard, 2006, 2007), I have examined the implications of globalization and changing demographics on the work of Canadian school administrators. In this chapter the focus is moved beyond the school setting to examine the degree to which changing professional practice is being reflected in university-based teacher education programs.

First I shall identify a number of these pressures, grounded in a brief overview of some of the relevant literature. I shall then sketch out some of the ways in which these are having an impact on the work of teacher educators. Finally, I shall propose and discuss some ameliorating strategies which might be considered useful in the constant quest for excellence in teacher education.

The literature on the preparation of educational practitioners falls into two main categories – those of pre-service teacher education and the preparation of

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 121–134.

in-post teachers seeking to take management roles and become school administrators. In this next section I provide a brief review of related literature in both domains.

PREPARATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Recent comparative international research studies (e.g., Bryant, Krupenikava, Aghammadova, Dutta & Hu, 2006; Cowie & Crawford, 2007; Goddard, 2009) indicate that there are many different ways in which principals might be prepared so as to be considered ready to assume the role of school leader. In Canada, there is a growing demand that aspiring educational leaders complete a graduate degree in education, usually one in educational administration or school leadership. Given the rapidly changing demographic patterns found in both urban and rural Canadian communities, it is important that an understanding of the changing societal context in which these new educational leaders will practice their profession is integrated into these programs. Wigley and Akkoyunlu-Wigley (2006) argue that education should be measured in terms of the "set of functionings" (p. 291) achieved by participants – the ability to be and to act – rather than the more commonly used human capital criteria of accumulated resources or the achievement of mental satisfaction (p. 301). It is suggested, then, that educational leadership programs be judged by the ability of their graduates to function effectively in contemporary schools.

Inclusivity

At a meeting of the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (CCEM, 2006), it was argued that "all individuals should have access to equivalent learning opportunities, regardless of socio-economic background, locality, gender, race, religion" (p. 4). Further, that education provision should be inclusive and seek the "full participation of all learners, including those who are vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion through their mental or physical disabilities" (p. 4). School administrators in Canada are as responsible for meeting these goals as their counterparts in Jamaica, Pakistan, or South Africa. It is important that understanding the changing context of Canadian schools be an integral part of pre-service and in-service training for educational leaders.

The Importance of Context

Fullan (2006) has defined context as "the structures and cultures within which one works. … [For] educators, the tri-level contexts are school/community, district, and system" (p. 116). To this must be added a wider perspective, for no school functions adrift from the wider international arena. Indeed Bottery (2006) has suggested that theorists and practitioners alike consider the consideration of an ecological leadership, which understands the global context within which schools exist. This extends the commonly defined societal contexts of local, community, and national to include the international.

According to Suzuta (2007), four communities constitute and are served by a focus on international education: (i) the nation, through education, work, and citizenship; (ii) the economic market; (iii) the world community; and (iv) the social and cultural experiences of the individual. In a similar vein, Blackmore (2004) has referred to the "the broader social, economic and political relationships shaping educational work" (p. 267). Also, in her view, "particular contexts produce dominant images and constructs of what constitutes good leadership" (p. 268). Within the Canadian context the work of school leaders is influenced by the values, cultures, identities and norms of the various social actors who engage in, and are engaged by, schools. These belief systems "coalesce into the complex socio-cultural system of work" (Bierema, 2002, p. 69) within which educational administrators pursue their daily tasks.

What, then, is being done – or, ought to be done – to help prepare school administrators face these complex issues? There is a belief, oft expressed by central office administrators, that educational leadership development programs should focus on the competencies (Davies, Ellison & Bowring-Carr, 2005) and standards of administration (Murphy, 2002). Proponents of these arguments suggest that the focus and content of such programs should be on providing potential principals with the functional ability to manage budgets, resolve conflicts among and between staff or students, construct timetables, engage community members, and so forth. Additionally, they should be aware of the federal and provincial goals for education, as determined by the philosophical positions of the current political elite. I would argue that such a technicist approach is limiting, and suggest instead a focus on the development of personal and social values in leadership preparation.

PREPARATION OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

The literature on pre-service teacher education is rife with calls for programs to attend to issues of classroom management, pedagogy, and assessment. What are less evident are calls to attend to the underlying social constructs of education. In discussing the pressures under which teacher education is labouring and the impact of those pressures on the work of teacher educators, I shall focus on three specific pressure points. These are matters related to, first, the importance of education within the common good; second, the necessity to examine the basic structure of teacher education programs; and, third, the triumvate of purpose, content and evaluation which are part of all such programs.

The Importance of Education

The need for a strong and effective system of education is understood by policy makers, parents and practitioners in countries around the world. They may disagree on the content of what is taught, on the pedagogy by which it is taught, and on the means by which it is assessed, but they all agree on the need for more schooling for children. The age ranges of compulsory schooling are being extended at both ends, with the provision of early childhood education becoming commonplace and a higher school leaving age being implemented in many jurisdictions.

Arguing that education is the new 'glue' which links emerging post-modern concepts of capital as "an ideological and economic link between the left and right of global educational politics," Beck (2006) suggests that "knowledge will be transformed among social, economic and cultural spheres so that actors will achieve an ambiguous surplus value, connected to development, transferring- and use of knowledge" (pp. 250–251). Given this unifying potential of education within the global context, it is important to examine some of the underlying assumptions which drive teacher education but which were developed in, and remain grounded in, a nation-state focus for education.

Basic Structure

In his discussion of what he perceived to be the critical issues facing education in the early 21st century, Ornstein (2003, p. 137) argued that there are three elements to any teacher education program. These can be summed up as general knowledge, specifically a broad background in liberal arts and science; subject mastery, in what is commonly referred to as a "teachable" subject; and, and practical skills, which consist of foundations and methods courses as well as some practice teaching experience. Bates (2006, p. 283) observes that "curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation [are] the three fundamental message systems of schools." There is obviously a great deal of similarity and overlap between these perceived crucial elements of education.

It is salutary to note, then, that much of the discourse in the faculty meetings and conferences attended by teacher educators tends to focus only on certain aspects of these elements, predominantly the question of teaching methods, or pedagogy. Indeed, in many instances the discussion can be summed up thus: teacher education candidates today have a weak general knowledge background, don't have proper subject knowledge in their teachable area(s), and are encouraged by conservative or traditional teacher mentors to focus on traditional teaching methods instead of really understanding inquiry based educational pedagogy.

Of course, the counter argument heard at meetings of school-based teachers, or indeed of members of other faculties, is diametrically opposite.

There it is professed that teacher educators have a ‘lost in the seventies’ aura, that what they consider general knowledge is in fact a culturally biased structure of western mythology, and that by not being taught specific skills – the technology of teaching – then new teachers are having to be ‘re-educated’ once they enter the profession.

Triumvate

As noted earlier, purpose (philosophy), content (curriculum) and evaluation (assessment) are three key elements of the discourse around Canadian education. In this section I shall briefly introduce and discuss each element.

Purpose. The purposes of education continue to be contested, even within the policy confines of a single nation-state. Underlying these purposes, however, is a strong belief in the primacy of an ethic of social justice. In describing the Canadian accord on teacher education, a manifesto which seeks to permit a unified vision across disparate provincial jurisdictions, Collins and Tierney (2006) note that an effective teacher education program “encourages teachers to assume a social and political leadership role” (p. 74). Echoing Tatto’s (2006, p. 231) observation that global forces are mediated by local culture, the accord consists of twelve principles of initial teacher education which together form a broad normative framework that permits local approaches to be implemented.

The existence of such an accord, however, does not diminish the need for “constructive criticism of current teacher training practices and … [the introduction of] innovative ways to help prepare teachers for the new challenges and situations which they will probably face in the future” (Dooly & Villanueva, 2006, p. 226). Such criticism understands social justice to be “a dynamic state of affairs which is good for the common interest, where that is taken to include the good of each and also the good of all, in an acknowledgement that one depends on the other” (Griffiths, 1998, p. 302). However this inter-connectedness of common interest is sometimes more present in practice than in policy.

Morrison, Lumby and Sood (2004) argue that legislation should hold institutions accountable, not only for their failure to tackle discrimination but also for their failure to promote positive action to assist disadvantaged groups. In this, there is a suggestion that educational institutions have a duty, indeed a moral imperative, to take the lead on social activist initiatives. Such a philosophy is grounded in the notion of education for the collective good, which some suggest is old-fashioned and out-of-sync with the modern world. Indeed Bates (2006) argues that the “market values of postmodernity … have displaced the principles of equity which were the foundation for our post-war success” (p. 276). If the ethic of social justice is no longer paramount, then what are the implications of this for the curriculum?

Content. The curriculum of teacher education programs is a second contested area. Claiming that "teaching continues to be a predominantly white profession, despite the ever-increasing ethnoracial diversity of the student population" (Mujawamiraya & Mahrouse, 2004, p. 338), a recent research study conducted in four major Canadian cities concluded that "teacher candidates perceive the current curricular initiatives developed by Canadian faculties of education to engage and instruct them in equitable and inclusive teaching strategies as lacking" (p. 337). Such findings belie the generally accepted opinion that education systems are "expected to be central instruments for facilitating mutual understanding and respect for … diversity, on both an individual and cultural level" (Dooly & Villanueva, 2006, p. 224). Indeed, it is very difficult to find Canadian examples of "inclusive educational institutions, [where] both the majority group and traditionally disadvantaged (however classified) groups of leaders, teachers and students have their aspirations incorporated into the social, political, legal and above all educational frameworks of that organization" (Morrison, Lumby & Sood, 2004, p. 13).

Although there is an increasing rhetoric around the notions of equity, diversity and internationalization, there is little evidence to suggest that these concepts receive more than a passing reference in teacher preparation programs. Indeed, a review of the published course requirements for selected teacher preparation programs (Bachelor of Education) at seven western Canadian universities found no such pre-requisites.

From the websites it was impossible to tell whether the teacher preparation programs had any mandatory courses in ethnocultural diversity or multicultural training. The programs of study were complex and divided by specialization (primary, secondary, etc.) and further by subject area (math, language, etc.). One might conclude, therefore, that the B.Ed. programs offered in Western Canada have no prerequisite for students to be exposed to courses in multicultural awareness or diversity education in order to be admitted to those teacher preparation programs. According to the websites surveyed, once students arrive in their teacher education programs, there is little if any emphasis on course work dedicated to preparing mainstream teachers (i.e. those not specializing in intercultural or Native education specifically) to deal with a multicultural environment in their professional practice.

Evaluation. The imposition of what Tatto (2006) has called "exogenous monitoring and accountability schemes" (p. 232) has become *de rigueur* in education. These externally imposed processes of assessment and oversight do not attempt to improve either the purpose of education or the content (and quality) of teaching. Rather, they seek to establish some artificial means of comparison. Submerged beneath the rhetoric of school improvement and the allegations of failing schools, lies the language of the market. In the early 21st century, education has become "a mechanism for producing the human capital required to respond to the increasingly competitive global economy" and a means "of imposing a particular notion of community" (Bates, 2006, p. 277).

It is through the examination of these particular notions that we can identify the sea of change that has occurred in educational practice over the past twenty five years. The post-WW2 focus on the development of the individual intellect for its own sake, a focus which held sway until the early 1980s, has been replaced with a focus on fit within the market economy. It is this degree of fit which is sought to be measured through comparative assessment strategies. And yet, as Smith (2001) reminds us, the global economy is "not a simple homogeneous force operating ineluctably without contestation or memory" (p. 255). He draws on Gray's 1998 distinction of at least four culturally and historically different capitalisms – Japanese, Chinese, German, and Anglo-American – to show that what might be considered "appropriate fit" in a Canadian context is not necessarily the same as in Japan, and yet international evaluations seek to make such comparisons.

DISCUSSION

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the intensification of teacher education is taking place on a number of fronts. Although additional elements have been identified, in this chapter I consider specifically the impact of the elements of equity, diversity and internationalization. In this section I propose and discuss some strategies which, if implemented, might ameliorate the pressures caused by the effects of these three elements on teacher education programs.

Equity

The question of equity is a troubling one for many educators, most of whom firmly believe in the principles of equality. They take pride in treating everyone the same but have problems with the notion of equity, of treating unequal persons differently. Often such treatment results in a negative impact on those who possess privilege and power, and this can lead to other problems.

It is important that teacher educators permit the socio-cultural dimensions of education to take precedence over the technical aspects of teaching. This understanding is not restricted to Canada but is accepted around the world (e.g., Zhu, Valcke & Schellens, 2010). It is a truism that students who come from low income, high poverty, marginalized communities will often exhibit low levels of school achievement on most standardized measures of success. It is a challenge for educators to recognize and address this situation without becoming – or appearing to become – paternalistic. It is only by developing a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and value dimensions of schooling that educators can better appreciate the circumstances from which students emerge.

One way to develop such an understanding is to apply the Dimmock and Walker (2005) cross cultural school-based framework when considering programs for educational preparation. Drawing primarily on the work of Hofstede (2001), this model provides six dimensions for analyzing culture at the societal/regional/local and school levels (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, pp. 29–35). The six dimensions are: power-distributed/power-concentrated; group-oriented/ self-oriented; consideration /aggression; proactivism/ fatalism; generative / replicative; and limited-relationship / holistic-relationship. I would suggest that a seventh dimension may be added, that of settler-worldview / indigenous-worldview.

This seventh dimension reflects an assumption that some cultures have distinct world views that contradict the structures of the dominant society. The settler (Hesch, 1999) or farmer (Brody, 2000) culture is that of the colonizer, the interloper, who views the land as being an individual possession, who views "western knowledges … as the products of a depoliticized process of intellectual refinement" (McConaghy, 2000, p. 11). The settler culture is the dominant discourse in Canada. In this context there is a cultural hegemony that has been constructed to validate ideological, political, social, economic, and cultural control over 'place.' In indigenous cultures, however, the identification of self to land, language, and social group leads to a functional egalitarianism which does not sit well with structured systems and may lead to what Miller (1987, cited in Brody, 2000, p. 184) has conceptualized as "poisonous pedagogy."

My own research indicates that the educational experiences of minority and marginalized peoples around the world are similar in nature, and that indigenous and minority students are alienated and experience a lack of academic success within mainstream school systems (Goddard, 2006, 2007). Such decoupling from academic success occurs irrespective of the country, the language of instruction, or the organization of the educational system, and these failures are made manifest at all levels of society. In schools, minority and marginalized cultural groups display higher levels of absenteeism, teen pregnancy, and failure to graduate. They display lower frequencies of age-appropriate transfer from grade to grade, lower marks on standardized tests, and lower representation at post-secondary institutions. In adult life, these same groups experience higher levels of penal incarceration, a greater degree of family violence, unemployment or under employment leading to a higher reliance on welfare support, high levels of drug and substance abuse which impact on overall health, and an over representation in suicide statistics. Together these indices of social distress signal not only a lower life expectancy but also a lower quality of life. Further, they indicate that the social costs in areas such as health, welfare, criminal justice and economic contribution are extremely high. I would argue that a failure to recognize and ameliorate the effects of cultural dissonance (Stewart, 2011, p. 25), together with a focus on technical skills, limits the ability of educators to develop an understanding of the social and value dimensions of schooling.

Finally, teacher educators should constantly consider three questions raised by Morrison, Lumby and Sood (2004, p. 8), who inquire: To what extent do educational institutions 'stack the deck' against staff and student members of some 'cultural' groups by (a) imposing structures or curriculum content that ignores or implicitly devalues them?; (b) measuring outputs, achievements or attainments 'against norms' more appropriate to other 'cultural' groups?; or, (c), providing them with leaders and managers unable or unwilling to understand or adjust to their (the distanced 'others') cultural differences? These are important questions that must be at the heart of all teacher education experiences.

Diversity

A second area of concern is the ability to recognize, acknowledge and respond to diversity. Schools are diverse in so many different ways, some visible and some hidden. There are the obvious categories of colour, physical mobility, preferred language, gender, and so forth, but there are also increasing degrees of concealed diversity. To illustrate this point, consider the children of refugees.

In many of our urban centres, we find accumulations of people isolated from the support structures of family and community. In these contexts of poverty and conflict, of fear and fright, there is one constant truth beneath the surface sheen of desperation and despair. All parents want a good life, a prosperous life, for their children. And in all these places, the teachers are as good – and often better – than their colleagues in the pampered enclaves of the rich and well to do. The kids are as smart. The parents are as supportive. The curriculum is the same – and perhaps there in lies the problem.

In our quest for standardization – of pedagogy, of curriculum, of assessment – we have lost sight of the individual. The next generation of teachers must take back this fundamental truth – all children are individuals, and you can only teach a child if you have a relationship with him or her. Teachers must get to know their stories, get to understand their individuality.

Many of these communities have been ravaged by negative experiences, some imposed on them by external forces and some self-imposed. They have had experiences of poverty, of hunger, of natural disasters such as earthquake or flood, of conflict – between families, between communities, between nations – and of the manifestations of alcoholism, substance abuse, and domestic violence. These may not be immediately apparent to an outsider, but they exist.

Children of refugees will have heard parents fight and argue as they debate decisions made in the crucible of fear, they will have heard parents crying in the night as they remember times of terror and of loss. These children, who are seen in our classes each day, appear the same as all the others. They do not display the classic symptoms of post-traumatic stress. They don't jump at sudden sounds, or burst into tears at the sight of a uniform. Those children, the refugees, the survivors, are identified (usually) and helped (most of the time). But the children of refugees, the children of survivors, they are invisible.

And yet these are the ones we must know and help. It is true that they speak English or French, and often with a Canadian accent. But can they read and write? It appears that they dress the same as their peers, but what is their family context? When they reach puberty, will they be subject to different expectations – about dress, about language, about cross-gender relationships, about food? What are those expectations? They may act in the same ways as other students, but what stories have they heard – have their parents experienced – about police officers with guns, about doctors with research agendas, about priests and teachers in positions of power?

Behind the mask of normalcy, many of the children in our schools hide the stories of their parents. And yet these stories impact the way the children think, act, learn. They affect the ways in which those children interact with their teachers, and the ways in which – indeed, the degree to which – they will engage in their schooling. Drawing on the work of Portes and Zhou, Stewart (2011, pp. 21–23) has termed this segmented assimilation, and has conceptualized the processes by which immigrant children become integrated in to Canadian society.

We often consider that diversity is a problem located in 'other' areas rather than the homogeneous (mainly all-white) schools of our suburbs. For our student teachers, it is important that they continually assess not only the what and how of teaching, but also the why. As Fals-Borda and Mora-Osejo (2003) have described, critical analysis of curriculum content is often "limited to the social, and [content is] seen mostly as a latent or constant factor" (p. 31) in the teaching process.

Internationalization

The third element is the increasingly visible globalization of education. Although "national education systems and their institutions are firmly tied to culturally embedded beliefs about the attributes of the 'ideal' person and, by extension, of the "ideal teacher" (Tatto, 2006, p. 236), the movement of peoples around the world has loosened those ties. As people assume new lives in new countries, they bring with them these embedded beliefs. Educators must recognize that their own archetypes will be challenged, and perhaps rejected, by others with whom they work.

Another facet of increased internationalization is the enhanced degree of policy borrowing which takes place. This does not always result in positive outcomes and requires careful consideration rather than automatic acceptance (Goddard, 2008; Lingard, 2010). The reality, however, is that rapid global communication networks permit a hitherto unprecedented exchange of ideas. As a result, teacher educators in Canada can consider the apprenticeship model being implemented in England (Maynard, 2001) and make decisions concerning the transferability of initiatives. Such communication is good. There is a danger that if programs are isolated and segregated from others, stagnation will start to set in, because isolation invariably leads to introversion and insulation. As educators, we sometimes lose awareness of the wider world, and then fail to connect with that world in any meaningful manner.

However, we must always be aware of context, and recognize that policy borrowing does not occur in a vacuum. To build on Fals-Borda and Mora-Osejo (2003), we must consider more than the social context in which we work, we must also contemplate the natural world in which we live. Fals-Borda and Mora-Osejo discuss the notion of biological context, and suggest that what is appropriate in the niche-laden, diurnal, connective and flowing natural world of south or tropical zones may not be appropriate for the intensive, walled, seasonal, and relatively static natural world of the northern and temperate zones. To my knowledge, this idea of a biosocial influence on practice is one which has not been extensively investigated in Canadian research.

Finally, we must be aware that the global interconnectedness of the postmodern era does provide the potential for abuse. Multinational corporations supply biased curriculum materials in the guise of "information packs;" national governments rewrite text books to ensure that their own view of history is represented; professional associations reject "foreign" qualifications as not meeting their own standards. As Starratt (2001) exhorts, teacher educators must constantly engage the "hermeneutic of suspicion" (p. 348) to analyze decisions and check for the involvement of self-serving interests.

CONCLUSION

Like many other activities, teacher education is becoming more intense in both conceptualization and delivery. There are many elements which contribute to this intensification of work. In this chapter I have only scratched the surface of three, namely equity, diversity, and internationalization.

In an examination of this nature one must first identify and prioritize the threats faced by the subject, in this case teacher education. These include malignant threats, which exist in and are internal to the organization, and malevolent or external threats. The processes and regularity by which these are identified influences the range and scope of the mitigation strategies which must be developed and implemented to ameliorate the perceived hazard.

There are many possible types of mitigation strategy. Halpin (2007) suggests a need for architectural innovation and identified twelve principles of school design which reflect human agency, collective action, sustainability, community and equity. Halpin argues that, taken together, these are the values which underpin what he calls 'robust hope," a positive approach to education. Egan goes further, suggesting a complete change in the organizational and philosophical structure of schools, where grade and subject driven schools are replaced by "learning in depth" (Mason, 2008, p. A5).

In a review of Australian educative practice, Bates (2006, pp. 280–282) drew on Fraser to discuss three aspects of teacher education that ought to be considered. First, he noted that the relationship of social justice to the distribution of economic rewards and possibilities should be biased towards the least advantaged. Second, he called for the recognition of cultural value in and of itself, not just the mirroring or mimicking of that to which the elite ascribes value. And, third, he argued for the opportunity of representation, which would permit the engagement of all in the learning community, and see school administrators as educators not managers [emphasis added].

In this chapter, I have explored some of the questions related to equity, diversity, and internationalization as these impact on teacher education programs. These explorations are only in an early stage, and there is no intent here to provide definitive answers. What I would suggest is the need for critical analysis and review of our programs, on an ongoing basis.

We know that "in application, or attempted application, 'neutral' terms can become hotly contested terrains that … [are] quagmires of sensitivity, resistance, and resentment" (Morrison, Lumby & Sood, 2004, p. 4). As Berkeley (1962/1713, p. 193) has his character, Hylas, observe: "Truth and beauty are in this alike, that the strictest survey sets them both off to advantage. While the false luster of error and disguise cannot endure being reviewed, or too nearly inspected." It is an imperative for Canadian teacher educators to comprehend that their understanding and application of seemingly innocuous terminology may cause distress to others, especially those who do not share the dominant socio-cultural background history of most educators. Teacher educators must engage in close observation and analysis not only of what they do and how they do it, but also of why they do this work – it is only then that the luster of false truths can be revealed.

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8. INTENSIFICATION OF FACULTY ENGAGEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

A Comparative Study of Canada and the United States

INTRODUCTION

At the start of the 21st century, globalization has become a vibrant force that affects the current world order. While some view this phenomenon with scepticism, others see it as an inescapable world-wide occurrence with tremendous magnitude for the way we organize our lives. Recognizing the interdependence of our global societies, there is good reason to assume that institutions of adult education are not insulated from the impacts of globalization and must act proactively to avoid its negative impact and capitalize on its potential. Under this context, adult education is required to prepare its graduates to critically understand global issues and their local effects on individuals and communities, and to “live and work in a world where national borders are permeable, information and ideas flow at lightening speed, and where communities and workplaces reflect a growing diversity of cultures, languages, attitudes, and values” (Green, 2002, p. 1). One suggestion made for accomplishing this goal is through the process of internationalization.

In this chapter, we explore the level of faculty engagement in the internationalization of research and curricular in adult education in Canada and the United States. Noting that academic transformation begins with the creation and dissemination of knowledge, we draw from empirical data from our research, to paint a portrait of faculty engagement in transnational research and to present the status of adult education curricula and the degree to which it reflects a focus on internationalization.

Divided into five parts, this chapter begins with a definition of internationalization, followed by an examination of its relationship with globalization. The chapter continues with the discussion of the role of faculty in internationalization; then moves on to compare faculty engagement in internationalization in Canada and the United States. We then conclude with a discussion of the implications.

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DEFINING INTERNATIONALIZATION

Despite an increased use of internationalization in describing the international dimension of higher education, there has been a great deal of confusion about what it means (Bond, Qian & Huang, 2003; Knight, 2004; Zha, 2003). Furthermore, it is not clear what internationalization means to adult educators (Guo, Schugurensky, Hall, Rocco & Fenwick, 2010). The term can mean many different things to different people. For some people, it means a series of international activities (e.g., academic mobility of students and faculty), international linkages and partnerships, and new international academic programs and research initiatives, while for others it means the delivery of education to other countries through satellite programs (Knight, 2004). According to Knight, internationalization can be defined as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 11). As Knight notes, this definition reflects changes in the rationales, providers, stakeholders, and activities of internationalization. It recognizes internationalization at the national/sector level as well as the institutional level; it also acknowledges the relationship between and among nations, cultures, or countries. Moreover, it conveys that internationalization is an ongoing and continuing effort. The three concepts – purpose, function, and delivery – are carefully chosen to describe the overall role and objectives; teaching, research and scholarly activities, and service; and offering of education course and programs. Despite Knight's claims that the term is generic enough to cover all aspects of education, it is not clear if it really applies to the context of adult education, which consists of learning that takes place in both formal and informal settings (Guo et al, 2010).

Having defined internationalization, it is also important to understand the different approaches to addressing the process of internationalization. Four primary approaches are identified here: the activity approach, the competency approach, the ethos approach, and the process approach (Zha, 2003). The activity approach focuses on higher education activities that promote an intercultural dimension, including the presence of international students, curriculum, and student/faculty exchange. The competency approach emphasizes the development of skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values that are important for one to compete in the global marketplace. This approach focuses on how the generation and transfer of knowledge help to develop competencies and skills in faculty, staff, students, and administrative personnel. The ethos approach, on the other hand, emphasizes creating a culture or climate that values and supports intercultural/international perspectives and initiatives. With this approach, organization leaders must be committed to building a culture that embraces multicultural perspectives and the internationalization of practices and classroom pedagogy.

Finally, the process approach stresses the integration of an international and intercultural dimension into teaching, research, and service through a combination of activities, policies, and procedures. As with any organization change efforts, there is concern with long-term sustainability, and according to Zha, the process approach recognizes such a concern. To that end, this approach places much emphasis on programmatic and research activities as well as organizational policies and practices. This approach was particularly useful to our current research as we explored the internationalization of adult education, primarily research and curricula activities.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Internationalization is not globalization. They are seen as related but at the same time, they represent very different processes. Knight (2003) maintains that "internationalization is changing the world of education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization" (p. 3). The process of globalization is a contested terrain. Like internationalization, it has different meanings for different people, with strong supporters and equally strong opponents. According to Smith (2007), globalization is fuelled by two contradictory phenomena – production and consumption. Smith describes globalization as the restructuring of capital, the integration of financial markets, and the movement of jobs to foreign countries. Similarly, Wagner (2004) notes that the term, globalization, has become shorthand for the condition of our time.

More scholars in higher education than in adult education have, in fact, written about internationalization. According to Altbach (2002), internationalization is a major trend in higher education that has global implications and, yet, is widely misunderstood:

In broad terms, globalization refers to trends in higher education that have cross national implications. These include mass higher education; a global marketplace for students, faculty, and other higher education personnel, and the global impacts of Internet technologies, among others. Internationalization refers to the specific policies and initiatives of individual academic institutions… (Altbach, 2002, p. 29)

While many, like Altbach, see a dichotomy between globalization and internationalization, others reject such dichotomist approaches, arguing that internationalization and globalization are interrelated rather than distinct from each other (Ninnes & Hellsten, 2005). Nonetheless, Currie et al (2003) recognize a distinct difference between globalization and internationalization. They hold the position that the use of the term globalization represents neoliberal economic ideology and its material strategies that aim to increase profits and power for transnational corporations, and similar strategies enabling government agencies to gain economic advantages and a competitive edge. The authors further argue that the process of globalization promotes "homogenization of cultures and promotion of so called 'world's best practices' where one idea is considered to be the best strategy to progress within the world economy" (p. 9). If we agree that globalization has such hegemonic effects on individuals, groups, and communities, then adult education has a responsibility to prepare graduates to contest the marginalizing effects while recognizing the potential reward for internationalizing curricula and research.

While Currie et al (2003) call attention to the hegemonic effects of globalization, others argue for higher education to be actively engaged with the global phenomenon. Zha (2003) highlights two primary arguments that have served as drivers for the internationalization of higher education. He argues that academic and professional requirements for graduates increasingly reflect the demands of the globalization of societies, economy, and labour markets, and thus, higher education must provide the adequate preparation to meet those demands. In addition, Zha continues to argue, the level of specialization in research and the size of the investment that are indispensable to certain fields and development require collaborative efforts and intensive collaborations both locally and globally. The other arguments Zha makes for the internationalization of higher education are the following:

> The recruitment of foreign students has become a significant factor for institutional income and of national economic interests and the use of new information and communication technologies in the delivery of education has now become a real part of the globalizing process: the cross-border matching of supply and demand (2003, p. 249).

For Zha, the driver for the internationalization of higher education is capitalism and international trade, rather than the development of global citizenship, as promoted by Currie et al (2003), among others.

Moreover, there is also the argument that the notion of international education comprising primarily of international exchanges in order to learn about other countries or to provide technical assistance in development is also based on economic motives. According to Harman (2005), for example, the international dimensions of higher education also embrace practices such as global movements of teachers and researchers, the diversification of the curriculum, educational programs offered across national borders using technologies, bilateral and multilateral agreements among universities and the commercial export of education. The argument here is that despite the motive for internationalization, it has an economic outcome for institutions of higher education.

Whether the internationalization of higher education is viewed from an economic capitalist perspective or is seen as the development of global citizenship, Enders and Fulton (2002) observe that internationalization is leading to a process of rethinking the social, cultural, and economic roles of higher education. It is forcing education leaders to reconceptualize education in a broader context. Therefore, to understand the impact of people, resource, and technology on higher education, it is important to understand the concepts of both globalization and internationalization (Altbach, 2002; Currie & Newson, 1998; Green, 2002) and how they impact the business of teaching and learning in higher education. Furthermore, it is also important to place the current debate in the context of adult education.

THE ROLE OF FACULTY IN INTERNATIONALIZATION

A number of scholars claim that faculty play a significant role in determining the success of internationalization in their institutions through their contributions to the internationalization of curricula, research and scholarly collaborations, and student advising (Altbach, 2001; Bond et al, 2003; Morris, 1996; Schwietz, 2006). Faculty engagement in internationalization occurs at various levels, including champions, advocates, latent champions and advocates, uninterested skeptics, and opponents (Childress, 2010). In a study which examines the attitudes, beliefs, experiences and involvement related to internationalization by faculty members, Schwietz (2006) found important differences by gender, discipline, teaching responsibilities, tenure status, rank and teaching/research preference. She claims that faculty with higher levels of international experiences at different educational stages have higher levels of involvement in internationalization as faculty members, and that they also have more favourable attitudes and beliefs about internationalization. Schwietz also argues that faculty with more favourable attitudes and beliefs about internationalization are likely to have higher levels of involvement in internationalization.

Having discussed the importance of faculty engagement in internationalization, it is important to point out that the chief challenge for developing and sustaining internationalization for the 21st century is also the engagement of the faculty (Stohl, 2007). Three institutional barriers prevent faculty from actively engaging in internationalization; these include lack of financial resources, disciplinary divisions and priorities, and restrictive tenure and promotion policies (Green & Olson, 2003). Despite the fact that faculty members play a pivotal role in the internationalization of the curriculum, the most important feature of any internationalization strategy, there is insufficient institutional support to encourage faculty to take steps to internationalize the curriculum (Bond et al, 2003).

Accordingly, some of the hurdles include lack of funding, absence of recognition of the time entailed by significant curricular revision, and lack of continuing professional development, with the lack of time identified as the most significant obstacle to change or reform the curriculum. In light of these barriers, Childress (2010) proposes five strategies to tackle them, including intentionally articulated internationalization goals, long term investments to provide resources, infrastructure to create foundational programmatic support, institutional networks to enable faculty to gain awareness of international opportunities, and support for individual faculty to connect institutional goals for internationalization with their personal scholarly agendas. Furthermore, to capture the faculty's interest in and commitment to internationalization, Stohl (2007) maintains that we need to move beyond the conceptualization of the internationalization of higher education in terms of how the different aspects of teaching, research, and service functions of the university are becoming more 'internationalized' and examine how these activities encourage greater learning and discovery. Our challenge is to convince faculty that their scholarship and teaching will benefit from these efforts and that they will be rewarded for them not only with better scholarship but with the recognition by their colleagues and institutions that this is a worthwhile activity that should be rewarded.

While the above discussion informs us of the internationalization of higher education, the relationship between internationalization and globalization, and faculty engagement in internationalization, it seems most of the existing studies focus on undergraduate programs. Unfortunately we know little about internationalization issues of the curriculum and research at the graduate level, particularly in the context of adult education. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which adult education faculty and programs in Canada and the US were moving towards the internationalization of research, curricular, and practice in order to prepare graduates for a global market place and responsible citizenship in a civil society. Noting that academic transformation begins with the creation and dissemination of knowledge, two primary questions guided our investigation: (a) What is the level of faculty engagement in cross national research, and (b) In what ways do adult education programs reflect an international perspective in curricula?

FACULTY ENGAGEMENT IN INTERNATIONALIZATION IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STAGES

This qualitative study utilized content analysis and curricula reviews as the primary means of data collection: (a) a review and analysis of the 1995-2005 conference papers from AERC (Adult Education Research Conference) and CASAE (Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education) for evidence of faculty engagement in transnational research, and (b) a review of the curricular and program offerings of selected institutions found on program web sites for evidence of an international perspective.

In conducting an analysis of the conference proceedings, we reviewed each paper title and abstract for such key words as international and intercultural education, globalization, comparative education, immigration, among others. We also included studies with names of international countries and cultures in the title or abstract. The second set of data analysed were program offerings and course descriptions of the top 10 institutions in the United States and the top 10 universities in Canada which offer adult education programs. We used Internet sites for this procedure. For Canada, we searched one major university in each of the ten provinces. The top 10 US rankings came from a benchmark survey conducted by the adult education faculty of Texas A&M University in 2003. The faculty surveyed educators from adult education programs and asked them to provide a list of the programs they considered to be the top in the nation. We visited the web sites of these universities and reviewed their program information and course descriptions that were current as of 2007.

A possible limitation of this selection process is that there might have been other university adult education programs engaged in internationalization activities that were not identified among the top universities highlighted from the benchmark survey. However, we believe the results of the review of the AERC and CASAE research conference proceedings provided strong indicators of the extent to which North American adult educators were engaged in research that involves issues of globalization and transnational concerns.

Lack of Mass Critical Engagement

Overall, the results show a lack of mass critical engagement in research related to global issues. For Canada, we searched a total of 659 CASAE conference presentations over the ten-year period, and only 47 papers (6.72%) were found relating to the broad themes of immigration, internationalization, or globalization. For AERC, we reviewed a total of 838 papers and found 76 presentations (8.11%) that focused on issues beyond local concerns. It is clear that not much attention has been devoted to the issues of globalization and immigration among adult education scholars up to 2005. This finding reflects similar observation from other mapping projects about the under-representation of globalization in current research (Butterwick, Fenwick, & Mojab, 2003). Drawing from analyses of journal articles, conference proceedings, and graduate thesis abstracts, Butterwick et al examined the extent to which liberatory themes, such as anti-racism, feminism, globalization, social movements and social justice, and equity issues, were evident in Canadian adult education research in the 1990s. This study revealed that globalization was often "named as an issue, but for the most part not analysed in any substantive manner" (p.16). Among the research projects presented, we found a rich diversity of topics and that scholars took both an individual and a collaborative approach to international research.

Rich Diversity of Research Issues

The limited number of presentations with an international dimension reflects a rich diversity of topics, including literacy, informal learning, citizenship education, health and nutrition education, transformative learning, community development, non-governmental organizations, social movement and adult learning, popular education, literacy in international contexts, migration and identity development, learning and development among immigrant students, globalization and its impact, challenging western views of learning, among others. They addressed many important questions, such as the following: What is globalization? What is the driving force of globalization? What is the impact of economic globalization on university adult education? How should adult education respond to the globalization agenda? Does global consciousness lead to social action and a more tolerant society? Does labour education accommodate the corporate structuring caused by globalization or does it provide resistance? Whose interest does literacy serve? What prevents adults from participating in literacy education? Why should adult educators be involved in community development and social movement? What are some of the institutional barriers to popular education and social movement learning? How do immigrant students navigate the foreign academic culture? What is the role of early schooling socialization on learning and epistemological development among transnational migrants in the host country? How do specific groups of foreign-born individuals negotiate the home and host cultures and the impact of such bicultural existence on one's sense of identity and perceptions of home in the diaspora?

Most presentations were single country studies (e.g., adult literacy in Swaziland, popular education in India, economic impact and structural adjustment in Africa, adult education and English language education in Romania, aging and learning in Malaysia; intercultural adjustments of American expatriates living in Beijing; post-literacy development in the republic of Niger), often applying North American concepts to a different social, political, and cultural context. A small number adopted a comparative approach involving two or more countries. Examples were citizenship education in Canada and Brazil; university adult education in Canada and the UK; civil society, cultural hegemony, and adult education in North America, Latin America, and the Middle East; and an exploration of non-formal education programs in Ghana, Senegal, and Burkina Faso. Regarding geographic locations, Africa and Asia were overly represented in these studies; 13 of the Canadian papers and 21 of the US papers pertained to research in these two continents. We also found that some studies mirrored the lingering colonial past involving commonwealth countries (11 papers), including Australia, Bangladesh, British Caribbean, Ghana, India, Malawi, Malaysia, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, and the UK.

Transnational Collaborations

Turning to the process of knowledge production and dissemination, we found that the majority of the papers in Canada were single authored, while those in the US were more evenly distributed between those that were single authored and those completed in collaboration, where one or more of the authors were from an international country. In the case of individual research, the author often travelled to a foreign country to collect data relative to that country. We found these single-authored papers to be those of university professors who had other affiliations, for example, the church or other missionary organization. Meanwhile, we found an active participation from international graduate students in collaboration with a professor/advisor from the host country. A significant number of the papers reviewed were the result of such collaborations. It was obvious that international students were using opportunities within their graduate education programs in US and Canada to research important issues within their home country. Furthermore, the joint conferences of AERC and CASAE tended to attract a number of researchers from outside North America, including Africa, Asia, Australia, Germany, Malaysia, New Zealand, and the UK. These joint conferences have become an international forum for adult educators to disseminate research, form partnerships, and learn from one another.

Evidence of Internationalization in the Curricula

From program websites on the Internet, we reviewed the programs, course offerings, and course descriptions of the top adult education programs in both countries for evidence of an international perspective. Based on course titles and/or course descriptions, four universities from the US and four from Canada were found to have at least one course with an international focus (see Tables 3 & 4.) The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), the University of British Columbia in Canada and Penn State in the US appear to be well on their way to internationalizing their curricula. Our review also revealed three curricula focus areas related to internationalization and globalization: (a) comparative and international adult education; (b) the relationship of globalization with adult education; and (c) adult education in a broader global context.

As the research shows, of the 20 university adult education programs featured in this study, only two US and two Canadian universities offer more than one course that addresses international issues and concerns. From the course offerings identified, it was obvious that Penn State University in the US has made a deliberate attempt to internationalize the curricula with four courses addressing issues beyond the local. Canada, on the other hand, is advancing faster than the US in internationalizing its programs and curricula.

Both the University of British Columbia (UBC) and Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT), for example, registered six courses with each addressing some aspect of globalization, internationalization, or immigration. UBC's Adult Learning and Global Change – an innovative online Master of Education program, is offered in collaboration with Linköping University (Sweden), the University of the Western Cape (South Africa), and Monash University (Australia). One of the program's objectives is to analyse dominant and alternative theories and discourses of "globalization" and develop a critical perspective on the relationship between adult learning and global change as these are experienced and understood in different parts of the world. Students in this program benefit from a truly international learning environment in which both students and instructors are drawn from four participating universities. Of the top universities in Canada and the US, the number that demonstrates evidence of global consciousness or an international engagement in research and curricula is very small, indeed. This finding supports Altbach's (2002) argument that in American colleges and universities, programs aimed at providing international perspectives and the development of cross-cultural skills are increasing, but the increase is minimal and does not compare with the rapid changes that result from the effects of globalization. Indeed, the author noted that in the US in particular, there is much more rhetoric than action concerning the internationalization of adult education.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION

It is no wonder, then, that in the age of globalization and post September 11 North American colleges and universities face an urgent and perplexing set of questions about how to educate students for this new world. As Green (2002) argues, we cannot make the common claim to have the best education system in the world unless our graduates can free themselves of ethnocentrism, bred of ignorance and navigate the difficult terrain of cultural complexity. Our data suggest that research and pedagogy in adult education do not adequately expose students to international issues and concerns, and hence prepare them for global and multicultural living and working arrangements.

In *Global issues and adult education: Perspectives from Latin America, South Africa, and the United States,* Merriam, Cervero, and Courtney (2006) note, "Globalization is an exceedingly complex issue" (p. 486). It has the potential to build societies while it destroys individuals, groups, and communities within nation states. A small number of the conference papers critically examined the negative impact of economic globalization on adult education (Cruikshank, 1995), work and worker's education (Cruikshank, 1995, 2001; Spencer & Frankel, 1996), human rights (Mulenga, 2001), and immigrant women (Mojab, Ng, & Mirchandani, 2000).

In respect to its impact on adult education, Cruikshank (1995) argues that under globalization, adult education has undergone massive funding cuts; it has been pressured to operate as businesses; profit making has become the priority; and the needs of marginalized groups have been ignored. In another study, Cruikshank (1996) explored the negative impact of economic globalization on the future of work. She maintains that globalization serves the interests of corporations at the expense of ordinary citizens. She identified the negative consequences of economic globalization as "high unemployment, increased poverty, a widening of the gap between the rich and the poor, an increasing number of people who are homeless and forced to live on the streets of our cities, and a general feeling of helplessness" (p.62). Furthermore, Mulenga (2001) suggests that globalization has adversely affected human rights for workers, particularly women workers, peasants and farmers, and those from indigenous communities, especially those in the South.

Despite the negative impact of globalization, Merriam et al. see the potential for adult educators to transform adult education to respond more constructively to the impact of globalization on marginalized populations. They suggest that we (a) create space and listen to voices, (b) adopt a critical stance, (c) attend to policy, (d) develop partnerships, and (e) foster collective learning and action. Adding to these, we (f) give priority to a deliberate attempt to include and (g) make visible an international dimension to their program. It is through the internalization of the curricula and through critical pedagogy that we can begin to attend to the roles and responsibilities that Merriam, Cervero, and Courtney have articulated. Similarly, we must clearly define our goal as we set out to internationalize the field of adult education. Is it our goal to prepare graduates to meet the demands of global labour markets as Zha (2003) suggests, or is it to prepare graduates to respond through critical action to the impact of globalization on marginalized groups and communities as many advocate? We hold the view that adult education has a responsibility to do both; we see our role as building civil societies while preparing graduates to compete in the global marketplace for their economic well being. Yet, we are reminded that education is a contested domain, as the process of global destruction and transformation continues to empower and disempower various stakeholders in adult education. However, we must first start global conversations to explore the range of possibilities available through our collective action.

In summary, adult education has not taken a critical stance on engaging in conversations beyond the local (although some evidence is beginning to emerge from the margins as our data reveal). As Nesbit (2005) notes in his review of the latest *Handbook of adult and continuing education* (Wilson & Hayes, 2000, p. 74):

> I was surprised to find few authors refer to or reflect upon the national and international political issues that marked the 1990s. The corporate

> scandals, the rapid increase in economic globalization, the growing gap between rich and poor, the drift toward various fundamentalisms, continued conflict in the Middle East, including those of Iraq and Afghanistan (and a few others not so apparent), the demise of the Soviet Union, genocide in Rwanda, ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia... are hardly mentioned at all.

We found similar gaps in reviewing the past ten years of AERC and CASAE proceedings. Most surprisingly, the 9-11 terror attack did not stir us into action and neither has the US-led war in Iraq. Overall, this study highlights the near static nature of American and Canadian adult education and the reluctance to move beyond the local to more global issues.

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9. INTERNATIONALIZING POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION:

Opportunities, Possibilities and Challenges

> Those campuses that exhibit consistent caution or visible fear about engaging their community in the critical discourse on diversity and globalism contradict the very mission statement that underscores their existence (Anderson, 2008, p.5).

A scan of university web pages will reveal the growing trend in the internationalization of postsecondary education as if to suggest that our educational challenges to date have been addressed, and we are now ready to take the next step: changing our student population, curricular practices, and approaches to education so that we will become global enterprises. Taking a small selection of the website language, we read that these international programs are intended to: 'prepare students for life in a rapidly changing global society;' 'build understanding of integral relationships among the people of the world;' 'create an international milieu on campus;' 'inculcate internationalism throughout the curriculum'; 'create an international outlook among faculty and staff'; and 'transform every graduate into a world citizen." Universities also reason that "global perspectives are critical to solving contemporary problems, ensuring academic excellence and preparing a world-class workforce." These assertions suggest that embarking on international programs would help to produce students and faculty members who are not only conscious of issues outside their own societies, but willing and able to engage in an educational process in which universities, as we know them, will be transformed: they will become institutions with academic programs which are, as one website indicates, 'complemented by a campus culture of global awareness, sensitivity and engagement and the integration of international perspectives and experiences into learning and discovery.'

How a university internationalizes is related and influenced by economic and political circumstances around it (Knight, 2006; UNESCO, 2003; Schuetze, 2011). Four primary foci have been identified in literature (Knight, 2008). First, universities actively recruit 'international' students, and send domestic or home students and faculty abroad, both for economic competition and also for cultural diversity in their institution. Second, universities develop

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 149–164.

programs, conferences and courses abroad to encourage student mobility and information sharing. Third, they build international partnerships for research and funding purposes, allowing some to argue that internationalization is less about education and more about markets and economy. Fourth, universities internationalize their local curriculum through the inclusion of cultural and global elements (Knight, 2008; Stensaker, 2008; UNESCO, 2003; Huang, 2006).

Obviously, structural changes and adjustments need to be made if institutions, and instructors, are to be responsive to the experiences, needs, interests, expectations and aspirations of international students, particularly if international students are to feel welcome, and not seen merely as a source of income, meeting the growing financial needs of 'Western institutions.' The learning environments, then, of these institutions must be accommodative of these students, and as Schmitt (2006) writes, "add diversity to university classrooms because they bring with them an assortment of previous learning experiences, diverse views of the world and, in many cases, experiences of communicating and studying in more than one language" (p. 63). We take 'international students' to be, as Ryan and Carroll (2005a) define them, "students who have chosen to travel to another country for tertiary study … [and whose] previous experience will have been of other educational systems, in cultural contexts and sometimes in language that is different (or very different) from the one in which they will study" (p. 3).

Our focus in this chapter is on international students who travel to western universities to study. According to Ryan and Carroll (2005a) with reference to the UNESCO (2003) report, *Global Education Digest* in 2000/2001, international students in higher education made up 11 percent of the students in the United Kingdom, 13 percent in Australia, 3 percent (or about "half a million students") in the United States, 3 percent in Canada, and 5 percent in New Zealand. And with reference to other reports, the authors indicate that in 2004, the number of full-time international students in the UK increased to 16 percent, and in Australia, it was 24 percent in 2005. It was also noted that in 2004, almost 195,000 international students in the UK were from outside of the European Union - an increase of about 45,000 over their number in 2001/2. Australia, too, has had a significant increase in the number of international students, and it is predicted that the number will grow from the 303,342 in 2003 to 810,000 by 2018 (Ryan &.Carroll, 2005a, p. 4). Citing 'Australian experts,' Altbach and Knight (2006) also notes that "perhaps 15 million students will study abroad by 2025 – up from the current 2 million" – a prediction, the authors claim "might be optimistic" (p. 303).

International schemes and programs have experienced a tremendous increase in popularity in the last few years. It is estimated that half of the student population at popular universities such as Oxford will be composed of international students by 2020 (Goodman, 2007). Several factors are acting to change the mix of students who might now participate in international programs. While access is still a major issue, more traditionally excluded students now have the possibility of participating in postsecondary education, and eventually the student body will no longer reflect its historically white, dominant societal group (Ichimoto, 2004). In addition, the shift from an 'elite-oriented' to a 'market-based' system, where internationalization is more commercialized and promoted, is making international experiences available to a wider range of students (Ichimoto, 2004). More students have access to postsecondary education, which by necessity makes admissions more permeable, and there are more scholarships and sources of funding available (Stensaker, 2008).

Given this context, many of the students taking advantage of international programs tend to be linguistic and religious minorities, and people of color (or racial minority/racialized students) coming from developing countries and/or former colonies. As well, some are children and grandchildren of immigrant parents residing in societies such as Canada, the United States, Australia, Britain and other European countries. So today's 'international students' are not the traditional white middle class students; and while, as in past years, a number of international students are traveling to western countries to study on scholarship, some of them are the new middle class and elites of their societies. It seems to us that the racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity of today's international students, combined with a similarly diverse 'domestic' (or home) student population in many metropolitan universities, should propel today's institutions into providing academic programs that enable marginalized (or racialized) students – both international and domestic (or home) – to fully participate and realize their educational goals. But such outcomes are not possible in the absence of institutional changes that address the inequity, colonialism and racism that operate as barriers to marginalized students' full participation and successful outcomes.

In this chapter, we contend that internationalization can benefit all students – international and domestic alike – if it is an institutional program that takes an approach to education that is inclusive of the diverse social, cultural and educational experiences of all students in our classrooms, our curricula, and on campus. Such a program must demonstrate a serious commitment to transforming postsecondary education into an interactive process among faculty and students, where differing worldviews and life experiences could be brought to bear in both interrogating and developing knowledge. If internationalization, indeed follows the rhetoric as presented on university websites (cited above), then it will serve all our students well, and ultimately create a new role and usefulness for postsecondary education.

The fact is, much of the challenge of bringing the 'world' to our campuses and our campuses to the world rests in our historic practice of fitting those who come to our institutions into our existing intellectual and political space, as opposed to opening new territories in the lives and minds of all those participating in the academy. This tendency, which shows itself in our continuing problem of retention of students, and indeed of faculty and staff, who bring other than dominant culture experience to campus, is nothing new. What may be new is the confluence of two major shifts in our academic world: the necessity to succeed in providing viable education for international students, for both fiscal and academic business reasons; and, the increasing demographic changes in home countries, resulting in potential pools of "home" students who are less likely to be from the historically dominant groups, more likely to be multilingual, have a variety of first languages, and more diverse lower school educational experiences.

In what follows, using Canada, and to a lesser extent, the United States as reference, we discuss: a) the impetus for western universities and colleges to initiate internationalization programs in which they seek to recruit students to build up their student population, b) how the presence of 'international students' on university campuses can help to address the needs, issues and concerns of marginalized 'home' students, and c) the possibilities and limitations of internationalization moving us toward a more inclusive and equitable postsecondary education system.

THE IMPETUS TO INTERNATIONALIZE

It is difficult to untangle the reasons and process of any particular institution's desire to internationalize. UNESCO's (2003) survey of members of the International Association of Universities found that the most important reason cited for making internationalization a priority was the mobility of students and faculty, and this was also identified as the fastest growing aspect of internationalization. The preliminary findings of the 2005 International Association of Universities (IAU) indicate that there is a high level of consistency between the rationales driving internationalizations and the perceived benefits (Knight, 2006). According to Knight, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) "see 'competitiveness' as the most important rationale driving internationalization at the national level and 'international development cooperation' ranked fourth in level of priority" – behind strategic alliances and human resource capacity. As Knight continues to point out, "yet, 'education exports' as a key motivator for internationalization ranks very low and still of lesser importance than 'cultural and mutual understanding' based rationales…. The number one ranking benefit is the increase in international knowledge and intercultural skills in university students, academics and staff members" (2006, p. 17).

Internationalization policies tend to be aimed at changing the traditional model of teaching and research into a progressive, innovative, inclusive and culturally aware education which caters to an increasing global market

(UNESCO, 2003). It is understood that such education would not only acknowledge the history, cultures and resources of a country and individual, but also shape the way interactions and learning takes place within institutions (Qiang, 2003). Further, internationalization places emphasis on problematizing assumptions and taken for granted beliefs with which individuals operate on a daily basis in educational and social contexts (McBurnie, 2000) with the expectation that through their intercultural experiences and exposure to other societies, ideally, individuals will become global citizens in their movements, ideas and values, with a sense of global empathy, and a desire for social change and equity. Further, it is hoped that through international dialogues and communications, as well as exposure to different languages and cultures, individuals will gain an understanding of their own culture in relation to others. And as Lincicome (1993) says, the education that international students receive is expected to prepare them for an international future (whether abroad or regional), teach them how to think and act independently, and make them more aware of globally acknowledged goals, values, social practices and relations. In relation to this point, Gurung and Prieto (2009) argue that nation-states – including the United States – can no longer isolate themselves from or "remain ignorant of others in the world" (p. xiii).

Among the often-stated aims of internationalization are the promotion of intercultural understanding, knowledge and language acquisition, international cooperation, and international solidarity (Altbach, 2007; Kirkwood & Fuss, 2001; Knight, 2006). The idea appears to be that to 'expose' students and faculty to cultural diversity is to foster an appreciation for this diversity. This will, the thinking goes, promote a smooth flow of information and knowledge between people and countries and more importantly, will help break cultural stereotypes (Gurung & Prieto, 2009; Kirkwood, 2001; UNESCO, 2003). Similar rationales have been used to promote the idea that bringing students from 'marginalized background' to campuses would result in growing understandings across racial, ethnic, gender and class lines among home country students, thereby transforming classroom as well as national environments (James, 2003).

The fact that these are largely unrealized outcomes, as evidenced by both low participation and retention rates among students from historically marginalized and racialized groups, as well as by few widespread and institutionalized changes in curricula, pedagogy, or faculty hiring criteria (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2009; Ryan & Carroll, 2005b; Henry & Tator, 2009), does not make this sort of transformation impossible – just very unlikely if the actual work involved in doing so is not recognized, and if real changes are not expected or envisioned as part of the process. And if the implementation of multicultural programs on campuses, in countries such as the United States and Canada (Green & Olson, 2008; James, 2003), have not led to changes in curriculum and approaches to education for domestic students, then what will be the impetus to bring about such changes for international students – their financial worth? According to Anderson (2008):

> A common assumption is that most institutions use a mission, vision or goal statement to endorse diversity, yet the reality is that such proclamations do not translate into real change, nor do they remove institutional barriers. In other words, diversity continues to be a difficult discussion if one assumes that broad university statements can have an impact in the absence of a commitment to more fundamental organizational change (p. 8).

The vision of a more integrated world work environment, where college and university graduates will be able to meet the demands of the new globalized market place, based on the need for international cooperation, is often advanced as a reason for internalization. In this regard, it is believed that, in addition to academic and professional knowledge, graduates will also need multilingual and intercultural skills (Ichimoto, 2004). By extension, therefore, qualifications obtained within an international setting, as well as with an international focus, are to be highly valued, for they demonstrate that graduates are equipped to function and work in a diverse and multicultural local and global environment (Knight, 2008). In addition, it is believed that international experience and knowledge have the potential for decreasing cultural isolation which can thwart career aspirations for those marginalized in a society (Ichimoto, 2004). Once again, we have the argument that just by being around people who are different from us – all other conditions in the classroom and on the campus remaining unchanged in any significant way – somehow individuals will learn to behave and interact knowledgeably, respectfully and effectively with difference or with a diverse group of people. That these skills, if they are honed in the classroom at all, will eventually translate into inclusive and effective practices in a diverse work environment is hardly guaranteed. In reality, we have yet to succeed in changing individuals' attitudes, thinking, beliefs and practices to allow for the meritocracy we seem to believe exists. The presence of difference does not change understanding or practice in the absence of acknowledgement that the status quo is ineffective.

The idea that through internationalization needed changes in curricula and pedagogical practices will come about is based on an assumption that, driven by the broadening global reach of our student bodies, the appearance of increased numbers of international students on campus will necessitate the university to rethink, or at least adapt, their educational processes to include these groups (Qiang, 2003). Bringing individuals with different worldviews together, the argument goes, will mean that traditional models of local education will need to be rethought in order to meet the diverse needs and demands of students, to empower minority students, and provide inclusive education (Nukaga, 2003). On this basis, critical pedagogies are seen as providing educators with innovative ways to view learning and knowledge production as educators interact with international students and the diverse experiences, beliefs and values they bring to the classroom. Porfilio and Carr (2010) assert that critical analyses of social and political structures combined with social activism are important to the counter-hegemonic social movement of young people through which they come to challenge the 'bootstrap capitalism' that is responsible for their inadequate education – an education which does not provide them the essential building blocks "to become critical, caring, engaged citizens" (p. 3).

Exactly how we move from curricula and pedagogies that have supported traditional structures and educational practices into those that recognize the voices and experiences of students, and marginalized students in particular, is certainly not clear from our past adventures with diversifying the campuses and changing educational practices. If the experiences and learning needs of international students, indeed of all students, are to be effectively addressed, then college and university classrooms must be ones in which educators work with students to question and challenge cultural domination, develop the critical thinking skills that will enable them to go beneath surface meaning and dominant myths and understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, and ideology of events, actions, texts and discourses (Skubikowski, Wright & Graf, 2009; Lund & Carr, 2008). Doing so necessarily involves recognition of the power dynamics in the classroom between educators and students, and among students with one another, noting that the rules that govern these power relations are a reflection of the rules of the dominant ethno-racial group of the society (Lund & Carr, 2008; Delpit, 1995). And, as Delpit also explains, meaningful engagements that can result in understanding the worldview of another can be a challenge to our identities. She writes: "To put our beliefs on hold is to cease to exist as ourselves for a moment –and that is not easy. It is painful as well, because it means turning yourself inside out, giving up your sense of who you are, and being willing to see yourself in the unflattering light of another's angry gaze" (Delpit, 1995, pp. 46–47).

Were educators to actually use critical pedagogical approaches in our teaching/ learning situations with our culturally diverse student bodies of both domestic and international students, we would need to consider the curriculum in ways that would allow us to see it in the sometimes unflattering light of those whose worldviews, life experiences, and identities differ from those of dominant group members. To truly internationalize, humanize or broaden the curriculum, colleges and universities would need to do more than rely on the single or few faculty members within institutions who take seriously their role as facilitators of learning or as teacher/learners, and who consistently use interactive learning approaches that consider the identities, knowledge and social and cultural capital of students. In this regard, the academic cultures of these institutions will have to become ones in which meaningful attention is given to the cultural contexts, histories and paradigms inherent in both their existing and developing approaches to knowledge, to research and to teaching.

The political and economic dimensions of globalization are more compelling drivers for internationalization than are socio-cultural and academic rationales, according to Stensaker (2008). And as Knight (2008) contends, this global demand increases the potential for internationalization to become commodified and commercialized, in effect creating profit aspirations, which can trump the focus on experiential learning and cultural education. Therefore, insofar as internationalization becomes a priority for postsecondary educational institutions whereby they involve themselves in global economic market demands for international knowledge and economic competitiveness, they set themselves up to be viewed as multinational companies participating in the global market (Knight , 2006; UNESCO, 2003). As such, when international knowledge is seen as important for economic, and less so for societal and cultural reasons, there is pressure on universities to produce globally literate graduates who are prepared to work in an economically driven international global context (Fischer, 2008).

In such a context, the experiences of students are viewed as secondary to the economic relevance of their presence in western universities and colleges. In this trend we can see echoes of past practices in which traditionally excluded, marginalized or racialized students are recruited on to university and colleges campuses as a primary indicator of a dedication to diversity – the equal opportunity approach, rather than focusing on attention to the particular interests and aspirations of these students, thereby ensuring successful matriculation – the equity approach. Students coming to a country learn to navigate an institution's educational system without making an impact on the curriculum and pedagogical practices. More often than not, 'successful studies' abroad necessitate mastering the educational system rather than creating new knowledge and modes of thinking (Knight, 1993). A more sustainable model of internationalization would be to not only attract international students and send domestic students abroad, but also to provide an academic and intellectual space for them to engage in their classes, taking into account the wide variety of experiences they bring to the classroom and postsecondary education (Qiang, 2003).

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The presence of international students on western university campuses can play an important role in opening up cultural and global awareness, as well as insights into citizenship. If appropriate classroom discussions were to occur, such exchanges among students and educators could allow students to recognize and contextualize cultural differences among all participants while at the same time providing more understanding of the role these differences play in knowledge production. If students take opportunities to move beyond familiar social encounters and discussions, exchanges among them can allow formal and informal spaces for associating with people whose opinions and worldviews are different. And as Kneale (2008) suggests, interactions or exchanges among students can also provide them with the necessary tension for learning and new understandings as they engage in daily problem solving and reflection.

In addition to bringing about global awareness, internationalization can help students and faculty work for changes in education and promote activism against ethnocentrism and racism in an effort to create a more fair and democratic world (Stier, 2004). Classrooms that include international students can be settings in which home students and faculty alike are exposed to unfamiliar social, cultural and educational resources and knowledge, which can be beneficial to their experiences in navigating unfamiliar settings within the home society. They can build skills in cultural understandings through the process of experiencing uneasiness, frustration and anxiety in their culturally diverse classroom, working these out and reflecting on them. In effect, such social, cultural and educational awareness and understanding can help to develop and routinely use skills in classroom and campus environments to interrogate, question and analyze learning. In this regard, both faculty and students could expand their beliefs, values, and cultural understanding; challenge their own stereotypes and prejudices; and increase their abilities to see and understand different perspectives. These experiences have the potential for increasing skills in critical thinking and making visible prejudices, ethnocentrism, racism and cultural stereotypes. Understanding the essence of different perspectives and how these can shape values can lay the groundwork for personal growth, self-actualization, independence, and self-esteem, as well as interest in other cultures (Stier, 2004). Such processes can also help individuals increase their abilities to learn self-direction and find inner drive and motivations (Wagenaar & Subedi, 1996). All of this can encourage both students and faculty to more critically examine taken for granted knowledge and pedagogical styles (Lund & Carr, 2008; Welch, 1997).

Evidently, the mere presence of more people of different types in the classroom does not, in itself, transform learning or even influence pedagogy. For internationalization to have any effect on curricula and the learning environment, faculties must be willing and able to negotiate a learning space with diverse participants. Conceptualizing how to internationalize the curriculum requires an understanding that education and learning are fluid, dynamic, contextual and contingent, as are teaching pedagogies. Transforming education is not an obvious process, and most faculty members have little experience in opening up the intellectual space beyond traditional boundaries. Internationalizing the curriculum means building on what is already known, yet creating a new space for the students to insert the self into the classroom experience and knowledge production. Global perspectives on knowledge creation and critique can expand the thinking of all those involved. Starting with the local and expanding to the global context enables students negotiating the curriculum to adopt a relational view about how the development and existence of phenomena are interconnected, as well as help to them to see connections between local and global events as mutually dependent (Carroll & Ryan, 2005b).

Among the nine characteristics that Webb (2005) identifies as helping to define international curricula, and relevant to this discussion, are:

- curricula with international content;
- curricula that add a comparative dimension to traditional content;
- curricula addressing cross-cultural skills;
- curricula leading to internationally recognized professions; and
- special curricula designed exclusively for foreign students.

But the list does not include an institutional priority for having interactive, knowledge-generating environments in all classes. Yet one of the stated goals of internationalizing college and university campuses is the claim that all students are being prepared to work and live effectively in a global environment. Working with a paradigm that includes interrogating knowledge in all our learning environments so that students are routinely exposed to and expected to participate in the development of global perspectives, including those of 'home' students of differing identities and backgrounds, seems like a necessary key to meeting this goal.

As has been noted, initiatives to open up curricula and pedagogical practices to be inclusive of the diverse experiences, interests and aspirations of home country students have not been recognized as particularly successful. The model of learning that expects the student to tacitly accept and integrate without reservation the knowledge being offered ignores the complications implicit in working with learners whose worldviews, educational histories and societal experiences differ both from each other and from the traditional knowledge producers. Marginalized students perceive knowledge and truth as contextual as opposed to absolute. As diversity in ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, skills levels, perspectives and worldviews become the norm and not the exception, the challenge for faculty, as Anderson (2008, p. 81) puts it, "is to recognize the needs and rights of contextual learners, and to create equitable learning environments that allow them to find their place in the academy."

Clearly, students' cultural backgrounds and experiences are important in how they engage in and experience academia and learning. The social and cultural knowledge students bring to the classroom has an impact not only in how they are responded to, but also how they interpret and understand information and their surroundings, as well as the access they have to learning and knowledge production (Carroll & Ryan, 2005b). Identity is not a blank slate, nor is it an inscribed stone tablet.

Indeed, human beings are complex: our behaviors, attitudes, values, and views of ourselves and others are related to the contexts, structures and circumstances in which we find ourselves and our interactions with others. Given this reality, getting to know and learn about the diversity of people with whom we live, learn, work and share our society is to become acquainted with the different ways in which the social, political, economic, educational, judicial and cultural structures have operated to inform and influence our lives in relationship to, among other factors, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class, age, language, sexuality and ability. It is also to know about the experiences of others, and in the process, know about ourselves (James, 2010, p. 3).

As such, students' participation in postsecondary education, whether at home or abroad, will be informed by their multiple identities interacting with their daily environments. The experiences they bring into the classroom and to education in general influence how they in turn respond to and incorporate the information and knowledge presented into their existing schemas used to understand the world (Carroll & Ryan, 2005b). Further, students' life experiences, as well as those of their teachers, family members and other mentors, play important roles in how and when these students obtain access into postsecondary education and knowledge production and ultimately the successes they experience within the classroom (Bramble, 2000; Fischer, 2008).

POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

While the benefits of the internationalization of postsecondary education can be numerous, the challenges to developing programs that could reap many of the potential benefits must be faced squarely. The fact is, the existence of a process called 'internationalization' on any campus does not necessarily mean that those participating are experiencing a two-way flow of education and learning, where both the home and international students learn from each other. Rather, the process sometimes is used as a vehicle to educate those considered less informed into Western norms and values (Stier, 2004), thereby creating a homogenized, rather than diverse dialogic culture among the student population. 'Internationalization' also sometimes works to impose one culture as valid over that of the visiting international students. In such a context, for international students to succeed academically, they have to align their views and perspectives with those of the dominant group of the society (Knight, 2008). It is therefore understandable how postsecondary education institutions can and often have played a role in furthering the dominant Western culture, and in the process exacerbate the gap in North-South education which, as in turn, result in developing countries, from which many international students come, experiencing brain-drain as their 'knowledge' travels North and does not return (UNESCO, 2003). Conversely, the education that international students receive can also participate in 'brain-drain' or 'brain-circulation' whereby students return home having acquired skills and completed training to use their Western education in their new careers, raising questions the tendency of internationalization to reinforce cultural hegemony by transferring knowledge within an unquestioned and unexamined cultural 'capsule' and transferring it whole into other cultural contexts (Knight, 2008).

It is the case that when they enter into their host education system, international students already possess sets of skills and experiences that have granted them success in academia in their own countries. These skills, however, do not always transfer or even match those needed or recognized by the educational systems of their host country. Culturally different modes of communication, interpretation, classroom routine, language use, personal interactions, writing and speaking, means that their actions may not match the educators' expectations and vice versa. To account for this difference in learning and knowledge production, educators sometimes tend to view these students' behaviors as problematic, and often set goals to correct such behaviors to match the local standards of the classroom and university (Carroll & Ryan, 2005b). While this is especially true when speaking about international students, home students often experience a similar hegemonic approach. They also possess life experiences which differ one from another and have developed skills that are often not recognized as "suitable" for the classroom. Distinctions made between international students as bearers of culture and home students as a homogenous, monocultural group are problematic, as the diversity among home students can be just as great as that between the international students and those most representative of the host culture (Smith, 2007).

Making space for internationalizing curricular and pedagogical practices demands disruption of dominant traditional ways of teaching and learning in universities (Carroll & Ryan, 2005a). As campuses become more diversified in their student body, educators need to re-think their pedagogy and ideas of education in general in order to include a wider variety of student experiences in the classroom. And insofar as postsecondary education instills, through its curriculum and pedagogy, a reading of the world through a Western lens that is predominantly white and upper middle class, then it does little else but mirror the associated values and beliefs relating to race, ethnicity and gender (Magnusson, 2001). This educational practice inevitably creates an imbalance in power and intentions within the classroom between educator and students, and among various student populations, as traditional hegemony will silence the minority groups while creating tensions the majority group is ill-equipped and/or resistant to tackle.

CONCLUSION

While internationalization is directly associated with the purpose of the university, which is to teach, develop research and serve society, such overarching purposes do not come with templates for future directions or recommendations for strategic planning. In practice, then, internationalization on the ground often looks and is haphazard, with various components operating independently, and without integration of effort or learning. The knowledge of international and home students together should be used to devise new ways to operate in the classroom, developing new learning and teaching modalities that expand the spaces where students can make meanings together, sharing and building on these meanings to bring about changes that make for a more inclusive, relevant, socially conscious, and internationally aware education. The diversity that results from the presence of international students in today's western classrooms should not create educational struggles, but rather opportunities to engage and explore the differences in experiences and understanding made possible by the diversity.

And as Ryan and Carroll (2005a) write in their collection of essays, *Teaching International Students: Improving learning for all*, which draws on the experiences of scholars who have worked with international students in countries such as the United Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, the United States, Japan and Azerbaijan:

> The presence of international students, with their diverse paradigms and life experiences, provides us with an opportunity to ask who the university is there to serve and to what end. Are we as teachers in universities custodians of convention and a defined body of wisdom, or do we believe that we have a duty to forge new traditions and epistemologies? Is our role transformative or reproductive? (2005, p. 9)

As postsecondary educators, we have the opportunity to take part in helping create informed and educated 'world citizens' conscious of the world around them and our interdependency in the 21st century. In so doing, our role must be transformative. If, however, we do not rise to this challenge, learning will occur outside of the postsecondary system, and the system itself will become irrelevant in our emerging global society.

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10. THE ADMINISTRATION OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL) PROGRAM IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Striking the Balance between Generating Revenue and Serving Students

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the precarious and arguably unethical position in which directors of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs at post-secondary institutions find themselves or rather, are placed by the institution (Eaton 2008, 2009). Universities regard such programs as lucrative (Rubin, 1997) and directors are charged with the responsibility of marketing their programs and recruiting students internationally, often with little or no training in how to do so (Eaton, 2005). Not only are they set forth ill-prepared, the repercussions for insufficient revenue generation may be harsh, including having to fire instructors or having their programs closed by the very institutions they serve (Mickelson, 1997; Soppelsa, 1997; Staczek, 1997).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is informed by critical theory, which as Tyson (1999) points out, assumes "the impossibility of objective analysis", as all events are situated both temporally and culturally and perspectives may change over time. Tyson notes that we "live in a particular time and place, and [scholars'] views of both current and past events are influenced in innumerable conscious and unconscious ways by their own experience with their own culture."

Critical theory is often motivated by a desire to emancipate the oppressed. It explores oppression through a study of power and a subject's relationship to it. This chapter addresses issues related to power, powerlessness and disenfranchisement as they relate to the plight of language program administrators.

It further situates language programs within an international context. In addition to examining educational issues, it considers world events and economic factors that affect language programs, borrowing from educational

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 165–180.

policy theory insofar as it subscribes to the view that “a major theoretical assumption of those who study the international arena is that the world is interdependent and that global forces affect … education systems” (Fowler, 1995). This chapter positions the global forces within a historical context, showing how they affect challenges faced by program administrators.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

ESL teaching began to emerge as a profession in the United States in the 1940s (Fox, 1988), when teachers were being hired specifically to teach the English language to foreign students, rather than to teach the language or literature to native speakers.

Other universities soon joined the trend of opening ESL programs in the 1950s and 1960s, but as Kaplan (1997) observes, they did so “without any forward planning, without any clear idea why such programs should exist.” He goes on to explain that “because there was no forward plan in establishing [ESL programs], they were not clearly defined in relationship to other academic units with the university. Consequently, no definitive placement for [ESL programs] exists within the university framework” (Kaplan, 1997).

Programs classified under the ESL header vary widely and may include year-round full or part-time programs, vacation courses for visitors, executive or one-to-one courses, English for specific purposes such as engineering, English for Academic Purposes or professional development courses for overseas English teachers (Impey & Underhill, 1994). Although the term “ESL” may refer to different types of courses at a variety of levels aimed at particular audiences, what they have in common is that they are usually required to generate a profit. This term, borrowed from the business world, is sometimes used in the research on educational programs that generate revenue. The term is used loosely to refer to “an overage of money after all expenses have been paid” (Staczek, 1997). Staczek further notes that profits are also called “surpluses” and “variances”; though the latter terms are more traditionally applied in the public sphere, all three signify an excess of funds.

The idea that ESL programs were cash cows emerged in the 1970s. As Eskey (1997) notes, “a great many new (ESL programs) were established in the 1970s”, adding that this led to “widespread perception, probably accurate at the time, that such programs were sure-fire money makers.” This marks a shift in how language programs were viewed within the institution. They were no longer purely a scholarly pursuit.

The 1970s also showed the effect global market forces when we examine where students came from in order to take ESL courses. “In any given year, larger numbers come from certain parts of the world (the Middle East in the 1970s, the Far East in the 1990s), mainly as a consequence of economic and political factors” (Eskey, 1997). One key point here is that the 1970s were a critical decade for ESL programs because three things happened at the same time: the number of programs increased dramatically; the programs began to be viewed as mechanisms to generate revenue for the institution and we begin to see that students from particular regions populate these courses, according to political and economic conditions.

Enrolments leveled off in the 1980s and competition increased (Eskey, 1997). By the mid to late 1990s there was another shift in the evolution of ESL programs, with increasing fiscal restraints and changes in the global economy. From an institutional point of view: In the 1980s and early 1990s … the willingness of universities and colleges to launch such programs and to make *front-end investments* [declined and] the fiscal restraints and budgetary cutbacks at the same institutions in the mid 1990s have been the motivation for a shifting of risk away from the institutional parent to the program itself (Staczek, 1997).

Institutions began withdrawing support from programs, or making support conditional on enrolments. This placed many programs in a precarious position in the late 1990s when registrations from the previously lucrative markets of Japan and Korea plummeted, due to economic decline in those countries (Eaton, 2004), creating additional pressures on program administrators. Heffernan and Poole (2005) note that "limiting factors may include the effects of wars and terrorism, regional or global economic recession, and policy shifts in countries such as China." Hence, what happens in the world affects ESL programs.

In the new millennium, the notion of marketing higher education institutions continues and is a trend that is likely to continue (Maringe & Foskett, 2002, Hesel, 2004).

CLOSELY GUARDED SECRETS

A lack of research available on ESL programs, and any existing data offer an incomplete picture. As Cumming (1991) points out, existing language schools cannot be identified systematically, nor can we determine how many there are. He notes that even in studies that give registration statistics of particular programs, they do not always distinguish between government-sponsored (i.e. immigrant) and fee-paying students. Impey and Underhill (1994) echo Cumming's findings noting that "there is almost no publicly available information on the market for English language tuition. Since ….small schools jealously protect…. their own contacts and sources of students, there is little pooling of information." These limitations point to poor organization, as well as a general lack of professional and institutional regulation in the field itself resulting in a lack of research on the topic.

THE MAJOR AND MINOR CHALLENGES FACED BY ESL ADMINISTRATORS

Once we understand the historical and global context of language programs in post-secondary institutions, the obstacles faced by program administrators begin to emerge. Many of the challenges overlap and any division of them into categories is artificial, intended to organize them for the purposes of understanding them in more depth. They have been divided them into three broad categories: philosophical matters, pragmatic issues and those challenges which cannot be placed into either category because both are inseparable.

Part One – Philosophical Issues

Business paradigms versus educational paradigms. There are certainly ethical and moral issues around incorporating business practices into education (M. Apple, 2004; M. W. Apple & Oliver, 1996, Oplatka, Hemsley-Brown and Fosket 2002, Oplatka, 2006). An in-depth investigation of this would require another study entirely. However, it is worth pausing to examine the unique case of language programs. Traditionally, language programs have had social justice ambitions, shared with other programs that assist immigrants to integrate into their new communities. An Australian government report produced by Quay Connection (2000), notes the tension between the social justice objectives of such programs and the commercial realities of competing for students who pay for courses. “The commercial imperative to ‘get bums on seats’ and generate a certain number of student contact hours seems at odds with social objectives and is perceived as a frustrating constraint on the ‘real’ work of connecting people with their community through learning” (Quay-Connection, 2000).

Unlike traditional academic courses, ESL programs are at the mercy of market forces (Kaplan, 1997), but it would be naïve to think that ESL programs at universities are completely free of social intentions to enrich the lives of their students. Negotiating the purpose of the ESL program on campus is a major philosophical issue with which administrators grapple. The tension created by the desire to enrich students’ lives, help them adjust to life in a new country and ensure their well being, is at odds with the mandate to generate revenue. It is a tension that is unlikely to disappear soon.

Competition vs. collegiality. Impey and Underhill (1994) explain that “For all language programs, there is the constant threat that our competitors will get an edge over us, will find out how to exploit that lead successfully, and will take business away from us.” In language programs, administrators feel compelled to protect information fearing that they may give away “business” (i.e. lose enrolments). This has a variety of implications, including program closure, if they are unable to generate sufficient revenue or cover costs.

Instead of subscribing to the philosophy that leaders learning from each other raises the bar for all (Fullan, 2006), there is instead a tendency for ESL administrators to guard information out of a sense of fear and apprehension. While some would argue that competition increases the need for efficiency and quality-driven programs (Nolan, 2001), the reality is that once administrators regard their peers as competitors rather than colleagues, they lose the inclination to discuss problems openly. This means that they also lose the opportunity to learn from one another as peers and enjoy a sense of professional community.

Part Two – Pragmatic Issues

Programming and services. The culture shock faced by students is discussed in the work of Rowe-Henry (1997) who posits that "the very process of second language learning places students in high-stress situations, thus creating the potential for crises to develop." Thus the need for support services is critical in ESL programs. It is incumbent upon the administrator to ensure such services are provided (Fox, 1988). This is another way that ESL programs differ substantially from degree programs. Academic department heads do not generally have the responsibility of providing such services which, as Fox notes, can include everything from providing information on weather conditions, housing availability, health care and insurance, immigration regulations and procedures for obtaining a visa.

Budgets and funding. The financial operations of a language program consume much of an administrator's time. Staczek (1997) points out that "for the language program administrator, resources are key to successful program development and delivery." Managing those often-limited resources is of primary concern. One reason is that "nowadays, an ESL program needs to meet its direct costs or to make a 'return to overhead.' Generally, a program that operates at a loss and requires subsidization is imperiled" (Pennington & Xiao, 1990). Hence, there is an ever-present, though often unvoiced danger of programs or staff being cut, or a program being closed, if it is not fiscally robust.

Issues around marketing, recruiting and promoting. Marketing, recruiting and promoting are but one aspect of the language program administrator's job. Interestingly, in Pennington and Xiao's (1990) national U.S. survey of ESL program administrators, marketing and promotions did not appear in the survey question on job-related skills, which included 24 items respondents were asked to comment on. The closest related skills were "making profits" and "recruiting new students," neither of which fell into the top five skills that the respondents believed they needed for their jobs. The top five were: maintaining an environment conducive to teamwork, developing a staff "team" (hire, orient, assign, etc.), managing time, communicating program goals to faculty and motivating faculty members.

In fact, recruiting new students fell into the bottom five skills that ESL directors believed they needed for their jobs. When asked what tasks ESL directors spend their time on, marketing and recruiting were not options in the questionnaire and although respondents were allowed to add additional information about that they spend their time on, not one mentioned marketing or recruiting. Perhaps not surprisingly, the highest rated item was paperwork (e.g. reports, budgets).

Despite the fact that maintaining and increasing enrolments helps to secure a program's future, and linguistic and cultural diversity keep it vibrant, one problem is that administrators are simply overwhelmed with tasks and marketing and recruiting fall to the bottom of the list. This may be due, in part, to the fact that many of them lack training in these areas, as well as adequate resources to market effectively (Eaton, 2005).

Part Three - Issues Spanning Both the Philosophical and the Practical

There are three main issues that go beyond the pragmatic aspects of challenges faced language program administrator, leaving us with questions about the very nature of the programs themselves: the scope of the language program administrator's job, faculty and staffing issues and negotiating with the institution. Let us explore each of these in turn.

The nature and scope of the ESL program administrator's role. Pennington and Xiao (1990) and Davidson and Tesh (1997) applied Katz's (1974) work on the essential skills of managers, adapting them to language program administers. Katz divides managerial tasks into three main categories: technical, human and conceptual.

The conceptual tasks include such things as strategic planning, which requires "a commitment of time and resources" (Klinghammer, 1997), both of which are often limited. As Kaplan (1997) observes, lack of forward planning is a major challenge for program directors and has been for decades. Planning becomes a central issue when enrolments fluctuate due to external factors, and yet there is a relentless expectation of revenue generation and the future of the program depends on enrolments.

The human tasks associated with language program administration are extensive. In addition to staffing and personnel management, there are numerous outreach and networking tasks that are involved. Outreach activities for students (such as counselling on immigration, housing, etc.) are included here, as well as outreach to other academic departments on campus and the greater community (Murdock, 1997). He adds that the language program administrator needs to do outreach to local businesses and agencies such as the "Social Security office, police departments, hospitals, the driver's license office, local banks, doctors' offices, insurance companies, car dealerships, and other local businesses that regularly receive ESL program students as customers" (Murdock, 1997). Such extensive networking requires the administrator to develop and maintain excellent contacts on a continuous basis. This alone requires a great deal of time and effort. In addition to managing staff, dealing with students, and negotiating with overseas partners, we begin to see the scope of conceptual and human tasks alone.

Technical tasks include such things as overseeing computer labs and associated software. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the program administrator to ensure that data on servers are managed properly and must make choices about "office automation and instructional technology" (Witbeck & Healey, 1997). Choosing software, textbooks and developing curricula for various programs in conjunction with the faculty, are other technical aspects of the job.

Jenks (1997) links the human task of outreach with the technical task of promotion when he says that the language program director must initiate and establish direct, personal contact with (a) campus media relations personnel, (b) local and campus newspaper editors, (c) members of the local chamber of commerce, and (d) student affairs administrators. After personal contacts have been made, weekly or monthly news releases prepared by the [program] staff must be sent to each.

These are excellent promotional activities, but are less pressing than a crashed server or a lost shipment of textbooks, and as a result, they may not get done.

Pennington and Xiao posit that marketing falls under the technical category of management skills. It is worth adding that by and large, language program administrators are so overwhelmed with human and conceptual tasks, as well as critical technical ones, that marketing and recruitment are often avoided, due to lack of time and training, or else regarded as a burden, on top of more pressing matters.

Demands on time. The examples above show the extent of responsibilities of the ESL program administrators. The demands on time are extensive and the need to juggle a variety of levels of tasks, from strategic planning to crashed computer servers is part of the job. Rowe-Henry (1997) presents a snapshot of a typical day: "Within any single working day, the language program administrator may sign 10 to 20 documents, have four or five meetings, teach a class or two, and write a proposal to bring in a special group of students."

What Rowe-Henry demonstrates, Christion and Stoller (1997) echo when they state: "the job of a language program administrator is complex, making time management a formidable challenge." Christison and Stoller go on to say that "It is not uncommon … for language program administrators to receive urgent requests for information from senior-level administrators, sponsoring agencies, colleagues, faculty, and staff that require a change in one's schedule and priorities." This constant shuffling leaves little time for planning, networking, conducting market research or developing a marketing strategy.

Being overwhelmed and overstretched has a direct impact on how well program administrators can do their job. "Most individuals already feel that they try to do too much – and they probably do" (Quay-Connection, 2000). Such juggling of tasks is to be expected in any management position at times. The research shows however, that it becomes a way of life for ESL program administrators who "often get bogged down in the minutiae of daily operations, such as meetings, correspondence, e-mail, personnel and student issues, and faculty and staff supervision". This "can result in a reactive, emergency-room culture characterized by crisis management" (Klinghammer, 1997). This idea is echoed in the work of Rowe Henry (1997) who observes that "language program administrators often feel overwhelmed with the number, complexity, and types of decisions awaiting them" and as a result "operate by perpetual crisis management." It is fair to say that many ESL program administrators often work in a reactive, rather than a proactive or reflective environment.

If administrators do not have the time, resources or training to adequately reflect upon market research data, to constantly research international political and economic circumstances that may affect enrolment trends, and to strategically plan for the short, medium and longer terms, their administrative efforts are at best haphazard, and as a result, ineffective, given that programs are expected to grow on a constant basis and to continue generating revenue for the institution.

Qualifications, training and traits of ESL administrators and teaching staff. Pennington and Xiao are not the only ones to point out that one trait shared by language program administrators is lack of training and experience. Kaplan (1997) echoes the same ideas in his work and Nolan (2001) cites empirical research by Hussein that examines future administrators, summarizing that "In a survey of 100 graduate programs …. future teachers of ESL were seen to have no administrative training (78%), while the majority of program directors (62%) declared that they had been poorly prepared to administer an ESL program (Hussein, 1995)." Lack of training for the position was a concern as far back as almost two decades and continues to be a concern today.

A national survey conducted in the U.S. by Pennington and Xiao (1990) shows that compared with other academic administrators, the ESL directors …. are younger, less experienced, more likely to be female, less likely to hold a professional rank, less likely to be tenured, less likely to have been appointed from inside the department or program, and with less time available for teaching or research.

This synopsis touches on key issues related to power and exploitation of professionals whose duties, as have been shown, do not differ particularly from that of an academic department head, and yet are not recognized as such. One trait common in the profession is that "typical language program personnel are committed to helping others" (Rowe-Henry, 1997). While this may be true of faculty in a variety of disciplines, ESL faculty differ from those in other disciplines and experience additional stress "from the desire to support students who are struggling to adjust to a new environment and to decipher an unfamiliar educational system" (Soppelsa, 1997). This may be, in part, because both ESL administrators and faculty "have professional expertise in international education and language teaching, and many have had international experience themselves" (Rawley, 1997), making them both compassionate and sympathetic to the situation of their students because they have lived abroad themselves, survived culture shock and struggled with a foreign language.

Working conditions and perceptions of ESL teaching staff. The working conditions of those who teach in ESL programs are often in disaccord with other faculty. Carkin (1997) notes that ESL faculty are seen as living neither in the ESL world, nor in the academic one. This is because their colleagues who teach strictly in immigrant-serving agencies work in an environment driven by social justice values, while faculty who teach in other academic departments at the university are intently focused on research and working with graduate students. ESL faculty who teach at the university do not belong to either world. Soppelsa (1997) paints a grim picture of their situation:

> Some ESL teachers must endure working conditions that take a large toll on their energy and commitment to the field. Many are underpaid, and many work at more than one job to make ends meet. They are called on to contribute to more than one program and to teach a variety of courses to possibly large numbers of students. Burnout is nearly inevitable under such conditions.

In addition, Carkin (1997) notes that faculty and others who work *outside* the program are unaware of the stress resulting from long-term intensive programs, precisely because they do not teach as many hours or deal with the same issues outside of class, such as helping students with visa issues, culture shock or other matters unique to international students. While clearly the position of the ESL teacher is focused on classroom work rather than research, it also includes a strong service component, which is often not recognized.

Not only is the service component undervalued, but ESL teaching staff themselves are "perceived as somehow less than regular faculty, as engaged in less academic activities, as delivering work that does not deserve academic credit, and as not deserving of normal faculty status" (Kaplan, 1997). It has been argued (Fox, 1988; Staczek, 1997) that remuneration should be commensurate with that of other faculty (e.g. those in English literature and foreign languages), but this is not always the case as ESL instructors are often "not regarded as having any special expertise" (Eskey, 1997) and therefore they may not be perceived as equals. However, as Jenks (1997) points out, "The quest for legitimacy is eased greatly if [ESL] administrators and faculty are accorded rank and salaries equal to those of other program administrators and faculty members."

This view of faculty as being inferior to their peers is symptomatic of the marginalization of ESL programs at post-secondary institutions in general. These perceptions of faculty create difficulties for program administrators who have the "responsibility to advocate for adequate salaries, benefits, and good working conditions for their faculty" (Soppelsa, 1997). This may be especially difficult if the job security of the person advocating, the administrator, is also uncertain. Rowe Henry (1997) calls our attention to the fact that many language program managers themselves "may not have job security if, for example, they are not tenure eligible."

Perhaps one reason administrators lack status equality among their non-ESL peers is because of "the perception that the activities of the [language program administrator] involve little or no expertise" (Dvorak, 1986). The job is often held in low esteem and it has been said that "The ESL program director is not perceived as a peer among departmental chairs, but rather enjoys a kind of second-class citizenship" (Kaplan, 1997). This has a negative effect on how administrators view themselves. A study conducted by Rawley (1997) concluded that the directors included in the study "feel that they operate from positions of powerlessness, preventing them from being as effective as they might be." Yet some say that the language program administrator job is more like that of a dean than a department head, because of the scope of responsibilities (Christison & Stoller, 1997). It is from this position of relative weakness then that the language program administrator advocates both for himself or herself, as well as the faculty.

Job security. This advocacy includes not only working conditions such as salary, permanent positions, and space, but also job security. The number of teaching jobs is often directly related to student enrolments (Mickelson, 1997; Staczek, 1997) and "a reduction in language program staff is often due to a decline in enrolment or organizationally mandated budget cuts" (Geddes & Marks, 1997). Soppelsa (1997) adds that many ESL programs at university and college levels are self-supporting, and they may teeter on the brink of insolvency from time to time. Administrators in such situations may be forced into awarding lower salaries than they would prefer or to reducing numbers of faculty at times in which student enrolments and resulting program income are low. She questions the ethics of such practices, pleading that they should be avoided. While many academic departments hire part-time teaching staff according to student numbers, it might be difficult to identify any other unit on campus that is responsible for recruiting students through marketing, then providing them with support and services from the time they apply to the program (e.g. visas, airport pick-up, etc.), through to the time they finish the program (counselling, housing, academic support, etc).

Motivation, burnout and turnover. In addition to advocating for program staff and faculty, the administrator must ensure there is as little burnout and turnover as possible, and create a good working environment. Administrators "need to nurture stability, professional working conditions, and a sense of belonging or permanence, whenever possible" (Stoller, 1997). When teachers feel undervalued or disrespected they are not motivated to do their best work and therefore, continuity, longevity and commitment in the way a program is managed are critical to its success (Fullan, 2006; Nolan, 2001; Rawley, 1997). "Since the morale of the faculty is important to the success of the program, the administrator must make sure that the ESL faculty are treated not as second class citizens, as they are in some institutions, but as professionals" (Fox, 1988). It is incumbent upon the administrator to cultivate an environment where faculty and staff feel valued and motivated, regardless of the possible impermanence of their positions.

Marginalization of Language Programs by the Institution

It is important to consider how the ESL faculty are perceived by their colleagues within the institution. One problem is "the pervasive belief that anyone who can speak a language can teach it" (Eskey, 1997), making the job of teaching the language to foreign students seem somehow less valuable than teaching them literature or any other academic subject. Eskey's comment points towards a general lack of understanding of the ESL teaching profession and marginalization of ESL programs on a university campus.

The research shows overwhelmingly that perceptions of those who work in, teach in, or administer ESL programs, extends to how the ESL programs as a whole are viewed. It has been noted that "perhaps the most sensitive issue for [ESL programs] is academic credibility" (Jenks, 1997) and Soppelsa (1997) declares that ESL programs are "often accorded second-class status within their host institutions".

This may be due to the fact that although the ESL program "exists within the culture of the university at large, [its] culture contrasts sharply with the institution of higher education, and as a university entity it is often misunderstood" (Rowe-Henry, 1997). Perhaps because they differ from other academic courses, ESL programs are often viewed as being remedial (Carkin, 1997; Stoller, 1997). Jenks (1997) shows how perceptions of ESL programs as being remedial affects not only the perception of students, but also how they are recognized:

> Students who successfully complete advanced ESL studies possess English-language skills far stronger than those of matriculated students who have majored in a foreign language, such as French or Russian…. Yet, no academic credit is provided for international students whose foreign language knowledge is measured at the near native-level; at the same time, U.S. students whose foreign language abilities are much weaker receive academic credit or even academic honours.

Academic credit is granted by some post-secondary ESL programs, but not all. ESL programs provide skills training, while many traditional academic units place value not on the acquisition of skills, but on the acquisition of content or knowledge (Eskey, 1997). This may be one reason why ESL programs are marginalized, why students' success in them is not recognized with academic credit and why their faculty are not regarded as equals among the professoriate.

Thus, we begin to see the inter-relationships between the marginalization of programs, perceptions of student success and the working conditions of staff and administrators. "Marginal program status keeps ESL professionals out of the mainstream of academic discourse, and their nonparticipation in academic discourse hinders their ability to influence their marginal status" (Carkin, 1997). In addition, institutional policies and regulations (e.g. registration and admission policies) may be "negative, inflexible, and reactionary" (Rawley, 1997), making it difficult for administrators and almost impossible for ESL students.

While marginalized, the ESL program is expected not only to be financially self-sufficient, but also to generate revenue (Rowe-Henry, 1997; Staczek, 1997). The surplus may then be used for other institutional purposes and the program itself is not necessarily allowed to keep the money that it takes in (Kaplan, 1997). Two scholars bitterly express concern over this. Eskey (1997) contends that "in addition to low status, (ESL programs) are often burdened with oppressive budgetary arrangements. Most are required to be self-supporting and many are frankly regarded as cash cows that are expected to generate large surpluses for the support of more prestigious programs." Furthermore, Rawley (1997) echoes these thoughts by stating that the upper administration is interested in income, not diversity, and that it views ESL programs mostly as a source of revenue.

CONCLUSIONS

The research reveals the difficult and somewhat paradoxical situation of ESL programs at post-secondary institutions. They lack legitimacy and their staff, faculty and administrators lack status, in comparison with their non-ESL equivalents. Yet the programs themselves are seen as desirable by upper administration because they have the potential to generate significant revenue, which can then be returned (at least in part) to the same institution that marginalizes them. Jenks (1997) notes that, unlike other programs on campus, ESL programs must earn legitimacy. They do so after having proven their success. First they must convince students to enroll. Next, they must increase registration numbers. Only then is it likely that they will be noticed, that their staff will have better working conditions.

Jenks observes that, "Recognition is not achieved passively…. An active [ESL program] must publicize itself and its accomplishments, thereby validating its uniqueness as an educational asset within the university and beyond". How a program is perceived from within its own institution affects how it is seen from the outside. It has been noted that when teaching staff are accorded full-time academic appointments, it has a striking effect on the program as a whole. "In such cases, the quest for equality becomes a moot one; faculty and staff are immediately perceived as being equals, receiving similar rights, responsibilities, salaries, and benefits" (Jenks, 1997). This is what Fullan (2006) calls "taking all the excuses off the table." When all the reasons for not succeeding are eliminated, it is logical that success will follow.

The marginalization of ESL programs on campus and lack of support for them, are major challenges. These manifest as variety of issues including human resources issues, crisis management as a chronic condition, and administrative jobs that have excessive demands on time and are often unrealistically broad in scope.

Most importantly, the programs themselves need to be viewed as having a legitimate place on campus. Those who administer the programs must be regarded as peers among their colleagues. Students in the programs should be viewed as undertaking a valid course of study and be appropriately recognized for their successes. The senior administration of the parent institution must not make support conditional on enrolment, for as we have seen, registrations in language programs may be affected by circumstances beyond the control of any administrator. It needs to be made clear that ESL programs are on campus to stay and that they are an integral and important aspect of the academic success of an institution sincerely committed to international education and diversity. This includes not only endorsement in principle, but financial support, permanent jobs, better working conditions and adequate training for those who administer them.

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11. MANAGING A NEW DIVERSITY ON A SMALL CAMPUS

The Case of l'Université de Moncton (Canada)

International migration is without a doubt a defining element of the current globalized world (Castles, 2007; Ley, 2010; Vertovec, 2007). Migration flows are intensifying and an increasing number of actors are taking part in what could be called the "global labour market," where highly skilled migrants are a precious commodity, and mobility often depends on one's qualifications. This is especially true within the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The OECD area attracts nearly 90% of the world's highly skilled (HS) migrants (Vinokur, 2006)). Those countries' developed economies and decreasing birth rate create both a labour and a demographic shortage for which HS migrants are seen as a solution. While they develop more selective immigration policies, OECD countries are also competing with each other to attract their share of this precious resource: the 11.3% of migrants with post-secondary education. Skills selection programs are thus accompanied by policies aimed at facilitating the immigration process for those with qualifications, such as the "point system" adopted in Canada, Australia and the UK, or the H-1B visa in the United States. In a context of increasing mobility and growing demand for skilled labour, it is thus not surprising that international students are not only growing in numbers, but are progressively considered by many countries as potentially ideal immigrants (Hawthorne, 2010).

OECD reports show that there has been a 9% annual increase of international students in its countries between 2000 and 2005 (OECD, 2007). In 2004, 85% of all 2.7 million international students were enrolled in universities in OECD countries. Education has even become the fifth service industry export in the U.S. The importance of education in knowledge-based economies can be measured by the role universities now play, not only in the attraction of migrants, but also in their integration and retention. Indeed, if OECD countries are looking for skilled immigrants, then foreign students with recognized credentials are an almost ideal solution. This has led many

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governments to put in place measures aiming to ease foreign students' transition to the labour market and eventually their immigration process, with this idea in mind that beyond the appeal of a university's reputation and prestige, the possibility of immigration plays a role in international students' choice of destination. "Foreign graduates having already lived for a while in the host country and accustomed to its social and cultural characteristics have become an increasingly important target aimed at attracting and retaining talented human capital" (ICMPD, 2006, p.7).

At least three factors can explain this new way of perceiving international students (Belkhodja, 2011). First, as potential immigrants, international students are a solution to low birthrates and the ageing population in developed countries, especially outside of major urban centers. Second, international students are a source of skilled labour, and thus help increase a country's competitiveness and innovation on the world scale. Finally, international students who obtain a Canadian diploma can more readily integrate into the labour market, making universities an important actor in the attraction of a valuable resource (Zigurus and Law, 2007).

Universities now constitute an important attraction pole for migrants, and as such, must redefine their role and their mission. Stressing the importance of offering an international education, universities must find ways to manage diversity (Suter and Jandl, 2008; Altbach and Knight, 2007). The economic argument behind the current internationalization of education has led to a global competition for international students, in large and small universities. If "not all universities are (particularly) international, […] all are subject to the same processes of globalization – partly as objects, victims even, of these processes, but partly as subjects, or key agents, of globalization" (Scott, 1998, p. 122).

The presence of smaller universities in the global recruitment market is seen as a solution to the problem of regional immigration (Walton-Roberts, 2008). Canada and Australia, for instance, offer incentives for regional immigration through their point system. Universities now play a growing role in the attraction and integration of international students. Not only do they produce qualified international graduates, but they are also on the front line to help new students adapt to Canadian society. One can see why the Canadian government believes that its "ability to retain international graduates with Canadian qualifications, work experience and familiarity with Canadian society, will help increase [its] competitiveness and benefit Canada as a whole" (CIC, 2008).

In this paper, we will explore this changing role of the university in the context of growing international mobility and demand for regional immigration through a case study of l'Université de Moncton, in New Brunswick, Canada. This is part of a broader research project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), on the impact of Francophone universities on regional immigration in four Canadian cities. Through an analysis of federal, provincial and municipal policies concerning international students, interviews with city officials and university administrators, and focus groups with international students, we will consider l'Université de Moncton's situation in light the recent policy changes in Canada aiming for a greater attraction and retention of international graduates outside major urban centers. We will present the strategies in place for recruitment, the services offered for integration, and the overall retention of international graduates in the city of Moncton. In conclusion, we will discuss the challenges of retention in second- and third-tier cities.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN CANADA

Canada is one of the world's main post-secondary education destinations. In 2004-2005, it ranked sixth in the world in terms of the number of foreign students enrolled in its universities, behind the USA, the UK, France, Australia and Germany. Canada also ranked third during that same period for the highest percentage of international students per capita, and per total student enrollment (Suter and Jandl, 2006). These numbers have dramatically increased in the past decade or so. In 1996, the country counted a little over 200 000 international students. Ten years later, in 2006, that number had almost tripled, reaching over 700 000 (AUCC, 2007, p. 16). That same decade also saw a clear evolution in Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) discourse concerning foreign students:

Since the late 1990s a number of advocacy groups have been urging the Canadian government to start looking at international students not merely as cultural and academic assets and a timely source of revenue, but also as a readily available skilled labour force from which to secure future permanent residents (CBIE, 2007, p. 10). This increase in foreign student enrolment has been mainly fuelled by two actors in Canada: CIC, and the universities themselves.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada: Recent Policy Shifts

In order to understand not only the role now played by universities in the field of immigration, but more generally the role of education, it is imperative to consider how discourse and policies that have aimed to make Canada more competitive on the labour market and on the education market have often contributed to redefining international students' place in Canadian society.

In the early 2000s, international students were still essentially considered a revenue source for universities, an asset for the internationalization of Canadian campuses, and "ambassadors" for Canada once they returned in their home country.

In 2003, Alberta and New Brunswick both launched pilot projects, extending from one year to two years the length of work visas issued after graduation, and in 2004, New Brunswick allowed international students to work off-campus, which aimed to "enhance the global competitiveness of Canada's academic institutions while giving international students opportunities to deepen their understanding and appreciation of Canadian society" (CIC, 2004a).

In 2006, international students across the country can be issued two-year work visas after their graduation, except in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Canada is trying to make its universities an appealing destination on the world stage, all the while trying to manage the unequal demand within its boarders. This attempt at regionalizing immigration and education has been complemented by Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP), which are bilateral agreements between CIC and provincial governments, aiming to address specific provincial labour market needs.

In 2007, the Canadian government launched the new Post-Graduation Work Permit, which enables international graduates to work in Canada for three years, without having a job offer at the time of application and with no restrictions on the type of employment.

Finally, in 2008, the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) was launched. With the CEC, international graduates from a Canadian university who have one year skilled employment experience with their Post-Graduation Work Permit are eligible for permanent residency outside of Quebec.

International students went from being considered in an essentially transitory mind frame to being an almost ideal immigrant category, and the policy changes of the past decade have all aimed to encourage and ease their transition to the labour market, especially outside of the major urban centers, which is a challenge indeed. Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec attracted 83% of all international students in Canada in 2003 (CIC, 2004b). This fact is not surprising in itself, considering that these provinces are home to 75% of the country's population. But as it has been said, all universities are now compelled to be international, even small universities in second and third tier cities, which is precisely the focus of this paper.

L'Université de Moncton: A Small International University

Universities play a fundamental role in attracting international students, albeit not all by the same methods. In order to focus on the evolving role they play in attracting, integrating and retaining international students, we opted for a case study of a university in a province and a city without a strong immigration tradition: l'Université de Moncton, in Moncton, New Brunswick.

Moncton has a population of 126 424. It is the first officially bilingual city, in the only bilingual province in the country, with approximately a third of its population speaking French. It is also the fastest growing metro areas east of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2006a), with a growth above the national average between 2001 and 2006, although that growth is essentially due to intra-provincial migrations. Immigrants make up 3.66% of the province's, and 3.42% of the city's population, a far cry from the national average of 19.8%. Nonetheless, there has been progress in the past decade, with the number of annual immigrants to Moncton increasing from 84 in 1997 to 262 in 2007 (Belkhodja, 2009). In Table 1, we can also see how l'Université de Moncton potentially plays a fundamental role in immigration in Moncton.

Moncton also went from having a traditional industrial economy with the Canadian National Railway being the main employer, to a knowledge based economy in the last two decades, with the main industry now being call centers, which employed 8 000 people in 2008 – 15% of the city's total population. The province is currently facing an upcoming demographic decline. Its growth was of 0.1% between 2001 and 2006, and as elsewhere immigration is seen as one of the main solutions to this challenge. New Brunswick, through its Provincial Nominee Program, is aiming to attract 5 000 immigrants a year by 2015 (it attracted 4 295 between 2001 and 2006) (Statistics Canada, 2006b). But being an officially bilingual province, there is also pressure to ensure an inflow of immigrants of both official languages.

Is l'Université de Moncton an important asset in not only attracting students to the region, but attracting potential Francophone immigrants? L'Université de Moncton, founded in 1963, is the largest Francophone university outside of Quebec. It has a mainly undergraduate population of 4 108, 10% of which are international students. Since 2002, the proportion of international students enrolled at l'Université de Moncton has doubled, making it the university with the most international students per capita in the province (see figure 1). This increase, contrasting with a stagnating provincial average, is due to at least two factors.

Territory	Immigrants (%)	International Students (%)	IS / Immigrants (%)
Moncton	3.42%	10.15 %	9.82 %
New Brunswick	3.66 %	8.61 %	6.33 %
Canada	19.80 %	5.89 %	0.99 %

Table 2 Immigrants and International Students per Capita
Source: Université de Moncton; Association of Atlantic Universities; Statistics Canada

First, being a Francophone university, l'Université de Moncton's clientele is not the same as the other three Anglophone universities in the province. Whereas the majority of international students enrolled in New Brunswick come from countries such as China, the USA, India, and Pakistan, they mostly come from North and Sub-Saharan Africa at l'Université de Moncton, which means global trends affecting the international student population are not necessarily the same. Second and perhaps most importantly, l'Université de Moncton has been very proactive in international student recruitment since 2002.

A recent study comparing Québec's Université Laval and Université de Montréal's international students' motives for choosing their university revealed the importance of factors independent to the university itself, such as the city where it is located, and language (Racine, Villeneuve and Thériault, 2003). Whereas those who went to Montreal did so mainly because of its extensive social and ethnocultural networks, those who went to Québec stressed the importance of bilateral agreements between universities. Again, not all universities are naturally international, neither are all cities, and those who are not must find ways to attract international students.

ATTRACTING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

In 2002, l'Université de Moncton hired a full-time employee in charge of international promotion and recruitment. As in many other universities, international students in Moncton pay higher tuition fees – $8 149 a year compared to $4 920 for Canadian students, in 2008 – and are thus an important source of funding. A somewhat innovative, yet controversial method was put in place to recruit a greater number of international students. Recruiters or "Ambassadors" as they are now officially called are usually international graduates from Moncton who recruit future students in their home country. This in itself is not new: most universities practice recruitment at home and abroad, but l'Université de Moncton's recruiters are paid a certain amount for each student enrolled with a possible bonus if a quota is reached. This is part of a proximity approach, where the university guarantees a personalized service to its international students, even abroad.

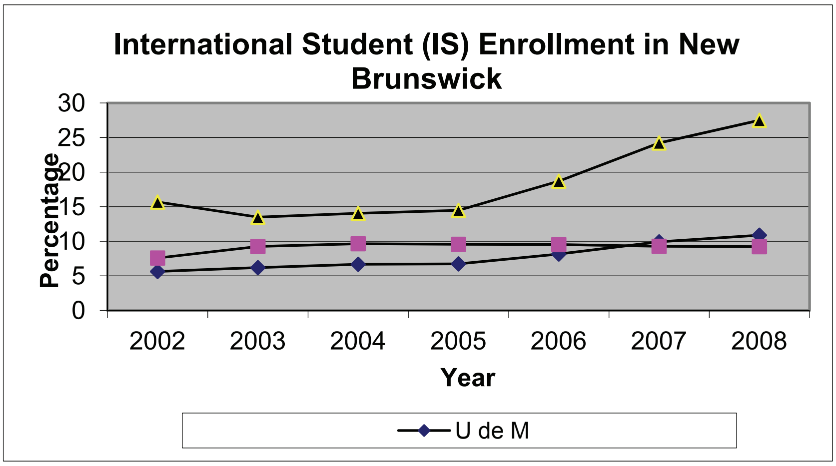

Figure 1. International Student Enrolment in New Brunswick
Source: Université de Moncton; Association of Atlantic Universities; Statistics Canada

It has been argued that "with fears that enrolment growth may further decline, universities are faced with a heightened need to clarify the factors considered by students and parents when deciding in which country they will study, and this includes the desire for security" (Forbes-Mewett and Nyland, 2008, p. 188). This is true for universities in general: not only must recruiters convince students to come study at a small university in an unknown part of Canada, they must also convince their parents that this investment is in their best interest and that their child will be safe. L'Université de Moncton, by being on the frontline abroad, can thus attract students who otherwise might have never heard of it, and offer reassurance. When presenting the university abroad, recruiters insist on three main factors: first, being a small university, interactions between international students, Canadian students, and faculty are richer; second, being located in a bilingual city, students can study in French all the while learning English; and third, the cost of living is cheaper in Moncton than, let's say, Montreal, which is the most common destination. Recruiters also help future students with their paperwork and are in direct contact with embassies and consulates.

Recruitment has been l'Université de Moncton's strategy to increase its international student enrollment, and judging by the numbers, it seems to have worked. There are 17 official representatives in as many countries, with some being more active than others. Further research is needed to have a better overview of the role of recruiters, and a better understanding of the new consequences brought on by this privatization of recruitment. Nevertheless, l'Université de Moncton's approach is an example of how universities now play a decisive role in immigration issues, namely through active or passive attraction of foreigners.

INTEGRATING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

In so far as post-secondary education is an element of the tertiary sector of the economy, universities have a certain obligation towards their 'customers' and must provide adequate services, beyond quality education and a diploma. This is especially true with international students who, as is the case in Moncton, have been recruited directly by the university and pay higher fees than Canadian students. In this sense, universities play a unique role in managing diversity, as they have an almost commercial obligation to accommodate students from diverse cultures within their campus in order to be competitive on the world stage (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002). But not all universities have the same international student population profile, and therefore the demand for services may vary from one campus to another. Here is a brief overview of the services provided for international students at l'Université de Moncton.

As with its recruitment service, l'Université de Moncton puts forward its personalized approach on campus by offering an airport pick-up service for all international students. Upon their arrival, students are put in relation with the Association of International Students of the University of Moncton, and with their home country's association – there are nine national associations in total. These associations constitute vital social networks for international students in a city with a relatively small immigrant population, and they offer international students a political representation on campus. They also help new students with their housing needs, with their groceries, with orientation, etc. They also organize activities on campus, the most famous being the International Evening (Soirée internationale), where international students showcase their countries' traditional dances, fashion and food, and which has become a very popular activity in the area over the past 33 years, attracting more than a thousand people each year.

There are also activities and mandatory orientation sessions organized by the university for all new international students, including part third- and fourth-year students. These prepare newcomers for cultural differences between Moncton and their countries of origin, and present the array of services offered on campus. A hotline is open during the first few weeks of each semester where students can phone to get assistance to open a bank account, find housing, and apply for healthcare. There is a church and a mosque on campus, the only mosque in Moncton until 2005.

The international student profile at l'Université de Moncton differs from that of most Anglophone universities in the region and in the rest of Canada. Indeed, with China and South Korea being the two most represented countries on Canadian campuses between 2000 and 2005 (ICMPD, 2006), language is both a motivation for students and a challenge they face with their studies and with employment. In Moncton, the great majority of international students come from French-speaking African countries, which helps them with their academic and social integration. Nevertheless, the knowledge of English is almost a necessity for the regional labour market. L'Université de Moncton is therefore looking into offering international students extensive English classes to prepare them for a competitive labour market.

Finally, an employment counsellor for international students helps students write their resume, prepare for job interviews in Canada, and assists employers with the paperwork related to hiring an international student. One of the major reforms brought on by CIC was the Off-Campus Work Permit, which enables international students to find part-time employment outside campus limits. This offers a source of income for students who pay relatively high tuition fees and are not eligible for provincial student loans. It is also an opportunity for them to gain work experience and build a social network beyond the campus. Efforts have been made to help international students find employment after graduation, namely with the first reversed job fair held in 2009, where local businesses were invited to come and meet future international graduates.

With this initiative, as well as with the projected English classes, l'Université de Moncton is redefining its role with international students. We have seen how the university recruits international students, how through its various services it contributes to their integration, but more and more efforts are now being made to professionalize them and integrate them into the local labour market after their graduation.

LIFE BEYOND THE CAMPUS

Policy shifts concerning international students in the past decade have generally aimed to enable them to obtain Canadian work experience both during and after their studies. Since the Off-Campus Work Permit Program was launched in 2004, the number of international students who have applied for the permit and who have found employment in Moncton has risen drastically. Almost half of all international students enrolled at l'Université de Moncton applied for the permit in 2008, and 96% percent of those found a job, mostly in call centers. No data currently exists on international graduates' placement rate in Moncton, but neither of Moncton's two immigrant welcoming and integration associations receives any funding to help international students or international graduates with their economic, social and professional integration, nor does the city have an official plan in place to retain them beyond awareness-raising campaigns. Indeed, the city is putting much effort in attracting economic immigrants through the Provincial Nominee Program with large recruitment campaigns abroad, namely in South Korea, yet is doing very little to retain the relatively important international student population already present. If the university plays a role in cultural diversity in Moncton, there are no concerted efforts with the municipality and community actors aiming to retain international graduates.

A recent study suggests that approximately a third of all international students who graduate from a Canadian university plan to stay in the country (CBIE, 2007). Students have a variety of different motivations for coming to Canada to study, and one must expect that some wish either to return to their country or pursue their mobility. But our initial question was: Are universities important actors in regional immigration? Do they help retain students beyond campus limits and after graduation?

We have shown that the percentage of international students at l'Université de Moncton is three times higher than the percentage of immigrants in Moncton, and that much is done to attract and integrate them during their studies. One could thus expect, as one of Moncton's economic development specialist reported that "l'Université de Moncton is one of Moncton's richest source of immigrants". Yet, as we look at the numbers in Figure 3, we see that none of the six most represented countries in Moncton's immigrant population correspond to those of l'Université de Moncton's international students. This is a snapshot of the situation in 2008 and does not necessarily reflect trends, past or future, but it does indicate that the province is not putting much effort in recruiting Francophone immigrants, despite all of l'Université de Moncton's efforts. Yet, even if no concrete measures are put in place to retain international graduates in Moncton, city officials acknowledge their value as potential immigrants. The mayor of Moncton welcomes international students in the university's International Student's Handbook by saying: "You, students coming from all corners of the world, contribute in making our city livelier, more diversified and culturally richer. I sincerely hope that you will feel at home here, and that you will consider staying here permanently".

IS' Countries of Origin (2008)		Immigrants' Countries of Origin (2008)	
Haiti	16.0%	South Korea	19.1%
Morocco	11.5%	China	7.3%
Tunisia	11.5%	USA	5.7%
Guinea	10.3%	UK	5.7 %
Mali	8.4%	Senegal	4.6%
France	7.4%	Congo	2.7%

Table 3: Countries of origin of international students and immigrants in Moncton in 2008
Source: Université de Moncton; Statistics Canada

CONCLUSION

L'Université de Moncton is without a doubt more successful in attracting international students than the city of Moncton is in retaining international graduates; it appears that student migration is a phenomenon distinct from labour migration, just as the campus is a space of its own, with its own logic. The passage from the campus to the city, from student to worker seems to be the step that many international graduates are not taking in Moncton. Indeed, not only do the numbers in Figure 3 show a misrepresentation of Francophone immigrants, they indicate that two separate logics are at work, in this sense that the immigrant community is not contributing in attracting international students, and that these are not settling in the city, themselves becoming immigrants. This is precisely why l'Université de Moncton initially chose to turn to recruitment; the university can potentially become an important attraction pole for international students, and it did, but the same cannot be said of the city. What Walton-Roberts observes in Waterloo, Ontario, is not the case in Moncton:

> Since both international students and students from larger cities move to the region for educational purposes, the university can become a core for ethnic-minority presence in second-tier cities that might otherwise not see a large number of ethnic-minority immigrants settle there (Walton-Roberts, 2008, p. 16).

There are at least four factors that come into play to explain this observation. First, as it has been observed elsewhere (Racine, Villeneuve and Thériault, 2003), social networks and urban life contribute in attracting international students in larger cities, whereas in smaller cities, bilateral agreements between universities and direct recruitment, as in Moncton, play a much larger role. These strategies are meant to compensate for the absence of sufficiently large immigrant networks that could help attract international students. Immigrant welcoming and integration associations and international student associations have very little contact with each other. A representative of the Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce informed us that a recent study showed that 70% of the region's businesses hired through word of mouth and social networks, which clearly disadvantages international students whose social network is often limited to the campus.

Second, employment opportunities in third-tier cities such as Moncton are relatively limited, and often require the knowledge of English. Call centers are the city's main employer, and they do hire many international students, but as Chedly Belkhodja has shown in his film *Hanging On* (2006), these jobs are often the only solution for Francophone international students and graduates in Moncton. The majority of recent immigrants in the area have actually settled through the Provincial Nominee Program's business category. The city of Moncton seems to be looking for investors, more than for skilled labour. In a recent report on demographic decline, the New Brunswick Government's main strategy concerning the retention of international graduates was to enable them to start a business after their graduation. Employment opportunities are limited in third-tier cities; larger urban centers often offer more challenging and more lucrative jobs and careers.

Third, being Francophones, international students are expected to join the Acadian community, which is itself a linguistic minority in the city and in the province. This phenomenon of a minority within a minority needs more in depth analysis. Official discourse in Acadia is deeply involved in self-definition and has been slow to acknowledge the possibility for immigrants to become Acadians, yet Francophones living in the region are expected to make Acadia's battles their own. Immigration in linguistic minority communities poses many questions related to identity for both the welcoming and the immigrant communities that are bound to have an impact on the outcome of immigrant integration.

Fourth, policies are essential for retaining immigrants in such a context. Just as Canada is doing everything it can to make itself and its universities competitive on the world stage through policy shifts, Canadian provinces and cities are trying to attract their share of this valuable cultural, human and economic resource that are international students and immigrants. But not all provinces and cities have the same things to offer on the economic, social and cultural levels. Some regions offer obvious economic advantages, and others, such as Quebec, who can play a larger role in its selection of immigrants, can expedite the immigration process. New Brunswick tried to become more competitive through its PNP, but recent national policy shifts have cancelled any incentives immigrants might have had to ask for permanent residence in the province. Being the only Francophone province with a major Francophone metropolitan area, Quebec naturally attracts French-speaking immigrants, including many of l'Université de Moncton's international graduates. In an agreement with the federal government, French-speaking international graduates from across the country can apply for permanent residence in Quebec without having to work for one year, whereas to be eligible for the PNP in New Brunswick, they have to work for one year with a permanent job in their field of expertise. For international graduates who wish to settle in Canada, this is an undeniable advantage.

L'Université de Moncton does play a role in the region's ethnic and cultural diversity by attracting approximately 200 new international students each year, but it only plays a very limited role in regional immigration. Its efforts are largely limited to its campus and the diversity it attracts is mainly transitory. Moncton, and New Brunswick have traditionally been stepping-stones for immigrants (Conrad and Steel, 2005), and the same seems to be true for l'Université de Moncton's international graduates. Whether this is true in the other three cities remains to be seen, but in Moncton, this quote of an international student we interviewed captures the feeling many students have:

> I came to Canada to get a better education, a more prestigious diploma than I could get in my country, and if I leave Moncton when I graduate, it will be for the same reason: to find something better.

The presence of l'Université de Moncton as an important actor in regional immigration depends on the capacity of other actors, namely the province, the municipality, local associations and employers to cooperate and express their common willingness to make of Moncton a welcoming, and above all, a competitive city. Without this, l'Université de Moncton is bound to remain a mere stepping-stone, a gateway to the rest of Canada.

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12. STUDENT MOBILITY IN EUROPE, TUNISIA AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADA

Global Trends and Social Fragmentation

Justine is a young, 22-year-old Frenchwoman currently studying in Italy under the ERASMUS exchange program. Sitting on a terrace with her new friends from the four corners of Europe, she admits to living the greatest "human adventure" of her life. Omar is 21 years old and lives in Tunis. Having waited over two months for a reply from the French consulate, he suspects his application for a student visa has been rejected. He is now thinking of going to Romania, where some programs are offered in French and where, he has been told, admission criteria and visa applications are not as stringent. Isabelle is 19 years old and lives in Acadia, a French-language region located within a Canadian province that has an English-speaking linguistic majority. Equally compelled by a desire to obtain a "promising" education in terms of financial opportunities and deeply attached to her linguistic roots, she must nevertheless leave home to pursue her studies in Québec City, as the Acadian region offers limited post-secondary programs in French.

Three young people who share a common goal in pursuing their university studies in an era marked by a global trend toward the internationalization of higher education, Justine, Omar and Isabelle are also three young people whose academic and work integration paths are being mapped in very different political, economic, social and cultural contexts.

In the following sections, the academic and career paths of young French-speaking graduates will be examined, using three different scales of observation (European, national, regional). By no means exhaustive of the many examples that can currently be found around the world, nor encompassing the characteristics of the regions considered, this will nevertheless provide a brief insight into the gamut of how the increasing

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 197–200.

international standardization of higher education is adapted at the local level. In the interest of going beyond the usual discourse of the benefits of studying abroad, a cross-reading of these sections questions whether the emergence of new mechanisms is creating social inequality.

HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES AND STUDENT MOBILITY: OPPORTUNITIES OR OBSTACLES?

In industrialized countries, the presence of foreign students in an educational institution is viewed by its management as a strong drawing card, one that contributes to the institution's good ranking in the international education market. Competition among universities is leading to a veritable race, not only to recruit foreign students, but also to acquire the most coveted networks of scientific cooperation. Indeed, being associated with a prestigious university confers a symbolic capital, giving the institution added attraction. Moreover, ensuing exchange agreements would also guarantee recruiting the best researchers and students, leaving those "less successful" universities—and their students—further and further behind. Since 2003, this trend of ranking higher education institutions has been encouraged by the publication of international university standings such as the *Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU)*.

These new forms of inter-university cooperation—based on mutual advantages—have resulted in depreciating the value of traditional cooperative agreements signed by Western universities and their counterparts in developing countries, which are generally perceived to be of a lower calibre. Also, distinctions currently being made in university communities between *foreign students* and *international students* are of some concern. Coupled with security measures—whose purpose is to prevent the admission of "fake" *foreign* students—new policies on student mobility espoused by Western public authorities have had a dual effect, well illustrated in articles written by V. Cicchelli and A. Hafaeidh, respectively. On the one hand, European students benefit from a relative democratization of access to international education, particularly since the Bologna Declaration of 1998 and the implementation of the LMD Reform in France.[1] On the other hand, Tunisian students, who now have access to higher education in greater numbers due to a national "massification" policy, paradoxically have access to fewer international cooperation bursaries and universities in Europe and America.

STUDENT MOBILITY: BETWEEN CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

Since 2004, the higher education sector has been included in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), signed by more than 130 countries.

Foreign students represent a direct source of revenue, particularly for institutions in Canada, the United States, and England, where foreign students who are not admitted under an agreement are charged higher tuition fees. Moreover, in keeping with selective immigration policies, this future skilled workforce is deemed likely to settle in the host country and contribute to its economic growth.

Indeed, for these countries, geographic concentration of cultural capital (research expertise and cultural industry) and economic capital (high added-value employment sectors) mutually strengthen each other, and embracing internationalization is commonly justified by its advocates as a necessity for local economic development. In this context of liberalization of higher education, where does the decision-making power of the State lie? And what will become of educational institutions' traditional role of fostering cultural or national identity (Garneau et Comtois, 2009)?[2]

The issues that result in the European Union—primarily of a linguistic nature—are not the same as, for example, those in a former colony devoted to reclaiming its Arab identity over the past few decades or a French-speaking minority community in Canada at risk of being assimilated. What status should be accorded to French in the Tunisian education system or to English in the Acadian region? The diverse structural conditions in which young Europeans (see V. Cicchelli, this volume) and young Canadians from a French-speaking minority community (see A. Pilote, this volume) experiment with student mobility do not appear to reveal similar identity issues. If the lines of identity are constantly being redrawn—as both authors rightly point out—the tangible social and political adaptation at the local level of any 'cross-border' cultural sense of community remains to be explored.

'EMPLOYABILITY' AND THE RANKING OF STUDENT MOBILITY PATHS

For policymakers and university management, international student mobility is perceived as a means for 'their' youth to acquire knowledge at an institution known for its excellence in a given field. Moreover, mobility represents a tangible way of acquiring social skills that allow the development of the competencies (mastering multiple linguistic and cultural codes, for example) now required by globalized labour markets. Yet these institutional objectives only partly meet those of youth who are driven by more than just career aspirations. According to V. Cicchelli, it is the strong desire for self-discovery, coupled with interest in the Other, that motivates the great majority of young Europeans in the ERASMUS exchange programs.

Our research shows that some students who have no previous international experience, admitted into newer and not well-defined exchange programs can, however, encounter a number of problems (such as culture shock, non-recognition of credits, debts) that often hinder them from continuing on their university paths. Conversely, the 'heirs' of internationalization, often from affluent families, have at their disposal the know-how required to develop an academic, geographical and career path that is both consistent and socially valued on the labour markets (Garneau, 2007). Moreover, the current neo-liberal and competitive character of higher education has led to overbidding for the 'international' label in student communities. More seasoned insiders in internationalization tend to trivialize the exchange programs of students who depend on co-operative agreements with home institutions by opting for an 'independent' mobility, giving them the freedom to choose from the most prestigious or internationally renowned universities (Garneau, 2008).

Despite current international regulatory mechanisms in the field of higher education, the range of experiences illustrated suggest increasingly fragmented higher education systems in both the Northern and Southern hemispheres as well as between regions and institutions, even within a single country.

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NOTES

[1] Licence, Master, Doctorat reform for the harmonization of European education programs in order to foster student mobility in Europe.

[2] For further analysis of the various forms of restructuring national powers in the area of education, see « L'enseignement supérieur dans la mondialisation libérale. Une comparaison Maghreb, Afrique, Canada et France » in *Alfa 2007*, edited by S. Mazzella: IRMC/Maisonneuve & Larose, March 2008.

ABDELWAHAB BEN HAFAIEDH

13. TUNISIAN STUDENTS ABROAD:

New Routes to Knowledge

In 1980, about 900,000 youth in the world expatriated themselves to study abroad. Today, this number has almost tripled. Five countries attract 70 % of these students: the United States of America, England, Germany, France and Australia whereas the countries sending the highest levels of students abroad are: China, South Korea, India, Japan and Greece. The Maghreb countries are at the very bottom on this list. According to a UNESCO report, these tendencies are likely to increase in forthcoming years. However, situated between the exigencies of globalization and new constraints likely to channel/block immigration, student mobility has become more problematic than ever. Seen from the south shores of the Mediterranean, this fluidity and circulation today seem more and more unlikely. And yet, paradoxically, this is the moment during which free trade agreements between the European Union and certain South African countries have been concluded in favour of the free circulation of products whereas the principles of free circulation of people and their competencies have been seriously questioned.

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF DIPLOMAS...WHAT ISSUES?

If the official discourse of the State of Tunisia is to be believed, the postsecondary reform of the license-masters-doctorate[1] (LMD) ladder, has as its goals: 'the internationalisation of postsecondary education, the establishment of a system of legible and relatively comparable diplomas, and finally and especially, the encouragement of mobility and promotion of the next necessary passage with respect to an international dimension, particularly European, in quality university teaching.'(MESRS.2009: 23; Ben Sedrine, S., 2000: 34; Karim Ben Kahla, 2000: 59). From this perspective, accrued possibilities for mobility must be put in place so as to facilitate student circulation, not only from one internal institution to another, but also from the local educational system towards the different systems of international formation, notably European.

University teachers, students and observers, however, have perceived this reform with considerable ambivalence ever since its adoption. The modalities of its specific applications in Tunisia have been much debated. Some feared

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 201–204.

that negative effects of this reform, concerning especially the management of waves of mobile students within foreign universities. Program sharing and work-study degrees (with short periods of work and longer study periods) are certainly problematic. In operating a clear differentiation between a student elite 'predestined' for the very best doctoral programs, be these national or foreign, and the majority of students oriented towards shorter work-study programs, yielding more or less employable graduates, the LMD reform risks reinforcing the aspirations of the most desperate. The highly desired regulation of student mobility now risks facilitating student flight towards other countries.

Another major concern is the rapid growth of enrolments in an international context of reduced public support for student mobility. Generally, Tunisian higher education is dominated by the public sector and has undergone considerable development with respect to major outcomes for students and institutions. Today, the rise in the number of students is spectacular, as much as 14% a year since 2000 and, according to the most realistic predictions, is called upon to grow even more rapidly. In parallel with the internationalisation of diplomas, this massification occurs in a context marked by the increasingly visible and strong presence of private sector institutions of higher learning. With this presence, co-occurs the reduction of bursaries lodged in cooperation between countries and of national bursaries supporting student mobility, as a result of the rise of the cost of petrol. This rise affects not only basic products and standards of living but also the budgets reserved for institutional mobility.

PUBLIC SUPPORT: WHAT INSTRUMENTS?

In the face of the very real diminution of international public support, namely of bursaries of intergovernmental support of student mobility, an alternative consisting of local and national public funding is developing. The operation of the system of attribution of public bursaries, as means or instruments of institutional mobility, reveals new economic orientations of the Tunisian state which, in concert with new choices within 'globalisation' and the LMD reform, values international mobilisation of supposedly 'strategic' disciplines. In order to re-orient the university towards competitive and value-laden domains (such as the new information and communication technologies (NTIC)), the State must engage in a race against the clock. Time here is the relationship between the 'departure-return' of graduates.

According to the most recent estimates, Tunisia will educate within the next two years, more than 2,520 engineers and 41,700 specialists in information technology and telecommunications. Between now and 2015, these figures will triple for engineers and almost double for the second category, which presupposes an acceleration of the rhythm of institutional mobility. However, this possibility seems to be, for some time now, compromised. Economic and political constraints, following upon the events of 11 September 2001 and the rise of the price of oil since 2007, have incontestably weighed against certain orientations, notably bursaries reserved for students going to study in Morocco or Algeria, for example. Prior to 2001, the growth of government-funded bursaries went along with increases in the volume of bursaries for intergovernmental cooperation. Public funds could even cover such onerous destinations as American universities. However, since 2001-2002, a repositioning of such support in favour of doctoral students has been documented (Hafaiedh, 2005: 22).

THE LOGIC OF THE MARKET *VERSUS* THE LOGIC OF COOPERATION

Since 2003, the share of bursaries for cooperation is less than 10 % of the total volume of Tunisian public support for institutional mobility which covers about 1,700 bursaries a year. Of this 10 % for public international support, countries such as France, Canada and Germany are the major contributors, even if these countries opt more and more for alternative forms of support in postsecondary education. This is notably the case for French cooperation where support is increasingly placed on new structures, the development of higher education and high level bursaries. The same tendency is observable with respect to cooperation with American universities. During the 1981-1990s, the United States had put into place a program of cooperation, known as *Technology Transfer*. The great majority of beneficiaries of this program (76 BA/BSc students) however never returned, with the exception of the girls. This unfortunate experience incited the American administration to develop a re-integration program with the returnees reintegrating in the private sector in Tunisia. According to AMIDEAST – Tunisia, this programme with its $100,000/year budget, did not produce the expected results. Some returnees found work in Tunisia but most of the awardees decided to stay and work in the USA (Geisser, 2000: 56).The programme was completely halted in 1999.

Since then, the number of Tunisian students enrolled in Canadian, German and East European universities has continued to grow. Within the East European region, the Ukraine seems to be the favoured destination, given the very competitive costs in Faculties of Medicine ($2000 including lodgings) and 'Russian' teachers who sometimes speak Arab and with prior teaching experience in Libya or Iraq. In second position are Russia and Romania. Nearly 95% of Tunisian students in East European universities are enrolled in Medicine or Pharmacy. Thus can be seen attempts to find alternative solutions to obtain rare diplomas (such as those of the elite French schools) or MBAs in management and finance (specializing in human skills and management functions) or high-status professions (such as Medicine). This is especially so for Canadian and German destinations.

Several factors explain this state of affairs, notably the orientation of the German government as well as the engagement of the Canadian government with respect to international cooperation. It is this openness that explains the increase of national bursaries for destinations within these two countries. It is possible to underscore here the importance of the Tunisian public funding for Canadian universities, especially those in Québec. The linguistic variable plays a major role in the determination of Tunisian politics of cooperation. This movement, drawing the flux from Europe towards Canada, can be summarized effectively in two key objectives: (1) to open the mobility movement towards new formations, especially in the new technologies of information and communication (NTIC); and (2) with the Francophone dimension of this mobility towards the province of Québec, to assure the survival of institutional mobility in a cultural and linguistic environment adapted to the local postsecondary sector.

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NOTES

[1] The License is generally considered to be the equivalent of a BA/BSc degree.

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14. THE COSMOPOLITAN 'BILDUNG' OF ERASMUS STUDENTS' GOING ABROAD

In 1987, the European Commission instituted an interuniversity exchange program, Erasmus, which was later integrated into a more ample instrument called Socrates. Among its proposed goals, we consider here the reinforcement of European mobility among students. A million and a half of young people (of whom 240,000 French) have participated in exchanges since its creation. The budget reserved by the Union has evidently increased in response to the increasing popularity of this program: from 950 million Euros for the 2000-2006 period, it increased to 3 billion Euros for the new programming period, with an objective to reach 3 million Erasmus students by 2012. This European interuniversity cooperation concretized the possibility of staying abroad for some time. Even though this program was open to all member states of the European Union and its neighbours (as well as Turkey, Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland), it is Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain who share the largest number of participants coming and going.

Beyond the initial intentions of its promoters, for understanding the reasons for this interest for European student exchanges, it is convenient to take into consideration, on one hand, registration in a program within a plurisecular story of academic mobilities and of the literary imagination linked to the juvenile journey and, on the other hand, the contribution of ERASMUS journeys to a socialisation centered on the meeting of individuals from different European countries.[1]

It would be easy to believe that the circulation of scholarly elites started with this initiative. It is known, however, that since the creation of European universities in the lower Middle Ages, some students have always experienced a form of mobility which, before the creation of the United Nations, was without doubt, facilitated by a common language (Latin) and the sentiment, appreciably important among the clerics, of belonging to a common world (Res Publica litterarum).

Weakened with the emergence of national higher educational markets, the circulation of students nonetheless continued to exist. Moreover, it is known that, since the late XVIII century, voyages are one of the preferred means to finish the education of the youth of the dominant classes – what is termed in Anglo-Saxon countries, the *Grand Tour*. Before taking on all the functions of

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 205–208.

adulthood, a youth, most often accompanied by his tutor, needed to come to know countries such as Italy and Greece but, already in the second half of the XIX century, the Near East as well. Thus, it would be inappropriate to forget that cosmopolitanism is a very ancient characteristic of elites of the Euro-Mediterranean space (Coulmas, 1995; Escalier, 2003).

Certain characteristics of the voyage still haunt our imaginaries; we find these in the contemporary Erasmus journeys. They come to us, thanks to the literary and cinematographic productions of juvenile journeys, in which emerge the dialectics of *self-discovery* and of *meeting others,* in a framework far from home (Cicchelli, 2008).

Travels formed youth, to which the Erasmus exchanges constantly attest. "Travelling, seeing other horizons, discovering other means of living, of being. To learn, to understanding, to enrich oneself, to open oneself, to adapt oneself, so many qualities necessitated and required all at once by the voyage", this is how a French student described the reasons for her departure for Greece (Cicchelli, 2012). The journey of European students in foreign lands is without doubt, inherited from this ancient tendency of the elites for cosmopolitanism, visible by the propensity of youth to grab hold of these voyages to experience the world. Its novelty resides in the fact that, for the first time, these mobilities are favoured by European institutions.

The other major characteristic of this exchange may be understood if the condition is taken seriously, that such journeys involve a stay abroad whose duration (a minimum of three months and up to a maximum of a year) is much longer than most pleasure travel. For reasons of space, we will not stop to consider here the wide diversity of experiences lived by youth research participants; instead we dwell upon their principle components.

The Erasmus journey is full of promises of the flourishing of new personal capacities, of an unveiling of self and of a socialisation to difference. I call them "cosmopolitan promises". Satisfying a thirst for unfamiliar life styles, by means of experiences lived as enrichment, is one of the reasons invoked to justify a temporary detachment from one's daily routines. That goes on as if a fraction of contemporary European youth was experiencing a certain inner emptiness and was trying to perfect his or her education with new knowledge and by eye-witnessing new realities. This is why it is possible, in our eyes, to characterise these journeys by the ancient notion of *Bildung.* This is a new form of socialisation to otherness (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007), because these journeys are characterized by the eruption of alterity. However, to travel in foreign lands is to take risks.

To decentre oneself, that is, to become aware of a certain relativity of one's mode of functioning, thanks to one's distancing, is sometimes at the origin of a questioning of oneself which destabilizes young people. Effectively, this reflexive operation of comparing the host country with the country of origin authorizes a critical regard upon oneself which does not limit itself to the analysis of cultural traits observed. In addition to discovering certain elements of one’s personality, geographical distance can help the individual to better see the contours of one’s feelings with regard to an eventual mate, to test one’s solidarity with one’s friends.

The Erasmus journey thus represents an emotionally charged period of life during which the wall of initial certitude about one’s traditional usages and customs, about one’s entourage and friends, can rip asunder. It is not surprising then that the discourses collected are adorned with references to difficulties lived in a largely unknown environment which sometimes seems to deceive one’s strong expectations of warm hospitality: the difficulty of understanding the language, the febrile search for lodgings, the decrypting of administrative rules of functioning are lived as character-forging tests. There is moreover an element which gives way less to a pride of having survived the test than to deception: the natives do not all or always play the role to which the traveller obliges them, that of initiating them to the knowledge of their own country. The socialisation to cosmopolitanism seems to be mostly an objective pursued by the traveller and not by the native. It follows then a rather frequent phenomenon: a return to a circle of sociability where the Erasmus students are in a majority. If this is not initially selected, the “Erasmus bubble” becomes the guarantee of the international character of the journey and seems to be the only one apt to entertain this thrust towards the meeting, to concretise this utopia of festive communion. Thus, the journey may be a series of enchantments and disenchantments, of euphorias and disappointments.

This education to alterity, which we have termed cosmopolitan *Bildung*, is less of a long-lasting and irreversible learning than an ambivalent and incomplete tentative to make a place for the other in one’s identity (Cicchelli, 2007). In most cases, the cosmopolitanism does not exclude a profound feeling of attachment to a culture with clearly drawn traits. Rather it is the work of a social actor to drive his or her culture of belonging to a meeting with other limiting European cultures. This meeting of European neighbours could provoke reformulations of frontiers of belonging. Notably, the ‘pure’ model of the unattached cosmopolitan is very marginal in our data (Laczko, 2005; Myers, Szerszynki et Urry, 1999). In the great majority of cases, the interviewees claimed a strong national identification that co-exists with a strong interest for other European ways of living. To conclude, this

> cosmopolitanism consists in recognizing and appreciating the other as a stranger. And that means that he/she is not completely a stranger, nor an exact copy of oneself. Re-conciliating community and alterity, identity and difference, finding the universal in the particular and the particular in the universal, that is not only the definition of the dialectic but the condition of all authentic dialogue (Hassner, 2002).

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NOTES

[1] I am inspired here by some considerations taken from Cicchelli, 2012, on the academic mobility of European students, based on a corpus of 170 interviews with students from several European countries studying in Paris and with Parisian students in other European countries.

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15. TEACHING CHINA TO THE CHINESE: RICH OPPORTUNITY FOR CRITICAL REFLECTION OR NEO-COLONIAL CONCEIT?

INTRODUCTION

From virtually the first day of their intensive 14-month Master of Education program at Brock University, in St. Catharines, Ontario, the Chinese students of the Faculty of Education's International Student Program (ISP) are introduced to, and encouraged to apply, the concept of critical thinking. This chapter constitutes a reflection upon my experience of teaching critical thinking to the Chinese students in the ISP. The journey that I have taken in this process of reflection has increased my conviction that those of us who teach critical thinking to any group of students, domestic or international, need to be constantly aware of, and attentive to, exactly what are our assumptions both about what we mean by critical thinking and how we engage pedagogically when we teach critical thinking.

WHAT CRITICAL THINKING DO WE TEACH?

The emergence of the dominant form of critical thinking (dominant in the sense of being widely practiced and formally authorized) can be linked to the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*. This report was written in response to the fears in American governing circles that the American educational system was not producing the quality of mind required to maintain US superiority in the face of foreign competition. It favoured improving student "reasoning skills" across the curriculum (Walters, 1994, p. 3). The enthusiasm with which this initiative was undertaken was described as a critical thinking *explosion* on US campuses with the emergence of a *first wave* of positivist critical thinkers, most of who were drawn from the discipline of philosophy (Walters, p. 4).

The net result of this undoubtedly well-intentioned effort to enhance students' thinking skills resulted in pedagogy that Giroux (1994) calls the "internal consistency position" (p. 200). For the advocates of this approach, critical thinking refers primarily to teaching students how to analyse and develop reading and writing assignments from the perspective of formal, logical patterns of consistency. In this case, the student is taught to examine the

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 209–221.

logical development of a theme, 'advance organizers,' systematic argument, the validity of evidence, and how to determine whether a conclusion flows from the data under study. While all of the latter learning skills are important, their limitations as a whole [in this approach] lie in what is excluded, and it is with respect to what is missing that the ideology of such an approach is revealed (p. 200–201).

In the face of this *mainstreaming* (Ibrahim, 2005) of critical thinking, Walters (1994) identified the emergence of a *second wave* of critical thinking. For second wave advocates, critical thinking constitutes a way of creating an intellectual framework which frees the student "from dominance by … the frames of reference [and] the worldviews in which one becomes critically literate" (Paul, 1994, p. 182).

The first wave approach to critical thinking does not question the hegemonic intellectual "frames of reference and worldviews" in which the student becomes literate. It has the more restrictive purpose of developing rigorous rational thought with a view to problem solving within the framework of the logic of the dominant social structure and the worldview which gives it its legitimacy. The second wave of critical thinkers seeks to explore more fundamental questions about the characteristics of the dominant social structure and the hegemonic ideology which provides it with intellectual coherence (Kincheloe, 2010; hooks, 2010).

For Canadian students, the dominant social structure is economically capitalist (and increasingly neoliberal) and politically liberal-democratic. For Chinese students, their reality is economically capitalist (or 'market socialist') and neoliberal, while politically it is authoritarian. These are the 'systems' within which Canadians and Chinese, respectively, learn to think, and it is these systems that they have to critically examine with a view to developing their own *autonomous* thinking about these systems and their received truths. Paul (1994) refers to this as achieving "critical empowerment" (p. 182).

Paul (1994) notes achieving what he calls "critical empowerment" will not "be achieved overnight in one course" (p. 182). Students come to class more or less fully formed in one of the several variants of the positivist tradition and "if students are to learn to think critically in a strong sense, they must be exposed to [such a critical approach to pedagogy] over an extended period of time, over years, not months" (p. 182). Clearly, this has implications for those of us teaching any students; however, it is a particularly troublesome observation when teaching Chinese students in the ISP. Why do I suggest this to be the case?

First of all, they are with us only 14 months after spending at least 16 years in Chinese educational institutions where the primary orientation for the first 12 of those years is to score among the top 10% in the National College Entrance Exams (NCEE) in order to ensure them a place in one of China's more prestigious post secondary institutions. Preparations for this test, which begin at the earliest stage of the formal academic experience, deeply entrenches the skill of rote memorization, while actively discouraging the development of the habits of mind required to call into question fundamental assumptions be they social, political, or cultural (Guo, 2010).

Secondly, we must take into consideration the resistance of the Chinese students to having China referred to in terms that they perceive as being negative. This is especially true when comments are made that challenge values, institutions, customs, and practices that they have come to accept or revere. In contrast, while their Canadian-born peers will undoubtedly be intellectually challenged by critical thinking, nonetheless, the arguments being presented will have an air of familiarity, and it is unlikely that they will feel what is being said is coming from a possibly hostile national perspective that is not their own. However, in the case of the Chinese students, when the object of critical study is China, especially when the instructor, as invariably will be the case, is not Chinese, a new element is introduced. This gives rise to the frequently noted Chinese national sensitivity to criticisms of China by foreigners.

Finally, both waves of critical thinking are, for international Chinese students, mediated through a cultural lens that undoubtedly shifts its meaning in ways that non-Chinese educators may have trouble anticipating (O'Sullivan & Guo, 2010).

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT PROGRAM (ISP): CONTEXT

The Faculty of Education of Brock University actively recruits students from China for its International Student Program (ISP), which typically accepts from 15 to 20 students who are young recent graduates of Chinese undergraduate institutions. The program gives them the opportunity to complete an M. Ed. over a short, but intense, period. The ISP is a cohort program which means, except in occasional individual cases, the members of the group take all their classes together and no student who is not a part of the cohort can join the group for a given class. It is very much a self-contained program, a practice which arises primarily from the students' difficulties with following lectures in English.

The ISP students begin their program in July each year with two courses that introduce them to the expectations associated with graduate study at a Canadian university, including an introduction to research methodology, essay writing skills, and the APA style manual. Infused throughout all courses is the importance of critical thinking. Following the completion of their courses the following April, the students write an exit project which must be completed by late August in order for them to graduate in the fall. This intensive preparation for graduate studies that is built into these two courses contrasts sharply with practices elsewhere (see, for example, Zhang & Zhou, 2010 who review the difficulties experienced by Chinese students at the University of Windsor). The strong start at Brock is, undoubtedly, a factor in the success rate experienced by the Brock ISP students where, at the time of writing, no student in the ISP has failed to successfully complete their masters program.

TEACHING THE ISP: GETTING OFF TO A BAD START

My first experience teaching comparative education to the ISP was far from being a success. I chose the text *Comparative education: Exploring issues in international context* (Kubow & Fossum, 2007) which presumed a much greater knowledge of recent global history than the students had. Overall, the course proved to be a frustrating experience for all concerned. Determined to do better the following year, I asked myself "what strength can I build on that these students bring to the course?" The obvious answer was that they bring a lifelong experience in the Chinese educational system, an experience I suspected they had not reflected upon.

Since this was a comparative education course, I took comfort in the fact that another course that the students take involves a study of Canadian schooling and includes visits to a wide range of educational institutions in the region. I, therefore, decided to examine the Chinese educational system with the comparative aspect being education in Ontario as experienced in this other course. Claiming no expertise in Chinese education but with the assistance of a Chinese graduate student, who was not a part of the ISP cohort, I identified a series of readings that dealt with the challenges facing the Chinese educational system most of which were written by Chinese scholars or Chinese educational officials. The intention here, in addition to finding course-appropriate literature, was to deflect possible criticisms that I was engaging in a foreign critique of China and Chinese education.

If working to impart critical thinking skills to the ISP students was a challenge, doing so within the framework of choosing China as the object of study added to the complexity of this task. This approach flew in the face of the advice of some of my colleagues to critically examine education in Canada, not China. While I was aware of this sensitivity and tried to mitigate it with my choice of readings, my strategy proved to be only partially successful. My reflections are based on seeking answers to four questions:

1. Are Chinese students in the ISP adequately prepared to undertake graduate studies in which "working at a graduate level" is generally defined as achieving the analytical competence associated with developing critical thinking skills and applying them ever more competently as they progress through their program?
2. Are Chinese students in the ISP disposed to actively embrace, as opposed to passively resist, learning critical thinking skills, particularly when the instructor takes China as the object of inquiry?

3. Did I teach transformative second wave critical thinking skills or, in effect, did my efforts constitute a mainstream, first wave interpretation of critical thinking?
4. Is teaching critical thinking using China as the object of study a legitimate scholarly pursuit designed to expand the students' academic skill set or is it, in effect, a neo-colonial conceit?

THE METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED AND ITS LIMITATIONS

Of the 15 students in the second iteration of this comparative education course, I was only able to interview seven as several, corresponding to those who were least happy with the course's orientation, declined to be interviewed and others dispersed before I was able to speak to them. Despite the fact that I did not have the opportunity to interview a more sizable and representative sample, I was present for some very lively, and occasionally very heated, classroom discussions as students took up the issues that were raised in class. Nonetheless, had I been able to interview even one or two of the dissident voices, my data would have been richer.

CRITICAL THINKING AND GRADUATE STUDENTS EDUCATED IN CHINA

If Canadian students arrive at university with limited critical thinking skills despite an official discourse that encourages at least one variant of such a pedagogy, the Chinese students in the ISP cohort typically arrive, with rare exception, with no history of learning critical thinking. Furthermore, they come from an academic culture that employs a discourse and a practice that actively discourages such inquiry. The shortcoming of this system, based as it is on the passive transmission of knowledge, is beginning to be recognized at the highest level of the Chinese academic and political elite (Lam, 2006) but a combination of centuries old traditions and the entrenchment of the NCEE heavily pressures Chinese teachers not to stray off paths that lead to the expected level of student success in those life-altering examinations. By the time the students reach university, the habits of mind that provided them with the academic success to be accepted into postsecondary education are well established, and, certainly, if the accounts of the ISP students reported below are accurate, little happens in their years as undergraduates to challenge these habits.

I recognize that not everyone will agree with this assessment. Bell (2008), for example, argues that his Chinese graduate students at Beijing's Tsinghua University exhibit a well-developed capacity to critique existing practices in China although his short article does not provide him with the opportunity to suggest where his students learned the skills that he ascribes to them or to what extent this situation is typical. Dr. C. Lu of Brock University, who has taught both graduate and undergraduate students in China, argues that there was a wave of critical pedagogy in China beginning in the 1980s (Lu, personal communication, September 16, 2008). Dr. Lu's appreciation of the situation, however, and the critical pedagogy that he used in his classes in China, stands in contrast with the experience of the Chinese students I have taught recently. They have repeatedly told me, as the interviews reported below indicate, that their educational experiences were characterized by receiving instruction which involved a great deal of memorizing in class and the regurgitation of information for exams. None of them reported engaging in processes that encouraged them to develop their own ideas, particularly when that involved challenging conventional wisdom.

To this academic experience, we must consider the linguistic complication inherent in the very term *critical* thinking that carries a connotation of *negativity* both in English and Chinese. Little wonder, then, that the Chinese students, when asked to consider "critical perspectives on Chinese education" interpret this as requiring them to find fault with their country and its educational system.

ATTITUDES OF ISP STUDENTS TOWARDS CRITICAL THINKING AND THE PERCEIVED CRITICISMS OF CHINA

Leaving aside the issue of whether I was, in effect, teaching first wave or second wave critical thinking – I shall return to this in my findings – what was the reaction of the ISP students when faced with the requirement to apply critical thinking to China and to Chinese educational practices within the comparative education course?

I asked each student I interviewed if he or she felt comfortable with the course expectation that they apply critical thinking to the Chinese educational system. Jasmine said, "I appreciated the course expectations [with respect to] critical thinking. I think what Chinese students lack is critical thinking so when I saw the expectations I thought it was very useful and meaningful to Chinese students." She also said that the critical thinking skills in the other classes focused on North American examples whereas the comparative education class presented "the negative part of our Chinese educational system and society so it was more relevant for us." My interview with Jasmine was the first of the seven and I took particular note of her use of the word "negative." It would not be the only time I heard this choice of words to describe how they saw China being depicted.

Dawn, too, equated critical thinking with negative thinking when she said "I think your class was very useful because we learned to use critical thinking and we found some problems with our Chinese education system." She remarked that during her educational experience in China our teachers told us the way to think about our country, that it was great, and had no problems, but now I think this course helped in that aspect. We must realize the *negative* (my emphasis) aspects so we can make changes and improve conditions to make our country better.

Her reference to the course presenting, in effect, the negative parts of "our Chinese educational system" reinforced my fears that I had failed to effectively communicate the fact that critical thinking does not simply equate with negative thinking.

Louise brought a very personal perspective to the discussion. She is older than her classmates, and, as a young child, she participated in the Tiananmen demonstrations. She said that the Tiananmen events were life altering for her and that she appreciated the orientation of the course. She said … in this course we learned more about our own system. In China maybe we ignored a lot of things about our own educational system, but here we have developed very clear ideas about our Chinese system, both the advantages and disadvantages. In China, as students, we just comply and never have deep thoughts about the system and, as a result we ignore both the good and the bad.

Joanne found the class to be "helpful" and she identified "lack of equity" with respect to access to education to be the most interesting theme. When she was in China, she did not think this was a problem but "from some of the articles, I find that lack of education equity in China is a very large problem." A number of the students researched the lack of equity in Chinese education for their exit projects.

Julie was the only student interviewed who commented on the fact that I had built the course around the framework of globalization and the neoliberalization of China. She suggested that she learned more about China from the course than about Chinese education.

Eliza said the most memorable aspect of her experience in the program was doing the class presentations and writing essays. These activities "pushed our thinking to write things we never thought about before." Furthermore, doing the class presentations "puts us in the position of teaching ourselves and teaching our classmates, not just us sitting there to receive the knowledge from the teachers like in typical Chinese classrooms."

All of the students interviewed said that the course, in the words of Jasmine, gave the students the opportunity "to see what's happening in China." She added that it was important "that the Chinese students … see the things that they view as negative because the Chinese system exposes us too much to the good parts and omit the so-called bad parts."

Dawn noted that "in China we didn't get such access to know the problems that exist in the Chinese educational system and you offered us a balanced attitude and [an opportunity to] develop some thoughts on what changes might improve the Chinese educational system."

Lance, in his response to my question about the extracts from the two documentaries we saw, Lance said "I am patriotic. I love my country, so you can tell me the truth [about it]." Referring to some segments of a Public Broadcasting System (2006) documentary on China, Lance said young people in China would like to see such films but they don't have the opportunity. If you visit the PBS home site in China they will block it. If you post anything that criticizes the Community Party … your entry will be deleted. So, I really enjoy the freedom here. It's very important."

Ironically, despite the fact that many of the students mentioned that Chinese young people do not have access to the type of information or analysis that we dealt with in class, when asked why they felt comfortable engaging in what was perceived as a critique of China when some of their peers did not, a number of the students (e.g., Jasmine, Julie, and Dawn) defined themselves, in effect, as 'inside dopsters', replying essentially that, unlike their fellow students, they already knew that the situation was different than the official version.

THE DOCUMENTARY FILM

I showed an extract of one film, *Manufactured Landscapes*, documenting Burtynsky's photographic expedition to China (Baichwal, 2007). *Manufactured Landscapes* depicts diverse aspects of Chinese economic life including scenes on the working conditions in factories and environmental issues related to the impact of the Three Gorges Dam and the degradation caused in one community, particularly to its water supply, resulting from disassembling old TVs and computers sent from the West to be recycled.

The scenes in *Manufactured Landscapes* (Baichwal, 2007) that depicted the environmental impact of China's growth elicited a strong response. Some were moved because they were upset by the extent of environmental degradation depicted in the film (Dawn, Julie, Eliza, and Lance) while others (and this was expressed in class discussion principally by those who declined to be interviewed) were upset that foreign film-makers were documenting such scenes and embarrassing China. While most of the students debated the appropriateness of showing such scenes, only one student picked up on the message that China and the West share responsibility for the impact of China's role in the international division of labour. The products depicted in the film, both those that were being assembled and those that were being disassembled were made under contract to supply western markets.

Louise, perhaps, best captured the ambivalence that the students felt towards *Manufactured Landscape (*Baichwal, 2007). She confessed to being "a little bit ashamed about the Chinese current situation," stating that "these things" happen but when she talks to Westerners, she says, "I don't want to know how bad things are from others." Louise suggested that some of the younger students took criticisms of China personally as they would if someone criticized their parents. She said their attitude was "I can make these criticisms but you can't."

In response to a question about whether the experiences that she and her classmates had in this course had created a positive energy or divided the class, Eliza, echoing Paul's (1994) observation that criticality will not be achieved "in one course" but will take years (p. 192), said that the negative reaction by some was "natural" because "this is our first year in the country and most of our classmates never went abroad before." She continued, "When we suddenly faced all that information that criticized the phenomena of China, the first reaction will be to resist, although inside our hearts yeah, that's true, but the first reaction will be to resist. If we … stayed in Canada, for example, for more than one year [and became] familiar with the international environment, we [would get] more absorbed and [learn] to face those issues, [whereas] back in China all the media surrounding us always praises things in China."

FINDINGS

Do the Chinese students arrive prepared for work at a graduate level that involves critical thinking? I have argued that the Chinese educational system is characterized by its reliance on the passive transmission of knowledge and that this is reflected in the years of preparation for the NCEE. The habits of mind developed as a result of this approach to teaching and learning do not prepare the students for critical thinking. I acknowledge the objection to this characterization of Chinese education but I maintain, in the face of my classroom experience teaching in the ISP and the repeated assertions to this effect by our visiting Chinese students who, after all, recently graduated from a large number of Chinese universities, that this statement is accurate whatever exceptions to the rule may exist. Given this observation, the next question becomes key.

Are the Chinese students in the ISP disposed to embrace, as opposed to resist, learning critical thinking skills particularly when the instructor takes China as the object of inquiry? The group seemed evenly divided between those who, for the most part, approved of my efforts and those who were, to one degree or another, unhappy with it. It is difficult to accurately document dissenting sentiments; the very students who were most uncomfortable with my approach declined to be interviewed. Given the number of students who, in the interviews referred to how I had them look at the "negative" aspects of China, it is perhaps not surprising that some of their classmates believed that China was being subject to something that was not balanced or fair. Nonetheless, a lot of the students, even if they chose the word *negative* to describe the readings on Chinese educational issues, appreciated the opportunity to reflect on the problem areas identified in the literature. In short, a group of students, who were more or less homogeneous, split with respect to their reaction to the class materials and discussion.

The moment of greatest resistance was the day I showed excerpts from *Manufactured Landscapes* (Baichwal, 2007). This film clearly touched a nerve with most of the students. The moment of greatest consensus was the day we discussed the article *National college entrance examinations: The dynamics of political centralism in China's elite education* (Feng, 1999). The classroom discussion on the NCEE examined the phenomenon of these nation-wide standardized tests. The discussion, at times, was quite emotional. While none of the students could propose an alternative as to how to apportion China's limited postsecondary spots to the millions of secondary school students who vie for them each year, they all agreed that the NCEE and the preparations for it constituted a deeply stressful experience for them.

I can only conclude that, when teaching China from a critical perspective to Chinese students, to avoid a reaction from the students that shuts down communication and critical reflection, the instructor is well advised, at least initially, to find a topic that the students themselves understand to be problematic. The NCEE is certainly one such topic, environmental degradation is not, at least as depicted in *Manufactured Landscapes*.

Did I teach transformative second wave critical thinking skills or, in effect, did my efforts constitute a first wave interpretation of critical thinking? Despite my advocacy of critical pedagogy as developed by Freire and his successors in my writings (O'Sullivan, 2008a, 2008b), I can produce no evidence that, as a result of this course, any of the students began to construct a worldview that significantly broke with the one they had been socialized in. It is true that (a) Lance critiqued the lack of freedom in China as manifested in the inability of young people to access certain websites (he cited PBS) or to post criticism of the Communist Party without them being promptly removed; (b) Julie (alone among the students) commented on the fact that I had built the course around the framework of globalization and the neoliberalization of China; (c) Eliza said that the program "pushed our thinking to write things we never thought about before;" and (d) Dawn said "we must realize the negative aspects [of China] so we can make changes and improve conditions to make our country better."

All of these statements constitute student critical thinking within the first wave tradition. This said, however, I cannot ignore the comments of Louise who underwent a significant change during the course, the depth of which I failed to appreciate until the last class. As we went around the table in a summative exercise, she told us that, until this course, she had given up on China. She said,

> When I came to Canada, I was determined to try to stay here because I had given up on my country but Michael taught me that changes are possible in my country and I want to go back there and contribute to that.

While I was moved by the excessive credit she gave me for her change of heart, it made me realize the potential inherent in the opportunity that a foreign educational experience offered her and her peers to stand back from their lived experience and reflect on options they had not previously considered.

Her comment, and those of her classmates who welcomed my efforts, helped me answer the doubts I was having about whether my apparent inability to move these students beyond the first wave paradigm constituted a pedagogical failure on my part or did it constitute a step towards developing their thinking autonomy? Despite the fact that I cited approvingly the arguments of Walters (1994) and others, that first and second wave critical thinking constitute two distinct, and mutually exclusive, paradigms, I came to the conclusion that the Chinese students in the ISP who began to question certain important aspects of the worldview in which they had been socialized are opening themselves to the possibility of ever more profound critical thinking. During a short program, such as the one that Brock offers, we can, of course, only begin to teach critical thinking skills and, I would argue, we need to make every effort to ensure that the critical thinking skills we teach correspond to those associated with second wave thinking. However, as Paul (1994) suggests, 14 months is not enough time to achieve critical thinking "in the deep sense" (p. 182). Eliza recognized this. She argued that if she and her fellow students stayed in Canada for another year and became more comfortable with the environment, they would be more likely to face the question of China more critically. Indeed, some of these students will be in Canada for another year or more as some move on to PhD programs, professional diploma courses, or seek employment to gain Canadian work experience before going back to China. To what extent these students will continue to develop their critical thinking skills will be very much an individual journey that is very difficult to document.

Is teaching critical thinking using China as the object of study a legitimate scholarly pursuit designed to expand the students' academic skill set or is it, in effect, a neo-colonial conceit? I am convinced that it is both legitimate and essential to teach critical thinking to the Chinese international students because not to teach from a critical perspective means, in effect, teaching from the perspective of the dominant ideology of our society and implicitly suggesting that this is the model that China should be following. That, rather than the teaching of critical thinking, is what smacks of colonialism. Of course, *how* this critical thinking is taught is what is key to the development of perspective and mobility of mind (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2007, as well as Garneau, this volume; Ben Hafaiedh, also this volume). If a particular school of critical thinking is imposed on the students or if finding fault with China (or Canada for that matter) becomes the central exercise, then critical thinking ceases and the danger of colonizing the students' minds through the imposition of an 'alternative package of ideas' comes to the fore.

CONCLUSION

This process of reflection raises more questions than it answers. At the most basic level, it raises the twin issues of which school of critical thought we are teaching and how we do respectfully encourage Chinese students to reflect critically upon China and upon their Canadian experience with a view to enhancing their *autonomous* thinking. At a more fundamental level, it raises the question: At what point do non-Chinese academics cross the line from exhibiting a legitimate scholarly interest in promoting critical thinking to falling into the trap of chauvinistically trespassing beyond the boundaries where, as foreigners, we may well be advised not to go?

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ANNIE PILOTE

16. STUDENT MOBILITY AND THE CANADIAN FRANCOPHONIE

Individual and Community Issues

The present era of globalization has given rise to new sociological questions on the different forms of mobility that characterize today's societies (Urry, 2005), with student mobility sparking special interest (Pilote & Molgat, 2010).

Issues linked to student mobility are not always closely related to the internationalization of higher education. In fact, the identity dynamics that exist in any mobility process can also be found within national borders. In Canada, the post-secondary paths of Francophone students from French-speaking minority communities present specific issues both for the students and their communities. For French-speaking communities in provinces outside of Québec, the school is a vital locus for linguistic and cultural reproduction (Pilote & Magnan, 2008). In these provinces, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees access to elementary and secondary instruction in the language of the linguistic minority. However, the longer transitional period to adulthood often associated with higher levels of education raises questions on the role institutions play in shaping identity post-secondary studies, a level not protected under the Charter. As for the post-secondary education system in French-speaking communities outside Québec, it is both scattered across a vast land and incomplete in the number of programs it offers (Corbin & Buchanan, 2005).

For Francophone students who wish to pursue university studies, any academic or career path is planned around the choice of program and the language of instruction, as well as the distance between home and the institution (Allard, Landry & Deveau, 2009; Labrie, Lamoureux & Wilson, 2009). The resulting number of possible combinations can lead to identity issues, both for students themselves and for their communities of origin.

First, at the individual level, mobility to pursue an education as well as the new environment create new conditions for identity building. The university itself can produce a milieu more or less favourable to expressing a Francophone identity: Is there a French student life on campus? To what extent do available cultural activities allow students to live in a Francophone culture? Does the academic knowledge advanced by the institution allow scientific

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 223–227.

contribution in French? The community surrounding the university is also important. In what language do social interactions—in stores, off-campus jobs, the neighbourhoods where the student lives—take place?

In addition to linguistic factors, there is the concept of otherness. The Other may be Francophone as well (i.e. Acadian, Quebecker, Franco-Ontarian or Franco-Albertan, or a French-speaking international student). It is this social construction (and deconstruction) of the notion of the Francophonie itself that emerges from this relationship with the "Other Francophone" (as well as with the "Other Anglophone") during the course of university studies. In short, any notion of Francophone identity is inextricably linked to self-identity. As the experience of mobility can greatly influence how students manifest their identity, it is essential to understand how this process is related to the various stages of their career plan and the decision whether or not to return to their communities of origin after completing their studies.

For the French-speaking minority communities, the collective issue is precisely the return of qualified Francophone students after they complete their university studies. In fact, many primarily rural regions with a high density of Francophones are experiencing a demographic decline that puts both their cultural and economic vitality at risk. Student mobility must therefore be viewed within the context of the rural out-migration of youth. To what extent is it the responsibility of young people to bear the burden of their community's future? The answer to this question is a complex one. On the one hand, it is readily evident why a French-speaking community needs the contribution of its youth—particularly those highly-skilled—to ensure its growth. On the other hand, the transition to adulthood and the independence often associated with it usually takes place through leaving home, whether to study or to gain experience (an internship abroad, for example). Indeed, this mobility affects how young people construct their own linguistic and cultural as well as professional identities.

While leaving home is not always permanent, is a sense of community retained during the absence to pursue an education and if so, does it change? Under what conditions would these youth consider returning to settle back in their communities at the end of their university studies? To what extent would fulfilling a career plan create new identities in a labour market that is increasingly globalized? The underlying assumption is that there is a possible identity struggle emerging among youth torn between their linguistic and cultural communities' vitality and their own personal and professional future. Would bilingualism be the answer to the perceived demands of the labour market for these young Francophones? Also, would the identities built on bilingualism (often qualified as "bilingual identities") observed among adolescents (Pilote, Magnan & Vieux-Fort, 2010; Pilote, 2007; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003) persist into adulthood, potentially resulting in hybrid identities (Dallaire & Denis, 2005) likely to endure over time? Some of these questions were examined in a qualitative study concerned with analyzing educative and mobility paths among university students from French-speaking minority communities in Canada.[1]

Our results revealed that youth are faced with a dilemma when comes the time to decide where they will decide to live once they have finished their studies. If work opportunities, family and linguistic factors play an important role in the decision process concerning mobility, the sense of belonging to their region of origin is equally central. Results have also shown that there is a constant interaction between linguistic and professional factors as students move through their studies at the university level, both factors contributing to the construction of their personal identity. However, even though Francophone youths do not confine their identities to linguistic dimensions, boundaries between linguistic groups clearly play a major role in the way they perceive themselves in relation to two majorities: the French Québécois and the English Canadians. If most students tend to identify strongly to the French minority throughout their paths, some of them come to redefine themselves in a more creative way, either situating oneself on the border between groups, thus claiming multiple-identities, or transcending traditional identities by claiming to be a citizen of the world.

Further research is however needed to better understand the paths embarked on by youth who eventually 'renounce' their Francophone identity. On this issue, the survey *Minorities Speak Up: Results of the Survey of the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities* reveals that for the most part, 70% of Francophones aged 25 to 44 who formed an English-French exogamous couple began to speak English predominantly at home before the age of 20: "[…] this result seems to indicate that it is rather the fact of living in a context where English predominates as well as the fact of adopting this language as the main language which is conducive to the choice of an Anglophone spouse or partner, rather than the reverse" (Corbeil, Grenier & Lafrenière, 2007: 55). Transmitting the French language to children in exogamous couples, however, remains a key issue for the future of the Canadian Francophonie, particularly for Francophone youth who are more likely to leave their rural French-speaking communities (with a greater linguistic continuity) for heterogeneous urban environments (where English is the predominant language). As urbanization as phenomenon shows no imminent signs of waning, student mobility is consequently at the heart of the redefinition of the Canadian Francophonie. Consequently, it is essential to further develop research on youth in the Francophone space that considers the various transitional stages to adulthood. More research documenting the various paths of youth and an insight into the complex processes of identity building are crucial for the development of an informed public policy which guides education and labour market integration within the framework of Canada's linguistic duality.

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NOTES

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17. SECOND GENERATION YOUTH AND MOBILITIES OF MIND, BODY AND BOUNDARY

INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of new cultural flows, new modes of belonging and new practices of citizenship mobilise minds and bodies with identifications beyond nation-states. These referents stretch beyond nationality, ethnicity, religion, culture, nation, minorities, majorities, and territorial belongings (Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt, 2006; Hannerz, 1997). New arenas of interaction, deliberation and influence are created, where diversities are taken for granted and where people are not defined as minority or majority, where transcultural modes of belonging are accommodated, organised, and lived, bypassing existing political, territorial and cultural boundaries between peoples (Appadurai, 1996; Sicakkan, 2005). These concepts are of interest to the understanding of the diversity in identity formation amongst second generation adolescents who receive much research and policy attention, as these youth's integration patterns are unlike those of other generations (Reitz & Somerville, 2005).

Mobilities of mind, body and boundaries are particularly relevant in understanding how identities are formed. Three mobilities are defined by Sicakkan (2005) with respect to adults of diversity, public places and civil society. Mobility of mind allows for mobile identities and shifting belongings, between different references of identification whereas mobility of bodies refers to migration and frequent movement across places and different spaces of interaction. Mobility of boundaries recognises shifting territorial, political, cultural, economic, social, and individual boundaries. In a Canadian context then, and especially for youth, an openness to others that is part of multiculturalism in practice would require forms of mobility, so as to be able to imagine oneself as another, to take up new belongings, and to move across cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic, racial spaces of interaction and boundaries.

The concept of *transculturation* which refers to the phenomena of converging and merging cultures, has gained acceptance internationally. Detaching the concept from its original colonial and nationalist contexts (Ortiz, 1940, 1995), several scholars have recently proposed its use in contemporary settings (Gunew 2002; Bernd 2002). In this translation, transculturation is extended from being a concept situated in economically dependent regions in a post-colonial process to take up an emphasis on creativity and performativity that links past with present.

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 229–248.

Transcultural approaches offer possibilities of opening up the notions of culture and cultural belonging, so that the negotiating and networking of individual and collective identifications and differentiations are better understood. More a perspective than a fixed concept, transculturation permits re-readings of homogenised histories that construct belongings as fixed and that essentialised cultural, ethnic, national, gendered, religious, racial and/or generational dimensions. Transculturation reconceptualises difference and diversity as negotiable, intersectorial, strategic and mobile (Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt, 2006). This concept is of particular interest in terms of citizenship education, as most major societies today are plural as a result of massive migration around the world which is accompanied by calls for recognition and an exploration of the relevance of multicultural policies.

Our purpose is to discuss Canadian youth's perceptions of their identifications in a society increasingly influenced by the forces of globalization and the relevance of the findings to identity formation, knowledge construction, and citizenship education curriculum. Of particular interest are second generation youth, born in Canada, whose parents moved across national and territorial boundaries to settle in the new world, as these youth are called upon to construct and situate themselves in terms of multiple frames of reference. In this light, we examine second generation Canadian youth's patterns of interaction, deliberation and influence, where mobilities and transcultural modes of belonging are created and lived in three cities, namely, Winnipeg, Calgary and Toronto.

Important to the study of adolescent integration, the school as institution is a micro-society in which relations of power, inequality, injustice, and privilege play out and can be observed. Social stratification within classes, between the rich and not-so-rich, the brilliant students and less brilliant, those who succeed and those who fail, those in mainstream classes and those in alternative forms of schooling, all are evident in school settings. The three cities, in two contrasting regions, are extremely diverse within the ideological construct that is 'English Canada', which allows us to problematise specificities which may be perceived as natural and non-problematic. The two Prairie cities, Winnipeg and Calgary, represent small-scale immigration in mid-sized urban centres, with an increasing rate of ethnic diversity. Metropolitan Toronto represents large-scale immigration and a long history of ethnic diversity, receiving nearly half of Canada's immigrants and refugees (CIC, 2002).

METHODOLOGY

Situated within a three-year inquiry[1] into processes of negotiating difference and understanding democracy of Canadian youth, we ask two questions in this paper. *How do young people who are the second generation view their identity within Canadian society? How are their identities reflected in the formal curriculum of Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta?* Situated within a critical qualitative paradigm (Back, Cohen & Keith, 1999; Cohen, 1999; Back, 1996), we work with several analytic techniques including descriptive statistics, content and textual analysis, as necessary to deal with complex, nuanced data (Creswell, 1998; Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999; May, 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). To address these two questions, we draw from a variety of narrative data, specifically, written responses, interviews, annotations of graphic images, and demographic profiles of up to six second-generation youth, per city, enrolled in secondary schools. The gender, ancestral ethnicity, and religion of the participants in each city are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Self-Ascribed Characteristics of Selected Second Generation Youth, 2004-2005

Code Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Religion	City
Unicorn	Female	Jamaican/Antiguan/Canadian	Protestant	**W**
Malcolm X	Male	Filipino	Roman Catholic	
Educ07	Female	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
GCSPMEST	Female	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
Rubber Duckie	Female	Filipina/Spanish	Roman Catholic	
LueRue	Female	Lebanese/Syrian	Christian	**C**
Chiquita	Female	Mexican-Mennonite	Christian	
Barbie	Female	Vietnamese	Buddhist	
Ramel	Male	Libyan	Islam	
Gonzo	Male	English/Canadian	None	
Captain Crack	Male	White/Blackfoot/British/Romanian	Christian	
Mina	Female	Sri Lankan	Roman Catholic	**T**
Shana	Female	Guyanese	Christian	
Dorissa	Female	Portuguese	Roman Catholic	
Gelato	Male	Italian	Roman Catholic	
4Lyfe	Male	Portuguese	Christian	
Blue Flag Baron	Male	Spanish; parents Chilean/Columbian	Catholic	

The code names were self-selected by the participants whereas ethnicity was identified using a demographic profile form. In Toronto, the project was accepted in a Catholic high school, while in the other two cities, the project was located in secular high schools. While this may account for the predominance of one religion, it should also to be noted that this is the largest religious group in Canada.

Based on an examination of these youth's narrative data, recently collected in Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto, the three step analysis focuses first on their mobilities of mind, body and boundaries, and then examines the façade of glocal spaces wherein the voices and perspectives of the youth reveal the unpleasantness behind the attractive mask of globalisation and the ideal of multiculturalism. Constituting a social syntax, these illustrate how today's youth locate themselves as subjects and represent contexts that shape them and vice versa. Finally, the relevance of the findings to the formal programs of study in the three provinces is examined to determine whether or not these varied identities are adequately reflected.

YOUTH'S MOBILITIES OF MIND, BODY AND BOUNDARIES

The three mobilities are re-defined for youth in secondary schools, with respect to their preferred places, so as to serve as criteria for data analysis and for understanding identity formation. While mobility of the mind generally allows for mobile identifications and shifting belongings, (a) *mobility of mind for youth* includes being able to imagine oneself as an other, as living elsewhere in another place or time, as being comfortable with having different references of identification, moving beyond tolerance and openness to the acceptance and negotiation of difference. This type of mobility also includes the ability to recognize in their local surroundings, symbols which have international, transcultural and or global reference. While mobility of body generally refers to migration and frequent movement across places and different spaces of interaction, (b) *mobility of body for youth, especially second generation youth,* is further defined as a familiarity with and an awareness of parents' journeys as well as their own journey of moving across cultural and other spaces of interaction, developing complex forms of attachment and identification in youth specific and friendly places. Whereas mobility of boundaries generally recognizes shifting boundaries, (c) *mobility of boundaries for youth* recognizes moving across and beyond linguistic, cultural, religious, ethnic, racial spaces of interaction and boundaries, to take up new belongings in transcultural modes.

With these concepts, we present and illustrate below several themes in the youth's data sets, including immobility/mobility of mind, body and boundary; the façade of globalisation, multiculturalism and democracy; the shoppers; and the angst of second generation youth.

Mobility of Mind

For second generation adolescents in a plural society, being comfortable with multiple attachments is particularly salient, as is being able to symbolize, to think about world problem, to imagine being in other situations and to cross over. The participants exhibiting mobility of mind make use of symbols, including metaphors of identity, and recognise significant relationships within local spaces with global reference. Travelling often involves shifting thoughts as a means of adapting to the area being visited. While the physical act of travelling is evidence of mobility of body, experiencing a culture and interacting with people suggests mobility of mind and boundaries.

Two participants reveal a willingness to take up the tourist metaphor of identity, characterizing a person who explores, takes notes, learns transit schedules and how to get around, samples and gathers souvenirs, without necessarily being moved by the experience and having a home as safe haven for eventual return (Bauman, 1999). “The will to travel and the freedom to fly”, these are the words Chiquita used to annotate a photo of a symbolic mosaic depicting a flamingo and the sun in her scrapbook, symbolizing her connections to Mexico and her willingness to explore the world. While considering that being Canadian means being able to state her opinions freely, Unicorn puts medium-sized flags of Antigua and Jamaica on the left and right sides respectively of a drawing, as symbols of her own identity.

Other forms of evidence for mobility of mind include use of symbols or metaphors for living with many cultures and ethnicities, and thinking deeply about the problems of the world in a reflective public space. These approaches take up the metaphor of pilgrim searching for truth, usually elsewhere, while embarked on a long life journey for understanding of self, other, and the world. For Rubber Duckie, a multi-coloured floral lei is “the best way to express myself as a cultural individual living with so many different ethnicities in Canada.” This floral lei has great meaning for her; as reflected in the note on the exterior of her cultural collage in the shape of a shoebox, she has both an individual and socio-cultural perspective, which are both arguably Canadian multicultural values, which she expresses as “diversity without losing the courage and value to be yourself”.

Mobility of mind for Captain Crack means focusing on the school as a micro-society, using some of its spaces to think about world problems and to observe struggles for power. “This place, I just do nothing and just think of the problems of the worlds.” He credits the Relaxation Space for providing an opportunity for relaxation and reflection, for this is where he thinks at a global level and across boundaries. Very politically-minded and philosophical, he disagrees with democratic systems and prefers a more socialist/communist system, putting his views in writing in a response. He feels that these approaches are more effective and work quickly versus a democratic system that involves long, drawn out voting processes. Observant of political processes, he takes a revealing photo of a school area, “This is where gangs fight for control over the principle of power” and draws religious symbols on this page of his scrapbook, thereby imaging his insight that there may be underlying religious influences in the struggle for power.

Mobility of Body

Referring to an awareness of journeys, their own and their parents’ across cultural and other spaces of interaction, developing complex forms of attachment and identification in youth-specific and friendly places (White & Wyn, 2004), several participants illustrate this type of mobility, expressing a variety of reasons: search for enlightenment, exploration, and forms of appreciation and attachment.

Three participants reflect upon their journeys. Gonzo has travelled to the desert, but shrugs about which one. He “loves it” and feels relaxed when he is there. When asked what he feels he could accomplish in this space, he replies: “I could hope for knowledge or enlightenment, but I don’t really expect anything”. Another participant, Unicorn, says about her travels, that “where I live, I am very relaxed and the places that I have traveled (to), I am filled with energy and ready to go exploring”. Rubber Duckie, as a third intrepid traveler, comments, “In the Philippines, I felt both foreign and at home. In Minneapolis, Calgary and Las Vegas, I felt like I was experiencing a whole different taste of the world.” She describes her travels in Canada in similar positive terms. “In Vernon (BC), I felt comfortable and got used to the conditions they set us in”.

While 4Lyfe evinces complex forms of attachment, tied to parental restrictions and cultural belongings, he sees himself as a Portuguese citizen, with Aveiro, Portugal as his first choice of preferred place beyond Toronto:

> I like the fact that I am Portuguese and I like to watch and play soccer. I am proud of myself more as a Portuguese citizen than a Canadian citizen, because my parents are both Portuguese. Almost 17, I am more mature and responsible in Portugal without my parents there. I love listening and dancing to (Portuguese) music. And I have a passion for soccer. I spend time and have fun; and the drinking age is 16. In Portugal, I am free, could basically do anything I want, my parents trust me 100% in Portugal. In Canada, I am sorta trapped, doing the same thing everyday, my parents never trust me here. As for being Canadian, I was born here and I live here. Canada is very multicultural and people are not usually against people’s colour or race.

Thus 4Lyfe conflagrates political and cultural attachments; this is understandable as these typically overlap especially in historically homogeneous countries such as Portugal. The symbols of his cultural collage illustrate the importance of Portuguese symbols, such as futebol.

Appreciative of transcultural and transnational dimensions of her life situation, Shana states that she is:

> in favour of multiculturalism because you can eat other people's food and if the whole country was just one culture – it would be very boring. You can see everybody's food, their culture, the way they dress, their traditions. Because I enjoy learning about other people – how they live their lifestyle and how it is different from the way I live mine. In my neighbourhood, everybody treats everybody fairly. You are not judged because of the colour of your skin. There are a lot of different cultures in our neighbourhood – not just one specific culture. Our neighbourhood is pretty multicultural and the kids in the summertime – they usually – we all come together and play.

Reflecting upon transnational connections, Shana continues,

> um, I like buying clothes and stuff for myself, but also sometimes we send barrels back home, so we usually buy things for my cousins back home or my aunts or uncles and buy things like all of our family and we ship it off to my country because things sometimes are expensive and they can't afford it.

Mobility of Boundaries

Moving across and beyond linguistic, cultural, religious, ethnic, racial spaces of interaction and boundaries, participants take up new belongings in transcultural modes, revealing their awareness of change and their own creative role, either in redefining identifications beyond and across boundaries, or by disregarding boundaries.

Redefining ancestral origins to create anew, Lue Rue is proud of being Canadian because "it accepts me in its country, especially because I am not from here. It accepted me for being Lebanese", as noted in her life story. In her urban map, Beirut is her preferred place outside of Calgary, without further explanation. In her scrapbook, she stresses the importance of her computer in her room as internet makes everything accessible. Her cultural collage combines many elements of 'Leb Pride': flags from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Jordan; a symbol of a Christian cross, the crescent moon and star symbol associated with Islam, connected with a + symbol, as well as pictures of Arab celebrities, the term, 'romance', a picture of some roses and a picture of two heart shapes and rings. Later on in her interview when queried about the Lebanese/Syrian/Middle East influences in her collage, Lue Rue responds: "I think that whole area is one and it will always be one, no matter whatever is going on… but we will always be one language, same culture, same people, like for me when people say that I am Lebanese, like, yeah, I am Lebanese but I am Syrian too, and I can say I am Syrian, I am Jordan, I am Lebanese, I can say whatever because I think they are all my people, they are all one". Acknowledging all influences to the region, this redefinition of ancestral identification moves beyond boundaries – be they ethnic, country or religious – to create a new general territorial identification.

Aware that cultures evolve, adapt and change over time, several participants stretch cultural, geographical and relational boundaries. Capt Crack explains in his final interview, about a centered photo of petroglyphs in a national park in the US with people walking trails in the background, in his cultural collage: "I found it interesting, the old culture clashing with the new culture", referring to symbols and providing evidence his awareness of changing boundaries and creating anew. Penning a poetic parody about neighbourhoods, Gonzo clarifies the notion of "neighbourhood in the sense that anywhere I feel comfortable and at home is my neighbourhood. From the White Cliffs of Dover to the White Rocks of BC, my neighbourhood stretches the expanse of oceans".

Experiencing cultural crossings when he goes to the Bollywood movie shop that his Indian friend introduced him to, Gelato represents this co-existence in his photoscape, noting that, "yeah, well, my Indian friend showed me there, and just, I don't usually get anything from there, it's just cuz he goes there and it showed like – it just goes to show – and then beside it there are different cultures. There's like an Italian store down the street and a Portuguese store and it just shows all the difference cultures". Reflecting further upon multiculturalism, Gelato writes, "I'm in favour of multiculturalism because we are all multiculturals. I'm not going to be a hypocrite and say that I don't like immigration when my parents were immigrants and I wouldn't be here if they didn't immigrate and I like how we are all difference – something interesting." In this statement which goes beyond duality to multiplicity, he reveals that he is familiar with his parents' journey and aware of its meanings for him and for his appreciation of difference around him. This is highly significant for him for he puts an airplane in his cultural collage to represent immigration, thus modernising the notion that immigrants come by boat, landing in yesteryear at Pier 21 in Halifax.

Disregarding relational boundaries in choosing her friends, Mina explains, "if I look at my school, no one cares what colour skin you are, or what religion you are. They don't care about that. Like, when I met my friends, that's not the question I asked them or they asked me". This reflects what she believes of the labour market: "I think if you're going for a job, then I don't think people look at skin colour here 'cause everyone's from a different culture, a different country, no one is Canadian here, original Canadian, so really, very few people so..." Her views are consistent with her understanding of citizenship in a comparative context, "To me, being a Canadian means to express my though, being free to express my opinion. Rights to my own religion. The reason I think this way is because in Sri Lanka, there are many wars and we don't have the right to express my thoughts. It's a free country, I think it's good, like its freedom, like it's not like back home, teachers can't hit you or stuff like that".

Whether female or male, these profiles provide ample evidence of mobility of mind, bodies, and boundaries among participating Canadian youth, of their own participation and awareness of the processes, places and images involved in the transcultural process of creating new modes of belonging. All is not sweetness and agreement, however, for ideologies are not the same as realities.

THE FAÇADE OF GLOBALISATION AND THE IDEAL OF MULTICULTURALISM

Second generation adolescents are particularly susceptible to being concerned with fitting in with everyone and being accepted. These young people also reflect on multiculturalism and democracy, finding them both laudable for their human rights, but mostly also decrying their shortcomings, as there is still racism and discrimination in Canada. While this may or may not be connected to consumerism as an expression of one's Canadian identification, such positions may result in limited or partial mobility and may be accompanied by angst.

Finding multiculturalism to be advantageous, Gelato explains his thinking: "I don't think anything bad could come of it. Maybe more people, more culture – would liven the culture. I don't have any bad feelings toward it. I like how the different cultures are here. I like how it's welcoming. It's free. Freedom" He goes on to elaborate on the meaning of freedom in terms of the rights of free speech and worship: "well, you can express all your views and opinions without anybody putting you down. Like, there's mosques, there's temples, there's churches, there's everything". When asked about equity issues, he replies more tentatively, relying on his own personal experiences: "Well, if they don't speak English, it might be a bit harder because English is a big language here, but I don't know. At my job, we have plenty of people that don't speak English and we're welcoming to them but and maybe in perhaps higher levels – a job like, maybe, if you don't speak English, it would be very tough. It is a free place; I don't think they are judged upon the colour of their skin". His views more generally are consistent with an understanding of diversity as civic pluralism and provide considerable evidence of mobility of mind.

Another view emphasises nationalist and environmental issues, while revealing his façade which hints that his strong views may be part of his brave public face. Admittedly shy, Malcolm X, for example, is trying to be more outgoing. His development of a somewhat more extraverted personality is based on a transparent façade of self-confidence. An underlying tone of sarcasm apparent throughout his activities supports his self-doubt and uncertainty. Malcolm X is “uncomfortable, quiet and lonely” in new places whereas his close friends provide him with a level of comfort and acceptance, as they engage in many activities, including the YMCA and a philanthropy programme at his school. He shops infrequently, centering his activities on his home area which encompasses where he lives, where his friends are, where he attends school, and where his recreational activities take place. When referring to international issues, Malcolm X takes up nationalistic perspectives. In his written responses, he sees Canada’s role in environmental issues as needing to protect its own environment and to act as a role model for the rest of the world. Titled, ‘Politics’, his cultural collage focuses on politicians in Canada and the USA, again indicative of Canadian nationalism.

Although Capt Crack thinks that multiculturalism is great because it provides perspective on every culture, he disagrees in a mini-interview with the ideal of having a multicultural society without racism. He sees no hope for removing racism from the world, even with multicultural policies, as this does not seem possible to him for racism is seen as cyclical and static:

Even if you educate them (children) through government systems and non-racist camps and what not, and if you tell children that a guy is okay even though he is a different colour, there is nothing to fear from him. There will always be the parent out there that is afraid of what they do not know and they will teach their children to fear and hate what they do not know, as well. And it will continue forever, we will never be a non-racist world.

This view stems from his personal experiences whereby he has been subjected to racism, a fact that he feels cannot be avoided. Commenting further on the power of globalisation, Capt Crack explains in his exit interview: “I believe that there is not real culture any more. It is all media and corporations tying to vie for business. There are religions but they don’t really contribute to culture much any more, nobody really cares about that, everybody’s trying to get away from religion and everybody’s trying to make their own culture, but really they are following the same culture, which is advertisements.” More cynically, he comments on icons and social class, in that “jewellery is hip hop’s hold on culture” and that “People define you by what kind of car you drive. So if you drive a sports car, you’re a rich person. If you drive a truck, you’re a working guy”.

Expressing discouragement and even despair, these Canadian youth are particularly astute thinkers, worried that society is too far gone to retreat from the internal impact of a global consumer economy upon western civilization. This contrasts markedly with those who are decidedly drawn to the malls.

The Shoppers

Several other participants see themselves primarily as consumers, shopping frequently, with a strong preference for certain shops, usually for leisure items and fashion. True to this pattern, Educ07 lists eleven different stores in Winnipeg where she shops for clothes, jewellery and electronics. Under the photo of a store called 'Esprit' on the first page of her scrapbook, she writes, "I feel glamour and happy, sophisticated clothing shop, I consider it to be 'my' store". She expresses her feelings about jewellery shopping, with the words, "I feel like I am on clouds, a breathless scene." Having a strong commitment to consumerist life and responding without any depth of thought, this participant lacks understanding of globalisation and its critiques. Although she has traveled to the USA, Europe and Asia, she does not like any of the cities visited because of her strong ties to Winnipeg. Despite this, she wants to travel to the world to see different forms of architecture, here too consuming and collecting images, rather than being moved and energised by international travel experience.

Another participant is also true to the overall pattern. Unicorn strongly prefers Best Buy, Kildonan Place, Future Shop, Aldo accessories, Athlete's World, and Sport Check, shopping for CDs, DVDs, and clothes five times a month. For food, she goes to Subway, Burger King, A&W, Mac's for candy, Dairy Queen for ice cream, Lisbon Bakery for cinnamon buns. Her cultural collage shows three computers, two cell phones, nine items of jewellery, six games, chocolate bars, as well as fashionable women and men.

Insight into this pattern is provided by another participant, Rubber Duckie, who considers that Canadians express themselves by means of brand names and commercials. She attaches a note to her cultural collage in the shape of a shoebox, to explain that the outside of the box consists of "brand names, which we are privileged to experience, different representation of our weather and nationality." Inside a note states, "the freedom to be yourself, speak your own opinion, love and marry at your own discretion, and genuinely be the person who you feel you are inside." The shoebox itself symbolises her ability to reflect on her identity from both inside and out.

The Angst of Second Generation Youth

Being conscious of their parent(s)' previous experiences with immigration and cultural practices, while attempting to fit into Canadian life, second generation youth have been characterised in the literature as having two identities (Simard, 1999) rather than as weaving in elements from two sources of culture to create something new, that was not there before in either old or new country, that is, negotiating their transcultural lives (Ortiz, 1940, 1995; Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt, 2006). Such bi-polar identifications are not however a generalized phenomena in our data. A few of the participants experience some angst, which manifests itself specifically as having two countries or more generally, as immobility of mind. In the latter case, such immobility appears to be linked to other personal experiences, such as family breakdown, and may be revealing of a more general difficulty with change.

Tensions in having more than one cultural source are revealed by two participants. One, who has never been to Vietnam, lives in a happy family and is proud to be a Canadian. In explaining what citizenship means for her, Barbie obliquely compares the two countries, which is typical of second generation youth. However, in doing so, she refers to her country, later clarified as Vietnam: "to have freedom, to do what you want and freedom of speech because, in my country, it's more of an age thing", thus revealing an imagined mobility and incertitude about the realities of her multiple attachments. Recently moved and now living in another Canadian city, another participant, Chiquita, is similarly conflicted by multiple attachments: "When I visit my family in Ontario, I feel like I'm 'home' again. Well, I went to Mexico and felt shy because I didn't know my cousins. When I went to France, I was so happy because I love it there; when I first moved to Calgary, I felt scared and nervous because I had just moved here".

Exemplifying immobility of mind, three participants see themselves narrowly, as 'normal', as strictly Canadian, or as rejecting adventure and change, thus revealing a discomfort with plurality, but more likely, a discomfort with change per se. In discussing the various groupings within her high school, one student articulated many pre-conceived notions and did not indicate any desire to cross boundaries and meet others, although later Chiquita did admit that "there might be some truth to stereotypes":

> …particular cliques that you can immediately notice, for example, the popular clique always wear in-fashion clothing; they are the ones with boyfriends; they might be nice when they are older but, at my age, they are very, like, 'I am better than you'. Others wear black and are smoking; all have long hair and a whole bunch of makeup on their eyes; they are very place and kind of, like, scary looking. There is a normal group that is a bit harder to find, but they are just the kids who are your average, not too black or smoking or whatever; and not too popular-looking. And I think that this is the kind of group that I hang out in. The Lebanese are so many; another group is Korean. The Arab males are really full of themselves and I don't communicate with them.

Another participant, Ramel, had traveled extensively, in the US, Italy, England, Germany, Africa, Holland and different parts of Canada, as indicated in his urban mapping, and yet, "I feel like a tourist and a foreigner in each country I have visited. My favourite places outside of Calgary are the Red Deer soccer field and the West Edmonton Mall".

A third participant does not revel in adventure or change, which suggests that an immobility of mind may be lodged in a deeper fear of change. When queried, GCSPMEST explained, "I feel shy, quiet and awkward anywhere I visit because I have not been there before. When I changed schools, I did not know what to expect and how others would treat me or if they would like me or not. It was difficult because I wasn't used to the changes. I needed time to be comfortable with everything because I thought nothing would be the same".

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CURRICULUM AND IDENTITY FORMATION

Since the 1990s, there has been a quiet revolution and resurgence of interest in the concept of and approaches to citizenship education, including conceptual, curricular and pedagogical renewal in many educational jurisdictions. An important part of citizenship education is the development of political and national identifications, as well as social, cultural and supranational belongings. Models of citizenship include national identity which refers to the collective identity of their society which includes civic and societal culture; geographical, historical, artistic heritages; allegiance; and patriotism. Social, cultural and supranational belongings are also included in a Canadian citizenship model to refer to the belongings of various types of minorities and diversity (Hébert & Pagé, 2002). Further to that, rights and responsibilities including civic participation are considered part of citizenship. Emphasis may be placed on inclusive democratic citizenship and student engagement in active participation to build trust, cooperation and networking skills (Print & Coleman, 2003).

Of considerable relevance to such models of citizenship, our analysis suggests that the political and national identifications of second generation youth are secure and that it is the cultural identifications that may be difficult to balance, compose with and work through. Travel to other cities and countries, is not sufficient to bring youth to reflect upon the experience and to develop a balanced point of view on the benefits and problems in living in complex situations. Our findings also support the importance of inclusion of multiple attachments, their negotiation to the understanding of democracy and its social practices in everyday life. The translation of such conceptual models into formal curriculum, such as official programs of study in the three provinces is germane to our study's findings.

Interestingly enough, the formal programs of study for Social Studies for secondary levels of schooling in the youth's three provinces, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, make references to global connections, diversity and inclusion of others, but without necessarily explicitly including multiple attachments characteristic of second generation youth. In the Ontario

Curriculum for Grades 9 and 10, 11 and 12, history, geography and civics courses include many important concepts: systems and structures; interactions and interdependence; environment; change and continuity; culture; global connections; understanding and managing change; power and governance. The civics 20 course is organised into three strands: informed, purposeful and active citizenship. However promising and relevant to world studies and to learning about the fundamental principles of democracy and of active, responsible citizenship, none of these concepts play out in their details to provide a legitimate basis for taking up contemporary realities of adolescents' own complex transcultural and transnational identifications and multiple mobilities. While there are numerous topics that would lend themselves well to engaging explorations of cultural and political identifications and attachments, especially for students who have emotional ties to other parts of the world, no explicit guidelines are provided for teachers to undertake such explorations.

In Manitoba, new mandatory programs of studies for Social Studies, for example in Grade 9, include identity, culture and community among general and specific learning outcomes in which students explore these concepts in relation to individuals, societies and nations. A critical consideration of these concepts "provides students with opportunities to explore the symbols and expressions of their own and others' cultural and social groups. Through a study of the ways people live together and express themselves in communities, societies, and nations, students enhance their understanding of diverse perspectives and develop their competencies as social beings. This process enables them to reflect upon their roles as individuals and citizens to become contributing members of their groups and communities" (p. 17). More specifically, students would be able to describe factors that shape identities; evaluate effects of assimilative policies on cultural and linguistic groups in Canada; describe effects of stereotyping and discrimination; evaluate the influence of mass media and pop culture on Aboriginal and Francophone identities and cultures; describe ways in which identity, diversity, and culture are protected in Canada; analyse current issues surrounding Canadian culture and identity; identify ways of addressing social injustices; be willing to consider diverse social and cultural perspectives; and appreciate Canadian cultural pluralism (p. 69). The attention to diversity focuses most explicitly with respect to francophone identities and cultures, and to First Nations, Inuit, or Métis languages and cultures. While these general and specific learning outcomes make possible a critical consideration of the students' own complex cultural attachments to better understand themselves as emerging from a previous generation's migration, and within the process of integration, these are not explicitly included in the learning outcomes.

The Alberta program of study for Social Studies is based on two core concepts, citizenship and identity, from Kindergarten to Grade 12 which form the bases for skills and learning outcomes. The goal of social studies is to provide learning opportunities for students to: "understand the principles underlying a democratic society; demonstrate a critical understanding of individual and collective rights; understand the commitment required to ensure the vitality and sustainability of their changing communities at the local, provincial, national and global levels; validate and accept differences that contribute to the pluralistic nature of Canada; and respect the dignity and support the equality of all human beings" (p. 3). This would include the provision of opportunities to understand the complexity of identity formation in the Canadian context; understand how identity and self-esteem are shaped by multiple personal, social, linguistic and cultural factors; demonstrate sensitivity to the personal and emotional aspects of identity; demonstrate skills required to maintain individuality within a group; and understand that with empowerment comes personal and collective responsibility for the public good" (p. 4). The program's foci on Aboriginal and Francophone perspectives and experiences, as nations within the Canadian state, are accompanied by a focus on pluralism with respect to diversity and cohesion, with an explicit goal to foster understanding of the roles and contributions of linguistic, cultural and ethnic groups in Canada. Here, the program specifies that "students will learn about themselves in relation to others… to function as citizens in a society that values diversity and cohesion" (pp. 4–5). The processes to address diversity and social cohesion include "a commitment to respecting differences and fostering inclusiveness" for as is pointed out, "the accommodation of diversity is essential for fostering social cohesion in a pluralistic society" (p. 5).

Using an issues approach to teaching, the Alberta program of study is organised in six interdisciplinary strands: time, continuity and change; the land: places and people; power, authority and decision making; economics and resources; global connections; and culture and community. To do so, the program groups skills and processes around: dimensions of thinking; social participation as a democratic practice; research for deliberative inquiry; and communication. Within a scope and sequence chart of social studies topics to be taken up in the classroom, grade three already includes communities in the world and global citizenship whereas grade four introduces the stories, histories and people of the province. In grade five, the topic, shaping an identity, foresees the presentation of events and issues that have impacted on citizenship and identity in the Canadian context over time. In grade nine, issues of governance and rights focus on citizenship, identity and quality of life and how these are impacted by political and legislative processes in Canada. Identity returns in grade ten, with explorations of multiple perspectives on the origins of globalisation and its local, national and international impacts on identity, lands, cultures, economies, human rights and quality of life. Grade eleven explores the complexities of nationalism in Canadian and international contexts whereas grade twelve explores the origins and complexities of ideologies. Thus, there is ample room within social studies in this province for teachers and students to take up the complexities of contemporary students' transcultural and transnational identifications as realised within their mobilities.

In only one of the three provinces under consideration are there few if any mentions of Canadian youth's complex identifications to more than one culture and of attachments to country of parental origins. Within social studies, Manitoba's curriculum and especially Alberta's, allow for and even prescribe opportunities for critical consideration of multiple belongings and cultural allegiances, while developing strong national and political attachments to the Canadian state. We understand this scalar response to the realities of youth's contemporary identity complexities to be a function of time. Those programs that have undergone recent deep change, i.e., Manitoba and Alberta, offer the most opportunities for teachers to take up a nuanced but critical consideration of multiple cultural attachments. Thus, Ontario's formal curriculum does not yet fully captured ethnic diversity, nor has it contributed much to the shifting and multiple identities held by second-generation youth. This is particularly problematic as Toronto receives nearly half of all of immigrants to Canada. This is where such curricular responses are most needed to facilitate the role of the school in assisting on-going integrative processes of second generation students.

Moreover, only Alberta's formal program of study takes up the influence of the market on identifications. In our view, it is quite problematic that some young people, especially females, perceive the Canadian identity as being a prolific and frequent consumer, to the extent of allowing the incessant neo-market, via certain shops and icons, to influence the very core of young human beings. This suggest that the young people who are sensitive to market pressures are finding support among their adults, so that the nature of the problem is much greater than second generation youth. Since the school has a very important contribution to make to the successful integration of all generations including second generation youth, these conceptual, curricular and pedagogical issues must be addressed.

CONCLUSIONS

Second generation youth who participated in our study are characterised by the weaving of complex identifications. We find that most adolescent participants in this study are well aware of the possibilities and tensions inherent in their situation. While all are quite clear that they are Canadians and proud of political and national identification, some find it difficult to hold dual cultural identifications while others revel in this as part of the adventure that is life. Interestingly, most participants are aware of globalisation, some of whom are also very critical and see through its glittering façade.

The findings are coherent and insightful of the process of identification and its multi-layered contexts. First, most but not all participants are able to imagine themselves as a Canadian and recognize that they are on a journey of life. Second, the mobility most likely to be possible for these adolescents is mobility of mind which allows them to think, imagine and try out cultural identifications as part of the integration process. Mobilities of body and boundaries are more difficult, especially the latter, as these youth are centred upon their homes and schools, live with their parents, and are subject to the limitations of family budgets, projects and objectives. Both immobility of mind and the tensions of dual cultural attachments are central to the angst typical of some second generation youth.

Third, most participants recognize the benefits of globalisation and the ideals of multiculturalism. Some of the participants, however, are highly critical of globalisation and multiculturalism, seeing beyond the façade and the ideal to recognize the unpleasantness behind the scenes. More specifically, many second generation youth in this study tend to be susceptible to the intense messages of the market, taking up the identification of 'shopper', whereas those who do not are more likely to strongly and critically identify the issues of over-consumption, environmental issues, racism and human rights issues inherent in the human and environmental exploitation that sustain current approaches to globalisation.

Finally, the study brings innovative data collection and analysis techniques which inform the process of social integration as well as the types of mobilities that are possible among youth. It is clear from this study, that the youth in question are facing difficult challenges with variable clarity and coherence, variable awareness of themselves and their possibilities. The nuances brought to bear nonetheless distinguish between political and cultural identifications and how the latter are symbolised in variable ways by the participating youth. Cultural flows are uneven; transcultural negotiation of young lives create new identifications that weave in elements of diverse sources; and their mobilities are similarly variable, with mobility of mind most likely to be possible for the second generation at this time of their lives.

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NOTES

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SUZANNE MAJHANOVICH

18. ENGLISH AS A TOOL OF NEO-COLONIALISM AND GLOBALIZATION IN ASIAN CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the English language is enjoying unprecedented status (Crystal, 2003). Some cases in point: at any given international conference, the language of communication will probably be English, perhaps with some papers in the local language with simultaneous translation; more and more universities world wide are offering some of their programs—particularly in business studies in English; policy documents world-wide are often written in English: international science journals increasingly publish in English. Indeed, recently the *AILA Review* devoted an entire issue to the topic of Linguistic inequality in scientific communication today (Volume 20, 2007). A number of international authors debate the topics such as the "free ride" Anglophones have in publishing scientific articles (van Parijs, 2007) and how to address disadvantages of non-English speaking researchers. In the same special issue Flowerdew raises issues of equality when he speaks of non-English scientific researchers who face pressures to publish in international journals but whose papers are often rejected not only because of language problems, but because they write to different cultural norms.

In the European Union, which currently recognizes 23 official languages among its 27 members, two thirds of the policy document drafts are written in English. Ironically the motto of the EU "One Europe" is in English only (Phillipson, 2006)! It is the language of communication of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is English (Clayton, 2006). As such, it is the dominant language in the administration as well as the conferences of the African Union (AU), which represents 53 nations and a population of about one billion people. Although it is the second most spoken language after Chinese, English has special or official status in 75 nations worldwide (Crystal, 2003); it is the most popular second or foreign language studied such that now there are more people who have learned English as a second language and speak it with some competence than native speakers of the language. Indeed with globalization and the influence of IT privileging English, the language has become the de facto *lingua franca* of the modern world.

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 249–261.

Certainly the effects of globalization have given English as the international language of business enormous currency. When speaking of globalization, I take the definition offered by Tsui and Tollefson (2007) when they say

> [I]t is typified by time-space compression, captured in the metaphor of the *global village,* and characterized by interconnectivity (…) as well as intensity, simultaneity, and instantaneity of knowledge generation, information transmission, and interaction. (…) [It] is effected by two inseparable meditational tools, technology and English; proficiencies in these tools have been referred to as *global literacy skills* (p.1).

It is no wonder that those countries seeking to succeed in the global market stress so much the importance for their citizens to learn English.

Although in a globalized world, it would be unwise and even patronizing of native English speakers to suggest to education policy makers in developing nations that they should not promote opportunities to learn English, they should reflect on the reasons behind the phenomenal spread of English, and focus on English programs that best prepare citizens for situations where English is needed. Furthermore, those who are mandating English knowledge in their populace should consider realistic expectations for mastery as well as methods and approaches that would be the most appropriate for learning English for various purposes. It is in no one's best interest simply to mandate knowledge of this international language without planning for implications in teacher training, in curriculum development, effects on the current educational system and issues of equality and social justice. One has to ask whose interests are being served. After reviewing political and economic factors that have influenced the demands for knowledge of English in Asian countries, I will make some modest suggestions as to the kind of programs and culturally friendly approaches that would be most appropriate in the Asian context. I focus mainly on the situation of English in Cambodia for the discussion, but also draw on examples from Malaysia, Hong Kong and other Asian nations.

ENGLISH AS A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CATALYST

Some regard the spread of English as post- or neo-colonialism (Pennycook, 2002, Phillipson, 2006). By and large, former colonies have kept the colonial language as official although the indigenous language has taken the position of national language and generally at least in primary and secondary education levels and in official capacities, the national language is the working language. However, education systems at the tertiary level tend to follow previous colonial patterns of using the colonial language as the medium of instruction, and often they model their school curriculum or syllabus on the colonial country's system as well as perhaps maintaining entrance tests and examinations of the former colonial power. This practice tends to perpetuate cultural disconnects. The most obvious examples come from textbooks prepared in Northern countries with contexts unfamiliar to the students from the southern hemisphere. Some of the topics presented for Western realities may be quite alien to Eastern practices. For example, mathematics as studied from a Muslim perspective can be quite different from a Western Judeo-Christian position (see Chishtie, 2007). Pennycook has been very blunt in his assessment of the effects of English Language Teaching in Asia and how it perpetuates colonialism and undermines local culture. He states:

> ELT theories and practices that emanate from the former colonial powers still carry the traces of those colonial histories both because of the long history of direct connections between ELT and colonialism and because such theories and practices derive from broader European cultures and ideologies that themselves are products of colonialisation (Pennycook, 1998, p. 19).

In a recent volume entitled *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts* (2007), Tsui and Tollefson collect a series of papers that address implications of the English language in twelve countries or city states in Asia and the South Pacific region, ranging from Japan and south Korea to Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Cambodia, as well as the countries of the Indian sub-continent. It is clear that a variety of factors are given as justification for the promotion of English as an essential language of communication in these countries and regions. Tollefson and Tsui consider that prime among the factors that drive policies to promote English are the needs to respond both to globalization while attempting to create or preserve national cultural identities (p. 259). The issues are complex and vary depending on the context of each political entity. As could be expected, promotion of English has often been tied to perceived needs to respond to globalization and move the state to closer integration into global capitalism (Tollefson & Tsui, p. 260) as in the case of Singapore, Korea, Cambodia and, more recently, Malaysia.

Japan and Korea, while emphasizing the importance of English as a means to success in the global marketplace, have also taken pains to monitor closely English texts to ensure that the messages conveyed stress the importance and precedence of the Japanese or Korean cultures and languages. English is learned instrumentally as a tool; language as a means to encourage integration into English culture is discouraged (Hashimoto, 2007; Yim, 2007).

In the case of Bangladesh, the priority in nation building was to secure distinction from Pakistan and so Bengali education is mandated to help maintain a distinct Bangladesh identity. However, English is needed but tends to be accessible mainly to elites and the wealthy (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007). Similarly in India and Pakistan, real competence in English is mainly possible for the elite only who access quality classes primarily in private educational institutions. Social and economic inequalities are growing as a result of policies for English (Agnihotri, 2007, Rahman, 2007).

The situation in Hong Kong is somewhat different. As a former colony of England, English as long been an official language in Hong Kong and many schools offer English medium of instruction; most of the Hong Kong universities are English MOI. With the handover of Hong Kong back to mainland China in 1997, Hong Kong began to develop a policy of bi-literacy (in Cantonese and English) and tri-lingualism (in Cantonese, Putonghua and English). The government wishes to stress mother-tongue (i.e. Cantonese) education as primary, but the populace, perhaps because of the perceived need to be proficient in English to succeed in today's globalized world, or perhaps because of a desire to establish a separate identity from mainland Chinese, has consistently demanded provision of English MOI in the schools, even when this perpetuates the cultural and identity attachments of colonialism. So in Hong Kong both instrumental and integrative (but integrative in the sense of a particular Hong Kong identity) factors operate in decisions of language choice. (For a more detailed discussion of this, see Tsui, 2007).

Malaysia offers an interesting case of policy changes as an effort to accommodate the demands of the global economy. In an attempt to counter the legacy of colonialism, after independence, the language of the majority, Bahasa Malaysia replaced English as the language of instruction throughout the system, and the Cambridge University administered A-levels and O-levels were replaced by local Malaysian certificate examinations. By 2002, citing a fear that citizens were ill-equipped to become players in the global economy, the government reversed itself and mandated English as the language of instruction for mathematics and science from the primary level upward. They reasoned that success and acceptance in the fields of science, IT and business require competent English speakers. Teaching key subjects in English would apparently ensure that. However, this change in language policy has resulted in problems with finding teachers proficient enough to teach these subjects in English; an added complication is the provision of suitable resources. The other recognized ethnic groups, the Chinese and Tamils are also concerned that their national-type Chinese and Tamil language schools are threatened by the infusion of class time in English for Mathematics and Science with a corresponding decrease of time available to teach in Chinese or Tamil. Despite these concerns, citizens still seek opportunities for their children to learn English and so private schools and colleges with English MOI are proliferating. It appears that the dream of economic success trumps the strategies put in place to overcome the colonial past; the hegemony of English is evident in Malaysian education today. (See Gill, 2007; David & Govindasamy, 2007; Chan, 2007, for a fuller discussion of language policies in Malaysia and their implications).

In the case of Cambodia, one would have anticipated continuing French influence. I understand that Cambodia does remain part of the Francophonie nations, that knowledge of French conveys some economic capital, and that there are some tertiary programs at Cambodian universities, supported by France that are French-medium of instruction. However, English has displaced French as the preferred world language and so Cambodians increasingly opt to learn English as their international language starting in secondary schools, and continuing in higher education and in many private language schools that have sprung up in the country.

Thomas Clayton (2006, 2007) who has spent considerable time in Cambodia, first in the 90s when he was director of an English language teaching program for SUNY, and subsequently in other capacities explains that the push for English in Cambodia can be seen both in political and economic contexts. After the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, Cambodia began its transition to becoming a democratic nation, strongly supported by the United Nations, which set up the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC. Although originally bilingual French and English, English eventually prevailed as the preferred language of UNTAC. According to Clayton (2007), the more than 60,000 Cambodians who worked for UNTAC during its two-year mission needed some proficiency in English (p. 101). When Cambodia joined ASEAN in 1999, the demand for English became even greater, as the working language of ASEAN is English, documents are prepared only in English and there are no translation services.

Outside Asia, this has also occurred, as illustrated with the example of Rwanda. Changing its educational language, from French to English, was the result of both political expediency (after the Rwanda genocide and the implication of France in the case) and as much, if not more, practical considerations that are explicated with respect to business, technology and the overall processes of globalization.

ECONOMIC IMPETUS FOR THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN CAMBODIA

As part of its transition to a democratic state in the 90s, Cambodia adopted a constitution that proclaimed its acceptance of a market economy system, and set up an economic agenda which envisaged integration of the Cambodian economy into the world economy (Clayton, 2007, p. 97). A free market economy and integration seems to reflect the hegemonic nature of globalization. Some view globalization in a very negative way. As Bourdieu (2001) has said,

> 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 … (p. 84).

However, despite concerns about globalization and neo-liberalism as privileging an elite few at the expense of others, in the case of Cambodia, it is perfectly understandable that such a choice regarding economics and form of government was made. Membership in ASEAN evidently depends on transition to a liberal democracy as well as moving toward a free market economy. In order to secure much needed aid from international agencies such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, USAID, and other Asian and European aid agencies, commitment to these economic and political changes was absolutely required. Clayton has noted (2006) that although some have obviously benefited financially more than others in the new order of things in Cambodia, over all, economically, things have been improving albeit slowly (Clayton, 2006, pp. 11–45).

The political and economic transformation of Cambodia inevitably contributed to the need for many Cambodians to become proficient in English. Even the funding agencies that do not originate in an English speaking country mainly use English as their working language when it comes to matters of economics.

Clayton cites the development of the garment industry in Cambodia as an example of its entrance into the world market. According to Clayton, 95% of all Cambodian exports in 2002 were from the garment industry; in 2004, over 270,000 Cambodians worked in garment factories (p. 99). Although the workers themselves do not need to know English, middle managers and senior managers definitely do need to possess some knowledge of English even in factories operated by other Asian nations. For those who aspire to advancement, English will be a requirement. In the next section I turn to the issue of learning English in Asian contexts.

LEARNING ENGLISH AS A SECOND OR FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Mastering a language takes time; people frequently underestimate the commitment it takes to achieve superior proficiency in a language—especially one with an orthography and grammar very different from one's native tongue. Organizations such as the IELTS (International English Language Testing Service), ACTFL (American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages), or the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) have developed descriptors of various levels of proficiency in the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. One should be aware that the top band of the IELTS, the benchmarks 11 and 12 of the Canadian Language Benchmarks, and the upper Superior range of the ACTFL scale are often not reached even by native speakers. For example, the CLB 12 in speaking describes a person who can:

- Create and co-create oral discourse, formal and informal, general or technical, in own field of study or work, in a broad range of complex situations:
- Satisfy most academic and work-related expectations for competent communication;
- Deliver public presentations to audiences;
- Lead formal group discussions, meetings and workshops;
- Communicate to explain complex ideas to diverse groups, to debate arguments on complex matters, to teach, negotiate and resolve conflict in a variety of situations;
- Is capable of fluent discourse with native-like idiomaticity;
- Use language that is complex, accurate and flexible in the manipulation of structure of the information in clauses to express emphasis, comment, attitude;
- Use content, organization, format, delivery, tone and conversational style of discussion or presentation appropriate to purpose and audience (CLB p. 112).

That is a very tall order indeed—one attained by few native speakers. The IELTS bands are perhaps more realistic, but still very ambitious. The top band 9 for the expert user describes a person who has "fully operational command of the language: appropriate, accurate and fluent with complete understanding" (U Cambridge ESOL, 2008).

In language learning situations, there is also a distinction between learning the language in the environment where it is spoken as opposed to learning it as a foreign language. In the first case, learners will acquire language more readily because they are surrounded by users of the language and have constant exposure; in the second case, there is less chance of authentic input. Even with an instructor highly proficient in the language or possibly a trained native speaking teacher, the learning takes place under artificial conditions and that situation places more of a responsibility on the learner to develop proficiency.

Native speakers as instructors do not guarantee better results; just because one knows a language does not mean one can teach it. Beyond the competences of teaching, if the native speaking instructors do not know the language and/or culture of the learners, they will not be able to anticipate problem areas the learners may face when grappling with a new orthography and grammar very different from the one they are familiar with. Nor will they be able to save time by using in the learners' native language when appropriate, to clarify quickly some item of vocabulary or point of grammar. Native speaking teachers may have unrealistic expectations of what students are capable of, encouraging them to engage in activities beyond their level of competence, resulting in frustration and disappointment. Such teachers may also be unaware of local learning styles or cultural practices that are incompatible with the learning approaches they wish to use, or topics they wish to discuss in class. They may also be unaware of the assumed educational and cultural superiority of the native speaker, usually from North America for speaking English is equated with being knowledgeable.

If one checks the web to see references for teaching English in Cambodia, one will find over 1,500,000 items. It is unfortunate that many listings are for native speakers with no qualifications required. Teaching a foreign language is a complicated activity with specific skills required. No doubt, the private language schools seeking native-speaking teachers have bought into the cachet of the superiority of the native speaker to impart communicative competence to eager learners, perhaps through conversation classes. In my experience, conversation classes are among the most difficult to run effectively even for experienced and qualified teachers. Conversation classes require careful preparation and scaffolding—setting the context, providing useful vocabulary and structures to the students beforehand, and depending on the current level of proficiency of students, perhaps structuring the conversation for them, giving them a model to follow and imitate using lists of appropriate vocabulary. Teachers need to consider setting clear roles for various students to ensure that all can contribute in some way to the discussion. Depending on the class size, teachers will have to decide how feasible it is to engage in much free conversation and discussion.

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

Even native language teachers with second language teacher training may not be able to provide Asian English language students with the kind of language training they need. For the past 30 years language teachers in the West have been trained to teach language communicatively in the so-called CLT method. Definitions of CLT means can vary. To some "CLT is a meaning-based, learner-centred approach to L2 teaching where fluency is given priority over accuracy and the emphasis in on the comprehension and production of messages, *not* the teaching or correction of language forms (Spada, 2006, p. 260). To others, although the approach is mainly meaning-based, teachers are still expected to attend to accuracy. Communicative language teaching has had an interesting history with varying interpretations. Sandra Savignon (1983), one of the first to actively promote the approach intended to offset the typical university language classes taught in a highly traditional grammar-translation approach, to allow for at least some time in the course when students would have an opportunity to actually use the language they were learning in authentic communicative situations. Savignon only envisaged that in a foreign language class taught five times per week, that one class only would be devoted to communicative activities. Eighty per cent of the course would still involve the usual grammatical and vocabulary exercises. However, by the mid '80s, somehow proponents of CLT forgot about the necessary development of a grammatical and vocabulary base, and concentrated exclusively on communicative activities where students would negotiate meaning when trying to converse and lessons would be built around various themes and contexts. The priority would be given to the message—not the degree to which it was conveyed in an accurate manner. Teachers were to use the target language only and prompt their students to produce meaningful utterances; error correction was handled subtly as recasts, or perhaps not at all if the teacher and others in the class could make sense of what their classmates were saying. In other words, one problematic methodology for teaching and learning English was replaced by an equally faulty one, thus assuring the continuing weaknesses of the desired language capacities.

Although the CLT approach met with some success in developing fluency especially in ESL classes taught in an English environment, or in French immersion classes, it soon became evident that students were plateauing at an intermediate level of competence and were developing fossilized errors difficult to eradiate (Higgs, 1985). For that reason, more and more second language teacher educators more recently are calling for a balanced approach to language teaching that combines direct explicit instruction in grammatical, lexical and socio-cultural elements with opportunities to practise and develop communicative skills.Unfortunately, many Asian education authorities have bought into CLT as THE way to learn English, and are encouraging all teachers to use communicative approaches, even if the conditions in classrooms make it impossible to carry out CLT effectively. Moreover, many are not aware that language teaching has already moved beyond pure CLT in the West. CLT unfortunately did not prove to be the panacea for language acquisition that many hoped for. Trained language teachers from the West who have come to Asia to provide instruction in English need to consider that they are now in a different environment with students who may have very different learning styles to those of students they have worked with before. Western teachers need to modify their approaches to accommodate the learning style and culture of their Asian students.

EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH COURSES SUITABLE FOR ASIAN STUDENTS

Asian students are generally used to large teacher-centred classes where students, because of fear of loss of face, are reluctant to offer responses, ask questions, or initiate communication. In fact, many students whose learning goal is focused on passing a test to enable them to proceed to the next level, enter higher education programs, or meet language requirements so that they can study abroad, expect the teachers to prepare them for the test, provide the answers with few active responses from students in the class. Conversation classes are often viewed as a waste of time.

However, recent versions of the international tests, the TOEFL and IELTS for example, have become more communicative in nature and have added speaking and interactive sections while eliminating or downplaying lexical and grammatical parts of the tests where traditionally Asian students excelled. Since such students could go to universities and colleges in English speaking countries, the resulting grammatical and lexical structuring in their writing hinders the students' success.

Probably the wisest approach for an English teacher in Asia would be to adopt an eclectic approach, and steer a middle course between what the students are familiar with in the way of language learning, adding elements of structured communicative activities. Cynthia Lee (2004) has suggested some approaches to communicative tasks that are doable with Asian students in the context of Asian language classrooms. She recommends task-based learning as a means to encourage students to use English to think, communicate, develop linguistic knowledge and understand how language is organized, used and learned (p 32). This approach does not neglect the needed basic skills of lexical and grammatical structure learning, but seeks to incorporate what students have learnt into meaningful contexts where they can apply their knowledge in structured but authentic ways. Communicative tasks are both divergent and convergent in nature, and based on case studies taken from business programs. The example of the convergent task she gives, involves giving advice to an advertising company that had overspent its budget. The divergent task she mentions requires students, working in pairs to come up with ways to deal with a program director's inappropriate instructions (p. 36). One could pose an ethical question perhaps as to whether classes organized around such activities reflect too much a push to train people for business and the market economy. However, since Asian countries seek entrance into the global market economy, such language classes do meet perceived needs. It would be interesting to explore if advanced classes included reflections on ethical business practice, comparisons between Western and Eastern practices and so on.

In addition, given that many students of English in Asia wish to learn the language in order to engage in business transactions with foreign companies, using English as their medium of communication, such tasks are practical and motivational for students. Teachers would need to have some notion of the level of proficiency of their students before engaging in task-based learning, but the approach can be adapted for various levels. Modest users of the language require much scaffolding with a model of the interaction provided along with useful vocabulary and structures; students would merely have to substitute different vocabulary, possibly fill in blanks in a given conversation, and then practise presenting their interaction to the class, or taping it for the instructor. As proficiency increases, less linguistic and grammatical support would be needed until at advanced levels, students could be given a convergent or divergent problem and develop an appropriate response.

This type of task-based learning is not only useful for developing fluency and communicative ability, but has the added bonus that such tasks are now part of many of the international tests that language learners are preparing for.

In short, language training should match the needs of the learners; that is, why they are learning the language as well as their level of proficiency in it, their culture and style of learning. Other examples of types of programs (or units in programs) could include the following:

Reading Courses

For those in higher education who need to access scientific and medical research papers reported in English, perhaps a concentrated reading course would be the most appropriate. Reading courses generally include vocabulary study focused on the area of interest, basic grammatical structures, especially those common in written English reports, such as the passive construction, and reading practice of a variety of scientific articles. Such courses are generally known as "scientific language courses" and the instructor will probably deliver the course mainly in the native language of the students.

Listening Courses

Because international scientific conferences increasingly are English language medium, participants who are not proficient in the language would need to add listening skills. Courses that focus on listening skills would include:

- Identifying key information from a recorded dialogue or lecture;
- Taking a telephone message;
- Extracting information from a TV or radio, weather, sports, or news broadcast;
- Taking notes on a lecture in an area of interest.

Writing Courses

Likewise if students require writing skills, they can focus on that area of language learning spanning activities such as social interaction (e.g. writing notes and messages); reproducing information by writing out notes or a resume of a passage either listened to or read; business and service messages such as developing a CV or letter of application; or more advanced, to presenting information and ideas through written essays.

In a paper on the non-Anglophone scholar at the periphery of scholarly publication, John Flowerdew (2007) raises the serious issue of young Asian scholars who are expected to publish in English in international journals, and the difficulties they face from publishers who may reject the paper because of awkward English phrasing, or because of using an organization alien to the typical format of academic papers written by native English speakers. Some are accused of plagiarism because in an attempt to use fluent English expression, insecure about their own ability to express their ideas in English, not being aware of the copyright implications so prevalent in Western academic circles, and wishing to show respect, even admiration, for the work of other experts in the field, they may borrow too liberally from already published papers. Flowerdew cites several approaches that could assist non-native speakers or English as an Additional Language (EAL) researchers in academic writing such as courses on discourse and genre analysis of academic articles, case studies of successful and unsuccessful products of non-native English writers, as well as practical advice on how to negotiate with editors. However, he also recommends that perhaps editors be more accommodating to EALs and that there should be more publication in local languages (p. 22). He makes a strong plea for programs and resources that would help EAL writers as well as for realistic expectations of what one can expect in the written work of these scholars.

One thing for both teachers and students to be aware of is that becoming proficient in a language takes time. Each "course" described above could take weeks for a single unit with several hours of class time per day. The Canadian Benchmarks program that covers activities for the four skills at the beginning, intermediate and advanced levels with four performance descriptors for each skill at each level, recommends 2 to 3 years of intensive study to reach the higher levels of proficiency—and this study takes place in an English language environment. Language students in non-English environments should not become discouraged if they are not mastering the language as quickly as hoped for, and should probably choose which aspects of the language they need most and concentrate on them.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, in our modern globalized world, it is probably impossible to avoid the influence of English, and hence gaining a working knowledge of the language is a goal across the world. The countries in Asia provide a variety of responses in the way they address the need to learn this powerful language and the political or economic justification for doing so. Globalization since the '90s has fuelled the push across Asia to develop competent English users. Since the need to learn English is inevitable, and currently unstoppable, I hope that expectations for learning the language are realistic ones, and that course development reflects the actual needs of the learners. I further recommend teaching English in the least harmful ways—respecting the culture and learning styles of the local populace.

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PETER JOONG AND THOMAS G. RYAN

19. TEACHERS AND STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SECONDARY REFORM AND IMPLEMENTATION: A CHINA AND CANADA COMPARISION

INTRODUCTION

Large-scale educational reform often demands changes in practice which challenge today's classroom teacher (Sahlberg, 2009; Sowell, 2005; Fullan, 2000a). Educational change increases tension as outcomes are measured and results are evaluated against standards (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009). These changes (reform) can trigger resistance, debate and passivity within teachers. Teachers do not resist change they simply resist the transitions required to change because transitioning requires letting go of the tried and true lesson plans, activities, and assessment modes in order to move into a new reality (Sowell, 2005; Young, Levin, & Wallin, 2008). This is an important realization since "success in any improvement effort always hinges on the smallest unit of the organization and in education, that is the classroom as teachers are the ones chiefly responsible for implementing change" (Orenstein, Behar-Horenstein & Pajak, 2003, p. 324).

Teachers in New Zealand, the United States, England and Canada (Ontario & Alberta) initially reported feeling overwhelmed and under-supported (Helsby, 1999; Lasky & Sutherland, 2000; Sahlberg, 2009; Taylor, 1997). These feelings resulted because changing the curriculum and resultant transitioning required teachers to alter the "specific blueprint for learning that is derived from the desired results, that is, content and performance standards" (Wiggins & McTighe, 2006, p. 6).

China (Guangxi Autonomous Region)

The Chinese Department of Education introduced its 'quality education' reform with similar policy and curriculum changes noted in England. The *Outline of Reform on Curriculum in Basic Education* was published in 2001 and about half of the Chinese schools had implemented the reform by 2003 (Liu & Qui, 2005). In classrooms, special attention was aimed at each Chinese teacher's use of varied teaching and learning methods and to a *variety* of assessment modes (Liu & Qi, 2005). These changes required extensive

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 263–278.

transitioning as traditional modes of predominately lecturing needed to be replaced by a variety of new modes of instruction which seemed to be the centerpiece of this educational reform effort. For over 3000 years the curriculum demanded that students study the same material, memorizing texts and writing (examinations) in a manner that conformed to a prescribed style of written argumentation within the Confucian tradition (Armstrong, 2003). Control and a standard mode of teaching has been the usual approach to education for many years in China (Reagan, 2005).

Canada (Ontario)

Within the last decade Canadian provincial governments have been consulting frequently with one another and rapidly reforming policy in response to public demands and provincial testing results (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a). For instance, Ontario educators have had to make changes quickly to improve test results and enhance accountability. This demand for accountability has gained energy via testing outcomes that motivated the Ontario government to reform curriculum. The action "mirrors what has already transpired in other areas of the world driven by governments allied to a neo-liberal economic agenda" (Majhanovich, 2002, p. 164). The system change has engaged the attention of all stakeholders who have acutely recognized that large-scale educational reform (transitioning) is challenging, elusive, and problematic for teachers (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009). According to Earl (2003), "neither external pressure nor initiatives within schools have resulted in widespread or sustainable change" (p. 12). Government-mandated curricula and policies have made little change in practice, while promising innovations have rarely moved beyond a few schools or classrooms (Ryan & Joong, 2005; Elmore, 1996; Zegarac & Franz, 2007). This predicament has caused stakeholders to question whether teacher practices change in large-scale reforms.

Researchers point out that reform merely creates tension within the areas of motivation, capacity, and situation (Leithwood, Steinbach & Jantzi, 2002; Sahlberg, 2009). This is an essential assertion because teachers are more likely to be motivated to change their practices when reform goals are consistent with their own goals and beliefs (motivation) and when they feel that they are equipped to make the changes (Leithwood, et al, 2002; Falk, 2000; Fullan, 2008). Secondly, major educational reforms require teachers to think and act in different ways. Teachers must have an understanding of the reforms, content and pedagogical knowledge and skills for significant changes (capacity). Third, (situation) schools are not isolated. They exist in districts and in provinces, states or nations that influence how they work and form the situation/context within which schools are attempting to implement the changes (Ryan & Joong, 2005; Zegarac & Franz, 2007; Canadian Council on Learning, 2009).

OBJECTIVES

This research was undertaken over a period of 2.5 years to compare reform perceptions of Chinese (Guangxi Autonomous Region). Secondary teachers and students to their Canadian (Ontario) counterparts. Secondly, researchers examined large-scale reform in curriculum planning, teaching strategies, assessment and evaluation strategies, special education programs, and high-stakes examination elements in both jurisdictions.

EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Educational transitions involve human, personal, and political factors. Human factors include teachers, students and parents who make a difference in the efforts to successfully implement school reforms. Personal factors include such elements as philosophy, values, social and ethical orientations. Educational change efforts are reflective of political pressures such as government ethos, rationalization, flexibility and budgetary support. Given dissimilar ethos of China and Canada, the result has been a very limited number of large-scale educational reform studies in China and only slightly more in Canada, hence a need for this inquiry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

China Reform

In 1999, ‘quality education’ reform was introduced via the introduction of new curriculum, student-centered teaching and learning, vocational schools, and the development of special education. According to Chen (2002) Chinese classrooms are usually teacher centered, very structured, and students are passive learners. Chinese education tends to emphasize book knowledge rather than practical ability. For the sake of examination, teachers have the same syllabus and must follow it. China is trying to change the rigid situation through curriculum reform. Chen concluded that Chinese teachers must learn how to teach students in different ways and adapt some of the strategies used in the west for example, activity-based learning. New textbooks and syllabi have been developed, new assessment and evaluation modes introduced and increased flexibility has been granted to local schools. In-service workshops were offered to teachers. The challenge for teachers will be to discover how to incorporate new methods and yet maintain the strength of Chinese education, with an emphasis on basic knowledge and skills, while transitioning.

Chinese secondary schools are divided into junior and senior levels. Graduates at each level wishing to continue their education take an entrance exam. China has the age-long National College Entrance Examinations (NCEE) and it has always been the goal for Chinese students (Feng, 1999). Zhang (2004) explained, " the solid tradition of exam-oriented education of acceptant learning . . ." has affected " . . . courses, teaching methods, teacher-student relationships and the system of evaluation and selection" (p. 12). Huang (2004) recommended that "teachers need to make favorable conditions for learning by experiments. This includes making good use of facilities, stimulating students' creative abilities, support cooperative learning, and use of diversified evaluation" (p. 8). Due to the reform conflicts with China's traditional school system and the unchanged university entrance exam, it remains doubtful whether 'quality education' efforts will be successful. Zhang (2004) also claimed that there is little research on 'quality education' in China and "it is very important to carry out the overall and predictive research on reform and development of basic education in China" (p. 12).

Canada (Ontario) Reform

Canadian provinces such as Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario initiated educational reforms in the 1990's (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009). For instance, Ontario Secondary School Reforms followed the Royal Commission on Learning in 1994, and researchers Earl and Smaller (2000), Hargreaves (2000), Majhanovich (2002), and Earl (2000, 2002, & 2003) examined aspects of the breadth, width and depth of change within the educational systems in Ontario and revealed multifaceted data. For example, a survey by Earl and Smaller (2000) ascertained how secondary teachers were affected by the reforms. Results indicated that teachers overwhelmingly opposed the centralisation of government decision-making powers, the elimination of five professional development days, and the increased teaching hours. Four other inquiries suggested that over half of the teachers were resistant to new student testing, recent curriculum, changes (class size), and provincial control of local educational spending (Lasky, Moore & Sutherland, 2001). Lasky et al, (2001) also found several critical issues for large majorities of Ontario secondary teachers were the lack of time to prepare lessons, to learn the new curriculum and technology, and to collaborate with colleagues. There were also an inadequate number of resources reported as the other primary obstacle to the implementation of reform.

Earl's (2002) study was conducted in 2001 with a focus group of staff and students in six secondary schools in five school districts. Respondents (teachers) felt that the new curriculum was too demanding for students. Some of these students were not being served by the curriculum changes and were in danger of dropping out. New assessment requirements and the provincial report cards were seen to be time-consuming and didn't make sense to many teachers. Also, support for changes (resources and professional development) were deemed inadequate (Earl, 2002).

King's (2002) double-cohort study scrutinized the implementation of aspects of the Ontario education reform and its effect on students. The survey was based on a sample of 49,796 students from 133 schools in 58 Ontario districts. King found that the mark distributions for students taking Grade 10 Academic courses (high-streamed) in the new and old cohorts respectively were similar. However, OSS (new curriculum) students were obtaining lower marks than OSIS (old curriculum) students. Further, King suggested there would be a substantial decline in graduation rates for OSS students, especially for students taking applied courses (low-streamed). Failure rates and low marks are quite prominent in applied courses in Grades 9 and 10, especially in Math. Ironically, one of the reasons for the current reform was the lack of success in terms of graduation rates for students taking General level courses (low-streamed) under OSIS. Lastly, high failure rates (30%) on the Literacy Test (one requirement for graduation under reform) created an additional burden for 'at-risk' students already at risk of not graduating.

Each investigator, Earl (2003), Earl and Smaller (2000), Hargreaves (2000), King (2002), Lasky, Moore and Sutherland (2001), and Majhanovich, (2002), have provided perspective and new knowledge; yet only one investigation considered student perceptions within a limited number of six secondary schools. To investigate, and actually read the responses of teachers and students concerning a new curriculum is an indispensable and requisite step in educational reform. Together, teachers and students form a partnership at the secondary level. Past studies have surveyed teachers, one-half of the partnership however, until student perceptions are included, a study may only capture one-side of the reality. McAdie and Leithwood (2005) explain:

> The Ontario curriculum, unfortunately, is very much like those of many other jurisdictions. All students are expected to follow the same curriculum, one that urges coverage of a blizzard of specific 'expectations' – almost 4,000 for students...an average of 500 per year. This means students are learning a little about a lot of different subject areas – it is rote learning, emphasizing coverage rather than understanding....the 'mile wide, inch deep' curriculum is coupled with an emphasis on testing....This kind of curriculum is not the most efficient or most effective means for developing basic skills (p.19).

Indeed, the results of many changes in Ontario are merely images of what has occurred in other provinces in Canada (Majhanovich, 2002; Zegarac & Franz, 2007). Seven years ago the Ontario provincial government undertook the first steps of a three-phase, $1.3 billion, Student Success / Learning to 18 Strategy (SS/L18) (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007). The goals of this reform were simple: "increase the graduation rate to 85 per cent (from 68 per cent in 2003), change pedagogy and culture through strong, focused leadership in schools and district school boards, provide new and relevant learning opportunities for *all* students build on student interests and strengths, support effective transitions: from elementary to secondary, and from secondary to postsecondary" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a).

METHODOLOGY

Our questionnaire for teachers on the new curriculum and student surveys used a 5-point (Likert) scale to plot how often a teaching or evaluation strategy is used for a course. In each country a survey package was constructed, refined and field tested in randomly selected secondary schools, which ensured that respondents understood and could complete items as expected. Our test-retest method meant that refinements to questionnaire items enabled ease of reading, comprehension and completion. Our closed-ended items were scaled on a continuum from strongly disagree to agree and numbered to develop frequencies of the responses.

China - Guangxi Autonomous Region

The population, junior and senior secondary schools in Guangxi, included 16 sample schools representative of large and small urban cities, remote areas, ethnicities and SES backgrounds in western China. Sample schools included 12 academic schools and four vocational/technical schools. At each sample school, 25 randomly selected sample teachers and 100 sample students completed separately designed questionnaires in May/June 2005. Classroom observations were made at one sample school. The return rates for questionnaires were 91.5% (students) and 69.7% (teachers).

Canada – Ontario

Surveys, mailed out to 25 randomly selected teachers and eight representative classes (Grades 9 to 12), were selected from twelve randomly chosen secondary schools across Ontario. Written questionnaires were administered to sample teachers and students in January 2003. Unfortunately, due to labour unrest, most teachers were on "work-to-rule" and our plans were impacted. Nonetheless, teachers from nine sample schools and students from five sample schools in four districts completed the questionnaires.

RESULTS: THE CHINA SURVEY

Teacher Voices

The 279 teacher respondents were equally divided in terms of gender. Mean teaching experience was 12 years. Fifty-four percent completed university studies and 41.3% received senior secondary education. Sample teachers were well represented in different subject areas and grade levels with the top four being Chinese literature (21%), Math (19%) and English (17%). Mean class size was 50, but they preferred 44. According to the teachers, student SES included low (58%), middle (29%) and high (4.5%).

The following were levels of change due to reform in the sample schools as perceived by the respondent teachers: School Administration and Management Systems (72%); teacher evaluation and professional development (59%); and curriculum, teaching and evaluation strategies (54%).

CURRICULUM, TEACHING, ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION

On average, respondent teachers spent 25.47 hours each week preparing classes. A majority (79%) of the curriculum materials used by respondent teachers were national. A majority (66%) claimed that the current curriculum is good, while 3.5% claimed that it's weak. Most teachers claimed that they did not receive sufficient resources (71%) and professional development (76%). They would like to receive more professional development in teaching methods (75%), curriculum development (65%), use of computers in the classroom (62%), and classroom management (42%). Teaching methods included teacher talk, individualized learning, questioning, class discussions and activities. They used group work, experiment/demonstration, student presentations and often used traditional tests and exams. Teachers claimed that they used more varieties of strategies and students said they did not. Classroom management problems were indicated and teachers said that student time on task was between average and good. Top reasons given for lost time included: lack of student self-discipline, boredom, and lack of basics/interests. Teachers were satisfied with their courses and needed to improve teaching strategies and curriculum planning for student-centered learning, student-teacher relationships, student motivation, and the use of technology.

SPECIAL NEEDS STUDENTS

One-third of the sample answered noting special needs included learning disabled and behavioural learners, as well as a few gifted and handicapped students. The percentage of 'special' students in their classes was under 10%. Provisions were made by teachers (49%), by the school (24%), and by the students themselves (28%). Teachers provided extra individual help and modified curriculum for learning disabled students and special seating arrangements for behavioural or 'active' students and enrichment for gifted students.

Teachers' Personal Opinions of Changes

Major changes involved curriculum, teaching strategies (activity-based learning/group work), and technology usage. Negative effects included student motivation, management issues and teacher-student relationships. Most were positive about 'quality education' as it reflects societal changes. One teacher said, "the government needs to put more money in education, students pay less and we have better classrooms and dormitories." Another said, "Schools have more facilities. More students have a chance to do experiments." A few teachers claimed, "We don't have enough facilities, the reform of teaching is just a word but not action." This is especially true in rural schools. One teacher described the change as "in the past students begged teachers for education, but now teachers are begging students to accept education." When compared with the past, most teachers who responded felt that current students have weaker academic backgrounds, are less motivated and have poorer attitudes. One teacher explained, "the law of compulsory education changed students' attitude to negative." Another major reason is the thought that "education is useless" in our society as job opportunities for the educated are few. This is especially true in rural areas.

Some students were active and independent and were better at problem solving and critical thinking skills. One teacher said, "Students' study habits don't change. But their abilities change. They think faster and deeper." Thirty percent expressed the frustration mentioned by Tao (2003) that the exam-oriented teaching and learning had greatly restrained the creativity and potential of students. One teacher said: "There are few changes in education for all-round development; our teaching is still test-oriented."

Student Voices

Of the 1464 student respondents, 64.4% were from farming communities. Ethnic groups were mostly Zhuong, Han, and Maonan. There was a significant negative correlation (-.125) between course difficulty and good classroom behaviour, negative significant (-.277) correlation between course difficulty and achievement and a positive but insignificant correlation (.048) between classroom behaviour and achievement. Students indicated, teaching methods included teacher talk and individualized learning and teachers sometimes used questioning, group work, and classroom activities and class discussions.

Teachers often used traditional tests and exams and sometimes used assignments, performance and group work. To meet certain standards, students were often 'overloaded' with homework and had no time to develop their own interests (Tao, 2003). The mean number of hours spent on homework and studying were 1.95 hours (SD=1.74) and 1.6 (SD=1.7) giving a total of almost 3.5 hours per day. When asked who they would go to discuss schoolwork, 55% would go to friends/ classmates, 35% would go to parents and 16% would approach the teachers. On gender issues, 78% of the respondents claimed that there is no relationship between gender, ability and achievement. Over 83% of the student respondents claimed that their families would want them to go to university, even if they were girls. When asked for their opinions on the exam system, of those who responded, 23% suggested that exams should be abandoned, 14% suggested modifications and 18% said exams should be kept. Forty-two percent had no opinion.

The Canada Survey

Teachers from nine sample schools and students from five sample schools in four districts participated. Return rates for teacher and student respondents were 63% and 86% respectively, in the randomly selected sample schools during January 2003.

Teacher Voices

Two-thirds of the teacher respondents claimed that their new curriculum (OSS) courses were more difficult than the old curriculum (OSIS) courses. As a result, 39% claimed that the "failure rates" of their OSS course was higher than the old curriculum course and 24% claimed that their students were less prepared for university, college or the workplace. King (2002) had similar findings. Many teachers claimed that even though students learned more concepts in their courses, the depth and skill levels such as problem solving, creative, analytical and higher level thinking required for success in future courses were minimized. However, 58% of the respondent teachers were satisfied with how they had implemented the new curriculum and 82% claimed that the new curriculum had changed their classroom and assessment practices.

Curriculum and Teaching

Sixty-three percent of teachers claimed they spent more than 40 hours per week designing curriculum materials and constructing daily plans during the school year. A majority claimed that they did not receive adequate support materials (56%) or in-service training (69%). Resources were either nonexistent or too few in number. Teachers wanted more in-service training in assessment and evaluation (73%) and technology (40%). However, with decreased funding few teachers received training.

Implementation required a variety of teaching strategies and most (92%) claimed they used a variety of teaching practices. Teachers suggested they used whole-class instruction (44.6%), group work/co-operative learning (14.8%), and individualized instruction (12.5%), which demonstrates some variety. When compared with OSIS courses, Ontario secondary teachers claimed that they used more computers/Internet (41%) and individual/ group projects (30%).

When addressing current classroom management compared to management issues during OSIS courses, 33% of the teacher respondents claimed that they spent more time on classroom management whereas only 7% claimed that they spent less. Some teachers blamed it on course difficulties that frustrated students who acted out in class. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the teacher respondents claimed that OSS courses in the same subject areas were more demanding or difficult than OSIS courses, especially students who would have been taking general and basic level (lower-streamed) courses under OSIS. Only 7% claimed that it was easier. Specific areas of difficulties included weak student academic backgrounds and heavy course content, thus allowing little time for consolidations.

Special Needs Students

Students with ‘special needs’ were integrated as inclusion is a key element in OSS. Most teachers provided extra-help and extra time for the completion of tests and assignments. Special education support ranged from none, provision of teachers’ assistants, and withdrawals to resource rooms. In Ontario, OSS students must pass a Grade 10 Literacy Test. Some teachers claimed that this would be “difficult”, “unreasonable” and/or “impossible” for some identified students.

Assessment and Evaluation

OSS (new curriculum) evaluation policy dictated drastic changes and a majority of the respondents occasionally or sometimes used new evaluation strategies. These included achievement levels (1 to 4) instead of marks, rubrics, and weightings by strands, providing multiple opportunities for students to improve, and elected to use the most consistent achievement in determining students’ marks. Even though teachers were told to use most recent achievements, almost half (53%) of them did not.

Teachers had great concerns with certain evaluation policies due to inconsistency and difficulty in implementation. Therefore, three-quarters of the teachers still used traditional practices using the average mark and weightings. Results indicated there was a lack of consistency and understanding of how to implement student evaluation policies. This finding supports Hargreaves et al. (2000) findings.

Most respondents used a variety of assessment tools to determine final marks via weighting, tests (35%), classroom assignments (12%), homework (10%), projects (14%), essays/art/experiments/performance (10%), group work (6%), and examinations/final assessment tasks (26%). When compared with OSIS courses, these assessment strategies were used more: Performance (by 27%), projects (26%), and final assessment tasks (21%).

Negative outcomes of the new evaluation policy included the need to give opportunities for retests (Mastery Learning), which was problematic and impractical for Ontario secondary teachers and often unfair to all students. Secondly, 'borderline' students failed and/or dropped out due to lack of marks for learning skills such as effort and participation. Thirdly, since teachers could not 'penalize' students for lack of effort and participation, many more students were 'skipping', coming to class late, not working in class and not completing homework. The negative effects of this policy may lead to new levels of misbehaviour, truancy, decreased motivation, failure and higher withdrawal rates.

Student Voices

Students were more optimistic than teachers as one-third of the students claimed that courses were difficult and 39% claimed they were easy. When students were asked about instruction, two strategies emerged, individualized work (67%), teacher lecturing (55%). When students were asked which methods helped them learn the most, the answers were quite even. This implies that teachers should use a variety of teaching strategies, however, senior students had a slight preference for lecturing (25.3%) and individualized work (24.9%), academic students (high-streamed) preferred these two instructional modes as well as class discussion, and applied students (low-streamed) preferred hands-on exercises (30.5%). When students were asked whether student behaviours in their classes make it easier or difficult to learn, 61.4% claimed that it was easier and 16.5% claimed otherwise.

Almost half of the applied students claimed that their courses were easy whereas 21.5% claimed that they were difficult. Students in Grades 9 and 10 had similar perceptions (42.2% and 29.4% respectively). One possible interpretation for this discrepancy is that teachers may have lowered expectations and diluted curriculum content due to low student achievement expectations. As for the new evaluation policy, 47% of the students claimed that their teachers often used rubrics and only 36% claimed that they used levels instead of marks. A majority of the students claimed that they were never allowed to rewrite tests (76%) and redo work (56%) to improve their marks.

In sum, many students were struggling to cope with the new OSS curriculum as 29% of the teacher respondents claimed that students were not achieving well or as well as past OSIS counterparts. Conversely, 18% claimed that OSS students were doing better. Student respondents, on the other hand, were more positive, with 68.2% self-reporting that they had an A or B grade and only 12.3% said they had a D or F grade.

CHINA (GUANGXI) AND CANADA (ONTARIO) COMPARISONS

Teacher Voices

In each country respondent teachers invested hours (25.47 China & >40 Ontario) each week preparing classes. Class size was problematic for teachers in both countries and smaller class sizes were hoped for. Chinese teachers (66%) claimed that the current curriculum was good. Ontario teachers (58%) indicated they were satisfied with the manner in which they implemented the new curricula, yet teachers believed the depth and skills such as problem solving, analyses and higher-level thinking required for success in future courses were minimized in the reform.

Sample teachers in both China and Canada claimed that they used a variety of teaching methods, such as teacher talk (lectures), individualized learning, questioning, class discussions, presentations, and hands-on activities. Chinese and Ontario student assessment and evaluation modes were limited to traditional tests, exams and sometimes performance tasks. When compared with students' responses to the same questions, teachers claimed that they used more varieties of teaching and student evaluation strategies in both countries when in fact students observed less variety of both practices. Teachers in both countries did not receive sufficient resources (71% China, 56% Canada) or professional development (76% China, 69% Canada). Hence, there was a need for more professional development and resources.

Special needs were met via inclusion and the percentage of 'special' students integrated in Ontario and Chinese classes was under 10%. Provisions were made by teachers (49%), by the school (24%), and by the students themselves (28%) in China as in Ontario. Teachers provided extra individual help, modified curricula, assembled special seating arrangements, accommodated behavioural students, and attempted to meet the needs of gifted students.

Respondent teachers in Ontario (33%) and China (42%) noted that they experienced additional classroom management problems due to varied teaching approaches yet the need for more classroom management training was indicated. Teachers in both countries believed that improving classroom management and activities would decrease lost time, encourage better self-discipline and reduce boredom in both Chinese and Ontario secondary classrooms.

Generally, teachers in both countries were quite satisfied with their new courses yet acknowledge a need to improve via professional support and development. Overall, it was recognized that teaching strategies and curriculum planning for student-centered learning, student-teacher relationships, student motivation, and the use of technology in both Ontario and Chinese classrooms needed attention.

Student Voices

Thirty-three percent of Ontario students indicated that their courses were difficult and 39% easy. In China, there was a significant negative correlation between course difficulty and good classroom behaviour and achievement and positive correlation (.048) between classroom behaviour and achievement. When Ontario students were asked whether student behaviours in their classes make it easier or difficult to learn, 61.4% claimed that it was easier and 16.5% claimed otherwise.

Ontario and Chinese students indicated that individualized work, and teacher lecturing predominated and less often group work or class discussions were modes used to teach. Students responses were quite even in both countries implying that teachers should use a variety of teaching strategies however, in Ontario, senior students had a slight preference for lecturing (25.3%) and individualized work (24.9%), whereas applied students (low-streamed) preferred hands-on exercises (30.5%).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A majority of teachers in both countries were satisfied with reforms yet struggled with transitioning. Teachers in both countries had difficulty changing current teaching praxes (teacher talk) and student evaluation modes (tests). All educators struggled to create new tasks and implement new modes of teaching and evaluation. In-service professional development and resources were lacking in both countries, which hampered implementation.

Teachers' perspectives differed from students as teachers were using more activity-based teaching and learning modes than before yet students indicated teachers used predominately teacher talk and individualized work methods.

Teachers indicated they currently used a varied instructional menu while teaching but requested more in-service training (classroom management and activity-based teaching strategies) and resources. Inclusion (integration) and provisions (accommodations/ modifications) were deemed necessary by respondent teachers in both countries.

Classroom management needs increased as new modes of teaching and transitioning created new situations for students to deviate from expected behaviours. More pre-service classroom management training could impact management success and is a reform requisite. Only marginal increases in technology usage occurred. Tao (2003) suggested that reforms involve not only the entire education system but also society. Reforms need widespread input, acceptance, and implementation if it they are to have the desired affect. Chinese teachers, educators and decision makers are at the crossroads of whether the 'quality' movement is what the students and society need at this time, and even Ontario secondary teachers question the need for on-going change for the sake of improved provincial test results.

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20. EDUCATING THE WORLD: TEACHERS AND THEIR WORK AS DEFINED BY THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

In our times globalization and cosmopolitanism are terms that speak to the intensification of border-crossing, and in connection to education, to the global conditions and possibilities that are directing change in learning and teaching. Much of this change demands a rethinking of the identity of the teacher and a re-envisioning of the work of teaching (Luke, 2004, Tierney, 2006). This paper looks to one intergovernmental, transnational site, already heavily involved in international relations, where this rethinking might find productive ground: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In a critical examination of key public documents, it is evident that in some instances UNESCO would seem to be moving to a notion of "teacher" framed not by national interests supported by the global community– the more traditional role taken by the UN and UNESCO–but, by global (or at least UNESCO) interests and initiatives with regard to world citizens. This is critical, and if what we are seeing is indeed real, it represents a shift towards a more cosmopolitan identity for 21st century educators.

GLOBALIZATION AND COSMOPOLITANISM IN EDUCATION

Globalization is characterized by the extensive movement or flow of information, ideas, images, capital and people across increasingly permeable political borders due to economic and technological change (Castles, 2004; Luke & Carrington, 2001). The speed, durability, flexibility and mutability of these transnational flows and networks are affecting every aspect of local and national life, albeit unevenly, to the effect that the local and the global are not experienced as polarities but more often as combined and mutually implicating phenomenon (Beck, 2002). Globalization is transforming or at the very least influencing the social, economic and political life lived inside the nation-state. What is evident is that increasingly "cultural homogeneity and cultural heterogeneity are appearing simultaneously in the same cultural landscape" (Burbles & Torres, 2000) and that, "21st century forms of life and identities are ethically and culturally simultaneously global and local" (Beck, 2002, p. 36;

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 279–291.

see also Apple, Kenway, Singh, 2005). Thus, it is possible that one is both local resident and a global worker, a national citizen and global citizen, a consumer of local products and of international goods. One's identifications, commitments, and affiliations could be local but also global. This shifting amalgam of life patterns, identities, commitments and affiliations includes those associated with and produced in formal and informal educational sites (Harper, Bean & Dunkerly, 2011).

There is considerable discussion and increasing scholarship devoted to the effects of globalization on formal education. We know that globalization is increasing the diversity in our classrooms, altering the nature and role of technology in the classroom, as well as changing the nature of work and of community life in which our students are engaged or will be engaged. In these "New Times" teaching and the teacher need to be redefined (Luke & Elkins, 1998). Allan Luke (2004, 2002) has called for a re-envisioning of education that moves beyond the nation state to consider the contemporary cosmopolitan, transcultural, transnational contexts and conditions of students and teachers in the 21st century. He argues for teaching as "cosmopolitan work" and asks, "What if we envisioned as part of our rethinking of democratic education a reconstruction of teachers and students as world citizens, thinkers, intellectuals and critics and within this context as national and community-based subjects?" (2004, pp. 1429–1431). What Luke is suggesting is a perspective that frames local and national pedagogical identities within a larger international perspective. In doing so he privileges "cosmopolitanism" as the overarching frame for teachers, students, their work and their identities.

Cosmopolitanism is not a new term. In ancient Greek philosophy cosmopolitans were "citizens of the world," and many of the Enlightenment philosophers, in response to volatile local and religious sectarianism, wrote in some detail about the possibilities of world citizenship (see Kymlicka, 2001; Kant, 1795/1996). In response to globalization and its backlash, an aggressive resurgence of nationalism, cosmopolitanism has returned to academic discourse (Benhabib, 2006; Appiah, 2006; Hayden, 2005; Beck, 2002, 2000; Nussbaum, 1996), and to educational discourse (Goldstein, 2007; Tierney, 2006; Rizvi, 2005; Luke 2004, 2002) . Cosmopolitanism is thus a sensibility that is required because of diversity brought about by intensified globalization (Beck & Sznaider, 2010; Todd, 2009). Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, speaks to a sensibility that addresses diversity intensified by globalization. It is at once a condition, a practice and a disposition (Harper & Bean, 2009). While there are various definitions of cosmopolitanism, in this article we focus on the experience of living at the interface of the local and the global. Ideally, this experience creates greater global awareness, numerous global affiliations and the development of sensibilities that support global citizenship as it is lived out locally. At the same time cosmopolitanism means that the local is never lost. Thus it combines "an ethos of macro-interdependencies with an acute consciousness of the inescapabilities and particularities of place, characters, historical trajectories and fate" (Paul Rabinow in Beck 2002, p. 18). As part of this local-global ethos, educational philosopher David Hansen (2008) names a cosmopolitan sensibility as "a sustained readiness to learn from the new and different while being heedful of the known and familiar" (p. 289). For Hansen, cosmopolitanism names a sensibility that promotes an openness, indeed a desire, to expand awareness of what and who lies within and beyond the circle of the local and familiar, to listen and engage creatively and productively with such knowledge, and to be not only informed but formed by this new knowledge, while remaining ever mindful of one's knowledge and loyalties to local knowledge. Cosmopolitanism would seem to name both a circumstance and a sensibility. What then does this mean for the cosmopolitan teacher and where can we find such a teacher? Students in the 21st century will need an education informed by a cosmopolitan sensibility to prepare them for global participation.

THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

As many readers are no doubt aware, the United Nations Organization (UN) includes a General Assembly currently representing some 193 member nation states from around the globe. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a specialized agency of the UN. UNESCO represents one of the outstanding non-governmental organizations working to address issues of global improvements in a wide array of areas related to education. As such, it seemed appropriate to draw from their extensive body of work in education for this analysis. UNESCO has a long history of initiatives, but at the present time its work in education is organized into seven themes: early childhood, primary education, secondary education, technical and science education; higher education; literacy; HIV/Aids education; and teacher education. At this time, the major priority of UNESCO is "Education for All" (EFA) which involves the provision of free, compulsory primary education to everyone by 2015. This follows the UN Millennium Development Goals (see also The Final Report of the World Education Forum: Dakar, UNESCO, 2008a). As stated directly on its website: "UNESCO believes that education is key to social and economic development. We work for a sustainable world with just societies that value knowledge, promote a culture of peace, celebrate diversity and defend human rights, achieved by providing Education for All (EFA)"(Retrieved June 16, 2011 from http://www.unesco.org)

In this paper we will trace the implicit and explicit naming of the teacher and the work of teachers in UNESCO these documents. Specifically we will be examining public, online documents produced in the last ten years, with particular attention to the how teaching and the teacher is articulated by the

UNESCO, sometimes in partnership with other UN agencies and funds (e.g. UNICEF: The United Nations Children's Fund, ILO: International Labor Organization, World Bank) and in relation to recent scholarship on globalization and the development of the cosmopolitan teacher. We conclude with how the policies and initiatives of the UN along with recent scholarship on the cosmopolitan teacher can be used to reformulate teacher education for and beyond the nation state.

THE UNESCO TEACHER

The UNESCO website includes a great deal of information on their various education initiatives. We focused on the website information and various publications found in the Teacher Education section, the Teacher Status Section, and in various documents concerning 'Education for All', including "The Final Report of the World Education Forum: Dakar" (UNESCO, 2008a) and "A Human Rights-based Approach to Education for All" (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007). We also looked at specific issue documents, statement positions and reports including, among others: "Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education" (2007); "Inclusive Education: The Way of the Future" from the 48th conference of the International Conference on Education, (ICE): (Geneva, 2008b); "A Decade of Education for Sustainable Development Quarterly Update" (July, 2008c); "Impact of Women Teachers on Girls' Education: Policy Brief" (2006a) and "The Contribution of Early Childhood Education to a Sustainable Society" (2008d).

Within the parameters of this search, we found no single site, or published document that referenced the 'global' or 'cosmopolitan' teacher, although the nature of teaching and the role of the teacher was addressed or implied in the statements and descriptions found in various documents. This is not surprising. The term cosmopolitan teacher is new to educational discourse. Moreover the work of the UN and UNESCO has dealt largely with national governments and the role that national leadership can play in securing conditions for educational opportunity, including building capacity for teacher development. This means a focus on turning UN/UNESCO initiatives into national initiatives with the support of the 193 member states. This work is aligned with liberal internationalism, which has dominated much of the 20th century, rather than with cosmopolitanism per se (Hayden, 2006). The former is focused on how nation states work together on issues of freedom, equality, peace, progress, democracy, etc; whereas the latter is focused on the development of global sensibilities and the establishment of supranational organizations, structures, and legal systems that protect the interests of individuals regardless of where they reside. Despite the fact that there are no references to a global or cosmopolitan teacher, there are instances in the UNESCO documents where commonly agreed upon notions of the teacher and teachers' work are described. We argue that these description simply and indeed in some recent cases, formalize an identity for the cosmopolitan teacher.

Teacher as professional

The publication that most completely focused on naming the teacher is the ILO/UNESCO "Recommendations Concerning the Status of Teachers ((UNESCO, 1966) which determined and defined the rights and responsibilities of teachers, international standards for their initial preparation and further education, recruitment, employment as well as advocated for safe teaching and learning conditions. Although it is a dated document, it is cited on the UNESCO website and in several more recently produced documents, including a recent report that examines the progress made on implementing the 1966 recommendations: the ILO/UNESCEO 2003 Report from the Committee of Experts on the Application of Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel. The recommendations from the "Status of Teachers" document aimed to elevate the status of teachers and establish international guidelines for the work of teachers to insure that regardless of where they teach, teachers are trained professionals, and acknowledged as such. Unfortunately, there has not been significant progress on many of the recommendations suggested, but nonetheless these documents and many others serve to set a standard for the profession: "teaching should be regarded as a profession: it is a form of public service which requires of teachers expert knowledge and specialized skills, acquired and maintained through rigorous and continuing study; it also calls for a sense of personal and corporate responsibility for the education and welfare of the pupils in their charge" (UNESCO Recommendations for Teachers 1966, p. 6; see also ILO/UNESCEO Report from the Committee of Experts on the Application of Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel, 2003). The details concerning the teaching practices of the cosmopolitan teacher are nicely articulated in the joint UNESCO/UNICEF documents discussed below.

Teachers are recognized in the UNESCO documents as having the most direct impact on the day-to-day educational experiences of children because it is "their task to translate national policies into practical action in each school" (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007, p. 93). Yet, despite the centrality of the teacher to realizing UNESCO goals expressed through national initiatives, she is conspicuously absent from many locales for reasons ranging from safety issues for female teachers, to lack of teacher education, to conflict and displacement. This shortage of teachers and the shortage of trained professional teachers in particular, is a severe limit to the advancement of education locally and globally:

> The most serious issue facing the teaching profession today is the acute or impending shortages of qualified teachers. The growing demand for teachers caused by Education for All, combined with an aging teacher population in developed countries, will create shortages of at least 15 million teachers in the next decade (ILO/UNESCO 2003. p. v).

Formalized through UNESCO documents, the global identity of the teacher functions as a universal yardstick against which the local teachers and schools can define themselves. Future research should focus on how teachers and schools name themselves in relation to the UNESCO documents, especially those schools operating under the UNESCO flag (e.g.; ASPNET schools). For many individuals UNESCO offers an impractical identity since they would not be recognized as teachers nor would it be easy to attain the credentials required. As indicated by UNESCO, the attainment of professional status may require considerable 'capacity-building' in countries that cannot yet meet this standard. In support of increasing capacity building, UNESCO offers a number of initiatives and several specific publications; for example "Capacity Building of Teacher Training Institutions in Sub Sahara Africa" (2005a); and "Teacher Professional Development: An International Review of the Literature" (2003). Without stating it directly, UNESCO works to offer a standard global identity of the 'professional' teacher and would seem to provide some means or support to secure such an identity.

Teacher as Border-Crossers

As evident in the development of the 2005 UNESCO document "Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education" the need for global or international standards, guidelines and transnational or supranational organizational structures concerning teachers and education is increasing. In the case of cross-border higher education, the UNESCO document indicates that since the 1980s, the mobility of students, teachers, programs and institutions has grown considerably, together with new delivery modes and cross-border providers, such as campuses abroad, electronic delivery of higher education and for-profit providers. This creates challenges concerning quality control and accreditation that cannot be met by national frameworks, if indeed such frameworks exist (UNESCO, 2005b; p. 8). Moreover even if national frameworks for cross-border education do exist, they may not be easily translated into the qualifications and quality standards of the growing number of countries receiving cross-border education. Cross-border teaching speaks to the need for a more robust frame of cosmopolitanism to better address circumstances of 21st century teaching and learning.

The guidelines offered in the UNESCO document speak to, among other things, the development of international governing agencies and professional networks to ensure populations are not left vulnerable to poor quality cross-border educators and education. Implicit in these guidelines is the notion that the teacher will be subject to and defined by the supranational organizations and structures that would determine accreditation, quality practices, and fair credentialing. UNESCO does not exclude national governance but forwards international initiatives in this area.

Teacher as Purveyor of Human Rights

The nature and specific work of the global/cosmopolitan teacher, although not referenced as such, is evident in the UNESCO/UNICEF documents on EFA, most notably in UNICEF's *A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education for All* (2007). Following previous UNESCO documents, this UNICEF document names the teacher as a professional with specific "rights" and particular responsibilities in relation to the teaching of human rights. Rights of the teacher are named explicitly, "Teachers are entitled to respect, remuneration and appropriate training and support, and they cannot fulfill their obligations to children unless these rights are realized." (UNICEF, 2007, p. 72) These are understood as the rights of a professional, which aligns with documents on the status of the teacher, cited earlier.

Perhaps most importantly, the teacher in this document is also seen as a purveyor of human rights and the rights of all children in particular. The UNESCO teacher implied in several documents, but directly stated in the text "Human Rights-based Approach to Education For All" (UNICEF/UNESCO 2007) is defined as someone who teaches universal human rights and insures that human rights are respected (p.xii). The attention to universal human rights, the specific rights of children, along with a focus on the rights of the teacher, speaks to the welfare of the individual regardless of what nation state in which they reside or work. It is an indication of a global or cosmopolitan emphasis. As described by Patrick Hayden, (2005), the contemporary idea of human rights has from the outset been universal in aspiration and global in its scope, and "is perhaps the most powerful expression of cosmopolitanism in the realm of global politics" (Hayden, 2005, p.38).

As part of the emphasis on education as a right of the child, inclusion is an important theme in the UNESCO documents. According to UNESCO's Guidelines for Inclusion, inclusion is seen as:

> a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the

> appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children (UNESCO, 2008b, p. 8)

Although all stakeholders need to be supporting inclusion, teachers are ultimately the ones who bear the burden of this responsibility: "effective inclusion involves implementation both in school and in society at large. However, it is only rarely that such a symbiosis exists between the school and society. Thus, it is the regular teacher who has the utmost responsibility for the pupils and their day-to-day learning" (UNESCO, 2008b, p. 12).

Although UNESCO indicates that countries need to define principles and practical ideas with regard to inclusion, "the principles of inclusion that are set out in various international declarations can be used as a foundation. These then can be interpreted and adapted to the context of individual countries" (UNESCO/UNICEF, 2007, p. 65). The country and ultimately the teacher are working from a foundation set by UNESCO and its member states. A teacher's work is local but also strongly global or cosmopolitan in nature in relation to the rights of children and as part of that, the articulation of inclusive education.

Working in the context of rights-based education, the local teacher is to ensure that educational practice is:

> child-centered, respectful of all children, that the school and classroom culture ensures no discrimination of individuals or groups of individuals in respect of admission procedures, treatment in the classroom, opportunities for learning, access to examinations, opportunities to participate in particular activities, such as music or drama, or marking of work… Teachers need to take active measures to involve girls on an equal basis with boys (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007, p. 95).

Redefining Teacher Education

Yet, in order to achieve these goals, UNICEF/UNESCO indicates teacher education needs to be redefined. Teachers must become skilled in not only content, but also in context if child-centered, rights-based education is to be realized. Within the framework of a human rights-based education, teachers, children and parents are to be involved in developing policies to ensure a school culture of respect and inclusion. Moreover teachers are encouraged to ensure local engagement with schools and that schools that are responsive to local contexts. "Within a framework of core standards and principles, individual schools should be able to adapt to the needs of the local community and provide a relevant curriculum that takes account of local concerns and priorities" (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007, p. 96). The teacher is specifically named in relation to the work she is to undertake and the training she will need at the local level. She is to be responsive and engaged in the local context yet in doing so simultaneously meet the UNESCO global initiatives.

We have discussed the ways in which UNESCO names the teacher who works locally as a global professional and as a purveyor of rights, both her own and for the children she instructs.

We turn now to another facet of the UNESCO teacher, which is to promote and practice sustainable development (UNESCO, 2005c; 2005d). In 2005, the United Nations declared a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014, DESD) for which UNESCO serves as the lead agency. This declaration defined Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) as providing students with the learning opportunities that involve learning and respecting past global achievements while caring for and preserving our resources for the well being of all world citizens. It emphasizes the need to educate children to be caring citizens who exercise their rights and responsibilities locally, nationally and globally.

UNESCO documents on ESD link it inextricably with issues such as human rights, poverty reduction, sustainable livelihoods, climate change, gender equality, corporate social responsibility, and the protection of indigenous cultures. In doing so, it also names the teacher as someone who engages in a holistic, humanistic approach to both curriculum and world-view. In *The Contribution of Early Childhood Education to a Sustainable Society,* (UNESCO, 2008d) delegates from sixteen countries discussed barriers and opportunities for sustainable development. They concluded that in order to meet the Decade goals, ESD must start in early childhood and with early childhood educators. The delegates recommended that early childhood teachers move beyond environmental education focusing on "nature walks" and instead provide children with an opportunity to:

> …engage in intellectual dialogue regarding sustainability, and in concrete actions in favour of the environment. In addition, it should incorporate learning to be compassionate and respect differences, equality and fairness as the world is increasingly interdependent and inter-connected. It was suggested that, instead of talking about the 3Rs: reading, writing and arithmetic, one should refer to the 7Rs for education for sustainable development: reduce, reuse, recycle, respect, repair, reflect and refuse (UNESCO, 2008d).

While the documents referring to education for sustainable development may not be as numerous as those dealing with teacher education or human rights, they provide a focal aspect of the role of the teacher and education in UNESCO's world-view that is no less compelling. *A Decade of Education for Sustainable Development Quarterly Update* (July, 2008) states emphatically the role of ESD: "it constitutes a comprehensive approach to quality education and learning. By dealing with the problems faced by humanity in a globalized world, ESD will shape the purposes and content of all education in the period ahead; ESD is, indeed, education for the future" (p. 1).

The Cosmopolitan Teacher

This is a preliminary study and certainly further inquiry is needed to determine UNESCO's various positions with regard to the nature of teaching and role of the teacher and the ways in which UNESCO's work might forward the redefinition of teaching and teacher through a cosmopolitan, transnational frame. Nonetheless, we have some provisional comments, observations and conclusions from this brief study. First, what came as some surprise to us was enormous body of work that has been produced by UNESCO and its partners on education; and, for us, working in a the United States, how little attention this work seems to be garnering. We suspect that the quality and quantity of the UNESCO initiatives, along with the contexts and conditions of 21st century students and their teachers may well change that. Secondly, we were surprised by the specificity that some of the documents in articulating teacher practices and curriculum in relation to UNESCO policies, position statements, and projects. Specific classroom practices are outlined in several of the documents we read. As an example, the specific focus on human rights education and education for sustainable development were detailed and offered specific curricular direction, thus UNESCO does more than articulate general statements and goals.

In naming teachers and teacher's work we were surprised that at least in the most recent documents economic development was not highlighted more. It was present in the documents we reviewed but not as prominent as previous scholarship had led us to expect (see in particular Weber, 2007). Instead in the documents we examined, the press for EFA, rights-based education, inclusive education, environmental education and cross-border education guidelines with local and national involvement but framed within the UNESCO positions and initiatives speak directly to the naming and development of the cosmopolitan teacher. In our estimation, based on our reading of the documents, UNESCO would seem to be moving to a notion of "teacher" framed not by national interests agreed to by the international community– the more traditional role taken by the UN and UNESCO–but, by global (or at least UNESCO) interests and initiatives with regard to world citizens (individuals in their local/global contexts) supported by national governments and adapted to and by local communities. This is critical, and if what we are seeing is indeed real, it is a shift towards a more cosmopolitan identity for educators.

What is perhaps needed is more recognition of the creative, productive, and no doubt difficult tensions in living one's 'everyday' identity simultaneously as local and global, particularly in the area of education. In addition, while the UNESCO documents provide increasing support for the work of the local teacher, framed and supported by global contexts, there seems limited space for local teachers to effectively respond back to national and international agendas, however supportive they might be of those agendas. What that space might look like; and more generally, what capabilities and knowledge might a 'reflexive' cosmopolitan educator need, living at the interface of the local and global in her classroom and in her community, will be the basis of our next study.

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21. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE NEW DEMOCRACY OF BHUTAN

INTRODUCTION

At the urging of the monarchy, and in response to a desire to become more fully engaged in global economics, The Royal Government of Bhutan recently took steps to create a new governance system and is now in the midst of a major transition to a system of constitution-based parliamentary democracy. This transition has been carefully planned over the last ten years, and was devised by the Fourth King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk. Since his coronation the fourth king has introduced Bhutan to the world and has brought about a significant number of changes in Bhutan's foreign policies. The fourth king abdicated in December, 2006 and the plan is now being carried forward by his son, King Jigme Keshar Namgyel Wangchuk. "Although most people are hesitant about the change, they believe that His Majesty would not propose this change if he did not truly believe that it was the correct direction for the country and its people at this time" (Strickland, 2008). The first general election was held in March, 2008 with one party winning an overwhelming majority (45 out of 47 seats). The new Prime Minister, Lyonpo Jigmi Y. Thinley was installed on April 9, 2008 and two days later, his ten newly elected ministers were appointed.

Bhutan is a small country, geographically wedged between India and China/Tibet. Its mountainous terrain is challenging with regards to transportation and communications. Its government is now leading the nation on a path of rapid socio-economic development and political reform where the people of the nation will be the main decision-makers and will actively guide the development process. Never has education been more important. The progress of the nation and the fulfillment of the aims of the society as outlined in the draft Constitution will depend not only on ensuring mass literacy and civics education for the general public, but also on ensuring its students receive the highest quality education.

With the introduction of democracy in governmental structures follows a change in the education processes used in schools, within the Ministry of Education, and in the way education policies are created. The very concept of democracy must be identified and defined within the Bhutanese concept. The question "What does it mean to democratize Bhutan and its educational

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 293–303.

system?” must be the central focus of the planning and changes slowly being introduced by the Bhutanese Ministry of Education. Teachers must be urged to think about what their roles might be in Bhutanese schools within a democratic society. Are teachers to become advocates for their students and themselves within a more democratic context? What does a democratic classroom look like and how does it differ from Bhutanese classrooms of the last few decades? The teacher education programs must also be examined carefully if it is to be revamped in a way that helps teachers think about ways to encourage student voice, the sharing of opinions, collaborative work and approaches that enable decision-making in classroom activities. This chapter will focus on challenges such as these, challenges facing the education system in Bhutan, with regard to the role schooling will be asked to play, as the new democratic government develops.

Building Democracy in Bhutan

Citizens in a democratic society have a fundamental responsibility to engage in public life. Teachers and students have an obligation to promote equality, justice, respect for others and democratic participation. Education for democratic citizenship is therefore a core purpose of teaching and learning within and beyond schools (www.citizED.info).

The roots of the word ‘democracy’ are telling. It comes from a combination of the Latin *demos* (people) and *kratia* (rule). Original Greek ideas around democracy included the thinking that a democratic government worked toward the common good of all members of society. Although the Greeks may have not followed democratic ideals themselves, excluding women, the working class and slaves, it is these original democratic ideals of creating a government of the people for the people that are being considered today in Bhutan.

The Bhutanese populace has been preparing for these changes in government structure for many months through a series of public consultations that have been conducted across the nation. The Bhutanese Election Commission spent many months preparing for the first general election, including ‘practice elections’ that were held months prior to the actual vote. The public had never participated in such an event and a great deal of information and education went into the pre-election preparations. However, in the same way that a wedding does not make a marriage, an election does not ensure a democracy and much work continues to help the public and the newly elected officials fully grasp what it means to be part of a democracy.

In Bhutan, other ideals are at work alongside the fledgling democratic principles. The term *Gross National Happiness* (GNH) was first expressed by the then King of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck in 1972. While not directly connected to the ideas of democracy, it is a set of beliefs rooted in the Buddhist notion that the ultimate purpose of life is inner happiness. GNH was introduced in response to criticism that the Bhutanese economy has not developed to Western standards. It is surmised that, as the monarch of a Buddhist country, Bhutan's King felt the responsibility to define development in terms of happiness of its people, rather than in terms of an abstract economic measurement such as Gross National Product.

While most conventional development models stress economic growth as an ultimate objective, the concept of GNH claims to be based on the belief that true development of human society takes place when spiritual and material development occur at the same time and complement and reinforce each other. Four pillars of GNH have been established and they include the promotion of equitable and sustainable socio-economic development, preservation and promotion of cultural values, conservation of the natural environment, and establishment of good governance. A Gross National Happiness Commission has been created to help the various Ministries of the new democracy ensure their policies and procedures are in alignment with the GNH ideals. The ideals of Gross National Happiness have been written into the new Bhutanese Constitution and as such, create an additional set of principles that must be adhered to, in addition to the ideals of democracy the country is trying to establish. According to the government'sTenth Five-year Plan, Gross National Happiness is the overall goal of the new democratic government (Kuensel Newspaper online, July, 2008) and education will play an important role in meeting this goal.

As Bhutan embraces a democratic government, they are working to ensure that their children's education provides them with the basis for understanding democratic principles, coupled with the ideals of Gross National Happiness. With the first elected Prime Minister and cabinet in place, work has begun on revamping practices and policies across all government ministries.

The Role of Education in Building Democracy

What is the role of education in supporting a democracy? Barber (1997) suggests that there is only one way to democracy: education. Pioneers of public education argued that schools are essential in a healthy democracy (Dewey, 1916). "Relevant, problem solving, multi-faceted education – democratic education – is central to democratic life; it is necessary for enfranchised citizenship, and for teaching students how to play an active role in the economic, cultural and political life of a nation" (O'Brien, 2006, p. 4). If these statements are true, then it is imperative Bhutanese schools fully commit to providing an education that is engaging, relevant and socially responsible, where democratic principles are entrenched within the classroom and staffroom practices.

Internationally, schools have begun to focus on mandating active ctizenship as part of a democratic curriclum and are focussing on a sense of agency through constructivist teaching (Sears & Hughes, 2006a). Literature suggests that schools must provide opportunities for students to experience democratic principles and cooperation within supportive and caring environments that enable students to express different learning styles (Miller, 1995; Cunningham, 2002). A civic republican approach to citizenship with its emphasis on the obligation of all citizens to participate actively in shaping society at all levels is also endemic to definitions of citizenship and democratic education in all democratic societies (Sears & Hughes, 2006b).

Administrators in the Bhutanese Ministry of Education are aware of the kinds of expectations placed on schooling within a democracy and are working to ensure that curriculum documents reflect GNH and democratic principles, and that teachers and students understand and apply these ideals to the work they do in schools. This task of infusing democratic principles into curriculum documents, teaching strategies, teacher preparation and professional development is made all the more important, as they more fully begin to understand the role education plays in the success of their democracy. Most of those working in the Ministry of Education would never dream of questioning, speaking up, circulating a petition, or disagreeing with the ‘boss,’ so they loyally follow directives. In an ironic twist on democracy, they work diligently to fulfill expectations that all Ministry of Education documents and policies reflect more democratic principles.

Ministry of Education

With the creation of recent democracy, a huge number of changes are occurring in all government Ministries in Bhutan, with a dedicated civil service mandated to implement the necessary changes. This will include civil servants within the Ministry office in the capital city and teachers, school administrators and Dzonghkag (district) personnel throughout the country. The new Prime Minister is encouraging a democratization of all ministries, and an emphasis has been placed on the education system, which provides the greatest hope of changing the structures that have existed for so long in both the culture and society.

Currently, the Ministry of Education is responsible for the education system across the entire country. A national curriculum exists and this curriculum is administered from the capital city of Thimpu. Each dzongkhag has a Dzongkhag (District) Education Officer (DEO) who acts in much the same way that a school board superintendent might act in North America. He/she is the direct link to the Ministry of Education. The Bhutanese DEOs do not have an elected board of trustees providing direction and oversight, thus the

Bhutanese system does not offer the same democratic possibilities that an elected group of school officials might offer within a school district. Other connections with the Ministry are made through Evaluation officers who are essentially like School Inspectors who, in previous decades in Canada, were agents of the Department of Education and made regular visits to schools to 'inspect,' assuring that policies and procedures of the departments were being followed.

New democratic processes are needed within the Ministry of Education if Bhutan is to enable its school system to work to create 'citizens of a democracy.' The previous government was labeled a democratic monarchy; however, it was very hierarchical in nature and the society continues to reflect this structure in many ways. Decisions are not questioned publicly and few people are willing to critique the government. Currently an intensely bureaucratic system within government ministries exists with policies and procedures limiting local decision-making about education. Procedures that allow for debate and openness between the Ministry and local school administrators must be implemented with intention if practices at the ministry level are to become more democratic.

In order to ensure Ministry of Education policies are changed in ways that promote more democratic education for all students, the involvement of all educational stakeholders becomes essential and the Ministry must look for ways to engage teachers, parents, students and community members in the changes occurring in schools. "Crucial to teaching with democratic principles and empowering students to be involved in curriculum direction is the support of administrators, colleagues, parents, and the community" (Schultz, 2007, p.8).

The Prime Minister has announced that improved literacy and numeracy skills are needed across the nation, and there is no doubt that improved basic skills like literacy and numeracy help people become better prepared to take on roles expected of citizens within a democracy. The Ministry of Education is taking the lead to ensure that changes in curriculum content and pedagogical approaches, including an understanding of debate, voice, sharing of opinions, collaboration, responsible government, decision-making, can all be learned and practiced in school. The support of the Ministry of Education is essential and the very structure of the Ministry must continue to be examined and changed so that it, itself, reflects more democratic practices, if it is to be successful in leading schools in this monumental change in attitude and practice.

Schools

Schools in Bhutan currently operate within a very hierarchical system. Teachers rarely question the school administrators, students still stand up when a teacher enters the room, free and open discussions are only beginning to emerge between teachers and between student and teachers. In order for a democratic education system to exist, teachers in the school system, and the lecturers at the newly created Royal University of Bhutan, are beginning to recognize the need to focus on not only dismantling the more authoritarian form of schooling that has been the norm, but to work carefully to institute an education system that clearly values a balance between individual rights and collective opportunities, an understanding of political democracy and ideas of equity and fairness for all. At the same time, Bhutanese culture is based on respect for elders, visitors, and a non-confrontational approach to conflict. Bhutanese teachers will need to balance their nation's cultural expectations whilst looking for ways to offer opportunities for children to develop a sense of autonomy regarding their own education, educate parents about their place in their children's education, and re-examine current assessment and evaluation practices.

The significance of the reforms taking place in Bhutan cannot be understated given that Bhutan has been governed for decades by a monarch-led system with inherent hierarchy and control. The hierarchy that has been so ingrained in society through a hundred-year monarchy (and perhaps longer) will take a great deal of intentional effort to transform into a more democratic system. The hierarchy exists in many forms and formats. Local school decisions are not encouraged and directives from the Ministry of Education in the capital city of Thimpu are largely regarded as non-disputable. Principals are told what to do and, in turn, tell their teachers what to do. In the same way that principals rarely offer to their supervisors ideas that might be contextually more appropriate for their schools, teachers are rarely invited to make suggestions to alter or re-vamp policies that are no longer applicable to their classrooms. Until recently, corporal punishment was still used and private conversations have revealed that, at times, this punishment went beyond teachers striking children and included principals using corporal punishment on teachers who failed to perform to established expectations.

Much citizenship education literature provides strong advice for Bhutanese teachers to draw on as they seek appropriate democratic classroom strategies. Active approaches to democratic education advocated as best practices around the world generally flow from constructivist theories of teaching and learning and call for teachers to engage students in substantive study of authentic and important issues related to being citizens (Sears & Hughes, 2006b). Osborne (1991) suggests a number of specific teaching approaches for a democratic citizenry, including the use of discovery learning, feminist pedagogy and critical pedagogy across a wide range of classroom practice. Key elements for teachers to consider in preparing students for participation in a democratic society might include a clear vision of education, relevant, worthwhile curriculum, the organization and presentation of materials from a problem-solving perspective, and careful attention to the teaching of critical thinking. Osbsorne further suggests that teachers connect new lessons with prior knowledge or experiences, encouraging students to be active learners, which enables them to build upon each other's ideas and establish connections within and beyond classroom walls. He maintains that trust and openness characterize a democratic classroom experience as teachers bring diverse perspectives to the classroom. Moreover, he believes that in Bhutan, a great deal of work is needed with administrators, parents and other stakeholders of education in order for everyone to understand how they can contribute to building a democratic education process. All involved with educational change will need to be helped to think about not only what the children are to be taught, but how they will be taught as well.

In a society that values Gross National Happiness, opportunities should be abundant to develop a sense of self and the collective, and work together to create a society that is more democratic. As the school system helps support an understanding of the need for freedom, respect and self-determination, the democratic values will grow in Bhutan. Currently, the school curriculum includes a focus on ways children and adults make contributions to society. The initial years in school focus largely on helping children develop an understanding about the environment and the child's community. Aspects of science, social studies and language are blended within large broad themes and group work and collaborative processes are being promoted. Within these themes, children are encouraged to make contributions to class projects, volunteer opinions and begin to develop a sense of ownership of their own education.

Both instructional approaches and assessment strategies will need to be examined and changed. Continuous assessment is discussed in schools but end of year examinations, modeled on Indian and British models, still exist in higher grades. The connection between the current Bhutanese measures of accountability, and what democratic schooling offers, remains tenuous. As with other assessment measures used internationally to measure achievement and accountability (such as TIMMS, Alberta Provincial Achievement Tests, PISA), Bhutan's examination system does not always favorably support more democratic processes and approaches in schools.

Teachers

It is not always easy for most teachers to recognize that their chosen career path has an ethical obligation based upon democratic ideals to teach for social justice. Most teachers want to do well and help students, but teachers have too often been under-prepared in their understanding of their role as social justice educators (Hunt & Hutchinson, 2007). Many challenges exist in Bhutanese schools, challenges that result in new approaches to pedagogy failing to take hold in the manner hoped. Some Bhutanese challenges include overcrowded classrooms, with as many as 60 or 70 students in a room in some schools. Teachers also require many more resources than they currently have in order to support their teaching, and the spoken English ability of Bhutanese teachers and students are not at a level considered satisfactory by the Ministry of Education. In large classrooms, where classroom management issues take precedence over pedagogical opportunities, democratic principles fail to flourish. Currently, teachers often resort to very traditional forms of teaching including lecturing and note-taking strategies, where student have few opportunities for students to engage in discussions. Teachers can still maintain a sense of respect, and even authority, while allowing students to begin to build their own sense of autonomy through classroom activities that are open to student voice. Those involved in Bhutanese education continue to work diligently towards changing the pedagogical approaches in classrooms to find a balance between teacher authority and student autonomy.

Obviously, there will be an inherent tension as the Bhutanese educators attempt to deliver a more democratic curriculum in schools that have been traditionally run with very autocratic and hierarchical systems. The teachers will need to explore many possibilities as they look for ways to foster the voice of students and a sense of autonomy and agency in a classroom environment where students have not been required or allowed to exercise democratic skills.

Many Challenges Remain

Many challenges exist as Bhutan attempts to establish a democracy. If the democracy is to be truly inclusive of all people, one issue of particular importance is the gender imbalance in schools. This can and should be addressed in the new democracy. While Bhutan has been focusing on equity of the genders, there still exists a low rate of school completion for a number of young women. Many parents, who have not gone to school, are not yet convinced of the need to complete schooling and young women are encouraged to marry young and stay at home to support their husbands. Bhutan is on the UNICEF list of priority countries for girls' education (2005). These countries have been identified by the UN as a location that requires additional UN support with regard to the status of women. Bhutan continues to work toward gender parity and the number of girls in schools has doubled since 1990. However, gaps remain. Only 33 % of students studying in RUB institutes are girls and only 18 % of the students receiving scholarship to study abroad are girls. Consequently, girls account for 58 % of students studying abroad without scholarships (Bhutan Observer, September 26, 2008). As schools move towards providing opportunities for students to experience cooperation within a supportive and caring environment, one focus must be on the enrollment and retention of girls across the country.

Outside of school, there are still many changes that need to be made within society if a move towards more democratic practices is to take hold. Not unlike the earliest Greek version of a democracy, some groups of people in Bhutan are excluded in running for election under the current structure. In the first election, only people with university degrees were eligible for election to the parliament. This decision was taken so that all elected officials would be able to read and write. Government officials explain that this is partially to ensure initial success with the first parliament, but I would argue that a democracy must be truly representative of all people, or at the very least, appear that this is possible.

CONCLUSION

The move towards a more democratic education system will allow for an increased enhancement of the awareness that the main goal of education can be the democratic governance of the Bhutanese nation, while assuring the flourishing of Bhutanese culture and society. The application of democratic process and the keeping of human rights in schools is an essential basis for the promotion of democratic culture in any society and Bhutan is demonstrating a valuing of this in a way that has not been seen in the past.

Development work completed in Bhutan by Canadian universities has focused, and will continue to be focused, on supporting the work of the Ministry of Education and the Royal University of Bhutan as they move towards a democratic education process. For example, projects by St. Francis Xavier University (StFX), from 1999-2007, and the University of New Brunswick (UNB), from 1989 to 2008, have been essential in developing leadership for Bhutanese schools that recognize and value equity issues and inclusion practices. UNB ran many education projects during their lengthy partnership with Bhutan. This included work in remote areas of Bhutan, where schools might be a three or four day walk from the road head. Many Bhutanese students came to Canada to complete a Master of Education degree through both projects at UNB and at StFX. UNB developed and ran (sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency) the Canadian Cooperation office in Thimpu, the capital city. These partnerships were created at the invitation of the Bhutanese Ministry of Education. Through these projects support has been provided in the writing of “bhutanized” curriculum, where the context and examples are wholly Bhutanese. The Gross National Happiness policy supports the maintenance of Bhutanese social and cultural values and these development projects have been respectful of that. “The expectation is that Bhutan’s development partners will be there to support the country through this transition and, in turn, the new democratically-elected government. The support of development partners is viewed by the current government as more crucial than ever" (Strickland, 2008). As the director of the StFX project from 1999-2006, I was fortunate to make several trips to Bhutan and worked closely with educators as they looked at new ways to approach education in their schools. The faculty members of the Canadian institutions partnering with Bhutan worked carefully to share expertise when appropriate but to also learn about how our expertise might fit within the context of Bhutanese culture and growing expectations about their planned democracy.

Democracy can play an ideological role by helping people to envision social changes they seek as desirable (Kubow, 2007). Recent years have seen an increase in interest around the world in democratic education and democratic civic education and more often emerging democracies are drawing on expertise from established Western democracies (Sears & Hughes, 2005). Bhutan, however, has always been very careful and cautious in their relationships with outside nations and, as the Bhutanese people develop an understanding and fully engage in their new democracy, many social changes will become possible. Bhutan, already skilled at ensuring their culture is carefully guarded from outside pressures, will find new ways through education to integrate their society appropriately within their own 21st century understandings of how democracy can work for them.

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22. BUILDING A CIVIL SOCIETY IN POST-CONFLICT KOSOVO: EDUCATORS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

As little research has been done into the identity formation of perceived minority groups in post-conflict societies, this paper serves as a basis for further exploration into the realities of collective identifications, inclusivity and democratization, as well as their theorization. The theorization of identity formation as it pertains to collective and individual acts of identification and subsequent acts of inclusion and adherence to democratic principles informs political actions and international interests in post-conflict situations. In general terms, then, the quest for peace and stability in politically unstable geographical regions of the world underlies the provision of humanitarian intervention in post-conflict societies as well as the forces that influence democracy and education.

Kosovo, a small landlocked region located to the southwest of Serbia, shares borders with Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Ethnically diverse, the majority of the population (90%) is Albanian. It is, however, the historical exchange between the Albanians and Serbs (approximately 5% of the population) that has coloured the understandings of the past, the present and perhaps the future.

The future status of Kosovo as an independent state is now being considered by international actors along with the participation of the Kosovar and Serbian governments. One of the most recent reports on the progress of the Kosovo status resolution talks prior to the declaration of independence in early 2008 concludes that "…Kosovo's Albanian majority has mostly followed a path of institution-building and minority accommodation on an implicit promise of statehood" and recommends that "[t]he international community must now quickly match up its diplomatic manoeuvres with its promise if it is to continue to exert authority in Kosovo and win a battle of wills with a backward-looking Serbian political elite intent on partition" (*Kosovo status: Delay is risky*, 2006, p. 23). This quote implies that assumptions can be made about notions of inclusivity in post-conflict societies. In Kosovar society, at least, the accommodation of minority groups is requisite to political talks

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 305–320.

related to the final status of Kosovo – whether as state, nation or protectorate. Ethnic stability has been temporarily achieved since 1999 with the presence of international agencies such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), European Union and UNMIK administration, yet ethnic peace and tolerance continue to be goals and not achievements.

THE NARRATIVIZATION OF MULTIPLE ACTS OF IDENTIFICATION

The social construct of identity is problematic for subjectivity inherently influences its interpretation. Layers of experiences, thoughts, and (mis)conceptions superimpose one another to create the meanings of identity. Whether one adheres to the modernist notion of a stable and objectified identity built by and upon preconceived social constructs or whether the notion fluctuates as part of the borderless, fluid, performative and strategic postmodern identity, subjectivity plays an important role. Whether constrained by physical boundaries or living in a borderless world in which movement is fluid, global and unimpeded, humans continually engage in negotiations of identifications. Acts of identification are the embodiment and embeddedness of narratives and as such are situated in particular localities – real or imagined (Reisenleitner, 2001).

The narrative model of identity presupposes the interrelationship between selfhood and experience. Before selfhood can be understood, experiences must have been lived (or occurred):

> A consequence of the developmental and intersubjective nature of selfhood is that our personal histories precede our explicit self-understandings and so, our lives need to be recounted in order to be understood (Atkins, 2004, p. 346).

Implying that narrative identity is an embodiment of lived experiences and re-interpretations of self suggests the need to problematize the process of identity formation. Arguing against the concept of personal and narrative identities in an elitist approach, one line of psychological reasoning in the structural mode concludes that an individual has fashioned a successful identity if lived experience and life events can be coherently presented in a persuasive narrative (Slugoski & Ginsburg, 1989). Linking the narrative model of identity emanating from a modern structural approach to discourse analysis in which fluency, deliberation and negotiation of language are essential to the composition of dynamic, flexible and multiple identities are expected. A discursive approach to researching identity, thus, opens up a narrative space from which voice as narrative reflects the lived experiences of individuals as they negotiate their identities on a daily basis.

IDENTITY WITHIN TRANSCULTURATION

The struggle to centre the margins of a negotiated identity continues as bounded and closed communities become increasingly globalized, fluid and dynamic. Focusing on the processes of globalization that effect of identity formation (Kurti, 1997; Melucci, 1997), other scholars propose exchanging the influences of culture, ethnicity and religion for the politics of production and consumption of locality. Expanding on the concept of the citizenry as *imagined community* (Anderson, 1991) to that of the *imagined world* (Appadurai, 1996) not only shifts the terminology of identifications but the frame of reference as well. No longer located on the periphery, cultural identifications now flow across global boundaries (Hannerz, 1997). The interplay of political and economic forces contributes to the shaping of multiple identifications through interaction and subsequent exchange of information and ideas. The transgression of boundaries at the intersection of multiple sites of belonging and acts of identification is played out through the pressures of globalization.

Whether labelled transcultural positionality (Anthias, 2001); transculturalism (Gunew, 2002, 2004; Hoerder, Hébert, & Schmitt, 2005; Ortiz, 1995); transculturation (Hoerder, Hébert, & Schmitt, 2005); or transnationalism (Brah, 2003; Day & Thompson, 2004), the emphases are on a movement *across* borders – real or imagined – and on the creativity of this movement in terms of new possibilities and new productions.

Situational and performative, acts of identification are no longer rooted in fixed and essentialized identities along the margins, for they have become fluid, mobile and ephemeral. The plurality of subject positions allows for the subject to be mapped across several geographies of cultural transformation (Pile & Thrift, 1995). The mapping of identifications *across* geographies and the resultant process of transculturation leads to a "confluence of narratives" (Brah, 2003, p. 617) whereby the (re)lived, (re)produced and (re)imagined narratives of the social and the cultural may encounter the civil and the political.

IDENTITY WITHIN TRANSCULTURATION

Loosely portrayed as a community of individuals tied together through voluntary associations, the notion of civil society concedes that in addition to economic and linguistic attributes, geographical, ethnic, religious and cultural attributes influence a community (Eberly, 2000). If, however, these attributes are the only similarities that bind a collective, acts of identification are still embedded within hybridized and essentialised processes. Moreover, identities that have been affected by globalizing forces and have undergone movement – whether real or imaginary – across borders and within cultural flows, may still not be prepared to participate in civic society. Of utmost importance to the process of identity formation within a civil society is the nature of *voluntary* association. Walzer (2002) explains:

> if there were a rule, even an implicit and unenforceable rule, that each person 'belonged' to only one association or one set of associations, because of his or her social class…or religious or racial or gender identity, the resulting society would not be 'civil' in the liberal sense. Membership would be a trap, even if it were still, formally, a choice (p. 35).

The ability to choose identifications and associations is prerequisite to civic pluralism. Competing causes and interests, however, may cause social conflict that is further exacerbated as politics of identity and recognition intensify conflicts within civil society. Acts of identification that oppress others because of racial, ethnic and gender differences, for example, create exclusionary or marginalizing tendencies that threaten the democratic space of a civic pluralism (Seligman, 2002).

Civil society is integral to social and cultural integration and reproduction of its individuals and collectives. The supportive role of civil society in the process of identity formation is important in the mutual exchange of shared meanings as opposed to a colonizing power differential based on hierarchical structures (Chambers, 2002). Following within the narrative model of identity, discourse as a communicative action, is the tool by which a civil society is deemed healthy or not. According to the philosophical thought of Habermas, Chambers (2002) further explicates that it is through shared interpretations and understandings of individuals (i.e., through their mutual acts of identification) that a civil society can engage in healthy and democratic civil associations. Otherwise, communication usurped by power, is intrinsically "hierarchical and coercive" and leads to hegemonic and destructive practices within and between collectives in a civil society (p. 93).

IDENTITY FORMATION AS DEMOCRATIZATION

Interconnected to the social and the cultural, the narrative model of identity includes a search for political agency. The narrative, or the voice, representing multiple acts of identifications becomes a tool for struggle as well as for recognition. If interpreted as narrative for inclusive political communication, voice serves "to explain meanings and experiences when groups do not share premises sufficiently to proceed with an argument" (Young, 2000, p. 7). Identities or acts of identification open up the possibility for individuals to take into account lived experiences to further pursue political goals as a collective.

It is imperative to move the processes of identity formation within the narrative model of identity to their possible practical applications –

specifically, to their roles in the process of democratization as it pertains to both individual and collective subjectivities. Brah (2003) situates this discussion as follows:

A multi-axial performative conception of power highlights the ways in which a group constituted as a 'minority' along one dimension of differentiation may be constructed as a 'majority' along another. And since all these markers of 'difference' represent articulating and performative facets of power, the 'fixing' of collectivities along any singular axis is called seriously into question…individual subjects may occupy 'minority' and 'majority' positions simultaneously, and this has important implications for the formation of subjectivity (p. 622).

The influence of processes of identity formation on democratic processes within a civil society are situated in revised liberal democratic theory in which the plural identifications of the collective emerge to accommodate collective differences while simultaneously honouring individual identifications (Kymlicka, 2002a). Arguing consistently that culture and identity embody interests that are pertinent to freedom and equality, the primary principles of liberal democracies, he stresses that it is crucial to differentiate between minority rights that are restrictive to individual rights and those that are supplemental to individual rights (Kymlicka, 1989, 1995, 2002a, 2002b; Kymlicka & Cohen-Almagor, 2000; Kymlicka & Opalski, 2001).

Supplemental individual rights are further divided into rights based on internal restrictions and external protections. Internal restrictions result when individual members of a group make claims against their own group members. External protections, on the other hand, characterize group claims against the larger – perhaps more dominant – society. A group can become destabilized if individual members choose not to follow the traditions and norms of the group thus resulting in an internal restriction. A minority group trying to protect itself from the economic or political pressures of the dominant group in society is trying to protect itself externally (Kymlicka, 1995, 2002a). Identity formation, then, is threatened as external protections flow from conflict between groups. In other words, inter-group power relations set a minority group based on cultural, ethnic, religious or other social associations against that of the dominant power group, including other minority groups.

Positioning the theoretical underpinnings of identity formation processes as they relate to inter-group relations in Kosovo in particular requires recognition that historical, geopolitical and demographic struggles strongly influence the politics of recognition at play. The interpretation of the nature of inter-group relations, however, has been analysed and applied to several countries in East and Central Europe (Kymlicka & Opalski, 2001). Although acknowledging that inter-group relations are often highly politicized due to perceived misunderstandings and affronts, Kymlicka negates the importance for members of the dominant group to understand the lived experiences of the individuals of the minority group (2001). Dismissing these perceptions and lived experiences negates the effects of individual identities on the composition of a collective identity.

Furthering this theorization, other scholars conclude that inter-group conflict is the result of either territorial disputes (Jovanović, 2002) or extreme forms of nationalism (Kemp, 2002) as evidenced in the following statement: "[t]he 'we' is the dominant national group…members of minorities either assimilate, carve out their own niche…stick to themselves, or leave" (p. 2). Leaving little space for a negotiation of identifications, Kemp assumes that the dichotomy between majority and minority positions within society is arbitrary and unavoidable in that a minority group in a society is composed of the weakest and the most threatened individuals banding together in political futility. Not acknowledging the coercive effects of power differentials risks subsuming or denying an identity, a risk that invites "cultural domination, non-recognition, and disrespect" (Kiss, 1999, p. 198).

Mis-recognition (the misapplication of identifications) and non-recognition (the unwillingness to recognize identifications) are two distinctions that Fraser outlines in her discussion of the negative impact of power on minority identifications (2000). Injustices relegated to the cultural and the symbolic characterize the former whereas practices of cultural domination relating to non-egalitarian institutional practices pertain to the latter. Revising her argument to include a third dimension to understand the politics of recognition as they affect identity formation, Fraser elaborates the role of the cultural and the symbolic by including the significance of the political in struggles of recognition. She explains that "what is at issue here is inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims on one another" (Fraser, 2005, p. 75). Political boundaries of a community may exclude those who have the right to be represented and heard in a civil society. In short, the willingness of collectivities to recognize and respect the identifications of its own individuals and collectivities emerges from the processes of identity formation as they relate to the social and the cultural followed by subsequent political goals related to the multiple identifications.

TRANSCULTURED IDENTIFICATIONS

The search for identity as it entwines the conceptual notions of 'people' and 'nation' must distinguish between those who constitute a people comprised of voluntary associations and those who constitute a nation sharing a common moral heritage (Pestieau, 1999). Notions of belonging and acts of identification shape acts of multiple identifications. Yet, if through notions of belonging, one freely associates with religious and cultural associations, how can a multiplicity of subjectivities be negotiated in a pluralist context such as in Kosovo where the desire for independence has created a society in flux?

> The notions of borders would change the mindset of people. So I see a lot of people being killed over a piece of land because they are so strongly attached but if you say there are vast lands that you can move to…there is no border… that opens the minds of the people and they see across the border, not only within the border...this is that way of thinking and valuing independence. You are more open and you are more in charge of your freedom of movement and building and other things. Or more accepted by the world… (Anesa, Albanian, female).

Opening borders as a means of reducing tensions over the territorialization of space would result in transversing spatial and metaphorical boundaries and becoming unstuck from living between two worlds – the world of the Kosovar Albanian and the Kosovar Serb. The transcultural notion of border crossing has been limited in terms of physical travel as travel documents take the place of official passports allowing ease of travel. This is not to say, however, that the global has not been made local (Appadurai, 1996). A *reorganization of culture in space* (Hannerz, 1997) has effectively increased the permeability of Kosovo as the cultural and social exchanges resulting from an influx of internationals entering Kosovo as employees of (non) governmental organizations has contributed to a local globalization of ideas, experiences and expectations. Diar describes the onslaught of internationals as:

> So, you can freely say that there were twenty years of complete blockage, of complete silence of no movement at all. In 1999 you wanted change. You have internationals. You have here the international community. Kosovo is invaded from internationals. Four hundred different cultures, languages … I don't know how many different races. I don't know how many religions. You come to a place that is just scattered (Albanian, male).

The metaphorical language of invasiveness into a culture and the scattering of peoples clearly exemplify the abrupt entrance rather than gentle flows of globalizing factors. Observing the waves of change about to enter his lived reality, Diar intones uncertainty of and discomfort at the social and cultural newness that he is about to encounter.

The ensuing awareness of the global is evidenced in the diasporic influences on the population as well. A positive economic effect of the forced expulsion and displacement of many Kosovar Albanians by the Serbian authorities in the months leading up to the international intervention of 1999 was the introduction of Kosovar Albanians into the global workforce (Bell-Fialkoff, 1999). Although reports show that the vast majority of displaced persons returned to Kosovo once international intervention had commenced, a small percentage stayed abroad for economic reasons (OECD, 2003). Brah proposes that "[d]iaspora space is the intersectionality of diaspora, border and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic processes" (2003, p. 615). Thus, transcultural practices exist at the location where intersectionality takes place – whether actual or metaphorical – as a *confluence of narratives* come together to coalesce and negotiate.

Moving away from narratives that highlighted lived experiences with essentializing identities, the narrative journeys of other Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs have demonstrated an indication that they have started displaying democratic dispositions and are engaging in constructing transversal and performative identifications within creative spaces. The processual (re)shaping, (re)shifting and (re)conceputalizing of identities that transcend territorial borders and ethno-histories indicate that cultural and social flows contribute to the development of multiple identifications. Although the notion of *democracy* has been accepted in the loosest sense to mean a disposition to act upon and uphold ideals of freedom from oppressive societal or cultural forces, it is a notion that, nonetheless, offers forward movement on the continuum of identity formation. Vjosa, an Albanian female, illustrates the path that democracy has illuminated for her:

> Certainly there is a different vision of life now. Certainly it's influenced by external factors. Before I told you there was a limited vision of life and all you can think of was just studying or working in the parallel system…But now there are different opportunities…respect first of all…respecting the views from others and having the freedom of expression.

In Vjosa's interpretation, democracy is equated with respect and freedom brought in from the outside. Intersecting with her personal understandings of democracy, the opportunities that accompany the introduction of democratic ideals permit Vjosa to participate in the construction of a more globalized and democratic identification. Opening or transcending borders underlines processes of creativity and perfomativity that bridge the past and the present (Hoerder et al., 2005). Transcultural identifications flow through discourse and "draw attention to power relations in which identity is embedded" (p. 16) calling into question the agency of these power relations.

Although transculturation implies a personal commitment to engage in pluralities, a willingness to disengage must be accepted as a critical response to transculturated processes. Questioning the commitment of those around her to true democratic change, Sanja stresses:

> I don't consider it [Kosovo] a very democratic place. I think that one thing in a democratic state should be multi-ethnicity and rights for everyone and equality for everyone. That doesn't happen in Kosovo nowadays. People are working in that direction. That's my opinion of it. Not all of them. Not as much as they should. But they are. I think

> that we are trying to fulfill the standards that the international community has put in front of us (Serbian, female).

The idea that Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs are passive recipients of democracy implies that commitment to democratic change may be more of a political promise rather than a personal commitment. A willingness to give space to external influences emerges from Sanja's narrative much as it did in Vjosa's. The difference, however, lies in the agency of the individual to accept, modify or reject these external influences as part of one's own identities. Transcultural identifications, then, may be accepted passively or may be considered, inspected, thought about and its elements adopted, created or rejected if deemed disingenuous to the identity formation of an individual. The possibility exists, though, that any discourse related to the inherent processes underlying multiple acts of identification as pertaining to culture, may form another basis for exclusionary practices in "group formation and mobilization, usually involving ascriptive memberships" (Hannerz, 1997, p. 7). Excluding economic forces from the present discussion, the journey along the narrative continuum must continue so as to redirect the discussion to voluntary memberships in group formation. In short, moving away from the words of discourse, processes of multiple identifications must be positioned in a process of agency – as in civic identification.

CIVIC IDENTIFICATIONS

Civic identifications are characterized as voluntary rather than ascriptive or forced. Groups of identifications, or collectives, can be tied together by any socio-cultural characteristic such as ethnicity, religion, or gender. Not supplanting individual identities, civic identifications accept pluralism as a political right to any act of identification. Primarily grounded in geography, voluntary associations form the basis of a civil polity in which the commonality lies in the concept of community (Eberly, 2000). Community is comprised of the "spirit of people" (Elshtain, 2000, p. 101), or democratic dispositions, permitting associations to come together for the purpose of a shared end. In other words, voluntarily associating to the identification of *Kosovar* could simply be a geographical identification or more importantly a civic identification with political needs and ends.

Identifications within civil society – civic identifications – presume an individual choice. Hence, voluntary associations to collectives are not necessarily acts of *democracy* but democratic dispositions to act, open to democratic social practice. The difference, according to Seligman, is that the concept of a *civil society* is less likely to cause discord in Eastern Europe given the fact that *democracy* has a connotation of political corruption and manipulation; *civil society*, on the other hand, is considered to be neutral and untainted (Seligman, 2002). Anesa's consideration of the international community demonstrates how easily notions of democracy can be pre-empted and maneuvered:

> We've been living too long on the edge. You have a feeling that you are being wronged by the international community in general not specifically by groups but international politics and personally I see a lot of…there's a struggle about interests…I have this helpless feeling when I come to think of what will happen here in Kosovo that will influence and change the lives of these two million people. It is very much some kind of chess game of these higher forces which create the work-politics in general (Albanian, female).

Clearly worrying that identity formation is being manipulated from above rather than heralded from below, Anesa also recognizes that post-socialism adversely affected the ability of Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs to engage in choice:

I think … maybe it's a characteristic of these socialist countries that they live their lives as they are told to, not the way they like it. They are not used to shaping their lives and building it but constantly being told what to do.

The civic identification of *Kosovar* must be adhered to voluntarily rather than imposed on the geographic inhabitants of Kosovo. Embracing the view that civil society has a multiplicity of meanings, those who associate with civic identifications due so because civic pluralism offers "significant emancipatory potential, explanatory power, and practical support to problem solving in both established and emerging democracies" (Edwards, 2004, preface).

As an emerging democracy, Kosovo and its inhabitants are ripe for civic identifications especially if no criteria preclude membership to associations. Uncivil society stands beside other religious or ethno-national identifications thereby giving further credence to the voluntary nature of a civic identification. The question, then, is how can civic identifications contribute to the development of democratic dispositions in those who seek associational membership? Borrowing from Habermas, Edwards (2004), suggests a discursive public sphere in which conversations centering on common concerns of freedom, equality and peace can pave the way for the necessary conditions for the creation of a civil society (2004). Taking excerpts from three narratives, I attempt to draw a concise discursive sphere in which the possibility for the creation of a civic identification is examined:

> UNMIK is trying to establish a democratic education obviously with proper plans and programs…they want to be part of one global European education system. I agree with that but again this is all for Albanians only. All the educational changes that are done by UNMIK are for Albanians only. There is no education for Serbs now in

> Kosovo. Education for Serbs now is completely separate from UNMIK (Tanja, Serbian, female).

Revealing the uncivil nature of establishing democratic educational reforms, Tanja discovers that civic identifications may be voluntary but not necessarily open to all. Transcending the local geographic boundaries, Tanja can willingly associate with the greater European community of educators rather than the local educators in Kosovo. Although speaking from the Kosovar Albanian perspective, Diar supports Tanja's observation when he comments:

> Is the environment in Kosovo supportive of change and improvement in education? You don't have a supportive environment. To me, education and everything is related to the status of this place. You try to build the system or build the tradition for some work in education that will continue somehow in this part of the world, in Kosovo, but you at the same time have no final status resolved on what will be in the future (Albanian, male).

Whereas Tanja and Diar are skeptical of the role of education in a civil society, Tim is more optimistic as he suggests a return to a co-existent state in which voluntary associations to collectives are respected and permitted:

> It's not only the multicultural society but maybe what we try to do first is have the co-existence. If we have this co-existence in place, it means that we will be able to live with others who are different from us and it doesn't mean that we have to actually like them. But at least we are able to live with them as neighbours. It doesn't mean we have to be good neighbours but at least we can get on – get along with them – with one another (Albanian, male).

Synthesizing the discursive space of these narrative excerpts, each line of argument must be respected for what it is – discursive practice about democratic dispositions. In order to gain strength and advocacy, proponents of civil society and its consequent civic identifications encourage "us to focus on insights that lead to more effective action rather than worrying in the abstract about which theory is correct" (Edwards, 2004, p. 72).

Advancing the discursive space to the agency of associational memberships rather than the theorization of those memberships requires giving individuals the means to become active citizens with meaningful civic identifications. Some civil theorists, like Michael Walzer, argue that the nature of civil society reflects a collision between the politics of identity and recognition (2002). In other words, civil society represents the politics of the dispossessed because the dispossessed use religious and ethno-historical identities as reference points. Returning to the narrative excerpts above, both Kosovar Albanian and Kosovar Serb educators would stake claims to being the dispossessed.

Following the principles of voluntary associations, both claims to being part of the dispossessed are valid and justified. Civic identification negates the opposition of stances, for:

All the groups that constitute civil society occupy a common terrain, across which individuals are free to move…multiple and overlapping memberships help to tie all the groups…together, creating something larger and more encompassing than any of them. This larger entity is still a particular grouping – namely, the civil society of a country, defined (not absolutely) by its state boundaries (p. 35).

The civic identification of *Kosovar* without its legal state boundaries - but with its encompassing terrain– possesses emancipatory potential if its associative members participate actively rather than receive passively.

CIVIC IDENTIFICATION AS DEMCRATIC PROCESS

Taking up the recognition of identifications as social status as opposed to existential theorizations, Nancy Fraser infuses the political into the efficacy of civil society in post-conflict. Attempting to accommodate the complexities of multiple acts of identification, Fraser delineates two strands of thought when rethinking the politics of recognition: problems of displacement and problems of reification (2000).

A tenuous balance is crafted in post-conflict situations when one possesses fluid, transcultural and globalized identities and tries to advance them to civic identifications within the political realm. The problem of displacement occurs when rapid globalization exacerbates economic inequalities between civic participants. Associational memberships, although protected and encouraged, generate competing claims for political recognition. In the Kosovo context, for example, civic identifications could still exist alongside ethno-national identities thus serving less to supplement transcultural interactions, and instead "marginalize, eclipse and displace them" (Fraser, 2000, p.1). As a result, the second issue of rethinking recognition surfaces – the problem of reification. If issues of displacement are not rectified through democratic institutional-building and legal frameworks, group memberships as connected to cultural struggles risk returning to pre-transcultural states of being and encourage separatist, intolerant and hierarchical attitudes. What then, could be done to prevent the problematics that Fraser has identified? The answer to problems of inequality because of a politics of recognition can be found within the distribution of responsibility in civil society (Walzer, 2002).

Walzer proposes two lines of argument for a distribution of responsibility that are interconnected rather than separate. To begin with, individual men and women must take responsibility for their own acts of identifications as well as for joining in voluntary association. By laying claim to this responsibility, individuals acting as a group with a common civic identification can strengthen their numbers and make mutually beneficial decisions. At the same time, responsibility for egalitarian, or socially democratic, actions at the state-level, through education for example, would ensure equal redistribution of resources. In terms of processual identity-building among Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs, civic identification in its truest sense must commit to voluntary associations for all its individual members.

BUILDING A CIVIL SOCIETY

The role of educators in a post-conflict transitional society should be focused on first acknowledging that a civic identification has been created and is being voluntarily adhered to as a means to building democracy and inclusion in the civic sphere. This acknowledgement must be moved into teacher training programs and directly into classroom conversations by way of discursive practice. Emphasizing the fact that multiple identifications are healthy and logical evolutions of the self and that they are situated in historical and lived experiences promotes a framework of identity formation that encompasses various group identifications.

Learning for a democratic citizenry ensures continuous discussion that impacts the identity formation of the young especially as they move toward a more transcultural and integrated Europe. Civil society initiatives have been adopted and are in the process of development in the neighbouring country of Croatia which is also emerging from the effects of ethnic conflict. Key principles being incorporated in the field of education there encompass the areas of self-awareness, identity and personal responsibility; cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue; democracy and civil society; peace and non-violent resolution, and interdependency of the society, culture and nature (Spajic-Vrkas, 2003). Identity and self-awareness as key principles are the foundation upon which other processes can evolve and take root. A transcultural civic identification with its inherent voluntary associations and respect for a negotiation of differences are tantamount to the development of an inclusive educational sphere in which educators and institutions must recognize the divisiveness of *the other* while engaging the unity of the *Kosovar*.

NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCE

Sharing a common civic culture assumes an intersection of interconnected experiences of the past, present and future. Living and sharing territorial space implies an interconnectedness that will never be disengaged or divided. Continually grasping onto ethno-historical and ethno-national cleavages serves to maintain the tension between Kosovar Serbs and Kosovar Albanians but it does not supersede the fact that both groups dwell in a shared civic space. Globalizing forces and international pressure have created a situation in which ethnic tensions are no longer dichotomous or looked upon favourably. Individual convictions and beliefs notwithstanding, a shared civic culture must be inculcated within schools. Perhaps sharing a common school property and holding classes at the same time is not yet an educational principle for all ethnic groups in Kosovo, but in the public sphere, a shared civic culture may be the only effective political tool that all Kosovars have to secure their political, economic and social future. In the realm of education, learner-centered teaching methodologies have been implemented in pre-service and in-service teaching programs; teachers are undergoing continual professional development most often led by their peers; and educators are encountering new ideas and knowledge from working with the international community. These developments in education are leading factors in the formation of a civic identification in that they are taking place in the public sphere of education and they are infused with principles of democracy building. Those in education and training must feature self-awareness as "prerequisite to positive relationship building and appropriate action" (Jordan, 2004, p. 140). Such transformative and transcultural practices serve to move across [in]visible divisive boundaries and instead coalesce in a discursive shared civic culture.

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23. INDIAN WOMEN EDUCATORS:

Freedom Fighters with a Vision

Women worldwide must confront patriarchal norms that threaten their emancipation. However, many Indian women have to be strong when confronting life-threatening roadblocks to prosperity that deny their right to a good-quality life. Although certain rights are assured in a constitution, they are often ignored in practice. In order for women to be strategic planners of their destiny, tools such as awareness, knowledge, and experience are prerequisites for success; moreover, facing everyday challenges requires strength, fortitude, and determination (Murthy, 2001; Pandit, 2000; Sen, 2005; Nussbaum, 2007).

This chapter explores the potential for Indian women educators to attain self-actualization and respected partnerships with men and other women. First, India's gendered context and its unique problems are described, with the challenges confronting Indian girls and women. Second, current trends in global alliances and initiatives in India are examined. Third, a discussion ensues about the effectiveness of Indian women's networks, particularly the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation] Women's Educators' Network. A conceptual model of their empowerment as a process is outlined, along with their perspectives on its complexity. Final comments in this section discuss the growing need to follow the lead of Indian women colleagues who are today's freedom fighters with a vision.

REVIEW OF THE CHALLENGES INDIAN WOMEN FACE

When examining gender issues, Sen suggested a pluralistic view of gender equality, what he referred to as the different "faces" of gender inequality (2001; 2005). Gender injustices vary according to region and period. By empirically examining specific, localized or regional injustices, we might understand their negative effects on the lives of both men and women. However, Dreze and Sen (1995) remarked, "In much of the country, women tend in general to fare quite badly in relative terms with men, even within the same families" (p. 7). Sen's work provides us with a comprehensive, interconnected framework with which to examine gender issues in India. His exploration of the *six faces of inequality* is described below, interspersed with other informed opinion.

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 321–331.

Six Faces of Inequality

Survival Inequality. When given equal access to nutrition and health care, women typically have lower age-specific mortality rates than men do, which includes the survival rate of female versus male fetuses. However, because of gender bias, along with neglect and even murder, mortality rates of females are unusually high compared with local male mortality rates and often exceed them.

Many survivors are sold into a life of slavery; many are maimed at birth to increase their chances of yielding more rupees throughout their lives as beggars. Sen referred to the growing social phenomenon of "missing girls and women," estimating that in 1986, 37 million Indian women were missing from expected calculated ratios. The standard of comparison is the 1:02 ratio of women to men in sub-Saharan Africa. India's female-male ratio is 0:93, indicating a relative deficit of 9 percent of the Indian population (Sen, 2005, p. 225). More recent calculations exceed 100 million women missing yearly, worldwide.

Natal Inequality. In male-dominated societies with a preference for boys, many people are using what Sen referred to as "high-tech sexism" or ultrasound to determine the sex of an unborn child and abort female fetuses (2001, p. 4). In India, regional patterns have emerged concerning sex-selective abortions that cross socio-economic and cultural lines. Northern and western Indian states have higher abortion rates than eastern and southern states, with higher rates in urban versus rural areas.

The growing middle class takes advantage of this technology even though it is illegal. Others, less educated, still believe it is a woman's fault if she does not produce sons, and men will divorce their wives or more likely affiliate with other women in the hope of having sons. Biological control over women's bodies prevails, for they are objectified, manipulated and shaped by men (Bhasin & Khan, 2000; Nussbaum, 2007; Shiva, 1997).

Sen's probe into gender disparity in India is an excellent commentary on the deeper issues that have arisen because of technological advancement. The discrimination that leads to female infant mortality has exposed further questions of what is valued. Having been socialized as inferior human beings, women themselves often show a strong preference for boys (Tobin, 2004). If sons are valued over daughters, naturally they are fed more [and] nutritious food, are better educated, and given more opportunities. Thus, women who play the dual role of victim and perpetrator perpetuate inequality.

Facility Inequality. Fewer resources are given to girls' education and encouragement is lacking to develop their talents and skills. One barrier is that when children cannot continue to attend school, it is most likely the girl who has to drop out. The problem is caused by poverty, cultural, social and traditional attitudes, or dissatisfaction with education (primarily in rural areas). Low demand for female education is exacerbated by a lack of resources, particularly in rural government (public) schools, including female teachers, finances, and educational materials. Another problem is that girls are victims of harassment at school and in their community. Parents are concerned about sending them to school because they are at risk en route to their classes, and in some cases, they have been physically and/or sexually abused by their teachers.

The principle of access to education is of little use if government resources, employment opportunities and familial support are not available (Heward & Bunwaree, 1999; Nussbaum, 2007; Patel, 2005). Many women do not enroll in funded programs due to exclusionary practices, being denied permission by their relatives, or the lack of proper facilities and security (Nayak & Ramalingaswami, 2000). Even with less disparity in basic facilities (including schooling), there is a paucity of higher education opportunities for young women and a lack of training programs for female employees. Fewer employment opportunities and leadership positions are available for women. Men are promoted more frequently, although women reportedly work twice as hard as the men do, with far less pay. In many cases, girl's education serves as a device to arrange a more lucrative marriage, and not for her empowerment (Nussbaum, 2007; Tobin, 2004).

Ownership Inequality. In India, traditional property rights favour men over women. Although under judicial review, the issue receives minimal social recognition in a patriarchal society. It is also one of the most pervasive global examples of class-based and gendered social inequality. In spite of successful programs designed for women to attain entrepreneurial loans, many women remain economically powerless, completely reliant on men for their basic needs. Without property claims, it more difficult for women to enter and be successful in economic and social pursuits (Sen, 2005). On a positive note, the state of Kerala has a history of matrilineal inheritance in an influential sector of the community that constitutes approximately one fifth of its population. As landowners who have influenced Kerala's governance and politics, Sen suggested that women's political involvement might have contributed to Kerala's notably high rates of social achievement.

Unequal Sharing of Household Benefits and Chores. Inequality is prevalent in the family structure, in which men tend to own most of the household assets and wield substantial power. Women move from the natal home into the marital extended family where everyone, including their sons, most likely controls them (Patel, 2005). Household duties and childcare are not equally shared because of the expectation that women handle all domestic duties.

Many women are not permitted to work outside the home but if family members support their efforts to seek employment, the opportunities are not commensurate with their education. Others are forced to accept menial positions and many, including professional women, relinquish their earnings to their husband and his family. Women's attitude of servitude and lack of autonomy is reflected in inadequate health and nutrition care, educational opportunities, the workplace, and a lack of recognition in the community (Sen, 2005).

Domestic Violence and Physical Victimization. The assault of Indian women is high, especially when connected to social practices, such as the dowry and economic settlements (Sen, 2006; Patel, 2005; Nussbaum, 2007). Despite amendments to the law, the dowry system continues and many Indian women commit suicide to escape a life of servitude, silence, and misery. In some parts of India it is still common for a daughter-in-law to be burned by her parents-in-law, thereby freeing their son to marry another negotiated bride. The defunct Hindu practice of *Sati* (banned in 1829) is sometimes still practiced. Widows cast themselves on their husband's funeral pyre, to the benefit of their in-laws as sole heirs to their son's property. Socially vulnerable, widows are stripped of their status and treated like outcasts, excluded from ceremonies, and ostracized by their families. Ultimately, they feel shamed and alone to grieve the loss of a spouse and loss of their own identity. Such practices reinforce the inferiority of women and the devaluing of human life (Nussbaum, 2007; Patel, 2005).

Along with domestic violence, many women also suffer from sexual harassment in the workplace (Menon, 2001; Sen, 2005). Another form of physical victimization for women relates to personal safety. Rarely instigators of war or advocates of violent conflict, women and their children suffer unimaginable atrocities as pawns in hegemonic wars, victims of what is referred to as 'violence' in the name of politics (Batliwala, 1994). Yet another issue is the growing sex-trade industry, particularly in South Asia. Tanaka (2002) reported estimates of one to two million people trafficked yearly worldwide, including 225,000 South Asian women and girls. India, serving as a transit country to the Gulf States and Southeast Asia, exports and imports females, particularly vulnerable because gender inequality can be linked to ethnicity and caste. These girls might be some of the "missing girls" Sen referred to in survival inequality, the first "face" of inequality. An age-old Asian problem, it has been exacerbated by poverty, globalization, war, and technology (Kibaalya, 2002).

Patriarchal values manifested in domestic violence and victimization transcend physical power over women. Attitudes play an even greater role in this inequality. Women are denied the power to be independent thinkers, make well-informed decisions or speak freely, rights that most men possess. In order to provoke social reform, comprehensive initiatives are needed, including educational and socio/political programs, along with the political resolve to reinforce necessary change (Sen, 2006).

To conclude this section on the six faces of inequality, persistent issues merit further inquiry while working collectively to strengthen women's rights. Concerted effort is required to alter perceptions and change attitudes in both victims and perpetrators. Sen (2005) referred to "asymmetrically distributed" opportunities for girls and women. The scope of gender bias affects all aspects of women's lives, with serious social consequences.

NEW PARTNERSHIPS

There are successful change partnerships being formed at local through global levels. The following section is an outline of issues surrounding this topic, including contemporary trends in universal alliances namely: (a) the practice of interlinking issues, (b) growing emphasis on grassroots empowerment, and (c) the formation of formal and informal sector partnerships; and India as a template for change.

Contemporary Trends in Global Alliances

Interlinked issues. Diverse groups with common goals are working collaboratively on similar problems. For example, women's issues are seen as being interconnected with environmental and human rights issues, because they are symbiotic in nature and can be jointly studied (Androbus, 2004; Pandit, 2000; Shiva, 1997). Shiva (1997) notes that ecological issues align with social justice, peace, and democracy, and Androbus (2004) refers to United Nations research linking the "social relations" of gender with cultural, socio/political, and economic structures that marginalize groups and whole communities (2004, p.124). Pandit (2000) describes a human-rights approach to organizing and advocacy. It is a political mechanism to help those with no public voice to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. If the process reaches critical mass, social change results from challenging power structures and resisting exploitation through collective action (Pandit, 2000).

Focus on Grassroots Empowerment. There is increased awareness of the need to bridge the gap between grassroots activism and macro-level policy initiatives. Kerr (2001) maintains that situating the self-identified needs of the poorest front and center, then aligning these with global policies produces positive results because they are influenced by reality, not ideology. Continuing this argument, Samuel (2000), suggests that connecting the power of grassroots-level people with strategic alliances and policy interventions at all governmental levels is an effective form of social action.

Formal and Informal Sector Partnerships. In 1990, the Dakar Agreement was a landmark promise by nations to provide free quality basic education with a particular focus on girls' and women's education by the year 2000. Unfortunately, slogans, pledges, and promises did not translate into clear implementation plans and its educational goal was not reached. Consequently, approximately one billion adults remain unable to read or write. Most of these people live in extreme poverty, with almost two-thirds being women, and the number of out-of-school children is growing, worldwide. However, a global movement emerged in October 1999, speaking out against this failure, and positive changes transpired. For example, UNESCO mobilized an influential political group, including UNICEF, UN, EI, OXFAM, and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) to examine crucial educational issues. In 2001, a G8 Task Force was held on education, encouraging the World Bank to generate a list of countries with the biggest gaps. Due to sustained effort, the Dakar Agreement was extended to the year 2015, with considerable pressure being placed on countries to commit to their promise to attain the Education for All (EFA) goal. Thus, collaborative efforts involving both formal and informal sectors are proving to be effective tools in creating public awareness and political will to bring about educational change (Jouen, 2002; Satyarthi, 2001).

Education For All (EFA) focuses on basic education for people of all ages. There are six goals in the *Dakar Framework for Action*, including to:

- Provide more pre-school children with adequate care and early learning;
- Ensure that all children complete free, quality primary education by 2015;
- Provide youth and adults with opportunities to learn needed skills;
- Ensure that 50% more people are literate before 2015;
- Ensure that equal numbers of boys and girls are enrolled in school by 2005, and that they have equal opportunities by 2015;
- Improve the overall quality of education (UNESCO, 2005).

India: Template for Change

Exemplary global networking has emerged in India. For example, from local to national levels, teachers' unions have collaborated with the South Asia Coalition against Child Servitude (SAACS), a non-governmental organization

(NGO), with encouraging results. Teachers and NGO workers have marched together, lobbying the government to make changes to its constitution. In 2001, a bill was passed unanimously ensuring free education for all children up to the age of 14. Although it remains to be seen how and when this law will become a reality, these actions are beacons of light against the dark forces of teacher victimization, growing apathy for mainstream education, child labour, and privatization in the global economy.

For years, different groups in India have worked collaboratively, yet Satyarthi (2001) described this alliance education campaign of teachers and NGOs as relatively new in both India and globally. Teachers represent many potential change-makers while NGOs are gaining the attention of governments, policy-makers, and the public at large. Perhaps NGOs are addressing the needs of students and their parents who embrace the values of a comprehensive education, rather than contrived global objectives and exclusionary programs (Nussbaum, 2007). In order to achieve Education for All, it is imperative to promote good relationships with all stakeholders who share the responsibility for guaranteeing the right to education. Many researchers, practitioners, and activists also advise educators to provoke civil society to develop the political will, honesty, and ethics needed today (Jouen, 2002; Mathews, 2002; Satyarthi, 2002; Singh, 2001).

THE POTENCY OF INDIAN WOMEN'S NETWORKS

Women and their male supporters are learning to join in collective action and organized dissention. They mobilize with purpose, rural sectors leading the way from grassroots communities to federal courtrooms. Many women have progressed from silent servitude to vocal outcry, demanding results, their voices and numbers increasing in volume and size. Moreover, they embrace the belief that gender is a social and cultural construction; therefore, it can be reshaped. Although it is difficult to break cycles of systemic political and social abuse, defiance is growing and changes are inevitable because women are learning to speak out and obtain their rights (Dreze & Sen, 2002; Pandit, 2003).

Nussbaum (2007) reported progress after a decade of the *panchayati raj* system that reserves 33% of political involvement for rural women. Although confronted with barriers of harassment, physical abuse, and serving as “proxies” for men, women (many illiterate, 40% of whom live below the poverty line) are learning about their rights and how to exercise them. They are now advocating for their daughters to be educated and many have contested and won political seats. Overcoming “voicelessness” encourages solidarity and the raising of underprivileged members of society; political activism is crucial to India’s growth and development as a nation (Dreze & Sen, 2002; Nussbaum, 2007).

SAARC Women's Educators' Network

One particular network that has grown exponentially since its inception in 1997 is the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation] Women's Educators' Network. Singh, co-founder and key facilitator of the network, was explicit about the network's goals to: (1) Promote women in education; (2) Organize and train leaders, and (3) Form a network of educators at local, regional, and national levels (2001). In 2002, an inquiry into how Indian women educators use networking as a leadership strategy for educational and social reform was conducted with 200 rural and urban female teachers, representative of 15 Indian states, all with relatively high levels of formal education (Tobin, 2004). The network proved to be a synchronous movement towards the achievement of their mandated goals.

Bridging diverse cultures and personal perspectives, Indian colleagues and I traversed common professional paths to build a feminist understanding of ways in which they solve problems, make decisions and mobilize for change. Through networking and within the context of their roles as union and network workers, they were developing enabling strategies that nurture individual and collective growth in empowerment, namely (a) management of helplessness and lack of control, (b) initiating positive steps, and (c) gaining and maintaining momentum. These are outlined below.

The first set of empowerment strategies concerned the management of feelings of helplessness, including:

- Developing core beliefs about their capacity as Indian women teachers and leaders, breaking self-imposed shackles. Participants maintained that the first step is to believe in oneself, knowing that change is possible and having the courage to eradicate problems. Indicators of transition from old to new beliefs were reflected in statements indicating that, although Indian women are socialized to believe in male supremacy, they are rejecting this ideology;
- Expressing desire of participants to "live with dignity," which generates momentum, building voice and confidence;
- Learning resistance strategies among participants to reject power, influenced by Gandhi's "*ahimsa*" ways of non-violent resistance and "*satyagraha*," which means adherence to truth or "firmness in a righteous cause" (Easwaran, 1997).
- Trusting in strength in unity, women educators believe in a collective voice to speak out and take action for change. Many participants identified education and small-group efforts as the keys to women's empowerment; all believed in the possibility of individual and collective empowerment.

The second set of empowerment strategies concerned initiating positive steps for change, including:

- Raising awareness; valuing education as the gateway to empowerment;
- Envisioning change based on the knowledge of rights and acceptance of responsibilities;
- Building strong support systems from homes to organizations, with the understanding that families are the first links of a network;
- Serving as social activists, examining women's and children's issues for a healthy society, and dealing at the grassroots levels of organizations in India, embracing local community initiatives.

The third set of strategies was about gaining momentum and included:

- Heightening public and political visibility to assist women and male supporters to deal with women's issues;
- Diminishing backlash through awareness education, calculated efforts to alter perceptions, and assistance to motivated women;
- Reaching critical mass by widespread dissemination of information, professional development, and reaching all branches of the network.

Power of Women Educators' Networks. Indian women educators form powerful network links with increased understanding of empowerment as a complex change process. Emancipation from internally and/or externally influenced oppression results is a greater realization of human potential and the enhancement of individual lives. Networking has instilled a belief in their capacity to live and work as efficacious, influential individuals and groups. It has also equipped them with prerequisite empowerment tools: awareness, strategies to effect change, professional and leadership training, and reflective skills to obtain and secure their right to be valued as equal, respected citizens and educational leaders. Although challenges exist in maintaining the SAARC Network, the perceived benefits and focused energy fuel momentum towards achieving its purpose.

Unsung heroes, Indian women teachers and their male supporters in the SAARC Women's Network are using their influence to attain rights that have been embedded in their constitution since Independence. They believe their influence is permeating school and union organizations, and the broader society. Many women around the world endure disenfranchisement and exclusion, with degrees of intensity. Perhaps the tenacity of Indian women makes them such powerful, visionary and purposeful leaders.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the most important lessons Indian colleagues taught me was to view networks as extensions of ourselves and our families, leading to local and global communities. From the micro level of selfless sacrifice within the family and close-knit community, to the macro level of seeking ways to heal society Indian women teachers' attention appears to be on all of humanity rather than themselves. They resist with vigilance, persistence and humility. Their progress shows an inherent understanding of deeply rooted issues, focused vision, and a strategic plan for educational and societal change.

Living my research in India heightened my awareness of the detrimental effects of globalization on educational opportunities for girls and women. I am now more active in my approach to crucial change, shedding passivity and embracing my commitment to resistance and vigilance. As teachers and activists, their persistence and passion inspires me to speak out and act against injustice in Canada and worldwide.

Given the premise that education is the gateway to women's empowerment, it is important to understand its role in altering societal expectations of girls and women and assisting in the universal emancipation of women and other marginalized groups. Indian women educators are sculpting a preferred future for themselves, exemplifying that committed persons can collaborate to reconstruct social reality. With the belief that women's empowerment leads to India's empowerment, the call is "out there" for universal education and the eradication of female feticide, infant mortality, malnutrition, and all social malaise. As educators and responsive citizens, we all must act with conscience and global responsibility.

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24. THE OWL SPREADS ITS WINGS:

Global and International Education within the Local from Critical Perspectives

INTRODUCTION: SPREADING THE WOR(L)D

Within an era of a New Knowledge Society, assumptions abound regarding the 'goodness' and justice of global interconnections and distributions of knowledge through international educational organizations and structures worldwide. Just as George Bush Jr. in attempting to justify the invasion of Iraq made claim to the democratic goodness of the US 'spreading their freedoms' in the interests of an all-encompassing democratization of the world, so the assumption that sharing educational knowledge, especially an 'all-knowing North' with a 'helpless South' is without question for the greater good of all humanity.

Besides contributing to a politics of benevolence as part of a new neoliberal 'global citizenship' agenda (Jefferess, 2008; Swanson, 2011), as an ethical consequence of the power imbalance in this North-South (or West-East) relationship, little understanding is given to issues of recontextualization (Bernstein, 2000) in local contexts of the take up of 'progressive' educational discourse. Neither is preponderance given to local communities as to whether 'new ways' necessarily serve their interests, but for an often failed promise, as a relation of exchange, that these development initiatives may provide global recognition and access to political and economic empowerment. In this sense, the dissemination and universalization of these discourses as a 'common sense' pragmatic enacts a symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) on local communities or situated contexts in constituting doxic understandings of the new settled order of things.

Through symbolic control (Bernstein, 2000), the recontextualization[1] of knowledge and meanings from the perspective of the dominant gaze reconfigures the playing field with often naïvely unintended, if not unnoticed, consequences for those made vulnerable by such effects. While new possibilities may come into play, new limitations are also produced, although these may become invisible from the perspective of the dominant gaze within the sweep of solidifying discourses on the rightness of international 'partnerships' and marketization of Western-author(iz)ed or Scientifically-

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 333–347.

endorsed ‘New Knowledge’. These limitations serve as new forms of oppression, which is the situation that many developing countries find themselves in, where their educational systems are now tied to paternalistic international agendas - whether these be vocational ‘training’ at the expense of (democratic/critical) education, or ‘basic education’ at the expense of higher education; beneficiaries of curricular or educational materials and technologies from the North, dependency on the World Bank and IMF, monetary dependency on mandated initiatives emanating from the UN Millennium goals, or internationally-funded collaborations with prominent Northern universities / institutes, or otherwise. Even as these ‘developing’ countries’ ‘brightest and best’ are often educated within ‘developed’ world contexts invested in dominant socio-political and economic agendas, if they return as leaders to their ‘developing’ motherland, there is often a mismatch of contextual emphases, applicability, imperatives and cultural translations between the contexts, often extending rather than necessarily alleviating these oppressions. The marginalization of local and indigenous knowledge is reproduced in favour of global universal(ized/izing) forms as a normative condition of development and international education, rhetoricalized under the banner of ‘upliftment’, ‘progress’ and ‘modernization’.

It is within this globalization mandate that internationalization of education finds a dominant place in the development agendas of many vulnerable nations. In this sense, ‘developing’ nations are often so caught up in the development project, Western-style, that resistance or fora for imagining otherwise is becoming increasingly difficult. As a normalized and legitimized logic, dependency on modes of global knowledge that have been verticularized over local, indigenous or situated ways of knowing and being (Swanson, 2007, 2010), educational systems in many ‘developing’ country contexts afford little opportunities for creating traction to assist in resisting and redirecting the development agendas set out for them by international agencies, partnerships and institutions that have an investment in the existing set of social relations.

Within this context, the escalating neoliberalization of institutions and societal structures worldwide, disseminating from a relatively wealthy North, has tended to operationalize forms of control and surveillance on individuals and groups in their daily/ nightly lives (Smith, 1999) in ways that have leached the capacity of ordinary individuals to resist these more insidious modes of control that have taken the form of a new universal depoliticized “common sense” hegemony, and even masqueraded as ‘democratic’ and ‘fair’ from positions of institutional dominance. The enticements of a utopianism of individual wealth marketed to ‘developing’ country peoples and the most cruel lure of hope that such ideological investments participate in have produced to a large degree an uncritical acceptance of such a status quo, although the current economic crisis and Arab uprising has tempered this to some extent in marking the failure of global capitalism, especially in its late phase where increasing diminishment of democratic accountabilities has become prevalent. Nevertheless, this scenario has created an incapacitation to resist such economically-informed ideological agendas in ways that are somewhat necrophilic (Freire, 1970).

From the perspective of a globe in economic and ecological crisis, this is of deep concern, for just as, in the Hegelian sense, Minerva's owl spreads its wings at the falling of the dusk, so the imaginative capacity to think and assert otherwise may come too late for a meaningful and sustainable restructuring for all global citizens in local contexts of the Earth's ecosystems. What then can be done to prevent this rather pessimistic state of affairs? How then do we proceed to undo it? What is the leadership role of the university in such an undertaking, and within a context of the intensification of international education and competition, what might the possibilities be, if any, of 'exploiting' as counter-hegemonic the instruments of neoliberalization and / or globalization against themselves?

In the next sections, I begin to address some of the difficulties and options associated with the neoliberalization and intensification of international education through select examples and theoretical arguments that provide a few routes to approaching this subject more generally. The first section, *Institutional Spread of Neoliberalism as 'Global Evil'*, takes a broader theoretical discussion touching on globalizing neoliberalism in general and then its implications for academic institutions, especially as it refers to the intensification of international education and initiatives within and between global academic institutions. In the next section, *'Helping' Africa through Science: Hegemony in Practice*, I provide an exemplar of an international educational initiative whereby I deconstruct some of the problematic assumptions and ideological commitments underpinning such an initiative. Such an analysis is undertaken in relation to the dialectic of the globals North and South and the ethical and political implications of such an initiative. The use of the exemplar is to highlight some of the dilemmas invoked by similar approaches and to make visible some aspects of their oppressive investments of power. This leads to the further section: *Critical Perspectives on Global Citizenship,* which introduces an example of an online international undergraduate course. This transdisciplinary course provides some possibilities of an alternative globalization project within the academic institution. I discuss how such a course initiative may begin to counter the effects of neoliberalism even as it makes use of its instruments. I then discuss how this is achieved through an overtly political approach to discussions on global citizenship from critical, reflexive perspectives that embrace a pedagogy and philosophy of glocalization, and where the course is internally reflective. This provides an opening in the final section: *A Way In as a Way Out*, to begin a partial address of the questions posed in this introduction as an invitation to a possible counter-envisioning of our global future(s) in an era of rampant neoliberalism and its consequent intensification of international education globally.

INSTITUTIONAL SPREAD OF NEOLIBERALISM AS 'GLOBAL EVIL'

Drawing on the political theory of Hannah Arendt from an international relations perspective to illuminate the dangerous effects of a globalizing neoliberalism, Patrick Hayden avers that:

> Even as globalization shapes the horizon of current political thought and action, it does so at the risk of drawing that horizon ever tighter; it is less certain that the concept of 'globalization' continues to express transformative potentials rather than functioning as a token of the very effacement of the political. Globalization has become not only the political foundation of the present, but also the suspect guardian of the future of the political itself. … I argue that neoliberal economic globalization is a form of political evil (2009, p.92).

Just as neoliberalism in its global effect normalizes some of the severe widespread wrongs within the "global political–economic order – namely extreme global poverty and statelessness" as "forms of political evil in the Arendtian sense" (Hayden, 2009, p. 92), so international institutional partnerships between academies that normalize as 'acceptable' and even 'democratic' the power imbalances between them in their social and economic relations and epistemic (re)sources, as well as the exploitative and self-interested nature of many of these relationships, perform a political evil in a similar way. He further states that:

> The main contemporary effect of the social in the guise of neoliberal globalization is to 'naturalize' all political–economic relations and thereby normalize the appearance of private interests in the public realm. The political evil of neoliberalism is to depoliticize human affairs and as such, to render the worldly spaces between people apolitical and devoid of care (Hayden, 2009, p.93).

In this sense, the socio-economic 'pragmatic' inevitability, that is produced by all-pervasive neoliberalism as a form of *realpolitik* of the current, renders the political superfluous. Henry Giroux (2004) goes further to describing the rise of neoliberalism in the US in the past decade in militant terms. For Giroux, the "terror of neoliberalism" has come with an increasing abandonment of democracy and the concomitant emergence of authoritarianism and systemic automatic surveillance in public spaces. Civil disobedience, transparent political debate and ideological resistance of any kind have become increasingly difficult in a context where the monitoring, management and audit culture in public institutions is rampant and endemic, despite a new social and democratic face for America in the form of Barack Obama. In fact, the momentum has increased unabated. What then can be said for the university, which is not immune from this trend? If anything, the intensification of international education initiatives across campuses globally, especially those from the wealthy North that have the infrastructure and capacity to lead the game, is an indication of the extent of the neoliberal agenda afoot. Academy is pitted against academy in the competitive race to gain more and more of a foothold on lucrative international markets, whether it be number of international students on their campuses, number of online courses offered for international markets, especially Asian ones, or internationally-funded research initiatives that would increase university rankings and attract more students and funds.

The broader visionary ideals of democracy as a liberatory ideology, one that invests strongly in beliefs around rights and values, egalitarianism, justice, counter-hegemony, active capacity and social capital have been leached by technocratic functionalist approaches to the governance and mandate of educational research and practice. Treason has been committed on our future through an increasing narrowness and reductionism of what educational engagement, on a policy, research and practice front, has come to mean. An enclosing of the cultural commons has taken place (Bowers, 2006), an increasing regulation and compartmentalization of roles and duties has emerged, and an inscribing of identities in essentialized terms has persisted and become entrenched. This has resulted in the beginnings of a shutdown of the places and spaces of inquiry and speculation outside of very specific standardized forms that might otherwise ask questions *about the* questions that currently frame the agenda for education in an increasingly globalized, neo-liberally-saturated society.

In speaking in respect of the educational research field, Gert Biesta (2007) contests the increasing move in many Western nations, albeit to different degrees, towards centralized agenda-setting and regulation of educational research and practice that support evidence-based practices, standardizations, accountability and market-based models and managerial agendas. These approaches afford educational practice an ever more technocist and functionalist role in post-industrialized society and within the referents of global capitalism. For Biesta, the fact that educational professionals are being afforded less autonomy in decision-making processes within their own contexts, and being denied opportunities for deliberation and judgment about both the means and the ends of education is tantamount to a "democratic deficit" now arising in educational practices that reify evidence-based approaches. He further explains:

> If we really want to improve the relation between research, policy, and practice in education, we need an approach in which technical questions about education can be addressed in close connection with normative, educational, and political questions about what is educationally desirable. The extent to which a government not only allows the research field to raise this set of questions, but actively supports and encourages researchers to go beyond simplistic questions about "what works," may well be an indication of the degree to which a society can be called democratic. From a point of view of democracy, an exclusive emphasis on "what works" will simply not work (Biesta, 2007, p. 22).

The conjoining of internationalization and marketization of universities with an ongoing neoliberal and neocolonial agenda is marked. This is particularly visible in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries where oil wealth has funded a proliferation of higher education institution campuses mostly imported from the US and United Kingdom (see Romanowski and Nasser, 2010). Concomitantly, international university partnerships have been competitively established as relations of exchange that are lucrative for the well-branded partnering universities in the West whose research budgets have diminished as a result of rationalizations, austerity measures and other economic cuts and downsizing through implementation of national economic policies as a consequence of the current global economic crisis. In return, GCC countries attempt to buy the privileges and advantages of Western 'advancements' via the popularist neoliberal discourse on 'the Knowledge Economy', and consume the rhetoric and ill-conceived modernist myth of rhetoric and ill-conceived modernist myth of 'knowledge transfer.'[2] Arguably, the symbolic violence enacted in the patronage as well as ahistorical and apolitical benevolence agendas of prominent Northern universities assumes a form of global evil.

I now move on to describing an example of an international university partnership that I believe performs a violence in the form of an upliftment project through the authority, discourse and hegemonic disciplines of the Mathematical Sciences – one which not only encloses an African commons but which reproduces a colonized Other under the auspices of benevolence. I attempt to draw out some of the problematic assumptions and ideological commitments underpinning the initiative in relation to the dialectic of the globals North and South and the ethical and political implications for a continued divided and colonized world. The use of the exemplar is to highlight some of the dilemmas invoked by similar approaches to international university partnerships.

'HELPING' AFRICA THROUGH SCIENCE: HEGEMONY IN PRACTICE

There has been a recent initiative to develop a mathematical institute located on African soil with the aims of 'improving' access to Science for 'talented African students.' Neil Turock, born in Africa and now a theoretical physicist at Cambridge, led this initiative. Named the African Institute for Mathematical Sciences (AIMS), it has as its stated goals: to promote mathematics and science in Africa; to recruit and train talented students and teachers; to build capacity for African initiatives in education, research, and technology. At face value, the intent appears admirable. Who would criticize Turock's (2008) passion in advancing and trying to actualize such an ideal? As an attempt to rectify the oppression and injustice in the ongoing colonization and marginalization of Africa as its dominant message, who would wish to resist it? It is very true that credit needs to go to him and his supporters for taking on such an initiative with commitment, especially in the context of the ignorance and selective passivity to resistance around Africa's colonial history and resultant contemporary problems. One only has to examine the rather inept political stances and weak international reactions to the recent atrocities in The Congo or Sudan to realize that Africa does not count as far as the rest of the international community is concerned, despite recent efforts by the International Criminal Court, which has little teeth, to bring a few perpetrators to justice.

On the surface, Turok's advocacy, in the context of the constructions of a 'hopeless' continent, seems highly admirable. Yet, despite Turok's seemingly inspirational rhetoric, such as "the next Einstein will be African", there are some telling messages on which his project is based. In his TED broadcast, Turok (2008) promotes the mathematical sciences for "talented young Africans" as a panacea to all Africa's 'ills' and claims that "by unlocking and nurturing the continent's creative potential, we can create a change in Africa's future".[3] Here 'Africa's future' depends on access to Western-endorsed mathematics.[4] Mathematics has the power to 'know' what is best for Africa. If more 'talented young Africans' (and here 'talent' assumes exclusively 'mathematical talent', reifying this form over others) succeeded at mathematics, then Africa might be "fixed". For Africa to be awarded a construct of 'success', and only in Western-European terms, it must produce an Einstein. In other words, talented Africans must mimic Western scientific heroes. They need to emulate Western-European scientific discourses that have sole currency in the global modernization project. There is no other way to be 'successful' other than in these terms and judged from the dominant Western-European gaze. Turok misses the less-than-subtle irony, however, that one of Einstein's mathematical discoveries led to the production of the A-bomb, still the most destructive scientific development humanity has yet produced. This would surely not be 'our' hope for Africa!

Lack of scientific skill is seen as the cause of Africa's 'problems' and Africa and her people are pathologized in these terms. The fault of the problem is constructed as being with Africa, where Africa is to carry the burden of its constructed 'deficit', of not being successful because it is insufficiently like other more powerful, mostly Western, nations. Besides naïvely ignoring the subaltern colonized position, Africa is forced to submit to, given the massive power relations differential with other more powerful nations (seen in World Trade imbalances and other uneven political relations with Africa), the complex political nature of Africa's historical and current marginalization and oppression is naïvely reduced to the terms of access to the mathematical sciences. If one were to advocate that Africans need to learn more about art to "fix" themselves, it would be laughable, yet it comes across for a globalized audience as perfectly 'legitimate' to suggest that the route to Africa's 'success' is through Mathematics. Mathematical skill supports "areas of great relevance to Africa's development" according to Turok. Perhaps if Mandela spent more time trying to overcome Einstein's difficulties with his Unifying Theory, some of the complex problems of the post-apartheid era might have been satisfactorily resolved. Perhaps some ingenious technological inventions would have done the trick with political conflict related to complex social, cultural and historical issues.

My comments are perhaps facetious, but they do draw attention to the strong techno-scientific utilitarian pull that the mathematical sciences afford nevertheless, providing them with pre-eminence in the "social division of labour of discourses" (Bernstein, 2000) in the social domain. The power of the voice of the mathematical sciences is such that it casts a "mythologizing gaze" (Dowling, 1998, 2001) that "recontextualizes" (Bernstein, 2000; Dowling, 1998) the social, cultural, historical and political contingencies and complexities of the African context to the "regulating principles" (Bernstein, 2000) of Western mathematical discourses. It is achieved via its mythologizing reference to techno-scientific 'progress' as the "saviour" of humanity and the environment. Rationalist Enlightenment for which the technological and scientific achievements enabled by the mathematical sciences sustains the Western imagination's 'rightful' supremacy, permits this "rescue" of Africa and Africans from themselves in these terms.

Selected 'talented African' students, as individuals, are plucked from their communities, (where no doubt they may be 'tainted' by localized context, collectivist culture and indigenous knowledge) and inserted into the context of the AIMS institute where they have access to high-level Western-endorsed Science, and where the objectives and operations of the institute are supported by leading academic institutions in the United Kingdom in scientific disciplines that traditionally have no studied interest in contemporary Africa. This decontextualization, (where they are decontaminated from their community's 'deficits'), is ironically viewed as 'building capacity' in individual African students to enable them to "fix" Africa's problems. The ideology of individualism is transposed onto the complex collective concerns of African communities and the African context. These complex concerns of Africa, interconnected to historical global participation and engagement, are essentialized as 'African problems' that require Western-authorized Science to "fix" through scientifically-trained African individuals. The authority of the voice of Science to speak for issues outside its domains of theoretical practice to complex, issues of a socio-historical, political, cultural and global nature, while dismissing the investments of power and agency that has constructed "the problem" of Africa and contributed to the conditions of ongoing neo-colonialism is astonishingly naïve and somewhat arrogant.

The mythologizing and re-contextualizing gaze (Dowling, 1998; 2001) of the Mathematical Sciences is implicated in the various subjectivities or identities in which the subjects of mathematics teaching practices are constructed. Mathematical literacy (via the term 'numeracy') even goes to the core of one's citizenship in the individualistic neo-liberal parlance of Western Mathematics curricular documents (Swanson, 2008). Within the constructs of 'citizen' afforded by the requirements of the nation state, economic contributions to its modernizing capacity are tied to 'levels of literacy', especially scientific literacy, and mathematical 'failure' is framed within discourses of need and 'crisis' (in the example of South Africa) for the nation state. Here mathematics education is in dissonance with democracy (Skovsmose and Valero, 2001). Constructions of disadvantage (Swanson, 1998, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008) and constructed 'failure' in mathematics are inextricably informed by social difference discourses, such as race, ethnicity, gender, ability, language, socio-economics, culture, as well as citizenship and geo-political differences. Zevenbergen (2003), Lerman and Tsatsaroni (1998), and Dowling (1998), as a few early examples, provide useful discussions on how 'failure' is constituted within mathematical discourses, performing violence on bodies in contexts of its production and the identities it constitutes. My own work has elaborated on this focus as well (Swanson, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006). I will now excerpt from a published contribution (Swanson, 2008), which was written as a response to Eric Gutstein (2008) with respect to a social justice mathematics education project. This excerpt speaks more definitively to the question of mathematics and citizenship and the oppressions this affords, providing a discursive example of this relationship within a curriculum document:

> The prevalent, but false, understanding of mathematics as an objective discourse that affords positions of political "neutrality" within its discursive parameters is one which gives license to mathematics' use as an instrument of capitalist relations of production and advances the cause of neo-liberalism globally. In other words, "neutrality" and

> "objectivity" serve as a 'cover' for neoliberal and neocolonial discourses. It doesn't take much to notice that standard (Westernized) school mathematics curricular are underpinned by particular value systems (Bishop, 2001a, 2001b) that reify individualistic and civil libertarianism, and advance technocentric, progressivist, and capitalist tenets (Bishop, 1995).

Common progressivist and utilitarian rhetoric on the 'importance' of mathematics learning in schools often make claims to "good citizenship" and vocational advancement. A 'successful citizen', according to this tenet, is one that has access to the power of mathematics to 'know the world'. This is because, (according to the BC 2007 Mathematics K-7 Curriculum IRP's description of the 'Nature of Mathematics'), "mathematics is one way of trying to understand, interpret, and describe our world" (p. 13). Yet, the politics of such 'coming to know' is most commonly denied, so that Mathematics' ability to enable its knowing subjects to 'describe our world' is purportedly divorced from subjective influence and human interference: Mathematics has great utilitarian worth here, but is untainted by the messiness of politics and human vulnerability. 'Failure', in these terms, is therefore constructed, ironically, as a condition of being an unknowing mathematical subject.

Consequently, a citizen's purpose and worth is defined by their access to mathematical numeracy: "Numeracy …(is)… required by all persons to function successfully within our technological world" (BC 2007 K-7 Mathematics IRP's Rationale), so that someone without access is a problem to the state and a 'failed' citizen. Yet, access to mathematics must nevertheless be differentiated to satisfy the socio-economic and political requirements of the nation state. Not all citizens are allowed to excel at mathematics! It is not for nothing that mathematics is most often the most divisive subject on the school curriculum (Dowling, 1998). Standardized testing, streaming / tracking systems in schools for mathematics and pronounced differentiated teaching practices in this subject, as well as other gate-keeping controls, ensure that a differentiated hierarchy of access is produced that emulates, assists, (re)produces, and is (re)produced by the hierarchy within capitalist relations of production. Mathematics' high status in the "social division of labour of discourses" (Bernstein, 2000) within schools and society, makes it a high stakes game to play, and its "strong grammar" (Bernstein, 2000) provides it with significant cultural caché for those with the luck and privilege to have access to it as knowing subjects and citizens.

"Successful citizenship", therefore, is constructed accordingly along the lines of privileged access to mathematical culture, but referenced in terms of 'innate capacities' and 'ability' to ensure that the privileged access is hidden, normalized, and often even justified under the auspices of being "democratic". It is generally considered "democratic" for students to have differentiated access to mathematics according to their "needs", "learning styles" (often euphemistic for a legitimizing of constructions of "ability"), "interests", and "abilities". This is important to consider in coming to an understanding of what it might mean to do social justice mathematics education, while complicating these terms for their oxymoronic tendencies (Bernstein, 2000, p. 213–215).

The often suppressed ideological investments of mathematical discourse and practice in various contexts align strongly with questions of ethical engagement, and why we 'do' or 'don't' do mathematics, who has access and what kinds of mathematics are taught or not taught to whom, and why, are caught up in these considerations.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

In 2005, an initiative was undertaken at a prominent Western Canadian university, the University of British Columbia, to launch an online international undergraduate course offered to diverse international students of *Universitas21* partners world-wide that presented a critical global focus on some of the most important social, political and ecological issues of our time. Platformed on WebCT and later VISTA, the course was conceptualized as having a strong transdisciplinary mandate and, consistent with the university's slogan of "Education for global citizenship", it would be operationalized under this banner.

Under the leadership of Dr. Leah Macfadyen, collaboration from experts and interested parties across the university took place in developing the various themes, modules and materials for 'global citizenship', a concept that the university was using for international marketization as providing a 'cutting-edge' and 'relevant' educational experience for its students, and yet no one at the administrative level could define the meaning of it, let alone imagine what should be in such a course carrying 'global citizenship' in its title. Cross-disciplinary debate ensued as to what might be the key areas of focus for such a course while not foreclosing on any set definition. I have been involved in facilitating several offerings of the twelve-module course since its second offering in 2006, and have been since then involved in its evolution of ideas as well as a concomitant research project to better understand what appears to be the 'transformative' potential of the course. I have also presented on the course at various conferences and speaking opportunities. The transformative qualities of the course were noted by several facilitators early on in its offerings. From a report written by a group of course facilitators in 2006, the following was noted:

> Instructors observed extensive inter-student discussion, idea-sharing and peer-teaching within the course. Student writing, discussion contributions and feedback suggest that the course was a challenging,

> inspiring and unusual learning experience. Students displayed evidence of increased critical thinking, understanding of linkages between 'global issues', and reflection on their learning and experience. Many described an increased commitment to participatory action as citizens, locally and globally. (Macfadyen, Hewling & Swanson, 2006, p. 2)

The transdisciplinary as well as international nature of the course offers opportunities not easily available in other courses, ones that permit intellectual and paradigmatic border crossing and a forum for participants from far-flung and local contexts to be able, from situated perspectives, to debate critical global concerns and possibilities from multiple perspectives as if looking at the world in parallax. In this sense, in providing a pedagogic and activist commons where participants can contribute ideas, knowledge, contribute further to course materials, and debate from their various locales, it opens up the possibility of performing glocalization pedagogically. While still administered by the university, the openness of this upper undergraduate course, while still conducted in English (and the hegemony of this cannot be ignored), permits participants from universities in Hong Kong, UK, US, Australia, South America, across Canada, and elsewhere to participate in real and non-real time discussions from their own perspectives and localized contexts, contributing to the learning and support of others. Students and facilitators from diverse interests, ethnic groups, cultures, spiritualities, immigrant and indigenous experiences, and political persuasions, interact with each other on a VISTA discussion board with threads and sub-threads being produced as rhizomes to nested conversations in a highly ecological way. Importantly, students bring their expertise and interests from different disciplinary, and hence also ideological, foci intensifying and enriching the critical and multiple forms of engagement – whether from education, business, sociology, nursing, social work, forestry, biological sciences, or other fields.

In this sense, this transdisciplinary course provides some possibilities of an alternative globalization project within the academic institution (Swanson, 2011). While the course is overtly political, it resists foreclosure, maintaining an internally reflective mandate by asking iteratively what global citizenship and its value might be across the modules, returning cyclically to the question of what global citizenship might mean for each participant from their situated and personal perspectives. Fostering a sense of reflective judgment (King & Kitchener, 1994) and discernment, enables personal choice and a sense of identity/ identifiableness in relation to concepts of global citizenship in critical perspective. This self-positioning and ethical engagement is encouraged from informed positions within the learning collective and activist commons. Rather than avoid uncomfortable and difficult knowledge (Britzman, 1998), the course critically encourages the embrace of the dilemmas, paradoxes and contradictions of global citizenship, while nevertheless committing to an ethical stance in the world.

In this sense, I assert that this course begins to counter the effects of neoliberalism even as it makes use of its instruments (via its platforming as an international course through the university's internationalization project.) I believe this is achieved through the strong focus on critical, reflexive perspectives, the openness and dialogicism encouraged through the course, the embrace of a pedagogy and philosophy of glocalization, and in that the course is internally reflective with participants contributing to its curriculum and further development.

A WAY IN AS A WAY OUT

I briefly return to a set of questions introduced at the start of this chapter. They act as an invitation to a possible counter-envisioning of our global future(s) in an era of rampant neoliberalism and its consequent intensification of international education globally. From the perspective of a globe in economic and ecological crisis, we are reminded of Hegel's analogy to Minerva's owl that spreads it wings only at the falling of the dusk. With a sense of urgency, we might ask ourselves similarly if the imaginative capacity to think and assert otherwise will come too late for a meaningful and sustainable restructuring for all global citizens in local contexts of the Earth's ecosystems. What then can be done to prevent this self-and-other destructive scenario? How then do we proceed to undo it? What is the leadership role of the university in such an undertaking, and within a context of the intensification of international education, what might be the possibilities of a vitalization of a counter-hegemonic 'third forum' within the intellectual and political work of academics working within the evils of neoliberalized institutions within a broader context of globalization?

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NOTES

[1] In the delocation from one context and relocation into a new evoking context, knowledge and meanings are reconfigured through the recontextualization principle such that new possibilities and new limitations are produced, often with unintended consequences (Bernstein, 2000). Given the power relations differential in such a one-sided process, it opens up spaces for new and insidious forms of oppression. It is in the 'knowledge transfer' of pre-authored knowledge produced in a powerful North that oppressions are produced.

[2] These remarks are substantiated further by direct observation and personal experience, as I have just completed a term of consulting for a GCC university in a Gulf state, assisting their College of Education in opening up a new national centre for professional development of the state's school teachers.

[3] See Dowling's 1998 critique of Paulus Gerdes' assumptions in the use of such ethno-mathematical language applied to another mathematical and African cultural context.

ALI A. ABDI

25. INTENSIVE GLOBALIZATIONS OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

Re-interrogating the Relevance of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

INTRODUCTION

General academic discourses on globalization have been extensive in the past few decades. Indeed, the number of publications that have come out as a result, or because of this interest would be in the thousands, and as an area of research, it has become one of the most important educational, governance and social development foci in the world. The study of globalization has also crossed the boundaries of so many disciplines to the extent where scholars in education and the general social sciences could see it as relevant for their domain of analysis as anything they have been examining in the past little while. Despite these expanding interests, though, the complexity of telescoping the central meanings and characteristics of globalization is anything but definitive (Mooney & Evans, 2007). As such, the impressive ascendancy of the research output continues to accelerate, and it should be the result of several factors. One of these may be related to the general curiosity that perpetually arises from the interest of academics, students and other scholars who may have specific but topically attached learning and instructional purposes that drive their teaching and general educational intentions and requirements. As such, the embers of the scholarship on globalization seem to be continuously sustained by what is present in the intellectual arena and how the academic community interacts with these and related areas of emerging knowledge perspectives. But that by itself should not have maintained the long-term and voluminous presence of the idea and its practices over such time and space. It is, therefore, more than that, and among the most important sponsors of the case is the direct impact globalization is having, for better or worse, on the lives of people.

Historically, globalization should have been a socio-cultural and politico-economic phenomenon that characterized the lives of all people in all zones of the world. As I have discussed more than once in different forums of writing and analyses (Abdi, 2006; 2008), all types of group interactions, even at times, individual movements, whether commercially, religiously, linguistically or

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 349–362.

governance based could be characterized as one form of globalization or another. These movements were many times based on some perceived superiority in the sense that what was taking place in one context was more advanced than the practices that characterized the livelihoods of those on the other side of the mountain, to use a metaphorical point, hence the desirability by the practitioners of the former to influence the realities of the latter. In other times, the desirability was beyond the simple intention of 'improving' the lives of others, even if that itself has had perennially weak prospects and outcomes, but included a deliberate program of dominating, mostly in the military, political and economic senses of the term, of other areas, groups and geographical parcels. As such, most of the pre-*anno domini* wars and territorial shifts, and those that happened in the past 2000 years all involved notions and practices of conquering the minds as well as the existentialities by one group or another. It is in analyzing these and related issues that some of this paper's aims include the partial locating of colonialism as a major project of globalization; that will be followed by a select theorizing of SAPs, which will lead to the sections on SAPs and postcolonial realities of African education.

One recent aspect (in the course of human history) of globalization that focused on the conquest of territories and minds was colonialism. Again, as have I have discussed elsewhere, colonialism has a long history, and it was not necessarily always intercontinental or international. In discussing the case, one must realize that there were also many incidences of internal colonization where people who live in the same country have actually colonized each other. Here, I am extending the meanings of colonialism which at this moment may incorporate all aspects of groups oppressing or dominating others. Indeed, that may be a deliberate extension of how this power-driven story should be told. As Walter Rodney (1982) noted, power is the most important variable in human relations and as such if the colonizer could achieve an absolute power over the colonized (Memmi, 1991), then the relationship will depend on both the quantitative and, of course, qualitative notations of that power. To be discursively fair, though, my own scholarly interest in the case should be tuned towards the expansive project of European colonialism, especially from the late 15th century when Spain started colonizing the Americas, into the 19th century when most of Africa and Asia were conquered, and into the mid-twentieth century when the majority of colonial powers succumbed to the nationalist struggles that eventually succeeded (at least 'militarily') in ending the reign of colonialism.

As a project of globalizing European power and attached ways of living, colonialism has several time-triggered perspectives that characterized its complexity as well the multiplicity of its intentions and outcomes. As some of the most active sociologists and historians of colonialism have noted (see Achebe, 1958, 2000; Fanon, 1967; Nyerere, 1968; Guha, 1998; Mann, 2006), the psychological and cultural projects of the case were as important as any component of the overall enterprise. The reasons we should accord some observational primacy in analyzing the psycho-cultural include the reality that despite their superior technologies, Europeans were not familiar with the historiographical structures of the lands they were trying to take. As such, more often than otherwise, the initial relationships they established with some traditional African leaders were intended to convince the latter that because of what the former had and knew, it will be beneficial for the later to share their lands with them. In hindsight, this seems to have worked over time and space and even in some cases where the traditional leaders initially resisted this twisted romancing through the supposedly good ways of the invaders, they eventually liked the selected mental and material tableaux that were created to psycho-culturally impress them. Interestingly and quite expectedly, when the methodology of persuasion did not work, the power of the gun was deployed, and although it was more a difficult and more costly route, European colonizers who were primarily driven by economic difficulties at home and the promise of prosperity in places like Africa, were in no mood to minimize the perforce program of globalizing their domination over others, which, as we all should know by now, turned out to represent some of the biggest plunder and pillage undertakings in human history.

Beyond the psychological and cultural platforms of colonialism, its three other main aims were educational, political and economic. Indeed, with education being one of the most effective ways to de-culture and de-ontologize people's existentialities (wa Thiongo, 1986, 1993; Abdi, 2008), a multi-pronged project was put into place. But before I say more about this, let me mention one fact about pre-colonial traditional societies: the informal systems of education that were in place in these societies were contextually well-designed, philosophically localized, and practically formulated and implemented to meet the needs of people. Indeed, these informal systems of learning were evolving, at times situation specific, comprised different specializations that encompassed, inter alia, specialized historical, geographical, linguistic, scientific and medical studies (Semali, 1999) that were all practiced and modified with respect to the needs of people. As such, traditional education was close to people's lives, it reflected their needs and their overall being, and served their interests in relation to the necessary valuations of their physical and social environments.

With the arrival of colonialism, though, two related projects were undertaken by the masters of the continent. First, colonialism depicted African traditional education as ineffective, structurally primitive, based on non-civilized contexts and languages, and therefore, not worthy to be continued. Attached to this, colonialism described all the previous achievements of this education as problematic, non-developmental and creating more problems than it solves for the lives of people. As Nyerere (1968) so cogently noted, this two-level attack on the general life of Africans was intended to destroy both the learning and social development contexts of the continent, and by doing so, replace it with European education, languages and perceptions of development. Here, one may be willing to give colonialism some benefit of some doubt (wherever that may be found), but the observable historical line and its recorded results thereof, should not permit us to aim for that simplistic observational exit.

As should be known, all societies regardless of how one defines their level of human and environmental well being, have, by their successful management of their life systems, ipso facto achieved schemes of education-induced social development possibilities that fit their interests, desires and aspirations. In the historical intersections of the colonial experience, though, the story was about rationalizing everything on the immediate exploitative objectives of the case. Here, it was clear to the colonizing entity that African traditional education was conducive to the psycho-social enhancement and therefore, the self-efficacy of the people, thus being capable of derailing the colonial project, which as I indicated above, was to thrive on the collective inferiorization of everything African. It was through this understanding that colonial education for the natives was purely designed to service the development of colonialism. As was stipulated in policy, for example, the colonized were not to go beyond elementary education, and with that, they should have acquired the necessary rudimentary skills to uphold the general labour and low level technical continuities of the same system that was harshly exploiting both their mental and physical being. This interesting and highly selfish construction of education and development was one important component of the globalization of European needs, and in the process, rescinding the needs as well as the rightful primordial citizenship of others. As such, it led to the still continuing projects of 'othering' the now discursively celebrated but still marginalized 'Other.' The theoretical as well as the practical manufacturing of the Other was itself not unplanned, and even if it was fully designed by the colonizer, it was nevertheless, a progeny of the teaching of European enlightenment, and later explicated in the theories of modernization.

With this intensive globalizing of European education and ways of life management (basically what we now call development), African education, African languages, so much of African culture, and African ways of advancement were slowly relegated to the status of, livelihood-wise, non-viable entities that were not fit for local realities. While that should have been expected in the context of colonial domination, the important questions should now focus on what Africa did about this problematic life realities once countries gained their independence in the 1960s. To the disappointment of many, the crucial conjectures of recasting African educational, cultural and philosophical notations were missed by the postcolonial African leadership and policy makers. Hence the continuities of so much in the educational and development terrain that are, intact as they were inherited from colonialism. In other words, the problematic globalization of European systems of learning and all the related conveyors that were sustaining it have not been fully re-adjusted. With these realities fully located on the ground, the achievement of African social development and effective governance schemes should have been and were difficult to attain.

Ironically, it was as a result of the failure of the postcolonial African project that what we should now term the 'new post-late 1970s globalizations' have been imposed on the continent. This time, the level of intensity was more organized, more interconnected and more encompassing in all segments of society than previously (Held & McGrew, 2004). Indeed, with the established understanding of the new projects of globalization generally starting and being ideologically applied to almost all countries in the area, *Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)*, as important components of globalization, represented the blueprint of imposing new social management schemes on most previously colonized peoples in the world, with Africans forming some of the most important subjects for this entirely extraneous experiment.

SAPs: Theoretical and Practical Considerations

The idea as well as the theoretical constructions of SAPs partially emanate from the monetarist policies that are expounded by Western financial institutions and the governments that support them. With the failure of African postcolonial leadership, many countries slowly became dependent upon the conditionalities-driven loan programs from Western banks that usually give these on the basis of guarantor agreements that are undertaken by two of the most powerful International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). From the African side, the deterministic point in the formations of these relationships happened when in the 1970s, most countries experienced economic crisis due to the combination of unfavourable international environment and the oil shock which had a devastating effect on these countries' balance of payments (Mohan et al., 2000). Here, the relationship between African governments and these institutions was anything but straightforward. And for some of my intentions here, it was a hugely uneven power relationship that greatly favoured the ideological preferences (in terms of fiscal and social development management) of the IFIs and their governments.

Indeed, with SAPs generally representing a worldwide phenomenon with an independent and mutually reinforcing attachments to the processes of globalization (Gai, 1992), poor African nations have been and continue to be severely disadvantaged in their attempt to either design or influence the direction or the outcomes of IFIs' policies and programs. As such, the level of analysis of whether SAPs are good, or actually problematic for the well-being of Africans and others of similar or related circumstances, was usually discussed and finalized outside Africa proper. Factually, therefore, African governments, by and large, do not have the financial spaces or even the political will to advance the agenda of their people vis-à-vis the interests of global creditors. As such, more often than otherwise, the relationship moves from being a collaborative project of a social development blueprint that aims to uplift the contexts it was theoretically formulated (at least by Western governments and institutions), and ends up being a culturally alienating scheme that has thus far achieved the economic pauperization of Africa (Abdi, 2006).

Interestingly, as Biplab (1998) noted, after all, SAPs might not have functioned as effective programs for development for they have, at the onset, advanced problematic distribution schemes over growth and with production over social justice. It is actually here where one can sense the exclusionist economic ideologies that drive SAPs and related projects that represent the policy management preferences of some countries who, via their almost global absolute power, *willy nilly*, impose them on others. It is now clear that even in the few places where the implementation of SAPs led to some economic growth, it did not alleviate poverty (Stiglitz, 2002), which technically and for all possible considerations, annuls the validity of these programs' so-called Growth Model. If, as Abouharb and Cingranelli (2007, p. 61) note, "the key concept behind this model is the idea that economic growth is a function of accumulated wealth", shouldn't the Bank and the IMF have studied the base as well as the possibilities of accumulation in a zone where most people do not earn enough to manage their daily lives. In economically challenged underdeveloped countries, such policy prescriptions will only serve the interest of the haves at the expense of the have-nots, and that is precisely what happened in the Africa of the last three decades.

This reality of economic pauperization and, by extension, more entrenched underdevelopment, is not farfetched to read. One can look at what SAPs have achieved for Africa in the past 30 or so years, and from any pragmatic perspective, the picture is anything but encouraging. So much so that one might not help but assume the intentions of the IFIs were never formulated to fulfill their rhetorical representations. Indeed, the very nature of SAPs, i.e., what they are at their core, is not compatible with the basic structures and practices of African life. At their core, SAPs are one important part of globalization, but at a sub-level, they are to fulfill the requirements of the dominant neo-liberal political and economic agenda where the practices of supply side economics, in which in the context of non-interventionist and unregulated market driven relationships, supply creates its own demand. With SAPs technically attached to this laissez-faire ideology of classical and neoliberal economic ideologies, it was no wonder that some of SAPs' supporters suggested as a universal remedy for development ills, a borderless world where everything is subjugated to the exigencies of the mono-economic paradigm. And to fulfill the promise of this ideology, SAPs should aim for fiscal discipline, overhauled public expenditure, tax reform, general financial liberalization, exchange rates that adapt to IMF priorities, systemic privatization of government institutions, direct foreign investment, expansive deregulation schemes and the sanctimonious entrenchment of property rights.

Clearly, all these direct impositions and the simple question of whether they were good for Africa's social development, seems to have escaped their proponents. As some of us have been saying for a while now (see Ake, 1996, 2000; Mbaku, 2004; Abdi, 2006), the formulations of development strategies, especially as it relates to how people should understand the totality of their world, and in the process manage their resources and interact with local and international actors to advance their lives, cannot be constituted, packaged and imported from abroad. Even when these externally designed financial projects were not camouflaged as development, but presented as good old aid, as Dambisa Moyo (2009) notes, their exclusive formations from the West mitigated against any positive transformations they might have induced in the lives of people.

So just like colonial times, the external impositions are not only adding to the rescinding of people's life management systems but as well, they seem to be sustaining the long-term socio-cultural dominations that constitute the continuities of the globalizing project as an imperializing process (Hardt and Negri, 2001). As such, they continue to exacerbate the clash of paradigms where despite the apparent economic, political and sometimes military power of the so-called first world, indigenous people's survival and sustainability are being heralded here and there and despite the unevenness of the counter, the resistance has to continue (Mander & Tauli-Corpuz, 2006).

It is the case that social development, however one defines and attempts to 'pragmatize' it, will have to have, especially in educational terms and how, in turn, education creates those possibilities, minimally select historical and cultural foundations that sustains its socio-economic and political capacities. As Edward Said (1993) so cogently noted, any power driven social encounters that deliberately de-culture the active contexts of life in which they are located, will have a negative effect on the well-being of subordinate populations. In the African context, the jury should no longer be out on the outcomes of more underdevelopment that have been instigated by the implementation of SAPs; as the World Bank itself publicly accepted in late 1990s, these programs were not well-designed and did not meet their objectives (Schatz, 2002). Technically that should have led to the creation of alternative possibilities that could at least re-do the damage done by SAPs, but with the Bank and its sister institutions still dictating the policy terms of development and with African countries still dependent on the same old loans, neither has thus far formulated a new way to escape the tyranny of SAPS. As such, the story and its unhappy attachments could be described as a direct violation of people's rights where at one point, they are subjected to schemes of social engineering that have worsened their daily life realities, and even when the evidence is abundantly available that these schemes have ruined many countries' development possibilities, Western institutions and their governments are not willing to at least modify their policies and related program prescriptions. No wonder therefore that some analysts have described SAPs as violating fundamental human rights protocols:

> many groups argue that SAPs impose harsh economic measures that deepen poverty, undermine food security and self-reliance and lead to unsustainable resource exploitation, environmental destruction and population dislocation and displacement (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2007, p. 11).

In the following, I focus on SAPs and education in Africa.

SAPs and Educational Realities in Africa

When one looks at both the analytical intentions and practical outcomes of SAPs, one cannot help but clearly see how these are detrimental to the educational development of the African public. For starters, two of the core components of SAPS, especially as they relate to educational possibilities are overhauling public expenditure and privatizing public institutions. In restructuring the amount of national resources allocated for public programs such as education and health care, the more straight language is simply reducing expenditure on these programs. Here, the irony should not escape the analytical conjectures one needs to establish. In countries where illiteracy rates are high, where access to all education is limited, where government's capacity to allocate more resources for schools is continuously hampered by the overall poor status of the nation, how would the reduction of budgetary allocations affect the social well-being of the public? The question, of course, begs a more serious platform, it seems very simplistic and situationally affective; in more simple terms, the response should be clear. Descriptively at least, that should be the case, but in terms of its intentions as should be corroborated by recent historical realities, it is an important question. As should be understood, SAPs are more ideological than otherwise, and as such, the pragmatics of their applicability, at least as far as the West is concerned, should not be rigorously analyzed. They were to be taken as truisms that over time and space should validate themselves. Interestingly, the opposite has happened, and the 'false truism' proved itself.

In staying with this last point a little bit more, I have been asked many times how people at the World Bank or the IMF did not see the straight line point where in poor countries, any reduction of educational expenditure could have expansive negative effects that could derail, both in the short-term and long-term, any active social development prospects for the people. The answer to this important question can be long, but to shorten it, let me simply say, by way of repetition, that SAPs' educational policies are more ideological than practical or feasible, and that is very bad for those on the outside of the Western house where the stuff was assembled in the first place. It is via the ideological platforms that the privatization of education is also advanced. Again, the facts, not the ideologies, should speak for themselves. Indeed, the same questions can be raised, but with one extra line, did the Fund and the Bank take into their calculations the capacity of African families to pay for private education? That does not seem to have happened, for as was clearly stipulated in one of the Bank's major reports in the matter (World Bank, 1994), the emphasis on privatization was presented as paramount and essential to implementation of the SAPs project. Even from a rationalist, purely economistic perspective, which will not, in any way, bode well for the needs of socially interconnected poor societies, such statements should be contradictory and pragmatically dysfunctional. No wonder, therefore, that since the inception of the SAPs ideology, almost all social development possibilities including education have suffered in the African context.

Indeed, with access to education and general educational attainability directly dependent on available funds, which are themselves directly dependent on the overall liquidity of concerned countries, no wonder that much of Africa only saw declining educational possibilities, especially on the qualitative side, and to make matters worse, the whole story here should not be disconnected from the high levels of unemployment that current characterize much of the continent. Here, the pressures on educational development in the context of the SAPs structure also define much of the development woes that have been a part of the last two decades of the 20^{th} century. As has been pointed by UNESCO, for example, for Africa, the decade of the 1980s was to be certified as the lost decade for the continent. And with those weaknesses, it was no wonder that many African countries were even at danger of losing their sovereign policy making powers (Leys, 1996). As Leys (1996, p. 195) said then, "the de facto recolonization of Africa by [inter alia].... World Bank structural adjustment programs" was problematic and was to have lasting negative outcomes for the area and its people.

The point on recolonization should also be analytically attached to the post-colonial educational realities we have spoken about. Here, the case was not to be constructive for the overall independence of African education. In the same structural adjustment programs where the reduction of public expenditure on education and the privatization of schooling were announced, Western institutions also demanded the restructuring of higher education where clearly the generating of original ideas from Africa has been relegated to the scrapheap of historia. As should be known to most observers of the situation, the specific conjecture in the SAPs blueprint that spoke about the institutions of tertiary learning demanded a new focus on technical post-secondary education, and the limiting of general area studies. So a deliberate de-emphasis on the social sciences, the humanities and less technical areas such as the educational sciences was to be achieved with the visible but unannounced rationale that poor African countries with limited resources for education cannot afford to do more in areas that do not promise a direct economic outcome. Here, one should not do too much to figure out that the level of development policy dictation from the World Bank and the IMF was expansive and was even intrusive to the extent that Africans were to be told what they needed and supposedly did not need in educational terms.

Contrary to the continuing theoretical and practical recolonization of the African public space by the international consortia, which by the way, also includes UN organizations and some so-called international aid groups, a more liberating perspective, mainly through education, should have been achieved by Africans themselves. As, among others, Claude Ake (2000) has pointed out, for societies to move forward, the reliability on foreign concepts, ideas and even projects should be minimized. Especially in educational and social development terms, the generation of original ideas should be seen as the sine qua non of effective and inclusive policy formulation and program implementation in all segments of state-society intersections and relationships. Indeed, this is so crucial to the still elusive epistemic liberation of Africa that without reconstructing basic educational foundations, and without establishing systems of learning that contain new platforms of socially responsive education (Semali, 2008), complemented by specific learning programs for women's development (Mama, 2005), the reliability on European ideas and European ways of doing the world will only continue arresting the advancement of both current and future generations of Africans. To achieve this new generation of ideas, systems of knowing and even naming, requires a new educational intensity that encompasses the philosophical, epistemological and linguistic recasting of the way Africans view their histories, cultures and actual life intentions. The new education should also aim for the establishment of a multi-pronged paradigmatic shift that establishes a new memory of African governance, ways of resources and management and onto-existentially workable contexts of dealing with the world, especially former colonial powers who are still using the colonial educational houses they built to manipulate the realities of the African people.

Indeed, the possible formations of this new African education and the highly needed critical mass of African intellectuals and policy makers who should advance it, need to explicate, vis-à-vis Western institutions, their economic impositions such those expounded in SAPs, and the continuities of their overall dominance, how the continent that has given so much to the world should no longer be pushed around. To achieve this, Africans need to reject the false blueprints of education that are driven by the forces of globalization and their adherents and profiteers. But the task is not simple, for to create and sustain new schemes of knowledge, a total epistemic deconstruction and reconstruction may be needed. In speaking about these possibilities, the Kenyan writer, Ngugi wa Thiongo describes with apparent urgent contingency, how what needs to be changed is so entrenched in intercontinental memories that the immediacy of the task can hardly be underestimated. wa Thiongo (2005, p. 159) describes the current situation:

> It is the result of the subjection of the colonized to Europe's memory, its conceptualization of the world, including, for instance, its notions of democracy, *which interestingly globalization and SAPs were supposed to enhance*, its commitment to a state in the form of the nation-state, or its rationality and epistemology: let us call the latter, 'its organization of knowledge', including methods for interpreting and coding that knowledge. Whether such notions are right or wrong, just or unjust, enlightening or not, they result from the colonizer's gaze, shaped by his field [or her field] of experience and expectations. It is knowledge shaped by the colonial context of its acquisition, *which was, sans exception, advanced for the benefit of colonialism and for the destruction of African ways of knowing and doing* (emphases mine).

It is, therefore, these clustered, historically entrenched realities that African education, has to face and deal with. Such task needs some economic independence where African countries can dispense with the draconian loan schemes imposed upon them. In the twisted logic of the loan schemes, many resources that should have been used for viable educational development go to the servicing of the interest on the debt, which assures the liable sovereign status that many countries are subjected to. And it is simply about the weak debt repayment capacities of African countries that are sustaining the case. It is also about the stark and deceptive schemes of Western creditors who through their own calculations, impose interests that are as high as four times the normal rate on these perennially exploited nations. In the totality of the case, therefore, it is uncommon for many African countries to spend on debt servicing more than what they spend on social development programs including education and health services. And in the context of this reality that SAPs educational components still talk about the need to reduce public expenditure on education and create more private schools. The counter-logical shape of the idea and its under-developing rationale should not escape us.

CONCLUSION

My main aim in this chapter was to create an ongoing discussion, with respect to my overall project in African education and development, and on the interplays of globalization, social development, and the role of learning programs in the overall situation of societies. This time, I have brought in the issue of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) which have been presented as an important and potential blueprint of socio-economic well-being for the last 30 years or so. As it is almost impossible to discuss SAPs without bringing in the realities of globalization, I have re-engaged some analyses of the historical and current conjectures and intentions of the case. As I have said, current schemes of globalization are different from anything experienced before, and as such, the impact is quick, extensive and multi-dimensional. With the overall processes of globalization not serving the interests of Africa, SAPs did not do better either. In fact, since their implementation, Africa has seen decades of underdevelopment, rising unemployment and a widening gap between the haves and have-nots. So much so that even one of the main protagonists of the idea and its practices, the World Bank, has acknowledged, more than a decade ago, that SAPs did not achieve their development objectives in Africa.

In terms of educational relationships and impact, SAPs have had a negative impact on learning possibilities and outcomes. As should be expected, when poor countries cut public expenditure on social development programs such as education, the adverse effects on the quality as well as the overall provision of education should not be difficult to see. One wonders, though, how this clear point has escaped the well-educated and expensive analysts at the World Bank and the IMF. Expectedly, their intentions were driven more by the ideological exigencies of laissez-faire economics and less by the real contexts in which people live. So to finish, SAPs and their globalization driven parameters continue to be a case of ideologically located economic impositions that seek to advance a Western neo-liberalist agenda that has been so far, very bad for the rest of us.

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26. DEVELOPMENT AND OPEN ACCESS

For those countries throwing off the yoke of Western colonialism during the latter half of the twentieth century, the founding of new universities represented a particularly promising assertion of modern nationhood. Certainly, many of these communities and cultures had long-standing scholarly traditions that dated back well before the spread of European imperialism. Across the Islamic world, for example, scholarly libraries and colleges, such as the magnificent Alhambra in Granada, had long been kept open to scholars from abroad (Singleton, 2004). During the final decades of the twentieth century, however, the modern university took hold around the world, creating something of a global academic community. Certainly, the prevalence of Western-trained faculty in many of the new institutions contributed to the sense of a larger community. The scholarly journal also played a vital part, offering faculty and students a means not only of staying current in their fields, but of participating through their own research in what is increasingly becoming the global circulation of knowledge.

Among universities in developing countries, it was not as if academic journals ever came easily. The arrival of a new issue could at times represent a singular accomplishment, given the expense of overseas subscriptions in relation to local economies and currencies, as well as the uncertainties of mail service. Locally published journals faced their own set of problems. Many were typical scholarly journals published on a regular basis, but more than a few were marked by irregular publication schedules and titles that ceased to exist after a few issues. Still, research libraries in the developing world began to build journal collections in the hundreds, and even thousands, of titles during the 1960s and 1970s, only to have those collections decimated by subscription price increases, currency fluctuations, and local economic troubles. Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, for example, lost 70 % of its 1,200 subscriptions in the late 1980s (Rosenberg, 1997). Thiagarajan Viswanathan, director of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Center, reports that "India, which used to receive about 20,000 journals in 1983, now gets less than 11,000, and fewer copies of each," and Autar S. Paintal, former Director General of the Indian Council of Medical Research, paints an even grimmer picture by pointing out that ''an Indian [researcher] is often unaware of the latest trends in science publishing [because] hardly 10 percent of our libraries get the top journals'' (both quoted in Gibbs 1995, B13). The World

Y. Hébert & A A. Abdi (Eds.), Critical Perspectives on International Education, 363–378.

Health Organization found that at the close of the twentieth century, more than half the research and higher-education institutions in the lowest-income countries simply had no current subscriptions to international journals (Aronson, 2004).

With the transition to new publishing technologies over the last decade, the question that has arisen for those working in the Southern Hemisphere is whether the North "will continue to refuse to cooperate in the establishment of an equitable world information order," as Colin Darch, an academic librarian in Cape Town, South Africa, bluntly puts it, "based on entrenched principles of full disclosure and free flow" (1998). Darch's ideal of an equitable world information order, one that has moved beyond the colonial legacies of center and periphery in the geopolitics of knowledge, has everything to do with the goals of open access archives and journals, especially as greater access to the literature and to journal publishing can contribute to the research capacities of developing nations.

A United Nations report presented in Addis Ababa in 1969, for example, proposed that if the "vicious circle of underdevelopment" was to be overcome, an "indigenous scientific capability" needed to be fostered, which meant overcoming, among other things, "highly imperfect access to the body of world scientific knowledge" (quoted in Cooper et al. 1971, pp. 107–109). More recently, the World Bank (2000) attributed the growth experienced by Asian economies in the 1990s to policies that "placed heavy emphasis on education and technology in order to close the knowledge gap with more advanced countries" (p.16). Avinish Persaud (2001), a State Street Bank analyst, has calculated the gap between the developed and developing world in number of scientists per capita to be ten times as great as the considerable differences in incomes. When the United Nations Development Program (1999, p. 66) examined scientific and technology output, using the number of scientific papers published per unit of population as its measure, it found that the knowledge output of the Arab world, for example, was 2 percent of that of the industrialized countries, and that China and the Republic of Korea had both realized a tenfold increase in the number of papers since the 1980s.

In a recent copy of their joint annual report on educational indicators, UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), IFS (the Institute for Statistics), OECD (the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), and WEIP (the World Economic Indicators Program) (2002) speak of "a historic convergence of globalization, knowledge-driven economies, human rights–based development and demographic trends" that fuels a renewed interest in education as a vehicle for human capital and economic growth (p. 5). Although it may be hard at times to sort the human-rights concerns from the human-capital perspectives fostered by UNESCO and OECD respectively, the report makes it clear that improvements in educational attainment are closely associated in developing countries with economic well-being, with each additional year of schooling among the adult population corresponding to a 3.7 percent increase in economic growth rate (p. 9). This attainment, however, is not simply a matter of improving basic literacy levels, but "depends critically on participation in and the successful completion of higher levels of education" (p. 10). The report goes on to identify how educational inequities, particularly at the postsecondary level, appear to "reinforce" broader social inequalities (p. 12). The encouraging news is, however, that the number of students attending postsecondary institutions in Africa grew by 20 % annually over the last two decades of the 20th century, even if those institutions are often poorly equipped to do the job they must do (Banya and Elu 2001, p. 1).[1]

The need for developing countries to become a greater part of a new world information order has inspired a number of global initiatives by the private sector and aid agencies to build developing countries' technical infrastructure.[2] As a result, computers and connectivity are appearing, if only in very small numbers, in the research libraries and laboratories of universities in the developing world. In one United Nations Development Program (2002) project, the 5,600 students and staff of the Bangladesh Agricultural University were able, as part of a national wireless initiative focused on educational institutions, to shift from a single modem and an unreliable phone line to high-speed wireless connectivity linking them to the capital city of Dhaka, 100 kilometers away, and to the rest of the world. In India, Indira Gandhi National Open University is providing computer education courses to remote areas of India, while the Information and Library Network—which connects 150 university libraries, 50 postgraduate centers, and 200 research and development centers—is implementing library automation and database systems, with gateways to international research databases (Rao, 2001). A corresponding development in the technological savvy of librarians also appears to be taking place in developing countries, judging by Lampang Manmart's (2001) study of Thailand, which elucidates how university degrees for librarians in that country are being recast as information science and information management programs, which are introducing a new generation of librarians to Internet technologies.

Despite limited access in most areas of Africa to a level of technical infrastructure that the West now takes for granted, it is clear that African access to e-mail has already made a significant difference in the circulation of research. In Zimbabwe, health workers are using e-mail to conduct searches on PubMed, the U.S. National Library of Medicine's online index to the life sciences, and then request articles to be scanned or downloaded. E-mail is also used to carry out research, as well as to circulate articles, for the Ethiopian Flora Project. E-mail has also become a means of getting the word out on the content of new issues of African journals, as well as assisting in the submission and review process (Teferra, 1998). More recent developments include online publishing (Murray 2010) and open access (Abrahams, Burke, and Mouton, 2009/10), with calls, as well, of rethinking the basis of research in terms of regional interests and needs (Gray 2009/10).

University faculties in developing countries have not waited for their campuses to be wired to go online. In a study of computer use among faculty in Nigeria and Kenya, Catherine Nyaki Adeya and Banji Oyelaran-Oyeyinka (2002) found a few years ago that more than 90 % of the 227 university faculty who responded to their survey were using e-mail and word-processing programs. The Kenyan faculty members reported that they had been doing so "for 5–10 years for an average of 2–4 hours a day" (p. 43). In both countries, most of the faculty were covering their own Internet costs, in part because they found university systems too slow and congested for reliable use (p. 49). Faculty in both countries (80 % in Kenya and 58 % in Nigeria) reported using the Internet for academic research: "While researchers devote a relatively small proportion of time to their own research, respondents still use the Internet to keep abreast of new research and developments in their areas of specialization" (pp. 50–51). Though noting that the "responding academics both in Kenya and Nigeria expressed the desire for greater interaction with their peers worldwide because they feel isolated due to poor access to the ICTs [information and communication technologies]," Adeya and Oyelaran-Oyeyinka conclude that enhanced infrastructure will not be as important, in the long term, as more active participation in research and the production of knowledge (p. 51).

As connectivity in African universities (as well as those elsewhere in the world) slowly improves, it then falls to the academic research community to ensure that the knowledge gap is further reduced through a ready ability to access online resources. It is time for researchers in the developed world to consider just how easily they can contribute to the research capacity of the developing world by moving to a more open approach to scholarly publishing. More than that, researchers everywhere only stand to benefit by the promise such increased access holds for the increased circulation of and participation in the critical work of their field.

Just what the access principle can mean in this context has been dramatically portrayed by Amartya Sen as nothing less than a matter of human freedom. This Nobel Prize–winning economist holds that progress on the road to development is based on reducing "various types of unreason that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (1999, p. xii). Sen speaks of the need for "a broader informational basis," whether to increase a nation's pursuit of justice or an individual's exercise of reasoned agency (p. 67).[3] The public's "participatory capabilities," he notes, which require "knowledge and educational skills," need to be encouraged in everyone, including girls and women, who have not traditionally had the same opportunities as boys and men (p. 18, 32). India's continuing malnutrition problems, as well as its high illiteracy rates, require more effective use, in Sen's estimation, of "communication and political participation—in short, fuller practice of democracy" (p. 154).[4]

At the Agricultural Sciences University in Bangalore, which I visited in 2003, nearly half the journal subscriptions had been canceled during the preceding decade, leaving it with somewhat fewer than 600 titles. That figure would have been much worse if the library had not had free online access to 150 journals, and if it had not been able to barter its way to another 150 titles in exchange for copies of its own journal, *Mysore Journal of Agricultural Sciences*. This mix of open access and bartered print copies exemplifies the sort of resourceful struggle that these universities are carrying on in an otherwise state of declining access to research.

In Africa, there is no less of a struggle underway to support the development of research capacities amid scarce access to the scholarly literature. The Development Policy Centre in Ibadan, Nigeria, for example, has become a magnet for scholars in the policy area, because funding from the World Bank, United Nations Development Program, and African Development Bank has enabled it to minimize its loss of journals, at least compared to other institutions in West Africa (Mabawonku 2001, p. 102). Still, the Centre's librarian, Iyabo Mabawonku, notes that visitors are more likely to browse the Internet in search of the resources they need, rather than consult the library's books and print journals, even though they have to pay for this browsing. As it is, the Centre's print journal collection is anything but sufficient, given that, as Mabawonku notes, the overseas vendors of the print journals to which the Centre subscribes "have never supplied more than 60 percent of the issues published each year," while her ongoing letters of complaint are ''never acknowledged" (p. 105). One source of hope for Mabawonku is that libraries could begin to offer more publishing and editorial functions and become directly involved in the circulation of locally produced research.

Kenya provides a similar example of difficult realities and continuing hope. The devaluation of the Kenyan currency during the latter half of the 1990s cost the libraries there about 30 % of their purchasing power for foreign journals (Mutula 2001, p. 156). At Kenyatta University, the library's serials collection was down by 2003 to one "core" print journal per department (Muthayan & Muinde, 2003). On visiting Nairobi University Library in 2003, I walked among seven well-crafted wooden racks for displaying current periodicals, all of which stood empty, with not a journal on display or a back issue stored beneath the hinged racks. When I asked about the empty racks, the librarian said that the current issues of the few subscriptions that they still had were eagerly being read by the students. However, on top of the empty display racks were signs notifying patrons that the Internet had recently "resumed" in the library and should be used for accessing journals. In a small lab with a handful of computers in a glass-enclosed corner of the library, students had suddenly acquired access to 10,000 electronic journals and a much greater number of abstracts through the agreements that had recently been negotiated by the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.[5] INASP's initial three-year agreement with EBSCO (a major journal subscription service), Springer, Oxford University Press, Blackwell, and others provides for a 90–98 % discount on electronic access to journals and covers over 100 developing nations.[6] INASP, which currently covers these minimal access fees through its donors, plans to have this discount agreement negotiated by the individual developing countries in the future.

Another promising development in Kenya was the launch in 1991 of the African Virtual University (AVU) in Nairobi. Utilizing satellite technologies, AVU was able to serve students through 34 sites (with over 1,000 computers) in 19 African countries during its "proof of concept" stage, with courses in technology, engineering, business, and the sciences ("sourced from leading universities in North America and Europe," according to the AVU Web site).[7] Having moved out of its pilot stage as a World Bank project, this independent intergovernmental organization offers access to 1,000 online journals through its digital library and has helped institutions across Africa to set up AVU learning centers with high-speed connectivity to the Internet. The African Virtual University's library, according to Nancy Kamau, senior librarian at the Kenya Medical Research Institute, is devoted to "breaking through the information access barriers," as this "global platform" also seeks to make African content available to the world, while improving African access to resources (Kamau 2001). It understandably troubles African scholars to see companies, as Kamau puts it, "that market information products from the developed world…fail to recognize the potential that local content has as a part of a global knowledge."

The first major boon in open access for developing countries took place in 2002, when the World Health Organization (WHO) convinced the leading scientific publishing houses to provide these nations with free access to their biomedical research journals. The resulting Health Inter-Network Access to Research Initiative represents a partnership between WHO and (currently) 47 publishers of biomedical and health care journals (Aronson 2004). Institutions in the 68 countries with a per capita GNP of less than $1,000 (according to World Bank figures from 1999) now have access to over 2,300 journals.[8] After the first year of HINARI's operation (2002), 438 institutions had signed up from 56 countries ("Health Interchange" 2003). Whether the INASP and WHO initiatives are read cynically or optimistically—whether as a public-relations flip for publishers or the moral arm twisting of international agencies—they represent a ray of light in what can otherwise be portrayed as the gloom of the irresistible and heartless forces of economic globalization. The HINARI model has since been extended to agriculture, with the Access to Global Online

Research in Agriculture (AGORA) project providing open access for institutions in 51 of the poorest nations “to more than 500 key journals in food, nutrition, agriculture” and “related biological, environmental and social science” to a similar set of impoverished nations, according to the project’s Web site,[9] with similar open access initiatives under discussion in fisheries, food technologies, and environmental protection.

“You cannot do science without information” was how Barbara Aronson described the basis of the HINARI agreement, which in her capacity as a WHO librarian she helped put together. Researchers in some of the world’s poorest countries, she pointed out, now have, as a result of HINARI, information equivalent to “a top-flight U.S. library” (quoted in Peterson, 2001). Think of the difference that access to 2,000 life science journals will make to the University of Zimbabwe, for example, which has seen its journal collection in this area dwindle from a high of 600 titles to 170 because of escalating subscription costs over the last two decades (Nagourney, 2001). Faculty there had reported in a study conducted in the 1990s that they were spending half their limited travel opportunities each year visiting libraries and bookstores, while others were successfully using personal contacts to obtain recent work as well as writing to authors for reprints (Rosenberg 1997, 1:53). The recently acquired access, through HINARI, to biomedical and agricultural journals amounts to a small triumph for the public sector of the global knowledge economy.

The other side of this access coin, however, concerns the publishing activities of researchers working in developing nations. Not so long ago, Diana Rosenberg, an expert in African libraries and scholarly publishing, concluded that it will take “a quantum leap in African publishing and distribution” to “reverse attitudes to local and African published material” (1997, 1:20). Among the many examples she offers is that of the University of the Cape Coast Press, which at the time of her study had several books in preparation, with pages camera-ready for printing, that could not go to press for want of funding (1997, 1:20). The African Periodicals Exhibit Catalogue’s list of scholarly journals went from 135 titles in 22 countries for 1997 to 70 titles from 16 countries two years later, whereas earlier reports had identified up to 400 journals from 48 countries (Adebowale 2001, 30). During the 1990s, nine of the 19 journals that had started publication in the 1960s in Nigeria met their demise (Zeleza 1998, p. 23). The cost of the raw materials for publishing, including paper and printing-machinery parts, had “more than doubled in the past five years,” Jacob Jaygbay noted in 1998, with the overall result that it was just plain difficult for an African library to acquire African journals (p. 66). Still, when it comes to the introduction of new technologies into publishing, Jaygbay, for one, remains wary, given many economic and cultural aspects associated with such technologies that need to be considered in light of the African context.

A further challenge for journal publishing in Africa has been the failure of major international indexing or journal supply services to include journals published there. Fortunately, the National Inquiry Services Centre in South Africa, headed by Margaret Crampton, has begun to address the indexing issue with its Global Information for Africa program, which issues a variety of bibliographic databases "for Africa, about Africa and by Africans" (NISC, 2005). Additionally, Bioline International provides a portal, with indexing, pay-per-view, and open access services, for over 30 biology journals from developing nations, including a number from Africa. As Leslie Chan, associate director of Bioline International, explains it:

> The goal is to improve the visibility, accessibility and subsequent impact of research that would otherwise be 'lost' because few research libraries subscribe to developing countries' journals despite their importance. Our experience suggests that open access not only enables free flow of ideas, it ensures more equitable scientific developments and their applications to social needs, including those of the developing countries (2003).

On a larger scale, African Journals Online (AJOL), a site maintained by INASP, now offers the tables of contents and abstracts for over 200 African journals, accompanied by a print and e-mail document delivery service. The AJOL program also conducts workshops and provides other forms of support aimed at introducing African journals to ways of managing and publishing their content online (using systems originally developed by the Public Knowledge Project, as discussed in chapter 5), as a means of creating a greater global presence for this work and establishing a local and sustainable journal culture (Smart, 2003). And indications of that increased, although still largely underrepresented, global presence, at least, have begun to emerge (Metcalfe, Esseh, & Willinsky, 2009).

Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Director of African Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, sees the need for indigenous publishing and local research agendas, out of a concern over how readily African university faculty "import appropriate packages of 'universal' theory and, at best, export empirical data," even as African universities are "increasingly forced to become service parks for private capital" (1998, p. 17). The lack of access leads, in Zeleza's view, to a lack of intellectual accountability in the study of Africa: "Today, Northern scholars writing on African countries do not need to worry about what their African colleagues think or say, especially if the latter are based on the Continent, because they are unlikely to review their work" (p. 21). He calls for "mutually beneficial networks" that reinforce "the productive capacities" of all involved (p. 21). Zeleza, above all, wants African researchers and scholars to be able to freely assert their intellectual autonomy, something they can achieve, he believes, only "by publishing, without apology in journals they control; by reading and citing each other, by demonstrating a greater faith in their own understanding of their complex and fast-changing societies—for no one else will do that for them" (1996, p. 300).

This is precisely the promise of open-access publishing systems, which can be installed and controlled locally, while offering a global presence through sophisticated indexing schemes (presented in more detail in chapter 12). The challenges facing African scholars are little different from those experienced in Latin America, as noted by Ana Marıa Cetto and Octavio Alonso-Gamboa, two information scientists working in Mexico:

> We still look to the North to find out what we should be doing and how well we are performing; and we adopt and apply measuring standards defined abroad, regardless of whether they correctly measure performance according to our objectives, needs and conditions (1998, p. 116).

They point out that it is much easier, if far more costly, for Latin American scholars to get hold of North American or European journals than to obtain journals from another Latin American country, forcing Latin American universities seeking journals from the region to go through a "North American or European distributor so as to ensure as much as possible a safe and regular delivery" (p. 120). They also tell of a librarian in a European university acknowledging that her library was unlikely even to allocate the space needed to house a print edition of a Latin American journal, even if it arrived at the library at no cost (p. 120).[10]

When it comes to what these issues of access to the literature and a right to participate in it mean for someone working in a university in a developing nation, one can do no better than turn to A. Suresh Canagarajah's (2002) account of teaching literature at the University of Jaffna in Sri Lanka. Although the focus in most discussions of access to scholarly literature is on the scientific literature, Canagarajah reminds us that the humanities are no less vital a scholarly aspect of the academic community and that issues involving access to research in humanities fields are no less in need of redressing. He cites examples of stunningly insensitive peer reviews of articles that he and his colleagues submitted to Western journals, which included near-impossible demands made of them to be on top of the current literature. He records just how little time faculty had for scholarly writing (given the very large teaching loads imposed by the university), as well as the paucity of incentives for conducting research and writing and resources for doing so (shortage of typewriters, paper, and typewriter ribbons, let alone computers).[11] Meanwhile, local magazines and newspapers welcomed contributions from university faculty, which made for much greater public engagement in their communities but drew them away from research activities that scholarly publishing opportunities might have fostered.

While Canagarajah makes little reference to publishing technologies and is duly cautious about the Internet, he turns repeatedly to issues and principles of access. For example, he calls for changes to "the relationship in the publication networks so that we can reconstruct knowledge—and presumably conduct international relations—in more egalitarian and enriching terms" (2002, p. 305). He reminds readers that the initial challenge faced by faculty members who wish to engage in scholarly research is getting a feel for the context of current scholarship. He describes how faculty members might come across perhaps a single, outdated issue of a journal, brought back by a colleague returning from abroad, or happen upon a notice of an exciting new journal in their field without being able to see it. In the most mundane details of access, Canagarajah makes poignant how the basic rights of participation—no less than "a rhetorical knowledge of scholarly publications"—are taken for granted by scholars who exist at the centers of publishing activity, even as they assume that these publications represent an open and free discussion of ideas, while in reality the limits to the circulation of the journals defines an intellectual periphery in which participation in this circulation is almost impossible (p. 207).

Canagarajah uses this postcolonial metaphor of center and periphery, which he sees persisting in current knowledge production, to bring home the point that real change will take place only if "periphery scholars infiltrate these publishing channels [of the center]" (2002, p. 29).[12] Yet he is no less concerned about creating space within these channels for local publishing efforts; he uses the Shri A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar Research Center in Chennai, India, as an example: "Lacking the means to disseminate their own knowledge widely through print, peripheral communities have to be satisfied with having their research and scholarship receive limited hearing" (p. 242). This, in turn, leads those working in the center "to assume that no knowledge exists on certain peripheral realities," so that they "go on publishing work based on limited data" (p. 242). The result? "The journals thereby disseminate partisan knowledge globally" (p. 43).

For Canagarajah, the alternative is to create a place for the distinct sensibilities of different academic cultures—"a plurality of rhetorics"—while avoiding a headlong rush into a one-voice, one-style, one-world sequence of cultural globalization (2002, p. 94). Using the impact that the Swedish journal Lanka has had on his colleagues in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah speaks of the sheer motivational power of being able to turn to a body of work that speaks directly—if nonetheless published at a distance—to the experience of peripheral scholars. Canagarajah also spells out the benefits for the intellectual center of the increased global dimension of scholarly activity, noting that "an engagement with local knowledge from periphery contexts can help enrich, expand, and reconstruct mainstream discourses and knowledge" (p. 303).

From my perspective, open-source online journal management and publishing systems offer the potential of locally controlled scholarly publishing efforts on the Web utilizing the scant but emerging technical infrastructure that is gradually taking root in universities in Sri Lanka and elsewhere. This would allow a far more distributed journal culture to spread through the academic community, against an otherwise centralized model. Online journal systems can, for example, support far more extensive collaboration among international editorial teams—and such collaboration is what Canagarajah recommends—in further overcoming the lingering center-periphery divide (2002, pp. 273–274).[13] The editorial gatekeepers of scholarship no longer need reside at the center, which undermines the very idea of the center. The digital divide will undoubtedly persist, but there are grounds for hoping that new information technologies can be used creatively to overcome aspects of what might be cast as the print divide that has hindered the full participation of the global academic community in research and scholarship.[14]

As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri warn in *Empire*, it is nearly impossible now to step outside of what they awkwardly term ''the informational colonization of being'' perpetuated by a handful of communication industries that ''not only organize production on a new scale and impose a new structure adequate to global space, but also makes its justification immanent'' (2000, pp. 33–34). This new media empire, with its parallel in scholarly publishing's own forms of corporate concentration, only increases the importance of opening up alternative communication channels for scholarly inquiry in the name of open access. How else can the two-way knowledge gap suffered by both periphery and center be bridged? How else can the global scale of scholarly activity contribute all that it might to the democratic and public possibilities of a public sphere that is otherwise in danger of being overwhelmed by the proprietary interests of the communication industries?[15]

What this means is that scholars everywhere need to question their assumptions about what constitutes an adequate circulation of their and others' work. As scholars work against the partiality of knowledge, in the double sense of its being both biased and incomplete, they need to recognize that the best check on that partiality is to extend the global basis on which knowledge circulates, not only among university researchers, but among those working in related areas of health, education, welfare, and justice to draw on a few social science examples. Practically speaking, scholars and researchers need only ensure that the journals with which they are associated have a policy of offering open access at least to developing countries and that they upload published and unpublished work to open access e-print archives, when that work is not otherwise freely available online. It seems little enough to ask.

Yet there are undoubtedly risks to opening local cultures further to globalizing influences through their universities. Questions remain about whether the technology can reduce the information inequities and whether a balance can be found between global and local interests. Can technology indeed help rewire not only older patterns in the circulation of knowledge, but the spread of education and the growth of research capacities? Innovations in open access publishing are taking place against the chilling historical backdrop of earlier efforts at instilling universal education and global knowledge systems, when the West placed educating the native at the heart of imperialism's moral economy (Willinsky, 1998). The way forward with new scholarly publishing models is not without dangers, but the academic community has reason enough to pursue this principle of increased access to the knowledge it produces and to do so consciously against the backdrop of this ever-present past.

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NOTES

[1] With postsecondary education, the costs per student can be as much as sixteen times those for primary schooling, and up until the 1990s, the World Bank tended to treat postsecondary education in the developing world as an inefficient enterprise compared to sending students abroad (UNESCO, IFS, OECD, and WEIP 2003, 14). But that has changed with the World Bank's recognition that higher education can foster knowledge and sensibility (as well as contribute to a global knowledge-based economy) that can lead to more democratic and resilient nations (Banya and Elu 2001, 1).

[2] At this point, for example, the World Bank is devoting $800 million to increasing the Internet connectivity of developing countries; one example is the World Bank Group's Global Development Learning Network Project, a $3 million venture in Indonesia devoted to new communication and learning technologies for higher education. Vietnam has a $100 million World Bank Higher Education Project aimed at "capacity building, institutional development, and computerization."

[3] Sen has famously claimed that India has not suffered a substantial famine since democracy was established, as a result of this greater information openness and a free press. Sen acknowledges, however, that democratic India does not prevent millions of Indians from dying of malnutrition annually and has not yet been able to increase the national literacy rate above 60 percent. He remains concerned with an "elitist concentration on higher education" in India that operates at the expense of the primary and secondary schools (1999, 42).

4 A practical example of broader participatory capabilities, which Sen wishes to see developed, is found in the M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation program for setting up value-added centers, often staffed by women, which gather and distribute information through a hybrid wired and wireless network, linking ten to twenty villages, helping the villagers check on prices, government entitlements for villages, health care information, and ocean weather conditions (Arunachalam 2002).

5 Given Sen's belief in the importance of building public capabilities, developing public reason, and inspiring a sense of freedom and choice, Indian universities do seem to have a critical role to play, in gathering data, testing new models, and positing new theories, within local and global contexts. Yet they cannot do this effectively if they are isolated from the work of the larger research community. Thus I am concerned that, for example, at Delhi University, one of India's finest research libraries, with over a million volumes, had been forced by the late 1990s to give up two-thirds of its subscriptions, with cuts felt particularly in the arts, in which 582 titles were cut down to 168 (Patel and Kumar 2001, 61). Although university budget allocations in India during that period certainly fluctuated, with years of increase as well as decline, the reductions in general funding to Indian universities were nowhere near as drastic as the unrelenting price increases that, combined with currency fluctuations, forced the cutting of journal titles.

6 The Web site for the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications is at http://www.inasp.infoi. INASP's Programme for the Enhancement of Research Information has four components, with the delivery of information, through e-journal contracts with publishers being the first of these, followed by disseminating results of national and regional research, enhancing computer skills, and strengthening local publishing (Smart 2003). INASP launched African Journals Online in 1998 and it now hosts some 400 journals (Murray, 2010). The Electronic Publishing Trust for Development (EPT) is also committed to supporting publishing efforts in developing countries, and eIFL.net, a project of the Soros Foundation, has been active in negotiating licenses for electronic access on behalf of libraries in transition and developing countries.

7 The 90–98 percent discount figure is based on publishers' costs for managing access to their journals by the participating nations, a percentage that I take as further evidence of electronic publishing's surplus distribution capacity (Smart 2003). See African Virtual University http//www.avu.org.

8 HINARI also includes an additional forty-two countries with per capita GNPs of between $1,000 and $3,000, which pay $1,000 annually for national access, with the money going toward the training of librarians in the use of the HINARI catalogue and journals.

9 Access to Global Online Research in Agriculture, http://www.aginternetwork.org.

10 The open access response to this situation is found in the Scientific Electronic Library Online hhttp://www.scielo.orgi, a trilingual host for Iberian and Latin American journals with approximately eighty titles.

11 Similarly, in the case of Kenya, according to Adeya and Oyelaran-Oyeyinka (2002), "lecturers at the public universities have complained that their research potential is stifled due to excessive teaching hours, outdated technology or lack of modern technology and insufficient access to scholarly materials and publications. Yet, most are keen to develop research in their disciplines in order to further scholarship worldwide" (27).

12 For example, one study shows that of research articles concerning the forty-eight least developed countries in 1999–2000, only 30 percent had coauthors from local research institutes in those countries (Dahdouh-Guebas et al. 2003, 329). The authors of articles on those least-developed countries expressed confidence, when interviewed, in the "reliability" of local researchers and in the contribution of their own work to "development cooperation"; yet

Dahdouh-Guebas et al. feel compelled to conclude that a form of “safari research” is still commonly being practiced among researchers conducting their studies in the developing world (336). Benjamin Acosta-Cazares and his colleagues (2000) first used “safari research” in a paper that calculated that, although 25 percent of the world’s scientists live in developing countries, a scientist from the developed world is five times as likely to submit an article to, and 2.1 times as likely to have it accepted in the British Medical Journal than a scientist from a developing country. Additionally, scientists in developing nations are poorly represented on the editorial boards of such journals as Lancet and Nature (although they hold six of thirty-four positions with the British Medical Journal).

13 For example, according to its Web site http://pkp.ubc.ca/pocoli, Postcolonial Text, one of the first to use the Public Knowledge Project’s Open Journal Systems, has its initial team of editors, assembled in 2003, distributed among the West Indies, South Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Australia, and Canada, with each able to oversee the editorial process from a Web browser.

14 In the sciences, at least, one promising sign of reduced influence of the center-periphery model is the very growth in coauthorship between scholars from developed and developing nations (Arunachalam and Doss 2000). This international collaborative strategy is particularly common with authors working in countries with a very weak presence in the ISI Web of Science, as with Indonesia’s 266 papers, of which 88 percent had international collaboration (622). Although Arunachalam and Doss attribute the overall growth in international coauthorship to increased airline flights and international phone calls, it might also seem that enabling researchers in developing countries to have greater access to the research literature would only add to their capacity for this type of collaborative research. Also see Murray (2010) on this theme.

15 For Hardt and Negri (2000), what is at issue is the “right to reappropriation,” and in particular a “reappropriation of knowledge” that, as a “political demand of the multitude,” is all about ‘‘having free access to and control over knowledge, information, communication, and affects,” as it is “articulated with the powers of science and social knowledge through cooperation” (pp. 404, emphasis in original; 406; 407; 410).

INDEX