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Education Policies in the 21st Century

Comparative Perspectives

Edited by
Birol Akgün · Yusuf Alpaydın



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PREFACE

Characterized by increased mobility and technological advances, globalization has paved the way for a shared understanding of knowledge in response to interdependencies. Concepts such as Industry 4.0 and Education 4.0 have been frequently mentioned while entering the twenty-first century and have given rise to new trends and paradigms in education as a key to social and economic development. Making the right timely investments for the educational industry by studying globalization, new media, the path of technology, and the vision of the future has become increasingly important in order to be able to properly adapt to the integration of information and technology at the increasing speed with which they emerge.

Education has currently become the most important factor in solving common concerns such as economies struggling to survive in a globally competitive environment while also trying to improve people, preserve peace, and provide a more sustainable living environment for the planet. The domino effects of global phenomena are bringing nations together and blurring borders. Therefore, a more collective effort is required in education in terms of solving both local and international problems.

Published under the *Maarif Global Education Series* in this context, this book mainly deals with how education affects and has been affected by political, economic, and international developments using a comparative approach in three parts and 11 chapters. While these comparisons

involve countries' educational policies in some chapters, other chapters present these comparisons over educational models and processes.

The first part examines the relations between politics and education and reviews how the transformation of nation-states has affected educational institutions. It goes on to discuss the basic dynamics in the historical journey of the World Bank's education strategies from past to present, revealing a strategy for the future. Lastly, it examines the phenomenon of education reform as an important topic of the global agenda through the examples of Brazil and Turkey.

The second part starts by comparing the accountability policies of education systems over the cases of Spain and the United Kingdom, followed by analyses on how to solve the difficulties in transitioning from higher education to employment. The second part finishes by including another study focusing on a cost-benefit analysis, revealing the differences and similarities between vocational–technical education and general education.

The third and final part closely examines the international education sector. It begins with a discussion on international schools established and financed by the government/states in the context of cultural diplomacy and then focuses on new trends in international education mobility in the twenty-first century. This moves on to a critical review of the concepts expressed in the aims of international education programs such as global citizenship, universal culture, and international curriculum, which is then followed by a chapter examining the joint/dual international academic degree programs between the United States and China from the perspective of transnational higher education. The book concludes with a discussion on the results of the national, regional, and international transfer of education models using a comparative education approach.

We hope the book will be a reference source for researchers, experts, and educators and thank the experts from different parts of the world who have contributed with their quality articles.

Ankara, Turkey
Istanbul, Turkey

Biröl Akgün
Yusuf Alpaydın

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

- Yusuf Alpaydın** Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
- Richard Arnold** Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
- Şaban Berk** Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
- Metin Çelik** Selçuk University, Konya, Turkey
- Murat Çemrek** Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya, Turkey
- Roy Y. Chan** Lee University, Cleveland, TN, USA
- Stephen P. Heyneman** Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, USA
- Tavis D. Jules** Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
- İbrahim Hakan Karataş** Istanbul Medeniyet University, Istanbul, Turkey
- Kürşad Kültür** Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
- María-Jesús Martínez-Usarralde** University of Valencia, Valencia, Spain
- Muhammet Ü. Öztabak** Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University, Istanbul, Turkey
- Cristina Pulido-Montes** University of Valencia, Valencia, Spain
- Wadim Strielkowski** Prague Business School, Prague, Czech Republic
- Segâh Tekin** Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya, Turkey

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Political Actors and Education Policy



The Transformation of the Nation-States and Education

İbrahim Hakan Karataş

TRANSFORMATION OF THE NATION-STATE

Researchers who focus on the transformation of the nation-state take nations' societal differentiation in terms of their political or economic functions as the reference point. The criteria used in analyzing this differentiation concentrate on two focal points: sources of legitimacy and power dynamics in terms of politics, and the role and function of the state and market in terms of economics (World Bank, 1997).

From a political point of view, liberal, socialist, and fascist forms of state refer to three types of nation-states, or from a different point of view, three stages of a state. How the relationship between people and state as well as boundaries are defined inform the basis of liberal, fascist, and socialist forms of state in terms of their sources of legitimacy, power dynamics, and forms of governance. The fascist state, which favors the interests of a particular community or group over the others, and the socialist state, in which society takes precedence before all, have emerged in response to the liberal understanding of state based on the freedom of the individual (Axtmann, 2004, p. 273). In today's world, all three

İ. H. Karataş (✉)

Istanbul Medeniyet University, Istanbul, Turkey

e-mail: ibrahimhakan.karatas@medeniyet.edu.tr

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mentioned forms of nation-state are manifested somewhere around the world, whether or not a given nation-state formally identifies itself by any of these names or not. On the other hand, the strong shift that has taken place in terms of the semantics of the concepts of liberalism, fascism, and socialism must be taken into account (Hobsbawm & Cumming, 1995).

Another periodization describes nation-states by associating them with the stages of capitalism within the framework of the argument that the transformation in social and political life depends on economic transformations. This context has five recognized stages. According to Şimşek (2014), the first of these stages corresponds to the period of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the capitalist system (1789–1848). This period saw massive movement from the countryside to the metropolis and to highly industrialized regions, with the migrating populations settling near these industrial zones. This transformation in the mode of production also morphed the state. The second stage is the maturation and expansion of the capitalist system. This stage saw the culmination of the free capitalist system, which later would become a monopolistic system controlled by monopolies, trustees, and oligopolies. The third stage saw progressive and socialist movements emerge out of the collapse of wild capitalism. Developing in the second phase during this period, wild capitalism managed to survive until the 1930s, having survived the big collapse of the 1890s as the technologies and paradigms of options had not yet the power to oppose it. The fourth stage is the social welfare state stage. According to Şimşek, after the collapse of the entire structure and institutions of the wild, bourgeois, and liberal capitalist order in 1929, which fueled impoverishment, social injustice, and inequality to high degrees, the new economic model emerging with the Russian Revolution of 1917 based on the system of the planned state reanimated the collapsing liberal capitalist order. The main principle of the socialist economy that formed in 1917 would be the rehabilitation method of wild capitalism after transforming into a social welfare state (Hobsbawm & Cumming, 1995). The fifth and final stage (1980–circa 2025/30) is the stage of new liberal market capitalism. Neoliberalism argues a limited central power (state) and a liberated market to be the best economic model. For the neoliberal market economy to function, the embargo on customs houses; the standards that block free competition and flow-through laws, regulations, and directives; and restrictions on the capital flows and investments have to be removed (Şimşek, 2014, p. 157).

Much research has been conducted on the developments that had led to the transformations of nation-states, and these developments have been explained through multifaceted perspectives (World Bank, 1997). Bobbitt (2002) summarize the basis for the transformation of the nation-state in five articles: First—the recognition of human rights as norms which all states must follow notwithstanding their specific laws; second—the development of weapons of mass destruction for the defense of the state border and neutralization; third—the increase of global and transnational threats that no nation alone can control, cope with, or flee from (e.g., threats of environmental problems, immigration, contagious diseases, and famine); the fourth—the growing power of global capitalism that restricts nations’ economic administration capacities; and the fifth—the global communications network that threatens the languages, traditions, and cultures of nations by going beyond borders.

The ideal kind of regionally consolidated sovereign nation-state is defined by the terms of homogeneity, unity, and sovereignty. The post-nation-state period refers to the transformation and definition of these terms employed within the conceptualization of the nation-state. These three basic concepts have been replaced by the concepts of multi-centrality, heterogeneity, and plurality. The conflicts between nationalism and multiculturalism, the internationalization of the state, and geopolitical transformations have all been instrumental in putting these new concepts into wide use (Axtmann, 2004) (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Transformation of The Nation-State (*Note* Extracted from “The state of the state: The model of the modern state and its contemporary transformation,” by R. Axtmann, 2004, *International Political Science Review*, 25(3), 259–279)

From Modernism to Postmodernism

In the post-nation-state period, modes of living come first among the particular areas that have been transformed. The modern mode of living has transformed the everyday practices and values of agrarian society through new kinds of relations formed by urbanization and industrialization. In the post-nation-state period, the new ways of living have been glorified through modernism while negating the old ways and rejecting the pressure that had standardized life. To put in simpler terms, a search has emerged for alternatives to the artificial, standard, and monotonous ways of urban life (Kaypak, 2013; Yıldırım, 2009). With the widespread use of the Internet, different lifestyles have become more visible. The post-nation-state way of life, virtual relations, and the opportunity to socialize through social media have spread all over the globe. Through these opportunities, lifestyles that are imperial, global, or dominant have been replaced by local, confined, and remanufactured lifestyles (Brubaker, 2017, 2020b). The fact that alternative lifestyles can freely describe themselves and easily find fans has also encouraged authentic lifestyles to increase their visibility. In this new order, the demands of different cultural groups in terms of freely existing and becoming visible and active all point to the fact that the policies used to suppress the masses under a dominant group are no longer an option (Bobbitt, 2002).

From Nationalism to Multiculturalism

The concept of nation, one of the main elements of the modern nation-state, has also undergone a significant transformation. Yet, modern theorizations over the definition of the nation have been debated for a long time. The ethnic, cultural, political, and militaristic elements decisive in the formation of a given nation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been replaced by more complex, multi-layered, and multi-dimensional relations (Say, 2013). Human mobility, whether forced or voluntary, is the main determinant of the heterogeneity of societies. Moreover, conservative and isolated communities have a chance to become more open with student mobility, commercial activity, the circulation of products and services, culture, art, and sports, as well as regional and local business units and formations (Rex & Singh, 2003). However, as people from different countries started sharing common ground in terms of their problems, pleasures, and preferences, as well as approaches

to life and its philosophies, nation-states have been unable to keep peoples within their borders from forming multiple interactions and associations with people all around the world. These interactions have led nations to question the fundamental themes over which they had built their national identities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this period, known as “denationalization” (Jessop, 2002, p. 195, as cited in Axtmann, 2004, p. 270), the voice of the groups that fall within the minority in nation-states or which is assimilated later into the nation-state in some way has gotten bolder and higher in terms of demanding the nations to address the deep-rooted problems to first ensure them the fundamental rights granted to the citizens and given them the right to keep their language, culture, belief, history, and traditions alive.

From Unity to Multi-Centrality

The central structure of the nation-state has also had its share of this transformation. The definition of the state, the one which drives its source of legitimacy from its citizens and holds ultimate and unquestionable power through this sort of legitimacy, had to be abandoned through the influence of international and supranational structures, institutions, regulations, and tendencies. Although nation-states still are nation-states, they have adopted implementations that tie their sovereignty to external formations, regulations, and interactions. The formations connecting nation-states are not merely international or supranational organizations and regulations, for formations also exist with different statuses and types, from NGOs to the private sector and from professional associations to charities, which have forced nation-states to share their sovereignty of legitimacy and power with them. This has introduced nation-states to the concept of governance within themselves and of international governance (Goldmann, 2001; Parekh, 2002).

As Jessop put it, this is a period in which “fate has cut its ties from the political system” (2002, p. 195, as cited in Axtmann, 2004, p. 276). The pressure of internal governance nation-states face has increased so much as we witness different communities starting to demand autonomy. Demands for autonomy have started to include a wider range of topics beyond the demands in terms of education, health, and religion alongside the demands regarding regional and administrative autonomy that have also been made (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Characteristics of The Post-Nation-State Period (*Note* Extracted from “*Transforming the European Nation-State: Dynamics of Internationalization*,” by K. Goldmann, 2001, Sage, pp. 24–49)

The concept of international governance that has taken place can be examined in three dimensions that can be evaluated as both causes and effects. The first of these dimensions is the internationalization of problems. This refers to most of the political problems a nation faces that come or are imported from abroad. Environmental problems or international crimes are some examples. Secondly, the intensification of all kinds of human relations along the borders of the nation-state has led to social internationalization. The internationalization of societies involves the increasing exchange of goods, services, people, information, and ideas. Moreover, social internationalization can be encouraged by increased political cooperation. Transnational cooperation for special interests, as in the case of the EU, can be further encouraged through internationalized decision-making policies (Goldmann, 2001, pp. 24–49). The third is the internationalization of political decision-making. This internationalization manifests itself in decisions taken by inter-governmental organizations that consult with other states before making national decisions on negotiated international agreements and also in the intensity of decision-making

that extends to supranational decision-making. The scope of internationalized decision-making has expanded to the extent as seen in international decision-making opening up to new and ever-expanding policy domains (pp. 8–17).

According to Robertson and Chirico (1985, p. 237), the state of international mutual connection led nation-states to consider themselves part of the global order. As a result of this global self-reflection, social transformation and behavioral criteria have become topics of inter-societal, inter-continental, inter-civilizational, and inter-doctrinal debate and interpretation.

Ultimately, with the transformation of all three concepts, the conceptualization of the modern nation-state that had emerged in the eighteenth century has evolved into an international lateral hierarchical postmodern structure (Habermas, 1998; Şener, 2014). One can argue that a summary of these concepts will facilitate the understanding of this conceptualization regarding the post-nation-state period. In this context, the results of the transformation of the state in the post-nation-state period can be listed as follows:

1. The functions of the state have changed.
2. The definition of citizenship and identity has changed.
3. The power of international influences has changed.
4. National power has decreased.
5. Interdependence has increased.
6. Administration has been replaced by governance.
7. The state has reduced and become activated.
8. The dynamics of politics and governance have been reestablished.
9. The understanding of transparent and honest administration has strengthened.
10. The tendency to decentralize has increased.

The transformation of the nation-state has been an inevitable process resulting from social, economic, military, technological, and political developments. However, since the formation, types, and experiences of nation-states are not homogeneous, the effect of this transformation on nation-states and their reactions while transforming also differ from one another.

THE NATION-STATE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The post-nation-state period has had positive and negative repercussions. The strengthening of international interdependence and governance processes of the post-nation-state period has also contributed to the nation-state in terms of strengthening democratization, sensitivity to human rights, transparency, and accountability. Opportunities have emerged not only for the minority groups within a nation-state but also for the disadvantaged groups to become more visible. International regulatory organizations, courts, aid organizations, and observers have pushed and supported the nation-states that do not fully function in terms of providing justice, social welfare, or developmental opportunities. This was a positive development for communities that had previously been deprived of one of the most fundamental rights, equality of opportunities (Nimni, 2018).

The conditions of the post-nation-state period were not easy to accept for groups who strongly believed in the theory of the nation-state and had put it into practice. In societies that have difficulty accepting the terms and conditions of the post-nation-state, similar effects have emerged (Bieber, 2018; Glick Schiller, 2007; Jotia, 2011; Özdemir, 2012; Saval, 2017). First, even in the most advanced democracies, the weakening of nation-state values has led to the resurrection of right-wing policy approaches. Moreover, far-right parties have come to power in some countries. Secondly, strong nation-states have adopted protectionist and right-wing policies and practices to protect themselves within international and supranational organizations. Thirdly, the ideas that fuel the opposition to the “other” have become more visible in works of art, media, and publications. Fourthly, the opposition to the “other” often encountered in far-right groups has become more widespread and manifested in the form of verbal and physical violence. Fifthly, some of the dark paths and methods (e.g., political assassinations, political lynchings, and instigation of internal disturbance in a target country), thought to have become a thing of the past during the Cold War, have become visible again.

Nation-states recognize education as a social phenomenon of vital importance. Education being this important to nation-states is related to its social, economic, and, more importantly, political contributions.

To understand the developments in the field of education in the post-nation-state period, the function and importance of the phenomenon of education to the nation-state should be dwelled upon.

As stated in the basic laws or constitutions governing the national educational systems of many countries today, nation-states consider education to be a means for fulfilling three basic functions: ensuring national solidarity, urbanization/modernization, and ensuring economic development. When the importance and necessity of these functions are examined from the point of view of nation-states, the reason why education is an indispensable domain for the nation-state also becomes clear (Green, 1997).

Education is the Substance of Society

After the disintegration of empires and the replacement of kingdoms with republican regimes, the most fundamental issue the communities faced in exercising their right to self-rule was the formation of an authority to ensure social order, unity, and harmony. However, because the traditional elements of legitimacy enjoyed by kings such as religious power and authority also disappeared, the main problem of the nation-state was the groundwork of legitimacy on which the new state would establish its authority. Albeit theoretically, the new source of legitimacy was the free approval of the individuals who made up a given society; finding what would transform the society from a mere community or crowd into a nation and unite them on some common ground was not as easy. Almost none of the communities trying to establish an independent nation-state had a purely biological or organic common ground, nor did they have geographical, cultural, or religious commonalities (Aydın, 2018; Say, 2013). Moreover, people using different languages and as such not being able to understand each other have rendered solidarity and unity almost impossible. Founding a new nation under these conditions and making each member aware that they each are honorable individuals of that nation was the first test that nation-states had to pass. Thus, the citizens in the country had to learn a common language through which they could understand and communicate with each other, and they had to form common historical, cultural, social values and establish a unity of purpose through these values (Kap, 2008, pp. 4–5; Lazic & Pesic, 2016; Say, 2013).

Education Teaches One How to Live in a City

Nation-states have faced a rapidly changing atmosphere threatening social and everyday life. The new mode of life as informed by the concept of modernism was radically different from the traditional values, behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge. The new mode of living has necessitated the transformation of elements such as family, work, relationships, entertainment, art, and culture. Throughout the nineteenth century and ever since, the population which had migrated from the countryside to the big city has had great difficulty adapting to the new mode of life. This in turn led to economic, social, individual, and political calamities (Kaypak, 2013). Nation-states have considered education to be an effective and widely accessible tool for accelerating the adaptation of the masses to new modes of life (Kap, 2008, pp. 4–5). The nation-state would achieve urbanization and harmony in cities from the high culture it produced through elites and intellectuals, integrating it to the masses who had migrated from the countryside to the big city and thus building a modern society (Köymen, 2017).

Employment Through Education

Another threat the nation-state faced was the issue of economic growth and development. The securitization of the social order, and the tightly-knit relationship between political sovereignty and economic power, all these depend on the level of social welfare in a given society. Yet, with the transition from an agricultural economy to an industrial society and the new forms of production, the nation-state has had to teach the population the competencies and skill-sets suitable to these new forms of production for the prospect of a given nation-state. While being established, nation-states were expected to ensure the security of trade routes as a requirement of a mercantile economic approach and to foster appropriate environments for their citizens where they could conduct their commercial activities without any disruption (Günkör, 2017; Gylfason, 2001).

The nation-state considered education to be one of the most functional tools to achieve these goals.¹ Nation-states quickly began to make education more accessible so as to include all citizens. To this end, education has become standardized. Standardization encompasses educational environments, professionals' training, training tools, and methods, as well as goals and content. Education has come to be a more widespread, collective, accessible, and sustainable public service (Meyer et al., 1992).

THE TRANSITION STAGES TO THE POST-NATION-STATE PERIOD

Both in terms of political principles and economic approach and functionality, nation-states have experienced a multi-dimensional quest of transformation from when their first emergence to the present day. Although relatively short-spanned in terms of the history of civilization, nation-states are quite strong in terms of the upheavals and effects they have produced. These stages of transformation consist of four levels when analyzed in terms of political and economic context, as well as through the lens of other social implications and educational approaches. These stages are namely those of nationalization, nation-state, open society, and connectivity.

Stage of Nationalization

The stage of nationalization refers to the stage in which a society undergoes the processes of self-recognition, identification, and self-management as influenced by modernism and nationalism (Akıncı, 2012; Aydın, 2018). During this period, the primary objective has been to build a national identity and urbanize countrymen. Another goal is to strengthen and spread national trade. In this stage, first and foremost has been the adoption of an understanding of the social life that urbanites, elites, and artists have built and exemplified by a wider audience through a process of integration. This must be achieved by creating a modern, urban, and national identity for the people making up a nation (Say, 2013). Another characteristic of the nationalization period is the

¹ Other tools used by nation-states to ensure national unity, integrity, harmony, and order are elements such as the press, national heroes, and national and religious celebrations, as well as commemorations, culture, and art.

strengthening of the concepts of “us and them” because identifying as a nation also requires the identification of others as distinct beings.

Mass education is one of the most effective tools for nationalizing crowds. The education of this period is presented to all children through primary education with a curriculum prepared that takes into account the political and ideological interests of a nation (Meyer et al., 1992). A teacher is a civil servant who delivers the ideology of the state to a wide audience, while schools function as centers of modernization and nationalization. The educational approach of the nationalization period is behavioral and topic-centered. Education is common, public, and compulsory as much as opportunity allows (Erss, 2017; Meyer et al., 1992; Şentürk, 2010).

Stage of the Nation-State

Societies that have completed the process of nationalization move onto the second stage, that of strengthening the nation-state. At this stage, the primary objective is to strengthen the political and economic foundations of the nation-state. For this purpose, the democratization of the administration and encouragement of development is mandatory. The masses adopt the concepts of democratization, national will, and development through the concept of national economy. The quests begin for forming international relations to maintain national welfare and to increase the opportunities for cooperation start. During this period, international alliances, cooperation and development organizations, and supranational structures become prevalent. Regional and local interactions increase (Wimmer & Feinstein, 2010). National identity is further reinforced by citizenship awareness. Although international cooperation and alliances are found in this stage, the period is characterized by the perception of “us” and “our enemies.”

In the period of nationalization, education supports its extreme ideological and political scope with social and developmental goals. Education policies prioritize the spreading of secondary and higher education to train the qualified manpower needed to strengthen industry and trade after primary education (Meyer et al., 1992). The teacher of the state becomes the teacher of society at this stage when national identity and consciousness of being a citizen begin to mature. During this period, learning and teaching processes offer a structure focused on teacher and

workforce training. One of the main goals of education is to ensure national welfare and social justice as elements that will also ensure lateral and vertical mobility.

The Stage of the Open Society

In the third phase dominated by liberalism and marketability, nation-states inevitably evolved into systems dominated by the approach of the open society. Increasing international relations have entered into a new era controlled by the concept of cooperation. Meanwhile, the process of mutual support between the nation-state and market actors has ensured that domestic production and national brands would be included in the global market. The impact of globalization has increased the demands to become an open society. National culture and local lifestyles began to transform, echoing the demands and direction of the market. This transformation has gained a force evolving toward global standardization (Hill, 2003). This situation brought about the idea of rational nationalism, which the citizens of the nation-state found inconvenient. Instead of traditional nationalism with its emotional bonds, the consciousness and culture of a new bond to one's nation that is practical, useful, and rational have become prevalent. National identities and citizenship consciousness were replaced by individual identities. The relations with other countries, nations, and societies began to be defined by the concepts of "us" and "our opponents" (Bieber, 2018).

Education became commodified. Education has been shaped following the expectations of the market, and the curriculum has been transformed in a way to train entrepreneurial and innovative individuals. Particular segments of society that had traditional expectations from education argued education to have been emptied of its national and spiritual values. Education policies began to focus on higher education and life-long learning to provide advanced expertise in a given field. Teachers were transformed into specialist staff who would meet the expectations of the market. The processes of teaching and learning took a new turn centered on learning. After the concepts of the social state and national development, the concept that education policies placed foremost on the agenda was the equality of opportunity (Hill, 2003; Şentürk, 2010).

Stage of Connectivity

Communication technologies became mainstream in the late twentieth century, have radically transformed the social, political, and economical life of the twenty-first century, and have also brought the nation-state to a new level. At this new stage, known as the information and network society (Castells, 2005; Kap, 2008), the determinant political concept is a governance (Axtmann, 2004). Following representative and pluralistic democracy, the concept of governance transformed the nation-state in terms of the idea of governance as well as the organization and use of power. Communication technology forced nation-states and all organizational structures to be transparent and accountable, while globalized national culture was replaced by a local micro-culture (Yıldırım, 2009). The means and practices of freedom, expression of thought, and exercise of democratic rights were also transformed. In the previous stage, the common cultures and standardized lifestyles imposed by global powers and multinational companies started to form on their own, independent of the market and authorities. Collective identity (Nimni, 2018) reinforced the concepts of “us and them.”

Curricula prioritizing differences, the “other,” and cultural sensitivity were introduced to education. Learning has expanded its limits from formal and mandatory structures to lifelong learning. Teachers have freed themselves from the influence of the state, society, and markets; they no longer remained as the teacher of a particular group or society but were repositioned within a lateral and social framework. Breaking away from the teacher–learner duality, the experience of learning has become lifelong and shared by everyone. Schools have freed themselves from their institutional, political, bureaucratic, and ideological ties in open-access environments (Brubaker, 2020a; Castells, 2005) (Table 1).

EFFECTS OF THE POST-NATION-STATE PERIOD ON EDUCATION

Traditional functions of the mass and mandatory education systems of the nation-state would be listed under three basic headings: social, political, and economic. As mentioned above, the functions of national unity, development, and urbanization that nation-states expect from education have also deeply transformed. Nation-states that realized national unity through homogeneity and uniformization through education have now

Table 1 Transformation of nation-states and education

<i>Stage</i>	<i>The approach of the nation-state</i>	<i>The approach of education</i>
<i>Nationalization</i>	Nationalism Self-recognition, identification Self-administration A modern, urban, and national identity Urbanization and strengthening national trade “Us” and the “other”	Nationalizing masses A political and ideological curriculum Teacher of the state Primary education School as a center of modernization and nationalization Behavioral and topic-centered Common, mass, and mandatory education
<i>Nation-state</i>	The national state, national will Democratization National economy and national welfare International relations and cooperation Regional and local interactions The consciousness of being a citizen “Us” and “the enemies”	Social and developmental goals Strengthening industry and trade Qualified manpower Secondary and higher education Teacher of the society Teacher and workforce-oriented Lateral and vertical mobility National welfare and social justice
<i>Open Society</i>	Liberalism and marketability Open Society International relations and cooperation Local production, national brand National state and market actors Globalization and standardization Rational nationalism Individual identities “Us” and “our opponents”	Commodification, market expectations Entrepreneurial and innovative individuals Higher education and lifelong learning Teacher of the market Learner-focused Social state and national development Equality of opportunity
<i>Connectivity</i>	Information and network society Governance Transparency and accountability Local and micro-culture Collective identity “Us and them”	Differences, the “other,” and cultural sensitivity Lifelong learning Teacher of particular groups or societies Lateral and social approach A period in which everyone is a lifelong learner School as an open-access environment

returned to the practice of adopting pluralism, diversity, difference, and re-establishing society through multiplicity and uniqueness (Jotia, 2011; Standish, 2019).

Another objective that the nation-state wanted to achieve through education was to bring all individuals closer to the standard values and the standard way of urban life and to create a common world of urban culture and values. However, the post-nation-state period expresses a diversity of values, beliefs, approaches, and trends, and thus uncertainty as well. As a result, instead of being informed by the high culture imposed by the elite, intellectual, or select few, the education of the post-nation-state period has acquired a new meaning so as to allow a web of interaction through differentiated values, beliefs, and modes of living among the individuals (Axtmann, 2004; Karataş, 2020; Nevola, 2011; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002).

Consequently, the educational system that strived to train the human capital demanded by the economy and market with the developmental economic approach has evolved into a body of systems to teach how to learn, centering around basic competencies and entrepreneurship skills as a result of the post-nation-state period in which sustainability and qualifications have changed (Şentürk, 2010).

The duties entailed by moral regulation, which educates, disciplines, and thus creates a society ensuring social order and harmony of the nation-state, have also weakened and begun to disappear. In the post-nation-state period, the state has had to leave this moral regulatory functional performance to society itself (Erss, 2017; Green, 1997).

In modern nation-states where modernism could be defined as professional differentiation, social relations, roles, statuses, and interactions were also defined through this differentiation. However, nation-states interacted with their citizens through a spiritual bond when found necessary. This spiritual connection could be historical, geographical, religious, cultural, or ethnic. The post-nation-state period reinforced professional segregation in nation-states. The understanding of the separation of religion and science, which is considered to be theoretical in modern society, as well as the separation of religion from state affairs and politics from economics have been implemented precisely in the post-nation-state period (Axtmann, 2004, p. 267).

Now, nation-states can no longer arrive at situational choices in these or similar dilemmas with a decentralized approach. The intertwining of societies, cultures, and beliefs also rendered the transition between these

concepts quite difficult. As each structure separated itself and created a new social group, the only way for the individuals who were members of more than one social group to exist in more than one social group was to separate their identities into pieces. These subsystems thus could ensure their effectiveness with strong customization, specification, professionalization, and original organizational structures. The contributions and functions the subsystems expect from one another have become apparent. The further empowered autonomy of specialties and professions has forced subsystems to establish a more rational relationship with one another (Axtmann, 2004, p. 268).

Although education as a social phenomenon maintained its natural course, educational systems had to transform with their institutionalized state as schools. As mass educational institutions and localities of the nation-state, industrial society, and modern cities, schools have been forced to transform themselves, starting with their institutional structures and spaces (Alpaydın, 2018; Barr & Stephenson, 2011). The domains in terms of which schools have been affected in this transformation can be listed as follows:

1. Schools have now ceased to be an institution established and overseen only by the state; they have transformed into institutions founded and administered by the will of society itself.
2. Schools' modern functions of cultivating individuals and citizens and raising manpower have also evolved.
3. The hierarchical, bureaucratic, and dominant institutional structure and construct of schools have changed.
4. The standardized learning content of schools has gained autonomy in accordance with the demands and needs of individuals and social groups.
5. Schools' teacher/topic-centered learning-teaching processes, formed at the will of the state, have taken a new form that places society at the forefront.
6. The national identity of schools has transformed internationalization. Teacher and student mobility has turned all schools into multicultural environments.
7. For almost a century, educational services have been financed by the public budget due to schools being public institutions and education a public service. However, new structures have

- emerged through which education would be financed with collective approaches and alternative finances.
8. The belief that education is a constitutional right and duty and that it should be performed under the supervision and surveillance of the state has been reinforced. Although concepts such as school supervision, surveillance, accountability, and transparency have gained prevalence, standardization has also increased. Although civil and autonomous structures had been established by the methods of society itself, the predominance of market expectations has reinforced the standardization of education.
 9. Reestablishing the teacher identity has been attempted with a community-based understanding by separating it from the curriculum-oriented teacher approach of the market school and the didactic approach of the Frankfurt school as the founder of the educational understanding of nation-states (Erss, 2017). A new community-based teacher identity could be achieved only by developing self-identification, solidarity, and participation in decision-making. But these efforts also remained singular and unsustainable.
 10. Education ceased to be an institutional social phenomenon and began to assume new forms that opened up toward non-standardized learning quests of individual or smaller groups.

INITIATIVES TAKEN TO TRANSFORM EDUCATION IN THE POST-NATION-STATE PERIOD

In the post-nation-state period, education has become an issue requiring particular attention in many countries. In every region of the world, starting with the regions and countries at the height of globalization, an agenda of reform in the educational field has been established (Lingard, 1996). The USA, Canada, UK, Russia, and EU member countries, as well as the countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Caucasus have sought to melt global influences with their own in a melting pot. In these endeavors, the characteristics of countries in terms of their regime, society, economy, circumstances, and educational system have led to differences in their reformational educational efforts and practices (Graney, 1999; Maassen & Cloete, 2006; Rizvi, 2017).

In the search for reforming educational systems, the cross-border effects of interdependence, population mobility, and problems accompanying globalization have been determinant. The repercussions of these effects on nation-states have materialized through the common policies of global and regional associations in which nation-states are involved. Global and regional associations such as UNESCO, the World Bank (WB), European Union (EU), Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), World Trade Organization (WTO), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Southern Common Market (Mercado Común del Sur-MERCOSUR), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) have been instrumental for their respective member states in terms of transforming their educational systems into a structure that will meet the requirements of one that is beyond the nation-state. Other international organizations' preparing joint tests in which various countries participate and publishing the results of participant countries in the field of education (PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, etc.) as well as international and regional associations and structures publishing reports analyzing countries in terms of their educational systems have forced nation-states to review their education systems in the backdrop of global standards (Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010).

These transnational effects have led nation-states to question themselves in many areas, especially in terms of the contribution educational systems make to economic development. They began to analyze innovative needs on issues such as whether educational outcomes meet the demands and expectations of the global labor market, with increased sensitivity to global and regional problems, innovation, entrepreneurship, and sustainability. The USA, China, Japan, Germany, Russia, and the Nordic countries have transformed their education from student-centered systems to economy-centered ones. However, education systems in developing and underdeveloped countries have more fundamental problems such as insufficient classrooms and schools for meeting educational demands; insufficient qualified teachers, finances, and educational materials; and insufficient resources for meeting the educational needs of groups requiring special attention and disadvantaged groups, to name a few. However, global forces, dominant ideologies, and the ubiquitous competitive market have forced underdeveloped countries to remain dependent and passive (Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010). Although calls for reform in Pakistan expressed a wider range of reform motivations around the world such as global pressure and economic development, the main

problem was to increase investment in access to education, especially primary education (Aziz et al., 2014).

The search for innovation and quality has made the attempts to overcome the problems of the post-nation-state period an important focus of the reform quests: The main ones can be counted as the need for culture-based education caused by immigration and human mobility, the pursuit of democratization in education emerging with the educational demands of various social segments, and the necessity of keeping up with digitalization in education based on developments. Finally, developments that increase diversity and interaction have rendered nation-states accountable, pressuring them to use public resources effectively and efficiently (Hursh, 2000).

Environmental challenges have compelled nation-states to accelerate innovations in educational systems. This process of inquiry and adaptation has culminated in greater control and standardization in national educational systems (Hursh, 2000). In the search for reform from the last quarter of the twentieth century, some common qualities can be observed despite country-based differences. The attempts to transform the educational system holistically come first among these. Although this approach was not observed in every country in the first reform movements, over time this holistic approach began to gain momentum. For instance, reform initiatives in Turkey that began with the curriculum transformation back in 2004 were developed into a reform initiative covering the entire system in 2018. Taking into account the research on the new conditions arising from the impact of globalization, the reform initiatives that had gained much more importance in the last 25 years seem to focus on seven main areas (Fullan, 2011b; Hursh, 2000; Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010) (Fig. 3).

Reform of the Whole System

The popular belief that an educational system to meet the needs of the post-nation-state period could not be maintained with educational systems developed back in the nation-state period has led countries to search for reforms aimed at the total transformation of educational systems (Fullan, 2009, 2011a, 2011b). In a quest for holistic reform, states have tried to transform the educational system with an approach considering all levels including lifelong learning from early childhood

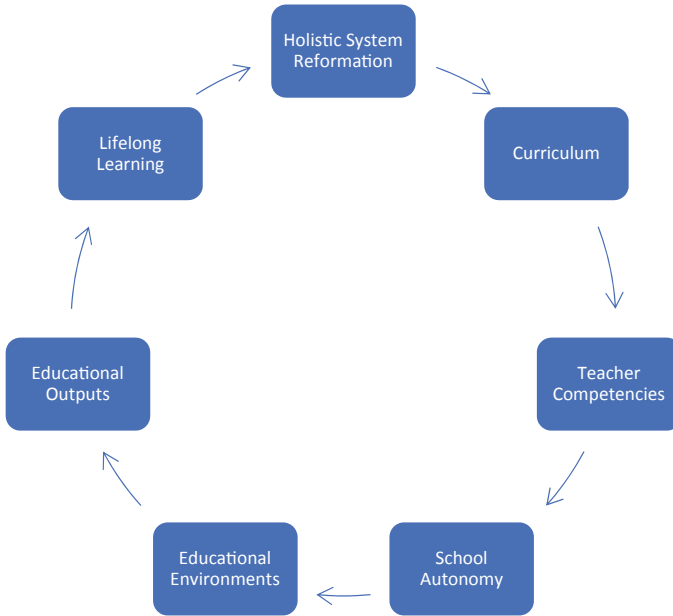


Fig. 3 Transformation fields in education in The Post-Nation-State period

and preschool education as well as primary education, secondary education, higher education, and vocational training at all levels of education; states have started to pursue a simultaneous transformation of all stages of education. The integrity of the transformation quest has also been observed in terms of the elements of the educational system. States have tried to completely transform the system in terms of administration and organization, curricula, teachers, school administration, educational environments, and financial resources. As examples of the holistic approach, national core curriculum studies, the No Child Left Behind Act (USA, 2001), regulations on effect since the 1990s in the UK, and reform initiatives for higher education in South Africa are worth examining. Holistic reform approaches include market-based approaches such as promoting private schooling, as well as domains such as school levels, administration and organization of education, supervision, and accountability (Maassen & Cloete, 2006).

Curriculum

One of the central issues in the transformation of national education reforms over the last 25 years has been the revision of curriculum (Fullan, 2011a). The main issue in curriculum reforms is the widely accepted belief that twenty-first-century skills have changed. The twenty-first-century skills put forth by the USA have led all to the revision of all educational systems according to these skills, particularly in UN member countries. Curriculum revisions also had the hint of a national standardization, as in the case of the USA. New curricular arrangements parallel to the constructivist approach have become widespread. Sustainability and multiculturalism emerged as two key elements in curriculum revisions under UNESCO's leadership. Among the priorities in curriculum are regulations that raise the accessibility of the methods, content, and approaches that would increase success on international tests (Rizvi, 2017).

Teacher Qualifications

In the post-nation-state period, the emphasis on teacher qualifications increased considerably to ensure the desired change in education. Teachers who communicated the ideology of the nation-state need to acquire a new teaching mission to respond to the expectations of twenty-first-century skills, as well as those of the market and society in the post-nation-state period. During this period as phenomena and processes such as learner-centered, topic-centered, and project-based learning, interdisciplinary studies, and digitalization became widespread, teacher competencies have also been transformed (Furlong, 2013; Leana, 2011).

The recent increase in the amount of research conducted on the professional development of teachers in the field of educational sciences is proof of this. States have also increased their policies and investments in teachers' professional development to successfully implement these reforms. The networks established within the EU-based efforts (eTwinning and Erasmus mobility programs) to improve the professional development of teachers have spread to all neighboring countries. In countries such as the USA, Turkey, Australia, Germany, and Singapore, opportunities for the professional development of teachers have increased through cooperation protocols with universities, international technology companies, and publishers.

School Autonomy

One of the key areas of change for the post-nation-state period was the defining of schools as institutions. Based on decentralization, nation-states-built schools as public spaces and instruments of state organization. Privatizing or autonomizing schools to increase their functionality in terms of funding and administration of education has become a popular topic of discussion (Hursh, 2000). In terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes or learning processes and structures, the diversity of schools has required rethinking what schools are to ensure accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness. Discussions around the concept of civil society were also issues raised in the restructuring of schools as institutions. However, the privatization and neoliberal economic approaches to the market that were on the agenda in the educational field have raised more concepts such as strategic planning in schools, overall quality control, leadership, profitability, effectiveness, and efficiency (Karataş, 2008). These initiatives have been effective in promoting teacher unions and student movements in many countries such as Romania, TRNC, the USA, and Chile (Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010).

Educational Environments

The repercussions of nation-states' change of educational format have also been observed in traditional educational settings. However, with the transformation of teaching-learning approaches, more democratic, participatory, and interactive learning environments were chosen while the sustainability of school structures and equipment and the harmony between school and nature gained emphasis. The transformation of communication technologies necessitated the transformation of educational environments into a kind of access center. Internet connection as well as the infrastructure and equipment necessary for computer technologies, Internet-based equipment provisions, and therefore the development of internet-based learning tools have become necessary. The expectation of skills-oriented education output has necessitated the transformation of educational environments into skills-oriented centers. Reconfiguring educational environments to be sensitive to cultural differences and human-centered in terms of meeting the needs of society have become a popular topic of discussion (Radmard et al., 2019). Providing wideband Internet to schools and converting each school into access centers were

among the primary objectives. Within the scope of the FATİH Project (Karataş & Sözcü, 2013), schools were transformed into wellness centers, and design and skills workshops were established.

Educational Outputs

The post-nation-state period also required a reconfiguration of educational outputs. The most tangible initiative that falls within this topic is the formation of the European e-Competence Framework (2016) for standardizing education levels to increase the validity of learning outcomes among countries. Countries have begun to issue diplomas listing the competencies and skills acquired alongside the regular diploma to ensure quality in terms of equivalence. Diploma supplements have become valid in terms of lifelong learning and professional competencies in eight levels from preschool to post-graduate studies for standardizing educational outputs. The application of the European Credit and Transfer System (ECTS) at higher education levels has been adopted by universities both in and outside of Europe. The establishment of the Professional Competency Board in Turkey was a step taken in this direction to bring professional standards closer to European standards.

Many universities in non-European countries such as Kazakhstan that wish to take part in the European Higher Education Area and bring their higher education standards to EU standards have also adopted ECTS. Even though not being members of the OECD, many countries have agreed to remain open to international supervision and surveillance by submitting data to the prepared annual training report or by participating in the PISA, which is held every three years. Reports published by university ranking organizations at the higher education level have also pushed national educational systems to reorganize higher education. Knowledge-based economic priorities have forced universities to re-position themselves as institutions carrying out innovations on a global scale. This has been the reference point for higher education reforms in countries such as Finland, Ireland, South Africa, and four Asian economies (i.e., the Asian Tigers; Maassen & Cloete, 2006).

Another motivation requiring learning outputs to become universalized is the formation of educational content and the demand for a more global, flexible, and sustainable development for learning, one which focuses on competence-oriented output by increasing international interactions and which prioritizes peaceful approaches (Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010).

Lifelong Learning

Global interaction has led nation-states to form initiatives to adapt to the global life, economy, and production processes. Lifelong learning is one of the most important components of educational systems. In the post-nation-state period, lifelong learning has required adults and the working population to acquire the knowledge, skills, and competencies that would in turn allow them to adapt to changing circumstances. Multiculturalism and second language learning, along with others such as legislative competencies in addition to coping with new situations accompanying the Internet and digitalization have ranked among the topics the adult population has had to acquire to keep up with the standards of lifelong learning (Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010).

Another dimension of lifelong learning is obtaining new diplomas from universities in other countries through distance learning using globalization and communication technologies. This has provided important opportunities for multinational companies to empower their human resources. Within this context, constant education or lifelong learning centers as part of universities have rapidly become widespread in many countries.

Lifelong learning has also become one of the important areas of activity of national and international NGOs. Supported by funds provided under international programs, NGOs have been offering training services to citizens from many countries on common subjects. These training sets include common issues of different states regarding the development of professional formations, sustainability, human rights, civil rights, disadvantaged groups, women, youth, children with special needs, refugees, and more (Karataş, 2008).

CONCLUSION

With a history encompassing a period of almost two centuries, nation-states have become the most fundamental component and actor in the massification and institutionalization of education. Over this period, nation-states have undergone a continuous transformation in terms of their form of government, authority, and limitations, as well as impacts and power. The area in which we observe the effects of the repercussion of this transformation most clearly is education. Especially after the 1970s,

transformations in the political system, globalization, internationalization, and transnational structures have led to questioning the concepts of homeland, nation, common language, common culture, national history, and spiritual values, which are the pillars of the nation-state. The objectives of economic independence and national development were affected and directed by global forces and international companies. International and supranational structures, institutions, laws, and interactions expanded their areas of responsibility while limiting the power of nation-states. The upheaval and the new world order instigated by liberalism by taking over the polarized world order have increased population movements. The increasing number of international migrations due to poverty, famine, terror, war, and internal conflict have reactivated the reflex nation-states have to protect their borders. The information communication technologies revolution of the 2000s brought about the need to redefine where nation-states stand through the flow of information and culture, as well as physical flow and mobility.

The stages of the nation-state (i.e., nationalization, nation-state, open society, and connectivity) have also manifested in the transformation of educational approaches and practices of nation-states. The recently globalized problems, globalized societies, and globalized governance mechanisms of the post-nation-state period have also necessitated the reorganization of educational systems. Independent states around the globe have embarked on various reforms to bring their education systems up to the educational standards of post-nation-states. Educational reforms have surged as comprehensive initiatives addressing the whole system. The concepts of teacher, curriculum, organization of the school, physical design, learning outputs, and lifelong learning have emerged as the main topics of the discussions on educational reforms. Educational reforms have reinforced standardization and control mechanisms in developed countries while increasing dependence on developed countries in underdeveloped countries. Despite the unwanted consequences, powerful winds of transformation continue to push nation-states and national education systems to become integrated into the new conditions. While remaining the sole underpinning to realize national independence and development goals for the nation-states, education has now assumed a different characteristic for training humans who are capable of maintaining global interaction while passing down cultural capital, promoting scientific advancement, and increasing organizational capacity according to what the ever-changing conditions entail.

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When Models Become Monopolies: The Making of Education Policy at the World Bank

Stephen P. Heyneman

BACKGROUND: THE DILEMMA OF MANPOWER PLANNING

In April 1976, I was invited to join the Education Department of the World Bank.¹ Like the Departments of Transport, Agriculture, Banking, and Industry, the Education Department was situated in the Central Project Staff (CPS). The purpose of CPS was to design policy, assess the effectiveness of current lending, support operations (on invitation from the operating divisions), design new policy, and do quality control checks. This latter one was thought to be the most delicate in that one was asked to comment on all operations, and in very extreme circumstances, one

¹ The reader is assumed to know the purposes and mechanisms of the World Bank. If not, one can read Heyneman (2005).

Adapted from Heyneman, S. P. (2012). Education policy and the World Bank: When models become monopolies. In A. Wiseman & C. Collins (Eds.), *Education strategy in the developing world: Understanding the World Bank's education policy revision* (pp. 43–62). Emerald Publishers.

S. P. Heyneman (✉)
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, USA
e-mail: s.heyne@vanderbilt.edu

would be able to object to those operations thought to be inadequate (see Fig. 1). On my first day, I was assigned 16 countries to monitor; most were countries I knew little about, including India, Algeria, and Nicaragua. On my second day, I was told to attend a decision meeting concerning a vocational education loan to Algeria.

The decision meeting was attended by 20 people: senior economists from the region, representatives of the department director, the legal department, and the team of experts who had appraised the project. The

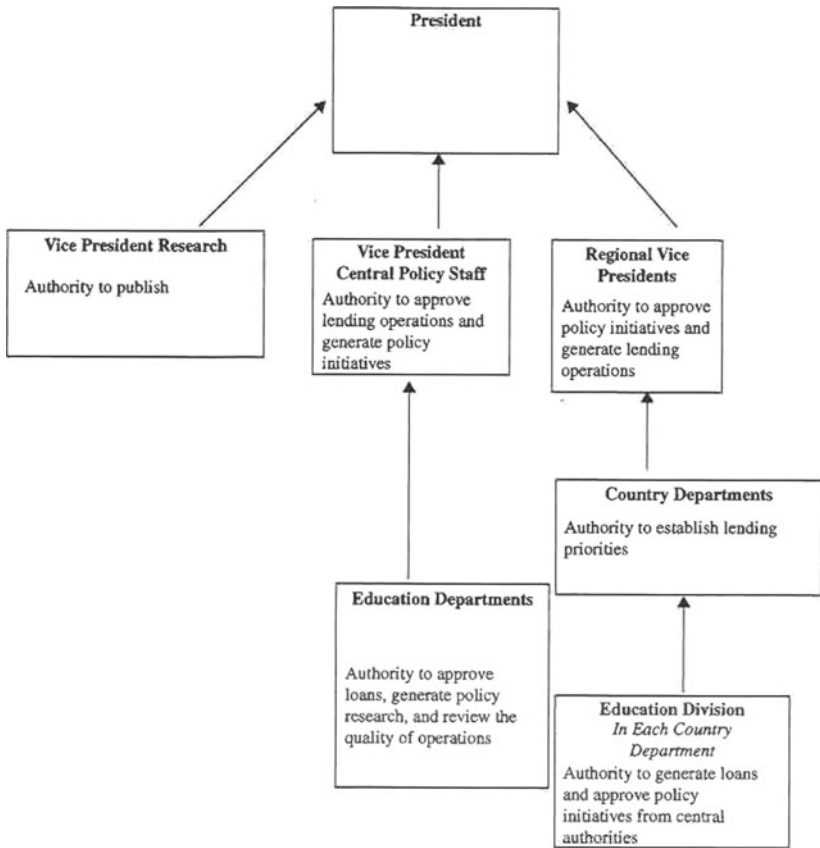


Fig. 1 World Bank's internal processes from the early 1970s to the early 1980s (Source Heyneman, 2005, p. 31)

meeting was chaired by the education division chief for the Europe and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regions. The project intended to build new vocational schools and modernize existing schools. It had been justified on educational grounds because the current curriculum was considered overly academic. It was justified on economic grounds because, according to a recent manpower forecast, the need for technical manpower was growing. The chair asked if there were any questions. I put up my hand to ask if we had any other economic evidence to justify the project other than a manpower plan. There was a moment of silence. The chair responded that no other economic evidence existed. That is how the trouble began.

I had just completed a degree at the University of Chicago and was nurtured on the evidence described by Mary Jean Bowman as economic rates of return. I knew that economics had other types of evidence. I reported the essence of the meeting to my director, Mats Hultin, the ex-Minister of Education from Sweden. He told me to chat with chief economist Manuel Zymelman, who carefully explained to me why economic rates of return were useless for planning development. Wage rates were a poor substitute for productivity. The evidence took years to collect and, while perhaps marginally useful for sector work, economic rates of return were completely impractical for deciding on a specific loan.

HOW THE WORLD BANK MAKES EDUCATION POLICY

There were two problems with his explanation. Manpower planning could only justify the expansion of specific skill training. This left out any assistance to primary or general secondary education or higher education outside of engineering or any of the technical fields. Because only one type of evidence was acceptable, the bank could not respond to country requests for assistance to any other part of the education sector, in spite of the fact that the needs were desperate in many cases. In the effort to infuse skill training into general education, the absence of prices in manpower forecasting allowed the Bank to design projects that were underutilized and distorted. For instance, every secondary school assisted by the Bank was required to build diversified workshops in agriculture, metalwork, woodwork, and domestic science (for girls). These increased the unit cost by 250% and ended up not being used for their original purposes, instead getting turned into normal academic classrooms. This also meant that primary schools, when assisted, had to double as community centers. In

one case, it meant that the construction of a university library could only use the bank's support for books and materials related to engineering (Heyneman, 1985, 1987, 1999). When I tried to discuss the importance of primary education with the chief economist of the Africa region, he was quick to tell me that primary education could never be considered a priority for the Bank. It was too scattered in implementation, unrelated to a nation's manpower needs, and was the responsibility of local governments, not a developmental assistance agency.

The second problem had to do with the Bank's education sector staff. All were well-versed in manpower planning, but none had experience with any other kind of evidence. The monopoly given to manpower planning implied a powerful vested interest within the staff that would be threatened if change were to occur. How could one break the monopoly of manpower planning when such a strong opposition to any analytic change was present?

As luck would have it, the answer came in the form of a new Education Director. Aklilu Habte was suggested by World Bank President Robert McNamara. He was the first Ethiopian to receive a Ph.D. in education (Ohio State, 1952), a professor of education, a dean of education, a president of the University of Addis Ababa, a minister of education, and a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) governing board; he was the first African Education Director in the Bank.

The first move was to actually utilize rates of return in a Bank document. Since India was assigned to me for monitoring, I was asked to draft a desk study on the economics of education in India. This short paper relied on economic rates of return and challenged the common perception in the Bank that India was overeducated (Heyneman, 1979). Fortunately, the new Vice President for South Asia, David Hopper, had been a friend of Aklilu for years. While the India paper was slowly making its way through the layers of bureaucracy for (mostly skeptical) comment, Aklilu sent it directly to David Hopper at his home address. The next day a memo came from the Vice President's office to me personally (an unprecedented event). It had one sentence: "re: paper on India: Damn fine paper." This effectively trumped the many layers between the vice president's office and me and helped to inspire an encouraging response from the India division.

A second opportunity occurred with the announcement that a tracer study had occurred in Malawi, another country on my watch. This study

had followed secondary school students into the labor market. Data existed for those who had left secondary school after two years as well as for those who had finished in four years. The questionnaire asked about earnings. This led to the first use of rate-of-return evidence to assess the economic viability of investments in secondary education in Eastern Africa (Heyneman, 1980).

In some ways, having these two precedents helped make the point that other kinds of evidence were feasible. But the major thrust for change came from a decision from the president himself. To explore new education policies that Aklilu might wish to inaugurate, the president appointed an external panel. Included on the external panel was Mary Jean Bowman from the University of Chicago. The panel's report (World Bank, 1978) was explicit in pointing out the likely distortions from manpower planning and called for a diversity of evidence. This led the way to the next question as to who we might invite to help us systematize alternative sources of economic evidence.

ACT TWO: THE ACQUISITION OF GEORGE PSACHAROPOULOS

Over a lunch with Aklilu, I suggested that we approach George Psacharopoulos, an economics graduate of the University of Chicago and at the time teaching at the London School of Economics. Arrangements were made for me to visit London and take him and his wife out to dinner. Over that dinner, I proposed that he consider joining the World Bank. The offer was accepted.

Psacharopoulos was not seen as being problem-free. He had a reputation for being a strong advocate of the use of economic rates of return; the question was raised whether he was broader than that. I pointed out his work on equity. This was accepted as a sign of diversity of interest, and the bank hired him to manage a research unit within the Education Department. Immediately, conflict broke out with Manuel Zymelman. But this conflict was exactly what had been anticipated and was the purpose behind his acquisition. We could not diversify our evidence if the current senior economist was opposed to it; he had to be neutralized.

The combination of having a precedent for using economic rates of return in education sector work (Malawi and India), guidance from the external panel, and an articulate advocate (Psacharopoulos) led to the explicit statements in the new Education Policy paper, which called

for diversity of evidence and, just as importantly, diversity in lending purposes. Specifically mentioned were general primary and secondary education, higher education, and education research. Under certain conditions, all were economically justified (World Bank, 1980).

ACT THREE: THE MONOPOLY OF RATE-OF-RETURN EVIDENCE

While the use of economic rates of return had opened the Bank to consider general education (as opposed to vocational), problems quickly came with the data's interpretation. A report published by Psacharopoulos et al. (1986), which was later followed by additional evidence (Psacharopoulos, 1994), argued that public finance for higher education should be transferred to primary education and that higher education should increasingly become privately financed through tuition. Low-income students should be offered loans to help finance their university studies. East Africa had an immediate reaction. Newspapers and radio commentators associated this line of argument with neocolonialism and a way in which the Bank might be trying to keep Africa in a subordinate position. In response, Psacharopoulos was sent to Nairobi to explain the paper's point of view. As I recall, the thought was that Kenyans simply needed to better understand economics and the reasons why these policy recommendations were equity-enhancing. He returned, stunned by the response that evidently had come close to being violent. This was the first encounter with a line of argument not included in our regressions. As I recall, it was dismissed as being just politics.

In the 1980s, Psacharopoulos was transferred to the office of the Vice President in the Latin America region. The region was volatile. Flush with Middle Eastern capital from the oil embargo, banks had made extensive and often improper investments. Crippled by bad loans in Brazil and Argentina, major banks in New York and London had been endangered. New infusion of capital had to be quickly transferred to local authorities to refinance the otherwise faulty loans. This was the Baker Plan, named after the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. At one of the meetings for implementing this plan, he was said to have commented about the absence of the World Bank at the table. Until then, the Bank had been an institution that operated on the basis of project-by-project development. Each project was geared to a five-year implementation cycle. While the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was supposed to be the fireman to call in

the case of a fiscal crisis, the bank had very different terms of reference. But to not be at the table when strategies are being planned is not in the nature of any important institution; hence came the birth of a new form of lending called structural adjustment. Instead of allocating monies to cover the cost of infrastructure improvements, the Bank's Board of Directors approved the possibility of allocating resources on the basis of policy change. The resources were large, often in the hundreds of millions of dollars, and were implemented quickly, in some cases within a week of being approved.

When the Bank began loaning money in Latin America for structural adjustments, criticisms arose that the poor were being adversely affected. Moreover, because reductions in public-sector salaries (including teacher salaries) were sometimes part of the adjustment process, education in rural areas was said to be suffering (UNICEF, 1987). The question became whether there might be a way to protect the poor through education within a structural adjustment loan. Psacharopoulos' response included the same short list of policy options proposed in his earlier paper (Psacharopoulos et al., 1986); namely, to reduce public expenditures on higher education, transfer those expenditures to primary education, and institute a program of educational loans to help finance the private higher education costs for those who could not afford the tuition. The difference in this case was that the policy menu was negotiated in the context of a structural adjustment loan, a loan usually given to the Ministry of Finance. As a result, the education policy changes were agreed upon with the Ministers of Finance, sometimes over the objections of the Ministers of Education.

Policy-based lending became an important new sector in the Bank with active projects in Africa, Latin America, and occasionally other regions. Also, because policy-based loans were a hybrid between policy and lending operations, a new office was established above the vice presidents. This office was titled the Senior Vice President for Policy (see Fig. 2).

Psacharopoulos was transferred to this office in the late 1980s, thus raising the visibility of rates of return and the short policy menu that had been proposed many times in Latin America and Africa. This new position gave the rate-of-return approach a virtual monopoly over sector work in terms of lending as well as policy development.

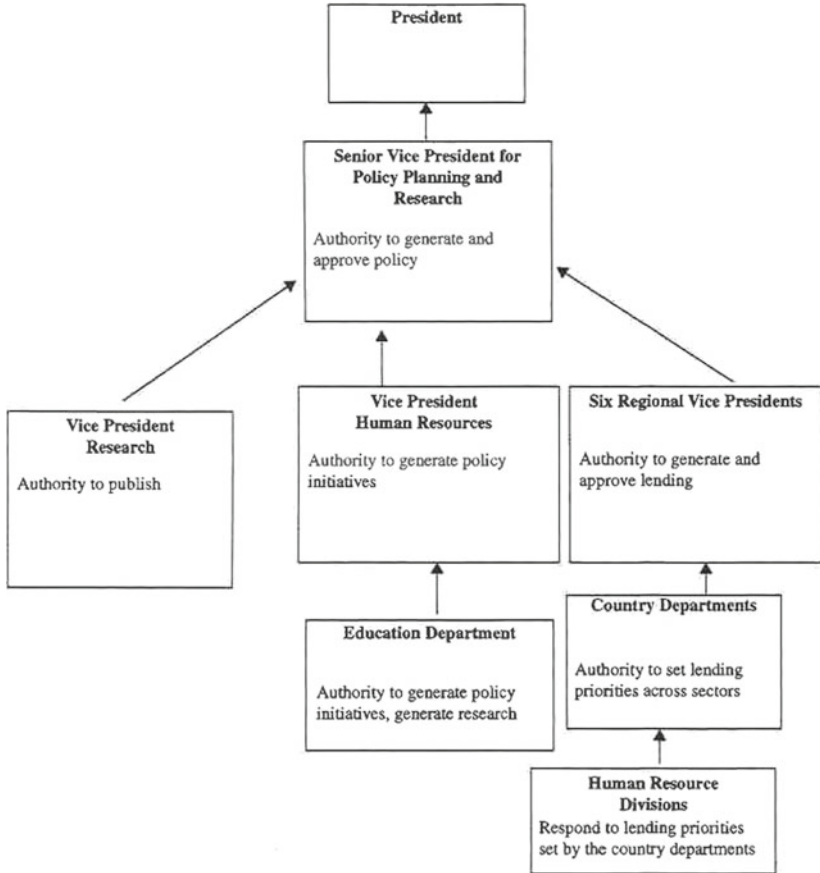


Fig. 2 World Bank processes from the early 1980s to the early 1990s (Source Heyneman, 2005, p. 35)

ACT FOUR: THE STRUGGLE OVER HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY

The first sign of a problem occurred with the development of a new policy paper on higher education (World Bank, 1994). While the contents of the paper were unobjectionable and approved by each of the regional

division chiefs,² the published versions contained a statement that primary and secondary education will continue to be the top priority sub-sectors for countries that have not yet achieved literacy and adequate access and quality at primary and secondary levels in the Bank's education loans. The bank's interest in higher education in these countries will be to make financing more equitable and cost-effective (World Bank, 1994, p. 12).

The statement implied that expanding higher education was not among the Bank's priorities, and for most countries, higher education constitutes a lower priority than other education levels. The paper quickly came in for criticism from the academic community (Buchert & King, 1995). King commented that the title was not conceived as a bank-bashing exercise, but only to imply that the bank had not learned from its lessons (Morna, 1994).

What the academic community may not have realized was that the appearance of this statement without our clearance had led many of us to suspect that an ideological battle had commenced in our sector over and above our authority. Our feelings that we were being circumvented were substantiated in the development of a new policy paper discussing the sector from primary to graduate education and designed to cover each of the six regions (World Bank, 1995). The problem slowly recognized was that in the last few years the developing world had changed. Many of the staff had been exposed to the problems of sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia, problems of extreme poverty where a lack of educational opportunity in primary education was among the most serious. But we were responsible for a completely new category of borrowers: The Russian Federation, China, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa, Chile, and Malaysia, countries whose reference group came not from low-income countries but from the world's industrial democracies. Often these countries had full enrollment in primary education and a primary priority toward higher education access, quality, and efficiency. In many instances, the concerns of the education sectors in these countries focused on the innovations prevalent in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries: merit pay, voucher systems, site-based management, and performance standards. The professional experience of many Bank's education staff did not include the

² I was division chief in the technical department of the new Europe and Central Asia Region and was responsible for the 27 countries in Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

educational debates in their own countries. Hence the Bank's education sector was the object of the type of adjustment not unlike what their client countries experienced (Heyneman, 1994). For example, to suggest that resources should be shifted away from higher education would be political suicide in the Russian Federation; yet this suggestion was being made again in the draft of the new policy paper. In fact, one draft of the executive summary contained the statement that higher education could become or remain largely privately funded. The response to this statement from the regions was unambiguous: "Take it out" (Heyneman, 2005, p. 328).

In one note from the operational division chiefs to the paper's authors, criticism was explicitly spelled out that the rate-of-return is faulty because it has weak evidence that is drawn from a few traditional borrowers. The paper provides only a simple analysis of the trends and refers only to the main education categories—primary, secondary, and higher education. Since the paper is based solely on the rates of return approach, it excludes other possible rationales for the allocation of public finance like national interest, market failure, and equity. Unlike that over one-half of World Bank loans are devoted to post-secondary education, the paper remains silent about higher education. It also ignores postgraduate education, adult education, preschool education and educational research, educational technologies, disabled people, and all professional education (Internal note, November 18, 1994).

In spite of the dissent within the Bank, the text of the paper changed very little between drafts. The regional division chiefs felt that the education sector was in danger of becoming a source for cheap ideology. The leaders of four of the six regions met once at night to discuss what to do. Their meeting took place in a park so as to ensure confidentiality. Each regional representative decided to draft a memorandum addressed to their vice president objecting to the paper. The memorandum was to be signed by each of the operational division chiefs within each region. Of the 26 division chiefs responsible for education, 20 signed the memorandum on February 2, 1995, asking that the paper not be sent to the Bank's Board. Two others agreed with the memorandum but refused to sign. One objected to the memorandum. Three others were traveling and could not be reached. For all intents and purposes, the Bank's education sector was in revolt.

The paper was eventually re-edited, but its thrust was unchanged. Even after an unprecedented level of internal protest, the monopoly over the

Bank's view from the position of the Office of the Senior Vice President for Policy was too powerful to overcome. Eventually, the publication led to many objections from the academic community and replies from the Bank (Bennell, 1996; Burnett, 1996; Burnett & Patrinos, 1996; Jones, 2000; Lauglo, 1996; Samoff, 1999; Watson, 1996).

During this period, I often felt that the academic community misunderstood the Bank's staff. They were often assumed to be subject to unanimous thinking. The internal struggles were not common knowledge. I felt that it might be important to raise some of the internal objections in a public forum, summarized the arguments against using economic rates of return for making investment decisions, and presented them to UNESCO. I was encouraged to publish them. However, publishing them would mean, given my position, that I would probably be fired. One evening I gathered my children around the kitchen table and explained the situation. It might mean that we would have to sell the house, perhaps move to a different neighborhood and change schools. One son, known even today for his commitment to good causes, replied, "Go get'em, dad." His view was not enough to convince me. I had to make a Hobbes-like choice: loyalty to an institution which I dearly loved or loyalty to my profession as educator and to which I had devoted my life. I had come to believe that the behavior of the institution had come to be antithetical to the standards of my profession. I am sure that many others have found themselves in parallel circumstances. The choice is not easy.

The article titled "Economics of Education: Disappointments and Potential" went to the head of the publication schedule and quickly appeared in *Prospects* (Heyneman, 1995). I sent each director and each division chief a copy with a cover-notes worth of explanations. My phone started ringing within a few minutes.

THE FINAL ACT: THE BANK RIGHTS ITSELF

My personal story aside, however, the Bank began to realize that it had lost professional credibility with the education community and decided to make amends by sponsoring a new paper on higher education. Unlike previous papers, though, the Bank chose to not use any World Bank staff. The paper was drafted entirely by external experts. These experts consisted of a panel chosen for their independence and unquestionable credibility. They included Mamphela Ramphela (Vice-Chancellor of University, Cape Town), Henry Rosovsky (former Dean of the Faculty of

Arts and Sciences, Harvard University), Kenneth Prewitt (ex-Chairman, Social Science Research Council and current U.S. Census Director), Babar Ali (Pro-Chancellor, Lahore University of Management), Hanan Ashrawi (former Minister of Education, Palestine), Jose Joaquin Brunner (former Minister of Education, Chile), Lone Dybkjaer (former Danish Minister of the Environment and current member of the European Parliament), Georges Haddad (professor, University of Paris), Motoo Kaji (Vice President, University of the Air, Japan), Jajah Koswara (Director of Research and Community Service Development, Directorate for Higher Education, Indonesia), Narciso Matos (Secretary General, African Association of Universities), Manmohan Singh (former Minister of Finance and current member of Parliament, India), Carl Tham (former Minister of Education and current Secretary General of Palme International Center, Sweden), Kamal Ahmad (attorney at Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Jacobson), and David E. Bloom (professor, Harvard University). Their report, "Task Force on Higher Education and Society," was published by the Bank in 2000.

This report included extensive discussions on higher education and public interests, the importance of higher education to science and technology, and the importance of general education. In its coverage of the economics of higher education, the report emphasized that traditional economic arguments ignore the social contributions of higher education institutions. Rate-of-return studies consider people valuable only if they earn higher and extract greater taxes. The report states educated people have extensive impact on economic and social well-being of the societies and they create an environment where economic development is viable. Lastly, the report criticizes the rate-of-return analyses for disregarding the university-based research function of higher education that is undisputable social benefit for developing the societies (p. 39).

Several years later, the Comparative Education Review sponsored a moderated discussion of these issues (Task Force on Higher Education and Society: A Moderated Discussion, 2004). Psacharopoulos was asked to comment on the report. He criticized the report for failing to include specific recommendations on what developing countries should do with regard to higher education or education in general. He repeated that primary education has a higher rate-of-return than other levels. For this reason, primary education should be given priority in countries where primary education is not yet universal. He said the incidence of public spending on higher education was too regressive, with children of the

poor getting less than children of the rich. Therefore, any expansion in higher education must be linked to selective student fees (student loans will be available to all, equal to the full social cost for the rich, but also including allowances for the poor) (Psacharopoulos, 2004, p. 76).

Bloom and Rosovsky were asked to respond to this comment. They replied to him by saying that the standard rate-of-return analysis is always questioned in terms of its adequacy in terms of making investment decisions. The apparent accuracy and rigidity of these estimates eliminated the scope of alternative decisions. These analyses completely ignore the external negligence that is related to education. These range from the food and health benefits that educated women bring to their families and communities to the benefits of university research and education on the speed and sustainability of national development. This line of thinking is certainly not limited to the Task Force Report. When rate-of-return analyses are based on incomplete models and incomplete data, they will reveal estimates that are not clearly related to actual rates of return. More careful analysis may pave the way for the establishment of social investment priorities (Bloom & Rosovsky, 2004, pp. 85–86).

Just as the Education Sector Policy had done in 1980, the Task Force Report essentially liberated the Bank from its previous dogma. Since the Task Force Report, several new higher education policy papers have appeared and all of them were carefully prepared and highly appreciated (Salmi, 2009; World Bank, 2002; Yusuf & Nabeshima, 2007). Psacharopoulos himself seems to have dropped out of favor. In the 1995 policy paper, he is cited nine times; in the most recent policy paper (World Bank, 2011), he is not cited at all (Heyneman, 2011).

IMPLICATIONS

From this story of how a model became a monopoly, one might draw two lessons. Every organization struggles for a strategy that is comprehensible, feasible, and compelling in its justification. In this, the Bank is typical. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), UNESCO, and the Department for International Development (DFID) are no different. Dogma occurs whenever a strategy becomes common wisdom. The problem is that all organizations need to grow and improve, and none can do this unless what is taken to be common wisdom is able to be challenged.

Whenever an organization silences those challenges, it will become endangered. This monopoly occurred in the Bank and took a decade to recover from it.

But in addition to the lesson of monopoly is that of what to do when an otherwise well-meaning organization becomes a danger to one's profession and one's professional standards of honesty. Many parallels exist in the military, the pharmaceutical industry, power companies, banks, and insurance companies. The question then becomes a matter of ultimate responsibility. In my case, I felt that the responsibility was mine. I asked myself many times if I was going to battle over a trivial issue. A trivial issue would be pointless. In the end, I felt that the issue was not trivial but essential to the making of public policy. In her book *Democratic Education*, Amy Gutmann (1987) argues that rates of return or any other economic model is not a road map to making investment decisions, just a guide to policy. In her view and in mine as well, assessing the value of public goods and externalities, because they are not easily quantifiable, can only be made by the public at large. This is why a poor country may choose higher education over primary education, because what it values may be different and, for the most part, outside of our best models.

The criticisms of the Bank's education policies continue into the 2020s but have been led by the same short list of scholars and have not expanded in content beyond what they were in the past.

*Has the Bank Learned a Lesson: A Brief Commentary
on the Education Paper of 2011*

The World Bank has numerous publications on education. Some are authored and are the responsibility of that author. These may be circulated in a journal as a product of research or as a discussion series to generate debate. A policy paper is different. This is a paper which must be approved by the executive directors and lists the World Bank as the author.

From the beginning, policy papers have shared certain characteristics, this one included. None may contain a statement that would challenge long-standing convention. It may infer. It may suggest. But in the end, it must be approved by all the executive directors who represent its 185 members. No draft policy paper would be put to a vote of the executive directors if it were to generate opposition or even controversy. Essentially, a policy paper must represent a consensus.

Policy papers reiterate that the Bank is subject to its suggestions. Countries are autonomous and independent entities. If directives are included in the paper, they are turned inward and suggest that the Bank will operate differently in one or another arena, that the bank will place new criteria for its operations, or that the Bank will respond warmly to new initiatives in the arenas under discussion.

In spite of these organizational restrictions, this paper pioneered new arenas for the Bank. It redefines education system as a term. The new definition includes learning wherever it occurs and wherever it can be organized. It places a heavy emphasis on early childhood education and adult literacy. It includes corporate training. It includes providers of all kinds, whether public or private, charitable or for-profit. It includes not only providers of education programs but also providers of education products and services. In fact, it leaves out very little, and apart from early childhood education, it places no priority anywhere.

But will it do things differently? Rather than building schools, this new strategy suggests that it will emphasize the efficiency of the education system and help reform its management, governance, and finance. Rather than provide new curricula, it will try to lay the foundations of an education knowledge base by supporting the use of both local and cross-national academic achievement assessments. Countries will be asked to measure their progress against statistical evidence. The bank may also experiment with a reorganization of its education staff. Instead of them working on regions in isolation from one another, they will begin working on education systems divided by their stages of development. While none of these changes are entirely new, they all represent progress from my point of view.

Early childhood education is nice, but has the Bank made progress on the elements that had been the subject of past criticism? One criticism was that it was ideological; on the basis of a narrow interpretation of economic rates of return, it had advocated a short policy menu demanding that countries shift public resources from tertiary to primary education. The major proponent of this view had been George Psacharopoulos. In the education policy paper from 1995, the one to which 20 division chiefs had signed a memorandum of protest (Heyneman, 2005), Psacharopoulos was cited nine different times. However, in the policy paper from 2011, he was not cited at all (see Table 1). There are some (perhaps including myself) who would also interpret this as progress.

Table 1 World Bank education policy papers and George Psacharopoulos

<i>Years</i>	<i>Number of citations</i>
1995	9
2011	0
2018	0

Another criticism of the World Bank in the past was that it had been insular in its orientation and had tended to cite only its own works and staff members. This implied a narrow view of development and ignorance of much of the analytic work the world beyond the Bank had done. This was said to be parochial and counterproductive.

For instance, in the policy paper from 1995, over 13% of the references were of other policy papers, and 32% of the references were of the Bank's staff members. If one includes the references to the reports from other agencies, the Bank is seen to have only used sources outside the development community about 50% of the time. That was in 1995.

In 2011, the sources for references had changed dramatically but in the wrong direction: 26% of citations were derived from other policy papers, with 16% from its own staff and 29% from other agencies. This latter figure is the result of James Wolfenson's efforts. The official rationale was to collaborate with other agencies as though development should be a team effort. However, it had also served the Bank's needs for political coverage to protect itself from external criticism. It is more difficult to criticize the Bank when UNICEF, Save the Children, and the Sierra Club are sitting on the podium. This was not by accident.

The problem is that the portion of the cited references from other sources has declined. In 1995, it was 50%. In 2011, it was only 28%.

One might counter with the suggestion that this is an accurate reflection of the insight and knowledge in the field of education and development. To explore this, I looked at the sources for the report on basic education published by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 2006. This report cites the World Bank policy papers 2.2% of the time; they cite other academic sources 89% of the time. This suggests to me that the insularity of the Bank has gotten worse, not better (see Table 2).

Another criticism of the Bank was that it did not consult enough: It developed its policy papers in isolation from stakeholders' opinions. This paper goes a long way to convince the reader that its consultations were extensive. It lists a total of 69 meetings held to discuss the content of this

Table 2 Sources for references in education policy papers: percent of references in each category

	<i>Other</i>				(#)
	<i>World Bank as author (%)</i>	<i>WB staff as author (%)</i>	<i>Agencies as author (%)</i>	<i>Other authors (%)</i>	
World Bank (1995)	11.9	28.5	4.8	45.2	(270)
World Bank (2011)	26.5	16.2	29.1	28	(117)
U.S. National Academy of Sciences	2.2	8.8	0	89	(45)

Sources World Bank. (1995). *Priorities and strategies for education*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. World Bank. (2011). *Learning for all: Investing in people's knowledge and skills to promote development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Cohen, J. E., Bloom D. E., & Malin M. (2006). *Educating all children: A global agenda*. Cambridge, MA: National Academy of Sciences/MIT Press

paper, meetings across all regions and with all donors. It even lists the most frequently asked questions. Here they are in order of importance:

1. What is the strategic component of the Education Sector Strategy (ESS) 2020?
2. How does ESS 2020 address the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and support countries in reaching the two education MDGs?
3. How does ESS 2020 relate to the Education for All Fast-Track Initiative (EFA FTI)?

This continues for 16 more questions.

My reaction to this list of questions from the consultation meetings is one of disappointment. They constitute what the Soviets used to call a *langue de bois*, a wooden language. They have little relevance to the scholars of development and little relationship to the questions the 2011 policy paper addresses. They reflect the fact that the Bank continues to listen to itself and to other donor agencies in a kind of isolated universe.

What might constitute a question frequently asked about this policy paper? Is the Bank still recommending that public finances shift from

higher to primary education? Is the Bank able to work outside of government ministries of education to assist the development of the private sector? Is the Bank prepared to confront the fact the greatest threat to the quality of education is from within the system itself in terms of corruption? Is it prepared to stop lending to a country that misappropriates its assistance? Is it prepared to sanction staff who propose conditionalities that later prove to be professionally incorrect?³ Is it prepared to equip low-income countries with policy advisors so they might negotiate loan conditionalities with more equity? Is it willing to confront the fact that education constitutes only a tiny percent of the development agenda? No response is found to these questions and likely others in the policy paper from 2011.

*Has the Bank Learned a Lesson? A Brief Comment on the World
Development Report 2018³*

The World Development Report (WDR) is the Bank's most prestigious publication. It remains under development for more than a year in advance and is authored by carefully selected staff who are given the luxury of concentrating on a single subject, excused from all other responsibilities, and assured of the likelihood of promotions if the task is completed well. For the first time in the 60 years of the Bank's educational lendings, a WDR concentrating on education was released in 2018. Titled "Learning to Realize Education's Promise," the document makes no mention of manpower forecasting or economic rates of return, the two traditional methods for judging the viability of an education investment. Instead of private or public income returns, it focuses on learning as the single most important dependent variable.

This is an enormous improvement. The main investment chapter is titled "Spending More or Spending Better, or Both," in which the WDR argues that education investments can be made equally well for reasons such as improving efficiency and effectiveness. It altogether ignores the issue of education levels (primary versus secondary, etc.) and concludes that countries require (i) better information, (ii) stakeholder coalitions to promote learning, and (iii) more iterative, adaptive systems to deliver learning. It argues for investments in preschool, not because children will

³ Payment by results may apply to both borrower and lender.

gain a cognitive head start, but because preschool will help prepare children to be emotionally and behaviorally ready when they formally enter primary school. It has taken more than half a century, but the Bank has finally learned to appreciate not simply the importance of education but also the sector's complexity. With this comes new respect for professions working on education problems and the delicateness of the sector's political vulnerability. Now with the educational damage from COVID-19 and the iterative adaptive educational changes in response, the World Bank's responsibility toward education may be unprecedented and essential.

One might ask whether the battles 25 years ago over using economic rate-of-return models were justified. My response is "Yes, they were." As a result of those battles, the Bank has broken the technical monopoly that distorted its policies. Today, tertiary, preschool, or vocational education cannot be excluded as an investment priority on the grounds of economic rates of return alone. Education investments today can be justified on the grounds of increasing efficiency, effectiveness, equity, or the general cohesion of the education sector as a system. The Bank has now lived up to the vision that the Bank's first African Director Aklilu Habte had for it in 1980. It took time, but the struggle was worth it.

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Comparing Educational Reforms in Turkey and Brazil Through Prospects for the Twenty-First Century

Segâh Tekin and Murat Çemrek

Arguing modern nation-states to have risen on the shoulders of formal education from kindergarten to higher education would be no exaggeration. Thus, nation-states could have been able to construct national identities using compulsory education by having all their citizens learn national symbols (e.g., national anthems) by heart and why they should have self-pride through daily and annual national ceremonies. However, earlier state formations whether tribal or imperial, gave neither attention to nor concern for public education, as education and literacy were simply meant mostly as a matter for the elites (i.e., high culture). Today, one can mention several types of literacy such as media or finance; at the same time, the length of mandatory education has globally become K12 across the board practically, and lifetime learning has become a daily routine for most. One can easily argue the citizens of modern nation-states to have become people of letters, seeing as how formal education has become

S. Tekin (✉) · M. Çemrek
Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya, Turkey
e-mail: segahtekin@erbakan.edu.tr

M. Çemrek
e-mail: mccemrek@erbakan.edu.tr

not only compulsory but also free through the provision of the relatively generous taxes of the bourgeoisie who are in need of educated workers to comprehend more easily how machines are assembled. Essentially, education has functioned as an elevator lifting developing countries to the level of developed ones as well as converting ordinary individuals into elites within their own societies.

The twenty-first century has witnessed a considerable number of countries transform from developing countries to emerging markets. Primarily determined by economic factors, these rises in status highlight both the divisions within the Global South and the similarities among these emerging countries. In this way, Turkey and Brazil have been counted among these in the twenty-first century due to their economic growth, development levels, and increasing visibility in the international system. In addition to their current status, the two countries also share commonalities in their historical past with regard to their historical engagement in the global economy as multicultural empires during the nineteenth century. The establishment of a republic as a political regime in Brazil in 1889 and in Turkey in 1923 was both marked with the specific goals of modernization and participation in the league of modern countries, as well as to even “surpass the level of contemporary civilization” in the words of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic (İnan, 1970, p. 217). However, the idealized condition of modernity for both countries was linked more to the success of efforts in nation-building as well as societal and cultural transformation than economic goals in the early years of their new political regimes. Both the motto of the Brazilian national flag (*Ordem e Progresso* [order and progress]) and Atatürk’s goal cited above are zealous reflections of the late modernization efforts imitating the European model of so-called enlightenment.

Nevertheless, the political economic context soon started to change and efforts were made to reorganize social life in many aspects in parallel with the top-down modernization authoritarian efforts with even a totalitarian blend. Interestingly, the prioritization of import substituting industrialization during most of the twentieth century for both countries has catalyzed such transformations with regard to authentic values paying attention to national industrialization. The preliminary idea of modernizing their societies, including economic development goals, in the minds of the founding fathers and their top bureaucrats has unsurprisingly continuously affected the educational policies of both countries. Alongside the responsibility of transforming their educational systems in

tandem with their novel political goals in the Platonic sense of raising virtuous citizens, these countries also had to face challenges stemming from the task of achieving economic development as their number one priority.

In accordance with the modernization and concomitant development goals of both countries imitating mainly the Western European states, civilized Europe had been the role model. Thus, education as the ideological state apparatus in Althusser (1970) sense became the available toolbox for societal reconstruction while transferring from the ancient regime to the new order. Thus, the idea of educational reform became the new ethos for the changing political elites in these countries. However, the ideological differences that had mostly led to political instability in the form of military interventions and/or fundamental changes in constitutions have resulted in a complexity while designing and implementing such educational reforms. The economic problems encountered by Turkey and Brazil in the second half of the twentieth century resulted as an overall change in their economic policies starting from the early 1980s. This neoliberal shift not only changed their economies but also resulted in profound effects on the provision of public services and social expectations. Thus, such huge transformations have also brought their own challenges: Rapid but unplanned urbanization resulting as shantytowns, high and chronic unemployment, and even acute competition among city gangs have brought excessive security problems for ordinary people in the case of Brazil. Consequently, these changes in parallel with the increasing economic globalization have forced the need for reform, particularly in education, a reform in accordance with not only the needs of the state and citizens but also the demands of the economic sectors. This trend has remained intact for the first two decades of the twenty-first century through increases in economic growth, the greater expectations of the population, and the need to catch up with high-tech advancements. Thus, the education of not only students but also adults for a competitive economy, the presence of assertive foreign policy goals, and the contemporaneous prospects of leading politicians have all shaped the framework of educational reforms.

Without omitting the differences between Turkey and Brazil, the historical, political, societal, and economic similarities discussed above have affected the very idea of educational reforms in both countries for more than a century. This provides a suitable and meaningful basis of

comparison while discussing the differences between developing countries and emerging powers regarding educational reform through a variety of requirements, means, and goals. Within this framework, this chapter discusses the recent educational reforms in Turkey and Brazil. The first section explains the root ideas of educational reform and their close connection with the notion of these countries' status as developing countries. The second and third sections evaluate the current implementations of educational reforms and prospects respective of these countries with a brief introduction to the history of their educational reforms. Lastly, we compare how both countries have approached educational reform in the twenty-first century in terms of their commonalities and differences through challenges they have encountered so far and of their responses in the form of their educational reforms and prospects for the future.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

Despite the revolutionary ideas that reform as a word rises in the mind, educational reform is a continuous task mainly identified with ceaselessly improving the quality of education. Accordingly, the discussion on educational reform from the very beginning revolves around the question of how to improve (Hacsi, 2003, p. 1). While reforms can be made at several levels from curriculum to schooling (e.g., at the elementary, secondary, and high school levels or geographical-administrative levels from local to national), the hardest task is to achieve success at the system level (Holliday & Clark, 2010, p. 40).

The idea of educational reform in contemporary developing societies cannot be evaluated separately from the developmental goals of their respective states. Most of the time, educational reform is regarded as a complementary part of overall reform programs. Moreover, depending on the ideological orientation and geographical/socio-cultural conditions of developing countries, these educational reforms may have country-specific goals such as prioritizing the schooling of girls, preventing adolescent boys from dropping out in rural areas, or promoting the cultural sustainability of societies in small island-states (Vaka'uta, 2016, p. 10). Thus, in accordance with the differences in their vision of development, priorities in the realm of educational reform may vary from country to country or from local government to central government within the same country. In this context, the goals of educational reforms can be discussed under the following sections: human-centered goals, material capability-centered

goals, and ideology-centered goals. The determinant position of ideological goals is open to debate, but they surely have oriented and reoriented the roadmap for decision makers by encountering questions such as reform for whom, how should the curriculum be designed, and which values should be highlighted. However, in the contemporary world, educational reform proposals mostly focus on improving human competences to increase the quality of education, both targeting the human factor (e.g., students and educators; (Fullan, 2007, p. 5) and improving material capabilities in order to support the human factor. In the last instance, the human factor is the basis of educational improvement as education involves humanizing people, namely the process of perfecting them.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN TURKEY AND BRAZIL

Covering around 785,347 km² and exceeding 82 million people with per capita GDP of \$9225 (World Bank, 2020a) Turkey is a mid-sized country in terms of territorial area, demographics, and economic indicators. In contrast, with a territorial size around 8.5 million km² and a population exceeding 212 million people (Instituto Brasileiro da Geografia y Estatística, 2020), Brazil is essentially the largest country in South America and one of the largest in the world in terms of size and population. Even though Brazil is a BRICS member and among the 10 largest economies in the world, it has a mid-sized economy with respect to its per capita GDP of \$8717 (World Bank, 2020b). With its federal system, Brazil differs from Turkey, as the federal government mainly determines Brazilian educational policies while local governments enjoy a limited freedom on how these policies are determined and implemented. The high level of population density in the southern and south-eastern states with the contrastingly scattered population profile on the northern coast and many interior states also reveal the need for adopting varying educational policies.

Just like in Brazil, education in Turkey is a fundamental constitutional right. In accordance with the unitary state system, the central government is responsible for providing financial resources for educational expenses, and Turkey's Ministry of National Education (MoNE) is responsible for managing the educational system by means of formal and non-formal education both in public and private schools. Formal education is free of charge in Turkish public schools from pre-primary to tertiary education;

private schools are also allowed to operate in all stages of education. The length of compulsory education was extended to 12 years in 2012 and is divided into the three consecutive 4-year phases of primary school, middle school, and high school educational institutions. Two distance education mechanisms are also found: Open Education Middle Schools and Open Education High Schools for students unable to attend formal educational institutions that provide face-to-face education or for those who exceed the age limits of the formal education stages (MoNE, 2020, pp. xiv–xv). In Turkey, MoNE also manages non-formal education. During the twentieth century, nation-states had already benefited from non-formal education to eradicate illiteracy, to educate the population on various issues, and to support adults in completing their compulsory education. Today, non-formal education still performs a very secondary task while mainly providing courses in various fields for adults to improve their skills and in particular encouraging them to adopt the changes technological developments bring.

Compulsory formal education in Brazil lasts for 14 consecutive years and involves pre-primary for the 4–5 age group, primary for the 6–10 age group, and secondary for the 11–17 age group. The total number of students in the compulsory school-age population and in non-compulsory higher education surpasses approximately 51 million (UNESCO Institute for Statistics [UIS], 2020a). Formal compulsory education is free of charge in Brazil, as are public universities apart from low entrance fees. Private educational institutions also function at all levels in the country.

Both countries primarily determine entrance into tertiary education through university entrance exams. Turkey conducts the multistage university entrance examination with the Measuring, Selection, and Placement Center (Ölçme, Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi [ÖSYM]). Annual classroom assessments during the high school stage also contribute to how final scores are calculated in order to determine the program and institution in which students are placed (Kitchen et al., 2019, pp. 129, 175). The administration of public higher education is mainly funded by the central government (60%) with a small portion from student contributions (4%); public higher education institutions are also allowed to generate income through variable contributions. Higher education is conducted under the supervision of Turkey’s Council of Higher Education (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu [YÖK]). Turkey currently has 209 universities. Even though 78 are foundational institutions, 95% of the university students enrolled in degree programs at various levels is enrolled in public

institutions (All About Turkey, 2020). Turkey has no private universities in the American sense as the foundational institutions are literally backed by a foundation and are not allowed to profit from their higher educational services. Turkish universities also operate a non-formal type of higher education through their Continuous Education Centers offering courses for various degrees or certificates.

The total number of students from pre-primary to tertiary education in Turkey exceeds 26 million (UIS, 2020b). Student enrollment rates for the 2015–2020 period appear as 98% at the compulsory level for the 6–9 and 10–13 age groups and has risen from 85% in 2015 to 89% in 2020 for the 14–17 age group. Turkey’s formal education statistics also reveal a less than 1% difference between the enrollment rates for male and female students in the 6–9 and 10–13 age groups in favor of males and an approximately 1% difference between the enrollment rates for male and female students in the 14–17 age group (MoNE, 2020, p. 1). The statistics also reveal participation in non-compulsory pre-schooling to have constantly increased as a result of MoNE’s efforts, already having risen to 75% in 2020 from 67% in 2015 for the age 5 group (MoNE, 2020, p. 1). According to data from 2017, the number of illiterate people still exceeds two million in Turkey (UIS, 2020b). By 2020, the net enrollment rate in tertiary education in Turkey was 43.3%, with enrollment for male students being 6% lower than for females (MoNE, 2020, p. 1). Consequently, when taking all numbers into consideration, one may easily understand why improving educational quality currently stands as an important task for all governments in the world. The latest data about Brazil’s net enrollment rate is from 2018. The pre-primary enrollment rate in 2018 exceeded 86%, with 96.3% enrollment for primary education and 85% for secondary education (UIS, 2020a). In contrast with many developing countries, enrollment rates by gender for secondary and tertiary education are higher for female students. But thanks to efforts at bridging this gap, the male enrollment rate in secondary education increased from 74.7% in 2011 to 83.6% in 2018; however, this is still 3% below the female enrollment rate (UIS, 2020a). The enrollment rate in tertiary education for the 18–22 age group was 43.5% in 2011, with male enrollment being more than 11% below the female enrollment rate (UIS, 2020a). By 2017, government expenditures on education were 16.5% of total government expenditures (UIS, 2020a). Although dropping annually, the number of illiterate people in Brazil is still quite high at more

than 11 million which is roughly equal to the 5% of Brazilian population (UIS, 2020a) compared to other middle-sized economies in the globe.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The historical antecedents to educational reform attempts in modern Turkey can be traced back to the late Ottoman era; modern educational methods even started being adopted around the seventeenth century (Zaim, 1987, p. 490). The early reforms in the Ottoman Empire firstly appeared in the reorganization of the military to defeat *infidels* on the battlefield and then disseminated into civil bureaucratic institutions for promoting industrialization. Nevertheless, the modernization of education was a parcel of reforms in various fields in which the goal was to compete with the rapidly advancing European countries.

The educational reforms during the first decades of the Republic of Turkey were influenced by the desire to redesign the cultural orientation of society through top-down modernization (i.e., autocratic Westernization). Such policies had profound effects on the social, cultural, and intellectual lives of the war-ravaged society in many aspects. The education-related reforms of the early Republican Era can be listed as the Integration of Education Law (1924), adoption of the Latin alphabet (1928), organization of the university education system (1933), and launch of specific policies and establishment of novel institutions in the realms of fine art, historical, and linguistic studies (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism [KTB], 2020).

In the heydays from the Latinization of alphabet to the dress codes for female teachers (Yılmaz, 2013, p. 15), the schools in the young Turkish Republic made sure its youth embraced the revolutionary values imposed by the new political regime that was ordering a wide and ambitious socio-political reform agenda. Meanwhile in Brazil, while the idea of educational reform had been seen as crucial since the establishment of the Republic in 1889, no consensus was found regarding the priorities. Positivists, anarchists, the Catholic Church, and local actors were all involved in the debates regarding education in the early decades of the Republic (Meirelles, 2013). Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888 in just such a revolutionary context, one year before the proclamation of the Republic. Thus, the main goal of the new leaders was to challenge the elitist and slavery-based social order of the country's imperial past in which access to education had been quite limited to the privileged social classes. However,

a great deal of autonomy and responsibility in financing the educational system were delivered to local governments through the 1891 Constitution (Cury, 2010, pp. 155–156). Thus, the diversified socio-economic and geographical conditions of the states and the federal structure led to differences among local-level policies from the very beginning. For a more centralized but contradictory approach to educational reform as part and parcel of nation-building, Brazil had to wait until the Vargas administration of the 1930s.

The Republican Era in Turkey is also a history of ups and downs by means of democracy. Thus, important turning points such as the abolishment of the one-party system and the military interventions of 1960 and 1980 had profound and sometimes contradictory effects on the educational system design through reforms (Zaim, 1987, pp. 490–491). Despite the consolidation and quality of education still being debated, democracy in Turkey has remained uninterrupted since the military coup in 1980. However, the contemporary educational system in Turkey, despite several revisions over the years, is based on the 1982 Constitution and the policies adopted after this military coup. Moreover, the 1980s was the decade of a neoliberal shift for Turkey and paved the way for economic transformation in particular, marking the neoliberal route in many aspects for the decades to come. Thus, according to İnal and Akkaymak (2012, pp. xiii, xiv), while the educational reforms of the early Republic firstly aimed for structural amendments in the realm of education, the second step resulted from a process beginning in 1970s that lasted around three decades and restructured the educational system in accordance with the requirements of the neoliberal policies that had started in Britain and the USA and then spread globally.

Consequently, when taking the political tensions among the youth into consideration and the challenges brought by the global economy such as oil crises during the 1970s, as well as the necessity to compete with developed economies, Turkey's national education policy became an indispensable part of national development plans. According to the 5-year development plan made after the 1980 coup, "The human factor [was described as] the most important factor of our national wealth [and had to be] evaluated in a maximum (productive) way through education and used as the main tool in development," with a specific emphasis on the need to improve the quality of education (Zaim, 1987, p. 508). The early 1980s witnessed both the oppressive policies designed by the military decision makers and the opening of a new phase for Turkey

by means of defining ambitious developmental goals that had implications on educational policies. Islam was welcomed as part of the national curriculum under the course of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge, in which students had to memorize passages from the Qur'an as well as the Prophet's sayings (*Hadiths*). The era saw the rise of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, which underlined that the Turkish identity whether in an ethnic or national sense could not be dismantled from Islam. Meanwhile, the 1990s were stigmatized by highly ideological discussions on the interpretation of secularism in the realm of education. This resulted in a series of counter-reforms such as the headscarf ban and the reorganization of the compulsory schooling system to avoid the practice of memorizing from the Qur'an, as some families were going to send their children to centers for learning the Qur'an by heart after primary school. In fact, the coup leaders wanted to exploit Islam as a moderating issue to prevent youth from internalizing leftist and rightist ideologies while at the same time keeping Islam as nothing more than folklore.

Regarding the situation in Brazil during the twentieth century, the main concern of the nation-building project during the Vargas governments¹ was based on controlling various aspects of social life. This was built on pillars such as re-embracing the country's imperial past, providing the necessary workforce for the ambitious industrial development program, and legitimating the regime's centralizing authority (de Medeiros, 2020, p. 835). The period between Vargas' death in 1954 and the military coup in 1964 a decade later was marked by the ideological disputes of the Cold War politics with profound effects not only on Brazil but also on other developing countries including Turkey. The Brazilian military regime (1964–1985) in many aspects continued Vargas' political and economic program of suppressing political movements and civil society.

When the democratization process restarted in the 1980s, Brazil had fallen behind many middle-income countries in rankings regarding the life quality in parallel with the rising debt crisis of Latin American countries. The very low school enrollment rates had to be tackled before reforming the system as a priority in 1980s. This approach can be interpreted as a continuation of the illiteracy eradication policy promoted by the former military government. The 1980s was a decade of democratization

¹ Getúlio Vargas was the President of Brazil between 1930–1945 and between 1951–1954.

after the military government as well as of an economic transformation toward neoliberal policies in tandem with the global rise of neoliberalism. Such profound changes both exacerbated and revealed economic inequalities while making room for civil society to raise its voice and take the required actions as much as possible, at least in regard to attracting the government's attention about education.

Civil society, business circles, and international organizations have worked hand in hand with the federal and local governments to address the relationship educational problems have with the issues of poverty, homelessness, high crime rates, and drug-addiction. They all developed specific projects to encourage school enrollment while improving students' living and studying conditions at home and in school. Consequently, a long-term successful partnership model emerged between Brazil and UNESCO in addition to its ongoing public-civic collaborations (da Silva & de Andrade, 2009; Milana, 2017). Through its own resources and international funding, Brazil has successfully reversed its situation; starting in the late 1990s it has been able to improve school enrollment rates (de Mello & Hoppe, 2005, p. 18) and youths' low illiteracy rate has functioned as an indicator of Brazil's success (YouthPolicy, 2014). The educational reform process that started during the 1990s by the center-right President Cardoso was also embraced and developed by his leftist counterparts Lula and Rousseff in the first decade of the 2000s. The educational reforms were constructed on three pillars to overcome the obstacles to accessing education: equalizing funds across different administrative units, measuring learning outcomes according to a nationalized scale and promoting education via the Bolsa Escola branch of the famous Bolsa social program series, and transferring payments to low-income families with the stipulation that the parents would send their children to school regularly (Bruns et al., 2012, p. xviii). Thanks to the increasing economic wealth and the determination of decision makers to alleviate socio-economic problems including educational ones in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Brazil's educational quality has eventually become not only better but also the political focus.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY AND BRAZIL

Thanks to generous public funds and relatively effective policies, education in today's Turkey has mainly overcome the earlier challenges of the

past century such as illiteracy, early school drop-out, lower schooling rates for girls, and insufficient facilities. Education has become a prioritized area of public policy in Turkey in accordance with the 11th Development Plan (2019–2023). Thus, education will have the largest share of investments in Turkey for the 2020–2023 period (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey [PRT], 2019, p. 106, Art. 430.3) as “the investments for transition to single-shift education and the expansion of preschool education will have a significant share while the modernization of vocational and technical education workshops, establishment of design and skill workshops, and increasing the quality of education at all levels will be other prominent investment areas” (p. 106, Art. 430.4). Nevertheless, the debate on the need to improve the quality of education still constitutes the main point of discussion. What is understood from the phrase “quality of education” has transformed from a generalized goal into a concrete path due to the several developments in the political and economic realms over the past decades. Politically, Turkey’s candidacy for the European Union (EU) full membership, which started in 2004, has paved the way for the design and implementation of educational reforms for compatibility with the educational systems and performances of EU member countries. Secondly, the economic growth of Turkey has at the same time facilitated the public funding capabilities for educational expenses, from building facilities to improving teacher education quality, surely easing the implementation of reforms. The economic growth has also allowed families to spend more generously on their children’s education-related expenses. Thus, the need to build or rebuild a competitive educational system in order to secure the economic expansion of the country and provide a better future for children via education has become clear. This has catalyzed the goal of quality improvement in education and put into operation the necessary reforms tied to more concrete, measurable, and goal-oriented standards such as comparisons with EU members or OECD states through PISA and PIRLS rankings.

Hence, the path of structural (2004) and curricular (2005) educational reform attempts in Turkey (Akşit, 2007, pp. 132–133) during the first two decades of the twenty-first century have been directly linked with the EU membership process. The idea of fragmenting the highly centralized structure of the education administration in Turkey was the basis of the structural reform attempt of 2004. Thus, the reform proposal was severely criticized for socio-economic and political reasons by various stakeholders and did not evolve into a cohesive policy (p. 135). Meanwhile, MoNE

started a curricular reform program divided into separate implementation phases to eventually change both the curricula for all grades and re-evaluate the competencies defined for teachers started in 2005 despite criticisms, and it is still in action (p. 133).

Within the scope of the educational reform goal and alongside the comparisons with OECD and EU countries, MoNE has been studying systemic assessment through the reports on achievements and the challenges of material capabilities with reference to the human dimension. According to research conducted by MoNE (2011, p. 284) regarding students, teachers, and administrative staff, the main insufficiencies challenging the goal of achieving the desired student profile for the twenty-first century were reported as foreign language learning, arts education, and the compatibility of education with the qualities of international standards. A similar survey had also been conducted earlier (MoNE, 2001, p. iv) to measure the gap between the teaching staff's current capabilities and the desired profile of the modern teacher for the new millennium. The survey revealed that, although participant teachers regarded themselves as close to the ideal teacher profile by means of capabilities, characteristics, and competencies, most of the other participants from different segments (varying from students to union representatives) did not share the same opinion. The report also defined the ideal teacher in reference to the task of preparing Turkish society for the information age.

Both the ongoing progress in curriculum reform and the halted process about structural reform have remained under criticism, mostly in relation to other areas of discussion such as the centralized system (Başdemir, 2014, p. 118), the status of disadvantaged groups such as migrants or handicapped children, the importance of human rights in the curricula, and opportunity inequalities within education (Education Reform Initiative [ERG], 2020). Thus, the state (Zaim, 1987), civil society (ERG, 2020), and international organizations (Kitchen et al., 2019: 48) have explicated the main challenge to overcome by way of educational reform to be the issue of the quality of education. Moreover, the 11th Development Plan has defined this goal to be “to train qualified people to convert knowledge into economic and social benefits as being capable of employing technology towards production [without omitting the task of raising] productive and happy individuals” (PRT, 2019, p. 137, Art. 537).

When compared to the influence the EU has had on the educational reform initiatives in Turkey, educational reform in Brazil can be regarded as having been determined by internal priorities due to the

lack of any such political engagement with an international organization. However, this inference is misleading. Since the 1940s, just like most of the remaining Global South, Brazil has been in close cooperation with the World Bank and other UN institutions such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to finance, design, and implement policies aimed at overcoming socio-economic inequalities within the society. Nevertheless, the narrow economics-based approach of these organizations in addressing the problem of inequality with a focus on success and their standard solutions disregarding the distinctive political, social, and environmental conditions of the countries including Brazil with which they collaborate have been criticized (Krawczyk, 2002, pp. 57–59; Trojan, 2009, p. 11).

Two main challenges stand before the educational reform efforts in Brazil aside from overcoming the administrative problems of the educational system due to having high numbers of students over a large geographical area. The first one is rooted in the size of the inequality gap among social segments, which also reflects the race-based social, cultural, and economic discrepancies between the design and praxis of Brazil's educational policies. The insufficiencies in material capabilities, accessibility to high-quality public education, and financial resources to train qualified teachers as well as the low-income level of teaching and administrative staff can be listed in regard to the economic problems. Which segments of society can succeed in the central university entrance examination? How difficult is it to be placed in a public university? Should the rich start paying for public university education? These are the main questions widely discussed in Brazil. The reason for the discussion lies in the belief that to succeed in university entrance examinations, high school students and graduates must come from successful high schools and receive private tutoring and/or attend preparation courses run by private institutions. While the validity of this thesis is open to discussion (Naoe et al., 2019), private education's ability to generate opportunities for success in the university entrance examinations (ENEM and vestibulares) and especially for accessing prestigious public universities cannot be argued. The paradox of wealthy students with private high school education studying at public universities without paying and lower income students with public high school education ending up in private universities and faculties has arisen (Schreiber, 2017). The second challenge

impeding educational reform in Brazil is not exempt from its socio-economic problems but is also not solely based on them. Urban security problems in general as well as rates of homicide and other crime among youth are quite high (Cerqueira et al., 2019, pp. 29–31). Thus, securing students' physical safety has become more a priority than providing better education by any means has.

Despite the ongoing social and economic problems defining the orientation of educational reform, as the largest emerging economy in Latin America, Brazil shares Turkey's concerns of catching up with the educational level of developed countries so as to be able to compete with them, especially in regard to high technology. Thus, the Youth Statute was declared in 2013 in order to improve the life quality, education, and employment opportunities of the youth; it was a milestone in the country's history (Estatuto da Juventude, 2013). More recently, the federal government has also launched a series of initiatives to provide accessibility to technology in education, especially for disadvantaged groups, and to promote curricula compatibility in parallel with the needs of local business sectors (Ministério da Mulher, da Família e dos Direitos Humanos, 2019).

CONCLUSION

The discussion on the necessity and success of educational reforms is not solely settled on the shoulders of developing nations; they also constitute a constant source of anxiety for developed nations as well (Hacsi, 2003, p. 45; Howarth, 2005). Despite the similarities explained in the introduction to this chapter, Turkey and Brazil also have remarkable differences. Turkey is governed by a recently introduced presidential system based on the unitary government model, which differs from the Brazilian presidential system based on federalism. In contrast to Turkey, the federal system in Brazil sanctions a high level of authorization in decision-making and implementing educational policies in local governments. Moreover, Brazil is approximately 11 times larger in size with more than twice the population of Turkey, resulting in a lower population density that burdens the shoulders of the Brazilian governments more in overcoming the budgetary problems of education more productively. However, starting from the democratization period in the 1980s, the policymaking process has been under decentralization until recently. Such efforts have contributed to the inclusion of states, municipalities,

youths, and other shareholders in decision-making processes not just at the local level but also at the federal (Tekin, 2020). Nevertheless, despite the advantages of participatory decision-making, such policies also leave governors and mayors with the problem of tackling the financial issues. Wealth is unequally distributed, not just among citizens but also among the states in Brazil. Thus, increasing the level of decentralization carries the risk of unintentionally contributing to the deepening of existing socio-economic inequalities in Brazil.

The high enrollment rates in Turkey, especially in public universities, contrasts the situation in Brazil. With the rising number of universities in Turkey, especially in the last decade, the number of university students has already passed more than eight million, almost 10% of the entire population. Almost all Turkish universities have Continuous Learning Centers offering several courses; in addition, four state universities (Anadolu University in Eskişehir, Istanbul's Istanbul University, Atatürk University in Erzurum, and Ahmet Yesevi University in Ankara²) have popular Distance Learning Programs. Thus, one can easily say that university education is no longer an elite matter as enrolling in universities has become much easier with either partial or full scholarships provided by the state or foundation universities' bursary programs.

As a result, because of the global way in which formal education has been attached with modernization, both Turkey and Brazil have had to pay much more attention to formal education at all levels to catch up with Western powers. Moreover, as both countries have been labeled as late modernizing countries, they have both had to view education as a way to raise their citizens in line with the state ideals issued by their respective governments. Finally, countries trying either to develop or keep their development intact have had to put the lion's share of the national budget toward education, including research and development, rather than extravagant spending on military issues. This is why Turkey and Brazil seem perfect as examples trying to have more of a voice in global politics in the twenty-first century by raising their human capital through education.

² Although Ahmet Yesevi University is officially registered as Turkish-Kazakh International University and is located in Turkistan (Kazakhstan), its distance-learning program is run in Ankara by the Turkish side of the Board of Trustees.

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New Political Economy and Education



So Equal yet so Different: Comparison of Accountability Policies in the Global Education Reform Movement—The Case of England and Spain

Cristina Pulido-Montes and María-Jesús Martínez-Usarralde

Standardization and accountability policies have been intensified through economic globalization and neoliberalization processes, passing from elements of democratic control to managerialist devices (Parcerisa & Verger, 2016). This discursive and practical change of direction underlies the competitive neoliberal rationality that emerged in the 1970s in the wake of the oil crisis (Laval & Dardot, 2013). Peck and Tickell (2002) explained how neoliberalism stemmed from two strategies: roll-back neoliberalism (discursive criticism exercised over the inefficiency of public management and the bureaucratic State) and roll-out neoliberalism (implementation of solutions to discursively constructed problems). Some of the decisions surrounding bureaucratization and the excessive state control of public services in the welfare state granted greater autonomy to public services and allowed non-state actors to participate in the management, direction, and ownership of these services. Thus, the welfare state

C. Pulido-Montes · M.-J. Martínez-Usarralde (✉)
University of Valencia, Valencia, Spain

adopted a strategic role by exercising “control from a distance” (Ball, 1993, p. 99) over the performance of services. As a result, managerialist accountability policies became devices enabling this control.

Several authors have studied standardization and accountability policies in post-bureaucratic societies. Neave (1988) defined how the evaluative state had emerged from the welfare state crisis as a government effort at rationalizing social policies. Power (2000) described the changes in how public services were governed by using standardization processes and accountability policies, which led to the explosion of the audit society. Rose (1999) pointed out that the societal transformation and changes under the rationale of competition had introduced constructs such as effectiveness, efficiency, and quality into the discursive corpus of public management, which resulted in a society governed by numbers. As for Ball (2003), he argued that accountability policies had create the processes of comparison, control, and even performative erosion that seek to produce changes in the subjects or institutions for managerial purposes.

This transformation in accountability policies has led to alterations in public governance, through which the welfare state accordingly emerged as a competitive state in a globalized, postmodern, and competitive society (Cerny, 1997) where political decision-making is not exclusive to Nation-States but is concomitant and in collaboration with other external agents. Ball and Junemann (2012) defined this political construction as a policy network.

In this context of performance and change, accountability policies become a legitimate object of state with the result being international policies that impact global education systems. Pasi Sahlberg (2012) defined the comprehensive reforms developed at the end of the 1980s and with greater intensity in the 1990s as the global education reform movement (GERM), which is characterized by standardized tests, performance pay, competitiveness, and privatization. The global nature of the movement has been imprinted on the transformations in national governance, the role of international bodies, and the confluence of other external actors who exercise a role of expertise in education policy.

For national governments, accountability policies have been implemented with a liberal and managerialist approach based primarily on the neoconservative policies developed since the beginning of the 1980s in order to promote competitiveness and freedom of choice of school as a strategy for developing an educational quasi-market.

In a comparative study of the cases of the United Kingdom, the United States, Wales, New Zealand, and Sweden, Whitty et al. (1998) analyzed how sections of GERM reforms had been introduced by the new right (i.e., conservative right-wing governments). Fernández-González and Monarca (2018) and Pulido-Montes (2020) are some of the researchers who have analyzed how social liberal governments had also introduced accountability policies; in the early 1990s, these governments understood that the third sector was strategic for improving public services, thus introducing New Public Management (NPM) and accountability policies.

The proliferation of these accountability policies on an international level has also been driven by international bodies such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) through the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which tests 15-year-olds' performance in instrumental subjects (mathematics, science, and language).

The OECD has become a soft power in international education policy. Kamens (2013) described the organization as something akin to a World Ministry of Education. Grek (2009) defined the role OECD performs as a governing by numbers device that is particularly relevant in formulating national education policies. Sellar and Lingard (2013) and Martínez-Usarralde (2021) described how OECD has played a decisive role in the global governance of education.

Verger and Parcerisa (2017) described the influence OECD has had through its assessment model, which has been integrated into national policies in various contexts. In a discursive analysis of the PISA tests and legitimization of the Spanish conservative party's educational reform, Fernández-González (2015) identified connections between the performance assessment discourse for decision-making and the Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality. In a comparative analysis of privatization policies in England and Spain, Pulido-Montes (2020) identified records of the use of PISA results in party platforms to justify the educational reforms sought after by political groups.

In general terms, accountability policies are integrated within global political agendas. Accountability means providing justification for what has been done. This principle has been translated in the field of education policy as the use of assessments to inform decisions regarding students, schools, and staff. Present-day accountability in education is based on a managerial approach, as opposed to a democratic model of transparency. According to Biesta (2004) and in agreement with other

researchers, this is the reason why changes in this accountability model point to decision-making based on efficiency and effectiveness and, as such, are linked to changes in the production model, the rise of neoliberalism, and New Public Management. Other current lines of research have been concerned with trying to integrate a democratic approach with accountability policies in order to combine the benefits of educational monitoring and managerial activity. This can be achieved with a focus on improving teaching at the school level, not by external control elements that pervert the meaning of accountability towards a model that results in the reproduction of inequalities or that segregates schools based on market mechanisms for good performance (O'Neill, 2013).

Accountability systems should include five components: objectives, assessments, instructions, resources, and rewards/sanctions. As Anderson (2005, p. 1) additionally argues, "In the field of education there are three main types of accountability system: (a) compliance with regulations, (b) adherence to professional norms, and (c) results driven".

Of the many accountability policies, test-based accountability systems are the ones that are easily identifiable in global political agendas (Fuhrman & Elmore, 2004). This policy type is based on assessing and measuring student performance for decision-making and is built on models that measure the outputs of more complex processes. However, the degree of performativity of test-based accountability is related to the determinant nature of decision-making. In the case of education systems such as the USA or UK, negative results in performance assessments can lead to schools losing their self-governance or perhaps even to an intervention by external private agents.

How these assessments are interpreted and consequently used has had an impact on teachers; their practice views them as control elements, which often resulting in a process Tanner (2013) describes as teaching to the test. Other effects of test-based accountability on teaching staff are covered in studies such as Feng et al.'s (2009), which showed how teachers' inter-school mobility correlates with student results; an exodus of teachers is found at schools with low results where stress levels are higher. According to Sims (2009), this has resulted in the lowest performing schools having higher percentages of novice teachers as opposed to experienced ones.

Popham (2000) warned that this type of policy improves neither the quality of educational establishments nor student performance as it does not take into account the diversities of gender, ethnicity, ability, or socio-economic level.

In general terms, studying accountability policies as part of GERM can simplify the different interpretations from this type of policy in the most diverse scenarios. Maroy and Pons (2019) explained how their study has been developed from a comparative perspective mainly in Anglo-Saxon education systems, thus opening up a prolific but certainly reductionist line of research due to the Anglo-Saxon model having mainly been analysed in contexts that have applied neoliberalization processes more profoundly. Maroy et al. (2019) identified that this model of accountability is mostly developed in the United Kingdom, Chile, the United States, and Australia through high-stakes testing, surveillance, monitoring of student and teacher performance, and teacher merit pay.

Maroy et al. (2019) argued no single globalization to exist, but rather multiple globalizations of each system; therefore an in-depth study of accountability and its trajectories over time is required. From a comparative perspective, both articles also analyzed the path dependence of policy choices and institutions prior to accountability, as well as how national actors in France and Quebec assemble formulations and translate them to international policies. In short, accountability policies in Quebec can be concluded to be part of traditional institutional processes rather than the French education system where they had been introduced in response to the influence of international agencies (i.e., EU and OECD). Maroy and Pons (2019) differentiated the accountability in Anglo-Saxon contexts, which seek competitiveness and strengthening of educational quasi-markets, from how it is interpreted in Quebec and France as an element for improving equity through quality.

Therefore, Mary et al. have distinguished this line of comparative analyses of accountability policies as devices to introduce endogenous privatization policies¹ in public education, whether a comparative line based on an interpretative approach similar to bidirectional policy transfer (Waldow & Steiner-Khamsi, 2012) or the interpretation of neoliberalization processes as a mobile technology (Ong, 2007) that mutates, travels

¹ Ball and Youdell (2009, p. 74) “Such forms or privatisation involve the importing of ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector in order to make the public sector more like business and more business-like”.

and is recontextualized in different scenarios and that adopts contingent forms (McCann & Ward, 2012). The contingencies are related to how the introduction of NPM policies in public education systems are assembled and stem from a series of contextual, historical, cultural, and economic variables. Verger et al. (2018) describe those international policies or the dissemination by international organizations of accountability policies do not impact the contexts in the same way, but depend on cultural, political, structural factors, etc. and they operate at different levels.

From this comparative interpretative approach, the education systems of the United Kingdom and Spain analyze accountability policies with a special emphasis on educational accountability for student performance.

THE INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH AND METHOD

This contribution is based on approaching neoliberalism as a mobile technology (Ong, 2007) transcending the hegemonic approaches where it has been interpreted as an economic tsunami producing the same political results and social transformations. Clarke (2008, p. 135) analyzes the concept of neoliberalism from the hegemonic approach as a construct that “suffers from promiscuity (hanging out with various theoretical perspectives), omnipresence (treated as a universal or global phenomenon), and omnipotence (identified as the cause of a wide variety of social, political and economic changes).” Along the same lines of argument as McCann and Ward (2012), Clarke also emphasized the mobile nature of the processes of neoliberalism’s contextual assemblage, articulation, and translation.

At the same time, globalization is understood as a context of contexts (Verger et al., 2012) and for that reason has a vernacular character. In other words, not one single globalization but rather multiple globalizations occur. Following Maroy et al. (2017), three explanatory factors have been proposed for analyzing these vernacular globalization processes: the historical trajectory of accountability policies, the formulation of education policies through policy assemblage, and the translation of international policies by national actors.

To achieve this objective, a multi-dimensional comparative analysis (Bray & Thomas, 1995) has been conducted that includes the following units of analysis:

1. *The geographical context.* The geographical dimension is represented by the cases of the United Kingdom and Spain, taking into consideration their national character. These two countries have been selected because they represent the differentiated models and historical-political trajectories that have determined the processes of neoliberalization and globalization in Europe. This dimension includes an overview of the national education systems and the main policies that have been developed in each context since the 1980s, thus providing an understanding of the current state of education policy for each scenario.
2. *Non-local demographic clustering.* This is a dimension constituted by the entire education community affected by these policies (family, teachers, students, etc.). However, this dimension is transversal to the study.
3. *National accountability policies.* The national policy level is based on the textual analysis of national policy documents from Spain's Ministry of Education and the United Kingdom's Secretaries of State for Education. Policy documents related to accountability policies have been selected for this purpose.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF ENGLAND

Cowen identified two historic dates in the formation of England's educational system. One date is 1870, when the mass education system was created and the State's power constituted a mixture of powers from the Central Local Authorities, the national system, and the Local Education Authorities (LEAs). The other date is 1944, when the Education Act was passed, which entailed the extension of the state high school level to comprise grammar schools (elitist schools), secondary modern schools, and technical schools.

Until the arrival of the New Right to power in the 1980s through Margaret Thatcher, the main discussion concerning education between the two main forces of government in twentieth-century England had revolved around comprehensive/meritocratic schools.

Transformations in the English education system since neoconservatism came to power in 1979 have resulted in gradual changes in schools' administration levels, moving towards a model in which LEAs have currently been relegated to a subsidiary role in their competences for administrating and managing centres. The strategy to erode LEAs has been part of the new right's attack on the welfare state.

Milestones for these mutations and NPM's introduction to the English education system include the Education Reform Act (1988), which involved the recentralization of the curriculum to the State, staged assessments, the creation of new types of schools autonomous from the LEAs, and funding per enrolled student, as well as other policies that constructed the United Kingdom's educational quasi-market, such as the publication of results and creation of a private inspection body (Chitty, 2009).

Far from being blocked, these reforms have found general consensus between the Conservatives and Labour Party, following the shift of the latter in the 1990s towards the Third Way. Tony Blair's New Labour conceived the economic and business sectors as strategic for improving educational quality in terms of performance and results.

The Labour Party began introducing an amalgamation of types of publicly funded autonomous schools in the United Kingdom called academy schools starting in 2000. This policy has been continued and expanded by the successive administrations, resulting in 70% of secondary schools and 30% of primary schools being of this type in 2017 (National Audit Office, 2018).

These changes preceded the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government's arrival to power as led by David Cameron and Nick Clegg (2010–2015). From that moment onward, the mass privatization of the English education system was initiated by introducing new types of publicly funded autonomous schools (Converter Academies² and Free Schools³). In short, the government's aim has been to shape the entire British education system into academy-type schools. Accountability and results-related inspection have enhanced the transition from maintained schools to academies and been supported by reporting, results, and external decision-making.

The subsequent conservative governments of David Cameron (2015–2016), Theresa May (2016–2018), and Boris Johnson (2018-present) have continued the policies of transitioning-maintained schools to academy-type schools that are supported by evidence of performance results. Academicians such as Eyles and Machin (2019) predicted that schools in the United Kingdom will be almost entirely private by 2022.

² Primary and secondary schools, whether high or low achieving, could become academies.

³ Newly established academy-type schools for all levels (primary, secondary, and vocational education).

Trajectory of Accountability Policies in England

In the United Kingdom's transformation of its education system, NPM theories have played a fundamental role since the 1980s in developing an educational quasi-market, and accountability policies have been the mechanisms for implementing NPM policies. They have been highlighted as a particularity in the trajectory of accountability policies in the United Kingdom and as being part of the structural strategy of the State at a time of reform prior to the generalization of the GERM.

One important element to note is that the NPM agenda and accountability policies as devices of its practices, policies, and philosophies have been part of Conservatives' and Labour Party's political agendas since the 1980s.

The main accountability policies developed in the context of the United Kingdom by each stage of government are represented in Table 1.

As can be seen from Table 1, accountability policies in the UK education system include the agendas of different political parties; nevertheless, the objectives of the administrations differed in coherence with their idiosyncrasies.

In effect, the neoconservative Thatcher and Major governments sought to erode the power of LEAs and education officials, for which accountability policies played a key role. 1987 saw the introduction of teacher merit pay linked to student results. Subsequently, the curriculum was recentralized in 1988, with staged testing being introduced and made public for families to consult when selecting a school. Performance evaluation tests are part of the logic or discourse of school choice theory (Betts, 2005) and rational decision-making. In addition, the State professed its faith in results-based approaches for introducing competitiveness and improving quality in the UK education system.

The notoriety of the continuity of these reforms in the subsequent stages of the Labour Party government is rooted in the party's shift towards a more social-liberal position. The belief that private management and financing could benefit public services in terms of improving quality meant that the Blair and Brown administrations questioned neither the staged assessment tests nor the publication of their results. The difference from previous administrations was that this evidence and the role of the private inspectorate (Ofsted) was to be used to improve the performance of failing schools. To this end, they deployed a series of reforms such as the Fresh Start Programme (1999), which enabled managers

Table 1 Accountability policies in the United Kingdom's educational system

<i>Political party</i>	<i>Prime Minister/President years in government</i>	<i>Ideological-political leaning in education</i>	<i>Accountability policy</i>
Conservative Party	Margaret Thatcher (1979–1990)	Neoconservatism/dries (New Right)	Teacher merits pay (1987) Local Management Schools (1988) Recentralization: curriculum and staged assessment (1988)
Conservative Party	John Major (1990–1997)	Neoconservatism (New Right)	Publication of results (ranking) Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted)
Labour Party	Tony Blair (1997–2005)	Social Liberalism (Third Way)	Fresh start (1999) Education Action Zones (1998) Excellence in Cities (1999) Sponsor academies Trust schools
Labour Party	Gordon Brown (2005–2010)	Social Liberalism (Third Way)	Sponsor academies (no sponsor required) (2009) Trust schools (2006)
Con-Lib Dem (coalition government)	David Cameron and Nick Clegg (2010–2015)	Compassionate conservatism (Big society)	Education Act (2011): reduction of LEA's power RSC (promoting the creation of academies) (2013) Converter academies (2010) Free schools (2010)
Conservative Party	David Cameron (2015–2016)	Compassionate conservatism (Big society)	Education and Adoption Act (2016): low standard schools must become academies

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Political party</i>	<i>Prime Minister/President years in government</i>	<i>Ideological-political leaning in education</i>	<i>Accountability policy</i>
Conservative Party	Theresa May (2016–2018)	Conservatism (One Nation)	Strengthen the creation of new free schools and academies

from successful centres to relocate to low-performance centres and implement their management models as examples of good practice. These policies were followed by other evidence—and results-based policies in the search for improved standards, such as Education Action Zones (1998), Excellence in Cities (1999), sponsor academies, and the creation of trust schools. Each and every one of these programmes focused on improving students' academic results by means of advisory strategies from high-performance schools to low-performance schools.

Later governmental stages were marked by David Cameron's compassionate conservatism project (Big Society), a theory that sought to move away from Thatcherite positions. Its main objective was to create a climate that would empower people and local communities, building a big society that would take power away from politicians and give it to the people. The policies deployed under the Cameron educational agenda were motivated by Big Society philosophy, the strengthening of audits and performance monitoring based on student results through organizations such as Regional Schools Commissioners and Ofsted, and empowering families to decide on opening free schools or converting maintained schools into academies. Not only did this keep the conversion of such secondary schools into academies going, but through the Academies Act (2010), the programme was extended to high-performance primary and secondary schools (converter academies). Therefore, the main objective of the two stages of the Cameron government (2010–2015/2015–2016) identified with the dismantling of the publicly funded public system. They used school reports and results to this end to make the transition to this type of school, as seen with the Education and Adoption Act (2016), in which low-performance schools were required to become academies.

Successive Theresa May (2016–2018) and Boris Johnson (2018-date) government agendas have included converting maintained schools into performance-based academies, just as in the previous stages.

In this way, how government has integrated into the pragmatic and discursive policies in the context of the UK can be seen through numbers, comparisons, audits, and results-based management in both the Conservative and Labour Parties' political agendas. The significance of the UK case is the complementarity of accountability reforms and the continuity in the support of results for decision-making and education reform in the United Kingdom.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF SPAIN

After 40 years of dictatorship in Spain, the Spanish Constitution and its 27th Article was approved in 1978. Far from being quickly resolved, Article 27 was approved after a year of long and intense debates that had not occurred with the drafting and approval of the Constitution's other articles. Studying the trajectory of Article 27 reveals a division of two Spains that understood the importance and relevance of education for a democratic Spain. The resolution of Article 27 was far from conflictive; instead it had articulated on a single level (Article 27.1) the right to an education and the freedom of teaching (Tiana, 2018). Under the Francoist dictatorship, Spain had constructed state schools based on the Catholic faith and had indiscriminately subsidized Catholic private schools. This had given rise to the current network of *escuelas privadas-concertadas*, which alongside state schools had create the structure of schooling institutions in the Spanish education system. Spanish *escuelas concertadas* are a type of Public–Private Partnership (PPP), born in 1985 as part of a strategy from the socialist party in government to give predominantly Catholic private schools a state character. This strategy consisted of implementing a series of obligations in an attempt to make private centres function in practically the same manner as Spanish state schools.

Concurrently, the Spanish Constitution brought about the development of the Autonomous Communities (CCAA) system, with their own competences. The transfer of educational power to the 17 CCAAs was done in phases and in accordance with the historical, political, and cultural factors of each territory of the Spanish State. The culmination

of the process of transferring educational competences to the CCAAs was completed in 2000.

Decentralization of the regions and educational competences has led to a system of educational systems (Bonal et al., 2005) in which the political tone of each CCAA has determined the balance towards the introduction of policies characteristic of NPM as exemplified by the cases of Catalonia (Parcerisa, 2016; Verger et al., 2018) and Andalusia (Luengo & Saura, 2016; Molina-Pérez & Luengo, 2020). The introduction of endogenous and exogenous privatization reforms and PPPs promoting the creation of an educational quasi-market is exemplified in the cases of Madrid (Fernández-González, 2020; Prieto & Villamor, 2013) and Valencia (Pulido-Montes, 2016; Pulido-Montes & Lázaro, 2017), and the continuity of state regulatory prescriptions is shown in the case of Extremadura (Pulido-Montes, 2020).

At present, the organic law that articulates and regulates the Spanish education system is the Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality. It was introduced by the Partido Popular and has been paralyzed on the most socially debated and contested questions by the left-wing coalition government in power in Spain since 2020. Of all the education laws in the history of Spanish democracy, LOMCE is the one to which most recent studies have been devoted. Among these, several have analyzed the phenomenon of privatization in and of education since that reform (Saura & Luengo, 2014). Others have focused on analyzing the introduction of NPM philosophy through accountability, assessment, publication of results, competitiveness, and managerialism (Bernal-Agudo & Vázquez-Toledo, 2013), and still others have highlighted how PISA tests have been a tool for legitimizing LOMCE and introducing GERM mechanisms into the Spanish education system (Fernández-González, 2015).

The paralysis of the most controversial elements of LOMCE has given way to the left-wing government coalition's (PSOE-*Unidas/Podemos*) construction of a new law: Organic Law of Modification of the Organic Law on Education (LOMLOE). Currently under discussion in the Spanish government, this bill has been preceded by more than seven organic laws during the Spanish democratic period.

Trajectory of Accountability Policies in Spain

NPM accountability policies (e.g., centre autonomy, external assessment, and accountability) had not materialized in Spain until the education reforms of 2006 (Organic Law on Education) and 2013 (LOMCE). What differentiates the direction of these reforms from preceding ones in terms of accountability introduced into the Spanish context is the openly neoliberal turnaround, especially with regard to LOMCE, which seeks to introduce mechanisms for developing an educational quasi-market. However, as can be seen in Table 2, other reforms have been introduced that have presented typical NPM theories up to the present day.

The legacy of the Francoist education system (i.e., low educational investment, lack of professionalization of management and teaching bodies, and a massively subsidized network of Catholic private schools) has posed a challenge to democratic political formations as they strive to develop a universal education system constructed around quality (Pulido-Montes, 2020).

The fourth and last short-lived government of the socialist Felipe González (1993–1996) saw itself influenced by and involved in the social democratic crisis (Hillebrand, 2016); that is precisely the stage when the introduction of the modernization of public services rhetoric and discourse characteristic from the social liberal left can be identified. One of the policies that signified this turnaround was the Organic Law on the Participation, Evaluation, and Governance of Educational Institutions, which was widely contested by the educational community and even said to have been one of the milestones in the covert privatization of education in Spain (Barcia, 1995). Aguilar-Hernández (2002) conducted a discursive analysis of LOPEG in which he discovered the professionalization of the managerial figure as a government control element over school performance who is required to participate in the external and internal evaluation of the educational centre.

José María Aznar had carried out the same exercise as Thatcher and Blair in their parties: the repositioning of the conservative party towards the centre-right spectrum. Lavezzolo and Orriols defined this political repositioning strategy as the most appropriate and effective strategy for the governance of the country. De Puelles-Benítez (2005) established connections between the Spanish conservative party and the British conservative party in relation to the development of their

Table 2 Accountability policies in the Spanish education system (1979–2019)

<i>Political party</i>	<i>Prime Minister/President Years in government</i>	<i>Ideological-political leaning in education</i>	<i>Accountability policy</i>
PSOE	Felipe González (1982–1996)	Social Liberalism (1993–1996)	Managerialism, professionalization of management, function to control centre performance from a distance
PP	José María Aznar (1996–2004)	Neoliberalism (1996–2000) Neoconservatism (2000–2004)	Introduction of improvement plans similar to the EFQM Model (Order 1998) Professionalization of management (2002) Publication of reports on schools via the government so that parents can choose schools in an informed manner
PSOE	José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (2004–2012)	Social Liberalism (<i>Nueva Vía</i>)	Diagnostic assessment tests Introduction of educational competences
PP	Mariano Rajoy (2012–2018)	Neoconservatism	<i>Reválidas</i> Diagnostic tests in 2nd and 4th year of the ESO Publication of results Early education pathways at age 13

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

<i>Political party</i>	<i>Prime Minister/President Years in government</i>	<i>Ideological-political leaning in education</i>	<i>Accountability policy</i>
PSOE	Pedro Sánchez (2018–2019)	Social Democracy	Paralysis of reválidas, assessable religious studies, diagnostic tests, devolution of competences to School Councils, withdrawal of the principle of social demand, etc
PSOE-Unidas Podems	Pedro Sánchez (2020–date)	Social Democracy	New bill modifying the LOMLOE

educational policies. The same author analyzed eight years in government of the *Partido Popular* and its educational policies concluding that had implemented reforms typical of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. The primary objective of the *Partido Popular* (PP) had been to increase schools' freedom of choice. To this end, they introduced a series of reforms, the most important of which in relation to accountability included the introduction of business improvement plans adapted to schools and the publication of reports on schools that could be consulted by voting families. These policies connected with the intention to develop an educational quasi-market based on empowering families, eroding school participatory associations (*Consejo Escolar*), and liberalizing the conditions for providing *conciertos educativos*.

The second phase of the PP government (2000–2004) gave rise to the Organic Law on Educational Quality and was widely contested by teachers, students, and progressive families (Digón-Regueiro, 2003). The law was scarcely applied as the Socialists blocked it when they came to power in 2004.

PSOE's return to power occurred with José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The political and ideological agenda Zapatero developed in 2000 alongside Spanish socialist thinkers organized in a group called *Nueva Vía* had attempted to move away from social liberal policies. As a guide at the centre of these ideas was Pettit's (2007) theory of civic republicanism

which sought to strengthen democracy through complete citizen participation in political, social, and cultural life. The education agenda over the course of Zapatero's government (2004–2011) sought to focus on equity and attention to diversity. However, the Organic Law on Education was not unaffected by the transformations or GERM. This was reason results-based diagnostic assessment tests were first introduced to improve student performance in the Spanish educational system. Highlighting the context in which these types of accountability policies were introduced among other strategies is important as it is a context marked by the shared European agenda for the reduction of school failure as well as the rise of PISA tests and their impact on national education policies. The socialist administration had tried to limit the perverse effects of the diagnostic assessment tests in order to instrumentalize them and introduce a culture of competitiveness and market dynamics in school choice. Consequently, they prohibited the publication of results, taking into account the possible resignifications of these policies in the various CCAAs.

Not until Mariano Rajoy's PP government were accountability policies able to become part of an NPM-style performative strategy for developing evidence and results-based competitiveness. By means of LOMCE, the PP introduced diagnostic tests for 3rd and 6th grades in primary school and the *reválidas* in the 4th year of Compulsory Secondary Education and 2nd year of the *bachillerato*, with the intention to publicize their results in order to develop market dynamics. These policies were widely contested by the CCAA, with many rebelling against their implementation (Pulido-Montes, 2020). These mechanisms formed part of the PP strategy to promote the network of *escuelas concertadas* through provisions in the law on the concession of *conciertos* according to demand, the extension of their duration (2 more years), their allocation in the vocational training stage, and to gender-segregated centres. LOMCE has been evaluated as equivalent to Education Reform Act in the UK education system (De Puelles-Benítez, 2016).

After the vote of no confidence in the government of Mariano Rajoy on June 1, 2018 by Pedro Sánchez's PSOE, the policies described above were quickly brought to a halt.

With the formation of the left-wing coalition government (PSOE/*Unidas-Podemos*), the Organic Law of Modification of the Organic Law on Education was approved on November 19, 2020 in an attempt to return to how things had been in 2006, a situation where the evaluation of the education system would be carried out on a sample

basis and be exempt from publishing and creating results-based classifications. The law importantly specifies that what is described above must be complied with across all AACCs without exception. This clarification in the aforementioned law is important when one considers that in AACCs such as the Community of Madrid, the publication of results has been carried out by different government administrations subject to the governance that they enjoy in relation to educational competences (Prieto & Villamor, 2013).

COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Results-based policies have been maintained and reinforced by the two traditional UK parties in power (Labour Party and the Conservatives), albeit in the pursuit of different objectives, and now form part of the political-educational structure of the UK. The main differences in the policies developed in the UK education system is that left-wing governments in power have introduced accountability policies in response to international trends and the role of bodies such as the OECD and the EU.

The Spanish left for its part introduced these policies with a focus on equity, thus forming part of their discursive strategy. However, the Spanish conservative party, especially after LOMCE, placed accountability policies and NPM at the heart of their reforms and in line with the policies deployed by the Thatcher administration (De Puelles-Benítez, 2016).

Of particular interest in the context of the UK is how accountability policies have constantly emerged in educational system reforms performatively as accountability policies: The publication of results and reporting have been used to dismantle the network of schools governed by LEAs and since 2010 to transition to academy schools with the arrival of the Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition government.

In the context of Spain, alternation has prevailed in the interpretation of accountability policies. On one hand, conservative governments have tried to use audit and accountability policies to develop a system based on competitiveness and to strengthen the network of *escuelas concertadas*. On the other hand, leftist governments have agreed to soften the perverse effects of these policies by prohibiting the publication of assessment results.

In summary, assessment culture bearing a performative character has been integrated in the UK's education system by both Conservative and

Labour governments since the 1980s as a device for reforming the English education system. Meanwhile, assessment culture was introduced much later in Spain in 2000, and the main governments in power have not converged as had happened in the United Kingdom with regard to the functionalities of accountability policies.

In the same thread as Maroy et al.'s (2019) analysis and trajectory of accountability policies in France, the Spanish case is comparable to the French case in that left-wing governments understand these policies as a tool for quality improvement. However, the conservative governments in Spain have interpreted accountability from a managerialist and performative perspective in order to introduce quasi-market dynamics into the educational system typical of the UK's neoconservatism. In this manner, contingency in the application of accountability policies is marked by the historical, cultural, political, and ideological traditions of individual contexts. Spain identifies with a mixed model in the application of accountability policies that alternate between utilitarian interpretations and the perspectives of these policies, as opposed to the UK model, which we consider neoliberal in how it has implemented accountability policies.

In general terms, the accountability policies applied in the United Kingdom have sought to erode autonomy and public governance and to encourage the emulation of a market system in which families are consumers of a good measured in terms of efficiency. This is in opposition to the accountability policies applied in Spain's education system, which have been halfway between publishing results as a means of measuring the efficiency of student performance and using diagnoses to resolve educational inequalities. Nevertheless, the managerialist approach has permeated the implementation of both policies, although with a greater market-driven results component in the United Kingdom. This is in contrast to the Spanish model for improving educational quality. Accountability policies have also shown performative effects on schools, teachers, and students in both scenarios.

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Improving the Transition from Higher Education to Employment: A Review of Current Policies

Yusuf Alpaydın and Kürşad Kültür

In the twentieth century, developed countries in particular have increasingly begun using human capital investments to make education, which had transformed into an economic tool, more accessible from the 1960s onwards through increased labor productivity and new information technologies (Alpaydın, 2015). This has led to the emergence of over-education since the 1980s, which is a disease of the school-to-work transition (Teichler, 1999).

From the human capital approach, education creates an economic context in terms of contributing to economic development as a means of increasing the value of labor. The development of human capital paves the way for new opportunities through the value of labor, competitiveness, and innovation (Gillies, 2016; Marimuthu et al., 2009).

Y. Alpaydın (✉) · K. Kültür
Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
e-mail: yusuf.alpaydin@marmara.edu.tr

K. Kültür
e-mail: kursadkultur@marun.edu.tr

However, despite the increased value of labor, the difficulties in integrating production systems into the global economy through technological improvements have led to a disease complicating school-to-work transitions with the longer-term spread of return on investments (ROI). This disease is the so-called phenomenon of over-education (the gap between skill demand and supply) and leads to negative employment outcomes such as working for less-than-expected income rates and lower job positions, informal employment, underemployment, unemployment, and the displacement of qualified graduates (Caroleo & Pastore, 2021). Even though this paints a more positive picture for developed countries, the intellectual communities where the quality and quantity of human capital has increased will achieve long-term investment returns through their markets, human resources, supply chains, and an innovation potential that will change or add to the nature of business. This is because the rate of locally produced technological innovation and the speed of adopting the technologies imported from abroad both depend on the level and stock of human capital (Nelson & Edmund, 1966; Romer, 1989).

Apart from that, the rapid advances in the field of information and technology, the increasing world population, global connectivity, economic crises, climate change, increased mobility, demographic changes, urbanization, and global mega-trends such as the globalization of value chains have now changed the nature of business-skill supply and demand. Because no nation is self-sufficient in a global economy, certain goods (e.g., technologies), are inherently tied to human and information flows (Rodrigue, 2021).

With the transformation of the business world, employers have a greater need for qualified graduates. Although higher education graduates' qualifications are considered partly problematic by employers, this has still led them to make higher education an important selection criterion for recruitment (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2013; Teichler, 2007).

This diversity in education and business has led to the expansion of quality assurance and accreditation institutions in the development of graduate skills, bringing the quality of education to the agenda (Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development [OECD], 2020). It has also given rise to quality assurance leading the policy agendas of many countries (Altbach, 2009). Employment is one of the biggest concerns of stakeholders who demand more accountable and

measurable results on the educational outcomes and quality of education. Thus, an increasingly growing interest occurring in external assessment systems such as World University Rankings is not surprising.

Among other advantages provided by higher education, students, especially those aware of the probability of employment, have expanded their demands in recent decades to transcend borders (Tymon, 2013).

The number of global higher education students, which had been about 89 million in 1998, has increased to 200 million today. Following this direction, global participation in secondary and higher education is estimated to reach seven billion people by 2100, a tenfold increase since the 1970s. The number of international students is expected to reach 8 million by 2025, reaching a total of 5.3 million, a three-fold increase compared to the 1990s and two-fold compared to the 2000s (Bennett, 2018; Mok & Han, 2016; University World News, 2021; World Bank, 2017).

After all these developments, despite the increasing number of higher education institutions established worldwide today, 1.21 billion youths (15.5% of the global population; 30% of females and 13% of males) aged 15–24 are not in education, employment, or training (NEET). More than half of the young population (about 776 million) are not in the workforce, meaning they are unemployed, not looking for work, or unable to find work. The ratio of youth unemployment to the global population is 13.6%. Additionally, only 22% of the global youth population is officially employed (ILO, 2020a). In OECD countries, approximately one in two people (53%) aged 18–24 are still in education, while 14% are considered NEET (OECD, 2020).

A comprehensive skill set is needed for the success of the labor market of the twenty-first century for developing a relevant chain of the supply and demand of skills, fulfilling countries' developmental needs and business world's survival and growth needs, and achieving the dream of increasing the odds of graduate employment and creating a better future (World Bank, 2021).

Understanding the process of transitioning from higher education to employment in the context of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations General Assembly, 2015) will make significant contributions to education for developing human capital, to the High-Quality Education and Decent Employment agendas (European Union, 2021), and for this matter to be considered from its different dimensions (Knight & Yorke, 2002).

Considered as one of the biggest actors of employment, higher education should maintain business-integrated (experiential) learning models throughout education and working life with employer contributions within the context of institute-industry interactions. In addition, monitoring labor market information (LMI) and developing and matching the needed skills depends on the employment policies that multilateral actors will put into effect at various levels.

To re-summarize, improving the transition from higher education to employment and increasing the employability of graduates is an essential area of interest for individuals, higher education institutions, employers, and governments as parties of the issue in order to obtain individual and social returns from highly expensive higher education investments.

In this chapter, we will examine the current tendencies and policies on developing the transition from higher education to employment. On the surface, the research in this field seems to be mainly focused on how to achieve harmony between the educational system and labor markets, on the economy, and on the intermediary roles of political-regulatory actors by analyzing these systems.

ENHANCING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

In a fast-changing labor market, young people are more likely to work part-time or temporary jobs. This can lower further education and training opportunities. However, with policy support, temporary jobs can be molded into a bridge or a stepping stone (European Union, 2014). Negative employment outcomes such as underemployment or informal employment also affect education and labor mobility. Factors of labor migration include the state of the labor market, difficulties in finding a job, unemployment, the wish to improve financial situations or learn more about the world, career prospects, and connection building (Mizintseva et al., 2017). Ensuring fairness and equality in terms of employment is the other side of the coin. To reduce employment victimization in labor and education mobility, making the National Vocational Training Skills Framework (NTVQF) compulsory for the education of migrant workers in meeting the incoming mobility and the Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) for prospective migrants or repeat migrants will be beneficial for prospective migrant workers to obtain decent employment, as will making a mutual recognition agreement with target countries, providing women

in particular with comprehensive language training specific to the target country, and continuously improving the capacity of education providers (ILO, 2020b; Table 1).

Table 1 Key roles and duties of government and employment actors in the transition from higher education to employment

<i>Active and dynamic labor market programs</i>	
Regulatory policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and political regulations promoting youth employment • Establishing an innovation infrastructure • Increasing the methods and opportunities for job searching and reducing the time for job searching • Increasing skills matching, mediation services, and opportunities • Ensuring that employment actors participate with all their unique roles and capacities when making decisions at various levels • Determining and monitoring the success criteria of graduate employment (e.g., through higher education participation) • Youth programs and policies: active labor market training programs targeting young people • Collaborations with social partners: social youth programs • Supporting entrepreneurship: entrepreneurship education, creating more job opportunities for young people through loans, and promoting social incubation centers and cooperatives • Establishing Youth Affairs Departments • Creating a National Skills/Qualification Framework (with the participation of all employment actors)
Ensuring employment security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring fairness and equality • Introducing inclusive policies • Reducing informal employment • Data-driven surveillance • Reducing underemployment • Developing employers' academic awareness • Developing technology-based competitiveness superiority • Social media community platforms

Among the main reasons for the high youth unemployment rate are factors such as lack of work experience, lack of field expertise and age discrimination against both youth and adults (Mizintseva et al., 2017). Therefore, a regular analysis of public policy needs to be conducted first on youth employment to identify the main problems that hinder the development of the youth labor market and to promote labor market development. Adopting a balanced and goal-oriented youth policy is of utmost importance for improving the social and economic indicators regarding youth unemployment. Regulatory policies for the youth labor market should be based on a variety of interrelated tools that ensure effective youth employment. Having employers canvass among themselves about the skills of young workers is quite important for fulfilling this task. Tax reductions should be placed on the agenda for employers hiring younger professionals with zero work experience, educational standards should be coordinated with business representatives, practical training components in the curriculum of higher vocational educational institutions should be increased, and individual youth programs for workforce exchanges should be developed. In these processes, the state should participate as an intermediary between universities and educational establishments and should promote the activities of intermediary companies for youth employment and distance education activities (Mizintseva et al., 2017). Additionally, many countries are trying to create more job opportunities for young people through loans, promoting social incubation centers, and cooperatives (O'Higgins, 2017).

INCREASING THE CAPACITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS FOR THE ACQUISITION OF EMPLOYABILITY SKILLS

Employers lie at the heart of the debate over graduate employability. Employers must transform employability into employment, and graduates must be trained to acquire skills relevant to employers' demands (Harvey, 2001). Acquiring such skills depends on the formation and application of higher education activities that will integrate education and work, increase the work experience of the graduates employers think they need (e.g., experiential, project-based, interactive internships and ateliers, learning environments that simulate the workplace), and also provide students lifelong learning and school-to-work transition support through

labor market-matching services (mediation) that have high importance in resolving discrepancies in terms of skills between the higher education and business world (Abelha et al., 2020; Asonitou, 2015; ILO, 2005; Minocha et al., 2017; Ryan, 1999; Table 2).

Guidance and mentoring services available for young people in business environments, classes simulating workplaces, and firm practices are activities that also have relevant and positive ties to promoting graduate skills (Mizintseva et al., 2017) because work experience, which employers consider to have vital importance in the labor market, reduces work-related dissonance problems by almost 50% for graduates (Meng et al., 2020; Ryan, 1999).

As a mixture of experience, education, and personal features, employability skills may vary by institution, sector, and country (Alrifai & Raju, 2019; Reiter, 2021). Thus, personalizing the steps to be taken in terms of employment is important. Providing package courses that individuals or communities can easily apply for at any time in line with their career goals (e.g., MOOC) might be an effective response to sudden changes between recent paradigms and the first steps to be taken to complete the missing skills for fighting the discrepancies caused by the rapid changes in the business world (Kerr et al., 2015). Recognition and verification by an accreditation of the personal skills acquired through such studies are also important (Liyuan et al., 2020). However, such solutions and responses to the problem regarding fields of expertise becoming highly personalized are points that get overlooked in the literature. Additionally, modern learning approaches such as learning analytics (LA) aiming to monitor

Table 2 Prominent strategies for developing employability skills in higher education

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- Increasing experiential (work-integrated) learning opportunities
 - Project-based interactive learning activities
 - Analytical teaching (data-based) activities
 - Providing work experience
 - Participation from employers, business associations
 - Training specific to individual and community needs (e.g., massive open online courses [MOOC]) and skill verification
 - Strengthening the institute-industry bond
 - Designing curricula and programs aimed at the development of new skillsets
 - Enhancing lifelong learning opportunities
 - Inspirational alumni stories, on-campus visits, and meetings
-

and improve learning performance and simulate the workplace are also important in terms of surveilling the skillsets in the training processes and providing ideas for both the individual and the community (Avella et al., 2016; ILO, 2013).

Apart from this, the partnership between technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and the industry is one of the keys to workplace readiness (ILO & World Bank, 2021). In this regard, addressing measures from secondary education, increasing institute and industry connections in all respects, improving skills, and reducing discrepancies may bring various benefits.

As asserted by studies within the scope of lifelong education, questions of how to make employability skills widespread throughout working life and to develop its sustainability have not been raised in the literature despite its function in compensating for discrepancies (Alpaydın, 2015; Bhaerman & Spill, 1988). However, lifelong education improves the required skills of individuals for them to find a job, remain at the office, and change careers inside the labor market (ILO, 2013).

The capacity higher education institutions have in having students acquire employability skills has become a question of corporate reputation. Higher education rating agencies have also begun to question the qualifications of existing skills in the context of higher education's employability skills through thousands of surveys taken by employers and graduates. Therefore, higher education institutions have grown to become part of international competition in terms of attracting talent and developing countries. The issue of increased mobility, recognition, and accreditation of acquired skills is seen to have ever-increasing importance from an international perspective (IOE, 2005). The capacity to provide students with employability skills stands out among the characteristics of a competitive higher education institution. Additionally, educational accreditation standards and information play an important role in removing barriers blocking student exchanges and in supporting the global market for advanced skills (ICEF Monitor, 2017).

International research on the increasing importance of institutional reputation among higher education students has revealed institutional reputation to generally be an important selection criterion for health, law, and engineering graduates while not a very important selection criterion for graduates of social sciences, arts, and humanities. Research has revealed differences between programs as well as differences between

countries. For instance, while reputation is considered relatively insignificant for health graduates in Spain and France and law graduates in Japan, it is often considered crucial in engineering and business. Generally, graduates of social sciences, arts and humanities, and health were unlikely to consider reputation as an important criterion. Nevertheless, health and law graduates in the UK are the groups that regard reputation most highly (Allen & Van der Velden, 2007).

MONITORING AND DEVELOPING PROMINENT SKILLS IN WORKING LIFE

The employability skills of human capital are those that provide employment advantages to graduates during education, competence development, and working life (Sverke & Marklund, 2006). Employability as a term is often used interchangeably with the concept of job readiness (Rowe & Zegwaard, 2017). Considering the broad literature on the subject (see Table 2), if we analyze the prominent skills thematically, three important required skill types for students emerge as social-emotional skills, cognitive skills, and technical and professional skills (Table 3).

In a globalized economy, skills also have increasing importance. Although professional and technical skills are crucial, employers seek graduates who have more skills than these. To date, this need has not yet been fully met. McKinsey's (2012) report based on survey data from nine countries shows that almost half of employers (43%) are able to find the skills they're looking for in entry-level workers.

Thus, employers look at specific individuals' employability skills rather than their professional and technical skills. These employability skills prove

Table 3 Critical skills expected from graduates in working life

Social-emotional skills	Participation, adaptation, and cooperation Socio-emotional and communicative skills Internationalization Skills
Cognitive skills	Learning Skills Creativity and Entrepreneurship Technology Skills Foreign Language Skills
Technical and professional skills	Organization and Administration Specialized Skillsets

to be more beneficial for the inexperienced the current employees, and employers in the labor market by improving skills for individuals to find jobs and remain in office, switch careers in the labor market, and participate in lifelong learning. Learning skills allow individuals to manage their own time and make the most of it at work or during education. Teamwork and communication skills guide individuals in terms of making them aware of the positive outcomes of working with others. Problem-solving skills help individuals develop a systematic approach to overcome certain challenges they will face in their work, workplace, and daily life. For employers, these fundamental skills signify if an employee can more easily respond to changes in the workplace and reduce the time spent conceptualizing, producing, distributing, and marketing a service or product. Thus, employees equipped with these skills will be able to learn faster and perform more effectively. Additionally, this will allow businesses to foster more innovative and flexible workplaces, allowing employees to present new ideas and adapt more quickly to technological changes and organizational reconstruction (ILO, 2013).

The main objectives of graduate skills monitoring are to balance the skills demanded by the employer environment and business world with the skills offered by higher education institutions, to prevent the phenomenon of over-education, and also to align skills with labor market conditions in terms of quantity and quality. The main push factors of the shift in skill supply and demand include demography, technology, global economic trends, and migration (Řihová, 2016).

Examples of the process of monitoring, developing, and matching skills include the European Skills Index, the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF), and the Singapore Skills Framework accessible through the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Education (Cedefop), web portals, and the Skills Panorama (Cedefop, 2018; EU, 2021).

While disagreement among the skills that the literature considers most important for the labor markets still exists, certain skill types are agreed upon. For instance, Becker (1964) classified the types of skills primarily needed in the business world into two categories: general (common and industry-oriented) and special (job-oriented skills). Soft skills refer to the indirect skills that help employees participate in the business world such as implementing personal learning experiences at work, debating, communication, representation, problem-solving, and teamwork (Andrews & Higson, 2008; Watts, 1977; Whitmore & Fry, 1974). In the context of

the ever-changing future of work, assignable or transferable skills depend on the career strength of employees. Transferable skills can be used to position previous work experience into a new job or industry. Core or basic skills represent the general knowledge of basic labor requirements. Key skills on the other hand represent job-specific skills that encompass more specific skillsets and focus on the basic characteristics outlined in a job description (Bennett et al., 1999; Holmes & Hooper, 2000).

Employability skills are essential skills and attributes needed in almost every job. For organizations, these are the general skills that make a person appealing (Bridgstock, 2009). Besides these, survival skills are those that graduates need to acquire at school to help them become high-performing employees and therefore survive in the labor market (Kumar & Jain, 2010). Branine (2008) suggested employers to seek individual-oriented skills rather than job-oriented skills.

As we live in an era where the relations between employees and organizations have changed and where individuals need to gain employability rather than secure employment, employers emphasize employees' ability to respond to rapid change more so than they did in the past (Baruch, 2001). Instead of wasting a lifetime waiting to find a job, graduates must be qualified to respond to the available opportunities in the job market (Yorke & Harvey, 2005). The form of employment that had emerged in the late twentieth century is no longer convenient in the form of a long-term commitment between employers and employees (Baruch, 2001). This new employment relation resembles an economic exchange not unlike a contract (Tsui & Wu, 2005). Organizing this exchange in a way that transforms the skills of individuals and communities is another dimension of the matter.

An additional important dimension in terms of skills is the issue of monitoring skills during the business process regarding their suitability to job market expectations. Lack of sufficient information about the labor market, poor job placement mechanisms, lack of professional guidance and consultancy services, insufficient demands, and lack of opportunities for work experience all make the problem of finding decent work a lot worse. Therefore, concepts such as sectoral skills analysis, graduate feedback, graduate career monitoring, professional classifications, and working-age population are considered among the central criteria for labor force statistics as solutions to data deficiencies in employment (Abelha et al., 2020; ILO, 2005; ILOSTAT, 2019; Schomburg, 2016; Wilson et al., 2016).

In dynamic and ever-changing labor markets, identifying skill requirements is a big challenge. Given the rapidly evolving labor market, an increasing need exists to fill not only the skill gaps of the present but also labor skill requirements of the future. To resolve these problems, policymakers, employers, workers, educators, trainers, and students all need timely and accurate information about the skill demands of the labor market (Mañé & Corbella, 2017; Table 4).

Several means of pressure on the business world (e.g., globalization, innovation, increasing information, and technologies, sharing economy) render making a sustainable strategic skills policy difficult. Therefore, the theories question the predictability of the balance of supply and demand.

The analysis of human capital used to predict skill requirements shows that, among the approaches of manpower and social demand, the manpower approach estimates do not have enough means to regulate the education system by itself, and education planning is insufficient for compensating for the failures of manpower forecasting (Alpaydın, 2015; Reiter, 2021; Wilson, 2001). With time, the concepts of manpower forecasting/projection began to be used more commonly instead of manpower planning (Wilson et al., 2016).

In this sense, the forecasting quality of current and future skills will contribute to closing the skills gap between the labor market and higher education institutions depending on the quality of monitoring studies

Table 4 Studies to monitor current and future graduate skills

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- Examination of national and international standards, frameworks, and professional classifications
 - Application and analysis of innovation metrics
 - Analysis of data from the offices of labor, economics, education, finance, and statistics
 - Analysis of Public Employment Services Data
 - Analysis of the data from social partners (employers' associations and trade unions) and educational institutions
 - Analysis of research institutions data
 - Monitoring and analyzing public and private employment services data (mediation and skill-matching)
 - Preparation of sectoral skill requirement reports
 - Investigation of criteria that are effective in recruiting the employer's labor force
 - Researching the school-to-work transition
 - Monitoring job postings
 - Investigation of criteria that are decisive in graduate job selection
-

besides the recommended literature. Reclassifying the skill requirements identified in this context of employer environment, sectors, and higher education programs can make the transition from higher education to employment smoother.

However, in this chapter where we discuss labor and job qualifications, deciding which of the two dominates is quite a difficult matter. In other words, in what contexts does higher education or the business environment dominate the other in terms of directing employment? Could current skills provide clues about future skills? One of the effective ways to read this is through understanding the changing roles and capacities of employment actors. Therefore, data-driven decisions obtained from monitoring should be made with the multileveled participation of these actors in the solution processes.

One of the main issues about graduate employability is overcoming the difficulties caused by mismatches between graduates' qualifications and employers' demands (Abelha et al., 2020).

For new skills and jobs, in particular, Europe's strategy for 2020 approves forecasting and matching approaches for helping develop a skilled workforce with the right mix of skills in response to labor market needs for stimulating business. The EU Skills Panorama, launched in 2012, supports efforts to provide better data and intelligence on the skill requirements of the labor market. ILO has reported the member nations that manage to link tripartite representation and skills with achievements in productivity, employment, and development to have formed their skills development policy directed at three main objectives:

- matching supply with demand,
- helping workers and businesses adapt to change,
- and creating competencies for the needs of the future labor market (Andersen et al., 2015).

Skill matching is a complex and dynamic process involving multiple stakeholders. Which types of skills are matched and how to evaluate them for individuals and their families should be identified while making decisions in this process, as well as identifying individuals' perceptions about their education and training, structured education and training systems,

employment policies and investments, education and labor market policy-makers, educational institutions, the type and content of training courses, and how employers will train their employees (Andersen et al., 2015).

Insufficient matching between skill supply and demand brings about many negative consequences for individuals and companies, thus affecting the national economy and society as a whole. Insufficient matches, which have negative impacts on wages and job satisfaction, might cause difficulties in recruitment and low productivity at a corporate level. Insufficient matches can adversely affect a nation's competitiveness, the returns from educational investments, and skills development and can bring about additional costs such as unemployment compensations (Řihová, 2016).

Strategies for effective matching should be based on information about future trends. Firm and reliable forecasting can only be achieved with the active participation of employers, social partners, the educational and training systems, and researchers (Andersen et al., 2015).

Therefore, information on the supply and discrepancy of skills demands should be transformed into appropriate actions in public policymaking. Problems that are identified should be critically analyzed as part of policy formulation options in order to develop and implement optimal measures. Besides education, skills, and employment policies, labor market matching can be supported through national development plans and industrial and migration policies. Websites are the most common information tools for communicating with the general public. Information about current situations and possible future developments that are usually the product of complex methodologies can be demonstrated through graphs and simple charts (Řihová, 2016).

Technical conditions for matching have improved with the wider availability of e-tools, specialized software, and databases that process large volumes of data and produce better matches (Andersen et al., 2015). In this sense, conducting graduate skill-matching jobs together with labor market information (LMI) monitoring activities will contribute greatly to the process.

Work placement during higher education and the work-placement support received while in higher education significantly help reduce graduates' work-related incompatibilities (McGuinness et al., 2016). In this sense, school and employer participation will provide significant convenience in transition to work and skill matching by connecting schools to work (Minocha et al., 2017).

How students form the connection between education or different employability activities and the achievements that employers will value is important. The DOTS model, first introduced in the 1970s, involved career training (i.e., career development learning), which was generated in response to the rising employment options and unemployment. *Schools, Careers, and Community* (Watts & Law, 1977) explains career guidance in four elements: decision learning, opportunity awareness, transition learning, and self-awareness (DOTS; Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007; Watts, 1977, 2006).

One framework proposed in low-middle income countries about career consultancy that has an important place in education–work matching touches upon the significance of identifying career information resources and the importance of governance and coordination in supporting employees through training in terms of determining selection criteria for employment, encouraging skills development, and supporting career counseling services. Examining career guidance activities in high-income countries, career information seems to be comprised of five specialties: career information, career education, career counseling, employment counseling, and job placement (Hansen, 2006).

ILO addresses the issue of career guidance at a period when world labor markets and social structures are still changing. Over the past two decades, the need to adapt to the rapid changes of the labor market has become increasingly evident (Hansen, 2006).

Factors such as corporate career guidance curriculum (e.g., entrepreneurship courses) and extracurricular activities (e.g., volunteer activities) to enhance employability, establishing a network between students and employers to enable students to interact with experience as a means of encouragement (e.g., mentoring programs) and to support students' personal development (e.g., confidence), and learning experience as a whole to promote international mobility and critical thinking are important in the school-to-work transition (Abelha et al., 2020; Ali & Jalal, 2018).

However, one study (Allen & Van der Velden, 2007) about skill matching reveals that, although commercial employment offices do not function well in every country, they are used more in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom than in the other examined countries, whereas in Japan, graduates find work through teaching staff alongside career placement offices located in their respective universities. Considering this, forming a one-fits-all principle of skill matching is not possible. This is

because the methods used have different effectiveness from one country to the other. While career offices in schools are effectively used for employment purposes in Japan, Spain, and the United Kingdom, the same method is less preferred in other countries. This underlines the importance of policy commitments for the effectiveness of institutions.

In the matching process, the factors that are effective in selecting a graduate job are important in terms of ensuring job satisfaction (see Fig. 1; Schomburg & Teichler, 2000). High wages, career opportunities, company stability, and employer reliability are the most important factors in a job search (Mizintseva et al., 2017). In one study (Meng et al., 2020), graduates ranked their criteria regarding job selection respectively as high salary (89.2%), career progression probability (68%), job stability and reliability (58.5%), and company’s brand (company popularity in the market; 29.2%). However, graduates’ decisions to enter or continue working in the labor market depend partly on the overall labor market expectations.

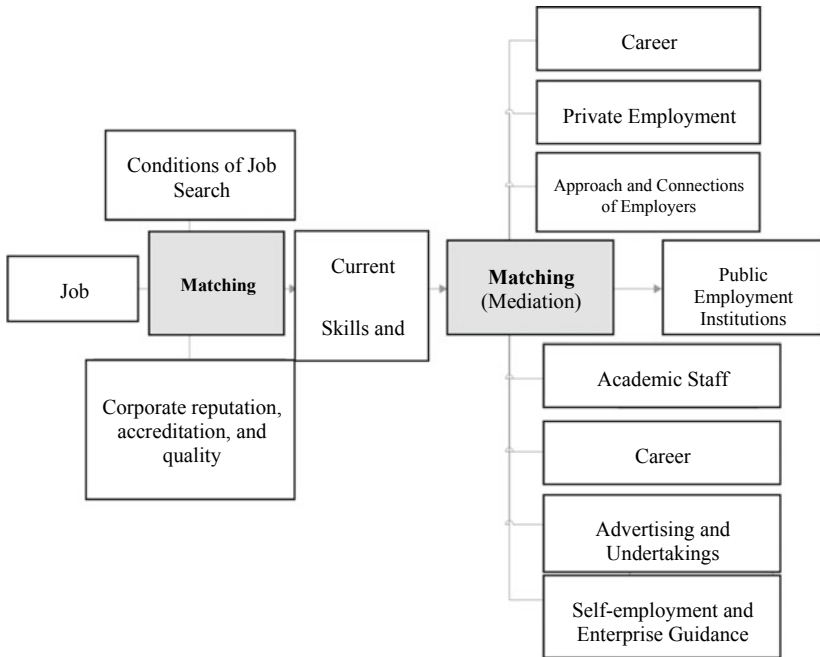


Fig. 1 Mediation services in education–work matching

The country-specific relations between higher education institutions and the business world create a separate context in terms of graduates' job choices (Alves & Korhonen, 2016).

In markets where graduate expectations are not fully met, labor mobility is much greater. Accordingly, analysis has presented the labor market as the main reason for finding a job abroad. Studies show that study abroad is the lowest for Greece and Croatia in the EU, while the graduates of these countries have the highest degree of mobility (higher education levels) and ultimately the highest student and worker ratios working abroad. In Malta, Croatia, Lithuania, and Greece, more than 40% of graduates face difficulties a year after graduation. In this sense, the countries in the EU where graduates are most at risk are the same. However, the situation has improved in most countries; fewer graduates (around 10%) are unemployed or fewer are employed below their degree qualifications. Having improved its employment conditions of employment, Greece is the exception among these countries with an increasing number of unsuitable jobs for graduates (Meng et al., 2020).

According to some European research survey data obtained from the CHEERS European Graduate Survey (Allen & Van der Velden, 2007) evaluating the importance of employment criteria of the graduates, despite changing from one country to another, the prominent criteria are as follows: work experience during education, the reputation of an educational institution, educational program, pre-education work experience, and abroad experiences. The same research considers applying to job vacancy postings, forming direct contact with employers, and forming connections in or outside work to be the most efficient methods for finding a job. The results of methods such as employer approaches and self-employment have been less fruitful than anticipated.

Additionally, the research shows a correlative relationship to exist between the length of time one looks for a job after graduation and the number of employers contacted. Thus, having labor market programs that reduce the job search time for graduates is necessary (Allen & Van der Velden, 2007). This may be an indicator of employment success. According to data from the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED, 2014) in 27 EU countries, the average time between students' graduation and first employment is around 5–6 months.

For EU member countries, the employment rates of people aged 20–34 who had just graduated in 2019 were 85.0% for higher education and 62.8% for upper secondary education. Furthermore, employment

data from the EU Bureau of Statistics paints a detailed picture of the latest available information for employment rates of newly graduated students. Based on graduates aged 20–34 who’d completed their education or training one to three years before the survey, the research revealed employment rates (80.9% of the overall EU) for the above target audience in 2019 to range from 91.9% in the Netherlands, 92.7% in Germany, and 93.1% in Malta to the lower employment rates in Greece at 59.4% and 58.7% in Italy. Lower rates were recorded in Turkey (57.8%) and Northern Macedonia (57.2%; European Union, 2019).

The diversity of concepts we have covered so far reminds us how complex the transition from higher education to employment is. The parties cannot be expected to develop an effective policy without a thorough understanding of the education and employment ecosystem summarized in Fig. 2.

According to our model, developing employability skills and monitoring these skills obtained from higher education are important in terms of the actions to be taken at the level of higher education. Regarding employment, ensuring employment security and thus preventing informal employment by institutional and political arrangements, improving the conditions for finding a job, and giving due attention to the expectations of both graduates and employers will improve the quality of the matching processes. However, the innovational dimension of the issue, which often goes overlooked in the literature, has the potential to revolutionize the

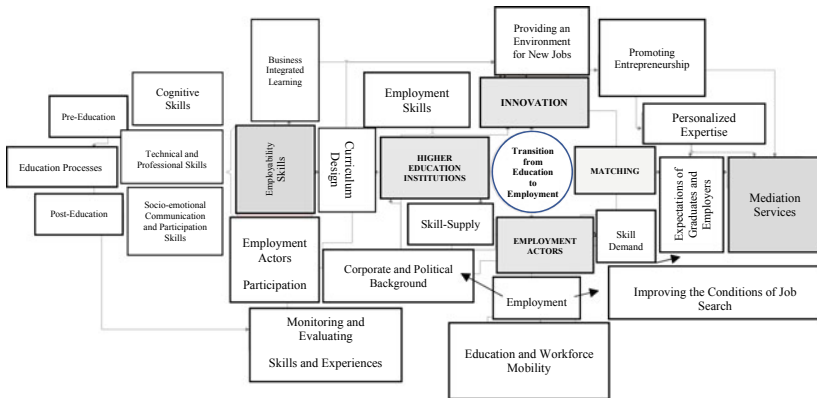


Fig. 2 Structure, process, and functioning of the school-to-work transition

required skill supply and demand in the business and educational world. For instance, both policies and private enterprise supports will receive benefits in terms of future management to be prepared for innovations that radically change the supply chains, human resources, and markets of the business world.

CONCLUSION

Human capital development and a qualified education will maintain the first coming policy for improving the transition from education to work. Intellectual accumulation is one of the most important means of pursuing innovations and keeping up with the pace of the rapidly changing world. The number and qualities of the human capital of economies, which are under several different pressures each day due to the changing global phenomena, are the reference point for development and growth. Therefore, efforts to promote higher education should be supported in terms of the long-term returns on investments, although this leads to the phenomenon of over-education.

Making businesses and higher education institutions work in harmony depends on how well education is made into an effective tool in an economic context. In terms of the transition to employment, which is a topic of debate in this regard, the following topics emerge as important dimensions that indicate this harmony: improving access to employment opportunities and employment conditions, improving the employability skills of higher education institutions, monitoring and developing prominent skills in business life, and aligning them with labor market expectations.

To increase employability, the discrepancies of graduate skills with the labor market should be reduced. After monitoring the skills in labor markets and analyzing the data, the most important aspect of the issue is developing and matching the required skills.

Graduate skills in educational and business environments that follow the monitoring activities with the participation of employers in a work-integrated way (e.g., experiential, project-based, interactive, internships and workshops, learning environments that simulate the workplace) should be extended lifelong to all areas of life. Additionally, apart from the technical and professional skills required by employers, developing socio-emotional and cognitive skills with equal attention is also crucial. Regarding this, strengthening the relationship between institute and

industry, smoothing the school-to-work transition and vice versa, and recognizing acquired and developed skills are important.

Preventing unregistered employment by ensuring employment security and making education–workforce mobility work in favor of graduates; ensuring justice and equality in access to employment; implementing encouraging and regulatory efforts between youth programs and policies, labor markets, and higher education; developing innovation infrastructure and participation of employment actors; investigating the effects of changing roles and capacities in decision-making policies; balancing supply and demand; evaluating the criteria that are decisive in the selection of graduates and employers in terms of employment; and reducing the time of job search, mediation services, and opportunities to be provided in skill matching processes, job searching methods, and opportunities also have prominent effects on employability.

Thus, in the process of transition from higher education to employment, placing all the burden on higher education institutions will not solve the problem. Therefore, biased criticism of higher education institutions is a problematic and unfair approach. In such a comprehensive and multi-layered issue, especially in the monitoring of graduate skills development and mapping processes, considering the changing roles and capacities of employment actors, their participation at various levels should be encouraged by institutional and political support.

The literature falls short in addressing the dimension of innovation in the transition from higher education to employment; this has led to mismatches between education and business. However, the transformative effects innovation has on both education and business should not go unnoticed as policies should consider stability and sudden changes, especially for the continuity of business, market, human resources, and supply chains that change radically with innovations. In this regard, innovation metrics should also be added to the data set when monitoring labor market data. Additionally, providing the young people with enterprise support by taking into account the innovation paradigms may also make new job opportunities emerge in the future.

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General Education Versus Vocational Education: Vocational Education and Its Future

Şaban Berk

Besides being a significant indicator of a country's development and variable determining its level, education also plays a key role in equipping individuals with the skills needed in the social and labor market. While education equips individuals with the skills that allow them to adapt to social norms and carry society forward, it also contributes to the economy by providing individuals with the efficiency required to acquire a profession in the labor market. Individuals need certain skills to maintain their daily lives in balance in accordance with societal measures. Skills defined as the ability of individuals to use their theoretical and/or practical-technical knowledge (know-how) to perform a task or solve problems they encounter in daily life are features that can be developed over time. Acquirable with the help of inborn (God-given) talents, these skills can also be developed through education as well as experience (practical application). Abilities, knowledge, and skills that are related to one another come together and form competencies; this allows the individual to

Ş. Berk (✉)
Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
e-mail: saban.berk@marmara.edu.tr

perform a job or task. Thus, competence can be said to be a more comprehensive concept than a skill, and competence in an area may involve more than one skill.

The presence of a positive correlation between the education levels of individuals who constitute a society and the level of development and welfare of that society is a widely accepted fact. From the moment they come into the world, individuals receive various levels of education from pre-school to higher education at various stages in their lives. Secondary education is the education level following primary education and lasts an average of 8 or 9 years in almost every country in the world (UNESCO, 2012). Secondary education prepares students for higher education or the labor market by providing them with basic knowledge and skills. This level of education, which is usually non-compulsory, has the sub-categories of general secondary education and vocational technical secondary education.

General secondary education is designed to prepare students for general or vocational higher education programs by improving their general knowledge, skills, and competencies. Vocational and technical secondary education prepares individuals directly for the labor market and higher education without the need for further training by providing them with knowledge, technical skills, and competence in a particular field or occupation (Berk, 2019; CEDEFOP, 2014). Successful completion of programs in vocational and technical secondary education leads to a vocational or technical qualification relevant to the labor market. Both general and vocational technical secondary education stages and education systems differ from country to country. For this reason, all international data related to education must be based on a classification that can be considered comparable for all countries in the world. In that context, the need exists for a common framework for comparison and contrast. Thus, the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) is used to correctly understand and interpret education systems and their inputs, processes, and outcomes and to make sure that data are comparable.

INTERNATIONAL STANDARD CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATION (ISCED)

ISCED was developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the 1970s. Revised in 1997, ISCED took its current form in 2011. As a product of international agreement, ISCED functions as a source of reference and comparison for regulating education programs and related qualifications according to levels and fields of education. It is a globally implemented standard framework created to collect, assemble, and analyze comparable data for the UNESCO member states.

ISCED is designed to function as a general framework for the classification of education activities and the acquired competencies into internationally valid categories as defined in the programs. The main goal is for the basic concepts and definitions of ISCED to be internationally valid and inclusive of all education systems (UNESCO, 2012). The basic stages of ISCED 2011 and the characteristics of its stages are given in Table 1.

As the ISCED levels in the table serve as a general framework for international classifications, not all education systems can be expected to include all the levels present in this framework in these exact forms. For instance, while ISCED Level 4 is not included in many countries' education systems (Turkey, Australia, England, France, Czech Republic, Spain etc.), a limited number of countries include either the general (44 in Canada and Switzerland) or vocational (45 in Germany and Finland) post-secondary non-tertiary education level (Eurydice, 2020; National Council for Special Education [NCSE], 2011; OECD, 2020b). In countries without ISCED Level 4, individuals who have completed ISCED Level 3 can proceed to tertiary education (ISCED 5 or ISCED 6) after fulfilling the required conditions. The main objectives in ISCED Level 4 are: (1) increasing employability in the labor market by improving the vocational knowledge of those coming from vocational ISCED Level 3, (2) increasing employability by providing a profession to those who come from general ISCED Level 3, (3) providing an advantage in entering tertiary education by improving the existing qualifications of those coming from both general or vocational ISCED Level 3.

Table 1 Basic stages in education and their general characteristics according to ISCED 2011

ISCED	Level/Stage of Education	Duration
0	<i>Early Childhood Education</i> Two stages: (01) Early childhood educational development. Ages 0–2 (02) Pre-primary education. From age 3 until the primary school starting age <i>Primary Education</i>	There is no time limit, but for a program to be included within the scope of pre-school education, the educational activities must be conducted for at least 100 days a year, for no less than 2 hours a day Commonly lasts 4–7 years (6 years on average). Designed to provide students with basic-level skills for reading, writing, and math
1	<i>Primary Education</i>	Commonly lasts 2–5 years in addition to primary education (3 years on average). Also called the <i>Second Stage of Primary Education</i> or <i>Middle School Education</i> in some countries
2	Lower Secondary Education Two types: (24) General Lower Secondary Education (25) Vocational Lower Secondary Education Upper Secondary Education	Commonly lasts 2–5 years in addition to lower secondary education (3 years on average). Ends with 12th grade (beginning from the first grade of primary school). Ends in 11th or 13th grade in some countries. Those who complete this stage of education can continue to ISCED 4, 5, or 6 depending on the country
3	Two types: (34) General Upper Secondary Education (35) Vocational Upper Secondary Education	Commonly lasts 2 or 3 years. This level of education is generally designed to help students enter the labor market by providing them with vocational education. Is completed in some countries to gain an advantage for entering higher education levels for those who've completed ISCED level 3
4	<i>Post-Secondary Non-Tertiary Education</i> Two types: (44) General Post-Secondary Non-Tertiary Education (45) Vocational Post-Secondary Non-Tertiary Education	Commonly lasts 2–3 years. Generally aimed at providing students with vocational-oriented, work-based competencies
5	Short-Cycle Tertiary Education Two types: (54) General Short-Cycle Tertiary Education (55) Vocational Short-Cycle Tertiary Education	

ISCED	Level/Stage of Education	Duration
6	<p><i>Bachelor's</i> or equivalent level</p> <p>Three general types:</p> <p>(64) <i>Bachelor's</i> or equivalent Education, Academic</p> <p>(65) <i>Bachelor's</i> or equivalent Education, Professional</p> <p>(66) <i>Bachelor's</i> or equivalent Education, Unspecified orientation. This title is used in situations when there is no consensus on whether a bachelor's program is academic or professional</p>	<p>Requires 3–4 years of full-time university education. In education systems where degrees are awarded by total credits, a comparable number of credits must be obtained. Although not obligatory, it can be completed with a thesis or a project in some countries. While a <i>bachelor's degree</i> is called "<i>the first (academic) degree</i>" obtained from a university or an institution of higher education, it can also be called the undergraduate degree</p>
7	<p>Master's or equivalent level. Three common types:</p> <p>(74) Master's or equivalent level, Academic</p> <p>(75) Master's or equivalent level, Professional</p> <p>(76) Master's or equivalent level, Unspecified orientation. This title is used in situations where there is no consensus on whether the master's or equivalent program is academic or professional</p>	<p>Normally completed in 1–4 years. In education systems where degrees are awarded by total credits, a comparable number of credits must be obtained. Commonly ends with an original thesis, project, or study equivalent to these. When integrated with bachelor's degree, the period of education may range from 5 to 8 years. It is also called the "<i>second</i>" or "<i>further degree</i>"</p>
8	<p><i>Doctoral</i> or equivalent level</p> <p>(84) Doctoral or equivalent level, academic</p> <p>(85) Doctoral or equivalent level, Professional</p> <p>(86) Doctoral or equivalent level, Unspecified orientation. This title is used in situation where there is no consensus on whether the doctorate program is academic or professional</p>	<p>Takes at least 3 years. Has specific conditions for entrance and graduation. Requiring an advanced level of work and original research, this level/degree is offered in research-based higher education institutions. While generally includes both classes and research, some education systems have few or no classes. It is also called PhD, DPhil, D.Lit, D.Sc, or LL.D in some education systems</p>

Source Obtained and summarized from UNESCO (2012)

GENERAL OR VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION

In many countries in the world, young people have to make an important decision at the end or at a certain stage of their compulsory education, the results of which will strongly affect the rest of their lives. As a result of deciding between two types of education, individuals choose either general education or vocational and technical education. General education aims to improve skills that are generally useful in all professions (e.g., literacy, numeracy) but does not aim to prepare individuals for a particular profession or group of professions. Meanwhile, vocational and technical education aims to develop skills for a specific group of professions, a specific profession, or a specific type of business (CEDEFOP, 2017). Vocational and technical education not only provides its graduates with an advantage in finding jobs but also contributes to strengthening the economy, reducing unemployment, and increasing social inclusion (CEDEFOP & Education and Training Foundation [ETF], 2020). According to 2016 data across OECD countries, 56% of upper secondary education students registered for general secondary education while the remaining 44% registered for vocational and technical programs. The availability and accessibility of existing types of education and the value of the studied program in the labor market are among the determining factors in students' distributions when enrolling in general or vocational and technical secondary education institutions. In a third of the countries who share their data with OECD, the number of students enrolled in vocational and technical secondary education institutions is more than the number of students enrolled in general secondary education institutions. Table 2 presents the share of vocational and technical secondary education for all secondary education types in some OECD countries according to 2018 data (OECD, 2020a).

As seen in Table 2, the percentage of vocational and technical secondary education in all secondary education types in OECD countries varies greatly from country to country. The percentage of vocational and technical secondary education in all secondary education is greater than 70% in Finland, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia; greater than 60% in Slovakia, Austria, Netherlands, and Switzerland; while less than 20% in South Korea, Chile, and Brazil. Some of the main reasons behind these differences are the organization and structure of vocational and technical education, the opportunities these provide the attending students, the program content, and the opportunities it includes for proceeding to

Table 2 Ratio of vocational and technical secondary education schools in all secondary education

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Finland	72	Portugal	40
Czech Republic	71	Estonia	40
Slovenia	71	Latvia	39
Slovakia	68	France	39
Austria	68	Hungary	38
Netherlands	68	Denmark	38
Sweden	64	Spain	36
Luxembourg	62	Ireland	36
Italy	54	Sweden	35
Poland	52	New Zealand	30
Russia	51	Iceland	28
Norway	49	Colombia	27
Australia	49	Lithuania	27
EU23 Average	47	Japan	22
Turkey	46	South Korea	18
Germany	46	Chile	16
England	44	Brazil	11
OECD Average	42		

higher education and employment. In spite of all the advantages of vocational and technical education cited above, the percentage of students enrolled in general education programs (56%) being higher than that of students enrolled in vocational and technical education programs is interesting. According to CEDEFOP and ETF (2020), the fact that few vocational and technical education graduates exist among white-collar managers and people who graduate from these programs are still mostly preferred for jobs that require physical activity are among the main reasons behind this. According to Jüttler et al. (2020), the most important reason why general education is preferred more is, because this type of education has a better recognition and reputation among people as well as greater expectations of prestige, high income, and social status. Similarly, the social stratum the parents belong to and the interests and talents of the student also have determining roles in the student's choice of school type in secondary education.

Discussions on the balance between general or vocational and technical secondary education types are commonly focused on the transition from school to work. In other words, they are evaluated according to the advantages they provide in post-graduation employment (Hanushek et al., 2017). Vocational and technical education plays a key role not only in technological and economic development but also in increasing/eliminating unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular through positive contributions to employment (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Research [BMZ], 2012). A significant difference exists in employment rates between vocational and technical secondary graduates and general secondary education graduates. According to Eurostat 2019 data, while the rate of employment in the first three years following graduation is 62.8% for general secondary education graduates (aged 20–34), this rate is 79.1% for vocational and technical secondary education graduates. Therefore, individuals that have received vocational and technical education are 16.3% more likely to be employed compared to those who have not. The employment rates of general education graduates and vocational and technical education graduates for EU member/candidate states are given in Table 3.

When considering Table 3 in general, countries with well-structured vocational and technical education systems, strong ties with the stakeholders (e.g., sectors, NGOs) included in the education process, and well-established graduate-tracking systems are seen to have significantly higher employment rates for vocational and technical secondary education graduates compare to general secondary education graduates. For instance, while the employment rate for vocational and technical secondary education graduates is 26.6% higher than that of general secondary education graduates in Germany, this gap is 26.3% for Luxembourg, 24.0% for Austria, and 23.6% for Estonia. However, the employment rate of general secondary education graduates is higher in some countries compared to that of vocational and technical secondary education graduates. Countries that fall within this group are noteworthy all former Soviet Bloc states with the exception of Finland, Greece, and Cyprus. Finland's existence within this group is a situation that begs for explanation. The conclusion is that the sectors the countries are predominantly fed by affect this issue. In some countries like England and the USA, secondary education institutions offer both general education and vocational and technical education simultaneously. While the students that go to these schools

Table 3 Employment rates of general secondary education graduates and technical secondary education graduates in EU member/candidate states

<i>Countries</i>	<i>General secondary education</i>	<i>Vocational and technical secondary education</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>General secondary education</i>	<i>Vocational and technical secondary education</i>
EU Average	62.8	79.1	Malta	86.0	91.2
Belgium	61.6	77.1	Netherlands	78.7	90.4
Bulgaria	63.0	73.5	Austria	64.0	88.0
Czech Republic	75.9	86.8	Poland	71.0	78.9
Denmark	77.1	84.7	Portugal	70.9	76.0
Germany	66.8	93.4	Romania	63.6	67.7
Estonia	62.6	86.2	Slovenia	77.3	79.1
Ireland	69.9	75.9	Slovakia	86.8	84.6
Greece	51.3	50.9	Finland	82.9	80.4
Spain	53.6	66.0	Sweden	83.0	87.4
France	50.8	68.8	United Kingdom	75.6	83.4
Croatia	No data	73.9	Iceland	89.2	No data
Italy	38.3	56.6	Norway	77.5	93.4
Cyprus	73.8	70.2	Switzerland	72.8	85.7
Latvia	74.2	65.6	Montenegro	No data	58.5
Lithuania	69.6	67.3	North Macedonia	33.2	57.1
Luxembourg	73.7	100.0	Serbia	No data	60.9
Hungary	71.7	86.3	Turkey	44.3	50.6

Source Eurostat (2020)

receive a solid vocational and technical education, they also receive a general education that provides them with an advantage in the transition to higher education (Machin et al., 2020). The Vocational and Technical Secondary School Project in Turkey (e.g., ITU Vocational and Technical Anatolian Secondary Schools and ASELSAN Vocational and Technical Anatolian Secondary Schools) can also be considered within the same scope. Like their equivalents in the USA and England, the Vocational and Technical Anatolian Secondary School Project in Turkey offers both a general education as well as vocational and technical education curriculum in the chosen profession. According to the International Labor Office (ILO, 2020), people who have graduated from vocational and technical

education institutions are more in demand in areas that require knowledge in advanced technology such as robotics and artificial intelligence compared to those who've graduated from equivalent general education institutions. Therefore, the preference of machines (robots) over humans in some professions in the future as a result of the developing technologies will not replace the availability of jobs for graduates of vocational and technical education; on the contrary, it will positively contribute to their employment.

THE COST OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Every education activity, or rather every type of activity whether it be education-related or not, has a cost. Direct or indirect, all expenses from the planning of activities to their implementation are included in this cost. Education expenditures in an education system include all expenditures for schools, universities, and other public and private educational institutions. Other direct or indirect educational services provided for students and their families are also included in this expenditure (OECD, 2020c).

Education expenditures are divided into two categories: direct and indirect. Direct educational expenditures include expenses directly related to education such as teachers' salaries and other investments in teachers, education expenses outside of school (in the workplace), and administrative expenses. Indirect expenditures are the expenses not directly related to education but that support education. These include students' meals, accommodations, transportation, and health expenses. Higher education expenses such as research and development and students' accommodations (e.g., dormitories), and health insurance are also considered within the scope of indirect educational expenditure. These expenses can be covered by public, private, or international sources. While public expenses are covered by central, regional, or local governments, private expenses are covered by families and other private organizations, religious organizations, and non-profit civil society organizations (e.g., charitable organizations, associations). These international sources are the funds provided by bilateral agreements or international agencies (OECD, 2018b). When considered within the context of these variables, the cost of vocational and technical education can be said to be higher than general education. The cost of a student receiving general and vocational technical secondary education and the percentages allocated to education from the

gross domestic products in OECD countries according to 2017 data are given in Table 4.

The currency is shown as PPS (Purchasing Power Standard), an artificial currency that tries to equalize the purchasing powers of different currencies. Theoretically, a PPS can buy an equal amount of goods and services in every country (CEDEFOP, 2020; data.oecd.org.tr). Numbers in bold show that the education program in question contains some elements from the other education type. Countries with a grey background (21) in Table 4 show where the expenditure per student is higher in vocational and technical secondary education compared to general secondary education. Countries with a white background (10) show where the expenditure per student is equal for vocational and technical secondary education and general education. Countries with a light blue background (6) show where the expenditure per student in general secondary education is higher compared to vocational and technical secondary education.

As seen in Table 4, although countries have significant differences, both the OECD average and the EU average (OECD = 11,521, EU = 11,774) for the cost for a student receiving vocational and technical secondary education is higher than for a student receiving general secondary education (OECD = 10,051, EU = 10,383). The cost for a student who has graduated from vocational and technical secondary education is on average 1500 PPS more than the cost of a general secondary education graduate. The cost of a vocational and technical secondary education graduates ranges from Mexico (3980 PPP) to Luxembourg (22,546 PPP). Various reasons may exist as to why the cost of a vocational and technical student varies so dramatically (about 4.5 times) among the countries. The main ones are: the size and structuring of vocational and technical education within the whole education system, the programs that are offered, investments aimed at updating or keeping programs up-to-date. Particularly in countries where a work-based vocational and technical education is provided, subsidization of the additional education expenses made in the workplaces and made by private sector by the government is one of the prominent factors that increase the cost of this education type. Similarly, some vocational and technical education programs require expensive equipment and advanced infrastructure; this is another factor that increases costs. These programs mainly include programs that require engineering, manufacturing, and construction. The percentage of these programs in all vocational and technical secondary

Table 4 Total costs for one student who has graduated from general and vocational technical education program and the percentage of GDP allocated to education

<i>Country</i>	<i>General Secondary Education</i>	<i>Vocational and Technical Secondary Education</i>	<i>% of GDP allocated to education</i>
Australia	14,019	7,371	6.0
Austria	14,425	18,054	4.8
Belgium	14,210	14,896	5.7
Canada	13,891	13,891	5.9
Chile	4,383	8,342	6.3
Colombia	3,436	3,436	5.5
Czech Republic	8,174	9,645	3.6
Denmark	9,526	9,526	5.5
Estonia	6,878	7,670	4.4
Finland	8,719	7,985	5.2
France	13,944	16,227	5.2
Germany	12,963	17,960	4.2
Greece	5,834	8,756	No data
Hungary	7,961	9,494	3.9
Iceland	10,785	13,426	5.8
Ireland	8,890	8,890	3.4
Israel	6,940	17,258	6.2
Italy	10,883	10,883	3.9
Japan	11,510	11,510	4.0
South Korea	14,394	14,394	5.0
Latvia	7,048	8,628	4.0
Lithuania	6,066	5,832	3.4
Luxembourg	22,236	22,546	3.2
Mexico	3,115	3,980	4.4
Netherlands	11,365	15,776	5.2
New Zealand	12,004	13,859	6.3
Norway	17,398	16,982	6.6
Poland	6,798	8,639	4.3

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Portugal	10,463	10,463	5.2
Slovakia	7,217	7,441	3.6
Slovenia	9,199	7,599	4.2
Spain	9,732	12,851	4.3
Sweden	11,078	14,723	5.4
Switzerland	18,966	18,966	
Turkey	5,448	6,159	5.0
UK	13,429	8,978	6.3
USA	15,202	15,202	6.1
OECD Average	10,051	11,521	4.9
EU23 Average	10,383	11,774	4.5

Source OECD (2020a)

education is 33% in OECD countries, although this does vary by country (OECD, 2020a). The distribution of vocational and technical education programs by country according to the preferred fields is shown in Table 5. The percentages in parenthesis indicate the percentage of vocational and technical secondary education in all secondary education in countries.

As seen in Table 5, the distribution of vocational and technical education programs in the fields of engineering, manufacturing, and construction are higher in 30 out of 37 OECD countries than in other fields. Therefore, per-capita cost of vocational education in these countries is higher than the others. In Ireland, Netherlands, Spain, and England, the programs of health and social services predominate vocational and technical secondary education. In Colombia, Luxembourg, and Brazil, the fields of business, management, and law are predominant. Only in Portugal does the service sector have a bigger share than others in vocational and technical education. The differences among countries with regards to the programs they put emphasis on in vocational and technical secondary education are related to the ties their economies have with the related sectors. For instance, the programs in Japan, where sectors of manufacturing and production are predominant in the economy, related to engineering, manufacturing, and construction have the highest percentage (42.42%) of all vocational and technical educations, whereas

Table 5 Distribution of vocational and technical education by programs in some OECD countries

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Engineering, manufacturing and construction</i>	<i>Business, management and law</i>	<i>Services</i>	<i>Health and welfare</i>	<i>Information, communication technology</i>
Hungary (38%)	50.73	10.69	29.75	4.19	0.07
Iceland (28%)	50.41	0.89	21.49	10.27	2.07
Estonia (40%)	49.73	2.00	28.35	No data	12.14
Lithuania (27%)	47.77	15.02	27.26	0.60	3.16
Chile (16%)	47.14	28.83	3.99	5.87	1.58
Sweden (35%)	43.87	8.16	19.20	18.73	No data
South Korea	43.66	27.45	5.31	2.51	4.81
Japan (22%)	42.52	30.25	7.62	5.85	0.44
Norway	41.01	7.01	18.12	26.98	2.01
Czech Republic (71%)	39.52	16.39	18.36	6.30	4.62
Greece (29%)	38.98	8.44	8.60	24.57	12.89
Poland (52%)	38.82	12.72	25.04	0.09	10.94
Russia (51%)	38.53	16.62	19.49	6.23	6.54
Slovakia (68%)	38.21	14.98	23.60	8.73	1.02
Latvia (39%)	38.83	12.19	26.34	No data	7.45
Belgium (57%)	36.07	21.27	22.72	7.45	1.36
Slovenia (71%)	35.66	12.88	15.36	12.29	5.24
Austria (68%)	34.94	27.96	18.83	2.95	2.41
Germany (46%)	34.41	32.99	12.27	11.18	2.86
France (39%)	34.13	21.22	19.10	19.12	No data
OECD Average	32.76	18.43	16.77	12.60	4.01
Switzerland (64%)	32.10	32.84	9.03	16.00	2.72

(continued)

Table 5 (continued)

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Engineering, manufacturing and construction</i>	<i>Business, management and law</i>	<i>Services</i>	<i>Health and welfare</i>	<i>Information, communication technology</i>
EU Average (47%)	31.53	16.82	19.43	12.90	4.59
Australia (49%)	29.75	19.48	16.54	21.00	0.46
Turkey (46%)	29.57	14.66	9.11	26.12	12.69
Denmark (38%)	28.88	23.78	13.97	25.13	No data
Italy (54%)	26.81	22.89	26.44	8.07	6.80
Finland (72%)	24.29	19.87	20.07	21.80	3.07
Colombia (27%)	24.05	46.76	No data	No data	No data
Luxembourg (62%)	22.79	30.09	5.25	14.44	2.74
Netherlands (68%)	17.82	19.42	21.64	24.15	3.95
Spain (36%)	17.51	13.17	14.50	19.52	6.60
Portugal (40%)	16.69	14.06	25.18	15.44	12.17
Brazil (11%)	15.95	26.91	3.75	10.66	15.66
New Zealand (30%)	15.55	13.27	15.27	4.40	0.16
England (44%)	8.51	11.51	14.75	15.55	3.68
Ireland (36%)	2.34	15.09	10.24	36.37	2.37

Source: OECD (2020a)

programs in England related to the service sector and health and social services are highest (30.3%).

Vocational and technical education is divided into three groups according to the duration and type of education provided at a school or workplace: (a) school-based vocational and technical education, (b) school- and work-based vocational and technical education, (c) work-based vocational and technical education (Adigüzel & Berk, 2009; OECD, 2018a). Although the majority of the theoretical classes and practices take place in the school in school-based vocational and technical

education practices, workplace practices are also found at certain percentages (e.g., 10%) or for certain periods (e.g., six months; Schaap et al., 2012). In school and work-based programs (also called the dual system), the theoretical part of education generally takes place at school, whereas the practical part takes place in real work settings with collaborations between schools and workplaces. The time spent at school (10–75%) and the time spent at the workplace (25–90%) differ by country depending on the age of the student and their chosen occupation (OECD, 2019). In work-based vocational and technical education, however, all of the training takes place at the workplace. Work-based vocational and technical education, which is preferred for the continuous vocational training of employees, concerns the current and future positions of the employee and aims to carry them to the next level. Because it is based on learning through practice/experience, it is performed on real work in real work settings (CEDEFOP, 2015a, 2015b).

Whether in the school-based, the work-based, or the dual system, workplace practices in vocational and technical education not only facilitate graduates' transition from school to the labor market (Horn, 2013) but also increase the chances of employment by providing them with the skills needed in the labor market (EC, 2013) and minimizing skill mismatches. Benefitting from these advantages of vocational and technical education is directly related to the duration of the workplace training, the suitability of the placement to the relevant field, and the quality of the offered workplace training (Kuczera & Jeon, 2019; Rintala & Nokelainen, 2019). In some countries that have shared their data with OECD (Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Netherlands, and Switzerland), the number of students enrolled in the dual system comprise 89% of the total number of students in vocational and technical education programs. The distributions of vocational and technical secondary education students in school-based and dual systems for some OECD countries are shown in Table 6. The percentages in parenthesis indicate the percentage of workplace practices within the dual system. For example, Switzerland, where the share of the dual system within vocational and technical secondary education is 90.26%, has an 80% share of workplace practices and a 20% share of education provided in school (OECD, 2020a).

As seen in Table 6, 90% of the students enrolled in vocational and technical secondary education receive school-based training in 14 out of 35 countries. On the other hand, more than 44% of the students enrolled

Table 6 Distributions of vocational and technical secondary education students in school-based and dual systems for some OECD countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>School-based Vocational and Technical Education</i>	<i>School and Work-based (dual) Vocational and Technical Education</i>
Costa Rica	100.00	–
Czech Republic	100.00	–
Greece	100.00	–
Italy	100.00	–
Japan	100.00	–
South Korea	100.00	–
Lithuania	100.00	–
Mexico	100.00	–
Brazil	100.00	–
Spain (minimum 35%)	97.17	2.83
Sweden (60%)	94.44	5.56
Belgium	94.01	5.99
Israel (25%)	93.69	6.31
Estonia (18–25%)	93.52	6.48
Chile	87.69	12.31
Slovakia	86.69	13.31
Finland (80–90%)	85.89	14.11
Portugal (41–47%) 4	85.74	14.26
Poland (46%)	85.60	14.40
Luxembourg	77.96	22.04
France (62–75%)	75.42	24.58
Australia	74.14	25.86
Slovenia (22–50%)	72.00	28.00
OECD Average 3	65.60	34.40
EU23 Average 3	62.08	37.92
Austria (80%)	54.53	45.47
UK (<80%)	51.87	48.13
Iceland (20–50%)	44.46	55.54
Norway (50%)	28.82	71.18
Turkey (50%) 4	22.00	78.00
Germany (60%)	10.93	89.07
Switzerland (80%)	9.74	90.26
Netherlands (70%)	–	100.00
Denmark	–	100.00
Hungary	–	100.00
Ireland	–	100.00
Latvia (50%)	–	100.00

Source OECD (2020a)

in vocational and technical secondary education receive education in the dual system in 12 out of 35 countries. The ratio of the time spent at the workplace to total time in the dual system of vocational and technical secondary education also differs by country. For instance, the time spent at the workplace in Estonia is 18–25%, whereas this rate is 25% in Israel and above 80% in Finland and Switzerland. Similarly, whether the workplace practice is concurrent or consecutive depends on the country. While the education given at school and the practices carried out in the workplace are concurrent (parallel) in most countries, they can be consecutive in others. For instance, the first two years of the four-year (2 + 2) vocational and technical secondary education in Norway is given at school, while the last two years are spent at the workplace (OECD, 2020a). Regardless of the way it is offered, vocational and technical education that takes place by being involved in real work environments in real work processes undeniably not only minimizes the time lost for orientation by facilitating the transition from school to work but also improves the quality of vocational education by including the employer in the training process (Atkinson, 2016; Drysdale et al., 2016).

FUTURE PROJECTIONS IN VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Global economic competition is daily increasing the pressure it puts on businesses to produce more quality products in order to survive. High-quality products and high-quality works with high added-value are considered to be the core of economic success in the whole world for the economies of the next centuries. In light of these challenges, educating and developing human resources have tremendous importance for the sustainable and competitive development of all countries (UNESCO, 2004). In this context, the effectiveness of a vocational and technical education system is directly proportional to the extent it is able to meet the expectations of the labor market (sector) within global economic competitiveness.

As a result of globalization, the qualifications expected from skilled workers are changing. Today, occupations with previously clear-cut boundaries are now expiring and getting replaced by broad-based occupations consisting of different disciplines. As a result of this process, vocational and technical education should prepare individuals not for

jobs or professions whose boundaries have been precisely set beforehand but for professions whose qualities, contents, and boundaries can change as needed based on the conditions of the rapidly changing world. This change that occurs in professions and ways of doing work require individuals to be provided with vocational and technical skills related to employment in the labor work as well as social skills such as collaboration, effective communication, problem-solving, life-long learning, and information literacy.

Although field-specific vocational and technical skills called hard skills are important in the rapidly changing labor market full of uncertainties, another group of skills is found to be just as important for success: social skills. Hard skills are the technical or non-technical (soft/hard) skills that are the subject of employment; they are usually acquired through education and completed with a diploma or certification. The employment of an individual in a line of work mainly depends on these skills. Social skills (also called complementary and supporting skills) are usually the inborn qualities such as one's personality traits, but these skills can also be acquired and/or developed through education. For instance, a lawyer's or engineer's field-specific knowledge and skills constitute their hard skills, whereas skills like effective communication, cooperation, and team-work are the social skills that provide an advantage to their owner in a more effective use of these hard skills and boost their total effect.

In addition, the quick adoption of developing technologies and new forms of work organization radically transforms workplaces, employment relationships, and labor market dynamics. These transformations will not only cause some sectors to shrink and some professions to disappear but will also pave the way for new skills and competencies yet unknown. Certain changes will also occur in the function and content of the vocational and technical educational institutions responsible for providing individuals with not only an education suitable for the needs of these newly emerging skills but also with social skills. In this context, vocational and technical education institutions will have to go through certain transformations in terms of organization and content.

STRUCTURAL STATUS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE FUTURE

Institutions that provide vocational and technical education should function as life-long learning centers. Education is not a process that is limited to a certain time period or to certain school years, nor does it end after

acquiring a diploma or certification in a specific field. Today, employees are unable to sustain their jobs in any field with the education they obtained in their school years. Therefore, any type of education individuals may need at any point in their lives or at any stage of their professional careers in any field should be made available to them. This concept, which has previously been called in-service training, has now evolved into continuing professional development, and should take place among the significant functions of vocational and technical educational institutions.

On the other hand, it is clear that changing jobs or workplaces will continue to be faster in the near future due to all kinds of crises (economic recession, pandemic etc.), technological, demographic, and other structural changes. Therefore, acquiring new skills and updating/improving existing ones will become even more crucial. Continuing professional development that is designed in accordance with the features/expectations of the target group and the labor market in acquiring new skills and updating/improving new ones will also play a key role in forming an effective life-long learning system. Trainings to be offered within the scope of continuing professional development can be utilized to both in acquiring new skills and ways of doing work that emerge in parallel with the developments in the sector and in the instruction of new technologies (CEDEFOP & ETF, 2020). The vocational and technical education institutions that are to host continuing professional development trainings will take on a complementary role in life-long learning in that sense. Employers will be substantial supporters of vocational and technical education institutions as continuing professional development centers within the scope of life-long learning because the skills and competencies acquired or updated in these institutions will directly contribute to work or establishments that are hiring, and as such employers will gain technological and financial benefits.

The change in the function of vocational and technical education institutions, whose current function is limited to providing formal (and partially informal) education to individuals within a certain age range, will also undoubtedly necessitate a special regulation in their administration. With this regulation, public institutions, sectors, non-governmental organizations (associations or foundations), trade associations, federations, or confederations, all of which are shareholders in vocational and technical education, should be included in the administration process in proportion with the benefit they gain from the output.

CONTENT AND PROCESS

Aside from the functional and structural changes in vocational and technical education institutions, their content should also be amended in some ways in the future. For a vocational and technical education to be able to meet the constantly changing expectations of the labor market, the content should not be specific to standard occupations or courses but should be prepared for the skills required by employing institutions (sectors, labor markets). The effort and time spent should be minimized by arranging content modularly so as to meet the expectations of the sector or employer in the best way possible. A module is a self-contained learning unit with content that can be taught on its own; it can be combined with other modules to form a larger group of vocational functions; it provides qualification for employment with certification if necessary; and it contains at a minimum, objective, content, process, and assessment dimensions. On the other side, modular education is a learner-centered education style in which instruction is delivered wholly or partially through modules (Berk, 2019, p. 32).

According to CEDEFOP (2015a), modular education has a key role with its flexible and learner-based structure in meeting the rapidly changing skill needs of the individual and the sector. As life-long learning centers, providing continuous professional development trainings in a modular content will increase VET institutions' effectiveness.

In today's labor market where the knowledge and competences acquired during formal school years becomes invalid and/or insufficient, individuals gaining the competence of learning to learn (one of the eight key skills in European Union documents) is crucial to keep their jobs. Learning to learn is a competence that includes the skills of being aware of one's learning needs and learning process/characteristics (e.g., learning style, learning strategy), identifying existing opportunities for learning, and overcoming obstacles encountered in the learning process. Learning to learn involves integrating one's new knowledge and skills with existing learning and life experiences in order to use and apply them over various settings (e.g., home, work, and school; Official Journal of the European Union, 2006). Institutions that provide vocational and technical education should have occupation-specific competences that help with employment, as well as practical social and complementary trainings that include learning to learn in their content. Like other skills,

social- and complementary-skills training should also be carried out in practice to ensure that the learner has been adopted as a behavior.

As in other levels and types of education, technical teachers have a key role in the success of vocational and technical education. While technical teachers perform their teaching duties, they also carry out processes such as experimentation, application, production, and technological development. Therefore, technical teachers should also have the knowledge and skills on how to use theoretical knowledge in solving the problems encountered at home, at school, or in social life in addition to a deep and broad technical knowledge and practical skills (work experience) in the field they teach. Especially in rapidly developing and changing fields and in occupations that require specific competences, the demand for teachers can be provided by these institutions in cooperation with the leading companies in the sector.

Employing sectors' experts as teachers in the VET institutions will not only satisfy the need for teachers but also improve the quality of training by providing production knowledge and skills and the ability to apply knowledge in real professional life problems. Welcoming technical teachers from various backgrounds in this way will allow them to bring the atmosphere they were trained in, their way of doing work, and their academic knowledge into the educational environment, which will lead to mutual enrichment. Teachers from different sources, like sectors, should always be able to take classes (especially teaching classes) from higher education institutions through mutual agreements between stakeholder institutions (sectors, VET schools, higher education institutions). Technical teachers should maintain close relationships with the labor market and spend a certain number of days per week or month in real workplaces. Also, continuing professional development lessons that may vary in duration and content depending on the field should be compulsory at regular periods.

RESULTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Vocational and technical education plays a key role in providing the skilled workforce needed for countries' economies. However, this education has a smaller share than general education in its education level (see Table 2). Graduating from vocational and technical education, despite the high cost, increases the chances of employment for the individual (see Table 3). This proves the necessity for increasing the share of vocational

and technical education in all secondary education levels. In that context, efforts should be made to improve the image and perception of vocational and technical education in society and certain advantages should be provided for those who attend this type of school. Incentives such as paying a certain amount of their insurance or giving allowance for their education expenses can increase the appeal of vocational education.

In vocational education, the cost per student is higher compared to general education although it varies depending on the program (see Table 4). The cost difference is even bigger in programs that require expensive equipment and infrastructure in particular. Therefore, resource waste should be prevented by taking necessary measures to ensure the employment of individuals in their training fields. For instance, employing an individual who has had four years of expensive education in mechanics for a job a general education graduate can do is a serious waste of resources. On that note, both directing the individual to the right profession by employing personality and vocational tendencies tests before they are oriented toward a profession (before they begin their vocational education) and offering incentives for their employment in their own area can contribute to preventing wasted resources.

Distributions of vocational and technical education by program vary from country to country. Programs related to sectors that comprise the economies of country are observed to predominate the technical and vocational education system of that country (see Table 5). When the service sector is predominant in a country's economy, programs that train prospective employees for this sector are also predominant; when the manufacturing/production sector is predominant in the economy, the programs that train prospective employees for this sector are predominant in VET institutions. In this context, when deciding upon the programs to offered in vocational education, populism should be avoided and programs responding to local, regional, and national needs should be offered.

Vocational and technical education is offered as school-based, work-based, or both school- and work-based (dual system) education (see Table 6). Transition from school to work becomes easier depending on how large a part the workplace practices take in the vocational and technical education system. The vocational education process should be practice-based and contain the element of workplace practices in order to be able to meet the constantly and rapidly changing needs of the labor market for individuals of all ages. When they are offered in the

dual system, the share of workplace practices should be no less than 50%, taking into account the type of the institution and the program, the level of education, and whether it is formal or informal. In this context, strong collaboration between educational institutions, employer establishments, and NGOs (organizations, foundations) should be ensured.

Institutions that provide vocational and technical education should undergo certain changes both in their structural functions and in their content and processes. Structurally, they should function not only as institutions providing education at a certain level but also as life-long learning centers that offer services from acquiring new skills to updating existing ones for all age groups. Changes in content and processes should also be made. Rather than programs with clear-cut boundaries in terms of content, a flexible modular structure whose content and limits can easily be adjusted as needed should be adopted. Modular education should not be limited to official documents or programs, but the modular structure should also be ensured in practice. Courses or modules should also be oriented at the acquirement/improvement of social skills in vocational and technical education institutions.

According to CEDEFOP and ETF (2020), the skill needs of the labor market will become complicated and unpredictable due to demographical changes, digitalization, green economy,¹ migration, and geographical mobility. A labor market skill agency should be established in order to be able to respond accurately, timely, and flexibly to the current and future challenges posed by these uncertainties. A Labor market skill agency should aim to minimize loss of time and efforts by identifying the types and levels of skills that may emerge in the future using scientific methods and sharing them with educational institutions, thus increasing the suitability of skills provided in educational institutions to the expectations of the labor market. By strengthening the cooperation between the main stakeholders of vocational and technical education, a labor market skill agency will help learners receive a better education highly suited to sector expectations. This establishment, which will serve as some kind of strategic skill foresight, will also guide in the correct structuring of programs and practices by providing accurate information to policy-makers, training and employing, teachers and vocational guides.

¹ *Green economy* refers to environmentally sustainable economic progress aimed at promoting low-carbon and socially inclusive development (United Nations, 2011).

The last but most important suggestion for vocational and technical education institutions is to have a unit within them for the recognition and validation of non-formal and informal learning or to be in strong cooperation with institutions and organizations that can undertake this function. Vocational qualifications acquired from different sources (non-formal or informal) in various ways should also be validated and given the opportunity to be employed.

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Internationalization in Education



International Schools in the Context of Cultural Diplomacy: Actors and New Approaches

Metin Çelik

The trend that international education has caught, especially in the decades, attracts the curiosity of all states influential in international politics. States are establishing more correlations between their national interests, international images, and international education policies, opening more space for cultural diplomacy in their foreign policies. Thus, education, science, culture, language, accreditation issues are more and more included in the foreign policy agenda. In this respect, international education is one of the strategic issues that states try to get involved in today. In this context, international schooling, which started at the beginning of the twentieth century, continues to increase today.

International schools founded and funded by the states have undergone changes in content and mission in the historical process and have gained their current form. The first international schools were established to meet the educational needs of powerful states' own citizens living overseas. Then, depending on colonial policies, colonial states, including missionary schools, tried to teach their own language, religion, and culture to the local people of the host countries. Thus, it aimed to

M. Çelik (✉)
Selçuk University, Konya, Turkey
e-mail: metincelik@selcuk.edu.tr

explain the colonial order to the local people and train the working class needed in colonial activities. Realizing that language and culture teaching and transmission is very effective in the acceptance of the existing system by the local people and in displaying supportive attitudes toward the colonial country, especially in the 1930s, the great powers gave importance to establish cultural centers and international schools in order to spread their language and culture abroad.

This effect of culture on national interest and foreign policy has brought cultural diplomacy practices to the agenda. The opening of international schools by a state to meet the educational needs of its citizens abroad is today defined as diaspora diplomacy. In the colonial period, international schools were opened with the aim of providing forced education for changing the language, religion, and culture of the local people in an attempt to assimilate them. This is a kind of hard-power policy and cannot be considered as a cultural policy. However, with the education provided in international schools abroad, cultural diplomacy is for a state to teach, transfer, and adopt its own language and culture within the consent of the local people.

International education has an important place in the execution of cultural diplomacy. Politically and economically strong states want to make their cultural diplomacy effective with international educational institutions, cultural centers, international student mobility programs, and scholarship programs, including K-12 and higher education. For this purpose, states have established international schools such as the Agency for French Education Abroad (AEFE), Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA), British Schools Overseas (BSO), Confucius Classrooms, and the Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMF) with the aim of educating international students who support them in return. In addition, the *Alliance Française* in France (1883), the Dante Alighieri Society in Italy (1889), the British Council in England (1934), the Goethe Institute in Germany (1952), the Institute of Cervantes in Spain (1991), the Confucius Institute in China (2004), and Yunus Emre Institute in Turkey (2007) were established to promote the language and culture of the respective country in the world. Despite their considerable costs, scholarship programs such as Fulbright, the Jean Monnet, Carnegie, and Mevlana are conducted by governments in order to promote international student mobility as well as to contribute to cultural diplomacy.

As the most important tools of cultural diplomacy, these institutions enable states to teach, introduce, and transmit their own language,

culture, and values to the local people of the host country where the schools are located, creating a favorable attitude in the host country. They alleviate the traces of the colonialist or tense past, if any exists between the two countries, and ensure long-term ties of trust, culture, and sincerity between them.

The very nature of cultural diplomacy gives importance to the policies implemented by the state apparatus or state-supported institutions. Therefore, this article does not include private international schools or state-established cultural centers. The article examines international schools founded and supported by states in the context of cultural diplomacy.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION AS A FOREIGN POLICY ARGUMENT

The effects of the issues of culture and education on foreign policy are currently discussed in the context of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. Although the concept of public diplomacy has been conceptualized for half a century in the literature, the concept has also been found in media organs such as *The Times*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post* since the mid-nineteenth century (Cull, 2009, pp. 20–21). However, unlike classical diplomacy, the concept used in these media organs was used in a context emphasizing open diplomacy (i.e., transparency). However, the activities defined as public diplomacy are known to have also been applied in earlier times. For example, starting in the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Empire applied a tolerant expropriation (*istimâlet*) policy, especially in the Balkans, with the expectation that the people in the newly conquered regions would be supportive of the Ottoman Empire and they accept its sovereignty of their own consent (İnalçık, 2017, pp. 12–14).

Although applications of public diplomacy date back to earlier times, it was introduced to the literature as a concept by Edmund Gullion in 1965 and became more popular with the use of soft power by Joseph S. Nye in the 1990s as an indispensable part of foreign policy. Unlike traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy refers to the whole process of direct communication between the public and the decision-makers of other countries, informing and persuading the public and ultimately establishing long-term and permanent institutional structures through elements such as culture, education, and humanitarian aid. Public diplomacy is the process

of conveying a nation's ideas, ideals, institutions, and culture to foreign public opinion through communication channels (Tuch, 1990, p. 3). In other words, while classical diplomacy takes place among the government apparatus (government-to-government [G2G]), in public diplomacy, the government apparatus deals with the public of another state (government-to-person [G2P]; Manheim, 1994, p. 3). Recently, states also include individuals and NGOs in addition to public devices, and thus communication takes place between the societies of both countries (people-to-people [P2P]).

Public diplomacy was defined by Edmund Gullion as a new type of diplomacy that deals with public influence on the formation and execution of foreign policy and involves the manipulation of public opinion of other countries and intercultural communication processes apart from diplomatic relations (Cull, 2009, p. 19). Joseph S. Nye made the concept famous as a kind of soft power practice. Nye discussed the foreign policies implemented by states to influence the behavior of other states in terms of the use of force and talked about three different uses of force: enforcing with threats, encouraging with economic arguments, and attraction. Evaluating the first two as hard power and the third as soft power (soft or co-optive power), Nye (1990, p. 166) defined attractiveness as “ensuring that the demands of a country are demanded by other countries with their own consent.” In other words, instead of classical diplomacy, which is costly and risky, public diplomacy involves persuading, seducing, and attracting the other side and is both less costly and sustainable in the long term (Nye, 1990, 2003, p. 10).

Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy and is not an alternative to traditional diplomacy. Public diplomacy is successful to the extent that it is supported by traditional diplomacy mechanisms. Likewise, traditional diplomacy is effective to the extent that it is supported by public diplomacy. The atmosphere of trust and sympathy created by public diplomacy, decision-makers of other states, and the public contributes to the deepening of traditional diplomacy between two states. The important point here is that in public diplomacy, a state's culture, political values, and foreign policy will make sense if they are deemed acceptable, legitimate, moral, and attractive by other states (Nye, 2004, pp. 6–8; 2011, p. 20).

With public diplomacy, states aim to explain their political interests to the target audience (other governments, nations, international public) to create international public opinion on this matter, to eliminate

discourses against them, to forget the wrong policies they have implemented, to persuade target audiences within their consent, and to develop cooperation and alliance ties.

The tools used by states in public diplomacy generally constitute a wide range of specialized public devices such as NGOs, universities, research centers, opinion leaders, and multinational companies in the fields of humanitarian aid, culture, education, and media (Gilboa, 2008, p. 56; Nye, 2004, p. 11), but the main source of power is public devices. In particular, humanitarian organizations, cultural and educational centers are states' primary choices because of their effects, such as affecting the public in the countries where these activities are carried out, forming a bond of affection, and establishing trust, cooperation, and a sense of gratitude. However, because humanitarian aid and cultural and educational centers require the transfer of considerable economic resources, they can be used as a public diplomacy tool by a limited number of countries.

Education is an important field in public diplomacy. Public diplomacy, which expresses the transition from power-oriented policy to value-oriented policy, has focused on cultural expression and transfer in recent years. For this reason, the expression of cultural diplomacy has now started to be used more than public diplomacy. Culture is the sum of the values of the history, thoughts, feelings, ideas, art, and identities that have brought society into existence and made it a meaningful whole. The realization of one or more of the processes of explaining, teaching, partially transferring these values to other societies, and making these the common values of those societies are handled within the framework of cultural diplomacy, and therefore public diplomacy. As a result, while all cultural diplomacy activities are the subject of public diplomacy, not every public diplomacy practice can be considered as cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy refers to a narrower scope within public diplomacy. The main purpose that drives states to share cultures and explain their own culture is the desire to attract and persuade other states and societies as well as to create a supportive international public opinion.

Cultural diplomacy is compatible with and serves foreign policy purposes. It is a foreign policy tool used for the promotion, presentation, and construction of a state's positive image and international reputation through cultural activities (Ham, 2002, p. 268; Wang, 2006, p. 92). With cultural diplomacy, states have the opportunity to introduce and disseminate their cultural and national values, identity, language, and religion in

other states. Thus, mutual cultural exchanges are realized based on establishing cooperation in many fields, especially in culture, with the ultimate aim of establishing mutual understanding between societies.

Education and culture-oriented relations have a wider effect and usage area among societies than political, commercial, and military relations. States have the opportunity to raise young people, who are the “decision-makers of tomorrow,” to gain their sincerity and trust and develop long-term and sincere relations between various states and societies through the international education activities they carry out in other states (Turkish Maarif Foundation, 2019a, p. 19). Because of the ability, other states have to deeply influence decision-makers, and the public, international, cultural, and educational activities have become a diplomatic argument preferred by powerful states, with international schools have become the most powerful tool of this argument.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

Today, international education expresses a multi-faceted and multi-layered notion. The effects and aims of international education can be counted in many different contexts, such as the context of educating young people in accordance with the developing structure of the international system at the individual level; the context of values education in accordance with gaining global awareness, identity, and equipment at the system level; in the context of new ideas, research methods, and curricula at the level of educational sciences; in the context of tuition fees, wage policy, and education investments at the economic level; and in the context of the mobility of international students and academics, the education of political elites, cultural relations and cultural diplomacy at the political and cultural levels. Putting the notion of international education into action is possible with structures such as international schools.

International education is discussed under six headings in the literature: (i) comparative and international education, (ii) internationalization of higher education, (iii) international schools, (iv) international research on education and training of educators, (v) internationalization of primary and secondary education, and (vi) globalization and education (Dolby & Rahman, 2008, p. 677). This article discusses international education in the context of the international schools that provide education at

the K-12 level and that have been established and are supported by governments.

In its most common definition, international education is a concept that expresses the types of intellectual, cultural, and educational relations between individuals from two or more nations and points to international cooperation and mutual understanding (Hayden & Thompson, 1995, p. 328; Smart, 1971, p. 442). In another definition, international education refers to educational activities that aim to promote an international orientation and understanding in knowledge and attitudes (Dolby & Rahman, 2008, p. 689). While the first definition defines international education as an argument that enables a connection between nations and cultures apart from diplomatic relations, international education's second definition explains it as an important tool for the formation of global citizenship and consciousness in the perspective of global common interests and understandings and is the one frequently mentioned today.

No consensus exists on which international school was first (i.e., the school that a political authority such as an empire, kingdom, principality, sultanate, or state has opened within the boundaries of another political authority). Schools such as the missionary schools opened in the Ottoman Empire and Japan in the seventeenth century, Galatasaray High School opened by France in Istanbul in 1868 (Haigh, 1974, p. 29), Geneva International School opened in Geneva in 1924 by the employees of the League of Nations (Hill, 2001, p. 11), and other schools are mentioned among the first international schools. As can be seen, no consensus is found on what the notion of an international school is.

Since 2000, the emphasis in definitions of international schools has been on international or global curriculum. International schools are defined as schools that implement curricula loaded with international norms and values for their students (Walker, 2015, p. 79) or schools that use a curriculum not included in the host country despite all differences between the countries (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, p. 4).

The definitions presented above in brief are also attempts at classifying these schools. Also, there is no standard for classification exists. According to some authors, the first classification attempt (Hill, 2015, p. 60), which is one of the most cited classifications in the literature, is the seven-way classification made by Leach and Knight in 1964 (Hill, 2015, p. 60; Hughes, 2020, p. 178). This classification was further simplified by Leach (1969) under four headings: (i) international schools serving students of different nationalities, including citizens of the host

country, (ii) overseas schools providing education to expats, (iii) schools that are agreed and managed together between two or more states, and (iv) schools affiliated with the International Schools Association (ISA) (Leach, 1969, pp. 7–10). Matthews made a dual classification that he considers to be more functional: (i) “ideology-driven schools” aiming to promote international cooperation and the transfer of a widespread and legitimate mentality and (ii) “market-driven schools” established by international companies and individuals in line with the needs of their own citizens who work and live abroad (Hayden & Thompson, 1995, p. 336). The schools that Matthews defined as ideology-driven are the schools that provide education with an emphasis on global citizenship and consciousness, such as ISA and the United World College (UWC). Meanwhile, market-driven schools refer to the schools that provide education services in line with the demands of the international public.

Although many different classifications are found apart from these, currently, the most popular classification in the literature was made by Hayden and Thompson in 2013. Hayden and Thompson identified three types of international schools: Type A are traditional international schools, the non-profit and industry-oriented schools where expat children are educated; Type B are the ideology-oriented international schools, mission-oriented schools that encourage a global approach and international understanding; and Type C are the non-traditional schools, schools that provide for-profit education services for the children of local elites (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, pp. 5–8). Among Hayden and Thompson’s triple classification, Type A international schools are on the agenda of diaspora diplomacy, while Types B and C are on the agenda of cultural diplomacy.

Today, international schools are mostly run by private international companies. Of course, private international schools are also able to be supported politically and in terms of morale by the country of origin. However, the nature of this support is indeterminable. For this reason, a correct method would be to examine international schools that have institutional ties with the states and that have been established or are supported by states when analyzing international education in the context of cultural diplomacy.

STATE-SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

The first examples of state-supported international schools were established to meet the educational needs of the children of parents who work all over the world, take their families with them, and parents who are expats, diplomats or working in international organizations and companies in countries where local education is insufficient (Hayden, 2011, p. 214). Being educated in the local language in these schools that were opened for expats, diplomats, and missionaries would be inadequate for the universities of the country that had opened these international schools. The children have the opportunity to receive education in their mother tongue and learn the same curriculum as their peers in their own countries; in this way, they do not fall behind their native country's education (Kim, 2019, p. 14).

Although these first-generation or traditional international schools were often established by governments, international schools have also been established and promoted by international organizations. For example, the Geneva International School was opened in Geneva in 1924 by the League of Nations staff (Hill, 2001, p. 11); and the European School Movement was opened in Luxembourg in 1953 for the employees of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community (Mejia, 2002, p. 22). These schools were opened to meet the language, culture, and education demands of families who had come to Geneva and Luxembourg from different countries to work in international organizations.

Another predecessor of today's international schools is missionary schools. The schools, which were opened by American and European missionaries both for their own families and for the purpose of explaining and spreading Christianity to the local people, turned into "secular international schools" during the decolonization process that started in the second half of the twentieth century.

Colonialism's first step was to open schools, usually through missionaries. For example, the Spanish Empire spread Catholic Christianity through the missionary schools that opened in the lands it colonized. The primary task of these schools was to ensure the local people's acceptance of Spanish culture and Catholicism through education. The education provided in missionary schools was limited to literacy education and the transmission of colonial rules. The worry was present that the local people

would rebel if they received a comprehensive education (Feldman, 2016, p. 33). In missionary schools, the aim is to train translators, staff who can correspond and follow routine bureaucratic affairs, and sub-administrators who can take responsibility in the colonial administration. The missionary schools that carried out intensive activities in Africa and Asia, as well as Latin America, had laid the foundations of today's international school networks under the auspices of colonial states such as France, England, and Spain.

Although the international education sector contains many private international schools in the twenty-first century, state-supported schools continue to maintain their original weight. In order to see the continuity and change in the context of historical institutional structure, curriculum, and legal status, this article investigates AEFÉ, ZfA, BSO, Confucius Classrooms, and the TME.

THE AGENCY FOR FRENCH EDUCATION ABROAD (AEFA)

The first institutionalized cultural policy initiatives affecting the modern period started in the late nineteenth century, with France as the pioneer of this process. France established the *Alliance Française* in 1883 in order to introduce French abroad and transfer the French culture by starting the practice of cultural attaché in diplomatic missions (Lane, 2013, p. 15). After establishing the *Alliance Française*, France started to open schools for formal education abroad. The language of instruction in these schools was French, and the curriculum became the national educational curriculum of France. The schools, which primarily provide education services for Frenchs abroad, soon started to teach French culture, civilization, and language to the children of non-French nations (Haigh, 1974, p. 69).

France wanted to carry this schooling accumulation into the twenty-first century by establishing the AEFÉ in 1990. AEFÉ was established as a public institution under the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the mission of managing and monitoring French school network abroad; 370,000 students receive education in 535 AEFÉ schools in 139 countries. While 71 of 535 schools are directly managed by AEFÉ, 155 are AEFÉ affiliates and managed by different associations and foundations, and 309 are operated as subsidiaries. With this wide network of schools, AEFÉ aims to enable French children living abroad to receive education in

their mother tongue; to establish close relations with the host country in the fields of culture, language, and education; and to enable international students to learn French culture and language (AEFE, 2021).

THE CENTRAL AGENCY FOR GERMAN SCHOOLS ABROAD (ZfA)

After World War II, the government of Federal Germany gave priority to public diplomacy in foreign policy. Federal Germany focused on cultural activities both in order to erase the traces of the unfavorable past it had inherited from the Nazi rule and to respread the use of German, which had started to lose its *lingua franca* effect in Europe after World War I. The Federal Government of Germany started to open international schools simultaneously with diplomatic missions abroad. In order to gather these schools under one roof, the ZfA was established as a unit affiliated with the Federal Office of Administration (BVA) in 1968. ZfA is a cultural diplomacy office controlled and funded by the German government, but with a semi-independent status. Such structures that give flexibility to Germany's public diplomacy are defined as "intermediate institutions" (*mittlerorganisationen*) (Reuter, 2019, p. 63).

ZfA was assigned by the German Federal Foreign Office to manage German government-supported schools abroad (ZfA, 2021). ZfA's international school system has three kinds of programs: (i) German Schools Abroad (DAS) provides bilingual education in German and local languages to the children of German expats and local people, (ii) German Profile Schools (DPS) are German foreign schools operating in accordance with the national education system of the host country where German is taught as a foreign language, and at least one course is taught in German, and (iii) German Diploma Schools (DSD), a subgroup of the DPS national school network, are included in the PASCH (Partners for the Future) network and provide the European common standards framework that requires high standards, providing certified language education (Reuter, 2019, p. 63). As of 2021, 140 DAS and around 1100 DPS and DSD schools are in existence (ZfA, 2021).

BRITISH SCHOOLS OVERSEAS (BSO)

The reports prepared for the British government in the 1930s revealed that England's international prestige and influence were gradually decreasing, that the period when international trade was following the flag (i.e., politics) of the countries had come to an end, and that trade followed the national language, education, and media organs (Taylor, 1978, pp. 248–249). Thereupon, the British Council was established in 1934 to make cultural propaganda in overseas lands in favor of England and apply cultural diplomacy instead of classical propaganda, which could have negative effects on the target audience.

England does not have an international school chain with an institutional structure linked to public institutions such as France and Germany. In this regard, the activities of teaching and spreading the English language and culture abroad are generally undertaken by the British Council. However, the UK has developed the BSO system for international formal education activities. In this system, international schools are established and run by private companies. At the same time, BSO evaluates and accredits these schools with an inspection mechanism to determine whether they are qualified to use the British School brand. BSO is a voluntary evaluation mechanism where private international schools request to be audited. BSO, which operates under the Ministry of Education, supervises British private school unions and accreditation organizations such as the Council of British International Schools (COBIS), Federation of British International Schools in Asia (FOBISIA), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Despite not having its own international schools like AEFÉ and ZfA do, BSO can be regarded as a kind of state-supported international education network, as it is directly implemented by the UK Ministry of Education and decides whether international schools providing English education should use the term “British” on behalf of the UK. In this respect, BSO is the implementer of the formal education activities of England's cultural diplomacy. This role of BSO can be seen in its audit reports.

CONFUCIUS CLASSROOMS

China's international culture and education centers in public diplomacy practices are quite new compared to other central states. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China established the Chinese National Office on Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (Hanban) in 1987. Hanban is tasked with spreading the Chinese language and culture around the world. For this purpose, Hanban established the Confucius Institutes in 2004. While Confucius Institutes focused on cultural activities at cultural centers and universities in other countries, Confucius Classrooms were established for formal education activities at the primary and secondary school levels. Confucius Classrooms are not self-contained schools but are structured as small classes opened in local schools through bilateral relations and agreements. Students are taught Chinese and Chinese culture in these classes that are opened in primary and secondary schools (Hanban, 2021a).

While Confucius Institutes opened the first international cultural center in 2004 in Uzbekistan, 2011 saw 358 Confucius Institutes and 500 Confucius Classrooms present in 108 countries; 21% of the 358 Confucius Institutes and 60% of the 500 Confucius Classrooms were in the USA (Zha, 2013, p. 15). In 2016, this number was 495 Institutes and 1,000 Classrooms in 130 countries (Sall, 2016, p. 140), 525 Institutes and 113 Classrooms in 146 countries in 2019, and 541 Confucius Institutes worldwide in January 2021 (Hanban, 2021b).

The main reason for the increase in the number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms is that the establishment processes are quite easy once their legal status is set up in the host country. As a different concept in international schooling, the Confucius Classrooms are established within local or international schools included in the national education system. For this reason, the furnishings are completed very quickly. These classes provide a great opportunity for China to introduce and teach Chinese and Chinese culture to students around the world at an early age.

TURKISH MAARIF FOUNDATION¹

For many years, the internationalization of education in Turkey was only limited to higher education. Namely, international students and academicians were encouraged to come to Turkey, and Turkish students and academicians were sent to universities abroad through certain scholarship programs. Educational activities abroad include formal education carried out by the Ministry of National Education for the children of Turkish citizens living abroad through diplomatic mission schools where the curriculum in Turkey is implemented in Turkish. The last 15 years have found non-formal education activities being carried out through public diplomacy tools such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), and the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Apart from these, no formal education activities at Turkey's K-12 level for international students occurred.

As one of the last countries involved in the international schooling process, Turkey stepped into this field with the TMF in June 2016. The TMF is a public foundation established with the Law No. 6721 adopted by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM). It is not affiliated with any ministry within the constitutional institutional structure in Turkey, and carries out its activities in close cooperation with the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, the main decision-making body of the Foundation, the Board of Trustees, consists of representatives appointed by the Presidency, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and the Council of Higher Education. In addition, the Foundation's budget is largely subsidized from the general public budget of the Republic of Turkey (TMF, 2021a). These features show that TMF is a public foundation.

The purpose and scope of TMF are explained in detail in Article 1 of Law No. 6721, which is the founding law of the foundation. Accordingly, TMF has been appointed and authorized on behalf of the Republic of Turkey to perform the formal and non-formal education activities abroad at all levels of education from pre-school to higher education. As of April 2021, TMF operates in 67 countries through its representative offices in

¹ I would like to thank the Turkish Maarif Foundation for sharing internal documents such as their Weekly Status Reports and 2016–2019 Summary Activity Report.

52 countries. TMF provides education to 43,000 students in 342 international schools at the K-12 level, in addition to 1 university and 14 education centers in 44 of these 67 countries (TMF, 2021b). 47% of the foundation's educational institutions are located in Asia and the Pacific, 39% in Africa, 11% in Europe, and 3% in North and South America.

Compared to international school chains and networks such as AEFÉ, ZfA, BSO, and Confucius Classrooms, the Maarif Foundation of Turkey exhibits a different profile with its curriculum content. Glonacal (global, national, local) content is seen in the curriculum implemented in TMF educational institutions. Accordingly, the foundation aims to ensure that its students are educated in a formation equipped with global abilities, but assimilates their national values and are also able to remain local (Akgün & Özkan, 2020, p. 67). In addition, the curriculum used in TMF schools provides students with multi-language skills and local cultural values consisting of Turkish, local language, and foreign languages, as well as modern sciences, social sciences, and technological skills (TMF, 2019a, p. 20). The contents of the main three courses are the standard skills given in other international schools. However, the multi-language skills involving local language and local cultural values differentiate TMF from other international schools. TMF and the education department of the host country decide together which language to teach in TMF schools, and schools usually teach in the local language. Regardless of the language of education, however, the curriculum provides Turkish, the local language, and at least one foreign language.

The emphasis on local language and local culture in the TMF curriculum, especially for the nations that had to learn the language and culture of the colonial country by force under the colonial rule for many years, and even experienced the danger of assimilation, was influential in the adoption of TMV in these countries in a short time. While TMF has opened schools in 5 countries in its first year in Africa, which is the first geography that comes to mind when addressing the colonial period, TMF, as of 2021, operates 139 international schools in 24 countries in Africa (TMF, 2021b). These figures, which have been obtained in just four years, show the importance of TMF's contribution to Turkey's cultural diplomacy. TMF has also developed the curriculum of teaching Turkish as a foreign language within research and development studies. The "Turkish as a foreign language" program determines student's Turkish learning skills and acquisitions from pre-school to high school in TMF educational institutions. The aim is for every student who

graduates from TMF to graduate to use Turkish at the B2 level, at least according to international language teaching standards (TMF, 2021c). Thus, with TMF's network of international schools spread around the world, Turkey is involved in the international education sector and has the opportunity to educate international students who can speak Turkish and have knowledge about Turkey and Turkish culture.

THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS: CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

There are two different approaches in the public opinion toward the activities of international schools: On one hand is the approach that evaluates these schools through their positive aspects such as quality education, international accreditation, student mobility, education opportunity in qualified universities, global awareness, and equipment and career, while on the other hand is the skeptical approach that these schools' countries of origin are generally ex-colonial states and that the foreign language being taught and foreign culture being transferred in these schools erode the local culture and students' identity.

These different approaches are also related to the mission the country of origin puts on these schools. For some countries, these schools' primary mission may be to teach their own language and culture, provide quality education, promote their own country, and get a share of the 50-billion-dollar economic market.

Considering the AEFÉ, ZfA, BSO, Confucius Classrooms, and TMF briefly mentioned above, the effects of state-supported international school chains and networks on cultural diplomacy can be examined under four main headings:

- Promotion of the country of origin, nation branding
- Teaching language and culture
- Training of local elites
- Forgetting the traces of colonialism and negative past

Promotion of the Country of Origin, Nation Branding

States allocate essential financial resources and carry out promotional activities recognized internationally to create a few keywords that will

be remembered in the memory of the international public when their names are heard and to make positive connotations in the memory. Although these promotional initiatives based on advertising, fairs, organizations, and receptions have significant effects on international public opinion, they are financially burdensome as the impact is limited and requires continuity. Meanwhile, public diplomacy is a foreign policy tool used for promoting, presenting, and building a positive image; the international reputation of a state through cultural activities (Ham, 2002, p. 268; Wang, 2006, p. 92), attracting international public opinion (Nye, 2011, p. 20), and promoting itself as the most crucial country are nation branding activities (Anholt, 2003, p. 13; Fan, 2010, pp. 98–99). This promotion and branding are applied to young students and their adult parents through international schools; a low-cost, long-winded, and sincere acceptance occurs in Nye's words "with the international public's own consent" (Nye, 1990, p. 166). In this aspect, international schools are a very effective device for promoting a country and nation branding.

Although all TMF schools have a board called "Turkey Corner," where the map, flag, important cities of Turkey, portraits of the founding leader, and current president are found, they also have a board for the host country with similar elements. Thus, students see the similarities and differences between their own countries and Turkey while learning about Turkey. In addition, activities are also included in TMF schools related to Turkey's national holidays, important poets and authors, cuisine, traditions, and customs (TMF, 2019a, p. 22). Thus, the aim is to raise awareness of students and parents about Turkey and to develop sympathy for Turkey.

TMF organizes cultural trips for its successful students to strengthen its students' ties with Turkey and introduce Turkey to its students. Students are given information about the Anatolian culture and Turkish cuisine, music, art, history, architecture, and social/cultural life (TMF, 2019a, p. 22; 2019b, p. 28). Thus, students receive qualified education on one hand while learning about Turkey in the school atmosphere; they graduate while getting to know Turkey.

Teaching Language and Culture

Language is the basic component in forming national identity and consciousness, sharing culture, and being a nation and in this respect is important for all states. States that are influential at global and regional

levels also attach importance to teaching and spreading their language to create a mutual cultural domain that supports them in the international arena, both as a political practice and a work of prestige and image.

Villanueva (2015, p. 140) explained the effect of language teaching on cultural diplomacy at five levels: (i) empathetic in the sense of conveying a worldview and national character, (ii) sympathetic in terms of literary texts and aesthetics, (iii) geopolitical in terms of ideological persuasion and influence, (iv) diplomatic in the sense of its impact on decision-making, and (v) utilitarian in terms of economic interaction and cooperation.

Language teaching ranks first among the goals and objectives of state-supported international schools. AEFÉ mentions teaching and spreading French; ZfA, German; BSO, English; Confucius Classrooms, Chinese; and TMF, Turkish in their legislation; many use their native tongue particularly as the language of instruction in their curriculum.

In international schools, the country of origin's culture is introduced to the students with the language. Furthermore, some programs can be organized in international schools about the national and cultural holidays of the country of origin and the works of important cultural people such as poets, writers, and historians. These programs create an image, story, and knowledge about the country of origin in students' memories. These types of cultural programs are a very reasonable and effective method for promoting the country of origin so that students will become more involved as they grow up.

Hanban made three critical decisions at the Global Confucius Institute Conference held in 2013: establishing a Confucius Chinese Studies plan, appointing permanent academicians to Confucius Institutes, and adding China Day programs to Confucius Institutes and Classrooms (Zha, 2013, p. 15). This program includes supporting academicians in the host country to research in China for Chinese studies for 2 weeks to 10 months through Confucius Institutes and organizing China Days in Confucius Classrooms. Thus, China Day becomes an important activity for teaching and transferring Chinese culture and the Chinese language to K-12 level students of the host country in Confucius Classrooms.

In another example, one of the evaluation criteria in some of the BSO audit reports titled *British Nature of the School*. The following criteria are evaluated under this heading: reflecting the British architectural, environmental, academic, and organizational structures of the relevant school; implementing the British national curriculum alongside the local

curriculum of the country the school integrates with; using British terminology in school culture and management; employing teachers who have British standards and are English-educated; and selecting educational materials that are from England (BSO, 2021). However, when examining the reports the BSO made available, no evaluation criterion under the title British Nature of the School was found in any report. Other reports lacking this criterion include the aim of promoting basic British democratic values. However, this goal is included in the document Standards of BSOs as prepared by the UK Department of Education (DfE). This document states that one aims to introduce students to basic British democratic values in spiritual, ethical, social, and cultural terms and transfer these values to students (DfE, 2016). In schools that use the British School sign with the abovementioned criteria, BSO introduces international students to the English language, culture, traditions, habits, and social life and teaches British cultural values to international students. Thus, BSO has become one of the most important instruments of British cultural diplomacy.

Training of Local Elites

The view that small and elite minorities should rule societies is an issue that many thinkers have expressed from Plato to the present day. Forming the elite is within the dynamics of countries with an imperial past and deep-rooted state tradition and is as close as possible to external influences. Nevertheless, states that have been under colonial rule for a long time or under occupation and have just gained their independence are as open as possible to external influences such as politics, economy, and education. Considering that the first international schools emerged in geographies where mercantilist and colonial policies were implemented, the post-independence political, economic, and military elites of these countries were composed of local people who had been trained from these schools; this has brought with it considerable impact on these countries from the international schools' country of origin. This effect can be seen from time to time in politics, economy, and cultural life through the graduates of international schools not only in colonial countries but also in countries without colonialism or colonization.

The sense of school belonging provided to the students in these schools enables young people to be educated who are familiar and in tune

with the language and culture of the country of origin. Therefore, international schools instill a different social class, group belonging, and class consciousness to their local students by applying their identity-building processes (Breidenstein et al., 2018, p. 162). For these reasons, international schools can ensure continuous and close relations between the country of origin and the host country through the elite classes that their graduates have formed depending on their position in the host country. Although these schools are few in number, they are an important element of cultural diplomacy due to the power they gain by training the political and military elites in the host country.

The formation of political and social elites is closely related to their elite and privileged status, legitimacy, position in society, and education they have received. The basic education, language, culture, and art education they receive are both the source of their privileges and their superiority in the eyes of other social layers as well as a status symbol for the elite class. The impact of international schools on the local elite class varies. International schools provide the opportunity for local elites with strong political, bureaucratic, military, and economic status to maintain their current status due to quality education, foreign language learning, the opportunity to continue their education abroad, and cultural contact with the country of origin. Sometimes it causes differentiation among elites and the formation of different elite classes.

However, these schools can also enable the middle class to rise to the elite class through education. Young people who graduate from international schools by learning a foreign language can return with an internationalized elite profile when choosing a university education abroad (Gardner-McTaggart, 2018, p. 111; Tarc & Tarc, 2014, pp. 41–42). Due to this attraction, a significant increase has occurred over time in the demand for local students to study at international schools. In 1989, 80% of the students in international schools were children of expats (i.e., children of the citizens of the country of origin), while 80% of the students in these schools in 2015 were children of local families (Brumming & Keeling, 2013, p. 29).

Forgetting the Traces of the Colonialism and Negative Past

The ferocious history of colonialism has led to skepticism about international schools in many countries. In schools established by colonial states, the education provided through the language and religion of the colonial

state has caused the young generation in many countries to change their religion, to not speak their language, and thus erode their culture. From the perspective of colonial states, the country that had these schools also held the host country, its religion, and its future (Bassey, 1999, p. 52). Fanon (1988) expressed the impact of the colonial era on the language and culture of the local people through education in the work *Black Skin, White Masks*. Frantz Fanon wrote, “The Antillean Negro will gradually become white in proportion to their skill in using the French language ... Whoever has a command of a language also dominates the implication and the world expressed in that language” (p. 20).

The former colonial states, which wanted to erase the traces of this bad past, changed the method, curriculum, and mentality in the international schools they established in the 1950s. This change, which can be seen in AEFÉ, ZfA, and BSO schools, highlight the following points: (i) to change educational policies of international schools during and after the colonial period, (ii) to adopt mutual interaction instead of unilateral transfer in cultural interaction, (iii) to be effective in the process of state-building after independence, and (iv) to gain new moral values.

The education received in the country-of-origin language in international schools opened by colonial states often were accompanied by effects such as colonization and acceptance of the hierarchy on the local society as well as learning, assimilating, and internalizing the culture of the colonial state (Kim, 2019, p. 95). For example, French became a mandatory language in French schools in Algeria, and children were forced to learn the French language, history, and culture. In fact, in the history lessons given during this period, Algerians were taught that their ancestors had been Gauls (Heggoy, 1973, p. 183). In this period, the result that France expected from its international schools was to transform Africans into “French with black skin” (Madeira & Correia, 2019, p. 418) or “Africans who learned to be French” (Kelly, 2000, p. 235).

France, which implemented a centralized and strict education policy in the colonial period, made three critical changes in its education policy in the first quarter of the twentieth century. First of all, it abolished school fees, thus enabling families with no financial means to benefit from educational institutions. Later, France secularized education, thus removing education from the monopoly of missionary schools, and worked to win over the non-Muslim population. Finally, France raised an elite class to serve in public institutions not by contenting itself with basic education but by providing qualified education to some of the local people

(Feldman, 2016, p. 36; Garnier & Schafer, 2006, p. 157). In other words, France started to apply an adaptation process instead of one of assimilation. This change in education policy has had significant effects on the continuity of today's Francophone geography. Although today's Francophone geography was shaped by the policies of the colonial period, an important reason why France and French can still be effective in this geography today is that the French language and culture continue to be taught in the region through educational institutions such as AEFÉ.

Instead of the one-sided cultural transfer of the colonial period, France attempted practices that enable the interaction with the decolonization process to be mutual. Here, the relationship between the colonialist and the former exploited state is horizontal, interaction-based, and cooperative rather than vertical, imposing, and hegemonic (Canto & Hannah, 2001, p. 32). Mutual and joint cultural activities serve as an important catalyst for creating realistic expectations and relations between the colonialist and ex-exploited state. This interaction takes place through activities such as international schools, student and educator exchange, and mobility in education. The type of relationship that transforms from a vertical and imposing relationship to a horizontal and mutual one can strengthen moral values in the political and social stratum of the former colonial state and encourage ignoring the old negative past.

The continuation of the cultural influence of the colonial states on the former colonial states was possible not only because of the strict educational models applied during the colonial period but also because they set an example for the local elites who wanted to establish a new state order after independence. International schools such as AEFÉ, ZfA, and BSO have also been influential in the post-independence state-building process.

Education can lead to the preservation, strengthening, and sustainability of old colonial ties. In this respect, education can also be evaluated as a neo-colonial argument (Canto & Hannah, 2001, p. 29). However, having generations from international schools with a quality education in terms of training, culture, skills, and tools removes the doubts about these schools. The local people with moral values who have graduated from these schools work in important international institutions and companies, are influential people in cultural fields, and are successful in sports competitions. These cause international schools to be adopted by the local people despite their past harmful traces.

CONCLUSION

International schools have undergone significant changes in purpose, institutional structure, target audience, and curriculum since they were first established. While states established the first international schools, they mainly provided education to the children of the citizens of the country of origin using the language and curriculum of the country of origin. Today, international schools are mostly run by private companies, provide education in globally influential languages (especially English) with an internationally accredited curriculum, and have local students. In international schools where expat children were in the majority in their early periods, more than 80% of the students are local students. According to ISC data, while 2000 saw 2584 schools, 969,000 students, 90,000 personnel, and a market value of 5 billion dollars, these figures reached 11,616 schools, 6 million students, 554,000 staff, and a market value of 54 billion dollars in 2020 (ISC, 2021). Aside from this financial volume, its effects on cultural diplomacy have made international schools attractive for states as well as an indispensable element of their cultural diplomacy (e.g., the soft practices of their foreign policies).

In the 1930s, more professional training began in these schools with the consent of the local people and the language and curriculum of the country of origin. Thus, generations started to grow who knew the language and culture of the country of origin. They chose the country of origin as a target for modernization, quality education, and career planning. These generations supported the activities of the country of origin in their own country and established a bond of affection to the country of origin. Thus, international schools have become an important tool of cultural diplomacy.

State-supported international schools have been constructed differently by the countries of origin depending on their developmental conditions and emergent new needs. As the first implementer of these schools, France united the international schools it had established at the beginning of the twentieth century under the roof of AEFÉ, establishing a wide network of schools abroad that provide education in the French language and curriculum. On the other hand, Germany gave its diplomatic priority to the renewal of its international image and cultural activity that the Nazi administration had destroyed after World War II. Through ZfA, which Germany established for this purpose alongside the German education curriculum, Germany has started to provide education in the

host country's language. Unlike AEFÉ and ZfA, England has established an inspection and accreditation system under the Department of Education (DfE) responsibility instead of opening international schools affiliated with its Foreign and Commonwealth Office or DfE. The UK has chosen to inspect British private school unions and accreditation organizations such as COBIS, FOBISIA, CIS, and IB through BSO, which the UK established under DfE, thus establishing a virtual network of international schools.

China joined the international education sector quite late, in which France, Germany, and England have been effective. With the Confucius Institutes that China established, China aims to spread Chinese language and culture to the world at the K-12 level with the Confucius Classrooms in higher education. Instead of carrying out international educational activities with schools or campuses for formal education such as AEFÉ and ZfA, China prefers to participate in international formal education using the physical conditions of local or international schools operating in the education system of other countries and creating privileged classes within these schools.

Meanwhile, Turkey is the last country to be involved in the international schooling process. The TMF differs from AEFÉ, ZfA, BSO, and Confucius Classrooms because Turkey includes local language and culture in its curriculum. TMF demonstrates positive and successful performances in the eyes of local people and governments with its multi-language education consisting of Turkish and at least one foreign language in the curriculum applied in schools where local teachers teach local culture and values. TMF displays a profile more suited to its purpose of conciliation and attraction.

As seen in the examples of AEFÉ, ZfA, BSO, Confucius Classrooms, and TMF, states have made special efforts to expand their international school networks worldwide. The most important reason for this is that the changes brought about by globalization also affect the dimension and mentality of inter-state relations. For this reason, attracting and persuading the international public has become indispensable for many states today.

States can easily explain their values with their own persuasive and attractive arguments toward international public opinion. In this regard, states attach great importance to their contact with the children of the host country in the international schools they have established abroad. The reason for this is that these children can be the decision-makers

of tomorrow in political and economic relations, choose the country of origin for higher education, mediate between the two countries in commercial activities, and become cultural ambassadors explaining the realities of the country that established and operates the international school in the host country where they live. In short, states attach great importance to international schools to create a supportive international public opinion.

AEFE, BSO, and ZfA, which come first to mind regarding state-supported international schools, appear unlikely to be the ones to make changes in education models and education languages soon. However, ZfA's preference for local languages other than German as the language of instruction in some schools shows that these international school networks are not entirely closed to change. In addition, the fact that Confucius Classrooms came to life with furnishings costing only 10,000 dollars and have spread to the world in a short time may cause traditional international schools to review the million-dollar-plus investment decisions spent on buildings and complementary physical structures. With a glonacal outlook, TMF's sympathy within the host country, its importance attaches to the local curriculum it reviews according to global requirements, and multilingual education consisting of Turkish and foreign languages including the local language can serve as an example for other state-supported international schools.

The influence international schools have on cultural diplomacy has become more and more clearly understood with each day. For this reason, countries that want to be effective on a global and regional scale will want to establish and operate international schools to the limits of their economic capacity because countries have the opportunity through these schools to touch young individuals from other nations, to express themselves, and to introduce themselves.

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New Trends in International Education: Impact of COVID-19 and Digitalization on Higher Education and Student Mobility

Wadim Strielkowski

In the past few decades, international education mobility has been one of the most important sources for increasing competitiveness in the international education market for countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States (Kemp, 2016; Marginson, 2018). Over the past few decades, both the United Kingdom and the United States (as well as other English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) have in fact profiled themselves as magnets for international students at both K-12 and higher education levels, with top schools and universities relying heavily upon pupils and scholars from overseas and making them a part of their business model (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018).

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, more than five million students had crossed the border of the United States for higher education, and this is the dominant basis for the discourse on mobility. International students in higher education used to bring around \$27 billion to the US economy and an estimated \$1.5 billion annual increase in economic activity (Altbach et al., 2019). The 2017 report by the Institute of International Education (IIE, 2017), which studied the recent trends for US

W. Strielkowski (✉)
Prague Business School, Prague, Czech Republic
e-mail: strielkowski@cantab.net

students who study abroad as well as for international students studying at higher education institutions in the United State, assessed the impact international students from universities, colleges, and universities across the country have on economic and social well-being. This academic year should be noted as the first year that tuition and fees for international students in the United State were paid privately, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2020). The United States remains the leading destination for foreign students, enrolling 2.2 million students annually, up from 1.5 million in 2010–2011. This is despite a slower (13%) increase in enrollment in the United States ranging from 582,996 to 660,581 students (IIE, 2019).

But the nation continues to make some countries seem less important than others based on the way mobility is shaped by discourse. The mobility trend for international students is one of the main drivers of international educational mobility in the United States. It serves the national interest and offers financial benefits while also being a significant source of economic and social mobility for students and their families. In the United States, international students have had a growing influence on the state of economic development and support ongoing efforts to internationalize universities; they have been an important source of financial support to financially struggling academic institutions during the current recession (Nureev et al., 2020).

Contrary to the above example, the ability to go to college abroad and work in thriving economies in developing countries where opportunities to educate students at the post-secondary level remain limited serves as an important mobility factor for students and their families. In India, for example, a strong trend has developed in recent years to train talent abroad rather than pursue a career at home (Sadik & Brown, 2020).

In general, recruiting international students has increasingly attracted the attention of developed countries against the backdrop of the global talent war, integrating their strategies to attract and retain highly skilled labor migrants. Although international student mobility has become a subject of research in the field of highly skilled migration, few studies have attempted to demonstrate the long-term impact of international educational mobility on countries' ability to manage student mobility. The three most important countries in the world currently to have hosted international students are the United States, Canada, and Germany. The most important countries sending students abroad are China and India.

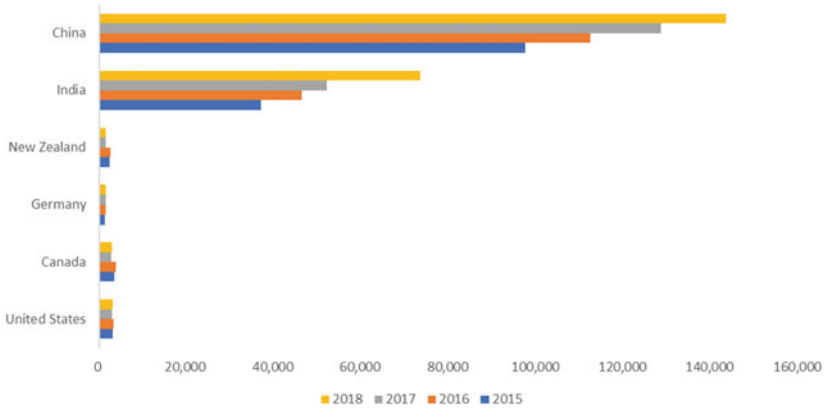


Fig. 1 Tertiary mobile enrollment of international students (total number) (*Source* OECD, 2020)

Figure 1 reports the total numbers of tertiary mobile enrollment of international students and clearly demonstrates this trend using the OECD data.

However, among those three countries hosting the most international students, the United States stands out as the international education superpower. It enrolls more international undergraduate students than any other country, including Chile, Poland, Spain, or Japan, yet lags far behind the others in terms of the number of foreign students in the US education system. The rise in anti-immigrant policies coupled with the need to increase enrollment means institutions need to find new ways to attract international students (Streitwieser et al., 2020; Weimer & Barlete, 2020). In addition, entry visas and bans on immigration also become an obstacle for the students from developing countries who do not have enough funds to prove that they would be able to sustain themselves while studying and living in the United States. Difficulties with visa policies make many students opt out for other countries with more favorable entry policies.

High-ranking schools and universities have a higher proportion of English-language courses, which are very popular with international students. Asia has been a key factor in international student mobility for more than a decade, and if growth in these countries stabilizes today, they will have a larger percentage of these students in the future. At the

same time, a new report by the International Association of Universities and Colleges (IUC) and the World Economic Forum (WEF) shows the future direction of international student recruitment (Dennis, 2020a). Advances in higher education are attractive to mobile learners, especially in developing countries such as China, India, South Korea, and Japan.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY AND EQUALITY

Decades of research have shown policies that improve or expand access to high-quality public education to be able to effectively balance the stark differences in economic opportunity between households of various backgrounds, ethnic origin, and wealth (Čábelková et al., 2020). Indeed, facilitating schooling for low-income students has long been a vehicle for upward mobility. Over the past half-century, policies have improved access to higher education worldwide.

With international student numbers up 8% last year, the United States remains the top choice for students worldwide. The US student body, which has shed the unfortunate image of being narrow-minded in the past and now hosts more international students than any other country in the world, is developing similarly to how it did in 2000; the same is true for the United Kingdom, which is currently second in the number of students per capita. The rising number of US students studying abroad means that more students than ever are being exposed to new ideas and mindsets. These data tracks trend over 15 years and provide a comprehensive picture of international students coming to the United States and Americans traveling abroad. In addition, new international students have been enrolling in US universities faster than their American counterparts abroad since 2000.

On the other side of the Atlantic, some of the higher education institutions in the United Kingdom expressed concern about the country's social and political climate, which could deter potential international students. This is likely because policy decisions discussed in the United Kingdom (e.g., the travel ban that NACAC strongly opposed) make the country less welcoming to international students. Yet the British Government's decision to remove international students from government targets to reduce net immigration will also likely have a chilling effect on them, probably because it makes them feel less welcome. According to the Association of International Educators, international students contributed more than

\$41 billion between 2000 and 2015, supporting 458,290 jobs in the UK (Van Damme, 2017).

UNESCO statistics reflect a relatively small percentage of the degrees sought by international students and do not take into account trends related to credit mobility, such as the increase in the proportion of students with bachelor's degrees in another country (UNESCO, 2021).

Although most of the leading target countries provide data on their entire student population, this is rare for the United States. American students studying abroad are particularly affected by credit mobility in the United States. This suggests that students are more likely to take up international loans and mobility as they improve the quality of local higher education systems. In view of the rising costs of higher education abroad, in particular, comparative costs should give some countries a competitive advantage in the coming years. In order to maintain their future competitiveness by attracting international students, universities in these countries must be better able to demonstrate the perceived quality of their education systems. As the costs of training abroad, including tuition and accommodation, become more expensive than their domestic counterparts, institutions in some countries will seek to meet, if not exceed, the expectations of potential foreign students. Institutional and national recruitment strategies will take into account the growing number of international students and their ability to compete in rapidly changing industries. Politicians will also be interested in international students because they may become highly skilled immigrants in the future. Studies on internationally mobile students tend to focus on the conditions and push-pull factors that motivate students to study abroad. The UNESCO Statistical Institute (UNESCO, 2021) provided a bilateral database of international student flows that is combinable with data from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as other international institutions. Countries answer the annual UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) questionnaires and report on the number of internationally mobile students they accept. Higher Education Institutions (HEI) provide data on international student flows to and from higher education institutions in OECD countries to the Statistical Authority for Higher Education (HESA). The OECD provides information on the number of international students from different backgrounds enrolled in its countries. These data cover students from non-EU countries at all levels, including undergraduate and postgraduate students and residents. As an indicator of the quality of education, we have done a snapshot of this

data with the rankings of British institutions. We are not trying to show a causal link between policy and mobility changes but to show that potential links can be addressed a strong correlation exists between the number of international students and students' degree of mobility to and from higher education institutions.

In the United States, for example, efforts have been made from GI legislation (assistance to war veterans that involve enabling them to obtain higher education) to student aid that have helped lift thousands of Americans into the middle class and boost productivity, innovation, and resources in the American economy (Goldrick-Rab, 2016). Education is a public good, but one must do everything possible to go beyond the already substantial direct benefits that individuals derive from higher education, such as higher incomes and the ability to live comfortably in a more stable and prosperous society with a higher standard of living. Moreover, we now live in the era of information and high skills, and education has become an important route to upward mobility for all, but it is especially important for low-income and minority students. That is why some researchers consider the government to have a proper role to play for low-income people by providing access to public education to all students regardless of income level (Guo-Brennan, 2020). Public school students could be at a more immediate disadvantage if they cannot perform better than their peers in private schools. While the difference between parents choosing to educate their children in a private school may be relatively small, spending on an elite private school can yield an even greater advantage for these students. This inequality can be highly consequential because employment opportunities at elite universities are scarce and closely linked to the quality of their education. This could allow private students to gain a crucial advantage over their public-school counterparts. In the well-known example of the United States (to which I will come back to again and again), the 50 United States vary dramatically in the amount of education funding they provide per student (Eaton et al., 2019). Indeed, intergovernmental inequalities are so serious that they have received greater attention within states. The greater resources that children from the top 20% income households receive from society reduce the likelihood that children in the lower percentiles have the same chances of success. Increased neighborhood segregation and school segregation continue to create funding that disproportionately affects poor Americans of color. This is evident from recent research showing the growing gap between children from high- and low-income families to

now exceeds the gap between children born before 2001 and children born in the past 20 years (McArdle & Acevedo-Garcia, 2017). While cognitive ability tests have shown no significant differences in infants of high- or low-income parents, large and persistent differences do begin to appear in kindergarten. For older children, some evidence shows the gap between those born in the early 1960s and those born in the early 1980s to have grown, while the gap between children from high and low-income families to have also grown in terms of high school drop-out rates. While the college-completion rate for children from poor households increased by about 4%, the graduation rate for children from middle-income households has actually increased by nearly 20% since the 1970s (Ison, 2020). Over the past 30 years, tuition fees for students from low- and high-income homes have risen by nearly 40%, and the percentage of students with bachelor's degrees or higher in the United States has also increased (Mitchell et al., 2019). In 2002, President George W. Bush signed a K-12 education law known as the "No Children Left Behind Act," which assumed these disparities to largely be due to schools' failure to take seriously the need to educate children from low- and middle-income families with serious socio-economic problems. In some schools, neighborhood problems are a major factor: schools are more marginalized today than at any time in the last 50 years because the neighborhoods in which they are located have become so marginalized. Children who are affected by serious socio-economic problems may devote less time and attention to academic teaching. Advocates claimed that accountability for test results would soon eliminate the performance gaps (Simpson et al., 2004). A recent study by the US Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights found schools with a high concentration of mobile students to have higher test scores than schools in low-income neighborhoods (Marcotte & Dalane, 2019). The most pressing problems are in US urban schools, where up to 40% of students in one school may have high levels of poverty (Owens & Candipan, 2019). Solving the issues related to K-12 level education significantly impacts the quality of students applying for their university degree at one of the Higher Education Institution (HEI). Thus, proper attention should be given in order to make sure that local universities are not flooded by the foreign students who would surely increase international student mobility but also possibly deteriorate the level of domestic human capital and contribute to the knowledge spill-over effect and brain-drain (Strielkowski et al., 2019; Gruzina et al., 2021).

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, a significant increase had occurred in the number of students studying at offshore universities and partly or completely undertaking international programs in their home countries. According to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, and the United Nations in New York, about 50% of international students enrolled worldwide are from the Asia-Pacific region. UNESCO's latest statistics show a 2.5% increase in international student numbers between 2014 and 2015. International educational mobility is often intertwined with other aspects of global development such as economic development and sustainability. Initiated in the early 2000s, the Singapore Global School House project gave international students a central role in the future sustainability of the city state's development. Since COVID-19, the media has been reporting in much more detail than ever before on the experiences of international students. Despite not being an accepted or mandatory practice in the West, students are often attacked and mocked for wearing masks, even in countries like China and South Korea.

According to the OECD (2021), the internationalization of higher education has led to international students' increased mobility. In 2017, 1,450,000 visas were issued to higher education students, with 3.5 million being enrolled worldwide. Before the nineteenth century, countries that had to accept international students dominated migration policy, freeing international students from anti-immigrant policies. Since COVID-19, students have been granted extended residency rights or allowed to return after lockouts: job seekers and legal residency policies allowed new students to arrive while lockouts remained. In the new academic year 2020–2021, 41% of international students have changed their plans or chosen to study outside their original target (Lange, 2020). COVID-19 has disrupted the international playing field, with significant implications for international student mobility and the future of higher education in Europe.

DIGITALIZATION AND ITS COSTS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The economic downturn and rise of digital education undoubtedly have driven the demand for higher education on a global scale, affecting all educational systems and countries around the world (Strielkowski et al., 2020; Williamson, 2019). With more than one billion new students being enrolled in universities in the near future, and growing prosperity taking root in developing countries, digitalization will make higher

education more scalable and affordable. The current digital upheaval in the education sector is motivated by rising costs, improved competitiveness, and increased expectations. Even the most prestigious universities are turning to digital education to compete. Over 80% of prospective students rate institutions based on their website, and one of the first things they look for is the scientific catalog. The COVID-19 pandemic could be just the disruptor that forces the digital transformation process to accelerate. However, many colleges are directing their efforts to maintain the status quo. Organizations need to prepare for the future by using new technologies and data to transform processes and modernize systems, even as public funding declines (Chiabai et al., 2014; Ehrenberger et al., 2015). The needs of students already living in a digital environment and marketplace will be of the utmost importance. In the meantime, we will continue to support universities and schools in finding the appropriate technologies to develop the next generation of education systems for the twenty-first century. One thing is certain: universities and scientists will be forced to go beyond their traditional teaching and learning methods and use new technologies. Compliance with and monitoring these factors will help educators and administrators capitalize on the significant value of the education-based approach promoted by technological adaptive learning. One effective way in which digital trends in education are reformulating the way students learn is through the introduction of the Internet of things (IoT). With various departments of education leading the way, trends for the digital transformation of education as of 2020 include improved learning experiences, better access to resources, and greater use of technology in the classroom. Institutions that bring together the best technological expertise and high-quality content will definitely benefit from this wave. Mobile technology (e.g., smartphones, tablets, and other connected devices) offers many benefits, including improved learning outcomes and increased campus security. Critics of online learning and digital tools have pointed to the lack of access to resources and the high cost of digital learning as the main obstacle to adoption. If the educational ecosystem consisting of preparatory schools, universities, colleges, and other institutions includes new and evolving technologies, the digital transformation can be fully exploited to bring about systemic and institutional change. From an organizational point of view, technology stands out through the use of cloud computing, mobile devices, social media, and mobile applications (Čábelková et al., 2015). Companies partner with digital transformation initiatives from

leading universities to help them optimize their content management systems (CMS) and customer relations management (CRM) using the latest technologies such as Google Cloud, Microsoft Office 365, Zoom, or Moodle. From a social perspective, the most important technologies that have been taken into account in the digital transformation process are social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram, WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, Google+, and Google Docs. From a technological point of view, the most prominent technologies are the use of cloud computing, mobile devices, and mobile applications such as Google Cloud and Dropbox. Digital learning is crucial for international students as well as for teachers working in this field. The main participants in the educational process at the university are understandably students and teachers, as the university's task is to educate. World leaders in education recognize that, despite its transformative impact on society in general, technology has enormous potential in encouraging students to learn well and prepare them for life after school. International educators are working to keep up with the best practices in digital literacy and learning to prepare their students adequately for success in the digital age. When used effectively, digital tools and technologies can enable international teachers to create curricula and programs that deepen students' learning. Others also doubt that the quality of education in the classroom can be improved through self-determined learning or other forms of digital literacy and learning. Rather, these improvements should be reinforced through improvements in the teaching and learning process by reducing class sizes, providing textbooks, and introducing learning standards. Nevertheless, developing countries, especially those with limited access to the Internet, obviously need to find a way to ensure that school systems everywhere provide students with the knowledge or skills needed to support a knowledge-based economy, regardless of the wealth of knowledge and information they provide. The experience of developed countries suggests that providing more pupils with the same level of education as their peers in other countries does not automatically lead to better learning in schools or to a better quality of life for all pupils.

Now to at the other side of the story on digitalization in education: with the rising competitiveness of education and new online tools and techniques that can be provided over the Internet, students who've been asked to pay a price for distance learning have started to complain. Some see this as a rip-off, and others see it as too high a price for what they're

getting. A school offering online discounts may not make as much difference as people think. Students benefit from a list price that is lower than the cost, and they get another discount on that price through financial support. Financial assistance is based on a federal formula: the price that is calculated and what a family is expected to be able to pay. Thus, if tuition fees are reduced, students would get less financial support and still be expected to pay the same amount regardless of the tuition fee. Some colleges offer online discounts, but the students who need the discounts the most benefit the least. Proposals exist for students who would attend school in person that aim at creating a national repository of affordable online courses through college subsidies. Colleges would be incentivized to offer online discounts and set up high-quality online courses to attract as many students as possible. Students who need the rebates the most would benefit the least because they face higher online education costs and lack access to affordable courses. Students would pay for courses under a single fee model, which would mean that some courses would be free for many students able to afford them. In a way, colleges would forget that the government would have paid them for every student who attended one of their online courses. The only way one can expect a financial recovery for universities in such countries as the United States is a second wave of federal aid. Without congressional action, colleges could actually lose some of the services on campus where students are currently protesting because they have to pay to attend lectures online, which would be a drastic loss if universities reopened. While not the only solution, this plan ideally would help make online education more affordable. Online courses cost about the same, if not more, than in person courses, according to a recent study by the American Association of University Professors (Anderson, 2020). Unexpected financial hurdles could also occur for colleges and universities as they shift some or all of their activities online. Amid such economic turmoil, several US universities have facilitated students' ability to take courses online. For example, Georgetown, Princeton, and Lafayette College have cut tuition by 10% for students learning online due to the coronavirus pandemic (Burke, 2020). Other universities have gone further: Southern New Hampshire University has offered freshman scholarships and will cut tuition by 61% for the next school year. The University of Maryland has delayed the start of the semester for individuals by two weeks as the number of cases soared across the country. California State University also made significant waves in 2020 when it announced it would offer its online hybrid courses

in the fall (EdSource, 2020). About 80% of students replied positively when asked if tuition for the online hybrid class should be lower than it would have been for in person classes. Scientists have also argued that the coronavirus could help lower the cost of higher education by forcing institutions to adapt their business models to virtual classes. Tuition fees and fees for online courses can be significantly lower compared to traditional institutions. Because online students can learn from home, they can avoid the dormitory and food costs that accompany living on campus as well as the transportation costs paid to live on campus for attending traditional courses. If an online student lives in another state, they may also benefit from their state's university tuition. Online college rates may seem like a chore, but the reality is that secondary education can be more affordable than is assumed. Some colleges argue that the value of the degrees they offer has not changed, and many students say their virtual learning experience is not worth the high price tag. Students are also found who've not received any significant reduction in their tuition fees like those who learn from afar because of various natural disasters and catastrophes, such as COVID-19, which will be looked upon closely in the next section.

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, EDUCATION, AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION MOBILITY

Little doubt exists that new economic and political realities will affect international students' mobility and enrollment. If COVID-19 continues to disrupt higher education and international student mobility, the number of enrollees in the United States and other countries around the world is likely to decline for at least the next few years if not longer.

Private universities in Greece that offer British qualifications with a guarantee of quality are expanding their offer to accommodate larger numbers of students by 2020. Branches in China are ready to take in thousands of students by the end of 2021, with plans in place for more than 1000 students per year. This transnational partnership will contribute to the development of a new generation of international students in higher education and international student mobility. This will be an important part of the subsequent reconstruction phase and a key element for Greece's long-term economic and social stability. British universities have adapted remarkably quickly to the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, and plans are now in place to secure a medium- and long-term future for the international education sector. In order to

help UK universities, build on the transnational education (TNE) partnership, Universities UK International has launched a massive data update. Like so many affected sectors, the COVID-19 pandemic has prompted college professionals to rethink their strategies on internationalization. A live online panel sponsored by the International Education Policy Institute (IEPI) and the Centre for International Studies at Cambridge University delivered the message that demand for education in an internationalist environment will continue to grow. The European Association for International Education (EAIE) has collected 805 responses from people working in higher education in Europe and found that almost 75% expect the pandemic impact on student mobility from abroad to be “significant” or “very significant” (Mercado, 2020). At the same time, EAIE stresses the need to compromise on the recruitment of 600,000 international students by 2030. The quick fix is technological, but such changes are no guarantee of lower quality. A report from World Education Services (WES, 2019) showed the decline in the market for international students to likely lead to a rise in costs of more than 50% for universities and colleges by 2030. In a March 2020 study of 234 American universities by the Institute for International Education, three out of four schools said the virus had forced them to cancel plans for international students. Adding to the security concerns regarding COVID-19, American schools have the highest number of international student visas in the United States. A survey of 8481 students who had applied to study in the United Kingdom for the autumn 2021 semester found 39% to state they would “probably” or “very likely” cancel their plans and another 39% to state being “undecided” (Dennis, 2020b). The reasons are clear why post-COVID-19 will accelerate the decline in international educational mobility and increase costs for universities and colleges. If COVID-19 continues to ravage the Earth, a precipitous decline will occur in the American model within a few years. One can understand the importance of international educational mobility and the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States, and a brief discussion describing the benefits of whether online education could be a viable alternative to retaining international students would be beneficial. The pandemic and subsequent responses reveal and reinforce the need for global education, especially for those studying outside the United States, as well as for the development of a global education system. Clearly, some of the 2020-cohorts still want to graduate from American institutions but have not begun their studies yet.

The results from a survey of 199 colleges involving the US Department of Education's National Center for International Student Assessment (NCSA) showed that the expected 200,000 international students will remain in their current institutions until the start of the academic year, with some expected to be admitted as newly enrolled international students (World Education News & Reviews, 2020).

That the recent pandemic may give target countries more equal opportunities is apparent, but it may also cause long-term problems for international students. The main host countries are the US, China, and the UK, accommodating a total of 1.75 million people. In addition, the experiences of Vietnam and other middle-income developing countries also serve as an important example of how the role of international education in developing health care and education for the poor and the weak can be rethought.

THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One would probably agree that the COVID-19 pandemic has instigated a digital revolution in academia and higher education. Social distancing, months-long quarantines, and economic shutdowns have forced the majority of people working in academia and higher education not only to complete their personal transition to the fully functional and operational online system. Due to the crisis the coronavirus epidemic has induced, innovations in academia and higher education that would have normally taken several years due to the various contradictory administrative regulations have now been introduced promptly over a matter of days. This is a clear example of the Schumpeterian "creative destruction" in the making that will forever change the status quo in academia and higher education.

Since their very origins in medieval Europe, universities have had two main goals: providing the representatives of the powerful political and business elites a place for networking (and making them even more powerful) and preparing the offspring of those elites to take over the family businesses (Strielkowski, 2015).

With regard to the above, Wissema (2009) described the evolution of universities, presenting them in three generations: medieval universities, research universities (Humboldt-type universities), and finally high-tech, science-, and technology-driven entrepreneurial universities.

Nowadays we appear to be entering into the next phase of the evolution in academia and higher education that will create the 4th generation

of universities, which one can call online and digital universities (see Fig. 2). Much of that is because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which launched a digital revolution in academia and higher education.

Current technology has finally provided us with all the tools needed for making higher education fully online and digital. So why are we reluctant to make this final step? Are we ready for that change?

The coronavirus pandemic of 2020 has been a push factor that can help everyone better understand that all the attributes of higher education such as online thesis defense, online entrance, and final exams, as well as online academic jobs, are as effective as those conducted in person. Here are some examples: on March 18 and 20, 2020, Imperial College London conducted the world's first online exams for its 280 six-year medical students (Tapper et al., 2020). The digital "open book" exam was successfully delivered remotely, and many universities in the United Kingdom and worldwide are now likely to follow Imperial College London's strategy as a solution for examining students during the COVID-19 shutdown. According to one of the students who'd taken the exam, this was a good experience because medical school finals measure a higher level of learning than just remembering information. The tests focus on students' ability to synthesize information, to come up with a diagnosis, and to interpret complex data (see Ali, 2020).

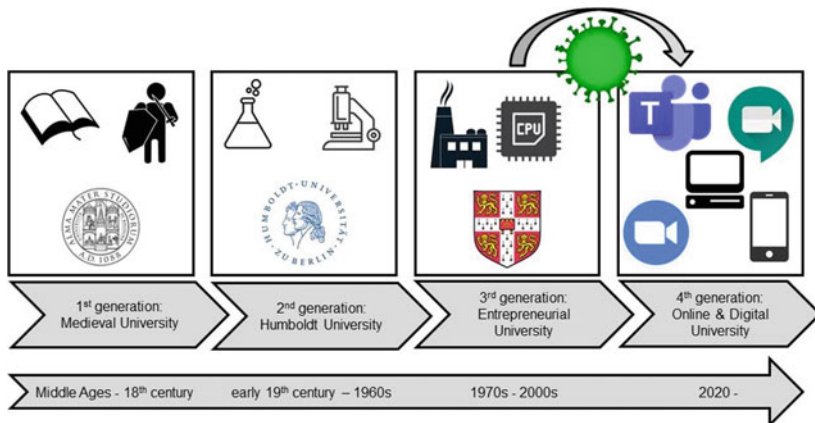


Fig. 2 Evolution of academia and higher education

In addition, conducting doctoral defenses online suddenly became possible due to the coronavirus pandemic. On March 26, 2020, the first online doctoral defense took place under the Erasmus School of Economics in Rotterdam (2020). Zhaowen Qian defended her doctoral dissertation titled “Time-Varying Integration and Portfolio Choices in the European Capital Markets.”

In addition, if the exams and doctoral defenses can be done online, so can graduations. In Japan, despite the fact that spring graduation ceremonies had been canceled because of the coronavirus pandemic, the students at the Business Breakthrough University in Tokyo attended remotely by controlling avatar robots from their homes through the Internet and having access to robot’s cameras and microphones to fully interact and emerge themselves in the process (Reuters, 2020; *The Guardian*, 2020).

Digitalization in higher education allows lectures to be streamed online and professors and students to interact in the virtual environments; however, not everyone is ready for this. Even youths who do not spend much time in the “real world” but instead prefer playing video games or interacting with others on social network platforms have confessed that they would prefer being lectured in real classrooms in real universities. Sometimes this is just a matter of habit, but quite often this can be attributed to the difficulties that emerge with managing personal time or procrastination when students are left studying online from the comfort of their home (Strielkowski et al., 2020).

With regard to the above, one can distinguish three main types of people in today’s academia and higher education (see Blaginin et al., 2019):

- Lecturers: typically engaged in delivering lectures to students (several lectures a week, several days a week). Some lecturers are good public speakers, are popular among their students, and enjoy their work. However, most lecturers lack time for writing and publishing research papers, and many of them loath this activity. Most (but not all) lecturers often use the same (often outdated) material (Power Point slides) for many consecutive lecture courses year after year.
- Researchers: writing and publishing many research papers and monographs. Researchers know all about the publishing process, bibliometrics, and how this system works. Many researchers are terrible public speakers and prefer to not lecture whenever possible

(quite often they “buy out” their lecture time with the research papers or grant projects).

- **Businessmen:** the rarest type of academician. Businessmen are the directors of research centers, professors, deans, and chancellors. They had previously been lecturers or researchers but discovered their leadership skills. Many businessmen are proficient in writing and securing grant proposals and obtaining funding for their institutions.

Ideally, one should exhibit the traits of all three types in order to increase their appeal to potential employers, even though this is a very rare case among the majority of academicians. Therefore, one should discover what type of academician they are and try to develop their skills in this particular field. All three types are likely to be transformed after the digital revolution in academia and higher education, but all of them still have an important place in the 4th generation of universities.

Two years ago, I participated in the “NextGen VOICES: A postdoc’s purpose” organized by the Science journal. We were asked to provide an answer to the following question: “What is the purpose of a postdoc? Address this question by writing a job advertisement for the perfect postdoc position.” This is what I wrote:

Approaching 40 and still without a tenured position? Join our Ivy League university and let the Matthew effect boost your career. We are a cronyism-free workplace. You are encouraged to pursue your own research interests. Your publication output is more important for us than any teaching or administrative obligations. Our prestigious location incurs high living costs, but you can work remotely and enjoy more time with your family. (Strielkowski, 2018)

My letter was placed into the “Idealists” section. Back then, such an advert seemed to be unrealistic. Now, only two years later, my job advert for the ideal postdoc position may become a reality.

Many researchers in academia have no obligation to teach and can do most of their work online. Working on research projects, preparing and submitting reports and journal papers, and even supervising theses, all of these can be done online. In fact, for the past 5 years or so, I have conducted all my academic job interviews online, with most interviewers using Skype or WebEx.

A plethora of bright and talented researchers exist who could greatly contribute to the work of many prominent universities if the salaries those universities paid were enough to maintain their lifestyle. The cost of living in Cambridge or Berkeley, where I used to live and work, is enormous (and this is not to mention that one could not survive there if they also had a family to support). Even though a study might be extremely inspiring and rewarding, or the people you meet on an everyday basis are the world's top of the top in their respective scientific fields, the conditions under which one has to survive are undignified. One has to pay horrendous sums of money for a small dull room with a shared bathroom and commute to work by foot or by bicycle.

Surely, sexagenarian and septuagenarian professors struggle with online lectures and prefer face-to-face meetings. However, today's lectures have to be innovative. Simply showing the same PowerPoint slides year after year no longer works. In order to grasp students' attention, lecturers need to constantly update their material and refer to the most recent publications, scientific discoveries, or perhaps even to popular culture. This is the modern way of teaching and is also very fruitful for the lecturers themselves; by explaining new things to students, they can better understand these things themselves.

A reviewer once commented on my paper (Strielkowski, 2018) on the transition of modern education: "As someone who is teaching at the university since the 1980s and who has taught with blackboards, whiteboards, overhead projectors, and PowerPoint, I am not really sure if teaching with MS PowerPoint slides is better for students than to teach with a blackboard, where the students have to write permanently their own notes. In my view, the students are more attentive in the latter scenario than in the former one, because they assume that they know enough if the presentation slides are in their bags or laptops." This clearly shows that some people are not ready for the digital revolution.

Moreover, the coronavirus pandemic and social distancing that have forced most universities worldwide to close can assist in cutting down the time spent on endless department, faculty, and board meetings. Often, one has to travel for an hour or two just to sign a single form. There is a high percentage of the so-called "bullshit jobs" (Graeber, 2019) in higher education. Endless meetings, colloquia, or discussions without an end, all these things create many obstacles and steal valuable time. This is not to

mention that scientists are expected to travel frequently but forgoing one transcontinental flight per year would decrease carbon emissions more than driving a hybrid car, buying green energy, or eating vegan food would (Kumar et al., 2019).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Overall, international education mobility is undergoing rapid and profound changes in the twenty-first century. Some of these changes (e.g., digitalization) were anticipated, while others (e.g., the impact of COVID-19 on international travel or public safety) have become a “black swan” that no one could imagine or predict. Nevertheless, the most interesting new trends in the international education mobility in my opinion are the unpredicted ones caused by this unusual and unexpected situation. There would be many, and all would be very interesting to assess, analyze, and study for our own benefit as well as for the benefit of future generations.

Clearly, many traditional principles of academic life, including international student mobility and tuition processes, are going to be reshaped due to the recent experience with the COVID-19 pandemic. While some are afraid of moving away from the status quo, others are willing to undertake this path. This “creative destruction” (see Schumpeter, 1942) is likely to change academia and higher education as we know them forever.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and all the unprecedented changes it has brought, the online tuition was often viewed as incomplete, supplementary, or inefficient. The coronavirus pandemic will surely alter these views and change these perceptions. The major and most ubiquitous impact the COVID-19 pandemic has had on academia and higher education is that the innovations leading to their digitalization, which would normally have taken months or perhaps years under normal circumstances (mostly due to the red tape and the administrative and legal regulations) were promptly solved and introduced in a matter of weeks or even days. The K-12 and higher education sectors have turned out to already have all the tools necessary for online lectures, teleconferencing, and digital open books exams, but they had been reluctant to exploit them and unleash their full potential, perhaps waiting for better days or a more suitable time in the future.

The coronavirus pandemic struck unexpectedly and forced academic stakeholders to act quickly. Most of them appear to have reacted well.

However, the intriguing question is whether the K-12 and higher education sectors are going to return to what one can call the “offline status quo” after the pandemic is resolved. The longer this shutdown lasts, the smaller the probability is that the digital revolution in K-12 and higher education will be reversed after things return to normal.

When addressing international student mobility, the pandemic will bring its consequences as well. Going abroad to study is going to become more expensive and cumbersome (at least temporarily, at least for several months to several years following the COVID-19 pandemic). Many potential international pupils and students at both the K-12 and university levels will reconsider their options and perspectives. In the future, one would tend to think twice before embarking on a long trip abroad to spend several years in a school or college for bringing home a foreign diploma. Online education tools are going to become ubiquitous and effective, allowing one to study at prestigious universities from the far corners of the world at a margin of the traditional tuition fees. However, these changes are going to provide some new currents and innovations for the further development of education and international student mobility in the years to come.

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International Schools and Educational Programs: A Critical Analysis from a Cultural Perspective

Muhammet Ü. Öztabak

Scientific, technological, and economic developments in one part of the world also affect the other parts. The factors increasing the speed, severity, and prevalence of this effect are as follows: increased power of the financial oligarchy as a result of the development of information technologies, the overreaching production and dissemination of information, the development of trade through the development and spread of transportation vehicles, quicker and cheaper access to the market, financial markets' ties through information and the concentration of capital in some multinational companies, the development of the culture manufacturing industry, the feeling of inferiority among intellectuals and people of underdeveloped countries, and the establishment of colonial consciousness (Çınar, 2006, p. 125).

Globalization is a comprehensive concept that includes increased economic, technological, political, and cultural relations among groups, countries, and regions; more mutual interactions; and weakening of

M. Ü. Öztabak (✉)

Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University, Istanbul, Turkey

e-mail: muhammetoztabak@gmail.com

national borders through unlimited developments and processes, agreements, and sanctions that accordingly develop global society and citizenship awareness (Karabağ, 2006). Globalization means that the ties and interdependencies among countries have gotten tighter and nation-states have moved away from being the basic unit in economic, social, and cultural fields. In this process, the global significantly affects the local and national, most of the time even playing a decisive role. Although this effect is not always unilateral, it does have the potential to affect daily functioning and life all over the world, including all elements of the strong and dominant global education system (Karip, 2005).

The globalization process is primarily shaped by the interests of the United States of America and Europe and their affiliated multinational companies and financial resources. These interests are imposed on societies under the name of multiculturalism. Globalization enables these companies to spread all over the world in a way that increases the effect of cultural hegemony. Societies attempt to adopt the culture produced through the cinema industry, social media tools, fashion, music industry, and various branches of the arts. Thus, national textures and national identities have become worn out, weakened, and been attempted to be destroyed. Global powers have declared war on the national and have become allies with every anti-national thought. In order for nations to survive, they need common values that can sustain them and provide unity and solidarity. With globalization, schools are asked to raise people who produce and consume in accordance with market conditions as opposed to people who produce virtues, ideals, and values.

The main problems arising through globalization can be listed as follows: forcing countries' unitary structures toward multiculturalism, weakening national identity and national resistance, increasing the importance of English instead of a nation's mother tongue, highlighting education and training in a foreign language that creates global intellectual dependence, isolating individuals and social groups from society (i.e., regarding the individual as independent of society), transferring a certain extent of sovereign rights to global powers, making concessions to multinational companies and struggling against nation-states, weakening citizenship awareness, increasing the brain drain in globalized countries, making consumption preferences based on the goods and services produced by dominant economies, and uniformizing over a range from music to clothing and diet. Yinger (1994) defined the overcrowding of nations as new tribalism. The emphasis on tribe, community,

sect, clan, and ethnic bigotry has emerged as the negative cultural effects of globalization (as cited in Erkal, 2016). The responsibility of raising well-equipped individuals who are resistant to the negative effects of this economic and cultural gristmill makes education even more important.

Various parallelisms and similarities can be seen among countries' education systems as a result of cultural influences or adoption of similar policies, as well as from being a natural result of cultural interaction. Many innovations such as international electronic universities, diploma and certification programs, interactive distance education systems, e-libraries and electronic databases, and mobile phone applications have become widespread; the concept of e-learning has developed, increasing individuals' self-learning opportunities and options. The absence of electronic borders among countries has increased and accelerated communication, information sharing, cultural exchange, and permeability; as a result, the dominant powers and paradigms have become widespread throughout the world.

The dominant presentation of the idea that the development of national education systems and programs should be according to universal education models is sufficient to explain the impact of globalization on education. In accordance with this thesis, concepts have formed such as universal culture, global education, and global citizenship; individuals are asked to grow up this way, and even states are asked to shape their education policies in accordance with these universal norms. However, the fields of education, culture, and defense are critical areas related to national sovereignty and not allowing others to interfere in a state's own policies should be seen as the most natural right of every nation.

While nations attempt to raise individuals to have their own national values with more local content, they may however fall into the dilemma of having to raise world citizens with universal values who can approach others' values with tolerance. Achieving the balance between local and global education does not appear easy. As Dale (2000, p. 428) stated, "Universal culture means modern Western culture." Education is used as a tool of global competition; while the dominant actors of globalization impose this education on weaker nations, these nations also try to protect themselves from the negative effects of globalization.

Globalization shows its effects on the world's education systems and schools just as in every other field. The economic structures that have become globalized and multinational also increase the expectations from nations' education systems. Behind these expectations lies the desire to

increase the quality of manpower. The fact that schools raise individuals who can meet the expectations of business fields in society also reveals new quests. The implementation of international diploma programs in schools is considered a reflection of this quest. In addition to the programs preparing to be implemented in national education systems, international programs have been prepared and implemented by various organizations in the world in thousands of schools in many countries.

Today, the international school and education sector is highly developed and diversified. International schools are often schools established by the country of origin in the territory of another country. The concept of international education is also quite broad. Local schools that implement an international diploma or certificate program together with international schools are also included in the scope of international education. Schools that implement an international diploma and certificate program are accredited by the institutions that develop these programs. The level of international culture in these schools also varies from school to school. While some schools adopt a mixed approach in terms of language and culture, others can organize all their education in a foreign language. International schools operate in different ways depending on their founders, missions, and whether they are for-profit. For example, Hayden and Thompson (2013) described three types of international schools (A, B, and C): Type A are the traditional international schools that are non-profit schools for expats' children, Type B schools are ideological international schools with an international understanding and mission that promote a global approach, and Type C schools are non-traditional schools that provide for-profit educational services mostly for the children of the local elite (Hayden & Thompson, 2013). The main feature of the Types B and C schools is that students receive education centered on culture other than their own. Although the concerns about education belonging to another culture in higher education are limited, having children and youth at the K-12 level who are still in the early stages of identity development be educated in another cultural structure raises various concerns.

The analyses in this section include schools operating at the K-12 level regardless of their international school status that offer education programs to their students in a language other than their mother tongue and outside the local curriculum of the country in which they are located. This article will critically evaluate international programs around the debates on universality, global citizenship, cultural imperialism, and cultural hegemony.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

International education has emerged as a concept that aims to raise citizens with common values. In this context, international education is also stated to serve important purposes such as establishing world peace and ensuring the recognition of different cultures. According to Cambridge and Thompson (2004), international education is a transferred national education system that serves people who come from or live in a different country as well as the citizens of the host country. According to Walker (2002), international education is a learning environment where students read a multilingual, multicultural, and global-oriented curriculum. The aim of international education is to provide the diversity desired for improving the human condition by promoting understanding and respect for oneself and other cultures, promoting knowledge of global problem areas, recognizing the benefits of a humanistic education, and sharing an understanding of the human condition with others.

Parallel to these goals, international education was hoped would change national and racial prejudices after World War II, leading to the development of better world citizens, revealing the causes of war, and ensuring world peace. In this way, individuals would have certain attitudes and values such as international understanding, tolerance, respect, and cooperation for solving global and international problems (i.e., to create a better world). The aim in giving international education programs to national schools was to prevent international and national conflicts (Kieran, 2005).

In practice, many international curricula have traditional structures emphasizing certain forms of knowledge and valuing certain skills while not widely valuing interpersonal skills or interpersonal understanding. The aims of international education are related to international understanding and knowledge as well as perceptions and attitudes of international-mindedness and world-mindedness for developing global citizenship. According to Walker (2002), these terms enable people to live together in harmony and therefore should be called interpersonal or intercultural values.

International schools use the international education curriculum for students in a wide range of countries. They do not comply with the national curriculum of the country in which they are located. While the vast majority of students in international schools have in the past been immigrants, this is no longer the case. This is because the citizens of the

host country want their children to learn another language and receive an international education (Mark, 2011).

Implementing an international curriculum enables students to understand the priorities of other nations, promotes an understanding of different national characteristics and behaviors, and examines issues that transcend national borders such as environmental issues, health and safety, economics, and politics. Thus, this implementation is expected to demonstrate a genuine awareness of the interdependence and appreciation of other cultures from a global perspective. Therefore, the product of a successful international education is international mindedness (Hill, 2012a). International mindedness can be defined as an openness and curiosity toward people of the world and other cultures and an effort to reach a deep level of understanding of the complexity and diversity of human interactions. Although this term is not commonly encountered outside of IB, basic concepts such as multilingualism, intercultural understanding, and global participation can define the conceptual framework of what international mindedness means (Castro et al., 2013). A universally agreed-upon definition should be noted to not exist. Therefore, no effective tool exists for assessing international mindedness or the effectiveness of school practices.

International Baccalaureate (IB) is one of the influential institutions in international education and is known for bringing international mindedness to the fore in international education with its first emphasis being on intercultural understanding. Promoting international awareness became evident when IB first introduced it through the Diploma Program (DP). When international mindedness was first introduced through DP in the 1960s, IB focused on “providing intercultural understanding, awareness of global issues, critical thinking skills, education for all individuals, and a world-class university entrance qualification” (Hill, 2012b, p. 251).

Looking at the IB system today, international mindedness is seen to be based on three dimensions: multilingualism, intercultural understanding, and global engagement. These dimensions are embedded in the IB learner profile. Multilingualism means being able to speak more than two languages; intercultural understanding means individuals’ abilities to understand their own culture and perceptions of other cultures, to negotiate between the two, and to develop positive attitudes toward others; global participation refers to growing up as responsible citizens by developing an understanding of global issues. Attitudes toward international mindedness can also be developed through a curriculum that

includes learning and teaching practices enriched with international and intercultural experiences (Bailey & Harwood, 2013).

When looking at the international accreditation institutions related to education in the world, these institutions can be seen to be grouped under two different categories (Gedikli, 2020):

1. Curriculum accreditation is most common (e.g., IB, Cambridge programs).
2. Education system accreditation is most common (Council of International Schools [CIS], Central Agency for Schools Abroad [ZfA], The Agency for French Education Abroad [AEFE], Council of British International Schools [COBIS]).

International Baccalaureate (IB)

International Baccalaureate (IB) was originally established in 1968 as the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) in Geneva, Switzerland. The Middle Years Program (MYP) was put into practice in 1994 within the scope of IB, which was initially implemented at the high school level within the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (DP). Later, the Primary Years Program (PYP) was put into practice in 1997 and the Career-Related Program in 2012 (IB, 2021). Their mission is to create a better world with an education program that develops the intellectual, individual, emotional, and social skills required by the changing world. They define their aim as “raising world citizens who will contribute to world peace, have self-confidence, self-discipline and high-level thinking skills, adopt lifelong learning, are aware of their responsibilities, and know and understand different cultures” (IB, 2021). These programs aim to encourage students around the world to be active, compassionate, lifelong learners who understand that other people have the right to be different (IB, 2021).

IB interacts with more than 1.4 million students between the ages of 3–19 in more than 5400 schools in 158 countries (IB, 2021). Students are offered four educational programs, with a total of more than 7300 programs being offered around the world. Of these programs, 50.6% (3699) are offered in the United States; 28.1% (2057) in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East; and 21.3% (1561) in the Asia-Pacific (IB, 2021). IB-DP is implemented in three languages (i.e., English, French,

and Spanish). However, the program can be adapted in each country according to its culture and needs (IB, 2021).

IB-DP offers students an internationally recognized diploma. In order to have this diploma, one must complete courses in the six course groups the program offers; a long essay on one of these six courses (Extended Essay); an article on the theory of knowledge; and creativity, sports, and social work studies (Creativity, Action, Service). Presented as a hexagon, the main subject groups of the program are language and literature studies, language acquisition, individuals and societies, experimental sciences, mathematics and computer science, and the arts. Each student must successfully complete these courses in order to receive a diploma. The extended essay task aims to enable students to put forth an argument and study that subject in depth, thus understanding an academic discipline. The article on the theory of knowledge aims to make students think about the qualities, similarities, and differences of the knowledge they use in various courses and how knowledge is acquired. The creativity, sports, and social work studies are also a requirement for obtaining a diploma; these studies support students' social development. The aim is to have IB graduates possess 10 characteristics (learner profile): inquirer, knowledgeable, thinker, communicator, principled, open-minded, sensitive, risk-taking, balanced, and reflective (IB, 2021).

Within the scope of IB-DP, exams for determining student success are held in two of the four semesters throughout the year. Except for the courses required by the country in which they live, students study in a foreign language within the scope of the IB-DP program in order to fulfill its international requirements. As part of the program, the homework prepared by the students and the portfolios they fill out in line with various activities throughout the year are evaluated by IB and included in the scope of diploma validity. Students who cannot perform the necessary studies, especially in the activities carried out within the scope of creativity, activity, and service components, are not entitled to receive a diploma. Within the scope of this program, study groups can be formed for students in order to prepare for the exams; they are able to apply up to six hours of study. Social activity studies implemented in IB-DP are not evaluated with a grade (IB, 2021).

Various curriculum management practices are carried out within the framework of IB-DP in order to improve students' academic and social skills. The program includes many additional activities aimed at increasing

teachers' and school administrators' standardization and quality. The program obliges teachers to attend conferences, workshops, and seminars organized by the center in order to measure student success and develop the program throughout the year. Schools implementing the program can apply the measurement and evaluation processes themselves within the framework of the determined standards, as well as participate in the evaluations made by the IB center. The IB center frequently visits schools to inspect the implementation of the program. This situation is seen as an important reinforcement for both teachers and school administrators to keep their program management skills at a high level (Sperandio, 2010, pp. 143–144).

Council of International Schools (CIS)

The Council of International Schools (CIS) defines itself as a membership community working collaboratively to shape international education through professional services to schools, higher education institutions, and individuals committed to high-quality international education. This community includes more than 1360 institutions, including more than 740 schools and 610 colleges and universities representing 122 countries (CIS, 2021).

As a global non-profit membership organization, CIS provides services to primary and secondary schools, higher education institutions, and individuals who share these ideals. These services include the desire to provide students with the knowledge, skills, and abilities to live their lives as citizens of the world and a commitment to high-quality international education (CIS, 2021).

CIS expresses its vision as inspiring the development of global citizens through high-quality international education by connecting ideas, cultures, and educators from all corners of the world. Its members are committed to actively promoting global citizenship. The institution is committed to providing international accreditation in the field of school evaluation and accreditation worldwide, with a focus on the development of students as global citizens (CIS, 2021).

CIS considers all aspects of school life educationally and operationally. It authorizes the adoption, implementation, and use of the IB curriculum in a school. CIS and IB are working together to enable schools to align IB reauthorization visits at the same time as CIS International Accreditation assessment visits.

Agency for French Education Abroad (AEFE)

Established in 1990, the Agency for French Education Abroad (AEFE) is a national public institution under the control of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs. It carries out public service missions related to the education of French children residing outside of France by taking into account organizations' admissions capacities; AEFE contributes to the strengthening of relations between French and foreign education systems as well as the influence of French language and culture. The main purpose of AEFE has been defined at the beginning of the 2020 academic year as serving and promoting a school network of 535 organizations located in 139 countries (AEFE, 2021).

The agency manages all humanitarian and financial assistance provided by the state for the operation of French educational institutions abroad. It recruits, pays, and supports national education personnel (approximately 6500 people) that it appoints to the organizations it directly manages (71) or is associated with by agreement (155). It maintains a policy of continuing education for all staff in the network, including locally contracted staff hired directly by the organizations. AEFE also develops joint systems that strengthen the assets of French education in an international context (AEFE, 2021).

Providing educational assistance to French families in the form of scholarships, the agency offers the Excellence-Major Scholarship to bright foreign students who wish to continue their higher education in France. The network of French educational institutions abroad is said to contribute to the development of French companies operating in the international arena and to the attractiveness of France; AEFE also supports French economic diplomacy (AEFE, 2021).

Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA)

Founded in 1968 and headquartered in Bonn, the Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA) deals with school affairs abroad, with more than 100 employees, more than 50 expert advisors for German as a foreign language, and 16 process facilitators. Around 1200 schools worldwide receive personal and financial support, including 140 German schools, most of which are privately run. ZfA has approximately 452,000

students in subsidized schools abroad, around 84,000 students (20,200 German and 63,800 non-German students) in German schools abroad, and more than 368,000 German students in German Language Diploma (DSD) Schools (ZfA, 2021). These facilities have approximately 2000 teachers in various positions. During their studies abroad, they receive organizational, educational, and financial support from the Overseas Schools Head Office (ZfA, 2021). The focus of the institution is to have students encounter the culture and society of the host country, introduce them to the German language, provide school care for German children abroad, and support Germany as a business and education center (ZfA, 2021).

As can be seen, international diploma institutions have formed a network thanks to the thousands of schools scattered all over the world that put their own language at the center. These institutions act as a kind of World Ministry of Education. They conduct continuous research and development in their centers, develop curricula, and create new educational materials. Because all assessments are made centrally, the diplomas obtained are valid all over the world; many higher education institutions accept students with this accredited diploma without asking for another exam.

GLOBAL EDUCATION AND GLOBAL HEGEMONY

The constant tension between universality and locality is accepted as the main feature of globalization (İçli, 2001). Global political practices and national-local-ethnic conflicts appear as cultural heterogeneity. The central problem of cultural interactions today clearly is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization (Appadurai, 1990). Definitions that assume the titles of global, universal, and international often mediate this homogenization motive.

Universalism holds that scientific truths are valid everywhere in time and space. In other words, it combines the past and the future with the present. The claim of universalism appears as a concept whose reality is questionable when faced with many different cultures. As an umbrella concept, universalism defends the idea that many cultures can unite under the same values. Universalism is often an ideology put forth by those in power to shape the world in their own interests; it actually mediates the imposition of Western cultural forms on a global scale. This cultural

suppression is often presented under the guise of universal values so as to avoid meeting with harsh resistance.

Raising individuals who feel responsible not only for their own country but also for the whole of humanity is to a certain extent among the aims of all education systems. International schools and programs take this concept further and define it as global citizenship. Bates (2012) asked whether global citizenship is possible and if international schools are able to provide it. While global citizenship is not possible in strict legal terms, a number of different possible definitions and categories of global citizenship and global citizenship education are possible in figurative terms. Davies (2006) argued the idea of global citizenship to simply be a metaphor because people cannot be citizens of the world if they are citizens of one country. Thus, Davies asked, “Is global citizenship a fiction, an apparent paradox, or an oxymoron?” (2006, p. 22), stating a reasonable consensus to exist on the importance of global citizenship and knowledge, skills, and behaviors. In fact, he stated that schools have an important role in developing a curriculum and extracurricular program that contributes to the development of global citizenship education.

Schools impose their dominant class cultures, worldviews, and ideas on other layers of society. Thus, society perceives hegemony as a natural, necessary, beneficial, and indispensable condition. Hegemony cannot be achieved by simply using top-down force and pressure. For this reason, subgroups and dominant groups exchange ideas, with even this process continuing by making concessions to the subgroups (Storey, 2009, pp. 80–81). In other words, it in a sense obtains consent from the subgroups. However, the interest of the dominant group is spread widely and presented as being in everyone’s interest. Both the giver and the receiver are satisfied. In this way, consent is generated, and subgroups voluntarily pursue ideals (Gramsci, 2009). International schools and programs, which are mostly supported by state apparatuses, seem to be structured as political institutions that aim to produce such hegemony at the international level. When examining the aims of the educational accreditation institutions mentioned in the previous section, the cultural, diplomatic, and economic functions of these institutions are seen to be clearly expressed.

EDUCATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL ALIENATION

One of the issues that European countries gave the most importance in their colonial practices was opening educational institutions in their own language in the countries they exploited. While the British were opening schools in India, they aimed to raise individuals with an Indian body and a British soul who would meet the needs of the British state and companies. Traces of this tradition can be followed in international educational institutions opened by countries with a colonial past.

In Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*, Crusoe teaches English to Friday after meeting him and determined the language of communication; this can be considered as a reflection of colonial understanding. European states primarily resorted to language exploitation in the overseas countries they occupied. When talking about the position of English today, it would be more accurate to talk about an expansionism, namely of scientific imperialism, which has a certain Anglo-American and European/Western centrist imperial heritage as its background and is a reflection of the same scientific tradition and academic attitude (Phillipson, 1992, p. 82).

Language is a living organism that contains social codes. Language shapes the thought systems of individuals and societies. Language is also a reflection of culture. Language teaching also means teaching culture. Language and culture form an intertwined structure. Therefore, for culture to survive, language must also survive. A reciprocal relationship exists between language and thought: thoughts create language just as language creates thoughts. It can also be said that language education is thought education. This is reason why national values are created, explained, and transferred in the mother tongue. Thanks to a common written and spoken language, unity and solidarity can be achieved.

In education, teaching individuals what meaning they will attribute to the situations they encounter is carried out through character building. Although meanings are mental, they take their roots and importance from the culture in which they are created (Bruner, 1966). While learning a foreign language, students need to be aware of what the elements in that language mean in their own culture so that they can make sense of and rebuild knowledge. In foreign language teaching, cultural differences should be taken into account; in other words, cultural awareness should be created.

Cultural imperialism is the sum of the processes in which a country is oppressed and forced by another country or society that is more powerful in terms of economy, language, and culture; its ruling layer is rendered impotent; and sometimes it is included in the modern world system after compromising its own values and being shaped (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997; as cited in Coluzzi, 2012, pp. 117–118). Linguistic imperialism is the belief that individuals are superior when taught a second language; this belief is embedded in one's mind, attitudes, and hopes. However, linguistic imperialism expresses that a mother tongue lacks this dignity and competence (Ansre, 1979, pp. 12–13). When mentioning linguistic imperialism these days, English comes to mind. Language imperialism views other languages as having a low status and not desired for use in education. It encourages speaking one's own language as the criterion of progressiveness while belittling and deliberately neglecting other languages.

Because the dominant language is also the language of fields such as science, technology, music, fine arts, fashion, and sports, governments and families feel the need to learn the dominant language in terms of developing, coming to a better place in society, and improving their welfare; they make plans to teach the dominant language. This leads to a one-way flow of information, concepts, and words from the dominant language to the local language; as a result, the local language gradually weakens and comes under the influence of the dominant language (Pennycook, 1990).

Teaching a foreign language to children at an early age carries the danger of forming a imitative mass who become alienated from their own culture in the future. What will emerge is a group of people trying to copy the foreign culture whose influence they are under in many areas such as food, clothing, and music; this group may look down on and otherize their own society. As a matter of fact, colonizing the brains of a country's people is more disastrous than colonizing the territory of a country; a country's soil can be saved from being a colony one day, but eroded selves are more difficult to save (Pennycook, 1996). A mentality that has been alienated from its own culture and that transmits from others instead of being fed from its own resources always remains an imitator and loses its originality. The ease of imitation overwhelms the challenge of creativity. Instead of asking new questions, ready answers are preferred. Imitation turns into something imitated over time, and this process is very insidious.

Considering language and culture separately is impossible. Language is the transmitter of culture. While globalization increases interdependence

among countries, it gradually decreases the cultural differences among societies and increases similar tendencies by melting them in a single pot. Economic, political, and cultural standardization can be said to have been created in line with the interests of globalization. One of the most important factors mediating this uniformization is language. Foreign language teaching and multilingual policies in international diploma programs can also be viewed from this perspective. An intensive language and culture transfer takes place when implementing these programs. As a result of these programs, an anxiety about individuals becoming uniform can now be talked about.

Expressing the concept of uniformization, George Ritzer (as cited in Göker, 2015, p. 397) defined McDonaldization as, “McDonald’s represents a paradigm, a prime example of a wide-ranging process. This process, which I call McDonaldization, is the process by which fast food restaurant principles increasingly dominate both American society and other countries around the world.” Ritzer’s thesis on the McDonaldization of Society states that the fast food industry principles pioneered by McDonalds have spread imperialistically and led the whole world toward a uniformization. Fast food, which started as a point of departure for the poor American people to eat and have fun after the war, had to turn to different directions and use different techniques in order to meet expectations over time (Kuzuloğlu, 2009).

People can best express their feelings and thoughts in their mother tongue. Language is not only individuals’ area of existence but also societies’ source of life. The disappearance of a language in the world means the disappearance of the culture and people that it represents. No nation can exist without its language. Those who lose their language also lose their national identity. In this sense, the scope of foreign language education offered by international schools should be carefully regulated.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND BRAIN DRAIN

One of the phenomena that is often brought up with international education programs is brain drain. Brain drain is the situation in which a well-educated, thinking, productive, and qualified workforce goes to another country to do research or work where they are the most productive and does not return to their home country (Kaya, 2003). Various factors such as multinational and international affiliated companies, international employment agencies that provide a large number of skilled labor

flow, many small employment agencies and ethnic networks, the Internet, and the globalized education system are also effective in the functioning of the brain drain mechanism (Sağırılı, 2006, p. 86).

Opinions about the direction of movement of qualified workforce parallel that of the brain drain. Brain drain is a three-way movement from underdeveloped countries to developed countries, from developing countries to developed countries, and from developed countries to other developed countries (Sağırılı, 2006, pp. 13–14). However, the direction of the movement is generally in the form of a chain from underdeveloped countries to developed countries and then to highly developed countries because industrialized countries have a geometrically increased need for scientists, technicians, and experts (Tezcan, 1985, p. 251). According to a UNESCO (2016) report, USA ranks first in the world in terms of student immigration from all over the world, followed by the UK and Australia. The countries with the highest number of student immigrants are China, India, and South Korea.

These days, the experience of brain drain has emerged with the effect education has on social mobility. People have had the opportunity to raise their socioeconomic levels through education and gain status through their profession. This makes studying in developed countries attractive. Human resources that leave a country through brain drain cause an economic loss. Knowledge production, research and development studies, technological development, innovation, and entrepreneurship performance decrease. Brain drain also creates an imbalance in favor of developed countries. While these countries get richer, the dependency of the country sending the workforce increases.

International diploma programs are accredited to universities, and successful students who complete the program are offered greater education and scholarship opportunities in the countries where the program originates. For example, AEFÉ offers attractive scholarships to bright foreign students who wish to continue their higher education in France. Students enrolled in these programs are mostly from families with high socioeconomic status in their communities and generally have high academic achievement. In this respect, international programs function as a kind of recruitment. This means a brain drain in terms of the country where the student is located. In summary, international education programs alongside other factors can be said to facilitate and encourage brain drain.

CONCLUSION

After the destruction from World War II, certain developments were effective in the emergence of globalization in the economic field. These are namely the end of ideological and political polarization, more liberalization trends, the idea of free trade, and the increasing importance of multinational companies, rapid development in production technologies, increased competition, international trade, and the formation of economic alliances (e.g., OECD, IMF, NAFTA, APEC). The phenomenon of globalization first started in the economic field, then spread and showed its effect in political, social, cultural, and educational fields.

States, institutions, and individuals want to adapt to the structural changes that occur with globalization and want to compete with the world. Training the qualified manpower required for this has made international education attractive. Foreign language learning has become a major industry in the world. Student mobility at different levels, especially in higher education, has increased; international program contents have become widespread, and joint projects have been carried out with more institutional cooperation.

This mobility in education has also increased the number of international schools in countries. These schools were opened primarily to provide a better education to the children of families living outside their own countries for diplomacy or trade. As other people in the country over time wanted their children to be educated in these schools, the demand has increased, and the segment addressed by these schools has expanded.

Along with globalization has been an increase in the number of schools implementing international education programs. International education claims that it aims to educate students who are multilingual and multicultural, have common values and world citizen standards, approach different cultures with tolerance, are sensitive to global problems, contribute to world peace, and have international understanding and thoughtfulness. Along with this, phenomena such as cultural corruption, weakening of national identities, standardization, foreign language exploitation, cultural imperialism, brain drain, and global hegemony have emerged.

When looking at the experiences of the twentieth century, once the balance of equality among cultures has deteriorated significantly, cultural interaction appears to turn into cultural imperialism. In the last century, Western cultural imperialism can be said to have created an area of influence for itself through the education systems that were seen as the soft

underbelly of countries and to have supported the spread of the Western worldview in underdeveloped and developing countries. Globalization has also had a destabilizing and accelerating effect on cultural diffusion in this context. The international schools and programs that in a sense emerged as a result of globalization has over time continued to exist as an important and soft tool in the spread and reproduction of global culture.

One of the main purposes of education is to leave a society's own cultural heritage as a healthy legacy for new generations. From this perspective, international education programs can be seen as a risk in terms of how they transform the heritage; however, keeping such concerns at a certain level is accepted, considering that cultures have had international interactions throughout the history of the world and been able to maintain their existence with this change.

One of the most important challenges faced by twenty-first-century education has been to establish the correct balance of locality and universality. This problem is generally approached from three different perspectives. One view advocates locality, other advocates globality, and the alternative view argues both to be interactive. The third of these basic views seems more reasonable than the local–global dilemma and is widely used with the slogan “Think global, act local.” In other words, the third view intends to provide education and training in accordance with local conditions in order to meet the human profile the world needs. This balance can be established by raising individuals who are aware of global problems and needs but adopt their own culture and prioritize producing solutions where they are.

When considering the virtues and risks of international education programs together, having individuals and policy makers approach international programs cautiously and soberly is beneficial. Structuring international education institutions on the basis of respect and equality is important in the twenty-first century. For this reason, international education programs should be expected to show sensitivity to the culture of the countries in which they operate, support the development of students toward their own culture, not impose their own culture beyond promoting it, and show respect for other cultures.

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Exploring International Joint and Dual Degree Programs and Transnational Higher Education: Ideas and Possibilities During COVID-19

Roy Y. Chan

International higher education in the United States, and indeed world-wide, has reached a critical moment (de Wit & Altbach, 2021a) as a result of the ongoing coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic and associated lockdowns (Ammigan et al., 2022; Bergan et al., 2021; Hudzik, 2021). The challenges are most notable with regards to student enrollment and retention, the international mobility of students and scholars, international programs and services, and the increasing reliance on information and communication technologies to connect individuals, institutions, and countries (Bista et al., 2021; Chan et al., 2021; McKeown et al., 2022). These profound challenges are due largely to the fragilities and inequalities across the digital, gender, social and educational lines, that are fundamentally reshaping higher education as a global industry during the pandemic (de Wit & Altbach, 2021b; Kommers & Bista, 2021). While the processes and outcomes of internationalization practices (e.g., teaching and learning modes, admissions, mobility, quality assurance) have been

R. Y. Chan (✉)
Lee University, Cleveland, TN, USA
e-mail: rchan@leeuniversity.edu

widely examined and critiqued (e.g., promoting elitist, hegemonic, and neoliberal agendas), little research has examined the rise of cross-border and transnational higher education (TNHE) programs in the United States and abroad (Jiang, 2021; Lee & Gough, 2020). Furthermore, the number of studies to have currently explored the future of TNHE, and, more specifically, international joint and dual degree programs in the post-COVID-19 era is limited (Bamford, 2020; Ergin & Leal, 2020; Lane et al., 2021; Li & Haupt, 2021).¹

Prior to the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic, international partnerships and international collaborations had received much attention in the field of international and comparative higher education (Altbach et al., 2020; Gatewood, 2020; Lanford, 2020; Oleksiyenko et al., 2020). Historically, the expansion of TNHE in East and Southeast Asia was triggered by the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, which forced many internationally mobile students to return to their home countries (Sutrisno, 2020). Since then, TNHE programs have represented an increasingly legitimate strategy for globally comprehensive research universities in host countries like China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore to engage transnationally as higher education organizations (Lee & Gough, 2020). These special or unique international academic partnerships would serve as one of the following three types: (1) as student exchanges, (2) as cooperative development projects between the Global North and Global South (i.e., capacity building, local development), or (3) as international joint or dual degree programs with largely unidirectional student mobility (Kinser & Lane, 2020). In other words, TNHE has been able to provide a reliable, bona fide education, with a flexible, cost-efficient tuition. TNHE programs can help students obtain international qualifications or degrees that promote transnational learning, collaborative research, and global mobility. TNHE can also play a crucial role in enhancing international strategic planning, global learning, and institutional prestige to help institutions position themselves for a world-class status to improve their academic rankings and to increase the quality of national higher education systems and academic programs worldwide (Oleksiyenko et al., 2021). While the rise of TNHE programs has become a reflection of elitism, populism, and global politics in the era of mass higher education, the ideals and outcomes of these programs have also been questioned

¹ International joint and dual degree programs are also sometimes known as collaborative degree programs or 2 + 2/1 + 1 programmes.

by teacher-scholars and advanced practitioners (American Council on Education [ACE], 2014; Bamford, 2020; Knight, 2013). Furthermore, the impact international joint and dual degree programs can have on internationalizing an academy has received less attention in higher education journals and books (ACE, 2014; Asgary & Robbert, 2010; Council of Graduate Schools, 2010; Kuder et al., 2014; Lane & Kinser, 2014; Merx & Nolan, 2015). Because higher education institutions around the world have enacted travel bans and quarantines, as well as suspended face-to-face teaching as a result of the global pandemic, new research is needed to examine the current and future landscape of TNHE programs and, more specifically, international joint and dual degree programs (Bamford, 2020; Ergin & Leal, 2020; Haupt et al., 2021; Hou, 2020; Krusekopf, 2018; Li & Haupt, 2021; Steagall et al., 2021).

Hence, this chapter explores, examines, and questions the changing landscape of international joint- and dual-degree programs in the COVID-19 era. Using international collaborative degree programs between Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis' (IUPUI) and Sun Yat-sen University's (SYSU) as a case study, this paper investigates the commonalities and disparities of international cross-border collaborative degree programs; the different policy formats, expected outcomes, and programmatic challenges of international joint and dual degrees; and the major governance approaches and regulatory measures that governments and policy leaders have adopted in managing the growing prominence of these unconventional education institutions and programs between the United States and China. The ultimate goal of this research is to address three questions commonly asked in the field of international higher education: (1) What does the current literature suggest the aims, goals, and purposes of international joint and dual degree programs are, (2) How do international joint and dual degree practices align with the academic missions and goals of the home campus, (3) How do the interactions among policies, procedures, and practices differ between the United States and China in relation to the growth of collaborative academic degree programs. Because the goals of internationalization practice in education have changed dramatically to include accessibility and affordability, this paper will have applicability and pertinence beyond the national contexts of the United States and China and includes all types of universities (e.g., public, private, research, liberal, for-profit) as well as university stakeholders interested in TNHE programs at

a time when institutions are scaling back their international ventures due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic (Buckner, 2019).

TRANSNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION (TNHE)

In today's rapidly expanding international education sector, colleges and universities worldwide are providing increased opportunities for global development and engagement (Council of Graduate Schools, 2010; Hudzik, 2021; Lee & Gough, 2020). Notably, the growing number of students studying abroad, the rising number of international joint and dual degree programs, and the proliferation of international branch campuses are only a few of the initiatives reflecting the changing meanings of cross-border and transnational higher education (TNHE) (Bamford, 2020; Hou et al., 2017; Steagall et al., 2021). Knight (2007) defined cross-border education as "the movement of people, programs, providers, curricula, projects, research and services across national or regional jurisdictional borders" (p. 24). Cross-border education facilitates cooperation, cultivates soft power, provides academic exchange opportunities, and enhances public diplomacy (Lee, 2021). It provides students access for studying toward a foreign qualification without leaving their own country, which suggests that education programs and providers can cross national and regional borders.

TNHE (i.e., borderless education) refers to the movement of higher education providers and programs across national borders, which allows students to study in foreign programs without having to leave their home country (Knight & Liu, 2019). TNHE has the capacity to internationalize practices in teaching and learning, encourage inward and upward social mobility for faculty and staff, and foster knowledge transfer and exchange within and between societies (Ergin & Leal, 2020; Zapp & Lerch, 2020). The most common types of TNHE are study abroad exchanges, international joint and dual degree programs, franchising, twinning, branch campuses, and research partnerships (Lee & Gough, 2020). The post-pandemic TNHE landscape has also promoted distance TNHE and international virtual exchange, in which students participate in online courses offered from an awarding institution that has no physical campus in their home country (Krusekopf, 2018; Lee et al., 2021; Li & Haupt, 2021; Sammour et al., 2020). All of these transnational activities have pressured higher education institutions to partner with comprehensive research universities as an effective tool to broaden course offerings,

strengthen research collaboration, and raise the international visibility or institutional prestige of the university (Hou et al., 2017; Hudzik, 2021). In other words, TNHE operates as a foreign institution that delivers educational programs through foreign partners (Sutrisno, 2020). While the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has undoubtedly sparked new questions about the roles and functions of TNHE in regard to nation states and the global public good, scarcity certainly exists in the current literature on assisting teachers-scholars and advanced practitioners interested in developing these rapidly growing programs within the local, national, and international contexts (Bamford, 2020; Ergin & Leal, 2020; Haupt et al., 2021; Kompanets & Väättänen, 2019).

TNHE AND CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION LANDSCAPES

According to the April 2022 report conducted by the Cross Border Education Research Team (C-BERT) at the University of Albany, State University of New York (SUNY), approximately 306 international branch campuses are found to be in operation across 37 countries worldwide. Lane et al. (2021) estimate that there are more than 250 international branch campuses existed during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a student enrollment of approximately 180,000 worldwide as of June 2021. The top five exporters of international campuses are the United States (86), the United Kingdom (43), France (38), Russia (29), and Australia (20); the total number of importing countries is 83 (C-BERT, 2020). While international campuses have become a salient phenomenon in the efforts to internationalize the academy, the challenges of funding and building such programs are plentiful (Lane & Kinser, 2014; Zapp & Lerch, 2020). A few of the issues scholars have debated and criticized are the intercultural competencies of faculty members (Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017), cultural relevancy of a curriculum (Knight & Liu, 2019), and quality assurance of programs and services (Blanco, 2021; Hou, 2020).

Historically, the concept of cross-border and TNHE (e.g., student exchange programs, branch campuses, foreign partners, joint partnership programs, regional educational hubs) was coined in 1919 when Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root, and Stephen Duggan, Sr. established the Institute of International Education (IIE) with the strong belief that the United States would be unable to acquire peace unless greater understanding of foreign nations were achieved (Goodman & Ruland, 2013). Specifically, Carl Joachim Friedrich became recognized as the first student

to study abroad in the United States, when he asked IIE in the early 1920s to offer educational fellowships abroad so 13 German students could study the social and political sciences (Goodman & Ruland, 2013). Since then, Friedrich's vision has expanded with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) joining forces with the IIE in 1925 to provide international exchange opportunities to nearly 100,000 students, scholars, and alumni each year (Kuder et al., 2014). Today, TNHE has become an integral part of the internationalization strategy in higher education as a result of the rising middle-class economies (Buckner, 2019; Li & Haupt, 2021). Both the DAAD and IIE are leaders in supporting and promoting the development of international education and transnational networks among institutions.

This is most notable in mainland China, where the forces of globalization, alongside the rise of nationalism and populism, have been at the forefront of the policy debate during the COVID-19 pandemic (Jiang, 2021; Yang, 2020). The recent developments in globalizing and internationalizing Chinese higher education have fueled several institutions' pursuit of transnational education activities through collaborative degree programs (also known as "international joint and dual degree programs") offered by foreign institutions (Yu, 2020). For example, during the COVID-19 lockdown, NYU Shanghai served more than 3000 Chinese students who were not able to reach the United States as originally intended (Lane et al., 2021). A recent internal survey by the College Board finds that the United States is still the leading educational destination of choice among Chinese students (Blumenthal, 2021). China has invested significantly in its higher education system, moving from an elitist to a massified model (Zhang, 2021). As Min (2004) observed, higher education has experienced structural reforms ranging from governance, curriculum design, and financing to adopting strategies for developing world-class research universities. The Chinese Ministry of Education (MOE) (2010) has proposed a series of policy reform initiatives (e.g., Project 211, Project 985), for elevating its university system to a world-class status. Today, 116 institutions are classified as Project 211 and 39 universities are Project 985.

Project 211 and Project 985 were established to increase international competition and global competitiveness in China's most elite research universities, with special attention being given to the top 39 comprehensive research universities. The goal of accomplishing such a policy agenda was further realized by establishing the *National Outline for Medium-*

and Long-Term Education Reform and Development 2010–2020, wherein MOE outlined the need to develop universities “at or near a world-class level... and have significantly enhance international competitiveness by 2020” (MOE, 2010, p. 5). This prompted the Chinese government to create a new project called “World Class 2.0” for forming hubs for international collaboration with overseas universities (Cao & Yang, 2019). In other words, China has launched several policy initiatives as part of the nation’s pursuit of economic liberalization and its desire to pursue neoliberal economic reforms (Jiang, 2021; Yang, 2021; Zhang, 2021). While China’s main competitors (i.e., India, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Vietnam) have invested in large and differentiated higher education systems, one of the most significant policy initiatives has been the rise of international joint and dual degree programs (i.e., collaborative academic degrees) (Bamford, 2020; Chan, 2012; Haupt et al., 2021; Hou, 2020; Hou et al., 2016; Nguyen et al., 2021; Xu & Liu, 2022).

INTERNATIONAL JOINT AND DUAL DEGREE PROGRAMS

Before the global COVID-19 pandemic, local governments had pressured higher education leaders to establish a global strategy for their institutions due to reductions in state funding that cause them to seek out additional revenue and talent to achieve comprehensive internationalization (ACE, 2015; Council of Graduate Schools, 2010; Kuder et al., 2014; Lane & Kinser, 2014; Zapp & Lerch, 2020). ACE (2021) defines comprehensive internationalization as “a strategic, coordinated framework that integrates policies, programs, initiatives, and individuals to make colleges and universities more globally oriented and internationally connected” (p. 1). Faculty members and campus leaders sought to foster comprehensive internationalization by facilitating transnational education, specifically international joint and dual degrees, as a vehicle for fostering international mobility (student, faculty, and staff) and for moving beyond academic-level collaborations (Bamford, 2020; Steagall et al., 2021). Joint degree programs are stand-alone programs where the student remains enrolled at two institutions in different countries (Knight, 2011). Students who complete joint degrees receive a single diploma or credential issued by the host institution (ACE, 2014). For example, at IUPUI, joint degrees would “involve collaboration by an IU academic unit and a partner institution to offer a degree program that neither would have the resources to offer without combining expertise and instruction; upon completion of a

joint degree program, both institutions' names appear on the diploma" (IU Global, 2021). However, students who enroll in dual degrees receive two separate credentials from the two partner institutions involved in an existing degree program (Hou, 2020). One should note that the term "joint/dual degree programs" should not be confused with student exchange programs or virtual exchange, as these programs are study abroad rather than degree-seeking programs (Kinser & Lane, 2020).

In general, international joint and dual degrees have a variety of goals and purposes (Chevallier, 2013; Council of Graduate Schools, 2010; Kuder et al., 2014; Knight, 2011, 2013, 2015; Krusekopf, 2018; Lafleur, 2018; Lane & Kinser, 2014). Goodman and Ruland (2013) highlighted these programs' intentions as cultivating strong global partnerships, attracting top talents, and promoting mobility of students. Goodman and Rulan believe that collaborative degree programs play an important role in the internationalization strategies of higher education where both undergraduate and graduate students seek to differentiate their learning pathways and broaden their minds and skills for a global marketplace. Table 1 summarizes the purpose and function of international joint and dual degree programs in the global landscape of higher education.

Table 1 Purpose and function of international joint and dual degree programmes

<i>Academic</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Political</i>
To raise institutional recognition and prestige	To acquire human capital (Revenue for institution)	To promote global citizenship and social justice
To enhance quality of education	To meet the demand of the globally competitive knowledge-based economy	To achieve international visibility and reputation in university league tables
To foster academic excellence	To meet the demand of national economy	To promote national identity, culture, and values
To develop intercultural and international awareness	To meet the demand of regional (Asian) economy	To foster regional collaboration and cooperation in The East Asia and The Pacific

As shown in Table 1, international joint and dual degree programs serve three primary purposes: academic, economic, and political. In the academic realm in particular, international joint and dual degrees enhance the quality of teaching and learning, promote academic excellence, and develop intercultural competencies and awareness. In economic terms, international joint and dual degrees meet the demand of the knowledge-based economy, while in terms of politics, they promote national identity and foster collaboration and cooperation with developed and transitional economies (ACE, 2015). In other words, these programs can raise economic development and increase social cohesion. Furthermore, international joint and dual degrees foster upward social mobility as well as promote self-resilience, personal growth, and global citizenship (Culver et al., 2012; Haupt et al., 2021; Yamutuale, 2017). While this list is not all-inclusive, international joint and dual degrees are inevitably on the rise around the world (Bamford, 2020; Krusekopf, 2018).

Statistically speaking, Brenn-White and van Rest (2012) estimated that approximately 6462 joint degree programs exist in Europe. Obst et al. (2011) has estimated that about 100 international joint and dual degrees exist in the United States, while ACE (2014) has estimated about 62 international joint and dual degrees to be present in mainland China. While no accurate data is found on the exact number of international joint and dual degree programs around the world, many collaborative degree programs exist in Europe as a result of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) program which seeks to foster the harmonization of the European higher education system (Curaj et al., 2015; Kompanets & Väättänen, 2019; Obst & Kuder, 2012; Steagall et al., 2021; Zheng et al., 2017).

Globally, more international dual degree programs are found than international joint degree programs (see Table 2).

The large percentage of dual degree programs worldwide likely resulted from the flexibility given to establishing such programs in the host country. Dual degrees are highly flexible because course equivalencies and program requirements do not necessarily need to be aligned with the partnered institutions, due to international dual degrees being awarded individually rather than jointly (Asgary & Robbert, 2010; Bamford,

Table 2 Percentage of international joint and dual degree programs by degree type

<i>Programmes</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
Joint degree programmes	33
Double degree programmes	84
Joint and/or double degree programmes in planning stage or under consideration	68

Source ACE (2014)

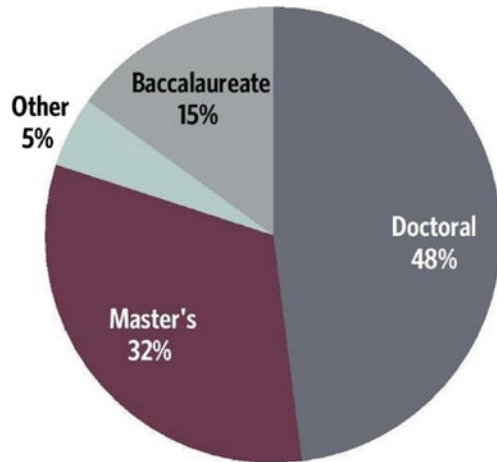
2020). On the other hand, international joint degrees are quite the opposite because they require additional financial resources and institutional agreements (Kinser & Lane, 2020; Knight, 2011; Obst & Kuder, 2012).

Most developing and developed countries that seek to establish international joint degree programs are prevented from creating them due to the legal restrictions and regulations set forth by their respective Ministries of Education. For example, Indonesia and Malaysia have a legal restriction that prohibits institutions of higher education from offering joint degrees (Haupt et al., 2021; Yuki, 2013). In Thailand, all universities must follow strict guidelines for academic cooperation between Thai Higher Education Institution and Foreign Higher Education Institutions. On the other hand, joint degrees at IUPUI are considered new degrees and must be approved by the Board of Trustees. Because of their complexity and the time commitment required for their development and approval, joint degrees are rarely considered by IU academic units (IU Global, 2021). Hence, international dual degree programs are far easier to establish than international joint degrees.

Aside from the quantity of joint and dual degree programs, a large number of international collaborative degree programs, particularly in mainland China, are granted at the doctoral degree level, rather than at the master's and bachelor's degree levels (see Fig. 1).

As shown in Fig. 1, 80% of international joint and dual degree programs in mainland China are at the graduate level, 48% are doctoral degree level programs, and 32% are at the master's degree level. Undergraduate programs make up only 15% of the joint and dual degree programs in mainland China. These graduate and professional programs can help learners acquire a new foreign language, provide them with the opportunity to reside in a developing or developed country for a long

Fig. 1 Percentage of international joint and dual degree programs in China by degree-level type (*Source* American Council on Education, 2014)



period time, and open international employment opportunities that are not readily available in traditional higher education programs (Asgary & Robbert, 2010; Bamford, 2020; Council of Graduate Schools, 2010; Xu & Liu, 2022).

From a faculty and administrator perspective, international dual and joint degree programs are a global strategy for strengthening the institutional relationships with partners abroad, increasing mobility rates, developing globally competent learners, and advancing campus internationalization strategies for continuous multidimensional partnerships (Bamford, 2020; Kinser & Lane, 2020; Lafleur, 2018; Steagall et al., 2021). In addition to deepening relationships with partners overseas, these programs help the home campuses increase graduates' employability, promote knowledge mobilization and transfer, and raise institutional revenue and growth for all constituencies (Culver et al., 2012; Haupt et al., 2021; Lane et al., 2021; Nguyen et al., 2021; Zhang, 2021). Dr. Nina Lemmens, former director of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) office in New York, is quoted as having once said:

International joint and dual degree programs are popular because once they are set up, they give all parties a good sense of security: the two involved universities have gone through an intense procedure of administrative scrutiny and decision-making and can be sure that everybody involved in the university is now positive about the commitment. The students know

Table 3 Benefits of international joint/dual degree programs: home and partner institutions

<i>Home institution</i>	<i>Partner institution</i>
Internationalization of departments/units	Internationalization of departments/units
Research collaboration and opportunity	Research collaboration and opportunity
Enrolment increase	Enrolment increase
Recognition and prestige	Recognition and prestige
English preparation of international students	Foreign language preparation of the United States students
Broadening course offerings	Broadening course offerings
Increase diversity among students	Increase diversity among students

exactly what they are buying into and don't have to undergo the sometimes very difficult process of credit acknowledgment on their own. (West, 2015)

In other words, international collaborative academic degree programs strengthen the relationships between the host and sending countries and serve as a strong marketing tool for attracting foreign talent (Kinser & Lane, 2020; Kuder et al., 2014; Obst & Kuder, 2012). The benefits of these programs from the different standpoints of the home and partner institutions are summarized below (Table 3).

Case Study: The Joint/Dual Degree Programs Partnership for IUPUI and SYSU

This paper uses Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis (IUPUI), and Sun Yat-sen University (SYSU) as the case study for understanding the historical, political, and social dimensions of international dual degree programs between the United States and mainland China. Indiana University's partnership with SYSU was started in 2007 when IUPUI first initiated an alliance with SYSU. Today, more than 400 SYSU students and 200 SYSU scholars from China study and/or work at the IUPUI campus each year (IUPUI Office of International Affairs, 2021). IUPUI-SYSU has offered several transnational higher education courses and programs that include collaborative research projects, dual degree programs, facilitated transfer arrangements, and student

exchanges. IUPUI-SYSU also had plans to initiate a joint master's degree program in Philanthropic Studies, but plans were immediately scratched due to the ongoing worldwide coronavirus pandemic. The following section provides an overview of the two institutions.

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

IUPUI was founded in 1969 when Indiana University and Purdue University joined forces to create a leading urban research institution dedicated for education, research, health and life sciences, and community engagement (IUPUI, 2014). Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar, one of the most influential leaders in establishing IUPUI, firmly believed that a world-class city must have a university that serves the city, state, and beyond. IUPUI's first mission was to "serve the citizens of this State and Nation with excellence in teaching, diversity in research, and full application towards the solving of community problems" (IUPUI, 2014, p. 3). Since its founding, IUPUI has achieved remarkable growth in terms of student enrollment, diversity, access, governance, curriculum, and academic standards. IUPUI has also recently tripled its number of international students from 606 foreign students in 1999 to 1850 foreign students in 2020 (IUPUI Office of International Affairs, 2020).

Today, IUPUI offers degrees in Global and International Studies, has developed an international videoconferencing facility for overseas communication, and has worked on the *Global Cities Initiatives: A Joint Project of Brookings and JP Morgan Chase* on international trade and economic development (O'Meara & Peck, 2019). IUPUI is one of the few institutions by the American Council on Education (ACE) that has completed the 2012–2014 ACE Internationalization Laboratory and has received the prestigious 2009 Andrew Heiskell Award from the Institute of International Education (IIE) (IUPUI, 2014).

As of today, IUPUI has five main international partnerships: (1) Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China; (2) Trisakti University in Jakarta, Indonesia; (3) EM Strasbourg Business School in Strasbourg, France; (4) Moi University in Eldoret, Kenya; and (5) University of the State of Hidalgo in Pachuca, Mexico. Among those programs, IUPUI offers three types of international joint and dual degree programs: (1) dual undergraduate degree (2 + 2) (2 years in China and 2 years in United States), (2) dual master's degree (1 + 1), and (3) joint degrees (IU Global, 2021). Approximately 95% of its transnational degree

programs are dual degrees, with only two joint degrees active: (1) global MBA degree between the Indiana University Kelley School of Business and University of Manchester,² and (2) M.S. degree in finance between Indiana University Kelley School of Business and Tsinghua University.³ The university's current chancellor is Nasser H. Paydar, who has been widely credited and praised as the first higher education leader to launch the Indiana University China Office in 2015, as part of the IU Global Gateway Network. The gateway offices support scholarly research and teaching, conferences and workshops, study abroad programs, distance learning initiatives, executive and corporate programs, and alumni events (IUPUI Office of International Affairs, 2021).

Sun Yat-Sen University

SYSU was founded in 1924 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the Guangdong Province of China. Dr. Yat-sen was the first president and founding father of the Republic of China and believed that a great university must have a vibrant community of teaching and scholarship characterized by its revolutionary spirit. Today, SYSU is a comprehensive research university with an enrollment of over 50,000 undergraduate and graduate students in its five campuses in Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Zhuhai. SYSU's mission is "to advance knowledge and educate students in arts, science, technology, and other academic areas that will best serve the nation and the world in the twenty-first century" (SYSU Website, 2021). The University adheres to the socialist orientation of higher education, focusing on the fundamental task of nurturing virtue and talents. SYSU is the only university to have established a Center on Philanthropy in Mainland China in

² The Kelley–Manchester Global MBA Program offers students the opportunity to earn two MBAs, one from the Kelley School in the United States, and one from the Alliance Manchester Business School in the United Kingdom. The joint MBA program provides students with professional development and a global literacy that enables them to succeed in today's complex and interconnected business world.

³ Tsinghua University in China and the Kelley School of Business offer a joint MS in Finance. The program is taught in both Chinese and English, focusing on global financial rules and regulations.

partnership with the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. SYSU is a member of Project 985 and Project 211 and has been consistently ranked in the top 10 universities in mainland China.⁴

IUPUI-SYSU: OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL JOINT/DUAL DEGREE PROGRAMS

IUPUI-SYSU currently offers six dual degree programs and no joint degree programs. Specifically, all six of the dual degree programs between IUPUI and SYSU are at the undergraduate level held at the Indianapolis campus. The six dual degree programs are: (1) B.S. in business, (2) B.S. in media arts and sciences, (3) B.S. in public affairs, (4) B.S. in mechanical engineering, (5) B.S. in mathematics, and (6) B.S. in computer science. The Indiana University system has a total of 23 dual degree programs and no joint degree programs. Of the 23 dual degrees, six of the dual degree programs are held at SYSU in partnership with IUPUI. The other 17 dual degree programs are at the flagship campus of Indiana University Bloomington. Of the 23 dual degree programs at Indiana University, 22 should importantly be noted as bring from Asia and only one from Europe. Additionally, of the 23 dual degree programs, 17 are at the graduate level, and 6 are at the undergraduate level. All six of the undergraduate dual degree programs are at SYSU. In turn, SYSU offers about 24 international joint and dual degree programs.⁵ Of the 24-joint and dual degrees, eight are with the United States and twelve are with the European Union.

⁴ See, for instance, the Academic Ranking of World Universities: <http://www.shanghairanking.com/World-University-Rankings-2020/China.html>. Also see Times Higher Education Rankings: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/best-universities/best-universities-china>.

⁵ The 24 cross-border collaborative academic degree programs are with the following university partners (in no specific order): Carnegie Mellon University, Johns Hopkins University, Northern Illinois University, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Oklahoma State University, University of Cincinnati, University of Virginia, Vermont Law School, Lancaster University, University of Strasbourg, Griffith University, University of Surrey, University of Birmingham, University of Waterloo, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, ETH Zurich, Grenoble Institute of Technology, Institute Mines-Telecom, Chimie ParisTech, Rotterdam School of Management, University of Technology Sydney, University of Alberta, Lingnan University, and the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

PERSPECTIVES, ISSUES, AND OPPORTUNITIES

The IUPUI-SYSU collaborative academic degree program serves as an excellent model other institutions around the world could consider when establishing and creating international dual degree programs during the COVID-19 era. IUPUI-SYSU is considered one of the first dual degree programs between the United States and Mainland China prior to the great economic recession in 2009. IUPUI enrolls a large proportion of international students, with a total of 1850 foreign students during the 2019–2020 academic year (IUPUI Office of International Affairs, 2020). Its flagship campus, Indiana University Bloomington, enrolled 6331 international students and was ranked with the top 35 receiving institutions among doctoral-granting universities in the United States (Institute of International Education, 2020). Similarly, SYSU enrolled 4183 foreign students around the world during the 2019–2020 academic year (U.S. News Report, 2021). While the program is strong in terms of policy structure and enrollment, one of the challenges facing the dual programs is the incorporation of the IUPUI General Education Core. The IUPUI ACE Internationalization Laboratory Report (ACE, 2014) states that the “Development of 2 + 2 agreements with international institutions have become more challenging since the curricula must be designed to incorporate the IUPUI General Education Core” (p. 169). This result is not surprising as the survey by ACE (2014) indicated that general education requirements are one of the biggest challenges U.S. institutions face when working with foreign institutions.

In addition to general education policy requirements, IUPUI has also experienced academic challenges and issues pertaining to housing and accommodation for international students in Indianapolis, IN. According to the IUPUI laboratory report (ACE, 2014), institutional leaders expressed concerns that SYSU students who enroll in dual degree programs will likely not find on-campus accommodation at IUPUI. The IUPUI laboratory report predicted that “beginning next year, there could be an additional 200 students from Sun Yat-Sen University (SYSU) under the 2 + 2 agreements with various schools at IUPUI” (p. 165). Because IUPUI is designed as a commuter school rather than as a residential campus, the lack of on-campus housing for Chinese students will likely pose a significant challenge for a long-term successful partnership.

A third challenge outlined in the IUPUI laboratory report (ACE, 2014) is the lack of U.S. faculty members and staff working at SYSU.

Specifically, the IUPUI laboratory report expressed concerns that some IUPUI faculty members and/or staff are resistant to conducting collaborative research projects with China, likely due to a misalignment of their viable scholarly interests, or fear of losing access to Western archives at their home institution. The IUPUI (ACE, 2014) report also indicated that a large number of IUPUI scholars and staff have never traveled to China, much less to SYSU, to assist with the development process of their dual degree program. This policy challenge is not at all surprising given that the ACE (2014) survey found that a small percentage (15%) of American faculty, staff, and students reside in dual degree partner institutions. IUPUI (ACE, 2014) concluded in its report that the university should hire a U.S. liaison to represent IUPUI in Guangzhou, which could help the institution further cultivate and sustain key relationships with faculty members and staff at SYSU, and “[maximize] enrollment through the Sun Yat-sen University 2 + 2 programs” (p. 169).

CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights the growing complexities and nuances of developing international joint and dual degree programs during the COVID-19 era. Specifically, this chapter outlines the juxtaposition between the policy positions of implementing international joint and dual degree programs and collaborations and cooperation among and within stakeholders. While a common consensus and understanding exists on inter-institutional collaborative degree programs, the lack of institutional rules, rituals, and policies in place, as well as cultural differences and preferences, is a major source of concern when developing future international joint and dual degree programs. As Bamford (2020) noted:

The complexities of student experiences are evidenced both in terms of the students’ differing cultural backgrounds and their responses to the challenges of different cultural encounters in the classroom and with regard to the cultural experience of participating in an international joint double degree, such as navigating different national cultures and different pedagogic approaches. (p. 139)

Needless to say, this chapter seeks to provide institutional leaders and policy leaders with policy-relevant information in the world of TNHE, especially considering the greater interest in international joint and dual

degree programs during the COVID-19 pandemic. While this chapter is not meant to be exhaustive by any means, it does pinpoint that no two dual or joint degree programs are identical or even similar. Instead, each international collaborative degree program serves different purposes, functions, and meanings in the global landscape of higher education, and those differences vary by type, location, size, and prestige of each institution.

Future research should examine the impact international joint and dual degree policies have on internationalizing higher education, the role international joint and dual degrees have in shaping the internationalization of curriculum, the value that is added for students who complete cross-border collaborative degree programs, and the effects of outward and inward mobility scholarship programs (e.g., China's National Merit Scholarship) on access to and completion of joint and dual degrees (Bamford, 2020; Jiang, 2021; Li & Haupt, 2021). Additionally, new collaborative research that uses advanced quantitative or qualitative research methods is vastly needed in order to understand the academic policies regarding course equivalencies, credit transfers, grading/evaluation methodologies, and general education requirements); the institutional policies regarding accreditation policies and procedures, quality assurance standards, articulation agreements, study abroad programs, and student exchange agreements; and the campus policies regarding academic freedom, academic integrity, faculty, and student expectations, health and safety, and off-campus housing, all in relation to international joint and dual degree programs (Hou et al., 2016; Zheng et al., 2017). This research is also essential for communicating policy-relevant information to policy leaders, international consultants, and social entrepreneurs during and after the COVID-19 pandemic (McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020).

RECOMMENDATIONS: POLICIES AND APPLICATIONS

Given the ongoing restrictions and uncertainties of the COVID-19 pandemic, this paper illustrates that measuring the effectiveness and sustainability of international joint and dual degree programs is a major source of concern (Lafleur, 2018; Zhang, 2022). As recommended by Li and Haupt (2021), however, "higher education institutions should envision TNE as a central segment of international higher education in the post-pandemic era, given that student mobility is expected to take years to recover" (para. 4). Hence, the benefits of evaluating and

critiquing the policy formation of international collaborative degree programs like IUPUI-SYSU may be crucial to further assist policymakers and institutional leaders in developing these programs during and after the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic, as evident in Yu's (2020) and Ergin and Leal's (2020) studies. Below are five recommendations university leaders and policymakers should consider when developing international joint and dual degree programs during the COVID-19 era.

1. *Establish clear expectations and maintain shared governance on general education requirements:* As evidenced by the discussion concerning general education requirements, greater communication about curricular expectations should be fostered. Dual and joint degrees pose reputational risks to both IUPUI and SYSU and, therefore, must be carefully evaluated. Higher education leaders in SYSU should clearly communicate their intended goals, purposes, and missions that align with the IUPUI General Education Core (Gallagher, 2021). At the same time, IUPUI should consider hiring an academic advisor or coach who can meet with students remotely to ensure that students enrolled in the dual degree program complete their general education requirements (Arshakian & Wang, 2017). Degree-granting collaborative programs should be a two-way street, meaning that both institutions are working together between faculty members and staff (Chevallier, 2013). A roadmap from the Office of International Affairs may be helpful to ensure communication flows smoothly between the two universities (West, 2021).
2. *Improve communication between academic affairs and student affairs offices concerning international student housing:* As evidenced by the discussion concerning international student housing, institutions should ensure that the necessary resources and infrastructure are in place to meet future needs. Because IUPUI is classified as a commuter, non-residential campus, higher education leaders should consider establishing key partners with several hospitality agencies or hostels across the state of Indiana to ensure that students could pursue their dual degree program at or near the campus (Lafleur, 2018). IUPUI should consider developing relationships with external partners, donors, or venues who has the capacity to fund and house a growing number of Chinese students in Indianapolis (IUPUI Office of International Affairs, 2020).

3. *Create policies that foster inter-institutional collaboration and cooperation:* Higher education institutions in the United States and China should actively collaborate with national governments and organizations in the policy design, implementation, and operation of international joint and dual degree programs (Conner-Rondot, 2017; Lafleur, 2018). Specifically, campus leaders from IUPUI should collaborate with the international offices, general counsels, faculty members, and upper-level administrators at SYSU in determining appropriate university policies and procedures for their dual degree programs (Gallagher, 2021). The memorandum of understanding (MOU) approved by the IUPUI president should establish, identify, and clarify the rationales, goals, and purposes of such partnership with key governmental level actors (Appendix A). This requires IUPUI and SYSU to hold deep, frank conversations on several policy alternatives, including issues with accreditation standards and quality assurance policies, enrollment planning policies and management procedures, and legal regulatory procedures and practices (Hou et al., 2016, 2017). However, achieving this policy outcome or agenda requires senior leaders and governmental actors to possess a flexibility and adaptability to be able to address what may not be originally planned or scheduled in the partnership or MOU agreement (Zheng et al., 2017). The IUPUI laboratory report (ACE, 2014) emphasized the need to “build a critical mass of IUPUI faculty prepared to engage in international research and collaboration through best practices in international partnerships” (p. 29).
4. *Create a top-down approach to policy decisions:* Institutional leaders (the president, deans, chairs, coordinator, senior international officers) at both IUPUI and SYSU should implement top-down elements into their policy decision-making processes, rather than bottom-up approaches, when establishing new proposals to enhance the cross-border collaborative degree agreements (Gallagher, 2021). This requires upper-level administrators from both IUPUI and SYSU to remain proactive on both sides through open dialogue and communication so as to prevent any unanticipated growth (Lafleur, 2018). The IUPUI laboratory report (ACE, 2014) stated, “Define the criteria for relationships with other universities to move along the continuum from faculty-to-faculty informal collaboration to a

small number of full and formal university-to-university partnerships, defined by IU as a ‘quality international agreements that have substantial levels of activity’” (p. 29). Namely, international educators should embrace cross-cultural communication when articulating clear institutional policies, procedures, and guidelines for future development. Cross-cultural communication is crucial because any changes during the course of implementation may require face-to-face or at the very least online dialogue. By developing mutually beneficial collaborations and relationships, international educators from both IUPUI and SYSU can work together with a shared mission and goal to further the commitment of their inter-institutional collaborative partnership (Chevallier, 2013; Gatewood, 2020; Lanford, 2020).

5. *Engage with governmental associations and governmental agencies:* Institutional leaders from IUPUI and SYSU should work with international higher education governmental associations (e.g., ACE, IIE, Association of International Education Administrators [AIEA], Association of Public Land Grant Universities [APLU], NAFSA, China Education Association for International Exchange, Asia-Pacific Quality Network, International Association of Universities [IAU], International Network of Quality Assurance and Accreditation of Higher Education) individually and collectively to develop, implement and design a common conceptual framework or paradigm that encourage institutional leaders to deepen their policy commitment for international collaborative degree programs (West, 2021). Colleges and universities must not relax key quality standards or procedures in the rush to build international connections. Instead, international educators at IUPUI should consider their domestic policies first when establishing international joint and dual degree program requirements, such as course transfers and course equivalencies. This is because, oftentimes, one size does not fit all (Gallagher, 2021). In addition, governmental agencies such as OECD and UNESCO should work with international leaders to define, assess, and differentiate among the various modes of TNHE (Jiang, 2021). International agencies have a uniquely powerful and privileged capacity to advise and assist countries in the formation, adaptation, and succession of policies related to TNHE activities within both developed and developing economies (Lee, 2021; Zheng et al., 2017).

In summary, this chapter outlines that adopting flexible and inclusive policies will be able to help remedy or address the ongoing issues facing transnational higher education, specifically international joint and dual degree programs or collaborative academic degrees. While no single policy will ever be able to address all issues, this chapter suggests that working collaboratively to identify policy problems will help institutions enhance their capacity, expertise, and training opportunities for their faculty, staff, and students. IUPUI and SYSU have launched a series of policies, procedures, and reform strategies during the COVID-19 pandemic to encourage, regulate, and guide policy leaders and institutional leaders on the succession of their program. Future research should continue to investigate the integrity and sustainability of international joint and dual degree programs, along with the best path for accreditation, whether national, binational, regional, or international accreditation during and after the COVID-19 era.

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The International Transfer of Education Models: Crafting the Neoliberal Citizen Through Regionalization and Rewesternization in Trinidad and Tobago

Tavis D. Jules and Richard Arnold

INTRODUCTION

In today's educational intelligent economy (Salajan & Jules, 2020), countries often look to each other and institutions for policy ideas. However, the integration of policy and knowledge has become complex as “knowledge diffusion fuels policy transfer” (Stone et al., 2020, p. 1). The transfer of education models between international communities, which has become a common feature of the global educational architecture and is viewed as either “explicit borrowing and lending” of policies or the “more indirect mechanisms of transmitting and receiving” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 510) educational practices, in turn, generates new policy

T. D. Jules (✉) · R. Arnold
Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
e-mail: tjules@luc.edu

R. Arnold
e-mail: rarnold1@luc.edu

discourse. With the move from government and governance and the intensification of market fundamentalism in education, we have seen a drastic shift in the policies and routines of education, as well as the emergence of extranational forces, most notably the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA) in education. Such pressures have led to the development of educational governance by numbers and what can be called "governance by best practices" based upon the transfer of so-called successful educational models centered on testing in different educational contexts. The most blatant example of this type of transfer of educational policy and practices are models from high performing countries such as the illusive "Finnish miracle of PISA" (Silova et al., 2020). While education transfer is not new but a product of colonialism (be it a forceful transfer), the transfer of perceived successful policies to stimulate and engender development is rising today. Nevertheless, the push toward the transfer of perceived best practices is a "recognition that modern education and education policy are inevitably entangled with the world beyond one's own national borders" (Silova et al., 2020, p. 2). As such, educational governance today is dominated by a variety of educational brokers (Jules & Stockdale Jefferson, 2016), ranging from philanthropic foundations (e.g., the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, the Ford Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Open Society Foundations) to trans-regional regimes (e.g., the Caribbean Community [CARICOM] and the European Union [EU]), multilateral organizations and intergovernmental organizations (UNESCO and the OECD), and international finance corporations (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF]). But of all of the entities entangled in educational governance, the OECD and its PISA initiative are what most invoke cross-country comparison and pose the most significant threat to educational reform. In focusing on indicators and benchmarks through PISA, the OECD has sought to construct strategic activities, and priorities for its member states by "act[ing] to make global society more legible in order to facilitate future exercises of global governance" by "replacing idiosyncratic and particularistic local arrangements with a uniform bureaucratic grid, at first nationally, but now increasingly on a global scale" (Sharman, 2012, p. 18).

Until recently, the routine had been for international organizations and aid donors to insist on adopting Northern models in Southern countries. In looking at the transfer of best practices related to PISA in Trinidad and

Tobago and moving away from the global/local dichotomy, we set out to objectively deal with the occurrence of transfer, the differing stages of transfer, the actors involved, and the broader social forces at play (Phillips, 2006). In this way, we account for the regional or supranational level's role in facilitating educational transfer from the institutional to the national level. Here we do not seek to make claims about real and imagined in the process of educational transfer and the subsequent translation and reception of global discourses or whether or not they represent authentic borrowing. Instead, we seek to show how global discourses in the form of best practices are transferred from the global to the national level and the supranational level's role in this process. In short, we look at the three dimensionality (national, supranational, and international) of educational transfer. Thus, we argue that commonalities are found in the transfer of educational models, as the transfer literature allows us to observe what has been successfully adapted in the educational models and what has failed. At the macro-level, we use the case study of regionalism in a small state, Trinidad and Tobago, to suggest how educational models are transferred, illustrating that they are instituted both vertically (imposition) and horizontally (cooperative transfer) to achieve the same goals. In this case, educational transfer is bidirectional in that it seeks to create the neoliberal Caribbean citizen (Jules & Arnold, 2021) who can function simultaneously in the regional market or the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) and the Global South, all based on twenty-first-century skills, including communication, critical thinking, expressing creativity, and problem-solving.

This paper relies on a discourse analysis of Trinidad and Tobago's educational policies as we seek to explore the tensions and contradictions of education transfer at different levels. The following four sections provide an overview of Trinidad and Tobago's educational system. We then discuss the literature on educational transfer and examine how the transfer of international and regional models affects national experiences. This chapter demonstrates how the educational models transferred between states within regions may be better served at the meso-level rather than global education models based on broad standards. We conclude by suggesting that little context often remains as educational models filter down into implementation and reveal the implication for the transfer literature.

OVERVIEW OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

The small, multi-ethnic, dual-island Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, situated in the southern Caribbean, gained its independence in 1962, yet its educational system has retained much of the colonial structure. However, Trinidad and Tobago differ from other anglophone Caribbean nations in that they comprise a diverse community, principally that of Afro-Trinidadians and Indian-Trinidadians and numerous minority groups with substantial economic and social capital (Sriskandarajah, 2005). As small island states, Trinidad and Tobago are members of the economic bloc and the Single Market Economy of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and have signed on to CARICOM's Free Movement of Skilled Persons Act. This Act allows for specified categories of Caribbean nationals—college grads, artisans, musicians, and media personnel—to travel within CARICOM without specific work permits. Today, these categories also include teachers, domestic workers, and nurses who hold a Caribbean Vocational Qualification (CVQ) or its equivalent and those with associate degrees or their equivalent. However, across CARICOM's 15 member states, Trinidad and Tobago is one of two CARICOM countries (the other being Jamaica, which is scheduled to participate in 2022) that take part in the OECD's PISA, which measures the ability of 15 year olds to apply reading, math, and science to problem-solving. Given that Trinidad and Tobago are members of both CARICOM and the OECD's testing regime, it provides an ideal example to showcase the transfer of regional and international models.

First and foremost, Trinidad and Tobago's educational system is a product of colonialist elitism, which has created a dual educational system. During colonialism, Trinidad and Tobago's education under the Education Ordinance of 1870 consisted of primary (ISCED Level 1) and secondary schools (ISCED Levels 2–3). Under this system, the dual educational system emerged as governments began to provide some forms of education; religious bodies have also provided a separate and differentiated type of education in the form of the traditional colonial grammar-type schools (Gordon, 1962; Lewis & Lewis, 1985; Williams, 2013). With the rise of independence and the push toward mass education, this dual system remained in place, and government schools were “overpopulated, understaffed, poorly resourced...associated with low achievement, indiscipline, and a consequent high failure rate” (London, 1994, p. 412).

In Trinidad and Tobago, education is free and mandatory for children aged 5–15. Trinidad and Tobago started its education with Early Childhood Education, which also offers pre-school starting at age 3 (Ministry of Education [MoEduTT], 2017). The Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) Division operates 138 Early Childhood centers around the country and offers a “curriculum strand of wellbeing, effective communication, citizenship, intellectual empowerment and aesthetic expression” (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 59). Primary school comprises of seven grades, and students begin primary school at age 5 and proceed up until Standard 5 (ISCED Level 1), when they start to prepare for the Secondary Entrance Assessment ([SEA], formerly called the Common Entrance Examination) (MoEduTT, 2017). The primary curriculum was recentered in 2017 to focus on benchmarking approaches such as “continuous assessment which assesses student-learning using a wide range of classroom assessments to feedback and improve student performance” and “a focus on Values, Character and Citizenship to build a strong, tolerant and conscientious citizenry” while the SEA’s primary purpose is to facilitate placement at the secondary level (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 66). The official age for secondary school is 12–16, with the option of another two years of advanced post-secondary schooling (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 79). Students with a stronger academic background who pass the SEA will attend grammar-type secondary schools, also called prestige secondary schools. In contrast, other students who do not fare well on the SEA attend traditional government schools such as Junior Secondary Schools, which serve as a bridge between primary and secondary school (they had initially been three-year institutions but are now five-year institutions) and the traditional five-year secondary schools. At the end of secondary school, students will sit for the Caribbean Examinations Council’s (CXC) Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) examination, which prepares them for Lower and Upper Sixth Form (ISCED Level 4), the world of work, or entry into university.¹ Students going into Lower and Upper Sixth Form, however, will take the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE), which provides certification, academic,

¹ Students need to pass 5 CSEC subject areas with mandatory passes in Mathematics and English A.

vocational, and technical achievements, as well as diplomas² and associate degrees.³

University education is offered free of charge to undergrads at the University of the West Indies (St. Augustine Campus), the University of Trinidad and Tobago, and the University of the Southern Caribbean. Additionally, master's programs may qualify for government subsidies. Finally, aside from private universities and depending on the results from their CXC tests, students can enter Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET), which includes “those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupation in various sectors of economic life” (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 91). Though the focus is on vocational skills, the Ministry also has the goal of creating translatable skills; to accomplish this, the MoEduTT (2017) pledged to “standardise all programmes and courses by levels offered by all providers” and “link all course titles to occupational areas defined” (p. 102). Given Trinidad and Tobago's links with CARICOM, TVET is done by the National Training Agency (NTA), linked to the Regional Competency-Based Model and the eight Competency-Based Education and Training (CBET) standards/levels.

REFRAMING EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER

Educational transfer, which involves the interaction between social structures and agency, can serve as both an independent variable by focusing on the stages, context, causes, agents, processes, mechanisms, rationales, and consequences of education borrowing as well as a dependent variable by explaining decision-making and educational change. Thus, international educational policy transfer, which refutes the functionalist ideals of seeking quick fixes to policy problems, often occurs through a wide range of filters across different geopolitical contests, from the transnational and international to the regional, national, or local communities. Educational transfer recognizes the diffusion of generic global educational models

² The CAPE diploma is awarded upon satisfactorily completing at least six CAPE Units, including Caribbean Studies.

³ The CAPE Associate Degree is awarded upon satisfactory completion of a prescribed cluster of 10 CAPE Units, including Caribbean Studies and Communication Studies.

based on macro-determinism and leads to standardization and isomorphism while at the same time acknowledging the “intricate dialectics of adoption, transformation, hybridization or rejection that result in an unexpected complexity of outcomes such as ‘missed universalisation’ and ‘creative deviation’” (as cited in Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 510). Education models are further transferred through school districts’ local apparatuses and funding models. Polycsapes (i.e., the infrastructure created by policy implementations) reconstruct educational models based on actors’ (both state and non-state) reform and resistance efforts.

The rise of globalization and the knowledge-based economy has highlighted the ways in which educational knowledge is transferred and impacts policy changes. Educational transfer has many forms ranging from policy borrowing and lending to lesson-drawing, diffusion, and imposition. Educational policy transfer symbolizes the “movement of ideas, structures and practices in education policy, from one time and place to another” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 510). While the object typically analyzed as an observational and explanatory category in the transfer process is the nation-state, comparative and international education often describes the forces, processes, and agents involved through educational borrowing and lending (Phillips, 2006; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). The preconditions for borrowing include “creeping internal dissatisfaction (on the part of parents, teachers, students, inspectors); systemic collapse (inadequacy of some aspect of educational provision); negative external evaluation...economic change/competition; new world, regional or local configurations...innovation in knowledge and skills; and political change” (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, p. 452). Educational borrowing and lending, “a deliberate and unidirectional process” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 510), often focus on a narrower set of partners and mechanisms, while educational transfer happens through a diverse route of instruments such as lesson-drawing, imposition, or diffusion (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Rose, 1991). In other words, educational borrowing and lending is much more narrowly focused than educational transfer and can be said to be a process of educational transfer. Educational transfer includes some “indirect mechanisms of transmitting and receiving” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 510). In this way, educational transfer is said to capture the multifaceted array of processes and interactions, including: explicit and implied policy borrowing and lending; the ideational, concealed, and unspoken propagation of discourse, ideas, and concepts (soft transfer); and the imposition of tangible models, structures, or practices (hard transfer;

Evans & Davies, 1999). Lesson-drawing (sometimes viewed as educational borrowing and lending) is another form of transfer and is informed by the four stages of the policy borrowing-and-lending cycle (i.e., “cross-national attraction, decision, implementation, and internalization and indigenization” [Phillips & Ochs, 2003, pp. 451–452]) and begins with an intentional effort by a borrower to initiate educational transfer. Such an impetus can lead to a range of options from blind transfer to different tiers of informed transfer. Similarly, policy diffusion “precedes deliberate lesson drawing and typically leads to incremental forms of educational transfer, such as routine adjustments and fine-tuning” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 519). Regardless of the context, educational transfer is based on policy diffusion and entails unspoken, unintentional, and involuntary transfer when adopting technical procedures. Imposition is another fundamental principle of educational transfer and occurs in situations where an external body imposes the transfer while the recipient is not even allowed to bless the transfer symbolically. Imposition often leads to less successful transfer and is accompanied by “apolitical, technical and neutral terms such as ‘diffusion,’ ‘knowledge sharing,’ ‘best practice,’ and ‘benchmarking’” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 519). However, some scholars, such as Dale (2005), have used a broader model of borrowing, learning, dissemination, harmonization, standardization, and imposition to capture the variability and complexity of educational transfer.

While educational borrowing and lending focus on the micro-level, with the national state’s aid and an analytical gaze on the economic, political, social, and social aspects of educational change, educational transfer places attention on the macro-level to reveal trends and forces and mechanisms. On the one hand, micro-level analysis of educational transfer illuminates the reception of educational transfer from exogenous sources by providing in-depth details about the procedure and magnitude of the transfer; however, it can get caught up in “methodological nationalism” (Dale, 2005) as it begins its analysis of the nation-state. Meanwhile, a macro-level analysis sheds light on the broader forces that impact educational transfer and can reveal a range of policy transfers and variations. This implies that policy transfer can be imposed (such as under an authoritarian regime), may be required under duress (such as in defeated/occupied countries), be negotiated under restrictions (as in obligatory bilateral and multilateral treaties), or be intentionally borrowed (international policy borrowing), or voluntarily (Evans & Davies, 1999; Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Both the micro-level and macro-level perspectives

have merits, and “a macro level of analysis is appropriate for revealing the general trends and tendencies of discursive patterns, ideologies, and structural changes, while a micro-level analysis can elucidate the processes of implementation and adaptation” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 512).

Several actors (ranging from policymakers, bureaucrats, and politicians to epistemic communities, individuals, organizations, and networks) are often included in educational transfer processes. However, these actors are often “facilitators of the exchange processes” (Perry & Tor, 2008, p. 516) because the transfer occurs in stages, and no guarantee of advancement exists from one stage to another. Thus, transfer falls upon a continuum ranging from cohesive to voluntary. Moreover, not all transfer brings about policy changes or modifications. In this way, Perry and Tor (2008) argue that socially aligned educational transfer happens similarly to “autopoietic (self-steering) mechanisms wherein global educational discourse (irritants from the environment) is studied as a self-description and copied into the internal communication patterns of an educational system and its related organizations” (Luhmann & Behnke, 1994, p. 517). As such, education policy learning ranges from lesson-drawing (rational learning) to imposition (bounded learning) and the diffusion of unintentional models, which may result in a successful or unsuccessful transfer.

The challenge with the conventional transfer/diffusion literature to date is that much of it has focused on OECD-type countries and Western forms of knowledge transfer or North–South transfer; it neglects other aspects of transfer such as South–South knowledge exchange. The literature also often implies the parties to be equal, the schemes being transferred to share similar characteristics, nongovernmental actors to have access to formalized decision-making processes, the directionality of transfer to be twofold in that it circulates first among global northern states, and the best practices to be transferred to the global south (Stone et al., 2020). In fact, Stone et al. (2020) caution that:

The ‘soft’ transfer of ideas and policy knowledge is relatively straightforward, but the constant re-circulation of ideas through many contexts makes it a more difficult endeavour first to map such ideas and how they structure thinking and reform policy agendas of governments, and then secondly, whether the same recommendations become institutionalised and implemented. (p. 5)

In this way, policy transfer is guided by distinctive ecosystems of densely networked actors who possess codified knowledge and tinker, adjust, hybridize, and customize the mechanisms through which transfer occurs.

In focusing on the impact of the darker side of modernity, some scholars have begun to reposition the educational transfer literature by advocating for a pluriversal approach or new worldview and onto-epistemic range of possibility that recognizes a “more diverse world-historical map” (Silova et al., 2020, p. 7) or “kosmos” (Cowen, 1996). Such an approach is based upon Mignolo’s (2011) five co-existing but competing projects: (1) *rewesternization*, which calls for a movement away from the orthodoxy of neoliberal market fundamentalism and removal of subjectivity from consumerism and individualism toward “communal and pluriversal futures” (p. 36), (2) *global reorientation to the left*, which argues on the one hand for a movement away from the pure Western hegemony of capitalist logic and the restructuring of existing institutions to create more materialistic equality, while on the other hand asking us to consider the impact of Western theories and institutions upon “socioeconomic organization and education” (p. 41), (3) *de-Westernization*, which seeks a break from the ways in which Western epistemology is projected while at the same time functioning within the orthodoxy of Western powers and epistemologies, (4) *decoloniality*, which moves away from the colonial knowledge imparted as a consequence of colonialism and “delinks” from the epistemic universality of Western economic forms and political authority, and (5) *spirituality*, which seeks to decolonize at a deeper level with the aid of knowledge, subjectivity, and religion to liberate oneself. Collectively, Silova et al. (2020) argue Mignolo’s (2011) five overlapping trajectories to provide multiple agendums for educational transfer. First, such an agenda begins with the knowledge that “rewesternization efforts in education have translated into the global policies that promote the idea of ‘knowledge for development,’ or, more specifically, knowledge for *economic* development and growth” (Silova et al., 2020, p. 10). Here, the effect of rewesternization connotes a sense of urgency based on neoliberalist markets’ postulating and its role in determining educational agendas, policies, and priorities. In such a case, educational transfer is based upon the ideas and ideologies of being part of the club or catching up with Western modernity. Second, global reorientation to the left focuses on a non-capitalist future and how to develop “educational policies and practices that can help to create more peaceful, just and democratic futures” (Griffith & Arnove, 2015, p. 90). In the context

of educational transfer, such an objective would commence through the transformation of a “language of critique” into a “language of possibility” (Giroux, 1997, p. 108) and would focus on alternatives to the disproportionate power dynamics intrinsic in the North–South education transfer. Here, a focus would be on “South-South cooperation, [South-South transfer] and grassroots mobilization as possible ways to build more symmetrical relationships between the lenders and borrowers of education policies and practices” (Silova et al., 2020, p. 12). Third, a de-Westernization approach to educational transfer involves confronting the Western epistemology by looking for alternatives that break with notions of capitalism and modern statehood. Fourth, the decolonial option to educational transfer symbolizes an epistemic and ontological divestment from colonial powers and begins with a “distinct break with modernity associated with any forms of capitalism, socialism, or other abstract universalisms” (Silova et al., 2020, p. 15) by changing “the terms and not just the content of the conversation” (Mignolo, 2007, p. 459). Educational transfer, therefore, focuses on analytical frameworks that push beyond Western-centric history research and enable scholars to imagine alternative or “pluriversal” (Mignolo, 2007) historical experiences based on Southern epistemologies (Santos, 2014). Finally, the spiritual option to educational transfer, the least developed of all five trajectories, moves it beyond the material and toward the ontological by showing how non-Western policies and projects have been transferred without being referenced or have been exoticized or fetishized. In short, this group of research suggests that the next phase of educational transfer should involve moving toward a pluriversality that recognizes that transfer occurs outside of the dominant dichotomy of the North–South paradigm and that all actors are not passive recipients in the process. Such a process begins with the questioning that the “material, epistemic and ontological fabric that ‘we’ have created—and that in turn has created a part of ‘us’—necessarily means to question ourselves. Who are ‘we’ supposed to be after all, if we ‘transform’?” (Schultz, 2017, p. 137).

OECD AS AN ACTOR AND ITS PISA TRANSFER MECHANISM

Though sometimes criticized for its narrow definition of skills being assessed, PISA is a global powerhouse of educational governance and the ideal best practice for transferring. First administered in 2000 to

measure the competencies of 15 year olds in math, reading, and science, the OECD's PISA has seen an increase in participating countries, which (including the 35 OECD members) numbered 78 in 2018. PISA results are reported tri-annually in December after the test has been administered. OECD has evolved to become a specific player in the global education arena, as "currently, the OECD is an important site for institutional networks that have evolved into a 'global political superstructure'" (Sorensen et al., 2021, p. 101), and "as all IGOs [Intergovernmental Organizations], the OECD has overlapping and conflicting institutional, legal, social and political responsibilities" (Centeno, 2021, p. 109). OECD and PISA have built up some of these responsibilities by helping dictate goals through benchmarking. Riley and Torrance (2003) argue that PISA and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) "help to create and reinforce a climate that views education as narrow skill preparation for future employment, rather than as a challenging engagement with the knowledge and understanding that constitutes our culture and the democratic processes which future citizens must control" (p. 420). This often leaves people wondering: "scores go up, while interest in science declines – are our schools doing a good job or not? The answer is that they're doing what they're told to do – by government" (Riley & Torrance, 2003, p. 424). As a result, PISA can often narrow our understanding of education systems rather than expand it.

The OECD's state-like functions at the transnational scale have emerged as a frame for aligning comparative knowledge economies' identities (Robertson & Sorensen, 2018). In short, the OECD in the post-War period has carved out a unique niche for itself in educational governance in the form of "coining influential yet rather vague concepts such as 'knowledge-based economy' and solidifying those concepts with empirical data, the steady publishing of reports, and a range of programme activities and policy reviews in education" (Sorensen et al., 2021, p. 101). Thus, the OECD exercises "infrastructural governance" and "epistemological governance" (Sellar & Lingard, 2013) through its collection and comparison of statistical data by acting as a "global political superstructure" (Ougaard, 2010) through the use of soft governance, multilateral surveillance, and projection and references. Through these characteristics, the OECD seeks to shape its member states' geometries and trajectories and those who subscribe to its brand of expertise and authority on educational matters. The OECD's role as an actor involved in development, progress,

growth, and modernization is fundamental to its legitimacy as a global governor in education, making it easy for countries to adopt its proposed best practices. Policyscapes are also how “the OECD has secured its actor-ness by strengthening its bureaucratic characteristics” (Centeno, 2021, p. 110). Given these characteristics, we argue that OECD can thus be an agent, facilitator, and purveyor of educational transfer through its soft modes of governance by engendering a culture of competitiveness based on markets, standardization, and accountability.

Today, PISA and other global knowledge measurements have emerged as a neoliberal mechanism linked to what Mignolo (2012) called “rewesternization” wherein the agenda gains legitimacy based on claims of increased knowledge within the parameters of twenty-first-century skills, which in turn will engender higher gross domestic product (GDP) in countries that partake in its assessments. Thus, governments invest in PISA as it has been built as the engine that promotes a deep link between education and economic growth. This premise is the basis upon which PISA is viewed as “a guide to the ‘correct’ reading of the datasets, collating information on participating societies to provide a source for identifying ‘best practices’ and initiating transfer” (Silova et al., 2020, p. 10) as PISA data is translated into best practices. What is often missed about what is transferred is the fact that the so-called best practices are global neoliberal reforms that place knowledge at the center of the “competition state” (Cerny, 1997; Jessop, 2002). In this way, PISA “increase[s] marketization” (Cerny, 1997) by seeking to trim gradually, rearrange, hollow out and/or “refunctionalize” (Jessop, 2002) the state to serve a new purpose: to make society fit for competition. The desire to be receptive to PISA transfer is built around its proposed scientific legitimation and the view that it can casually replicate academic settings. In short, PISA has developed a cult-following that suggests a *causative* correlation exists between student test scores and economic growth. Centeno (2021) highlighted OECD to be notable for “its institutional profile and horizontal approach to policy issues ... the OECD was never meant to issue binding decisions and always had a direction-setting nature based on solid values, agenda setting, and surveillance mechanisms” (p. 111). In a world built on competition, OECD has emerged as a player rather than a direct governmental entity, but a player that can influence change both horizontally and vertically.

With PISA, power can be determined by discourse because “if we assume that education has become a global policy field, we could expect

politicians in national parliaments – ministers and members of parliament – to justify or criticise draft laws on education policy by increasing reference to the international community” (Rautalin et al., 2019, p. 509). By looking at such references, Rautalin et al. (2019) found that since PISA’s creation, policymakers’ references to the international context had increased, though not significantly, and could potentially be explained by other factors such as the globalized economy or increased migration. Overall, Rautalin et al. (2019) found that “the discourse in education policy has become increasingly global and that international organisations such as the OECD appear to have a growing authoritative role in that sector. That is, they serve as respected actors or ‘nodes’ in the transnational network of actors” (p. 515), signaling PISA and OECD as actors rather than arenas.

REGIONALISM OR INTERNATIONALIZATION: TRACING EDUCATIONAL TRANSFER IN THE CARIBBEAN

With the opening up of new policy venues such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), educational transfer in the Caribbean, be it voluntary or imposed, is about the transferal of global best practices and about representing the transnational movement of policies and social learning. In fact, Trinidad and Tobago is caught at the crossroads of globalization and economic regionalism. On the one hand, Trinidad and Tobago as an Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) member, wants to be seen as one of CARICOM’s most developed countries with its glitzy infrastructure and lack of reliance on tourism, and deep investment in human capital. On the other hand, as small island developing states, its economic capacity is fluid. It is at the intersection of the development of the ideal Trinidadian and Tobagonian citizenry (based upon the concept of the Ideal Caribbean Person [CARICOM, 1997]) and the neoliberal knowledge economy that attaches “increasing importance to the ‘global war’ for talent” (Brissett, 2019, p. 687) in which Trinidad and Tobago’s education system finds itself. This Vision of the Ideal Caribbean Person (CARICOM, 1997), which is linked to the regional Human Development Strategy (CARICOM, 2017), stresses that education should develop citizens for the regional marketplace who have a respect for human life; who are secure psychologically; who value gender, ethnic, and religious diversity; who are environmentally conscious; who are community and family

oriented; who value strong work ethics; who are financially literate; who respect cultural heritage; who display multiple educational literacies and apply them to science and technology (CARICOM, 1997). The Ideal Caribbean Person (CARICOM, 1997) was developed in response to the “fundamental global changes which had overtaken the community in spite of the gains in national building of reform” and focused on the “development of physical and financial capital ... [and the] development of human capital” (Strachan, 1996, p. 7). In this way, mature regionalism as a regional governance mechanism in education has emerged as a way to:

...promote human and social development through, inter-alia, appropriate education and training in order to improve the overall well-being of the people of the Community and to establish the conditions for the creation of a knowledge-based society capable of competing effectively in the new global environment. (CARICOM, 2003, p. 3, emphasis in original)

In this sense, Trinidad and Tobago is no stranger to the “cooperative transfer” (Jules, 2015) of educational policies and priorities. Jules (2015) argued that the patterns, dynamics, and mechanisms of “cooperative educational transfer [of ideas and policy knowledge] stems from the ‘reciprocal movement, or transfer’ of educational ideas from the national level to the regional level and then back to the national level” (p. 3). While educational transfer in the Caribbean cooperative is voluntary and has the single unitary aim of deepening economic integration in the form of mature regionalism “in which critical policy decisions of the Community taken by Heads of Government, or by other Organs of the [CARICOM] Community, will have the force of law throughout the Region” (CARICOM, 2003, p. 1), it is driven by South–South cooperation. An illustrative example of cooperative educational transfer can be found in the regional Human Resource Development Strategy (CARICOM, 2017), which identifies “early childhood development (ages 0–8)” for CARICOM regions to be delivered at “early childhood education centres (ages 0–4) and includes primary education up to age 8” (p. 59). That same year, MoEduTT (2017) adjusted its definition of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) as “not only a preparatory stage for transitioning to formal schooling but it also focuses on the development of the whole child” and occurring in separate facilities for the ages of “three to four plus year-old children” (pp. 57–58). However, cooperative

transfer can also have a phony appeal in that it “will have instant appeal to the electorate, but for which there is no likelihood of introduction into the ‘home’ system” (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, p. 455). Given that HRD is the bedrock upon which CARICOM seeks to build its deeper integrative process (mature regionalism), Trinidad and Tobago must carefully navigate the fuzzy areas of being an active player in engendering regional economic development through the CSME and the Movement of Skills Act to which it is a party while projecting an image of cultivating talent for the global marketplace based on twenty-first-century skills. At this juncture, cooperation through CARICOM and imposition in the form of OECD policies find a home. Thus, the circulation of policy through cooperative educational transfer is based upon the validity and legitimacy of local knowledge; it is an instrument of economic regionalism (the political project) aimed at diffusing regionalization (the economic process).

According to Phillips and Ochs (2003), the “preconditions for borrowing” a policy such as PISA include “creeping internal dissatisfaction (on the part of parents, teachers, students, inspectors); systemic collapse (inadequacy of some aspect of educational provision); negative external evaluation ... economic change/competition; new world, regional or local configurations ... innovation in knowledge and skills; and political change” (p. 452). In this case, the creation of CARICOM represented a regional configuration in response to economic change geared toward competition. Rappleye (2006) claimed that globalization “naturally creates a more complex and subtle environment for cross-national attraction and transfer” (p. 227), and thus regionalism emerges as a subtle outgrowth of that global borrowing. Rappleye (2006) contended that “one way in which attraction becomes ‘borrowing’ is when a combination of unlikely allies both use the foreign example to push reform” (p. 233). As an example of this occurring in CARICOM, we can observe the compulsory education project known as bonding. This is a direct response to OECD policies due to “the increasing demand for their [countries’] educated citizens by OECD countries” economies (Brissett, 2019, p. 699).

The international transfer of education models is often a top-down process, as is the case within Trinidad and Tobago. In the case of PISA, we argue the transferal to be based upon rewesternization. Trinidad and Tobago would take the PISA test in 2009 and 2015. In 2015, Trinidad was ranked below the OECD average in “beliefs about the nature and origin of scientific knowledge” (OECD, 2015, p. 7). In 2015, about 34%

of Trinidad's students had repeated a grade, a 2-point increase from 2009 (OECD, 2015, p. 14). Likely in response to data such as this, MoEduTT (2017) promised to "develop and implement a Quality Assurance Framework for measuring, monitoring and evaluating quality at the ECCE level which takes the [OECD report on Quality Matters in Early Childhood Education and Care] into consideration" (p. 62). Using this report as a guide, MoEduTT (2017) committed to a framework that improves goals such as "designing and implementing curriculum and standards" and "engaging families and communities" (p. 62). Rappleye (2006) noted that during the cross-national attraction stage, "reform actors make their case for change by drawing evidence from structural impulses" (p. 230). While discussing PISA and exalting Trinidad's 2009 results, MoEduTT (2017) also promised that "in order to steadfastly and purposefully transform our education system, the adoption and adherence to international best practice is recommended as our nation strives for sustainable development" (p. 85). Delisle, Seecharan, and Ayodike (2010) pointed out the importance of top-down policy infrastructure change in Trinidad as "vertical seamlessness focuses on the transition points in the education system and on the presence of systems that provide opportunities recovery" (p. 5). In 2017, Trinidad committed to "ensure that research, education and training respond to various and changing societal and environmental issues such as sustainable development, climate change, and social cohesion" (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 107). Later, consternation occurred among the public that Trinidad was sitting out the 2018 PISA test (Lewis, 2020). PISA provided a rallying point for many Caribbean countries, especially those that excelled, but this instant appeal may have been premature: "Trinidad and Tobago's media actively responded to the country's improved PISA 2015 results, recognizing the country's comparatively high ranking in the region... [however] this is misleading in that only two Caribbean countries participated in the 2015 PISA examinations" (PREAL blog, 2017).

Lewis (2020) argued Trinidad to be well-gearred toward a test such as PISA, as "our country is quite familiar with the idea of international contests, and we set great store in them" (para. 1) and that participation reflected Trinidad's commitment to its people: "one important difference between international academic tests such as PISA, and the summer Olympics, is that it is countries not individuals that appear on the podium ... PISA compels countries to pay attention to whether children are being left behind" (para. 3). Phillips and Ochs (2003) also argued

that, as a policy moves into the stage of the decision within a country, “a wide variety of measures through which government and other agencies attempt to start the process of change” (p. 453). The process begins with discourse. Rappleye (2006, p. 233) noted that “policy discourse is ways of talking about, conceptualizing, and framing education that can be transferred regardless of accompanying policies.” This can be seen in Trinidad with benchmarking; under the benchmarking section of its 2017 policy, they extolled that, when it came to PISA, “its average performance is third in the region (out of 9 countries with valid results) behind Chile and Uruguay” (MoEduTT, 2017, p. 83). This fits the OECD’s agenda perfectly, as “PISA was designed to promote policy dialogue amongst OECD, and non-OECD countries, about learning outcomes” (Riley & Torrance, 2003, p. 420).

What has proven true about educational transfer from PISA in Trinidad and Tobago is not an anomaly. Tan (2019) noted that “Shanghai’s PISA performance success has prompted countries to ‘look East’ for policy transfer and externalization” (p. 392), prompting policy transfer within East Asian countries; the PISA results led to “Chinese officials’ strategy of capitalising on the dominant grievances of heavy schoolwork burden and school choice fever” after Shanghai’s performance” (p. 399). In Spain during the “2012–2013 reform of Spanish education, led by the conservative government, PISA is utilized as a ‘whip,’ pressing forward a reform agenda on the premise that Spain is underperforming in key subjects of mathematics, science, and reading” (Engel, 2015, p. 112), and “PISA is configured as a central driver and leading measure of quality within the Spanish system” (p. 109).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this chapter, we have explored how policy transfer with the rise of “fast policy” (Peck & Theodore, 2015) is intertwined with the processes and institutions of cooperation in today’s multi-level governance architecture where multi-actor entities generate policy knowledge. This chapter has discussed educational transfer at the macro (global), meso (regional), and micro (national) levels through the case study of Trinidad and Tobago. We have looked at vertical transfer as well as the horizontal transfer of educational policies and priorities. Whether the transfer is happening globally through OECD or regionally through CARICOM, a convergence of the goals of the transfer is found in the neoliberal

definitions of citizenship. Throughout the shifts influenced in part by extra-governmental entities has been a push for a neoliberal definition of citizenship in the Caribbean. Through its benchmarking and status as a knowledge bank, OECD pushes the goals of creating a neoliberal citizen who demonstrates a certain knowledge about the world, such as ones who “function as caring communities” and benefit from “skilled, engaged teachers” (PISA, 2015, p. 17). OECD may not be directly dictating what constitutes “skilled teachers” or the quality of education, but they do help transfer ideas of such things into regional citizenship education by steering the conversation through PISA. The regional level is where cooperative transfer borrows and creates its own ideas of neoliberal citizenship. Cooperative transfer links these ideas of citizenship together within CARICOM. Through the human resource development (HRD) strategy, skill sets are standardized across the region, because curricula are forced to adhere to the outline of the strategy. CARICOM’s Ideal Caribbean Person Initiative borrows twenty-first-century skills from the definitions used by the UN in alignment with the SDGs and by OECD through its discourse in the globally competitive marketplace to create goals for the citizens in the Caribbean with transferrable skills. The HRD strategy guides schools within countries in the Caribbean, Trinidad included, to consider these neoliberal ideals of transferrable skills when crafting citizenship education.

As the transfer of policies continues in the Caribbean, Trinidad, and Tobago and others like it are having their citizenship defined by extranational entities more and more. Educational transfer to national levels is both horizontal (cooperation) and vertical (rewesternization). In the case of the former, the transfer is linked to regional goals and aspirations (e.g., creating the ideal Caribbean person) and is voluntary. In the latter case, the transfer is based upon competition, standardization, benchmarking, and market fundamentals. The aim is to measure neoliberal citizens’ skills for the global marketplace. Through PISA, the OECD exercises educational governance by changing the direction of policy discourse and benchmarking and creating a script for a globalized, competitive world. This is part of a larger bureaucracy, wherein “‘infrastructural governance’ and ‘epistemological governance’ are key to the OECD’s capacity to exert influence and power in member states and beyond” (Sorensen et al., 2021, p. 101). CARICOM implements governance through a horizontal policy infrastructure, the standardization of goals, and universalized benchmarking, all guided by their HRD 2030 strategy. Through

these structures, CARICOM “act[s] as a multi-level governance body that responds to gaps within the national governments to control transnational, regional, and global economic processes” (Jules, 2015, p. 5). The OECD transfer of best practices will only continue as it rolls out the Baby PISA (International Early Learning and Child Well-being Study), PISA for Development (extending to the developing world), and PISA4U (The Online Programme for School Improvement). CARICOM, meanwhile, is continuing within the neoliberal context to create its cosmopolitan Ideal Caribbean Person by 2030. Trinidad is caught at a crossroads: modernize with the region or modernize globally.

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