Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 19

Joseph Zajda *Editor*

Globalisation and Education Reforms

Paradigms and Ideologies

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Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research

Volume 19

Aims and Scope

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

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

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Joseph Zajda
Editor

Globalisation and Education Reforms

Paradigms and Ideologies

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Editor
Joseph Zajda
Faculty of Education and Arts
Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne, VIC, Australia

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To Rea, Nikolai, Sophie and Imogen

Foreword

The major aim of *Globalisation and Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies*, which is volume 19 in the 24-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda, is to present a global overview of selected scholarly research on the social, cultural and political constructs defining education reforms. Furthermore, the perception of globalisation as dynamic and multifaceted processes clearly necessitates a multiple-perspective approach in the study of education reforms, and this book provides that perspective commendably. In the book, the authors, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt insightfully to provide a worldview of current developments in research concerning education reforms globally. The book contributes in a very scholarly way to a more holistic understanding of the nexus between globalisation and education reforms.

Preface

Globalisation and Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies, which is ***volume 19*** *in the 24-volume book series* Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, edited by Joseph Zajda, presents a global overview of the nexus between globalisation, ideologies and standards-driven education reforms and implication for equity, democracy and social justice. Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that have profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology, and governance is defined fundamentally by economic factors.*

Both governments and educational institutions, in their quest for global competitiveness, excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All of them agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*.

Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy around the word. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. On the one hand, the periodic economic crises (e.g. the 1980s, the financial crisis of 2007–2008, also known as the global financial crisis, or GEC in 2008), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (e.g. SAPs), have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering quality education for all. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisations, shape and influence education and policy around the world.

By examining some of the major education reforms and policy developments in a global culture, particularly in the light of recent shifts in education reforms and policy research, the volume provides a comprehensive picture of the intersecting and diverse discourses of globalisation, education and global competition-driven reforms. The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms is a strategically significant issue for us all. The volume, as a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policymakers in globalisation and education reforms, provides a timely overview of current changes in education reforms globally.

Melbourne, VIC, Australia Joseph Zajda

Series Editor

Joseph Zajda, Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia

Joseph Zajda, BA (Hons), MA, MEd, PhD, FACE, co-ordinates and lectures in graduate courses (MTeach courses: EDFX522, EDSS503 and EDFD546) in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specialises in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education, human rights education and values education. He has written and edited 30 books and over 120 book chapters and articles in the areas of globalisation and education policy, higher education, history textbooks and curriculum reforms. Recent publications include *Globalisation and National Identity in History Textbooks: The Russian Federation* (2017) edited by Zajda, Tsyrlina-Spady and Lovorn; *Globalisation and Historiography of National Leaders: Symbolic Representations in School Textbooks* (2017) edited by Zajda and Ozdowski; *Globalisation and Human Rights Education* Dordrecht (2016) edited by Zajda and Rust; *Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms* and the *Second International Handbook on Globalisation, Education and Policy Research* (2015) (http://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/book/978-94-017-9492-3); "Globalisation and Neo-liberalism as Educational Policy in Australia," in *Neoliberal Education Reforms: A Global Analysis* (2014) edited by Yolcu and D. Turner; "The Russian Revolution," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization Online* (2014) edited by G. Ritzer and J. M. Ryan; "Ideology," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy* (2014) edited by D. Phillips; "Values Education," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy* (2008, 2014) edited by D. Phillips; and *Schooling the New Russians* (2008).

He is the editor of the **24-volume** book series Globalisation and Comparative Education (Springer, 2013 & 2020).

He edits the following journals: *Curriculum and Teaching*, Volume 32 (2018) (http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/ct/); *Education and Society*, Volume 35 (2018) (http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/es/); and *World Studies in Education*, Volume 18, 2018 (http://www.jamesnicholaspublishers.com.au/journals/wse/).

His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 10,000 university library holdings globally.

He is the recipient of the 2012 **Excellence in Research Award**, the Faculty of Education, the Australian Catholic University. The award recognises the high quality of research activities and particularly celebrates sustained research that has had a substantive impact nationally and internationally. He was also a recipient of the **Australian Awards for University Teaching** in 2011 (Citation for Outstanding Contributions to Student Learning, **for an innovative, influential and sustained contribution to teacher education through scholarship and publication).** He received the Vice Chancellor's **Excellence in Teaching Award,** at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Monash University) for 2011–2015 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia ($315,000). He was elected as **fellow** of the Australian College of Educators (June 2013).

He completed (with Professor Fred Dervin, University of Helsinki) the UNESCO report, *Governance in education: Diversity and effectiveness* (*BRICS countries*, Paris, UNESCO, 2018).

Editorial by Series Editors

Volume 19 is a further publication in the Springer series of books on Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda.

Globalisation and Education Reforms: *Paradigms and Ideologies*, which is **volume 19** in the 24-volume book series Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research, edited by Joseph Zajda, presents a global overview of the nexus between globalisation, ideologies and standards-driven education reforms and implication for equity, democracy and social justice. Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that have profound effects on society and higher educational institutions. One of the effects of globalisation is that the education sector is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, performance and profit-driven managerialism. As such, new entrepreneurial educational institutions in the global culture succumb to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology, and governance is defined fundamentally by economic factors.

The book explores the ambivalent and problematic relationship between the state, globalisation and education reform discourses. Using a number of diverse paradigms, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology and education reforms, attempt to examine critically recent trends in the political, social, economic and educational constructs affecting the nature of education reforms.

When discussing the politics of education reforms, the role of the state and dominant ideologies defining policy priorities, we need to go beyond the technicist and business-oriented model of education, which focuses on accountability, efficiency and performance indicators. Why? Because, apart from the dominant human capital and rate of return, driving efficiency, profit and performance indicators, there are other forces at work as well. From the macrosocial perspective, the world of business, while real and dominant, is only one dimension of the complex social, cultural and economic world system. At the macrosocietal level, we need to consider the teleological goal of education reforms. Are we reforming education systems to improve the quality of learning and teaching, academic achievement and excellence, and do we hope to change our societies, creating the 'good society'?

At the level of critical discourse analysis, we need to consider dominant ideologies defining the nature and the extent of political and economic power, domination, control, the existing social stratification and the unequal distribution of socially and economically valued commodities, both locally and globally. They all have profound influences on the directions of education and policy reforms. Many scholars have argued that education systems and education reforms are creating, reproducing and consolidating social and economic inequality (Avalos-Bevan, 1996; Arnove & Torres, 1999; Klees, 2002; Apple, 2002; Astiz, Wiseman & Baker, 2002; Benveniste, Carnoy & Rothstein, 2003; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Raffo, et al. 2007; Zajda, 2015a; Milanovic, 2016; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017).

The book offers a synthesis of current research findings on globalisation and education reforms, with reference to major paradigms and ideology. The book analyses the shifts in methodological approaches to globalisation, education reforms, paradigms and their impact on education policy and pedagogy. The book critiques globalisation, policy and education reforms and suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. The book also evaluates discourses of globalisation, cultural imperialism, global citizenship, human rights education and neoliberal ideology. It is suggested there is a need to continue to analyse critically the new challenges confronting the global village in the provision of authentic democracy, equality, social justice and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy. There is also a need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and ongoing education reforms, namely, global citizenship, human rights education, social justice and access to quality education for all, if genuine culture of learning and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

In addressing the topics globalisation, ideology and politics of education reforms, some authors, like Holger Daun, evaluate a neoliberal and neoconservative education policy, meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education. Some examine globalisation processes impacting on education and policy reforms (Yin Cheong Cheng; Carlos Ornelas). Others focus on models of governance in education, global university rankings and internationalisation of higher education (Veronika Rozhenkova & Val D. Rust; Patrick Coggins); competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally; and promoting economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity through education reforms (Michael H. Lee & S. Gopinathan; Edith Mukudi Omwami). Finally, some researchers specifically address such emerging paradigms as global teachers and teaching globalism through a human rights framework (Diane Brook Napier; Yvonne Vissing & Quixada Moore-Vissing).

The authors focus on major and dominant discourses defining educational reforms: *globalisation*, *social change*, *democracy* and *ideology*. These are among the most critical and significant dimensions defining and contextualising the processes surrounding the politics of education reforms globally. Furthermore, the

perception of globalisation as dynamic and multifaceted processes clearly necessitates a multiple-perspective approach in the study of education reforms. In this the book, the authors, who come from diverse backgrounds and regions, attempt insightfully to provide a worldview of current developments in research concerning education reforms both locally and globally. The book contributes in a very scholarly way to a more holistic understanding of the nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms.

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

Contents

Contributors

Diane Brook Napier is a retired professor of comparative and international education, University of Georgia, USA. Her research focuses on education and globalisation, postcolonial reform, deracialisation, language, migrants and refugees, environmental justice and teacher training. She has conducted research extensively in her native South Africa and also in Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Kenya, DR Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba and the UAE (email: dnapier@uga.edu).

Lyn Carter (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne) is teaching science and technology education to both undergraduate and graduate teacher education students. Her current research seeks new articulations of science education valuing cultural diversity, ecological sustainability and social justice in a globalised world. More specifically, her interests are in science educational policy and curriculum studies, with an emphasis on the effects and consequences of globalisation and neoliberalism as it reshapes science education for the twenty-first century. Her research touches all aspects of science education – notably socio-scientific issues and the ways in which de-/postcolonialism, indigenous knowledge and ecological sustainability can act as counter-discourses to globalisation. These areas are reflected in the titles of her manuscripts that have been published in international science education journals and books. She is on the editorial board of *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* and *Cultural Studies in Science Education* and is a former assistant editor of *Research in Science Education*.

Yin Cheong Cheng (The Education University of Hong Kong) is professor and director of the Centre for Research and International Collaboration, the Hong Kong Institute of Education. He holds a doctorate from Harvard University. He is also the head of the Asia-Pacific Centre for Education Leadership and School Quality. He has published 15 books and nearly 180 book chapters and articles. His publications have been translated into Chinese, Hebrew, Korean, Spanish and Thailand languages.

Many of his articles were awarded "Citation of Excellence" by the ANBAR Electronic Intelligence of the UK. He is the editor of the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and Development* (email: yccheng@eduhk.hk).

Patrick Coggins PhD, JD, LLD (Hons) is currently chair of the Faculty Senate at Stetson University, a professor of education and formerly the Jessie Ball DuPont endowed chair from 1991 to 2011 at Stetson University. His expertise includes managing cultural diversity in schools and workplaces and designing and teaching courses in multicultural education, ESOL, education law, education finance and educational leadership and classes on cross-cultural communication. His publications include several books and articles on confidentiality, fraud discovery and control. His book about WW2 Tuskegee Airmen entitled *Tuskegee Airman Fighter Pilot: A Story of an Original Tuskegee Pilot Lt. Col. Hiram E. Mann* has acclaimed national attention by being featured in numerous review magazines, as well as being on display at the LA Times Festival of Books in Los Angeles. He has also co-authored two books on fraud detection and control and has published training books such as *Using Cultural Competence to Close the Achievement Gap* and *Building a Winning Team: New Approaches to Caring Leadership in Organizations*. He also founded the Multicultural Education Institute.

Holger Daun (University of Stockholm) is professor of international and comparative education. He has been supervising many MA students and some 20 PhD students. He has also been leading several international research projects (e.g. globalisation, state, market, civil society and educational change; changing educational governance; and Islamic educational institutions around the world). He is on the editorial board of several international education journals. He has published some 10 books and many articles internationally, including *School Decentralization in the Context of Globalizing Governance: International Comparisons of Grassroots Response*s (Dordtrecht: Springer/Kluwer, 2006); *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (edited with J. Zajda & L. J. Saha, Dordtrecht: Springer, 2008); and *Handbook of Islamic Education* (edited with R. Arjmand, Dordrecht: 2018), among others.

S. Gopinathan (National University of Singapore) was professor of education and vice-dean (policy) of the Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice at the National Institute of Education in Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He was dean of foundation programmes in the same institute. He is adjunct professor at Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. He has served on various MOE review committees and was a resource specialist for the Government Parliamentary Committee on Education. His research interests span teacher education, professional development, higher education, values and citizenship education and education development. He has been a consultant with the World Bank, UNESCO and several universities including the University of Bahrain, Hong

Kong Institute of Education and the University of Brunei. He also helped establish the Emirates College for Advanced Education (UAE), the Bahrain Teachers College and the Sampoerna University's School of Education in Jakarta, Indonesia. His has more than 100 research publications that are a key reference to policy and practice in Singapore education.

Michael H. Lee (The Chinese University of Hong Kong) teaches in the Department of History in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He formerly served as instructor in the Department of Educational Policy and Administration of the Hong Kong Institute of Education and research associate in the Comparative Education Policy Research Unit of the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong. His publications cover education reforms, comparative education, privatisation in education and globalisation (email: michaellee@cuhk.edu.hk).

Quixada Moore-Vissing PhD is a fellow with the Salem State University (MA, USA), Center for Childhood and Youth Studies. Her doctorate and masters are in education from the University of New Hampshire. She has MA in communications from the University of Illinois and BA from Boston University. Her area of research focuses on civic engagement, community-building and citizen participation (email: quixadamv@gmail.com).

Edith Mukudi Omwami is an associate professor of education in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies of the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research interests include university education reforms, universalising education access and participation, nutrition and health outcomes and girls' and women's empowerment in developing country context. Her recent publications are on intergenerational comparison of education attainment and implications for empowerment of women in rural Kenya (2015, *Gender, Place & Culture: A journal of Feminist Geography*) and agentive role of government in African education: North Nyanza, 1890–1920 (2014, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*) (email:omwami@gseis.ucla.edu).

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

Veronika Rozhenkova is a doctoral candidate at UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. She also holds a fellowship as a Conrad N. Hilton scholar with the WORLD Policy Analysis Center at UCLA Fielding School of Public Health, where she is conducting research on the world's most

pressing issues. Prior to her doctoral studies, Veronika received an EdM degree in international education policy from Harvard University and a diploma in philology from Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University and worked as a university faculty member in Russia. Her research interests are in international education policy and reform, globalisation and internationalisation of higher education (email: veronika14@ucla.edu).

Val D. Rust (University of California, Los Angeles) is professor of education at the University of California, Los Angeles. He received his PhD from the University of Michigan. He is the UCLA Education Abroad Program director and was the associate editor of the *Comparative Education Review* (1998–2003). His recent works include *Alternatives in Education*, *The Democratic Tradition and the Evolution of Schooling in Norway*, *The Unification of German Education*, *Education and the Values Crisis in Central and Eastern Europe* and *Towards Schooling for the Twenty-First Century*. Most recently, he co-edited a book with Joseph Zajda, *Globalisation and Higher Education Reforms* (Springer, 2017).

Yvonne Vissing is professor and policy chair for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, founding director of the Center for Childhood and Youth Studies and chair of the Sociology Department at Salem State University in Salem, Massachusetts, USA (email: yvissing@salemstate.edu).

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

Joseph Zajda (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne) is associate professor in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus). He specialises in globalisation and education policy reforms, social justice, history education and values education. He has written and edited 32 books and over 100 book chapters and articles in the areas of globalisation and education policy, higher education and curriculum reforms. Recent publications include *Globalisation and National Identity in History Textbooks: The Russian Federation* (2017) edited by Zajda, Tsyrlina-Spady and Lovorn; *Globalisation and Historiography of National Leaders: Symbolic Representations in School Textbooks* (2017) edited by Zajda and Ozdowski; *Globalisation and Human Rights Education* (2014); "Globalisation and Neoliberalism as Educational Policy in Australia," in *Neoliberal Education Reforms: A Global Analysis* (2014) edited by H. Yolcu and D. Turner; "The Russian Revolution," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of*

Globalization Online (2014) edited by G. Ritzer and J. M. Ryan; and "Values Education," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy* edited by D. Phillips. He is also the editor of the 24-volume book series Globalisation and Comparative Education (Springer, 2009&2020). He edits *World Studies in Education, Curriculum and Teaching,* and *Education and Society* for James Nicholas Publishers. His works are found in 445 publications in 4 languages and some 10,000 university library holdings globally. He was awarded an ARC Discovery Grant (with Monash University) for 2011–2015 for a comparative analysis of history national curriculum implementation in Russia and Australia ($315,000) and was elected as fellow of the Australian College of Educators (June 2013).

Chapter 1
Globalisation and Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies

Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter analyses current research trends in education reforms around the world, with a focus on higher education. The chapter critiques and evaluates a neo-liberal and neoconservative education policy, meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education, globalisation processes impacting on education and policy reforms, models of governance in education, global university rankings, internationalization, competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally, promoting economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity through education reforms, and teaching globalism through a human rights framework.

Explaining Globalisation as a Meta-Ideology

Globalisation, according to Ampuja (2015), is now the 'most important keyword' of the global triumph of neoliberal capitalism. He argues that these concepts have become 'dominant in the social sciences, to the point of establishing a new theoretical orthodoxy that we can define as globalisation theory' (Ampuja, 2015, p. 18). Consequently, globalisation has also acquired, argues Daun (2015), a new meta-ideology that carries strong elements of Western ideologies:

> . . .principally individualism, the uniqueness of the individual, and so on, which are among the elements that neo-liberalism and modern communitarianism share, and this common denominator may be called the *global hegemonic meta-ideology*. Among other things, this meta-ideology largely consists of market ideas and ideas derived from human and citizen rights. Ideological adaptations towards this meta-ideology are taking place (Daun, 2015, p. 34).

Furthermore, Daun (2015), explains, that as a dominant ideology, globalisation 'wields hegemonic power', as it is presented as an inevitable and unavoidable

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

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process, and global competition as an indispensable feature for a society in order to survive or at least progress' (Daun, 2015, p. 34). This suggest a *deterministic* view of society and social change.

However, globalisation continues to be one of the most complex and 'contested' concepts (Guillen, 2000). Gilpin (1987), in his theory of globalisation of economies, defined globalisation as the 'increasing interdependence of national economies in trade, finance and macroeconomic policies' (Gilpin, 1987, p. 389). As a dominant ideology, globalisation was associated with neo-liberalism and technocratic solutions to economic reforms (Apple, 2004; Cox, 1996; Zajda, 2015a, 2016). Castells (1996), Kobrin (1998), and Carnoy (1999), on the other hand, as result of the advances in the ICT (Information Communication Technologies) of the global economy, stressed the informational dimension of globalisation and education reforms.

Apart from the multi-faceted nature of globalisation that invites contesting and competing *ideological* interpretations, numerous paradigms and theoretical models have been also used, ranging from structuralism to post-structuralism, to explain the phenomenon of globalisation. When, for instance, a writer or a seminar speaker uses the word 'globalisation' in a pedagogical and educational policy context, one wonders what assumptions, be they economic, political, social and ideological, have been taken for granted, and at their face value—uncritically, as a given, and in this case, as a *globocratic* (like technocratic) phenomenon (Zajda, 2008b). The politics of globalisation, particularly the hydra of ideologies, which are inscribed in the discourse of globalisation need to be analysed critically, to avoid superficial and one-dimensional interpretation of the term.

If we define the global system (eg. the global economy, the global markets, the global media etc.) as referring to economic, political and social connections, which crosscut borders between countries and have a significant impact 'on the life-chances of people globally' (Giddens, 1991, p. 520), then we are focusing on culturally and economically interdependent 'global village'. The term 'culture' already includes all other dimensions and artefacts. To explain the phenomenon of globalisation Giddens focuses on the increasing economic and cultural interdependence of societies globally (Giddens, 1991, p. 61), whereas Korsgaard (1997) and others argued that globalisation reflects *social relations* that are also linked to the political, social, cultural and environmental spheres (Korsgaard, 1997, pp. 15–24).

The above perceptions of globalisation demonstrate that globalisation as a phenomenon, is a multi-dimensional cultural construct, reflecting the necessary interdependence and connections of all core facets of culture: the economy, politics, ideology, languages, education, consumer goods, travel, modes of communication, technology, and the people around the world.

The Impact of Globalisation on Education Policy and Reforms

There is no doubt that economic, political, cultural and social dimensions of globalisation have a profound effect on education and society, both locally and globally. The on-going economic restructuring among nation-states, together with the current education hegemonies shaping dominant discourses as to how education policy and curriculum need to be reformed, in response to the ubiquitous global monitoring of educational quality and standards, are some of the outcomes of the globalisation process (Tiongson, 2005; Zajda, 2009). In critiquing globalisation and its impact on education, we need to know how its 'ideological packaging' affect education practices around the world. As Carnoy and Rhoten (2002), wrote, there was a need to assess a possible nexus between globalisation, ideology, education reforms and their impact on schooling:

> In assessing globalization's true relationship to educational change, we need to know how globalization and its ideological packaging affect the overall delivery of schooling, from transnational paradigms, to national policies, to local practices. (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002, p. 3).

In higher education policy rhetoric, both locally and globally, there is a tendency to argue, using a powerful tool of logic, that there is a need to increase global competitiveness, and to improve excellence and quality in education, training and skills (International trends in higher education, 2016). The major problem with policy rhetoric is that its main thrust is on 'sheer commonsense' (Brady, 1988). Who would argue against improving global competitiveness, and excellence and quality education, training and skills that contributes to better job opportunities and living conditions? Appealing to one's logic and common sense is likely to weaken one's critical analysis. In order not to be seduced by this pervasive policy rhetoric, or word magic, we need to be armed with a "crap detector", the term used by Postman & Weingartner (1971) in their critical analysis of classroom pedagogy. "Crap-detecting" as a term originated with Ernest Hemingway, who when asked in the early 1960s by an interviewer on the radio, to identify the characteristics required for a person to be a great writer replied, "In order to be a great writer a person must have a built-in, shockproof, crap detector" (Postman & Weingartner, 1971, p. 16).

Recent changes in the world economy have resulted in at least **four** macro-social policy responses of the higher education sector globally to the market forces and competitiveness:

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

Globalisation and Competitiveness-Driven Reforms

Globalisation, marketization and *competitiveness-driven* reforms both locally and globally were productivity-centred, involving privatization, decentralization, standards and improved management.

Globalisation and Finance-Driven Reforms

Globalisation resulted in increased competitiveness among nations and adjustment to a new globally dictated "structural" reality – structural adjustment. The main goal is to reduce public spending on education. In competitiveness-driven reforms the goal is to improve the productivity of labour and efficiency of resource use.

Market Forces–Driven Reforms for Dominance Globally

Globalisation resulted in competition for global dominance among nations. It has created economic leagues tables, favouring the few major economies and promoting academic elitism.

Equity-Driven Reforms

The main goal of equity-driven reforms in education and society is to increase economic capital and economic opportunity for all. Because educational attainment is a crucial factor in determining earnings and social positions, equalizing access to high-quality education can play a significant role here. Globalisation-driven higher education reforms tend to "push governments away from equity-driven reforms" (Carnoy, 1999, p. 46; Zajda, 2015a). This is due to two reasons. Firstly, globalisation tends to increase the pay-off to high-level skills relative to lower-level skills, reducing the nexus between equity and competitiveness-driven reforms. Secondly, finance-driven reforms dominate education and policy reforms in the global economy, and consequently increase inequity in education.

The Ascent of a Neo-Liberalism in Education Policy Reforms

The ascent of a neo-liberal and neoconservative higher education policy, which has redefined education and training as an investment in human capital and human resource development, has dominated higher education reforms globally since the 1980s (Zajda, 2012, 2016a, 2016b). The literature relating to human capital theory demonstrates that education consistently emerges as the prime human capital investment. Human capital refers to "the productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy" (Zajda, 2008a, p. 45). Human capital research has found that education and training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills; improves a worker's socio-economic status, career opportunities and income (Becker, 1964, 1994; Carnoy, 1999; Levin, 1987; Saha, 2005; Schultz, 1971; Zajda, 2007, 2015a); and plays a significant role in driving overall economic performance. In general, neo-liberalism in higher education policy reforms focuses on "meeting the needs of the market, technical education and job training, and revenue generation" (Saunders, 2010, p. 54).

The continual dominance of human capital theory as a social, economic, educational and vocational paradigm is problematic. On one hand, with its focus on human beings as income producing agents in the economy, it seems to offer promising economic returns, by raising the productivity of workers and the imparting of useful knowledge and skills. One could argue that there are both winners and losers in this approach. The goal of economies is to maximise efficiency, quality and profit-driven industries. When the production costs increase due to costs associated with labour, industries, in order to maintain their competitive dominance, shift to other more favourable markets in other regions, where wages and production costs are considerably lower. Thus, many skilled workers and highly qualified professionals become redundant. Global competitiveness reflects the reality of the market forces.

Human capital theory, while focusing on the productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy, does not consider other agents and forces, namely the capitalist nature of societies, the profit-driven culture, market forces, and the ubiquitous nature of global competition for economic dominance. Above all, the human capital discourse ignores 'the value of education outside of work' (Klees, 2016, p. 658).

While human capital theory continues to exercise its dominance and power in education policy research, it is not infallible. Klees (2016), analyses and critiques the theoretical weakness and the conceptual failure of human capital theory and the logic of rates of return (Klees, 2016, p. 645). Research data on the impact of the quantity of education on earnings and on GNP, argues Klees (2016), tend to be 'completely arbitrary':

> . . .different choices in estimating the impact of education on GNP yield different measures of impact, so their reported results are completely arbitrary and certainly not something policy makers should take seriously. Like measuring the impact of education on earnings, measuring the impact of education on GNP has unfortunately commanded the attention of educators and policy makers for over 50 years, yet, in reality, has been a dead end, providing no reliable or even approximate information to help a sensible allocation of societal resources (Klees, 2016, p. 658).

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

Carnoy (1999) was also critical of the role of neo-liberal ideology in education reforms, with its imperatives of accountability, competition, performance, and efficiency, rather than equity and social justice:

> . . .it should be noted that, because of the present context of globalization, in and through which neoliberal concepts tend to guide economic and social reform (Peck and Tickell 2002), those education policies which are taken up by key international actors and which go global are ones which reflect and which help to advance principles of competition, efficiency and accountability – rather than equity or social justice, for example (Carnoy, 1999).

Globalisation, policy and the politics of higher education reforms globally suggest ubiquitous economic and political dimensions of neo-liberalism, and *re-invented* cultural imperialism (see Carnoy, 1977; Geo-JaJa & Knight, 2008; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Rust & Kim, 2015; Zajda, 2015). As the UNESCO's humanistic model for education, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, "the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was gaining in prominence" (Zajda, 2015a).

Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy were likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for higher education reforms and policy implementations globally (Zajda & Rust, 2016). Forces of globalisation, manifesting themselves as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, tended to legitimate an "exploitative system" (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005), and have contributed to the ongoing neo-liberal globalisation of the higher education sector. This is characterized by a relentless drive towards performance, global standards of excellence and quality, globalization of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), global academic elitism and league tables for the universities (Zajda, 2014). The latter signifies both ascribed and achieved status, the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. In higher education policy documents in the OECD, the World Bank, and elsewhere, policy reforms appear to be presented as a given, and as a necessary response to economic globalization and global competitiveness.

The impact of globalisation on education policy and reforms around the world has become a strategically significant issue, for it expresses one of the most ubiquitous, yet poorly understood phenomena of modernity and associated politico-economic and cultural transformations. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that forces of globalisation have contributed to a new dimension of socio-economic stratification, which offers immense gains to the very few of the economic elite in developed

nations and in the emerging economies, especially in Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS). At the same time, it creates a growing and visible socio-economic divide between the rich and the poor globally, thus planting seeds of discontent and conflict for the future.

Standards-Driven and Outcomes-Defined Policy Change

One of the effects of forces of globalisation is that educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism. Hence, the politics of education reforms in the twenty-first century reflect this new emerging paradigm of standards-driven and outcomes-defined policy change (Meyer, 2014; Zajda, 2015a, 2016). Some policy analysts have criticized the ubiquitous and excessive nature of standardization in education imposed by the EFA framework (Carnoy, 1999; Torres, 1998).

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

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions (Coombs, 1982). In the global culture, the university, as other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution. Such a managerial and entrepreneurial re-orientation would have been seen in the past as antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university of providing knowledge for its own sake (see also Sabour, 2005; Zajda, 2015a). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on education. One of the effects of globalisation on education in all spheres, is that it is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. This is particularly evident in higher education. The new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neoliberal ideology (Zajda, 2015b).

The emerging challenges for education and policy reforms include a drive towards improving academic achievement in secondary schools. Our key findings indicate that current trends in most BRICS countries' treatment of governance in education rely on the discourses of accountability, performance and output driven schooling, and that they are characterized by the new high-stakes testing through the final year tests in secondary schools. The drive for global competitiveness means that recent education policy reforms in secondary education tend to be standards- and (global) accountability- driven. BRICS governments' and MoEs' push for high

academic achievement in secondary schools has been influenced by the emerging standardizing regimes of global educational governance such as the OECD PISA assessment (Meyer & Benavot, 2013).

Globalisation, Marketisation and Quality/Efficiency Driven Reforms

Globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the "lifelong learning for all", or a "cradle-to-grave" vision of learning and the "knowledge economy" in the global culture. Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All of them agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the 'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes (OECD, *Education policy outlook 2015: making reforms happen*). Yet, not all schools are successful in addressing the new academic standards imperatives, due to a number of factors, both internal and external. Cohen (2011), for instance, attributes failure of education reforms in the USA due to fragmented school governance and the lack of coherent educational infrastructure.

To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in co-operation with UNESCO, is using *World Education Indicators* (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals (OECD, 2016 *Education at a Glance* – OECD *Indicators*).

Since the 1980s, higher education policy and reforms globally have been influenced by the grand narratives of globalisation, neo-liberalism, human capital and economic rationalism. Higher education policy reforms in the 1980s represented a drive towards economic rationalism, where the increasingly traditional role of the university was replaced by a market-oriented and entrepreneurial university. It has led to entrepreneurial university awards. For instance, the University of Huddersfield has been awarded the prestigious *Times Higher Education* Entrepreneurial University of the Year award for 2013. The neo-liberal university, as noted by Saunders and others, emphasizes the "role of the faculty not as educators, researchers, or members of a larger community, but as entrepreneurs" (Saunders, 2010, p. 60). Accordingly, the current redefinition of academics into "entrepreneurs is widespread and is consistent with neo-liberal ideology as is the commodification, commercialization, and marketization of the fruits of faculty labour" (Saunders, 2010, p. 60).

Current Developments in Education and Policy

New phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy around the word. First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. The periodic economic crises (e.g. the 1980s, 2008), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (e.g. SAPs) have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all. The poor are unable to feed their children, let alone send them to school. This is particularly evident in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia, Central Asian Republics (former member states of the USSR), South East Asia, and elsewhere, where children, for instance (and girls in particular, as in the case of Afghanistan Tajikistan and rural India, to name a few) are forced to stay at home, helping and working for their parents, and thus are unable to attend school. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful cultural forces, which, as supranational organisation, shape and influence education and policy around the world. Hence, the struggle for knowledge domination, production, and dissemination becomes a new form of a knowledge and technology-driven social stratification.

Globalisation and Social Inequality

The need to address economic and social inequalities was discussed by Dervis (2007), who argued that globalisation has changed the world economy by creating "winners" and "losers":

> Globalization has fundamentally altered the world economy, creating winners and losers. Reducing inequalities both within and between countries, and building a more inclusive globalization is the most important development challenge of our time . . . Addressing these inequalities is our era's most important development challenge, and underscores why inclusive development is central to the mission of the UN and UNDP. (Dervis, 2007).

In his informed critique of the human capital discourse, and its use in the logic of rates of return, or the impact of the quantity of education on earnings, Klees (2016) demonstrates that human capital theory and its connection between education and productivity is defined and driven by the ideology of meritocratic capitalism, and neo-liberal ideology, where its 'rewards are more or less deserved' (Klees 2016, p. 259). Consequently, it has been fashionable since the 1980s, to use the human capital and skills discourses to 'blame individuals', rather than social structures and organisation, for lack of education and job opportunities:

> . . .for their lack of 'investment' in human capital, for their not attending school, for their dropping out of school, for their not studying the 'right' fields, for their lack of entrepreneurship (Klees, 2016, p. 259).

The very ideology of capitalism, conveniently legitimated by human capital theory, could never solve social inequality and poverty, because greater economic equality, employment and social justice are not the goals of capitalism. Capitalism, driven by the profit-maximisation incentive, makes social inequality, lack of full employment and endemic poverty inevitable (Apple, 2001; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Klees, 2016; Wallerstein, 1984; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017a; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017b).

Rizvi (2017) also suggests that the current discourse of educational reforms, driven by a neo-liberal ideology, has resulted in the intensification of 'social inequalities' (Rizvi, 2017, p. 10). He argues that globalisation while bringing 'great benefits to most communities', at the same time reinforces inequalities:

> Global mobility of people, ideas and media has brought great benefits to most communities, but clearly in ways that are uneven and unequal (Rizvi, 2017, p. 12).

One of the effects of globalisation is that the higher education sector, having modelled its goals and strategies on the market-oriented and *entrepreneurial* business model, which reflects neo-liberal ideology, is compelled to embrace the 'corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism' (Zajda, 2015a). This necessarily produces both socially and economically stratified societies and education systems.

Dimensions of inequality are due to the impact of privatisation/marketisation, and the rising inequity in the availability of funds among local education/regional authorities, because of differentiated economic and social differences between rich and poor regions (World Bank, 2018). Regional inequalities in educational funding have an adverse effect on access to quality education (Franzini & Pianta, 2015; UNESCO, 2017; World Bank, 2017). Some poorer rural regions are socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged, with little access to high-quality education. Current government policy of supporting best-performing schools, based on National examination results in secondary schools, will continue to have an 'adverse effect on access to quality education for all in those regions' (Dervin & Zajda, 2018, p. 7).

From a critical theory perspective, globalisation has contributed to a new form of entrenched social stratification between the rich and poor economies (Milanovic, 2005a, 2005b, 2006). Dimensions of social inequality are essentially due to the impact of capitalist economy, privatisation/marketisation, and the rising inequity in the availability of funds among local education/regional authorities, because of differentiated economic and social differences between rich and poor regions. Regional inequalities in educational funding have an adverse effect on access to quality education. Some poorer rural regions are socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged, with little access to high-quality education. Current government policy of supporting best-performing schools, based on National examination results in secondary schools, will continue to have an 'adverse effect on access to quality education for all in those regions' (Dervin & Zajda, 2018, p. 7).

The above critique of globalisation, policy and education reforms suggests new economic, social and political dimensions of cultural imperialism (see Zajda, 2015a). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology, affecting policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations.

Conclusion

The above analysis of social change, education policy reforms, and the resultant social stratifications in the global culture, demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms – where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand, globalisation is perceived, by some critics at least, to be a totalising force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and bringing power, domination and control by corporate bodies and powerful organisations (Milanovic, 2006, 2016). Hence, we need to continue exploring critically the new challenges confronting the global village, in the provision of authentic democracy, social justice, and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy (Zajda, 2015a). We need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely equity, social justice and human rights, if genuine culture of learning, and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion, equality, and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than a policy rhetoric (Bindé, 2000; Coulson, 2002; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017).

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Chapter 2
Globalisations, Meta-Ideological Hegemony and Paradigm Shifts in Education

Holger Daun

Abstract This chapter presents an embryo of a heuristic framework for description of ideological shifts in education. The chapter makes an overview of some of the most common Western ideologies and their roots and discusses them in the context of more profound societal paradigms. Some Muslim ideological orientations will also be presented. It is argued here that ideological and policy changes are conditioned by the challenges from the globalized meta-ideology, which is hegemonic, as it determines the dominant discourse surrounding education, society and ideology. The chapter demonstrates that the Western globalisation carries a new meta-ideology, with strong elements of some Western ideologies – principally individualism, the uniqueness of the individual, democracy, and freedom of choice, which are among the elements that late (neo-) liberalism and modern communitarianism share, and this common denominator may be called the *global hegemonic meta-ideology.*

Globalisations, Ideology and Policy

Political parties and governments in various countries (among them Muslim countries) around the world have in the past three decades accepted or been pushed for societal and educational changes that they were unlikely to favour earlier. They have formulated and often implemented policies that are alien or strange to their traditional core programs and constituencies. One principal reason for this is that new types of structures, cultures and challenges have emerged, to which established cultures and ideologies have been compelled to respond. As a result, ideological changes or shifts are taking place, and some of the frontiers between the prevailing ideologies have been blurred (Miller, 1989).

The early modern ideologies were formed primarily along lines of the left – right division but new phenomena have emerged to be evaluated, explained and acted upon along new ideological dimensions, for instance: large-scale arrangements versus

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

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

Also, Islam and its educational institutions are now being globalized and attempt to respond to the new situation. Islam itself is a globalising force but among Muslims, there are different views on the relationship between Islam and the Western-style globalisation (Beeley, 1992). Thus, we have to deal with two principal types of globalisation – Western and Islamic – and may therefore use "globalisations" (in plural).

The purpose of this chapter is to present an embryo of a heuristic framework for description of ideological shifts in education. The chapter makes an overview of some of the most common Western ideologies and their roots and discusses them in the context of more profound societal paradigms. Some Muslim ideological orientations will also be presented.

It is argued here that ideological and policy changes are conditioned by the challenges from the globalized meta-ideology, which is hegemonic, as it determines the dominant discourse surrounding education, society and ideology (Zajda, 2014, 2016). The chapter demonstrates that the Western globalisation carries a new meta-ideology, with strong elements of some Western ideologies – principally individualism, the uniqueness of the individual, democracy, and freedom of choice, which are among the elements that late (neo-) liberalism and modern communitarianism share, and this common denominator may be called the *global hegemonic meta-ideology*. Among other things, this meta-ideology largely consists of market ideas and ideas derived from human and citizen rights. Ideological adaptations towards this meta-ideology are taking place in many geographical areas in the world.

In terms of ideology, Western globalisation wields hegemonic power as it is presented as an inevitable and unavoidable process, and global competition as an indispensable feature for a society to progress or at least survive (Brown, 1999; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Cox, 2000; Gill, 2000; Mittelman, 1996; Spring, 2009).

Islam itself includes different ideological orientations which may be grouped into four categories: (i) secular orientation, (ii) modern orientation, (iii) traditionalist orientation and (iv) fundamentalist/Islamist orientation (Saadallah, 2018). They will be further discussed in Sect. 2.

Paradigms, Culture and Ideology

The roots of the contemporary Western ideologies may be traced back to the eighteenth century but this will not be done here. The emergence of these ideologies (Liberalism, Conservatism, Reformist Socialism, Revolutionary Socialism, and Anarchism) preceded or coincided with industrialization and the construction of

the modern state in Europe and North America. In the 1930s, the economic world crisis created ground for Keynesianism, which added to these earlier ideologies.[1]

The ideological shifts and mutations during the twentieth century have made it difficult for researchers to label the new versions of ideologies, even though some attempts have been made, such as "the New Right" and "Neo-conservatism" (Apple, 2000); "the new Left" (Giddens, 1994); "Neo-liberalism" (Brown, Halsey, Lauder, & Stuart Wells, 1997a, 1997b). The contradictions and confusions, conceptual and others, to a large extent derive from the structural and cultural changes that have taken place during the past decades, some of them due to globalisation processes but also the discourse on globalisation itself. Global competitiveness is now an overriding goal and discourse for most countries in the world, and equality and collective efforts seem to be neglected or even rejected. Equality tends to be seen as a bi-product to economic growth.

In many countries, a gap has emerged between, on the one hand, national leaders and voters and, on the other hand, between policies decided upon or even implemented, (see, for example, Andeweg, 1996; Bakker, Edwards, Jolly, Polk, & Royny, 2010). However, values have not changed as much as societal structures, economic patterns and technology (World values survey, 2015).

Paradigm, culture, ideology and policy are interrelated concepts. A paradigm is the most abstract but also the most profound features of cultures, ideologies, social theories and common sense, and these features are situated at the level of (a) epistemology and ontology (view of man, view of society, view of the state, view of knowledge, and so on); (b) a view of the role of education in society and for the individual, and (c) discourse and policies (Burrel & Morgan, 1992; Watt, 1994). Culture is an ongoing construction of shared world views, visions and meanings (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Aspects of culture(s) are visions used programmatically to justify a certain state of affairs or vision of certain states of affair constitute ideologies. When ideological elements are transferred into the policy-making arena, they tend to adapt to the context and concrete circumstances (Sörensen, 1987). Ideologies were originally linked to socio-economic class and material conditions of people but are now being de-linked from class structures and group interests and more and more linked to the drives for individual autonomy, competitiveness, "modularity",[2] new types of governance, uncertainty, risk, and so on (Gellner, 1994; Reich, 1997).

Political party programs and ideologies are less abstract than paradigms and often have to deal and "negotiate" with the concrete realities. Therefore, political programs

[1] J. M. Keynes (1936) in his book, *The general theory of employment, interest and money*, argued that the state should actively intervene in society in order to avoid economic depression by extracting money (through taxes) from society when the economy was "hot" and allocate resources (public investments, subsidies.) when the economy went down. A balanced economy, in his theories, meant also full employment. It seems that the financial crisis in the world starting in 2008 contributed to ideas such as "international Keynesianism".

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

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

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

Policies are political decisions and their implementation, and they can vary in a number of dimensions, but here it will suffice to mention the ideological dimension, which may range from utopian to remedial.[3] In the first case, policies are oriented towards goals that correspond to a low degree to existing realities. Remedial policies are defensive, since they, at least at the discursive level, aim at solving existing problems. However, there are various perceptions of what constitutes a problem and still more so of the solution of problems. Events, processes and states of affair need to have a certain structure in order to be perceived as problems (Sörensen, 1987).

Hegemony, as it was once conceptualized by Gramsci (1971) operated at the national level and implied consensus within the framework of a national, industrialized capitalist economy, based on the fact that the capitalist class was able to make the dominated class(es) accept the dominant culture and ideology as "common sense" (Sears & Moorers, 1995). However, it can reasonably be expanded to fit a global framework, in the context of global processes. Thus, hegemony is ideological domination. Moreover, Sears and Moorers (1995, p. 244) refer to Laclau (1990), who argues that hegemony is a discursive matter: it is the ability to extend the dominating discourse and make its alternatives converge with itself.

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

As far as education is concerned, its value tends to be perceived in two principal ways: (i) as a value in itself, or (ii) as an instrumental value. In the first case, it is seen as a human right, a basic human need or an indispensable aspect of welfare and well-being. In the second case, it is an investment and qualification for future roles in the spheres of production and consumption or a means to create democratic citizens, for instance (Colclough, 1990; Cornia, Jollby, & Stewart, 1987; Farrell, 1992).

[3] "Utopia" in the same sense as that used by Karl Mannheim. He argues that imaginary states of affair are utopian orientations, while he reserves "ideology" for justification of the maintenance of present order (See Worsley, 1991).

Furthermore, the relationship between society and the education systems have, during different historical period, been seen in four different ways: (i) Education is conditioned by and adapting to societal changes; (ii) education is the Motor driving societal changes, (iii) society and education in mutual interrelationship, or (iv) education as more or less independent of or isolated from society (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). A certain view among the four has prevailed for a certain period and then faded away or been abandoned due to the emergence of another view. The second (ii) view has dominated since the beginning of the 1990s and it corresponds to the liberal market view (see, for example, human capital theory).

With these conceptual distinctions, the most common ideologies and their shifts will now be discussed.

Early and Late Modern Ideologies

Liberalism, Social Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

In classical liberalism, we find an economic and a political branch. The former makes certain basic assumptions about the conditions for economic efficiency, effectiveness and progress. It argues that freedom of ownership and economic entrepreneurship and to freely enter and exit markets are human rights. Exchange on markets is the most effective and efficient way of attaining individual and societal progress. There should be minimum interferences from actors other than purely economic actors (mainly the state) (Hayek, 1960; Sabine, 1964).

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

Neo-liberalism is hostile to and defines traditions as "externalities" (to the economy) but at the same time it depends in on the persistence of tradition (nation, religion, family) (Apple, 2000; Giddens, 1994; Zajda, 2014). Two important assumptions are that everything could be "marketized" and that human beings are driven by the desire to maximize own utility regardless of time and place. Structural adjustment programs initiated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in a large number of countries around the world are based on the late liberal assumptions.

Conservatism

As an ideology conservatism emerged when the countries in Europe were characterized by church control over peoples´ lives, unequal socio-economic structures and a highly differentiated and selective education. These features were the ones to be preserved since they defended the privileged groups of society (Sabine, 1964).

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

Giddens (1994), argues that the "New Right" is not conservatism because it is "hostile to tradition" while at the same time it depends on "the persistence of tradition"; it honours nation, religion and the family. Held (1995) finds within the New right "severe tensions between individual liberty, collective decision-making and institutions and processes of democracy" (p. 495). Halsey, Brown, Lauder, and Wells (1997) argue along the same lines when they – within the New Right – find argument for international competition as well as romanticization of the past of the "ideal" home, family and school. In conservatism, education is generally seen as fostering, mainly in moral values and citizenship.[4]

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

[4]It is common in relation to transition countries to argue that former Communists are conservatives, because they want to restore the situation prior to the collapse of the Communist system. This popular use of "conservatism" is not very meaningful, since it does not consider the connotation or content of the term conservative.

Communism, Utopian Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Cooperative Socialism

These ideologies have one thing in common: the belief in a classless and stateless society with emancipated individuals who are collectively oriented and rational. The locus for decision-making is the local, be it a community, a factory or another collective entity.

Anarchism implies individualism, but it is an individualism which is collectively oriented. However, the means to reach this state of affairs and the solutions these ideologies suggest for reaching this utopian society differ considerably (Bakunin, 1981; Kropotkin, 1981; Sabine, 1964; Woodcock, 1962). The classical anarchists believed that individual (and sometimes violent) actions, such as sabotage, strike, etc. could make the capitalist society collapse and that an egalitarian society could be created from the ruins of the capitalist society. Utopian socialism was born before Marx' writings became known and was later revived after the upheaval of the 1960s. Cooperative socialists, syndicalists and anarchists support private initiatives driven by cooperative ideals, that is ideals other than market principles. One principle they have in common is a belief in small-scale cooperative efforts to achieve a classless society (Woodcock, 1962). Utopian socialism and cooperative socialism existed mainly in England and France during the nineteenth century. These socialists were convinced that the establishment of cooperative movements and firms (not-for-profit) could lead to a better society without capitalism and a strong, central state. A general theme in syndicalism is the belief that society can change in the direction mentioned above through massive participation in trade unions and their strategic general strikes. Small pockets of syndicalists exist in many places in the world.

Socialism and Keynesianism

Reformist socialism eventually became Social Democracy, that rejected the revolutionary way of changing the capitalist society (Sabine, 1964). Instead, it was seen as possible to seize the state through general elections and then use it for societal transformation. Before reformist socialists ever came into power position, they tended to see the education system as one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, an apparatus that defended the interests of the privileged class (Althusser, 1972; Burrel & Morgan, 1992; Craib, 1992). When they had implemented universal primary and secondary education, this view changed, and nowadays education by them is seen as a way to a more egalitarian society (even if the sorting function of education systems is still recognized to be working) (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985).

Communitarianism and Populism

Communitarianism is not a paradigm in the same sense as the others. Rather, it consists of various ideas and practical approaches that have a certain common denominator, different from the core of the other paradigms. Communitarians have a common denominator in what Thomas (1994) calls "college" (the local as the platform for decision-making and locus of intent); decisions are made at the local level and for the common good at that level. That is, a "community" or an association should be the context for decision-making and ties of solidarity. The common is not necessarily the nation-state but a "community".

Communitarians argue that a strong civil society and social capital are necessary for the preservation of individual liberty and at the same time solidarity. Also, they state that communitarianism is a third alternative – between capitalism and centralized political bureaucracy (Etzioni, 1995, Wesolowski, 1995). In this view both welfare bureaucracy and market forces undermine altruistic incentives and create anonymity and alienation (Green, 1993; Hunter, 1995; Vincent, 1994). On the other hand, the state is seen as the only guarantor against the complete take over by the capitalist and market forces (Etzioni, 1994). Many communitarians do not question the state and capitalism as such. They see both as a necessary foundation for freedom and welfare per se, but reject their extreme forms, such as a high degree of state centralization and alliances between lobbying pressure groups and the state. Communitarians are afraid of elitism and tend to see the Keynesian approach as suppression of difference, of individual rights and freedom. What is needed is solidarity and a feeling of belongingness (Barber, 1996; Etzioni, 1994; McCarthy et al., 1981).

A basic idea of early communitarianism is that the individual once belonged by birth to his/her community. Each community formed an organic whole. Such conditions of life have now got lost and have been substituted by a direct "contract" between the individual and the state (Etzioni, 1994; McCarthy et al., 1981). Still today, in many places in low income countries, the community is more important than the individual. Another basic idea (especially in late communitarianism) is that people who have something in common form communities. What they have in common may vary from "everything" to a particular issue (Offe, 1996).

There are thus two branches of communitarianism. One is the early conservative communitarian, based on the local community traditions. This branch has a long tradition in the USA but became more articulate from the 1970s in the form of some organized religious groups and scattered and unorganized groups of parents and/or teachers (Barber, 1996; Etzioni, 1995; McCarthy et al., 1981; Piven & Cloward, 1995). Today in the USA both sides support it, as to the Democrats it means security and solidarity, to the Republicans it means social order. The other branch is the late communitarianism that emerged in the 1960s. Waters (2000) distinguishes between two categories of communitarians: (a) the New Right, conservative, that is searching for an organic and integrated association between people who have many features in common; and (b) the New Left, the radical communitarians, according to which communities based on some common interests or common life styles are good for

democratic participation. The New Right stress individual autonomy and the right to consume. The New Left are critical to the neo-liberal concept of freedom as something neutral and independent of social and cultural context. They see the common good as resulting from shared activities and transmitted values but also as the context from which the individual derives his or her freedom and choice possibilities (Haldane, 1996).

For some of the late communitarians, the goal is to restore the "spirit" of community (Etzioni, 1995), while early communitarians go still further and argue for a restoration not only of the spirit but of the functions and forms of the old communities (McCarthy et al., 1981). Also, the early branch has similarities with and is by some researchers called populism and is often locally or nationally oriented (Lauglo, 1995). However, some of features that Apple (2000) assigns to neo-conservatives also fit here: "romantic appraisal of the past, "real knowledge", national curricula, national testing, "Western tradition".

Late communitarians do not see "community" as something necessarily based on common residence or locality but as some type of "sameness" (Offe, 1996) or shared life style, be it ecological issues, feminist issues, gay life styles, etc. This branch seems to have been influenced by communism, anarchism, utopian socialism and post-modernism. It is internationally oriented and defends individual autonomy and civil society (Held, 1995). Late communitarians are critical of the neo-liberal concepts of freedom and preferences as something neutral and independent of social and cultural context; both of them are seen as acquired in a social, political and cultural context. They see the common good as resulting from shared activities and transmitted values from which the individual derives his or her freedom and choice possibilities (Haldane, 1996; Kukathas, 1996).

Populism

Populism is by some researchers seen as socialist, while others see it as conservatism (or even fascism). In this chapter, no attempt will be made to classify populism, but it is mentioned here, because it is sometimes an ingredient of communitarianism.

Nowadays "populism" is often used in everyday language to mean "opportunistic", "folk"-oriented, etc. However, the term populism was originally used for the view that once upon a time, people lived in a "natural" or "innocent" state of affairs; there was no urbanization, no large-scale capitalism or big state, and leaders were locally based and came into power position either by tradition or through elections at the local (village) level. Life was not very complicated, there were no national elites and people at the grassroots level knew what was best for themselves (Ionescu and Gellner, 1969). Society is by populists seen as divided into folk and elite. Directors and owners of big companies, intellectuals and national politicians are seen the elite, that does not know and understand the desires and needs of the folk.

Muslim Ideological Orientations

In addition to the traditional cleavage between Shi'ites and Sunnites another difference cuts across different branches of Islam, namely that of ideological orientations. These orientations are due to different levels of (Western type) education and different experiences of "Westernism". Since the meta-ideology is the main issue here, the Muslim orientations will be merely briefly described on the basis of Table 2.1.

Four orientations may be distinguished: secularism, traditionalism, modernism and fundamentalism/Islamism. The role ascribed to religion or religious activity can be a private or public matter. The third column shows how law is seen – either as man-made or created by God (Allah). Interpretation of Islamic matters and contemporary phenomena in relation to such matters must be made by ulama (the learned class) or the individual himself or herself. Sovereignty/Political system refers to whether the state should be dominated by Islam and Sharia or whether the state should be neutral in relation to religion. Identity or loyalty: Whether religious identity is more important than national identity or vice versa. Activism/Political implication: Whether Islam is or should be the basis for political action or not. Education may be purely religious, purely secular or mixed. Umma is the Muslim community which is identified at different levels, from local to worldwide.

Islamic revivalism makes part of the traditionalist and the fundamentalist/Islamist orientations, often as a reaction to Western globalisation. Revivalism has two principal orientations, one conservative and fundamentalism, and one progressive (Gregorian, 2001). For example, groups of traditionalists and fundamentalists struggle for the restoration of what is believed to have been the societal state of affairs during the first decades of Islam (Saadallah, 2018).

Globalisation, Hegemony and Education

Globalisation is something more than internationalization. The latter is resulting from state as well as non-state actions taken from within countries in relation to bodies and people in other countries. Western globalisation is processes of compression of the world (in space and time) through ICT; economic interdependencies of global reach; and an ideology (Cox, 2000), or "the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). The de-regulations implemented on the basis of neo-liberal ideas from the 1980s imply that multinational companies are not bound to any specific countries but may have units in different countries and they make decisions that many times ignore national borders. This fact makes them able to steer economic matters independently from the states. Such de-territorialization also takes place in the case of religions.

Western globalisation implies among other things: a challenge to and a questioning of national and local cultures; universalization of certain aspects of

Table 2.1 Muslim ideological orientations

Orientation	Sphere of religion	Concept of law	Interpre-tation	Sovereignty/Political system	Identity/loyalty	Activism/ Political implication	Education
Secularism	Private	Man-made	Freedom of inter-pret-tation	Democra-tic/pluralist	National identity and loy-alty as important as religi-ous identity	–	Secular and modern
Traditiona-lism	Public	God's law/sharia	Interpreta-tion restricted to ulama	Not necessarily Islamic	Religious identity	–	Speciali-zed ulama education
Modernism/ liberalism	Public	Law man- made, guided by Islamic principles	Freedom of inter-pretation/ extended to layman	Not necessarily Islamic/ guided by Islamic principles	No conflict between national and religi-ous identity	Islam as politi-cally neutral	Modern inte-grating reli-gious curriculum
Fundamen-talism/ Islamism	Public	Freedom of interpret-tation/ supremacy of ulama	God's law/ sharia	Islamic state	Supreme loyalty to Umma religious identity	Islam as a source for political activism	Hybrid between mod-ern and religious

Based on Saadallah (2018)

knowledge and ideas and particularization of others; a new role for the national state to mediate universalization and encourage competitiveness; and extension of liberal democracy and human rights (Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017). It is also the near-global spread of ideas, discourses, institutions, organizations, technology and so on. Of particular importance is the general penetration of capitalist forms, market principles and purposive rationality. In the realm of institutionalized education, it is the dissemination of the world model – illuminated by Meyer et al. (1997), among others – that constitutes another feature of globalisation.

With the dissemination of the market model, commodification and rationalization of non-economic spaces is spreading (Camps, 1997; Sears & Moorers, 1995). This might provoke resistance in the form of exaggeration of the importance of local ideas and traditional values (particularism). Revival movements and withdrawal from the state institutions may to some extent be seen as resistance or counter-hegemonic attempts.

Complex and sometimes contradictory processes occur. A contradictory pattern of democracy is spreading. There is, on the one hand, the market-oriented view that democracy is elite competition for votes and/or free choices on markets of various types (Apple, 2000; Chubb & Moe, 1990). On the other hand, there is also the broader communitarian view that democracy is the possibility to participate in and influence the construction of one's own everyday life (Cheru, 1996; Giddens, 1994). Culturally, national societies and local communities experience "constraints to produce their own unique accounts of their places in world history" (Robertson, 1992, pp. 289–290). The taken-for-granted aspects of cultures are challenged and "Traditions have to explain themselves. . ." (Giddens, 1994, p. 23).

Western globalisation contributes to new and sometimes contradictory requirements in relation to education, some of which are: religious-moral versus secular; formation of human capital versus broad personality development, competition and elitism versus equality and democracy (Benhabib, 1998; Chabbott & Ramirez, 2001; Hannum & Buchmann, 2003). Globalisation of capitalism and the market economy is perceived by politicians and policy-makers to require competitiveness, and the way to achieve this is by the same actors believed to be found in the world models as they are defined and studied by Meyer et al. (1997) and their research group, and in the meta-ideology. The ideologies linked to these world models may be seen as part of the meta-ideology. The models stipulate how the relationships between the state, civil society, the citizen and education should be arranged. Beyond these relationships, this package of ideas and values or meta-ideology consists of "a distinct culture – a set of fundamental principles and models mainly ontological and cognitive in character, defining the nature and purposes of social actors and actions" (Boli & Thomas, 1997; Meyer et al., 1997). Paradoxically, while world models "signal" plurality, individualization and multiculturalism they also standardize and secularize cultures and ideologies (Burbules & Torres, 2000).

As mentioned before, there are among Muslims and governments in Muslim states at least four views on globalisation: (i) Islam as a powerful globalising force; (ii) Islam as a potential globalising force; (iii) Islam and Muslims as excluded from the favourable aspects of Western globalisation; and (iv) Islam as threatened by the

predominating (Western) globalisation forces. These views on globalisation to a large extent correspond to the Muslim ideological orientations mentioned before (Daun & Arjmand, 2018).

Educational Paradigms and Ideologies

An educational paradigm is a whole package of ideas concerning the ideal relationships between the political, economic, and cultural spheres of society (Burrel & Morgan, 1992; Watt, 1994). Using ideal types (in the Weberian sense, see Gerth & Mills, 1970), which methodologically directs attention towards cores of categories and emphasize differences between categories, and relying primarily upon secondary sources, the dominating paradigms and some of their principle themes are described below. Three paradigms behind educational policies and surrounding educational issues have during the past decades been the most influential in many areas of the world. These paradigms will be referred to as: *the market-oriented paradigm, the etatist-welfarist-oriented paradigm,* and *the communitarian-oriented paradigm*. However, etatism has lost a lot of its attraction since the 1980s. As ideal types, the paradigms correspond neither directly to any present-time political parties and various movements nor to particular varieties of educational policies.[5]

The Market-Oriented Paradigm

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

[5]Feminism is not discussed here as a specific paradigm, but it certainly is. Feminism cuts across the three paradigms, while gender issues are severely neglected in all three paradigms, especially in the market-oriented paradigm (Blackmore, 2000).

Deregulation of markets worldwide will make the world more conducive for individual utility-maximization and, thus, higher stages of development (Hayek, 1960).[6]

Democracy tends to be seen not primarily as a political matter but as the possibility to choose; to be free to choose is even seen as a human right (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Morals are formed from the experiences that individuals make when they act rationally in the market sphere (Hayek, 1960). For example, individuals will realize that it is irrational to engage in criminal or other acts or courses of action than those derived from the market principles. In this way, a moral system emerges. Market proponents do not reject altruism (charity, for instance) but it should come in when market mechanisms do not function effectively (Doyal & Gough, 1991).

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

The Etatist-Welfarist-Oriented Paradigm

This paradigm has various roots: the non-revolutionary branch of socialism; Keynesian economics and welfare policy; and Humanist psychology and sociology as well as positivist sociology (Cuzzort & King, 1976; Dow, 1993; Sabine, 1964; Vincent, 1994). The assumptions of this paradigm are often not as explicit as those of the market approach. However, the following assumptions may be derived or inferred from different sources.

[6]Some theories in social science share the basic assumptions with the market paradigm: behaviourist psychology and pedagogy, human capital theory, rational choice theories and exchange theories (see Blau, 1964; Craib, 1992; Downs, 1957; Homans, 1961; Swetland, 1996).

The role of the state is to eliminate, or at least reduce, inequalities or inefficiencies resulting from the workings of the capitalist system. Capitalism itself should not be abolished but regulated (Curtis, 1981; Sabine, 1964). The individual is seen as a self-actualizing agent. Due to societal inequalities and different phases in individuals´ biography (childhood, for example), there are always individuals who are not able to satisfy some of their basic needs through own efforts. Satisfaction of their needs has to be guaranteed by the collectivity (the public sector) and efforts are made to optimize needs satisfaction (Doyal & Gough, 1991).

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

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

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

The Communitarian Paradigm

With regards to education, schools should be locally owned and run, either by local communities, NGOs or other associations. Communitarians argue that many children grow up without a network in which they can be properly socialized and supported. Schools are expected to repair this "undereducation" but are too narrow in their task and too test oriented. They should teach morals, solidarity and responsibility and produce social capital. Democracy should be learnt by experiences of cooperation, moral training, and so on, in school life (Etzioni, 1995). In the populist view, education should be locally based and owned and it should be for local

purposes (Lauglo, 1995). Finally, there are certain similarities between late communitarians and the de-schooling movement (Illich, 1971).

Meta-Ideological Dimensions

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

(i) Materialism/consumption vs. post-materialism;
(ii) centralism vs. decentralism;
(iii) big state vs. small state;
(iv) purposive rationality vs. value rationality;
(v) representative democracy vs. direct democracy;
(vi) secularism vs. de-secularism;
(vii) self-orientation vs. other-orientation;
(viii) individualism vs. collectivism;
(ix) autonomy vs. equality; and
(x) universalism vs. particularism.

In principle, the paradigms and ideologies can be placed along the dimensions as in Table 2.2.

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

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

Big state vs. small state: This is also an old dimension. It deals with the legitimacy and desirability of state intervention in society. Logically, this dimension does not have to accompany the centralism-decentralism dimension.

Table 2.2 Principal paradigms and ideology dimensions

Materialism, consumerism	M	E			C1	C2		Humanistic, post-materialist values
Centralism			E	C1			M, C2,	Decentralism
Big state	E				C2	C1	M	Small state
Representative democracy	E		M[a]				C1, C2	Direct democracy
Secularism	M, E			C2			C1	De-secularism
Purposive rationality (reason)	M, E					C2	C1	Value rationality (moral)
Self-orientation,	M	C2		E	C1			Other-orientation
Individualism	M		C2	C1	E			Collectivism
Autonomy/freedom	M	C1[b]	C2[c]	E				Equality
Universalism	M, E			C2			C1	Particularism

M Market orientation; *E* Etatist orientation; *C1* Early Communitarianism 1; *C2* Late Communitarianism 2

[a]Apart from representative democracy (elite competition for running of the state), choice is democracy

[b]Not individual but local autonomy in relation to the central state

[c]Individual autonomy

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

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

Purposive rationality vs. value rationality: Purposive rationality means that means and goals are estimated to correspond to one another in an optimal way.

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

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

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

Universalism vs. particularism: Universalists assume that social, political and educational phenomena are transferable to any cultural context in the world, regardless

of time and place, while the opposite applies to particularists. This dimension also has to do with the values that are emphasized – universal or particularistic values.

Three of the most globalized paradigms (the market paradigm, the etatist paradigm and the communitarian paradigm) are placed along these dimensions in Table 2.2. The placements of the paradigms in positions along the defined dimensions should be seen as approximations based mainly on the sources mentioned (see, for instance, Inglehardt, 1990, 1997). The essential thing here is whether an ideology or paradigm has a middle position or whether it is to the "left" or the "right". Moves are not visible in the table, but it may be mentioned that several Social Democratic and Socialist parties around the world have moved on the dimension of centralism-decentralism (in the direction from an "etatist" to a "communitariant" position or even to a market position. Market proponents and late communitarians share position on decentralism, while early communitarianism is closed to etatism on self-orientation and autonomy. We also find that communitarians are opposite to the other paradigms on representative vs. direct democracy.

Approximations of positions of paradigms along certain, relevant dimensions can also be made specifically for the domain of education, and we use two ideologies (and political parties) – Conservatism (the Right) and Social Democracy – in Sweden as examples (see Table 2.3). The following dimensions have been included: (i) education as skills formation vs. education as broader personality formation; (ii) education principally as an instrument for achieving higher productivity and citizenship competence vs. education as a value in itself; (iii) Limitless choice vs. no choice; (iv) education run as a market vs. education as a public matter; (v) centralized

Table 2.3 Educational paradigm and ideology shifts of two political parties in Sweden

Education as skills formation		M2	S2	S1	M1		Education as personality development
Education as an instrument			M2 S2		S1	M1	Education as a value in itself
Limitless freedom of choice		M2	M1	S2		S1	No freedom of choice
Private, market	M1	M2	S2			S1	Public
Individual good	M1		M2		S2	S1	Common good
Decentralized governance	M2		M1 S2			S1	Centralized governance
Competition	M2	M1		S2		S1	Cooperation
National curriculum	S1	S2 M1		M2			Locally adapted curriculum
De-secularism	M1		M2			S1 S2	Secularism
Diversified	M1		M2	S2		S1	Unitarian

M1: Conservatives (Moderaterna is the Swedish name) in the 1960s
M2: Conservatives (Moderaterna is the Swedish name) in 2010
S1: Social Democrats in the 1960s
S2: Social Democrats in 2010

governance vs. decentralized governance; (vi) competition among schools and among students vs. cooperation among schools and among students; (vii) national curriculum vs. local curriculum; (viii) education as individual good vs. as common good; (ix) secularism vs. de-secularism; and (x) diversified vs. unitarian.

The positions of these two Swedish parties changed from the 1950s to the second decade of the new Millenium. The approximations are based on their messages in massmedia in 2002, 2006, and 2010, and the party programs in the 1960s.

Moderaterna (the Moderates) was a conservative (right) party, at least until the end of the 1990s. Still during the preparations of a comprehensive education system in Sweden in the 1950s, the Conservative party was against having a common school for all children. In the 1990s conservatives changed their name from the Right party to Moderate party, and then in the beginning of the new Millenium the party program was somewhat changed but still more so was the implemented policy. When in government from 2006 to 2014, the moderates were reluctant to implement certain policies included in their program. The Social democrats were against privatization and decentralization until the end of the 1980s, for example. Their general profile was Etatist-welfarist but has changed in the direction towards the Market-oriented and Communitarian paradigms.

Since the 1980s, certain developments in the educational research and policy community laid the groundwork for the spread and main streaming of the Market paradigm to many areas of the globe. Ideological elements such as 'the agent', 'the micro' and 'the rational individual' took a leading position in the educational research and policy communities (Ball, 1990; Craib, 1992; Morrow & Torres, 2000; Popkewitz, 2000). These are typical features of the market-oriented paradigm. However, another discourse stemming from the communitarian paradigm emerged with a focus on cultural issues and human rights. The elements of these two dominant paradigms are now articulated in the form of globe-wide policies, their common denominators (See Table 2.4) are attaining global spread.

Table 2.4 Basic features of the market-oriented and communitarian-oriented paradigms and their common denominator

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

A uniform policy has been formulated or implemented world-wide; more specifically: introduction of market forces and decentralization; standardization of educational ladders and curricula; globalizing demand for educational credentials; more and more similar types of homework; and a growing similarity in how nations organize and govern their school systems (Spring 2009).

Much of the adaptations to the meta-ideology take place through borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004), various types of pressure from the international organizations such as donors and lenders (Dale, 2000; Mundy, 2007) and/or through states´ own efforts to be modern, up to-date and reliable (Meyer et al., 1997).

Many Muslim countries have had to accept advice given and conditions set by international organisations, such as UNESCO and the World Bank, which disseminate the meta-ideology. On the other hand, all Muslim countries have some type of Islamic education (Daun et al., 2004). This is the only education that is accepted by adherents to the traditionalist orientation among Muslims. Other Muslim orientations accept the Western type of education, either is the principal type of education or as mixed with Islamic subjects. In Table 2.5, some approximations are made of the positions that different Muslim orientations here are assumed to hold on the dimensions described previously.

Table 2.5 Approximations of positions on the dimensions held by different Muslim orientations

Education as skills formation		S M				T F	Education as personality development
Education as an instrument				S M	F	T	Education as a value in itself
Limitless freedom of choice				S M		T F	No freedom of choice
Private, market			M	S	T	F[a]	Public
Individual good				M S	T	F	Common good
Decentralized governance			M	S T	F		Centralized governance
Competition			M	S		T F	Cooperation
National curriculum		S M F[b]			T		Locally adapted curriculum
De-secularist	T	M F	S				Secularist
Diversified				S M		T F	Unitarian

S secularism, *M* modernism, *T* traditionalism, *F* fundamentalism/Islamism

[a]Public as opposite to individual

[b]National or decided by ulama. National is the state is Islamic

Conclusion

Despite frequent incompatibilities with local economic structures and cultural patterns, the meta-ideology or paradigmatic features described above are taken for granted by policymakers around the world. The educational features that have been globalized are ostensibly biased towards achievement, cognition and purposive rationality. Governments are compelled or have the ambition to be on the track, and the meta-ideology is seen as the answer to the requirements of competitiveness and modernity. This is one of the principal reasons for the ideology and paradigm shifts (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Camps, 1997; McGinn, 1997; Meyer et al., 1997; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). On the other hand, at various levels and in different places, the meta-ideology and Western globalisation have met resistance and opposition, if not from governments so at least from segments of the populations. To use dimensions for analytical purpose can be fruitful in different ways: (a) we can place the policies of one and the same political party or government on the scales at different moments in time and establish if and what shifts have taken place and investigate why; and (b) we can discover what positions different political parties in a country have at certain phases in time. The dimensions make evident what positions different ideologies or political parties have at different moments in time, but also how they compare at a specific moment in time. When there are shared or close positions, there is space for "alliances" and a middle position makes it possible to negotiate with both "sides".

This chapter has made an overview of the predominating paradigms and ideologies and their positions along selected dimensions. The globalised meta-ideology was assumed to condition changes in positions, but other reasons for or causes of the changes might be an object of future, in-depth, research.

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Chapter 3
Human Rights Global Education

Yvonne Vissing and Quixada Moore-Vissing

Abstract The question of how best to prepare students to build meaningful lives and strong societies has long challenged educators. In this chapter, we look at some educational trends and propose that an emphasis on unifying human rights education with global education holds significant potential for assisting students to be responsible citizens in a changing world. Both global education (GE) and human rights education (HRE) have merits of their own. However, while there is some overlap in what they cover, we argue that merging them together into a more unified, formalized pedagogical approach called Human Rights Global Education (HRGE) will provide students with a stronger framework than teaching either HRE or GE alone. Guidelines and resources for the development and implementation of HRGE are provided.

Unifying Human Rights Education with Global Education

The question of how best to prepare students to build a good lives and strong societies has long challenged educators. In this chapter, we look at some educational trends and propose that an emphasis on unifying human rights education with global education holds significant potential for assisting students to be responsible citizens in a changing world. Both global education (GE) and human rights education (HRE) have merits of their own. However, while there is some overlap in what they cover, we argue that merging them together into a more unified, formalized pedagogical approach called Human Rights Global Education (HRGE) will provide students with a stronger framework than teaching either HRE or GE alone.

Y. Vissing (✉)
Department of Healthcare Studies, Salem State University, Salem, MA, USA
e-mail: yvissing@salemstate.edu

Q. Moore-Vissing
Center for Childhood & Youth Studies, Salem State University, Salem, MA, USA

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Educational trends moving toward multicultural education will first be explored and an analysis of the similarities and differences of global education and human rights education will be provided. This will be followed by a look at how to increase literacy in these areas since data indicates that students are not well versed in HRE. It will conclude with a set of recommendations for how teachers could use human rights as the overarching concept for global education.

Trending from Homogeneity to Diversity

Globally, there has been a shift in the composition of the population towards greater diversity (Brown, 1998, 2003; David, 2007). The result has been schooling away from conformity and homogeny to one in which we are schooling for tolerance and diversity. As an example of this shift, within the United States there has been a movement from a melting pot approach to one of global education. The melting pot analogy stemmed from a view that certain metals on their own were not very strong, but by mixing metals together into a new type of whole they would become stronger. As it applied to education, students were encouraged to learn the same language, norms and values to help them (and the nation) to become stronger and more competitive. Strength was seen to come from being one people. This resulted in one language (English) being the dominant spoken and written word, that every child was taught to pledge of allegiance to the flag, and that normative uniformity was expected in dress, behavior, and attitude. Conformity was key. Desks were organized into strict rows and the structure and design of schools became similar from coast to coast in school buildings across the nation. Curriculum was designed to ensure that every child received the same basic core of education in the same basic manner with uniform testing protocol under a view that was seen as a doctrine of fairness. This cultivation of sameness-for-strength is still a dominant educational protocol in many parts of the world.

While this homogenization approach has benefits, its limitations became more obvious with recent demographic shifts in the composition of the world's population (OECD, 2016). Globalization and population demographics have changed the face of the planet as people move around the world for jobs, marriage, education, vacations and adventures. Students may view themselves as global citizens through a variety of situations; their parents or extended family may come from different countries and they may hold alignments to more than one nation, culture or religion; they may live in one country but hold citizenship in another; they may have mixed racial or cultural identities; they may feel "trans" in the sense that they were born into one culture but identify more with another; and through actual or virtual global exposures and friendships they may view themselves to be citizens not just of a nation, but citizens of the world (Douglass, 2012; Hemsley-Brown, 2009; Hicks, 2003; Lewin, 2012; Porter, 2014; Vincent-Lancrin and Kärkkäinen, 2009; Waite, 2011; Young, 2012). They may have different learning styles, needs, gifts, and talents. Instead of relying upon a one-size-fits-all approach, schools have found themselves confronted with the need to create individualized education plans (IEPs) for every student to help them to succeed. This requires that schools be more flexible, respectful of diversity,

tolerant of difference, and creative in finding ways to help every student succeed. Schools find that an increasingly important domain of education is to help students to become workers who can meet the demands of an increasingly diverse employer and consumer base as they learn how and why others act or believe as they do. Understanding the unique needs and experiences of others, and seeing our similarities or ways we could better interact, is essential in the pursuit of economic and social success – including the pursuit of peace. For these and other reasons, educational, ideological and policy reforms have resulted that shift towards honoring the diversity among people. Schools, in their role as training students to take part in dominant social institutions including the workforce and family life, have identified that it is important to educate students to respect diversity and the rights of others. Since the standard has shifted away from homogenization to diversification, the question of how best to facilitate this change within educational structures looms. How do we best ensure quality and accountability for a diverse educational approach, especially within a standards-driven educational system that seeks to document that all students receive such essential information? (Bronson, 2012). This chapter explores the values of human rights education and human rights literacy as holding the potential as a powerful global change-agent for positive social transformation.

Global Education and Human Rights Education

What is the best way to teach students to become global citizens? Two of the main approaches revolve around global education (GE) and human rights education (HRE). At this juncture, global education has become the predominant model, but HRE has much to offer. It is our position that HRE and global education could more effectively be merged into a consolidated pedagogical approach that would empower students with the universal standards necessary for wellbeing (through HRE) and their application to unique situations, cultures and societies (through global education). Benefits and challenges of each approach will now be discussed, followed by a model that seeks to integrate the two.

Global Education

What is global education? (Primary Source, 2016; Tye, 2003). According to the Global Education Network (2017) it is an approach to create change in society through an active learning process based on the universal values of tolerance, solidarity, equality, justice, inclusion, co-operation and non-violence. It begins with raising awareness of global challenges such as poverty or the inequalities caused by the uneven distribution of resources, environmental degradation, violent conflicts or human rights. By exploring a topic in detail it allows for students to have a deeper understanding of the complexity of its underlying causes. Topics often addressed in global education are not limited to but may include justice,

Fig. 3.1 Global Education's HRE Emphasis

environment, sustainability, equality, peace and violence, intercultural communication or human rights (see Fig. 3.1). Human rights is considered one of many topics that could be covered by global education; HRE is not necessarily a focus of discussion in each global education issue.

Global education is designed to change people's attitudes by them reflecting on their own roles in the world with a goal to motivate and empower people to become active, responsible global citizens. It tends to be learned centered, participatory, and experience based. Values of tolerance, solidarity, fairness and justice, empathy, equality, responsibility, co-operation, non-violence, inclusion and diversity are incorporated into a process-oriented education approach that begins with raising awareness of certain problems which should create a deeper understanding of the complex underlying issues and encourage people to reflect on their own role in the problem, change their attitudes and behavior motivates and empower them to act in a more responsible way. The GLEN (2017) global education model is displayed below (Fig. 3.2).

However, other scholars see global education as an approach that is actually quite complex and debatable, which results in wide variability about what global education is and what its curriculum should look like (Hicks, 2003). In practice, "global education" is often thought to be indistinguishable from peace education, civic education, human rights education, social studies, transnational education, multiculturalism, diversity or citizenship instruction (Bender-Slack & Raupach, 2008;

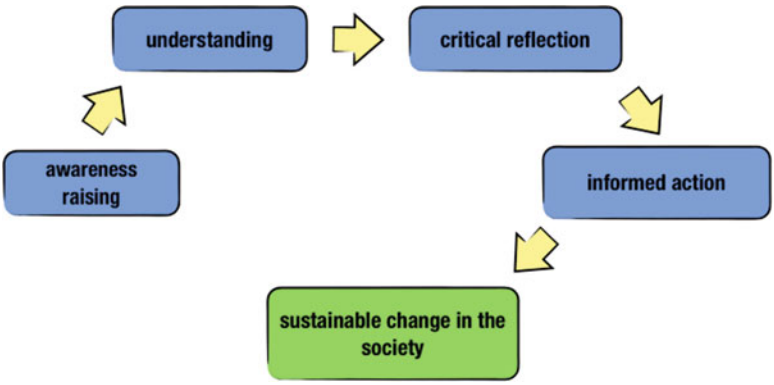

Fig. 3.2 GLEN Global Education Model

Bromley, 2014; Hornberg, 2002; Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey 2016; Merryfield, 2008, 2010, 2011; Naidoo 2003; North, 2008; Parker, 2003; Reardon, 2002; Smith Crocco, 2007; Tibbits, 2002). However, there are differences. Despite its good intentions, the field of global education isn't as tightly constructed as one may think, want or hope. Multicultural or global education in theory involves more than a focus on diversity or an international approach to cultural, economic and political issues (Keeves, Darmawan, & Gusti, 2010). In an analysis of how globalism is taught, Khan (2003) found that globalization is a concept that should both transcend individual disciplines and unite them. Globalization contains three P's – it is a phenomenon, it is a philosophy and it is a process. Global education could focus on persons, places, things or situations. It could include a discussion of current events but could utilize a historical perspective as well. It could include a focus on ecological, political, religious, economic, technological, interpersonal, organizational, or a variety of other directions. It must be approached from a multidisciplinary perspective. As some scholars note, globalization seems so big in scope that it is incredibly difficult to get your brain around as a student, and hard to get your hands around how to teach for instructors (Chase & Laufenberg, 2011). Figuring out how to teach both specificity and universality in a single course can be daunting.

Because the field of global education is so broad and diverse, most global education efforts are often relegated to a piece-meal approach in which one problem, nation, culture, group, or situation is explored in detail. This has both benefits and drawbacks. The benefits are that students can learn details about a given phenomenon, such as deforestation in the Amazon, the impact of the blood diamond industry in Africa, the use of child labor in Southeast Asian factories or the plight of the First Nation's people in Canada. Courses on the Global South may attempt to analyze common denominators that bind different countries together in a more cogent manner. But the drawback is on their ability to generalize what they learn about one specific phenomenon to others. How can students meaningfully compare poverty in the Sudan with that of Mississippi? This contextualization is where the instructor's art is of utmost importance. Which of all the different global curriculum

or topics is best for teachers and professors to use? That answer is in the eye of the beholder, especially since there are no standards for exactly what it is or how global education should be taught.

While topics selected are important, so are selection of pedagogy, conceptual models, data and theoretical paradigms. Since research on global education best-practices are not yet well-formalized, professors have significant latitude in selection of instructional strategies. Then there is the choice of readings, films, web links, as well as discussions. If a more experiential education approach is used, a study abroad trip may expose students to great detail about one place – but do they learn to generalize their findings are to other peoples and locations? While there are many global education materials and approaches available, much of what students read may reflect a Western view that may not represent the realities faced by others throughout the world (Wells, 2015). Teachers often tend to select materials that are less controversial in order to avoid repercussions (Ensalaco & Majka, 2005; Gradwell, Rodeheaver, & Dahlgren, 2015; Hall, 2013; Harvey & Williams, 2010; Kloby, 2004; Osler & Starkey, 2014). In learning about globalism, students should question hidden assumptions, examine their biases and culturally embedded perspectives, and expand their understanding of self, others, and the world around us (Khan, 2003). As typically presented, global education content may be seen as fragmented, not holistic; by giving detailed information about one culture or group, it is assumed that students will automatically be able to generalize concepts to other people, places and situations. This leap is not necessarily the case. Students may not have the skill set yet to make inferential associations and comparisons. They may benefit from instructors who help walk them through models to see how what happens in one place may be similar to, or different from, what happens elsewhere. Good global education requires that teachers have self-scrutinized to avoid bias in their presentation or selection of materials, which may be challenging to do given the plethora of things teachers have to accomplish in short periods of time with limited resources. There is a great deal of sophistication and attention given to a global education approach. But is this the only, or best, way to ensure that students obtain a respectful world-view of working with others?

Human Rights Education

What is a human rights educational approach? (Reardon, 1995; Tibbits, 2002). A human rights education (HRE) framework is based upon a universally adopted set of standards for the treatment of all people everywhere, irrespective of their unique demographic or cultural features. There exists a core of human rights treaties that nations around the world have ratified as fundamentally important in the treatment of citizens and the world in which they live. These are not limited to but include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), and the International Convention on Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICMRW) (UNGA, 1948, 1989). All of these treaties identify a set of standards for appropriate treatment of others, irrespective of place. The majority of countries have ratified these treaties, meaning that there is a global national commitment to their premises. Even if they have not, the treaties continue to exist as the dominant standards for how most of the world agrees that we are to address the wellbeing of others. The majority of treaties are elaborations of particular parts of the UDHR or extensions of some of the less well-defined rights. The UDHR was the first human rights treaty signed in 1948 (UN, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c). The basic tenants of the UDHR include:

1. Right to equality ("All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.")
2. Freedom from discrimination
3. Right to life, liberty, personal security
4. Freedom from slavery
5. Freedom from torture and degrading treatment
6. Right to recognition as a person before the law
7. Right to equality before the law
8. Right to remedy by competent tribunal
9. Freedom from arbitrary arrest, exile
10. Right to a fair public hearing
11. Right to be considered innocent until proven guilty
12. Freedom from interference with privacy, family, home, and correspondence
13. Right to free movement in and out of any country
14. Right to asylum in other countries from persecution
15. Right to a nationality and freedom to change it
16. Right to marriage and family
17. Right to own property
18. Freedom of belief and religion
19. Freedom of opinion and information
20. Right of peaceful assembly and association
21. Right to participate in government and free elections
22. Right to social security
23. Right to desirable work and to join trade unions
24. Right to rest and leisure
25. Right to adequate living standards
26. Right to education
27. Right to participate in cultural life and community
28. Right to social order assuring human rights
29. Community duties essential to free and full development
30. Freedom from state and personal interference in the above rights.

These human rights treaties require that citizens of all ages be taught about them, since the treaties are designed to promote the creation of more hospitable, equitable societies. In particular, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) provide international frameworks underlying human rights education. Rights education is required by the UDHR in Article 26 (2) to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, promote understanding, tolerance and friendships among all nations and people in pursuit of maintaining peace. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Article 13 (1) asserts that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, sense of dignity and strengthen respect for human rights. The UNCRC (Article 28, 29 and 42) requires rights education for all ratifying nations in order to ensure the understanding and protection of rights for world's youngest citizens. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action alleges HRE is essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace (2006). The United Nations World Programme for Human Rights Education promotes a common understanding of basic principles and methodologies of rights education, provides a concrete framework for action, and seeks to strengthen partnerships from the international level to local levels. Because we live in a more diverse world with great differences among societies in terms of history, culture and ideology, our capacity to affect human rights promotion and protection in this century is greater than before (Bednarczyk, 2017).

HRE emphasizes the importance of racial, gender, ability, economic, social, and cultural equality. While global education may help students to understand details of a particular group, HRE's benefit is that it focuses on identifying standards for treatment that apply to all people, everyone, no matter who they are or where they live. A rights-based approach is designed to value human dignity, promote democratic principles, improve communication skills, and informed critical thinking, which are all part of a global education model. HRE identifies conditions that are necessary to the wellbeing of individuals and the steps that could be undertaken to promote benefits and equity. Further, it affirms the interdependence of the global community and promotes for a broad, structural understanding of the complex social forces that create both wellbeing and discrimination. HRE promotes respect and develops the core values of human dignity, social justice, self-determination, tolerance, and non-discrimination (University of Denver, 2012). HRE can incorporate all of the aspects of global education within a larger umbrella framework that provides students with the opportunity to logically make generalizations between groups that a more fragmented global education approach does not (Fig. 3.3).

This model puts global education as part of the larger human rights framework. As demonstrated earlier, global education does not necessary embrace HRE, but HRE by its very essence incorporates fundamental global education concepts. Either and both can provide targeted examples to illustrate the concepts. It is the universal and overarching framework that HRE provides that is a significant benefit to this instructional approach.

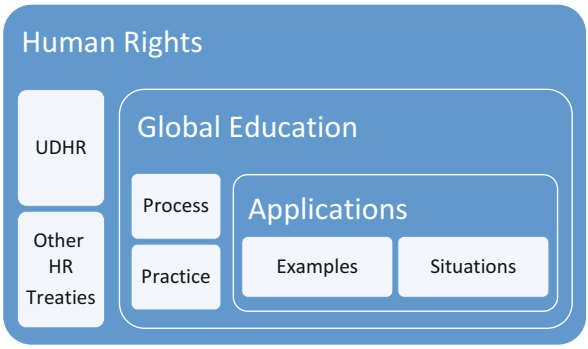

Fig. 3.3 Human Rights Education Relationship to Global Education

A benefit to this approach is that HRE provides opportunities for critical analysis of different theoretical explanations as well as research methodologies. Scholars can use HRE to frame discussions around domain assumptions that explore theory, policies and practices, how investigators ethically design cross-cultural research and the ways they collect and analyze data. It can be used as a guide for service learning and civic participation (Flowers, 2000). It may also provide a useful framework for analyzing information in a comparative way since it relies upon a universally endorsed set of standards for social and human behavior. Educators are seen as responsible for the development of learned, socially-conscious and well-rounded citizens. HRE contributes to the discussion of how to prevent human rights abuses and violent conflicts, promote equality and sustainable development, foster social cohesion, empower people to become active participants in social transformation, and enhance participation in democratic decision-making processes. However, advocating for human rights has become seen as a controversial topic in some societies. It may be antithetical to political policies. Those in power may feel threatened when people traditionally without power start demanding to be treated in an equal way (Giroux, 2013). Human rights and national security sometimes are portrayed to be at odds, especially in dealing with issues of terrorism. But most scholars find that security is more at risk more when people's rights are violated. "In fact, it is in this breach, not in the respect of human rights, that security is put at risk". (Bednarczyk, 2017, p. 127). Analysis of globalism within a human rights framework could serve us all well. But this will require the creation of human rights literacy.

Human Rights and Global Literacy

In these days of multiculturalism, how we think, speak, write, and teach about "the other" is more important than ever. As the world becomes increasingly diverse and as youth gain a perception of themselves as global citizens (Hirsch, 1988; Inside Higher Education, 2013; Johannessen, Unterreiner, Sitienei & Zajda, 2012; Keteyian, 2010; Kniep, 1986; Osler & Starkey, 2014; National Council of

Teachers of English, 2013; Starkey, 2017), the need for teachers to be attentive to how students think and write about others increase. How children are socialized to respect the rights of others impacts their perceptions of themselves and others and how they will morph those perceptions into actions, policies, practices and laws. Students are both the recipient of culture and creators of the messages it will impart (Lea, 2004). As teachers, we are transmitters directing students how to replicate or change culture, as John McDermott (1981) describes this process where older generations pass on habits of thought, feeling, and action to younger generations through schools.

Schools today teach the 4 R's – reading, writing, 'rithematic, and respect. Pedagogical approaches to teaching the first three have been widely honed; it is in the area of respect where it is important for the academy to refine what it means to be literate. The concept of academic literacy, in its essence, focuses on how to improve the relationship between the presentation of information, learning, and its incorporation into everyday life. Experts argue that from both a pedagogical and diversity point of view, the field of academic literacy especially around the issue of diversity is in flux and under-developed, both in design and practice (Lillis, 2003; Wingate, 2015). What we believe or understand to be true is conveyed through our word selection, interpretation of their meaning, contextualization, and how words are woven together to paint a picture or present an argument. Much of what is presented in the literature originates from ideologies that are Western, white, middle-class and Judeo-Christian in orientation, ideologies that may not necessarily embrace the experiences of others. Traditional views about people who are "different" must be reconsidered in light of globalization since literary practices can be an important link in the social construction of reality (Barton, 1994; Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Defazio, Jones, Tennant, & Hook, 2010; Gee, 1990; ICLEDA, 2015; Lemke, 1995; Street, 1984; Thesen & van Pletzen, 2006; Wells, 2015). We see that the field of academic literacy has come to include information and communication technology literacy (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2017) since it is vital for students to understand how to adequately access and interpret electronic communication of all sorts. Academic literacy has expanded to include critical thinking, problem solving and interpersonal relationships (Moorecroft, 2012). According to the National Council of Teachers of English, literacy in the twenty-first century is defined more broadly because of social, technological and cultural changes. Their position is that the twenty-first century demands that a literate person possess many literacies that reflect a wide range of abilities and competencies that are multiple, dynamic, and malleable. These "new literacies" include the building of intentional cross-cultural connections and relationships with others so to pose and solve problems collaboratively and strengthen independent thought. Fields of science, business, and human relations want workers to be literate in diversity and global citizenship issues, cultural differences (Wells, 2015), personal reflection (McGuire, Lay, & Peters, 2009), multiple intelligences (Gardner, 2006), emotional intelligences (Goleman, 1996), financial literacy (Lusardi, Mitchell, & Curto, 2010) or abilities that are rights-respecting (Equitas, 2017).

Teaching students what rights to which they are entitled, and the rights that others have, is required by global treaties. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) are international standards underlying human rights education (HRE). Rights education is required by the UDHR in Article 26 (2) to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, promote understanding, tolerance and friendships among all nations and people in pursuit of maintaining peace. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Article 13 (1) asserts that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, sense of dignity and strengthen respect for human rights. The UNCRC (Article 28, 29 and 42) requires rights education for all ratifying nations in order to ensure the understanding and protection of child rights. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)/Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has identified that there should be human rights literacy apparent in educational policies, policy implementation, learning environments, teaching, and in the education and professional development of school personnel. Human rights literacy policies are key, in that they reflect the commitment of the teacher and school to promote a rights-based approach.

Global education could be easily incorporated into the Common Core and global competence can be developed within any discipline. The Asia Society Partnership for Global Learning and the Council of Chief State School (CCSS) officers defined global competence as the capacity and disposition to understand and act on issues of global significance as students investigate the world, recognize perspectives, communicate ideas, and take action (Millar, 2017). They found that global competence complements, and in many cases directly overlaps with, the expectations set forth for students in the Common Core Standards. In concert with clear expectations for reading, writing, speaking, listening, language and mathematics, the expectations outlined in the CCSS include the development of students' abilities to think critically, reason, communicate effectively, and solve problems that arise in everyday life, society, and the workplace. The adoption of these standards creates an historic opportunity for individual schools, districts, and states across the world to work independently and collaboratively to rethink the curriculum, resource materials, and texts used in classroom and in online instruction.

There are many resource options with wide variation in content. Global and human rights education curricula have been promoted by the Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, AACTE Committee on Global and International Teacher Education, the American Council on Education's Center for International Initiatives, the Asia Partnership for Global Learning, the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), the Council of Europe Global Education Week Network, the Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), the Global Learning Portal, Institute of International Education, International Society for Teacher Education, Association of International Educators, the Partnership for twenty-first Century, the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, and the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, Asia for Educators from Columbia University, Choices for the twenty-first Century

Education Project from Brown University, Facing the Future, the World Trade Organization and Globalization, Global Education, Heifer International for Educators, iEARN, the International Education and Resource Network, the Peace Corps Connect Global TeachNet or Unicef, to name but a few. All have designed materials to promote the study of comparative and international education throughout the world and enhance the academic status of this field – but each may focus on different dimensions of rights or global education.

Teachers at all levels are in a pivotal position to help students understand their role as global citizens (Osler & Starkey, 2014; Starkey, 2017). HRE literacy has two components – academic literacy of the treaties and what it is, and practical literacy of how to implement it. Since HRE requires a holistic approach to teaching and learning that reflects human rights values, it is important to start as early as possible and integrate human rights concepts and practices into all aspects of education. This means that in order to students to be HRE literate, teachers must be as well. In order for schools to serve as models of human rights learning and practice, all teachers and staff need to be able to understand, transmit and model human rights values. Education and professional development must foster educators' knowledge about, commitment to, and motivation for human rights. HRE is a worthy addition to globalism education because it incorporates universally endorsed underpinnings of justice and equality. It provides a broader conceptual framework under which all the different aspects of global education can fit; study of globalism without the larger human rights structure may leave students with interesting fragments of information but without the overall context of their importance. HRE encompasses and addresses the rights of all people, everywhere where global education may focus on specific groups and more isolated issues. One can see HRE as a more abstract, top-down model that can be applied to specific situations, whereas global education is more of a bottom-up approach that requires students to mesh the different pieces together to understand the whole of the phenomenon.

As scholars who do both international as well as national work, we believe that HRE provide students with a universal, comprehensible framework to begin their understanding of how global issues fit into the big picture of society. It can ground students in a model that can be then be explored from different perspectives and dimensions. This is an emerging field of inquiry, research and scholarship that would need to be further developed within the discipline, but it is one that holds significant potential especially since it appears that many students lack an understanding of human rights in general and child rights in particular.

Student Knowledge of HRE and Global Education

Contextualizing global education within a human rights frame provide the larger umbrella under which all the different types of global education issues fall. Instead of studying groups in isolation, a rights-based approach would allow for them to be

included under this larger conceptual framework, making their study more integrated and comprehensible. There are many different HRE curriculum materials that are ready for use in higher education (Vissing, Burris, & Moore-Vissing, 2017). Global education is present to varying degrees in schools, especially through social studies type courses. To what degree are students – and teachers – literate in the area of human rights knowledge? Not very, unfortunately. Despite mandates requiring the instruction of HRE, many students are not provided human rights education (Tibbits, 2002). Data indicates most students in the United States do not know what rights they have (Banks, 2004; BEMIS, 2013; Fernekes, 2014; Smith Crocco, 2007; Vissing et al., 2017). People cannot be expected to behave in a rights-respecting way to others if they don't know what rights are or what rights others are entitled to have. One commonly cited reason for this is that teachers have never been taught details about human rights; they cannot teach what they never learned (BEMIS, 2013; Fernekes, 2014).

In order to assess student knowledge about human rights, we undertook a multi-stage study on child rights knowledge of college students in the United States. It was a pilot, exploratory study that employed a descriptive analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. It was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board that reviews all research projects and lays the foundation for more refined studies on child rights education among larger samples to occur in the future.

Informal Interviews with Teachers

As background to our research, we first interviewed two dozen university level professors and two dozen primary/secondary school teachers and found that none of them had received any sort of systematic human rights training at either the secondary or post-graduate levels. They may know about human rights in a global sense, but they were never specifically trained to know the history of human rights or its theoretical underpinnings. Essentially, they could not teach what they did not know, confirming the findings by Fernekes and the BEMIS studies. Teachers may think that human rights is important for students to know but they tended not to think that they had the responsibility for teaching it. The Common Core and preparing students for exams were their priority, and neither tended to address the issue of human rights. Within their job description, rights education was simply not identified as a curriculum necessity. Teachers felt they did not have time to investigate materials on how to teach human rights, especially since it wasn't something they were required to teach. Child rights was regarded to be even less important than human rights, and some teachers were concerned that if students were aware they had rights then teachers may have less control over them. It became clear that working with schools to see what students knew about rights may not be the most fruitful way to conduct a broad-based research project on the issue of rights instruction.

Blind Qualitative Exploratory Survey

The most identifiable point-of-access available for studying about children rights was working with university students. They were over age 18 and did not require parental consent as would be needed for researching students under age 18. It was possible to construct projects in which their responses could be voluntary and anonymous, and they were methodologically convenient.

Six classes of United States undergraduate students in introductory sociology courses of approximately 25 students each (N = 132) were asked to take out a piece of paper and on side 1 write down all the rights they could think of that they had when they were children (under age 18), and then on the back to write down all the rights their parents had. The classes yielded the same pattern of results. The students could not identify many rights they had when they were children (mean = 4), while they came up with double the number of rights for their parents (mean = 8). But even the number of rights they attributed adults having was low. It appeared that student lacked a systematic lack of understanding of what it meant to have human rights. They listed rights to be things like education, health care, driving a car, having a credit card, being allowed to drink alcohol, buy property, or making rhetorical statements such as having the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Focus Groups

Focus group discussions on the topic of child rights were conducted with seven different classes of students of about 25 students each, for a total number of 175 participants. Students were asked what they knew about their rights, afterwards they were asked if they knew anything about the UNCRC. It became clear that they did not know what rights they had. They did not connect their identification of rights to what was contained in either the UDHR or UNCRC. Instead, they picked things like the right to drive or get a job when they were age 16 or they had the right to vote when they turned age 18. They debated on what age they should be allowed to drink alcohol, since the drinking age in the US is 21 instead of 18, as in many other countries. They felt they had to be an adult or over age 21 to have a lawyer represent them. They talked about whether they should wear school uniforms and topics that were only marginally related to treaty rights. Almost none of them had even heard about the UNCRC, and those that had heard about it didn't really know what it was. Students conveyed that they had never had a course on human rights or child rights, but they had heard of the term human rights. Their most common association with human rights education was in high school when they learned about civil rights, such as with race, gender, or sexual orientation issues. When the topic of child rights was explored in more detail, the focus groups showed lively interest in the topic of child rights and students wanted to know more about them. They also wondered why they had never heard about them before. Students were not necessarily in favor of

children having rights. The themes around their opposition to rights concerned: children don't know enough/mature enough to have rights; children were likely to take advantage if they had rights and not use them responsibly; children were likely to get themselves in trouble of they had rights (examples: sex, drugs, alcohol, fighting, skipping school, not obeying parents); and whether they would be able to control youngsters in their charge if children or youth knew they had rights. It was interesting to note that individual students thought that they would be rights-respecting but that perhaps rights should be limited to others who may not be. Student reasons for supporting child rights included: respecting their good judgment and right to make decisions; health care and body decisions; friend and relationship decisions; to be paid fairly for work; and having the right to get away from abusive parents. The findings learned in the focus group helped to create the next phase of the research project.

Survey Findings

More detailed information from students who were not in our classes was desired. An electronic survey was created, building upon information obtained in the previous steps of this project. After survey approval by the university's Institutional Review Board, professors in departments of political science, education, social work, communication, sociology and psychology were asked to invite their students to complete an electronic survey. Student answers were voluntary and anonymous and there were no penalties or benefits to their participation. This was not a random sample and tended to be students in arts and sciences, education or human services.

In this online survey of college students at a New England university, 174 students responded. Over 41% were students in Social Work; 13% were Education majors, 11% were Sociology students, and the others came from a variety of other majors, giving broad representation of students in other disciplines as well. Eighty-three percent of the respondents were female, and seventeen percent were male. The majority of respondents were between ages 20–24.

When asked if they had ever heard about the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, about half (46%) had never heard of it. About a third (35%) had heard of it but didn't know much about it. Only 18% of the students felt they knew something about the UNCRC. The vast majority of those students had been in a class where child rights was discussed; until they took the class introducing them to the UNCRC, almost none of them knew it even existed.

Students were asked if main people in their lives had shown respect for the rights of children and youth. Most thought they did not. Parents were identified as the most respectful of their rights (38%), followed by teachers (24%), and peers (23%). The group identified as least supportive of child rights were community leaders, where only 19% of students felt this group were "definitely supportive" of their rights. It was interesting to note that respondents felt that other young people were not respectful of their rights, as well as adults.

When asked if they knew much about what rights they had when they were young (under age 18), fewer than one-fourth (24%) reported that they definitely knew they had rights growing up. One in ten reported that they grew up not knowing that they even had rights. Even though the majority of students were not well-informed about if they had rights or what they were if they thought they had some, they were still able to identify when they were mistreated and had their rights violated. About 44% of respondents stated that they had definitely had seen other youth have their rights violated, and another 41.6% thought youth rights violations were at least somewhat true, resulting in about 86% of students directly or indirectly experiencing rights violations of youth. About 55% of students reported that the rights of children are definitely not respected as much as the rights of adults, and another 34% reported that this was at least somewhat true, for a total of 89% of students feeling that adult rights are respected more than the rights of children and youth. Almost three-fourths (73%) felt that children should be entitled to the right to learn what legal rights they had; 24% weren't sure, and only 3% of respondents didn't think children should be taught what legal rights minors had. While seventy percent of respondents indicated that all people should be entitled to the same rights, irrespective of age, when asked specifically about child rights, only one-third (35%) agreed that children were entitled to the same rights as adults; sixty-five percent reported that young children should have fewer rights than adults. Of them, 44% felt that older children should have more rights than younger children, reflecting the sentiment that young children did not need or were not entitled to rights.

Subjects were asked if they thought people under age 18 should have rights to the following list of actions. Data responses were coded as "definitely a right" people under 18 should have, if they were unsure whether an action should be a right young people should have, or whether they felt it was "definitely not a right" to which minors should be entitled. Significant variability in response resulted. The data implies that even among college-aged students there is not a consensus on what should be considered a right that people under age 18 should have.

With respect to education, almost all (94%) reported that free education through high school/secondary school is a right, or should be. No one thought minors should be prevented from receiving a free primary and secondary education. When asked if it was their right to have college paid for, half (49%) thought it was definitely their right, 42% was unsure, and 8.6% thought higher education should not be a right for which young people should be entitled.

When asked about health care, 76% felt having paid access to health care was their right and only 3% did not think so. When asked if people under age 18 should have privacy to physical health care services, 71.5% felt they should; only 4% felt they should not. When it came to mental health care, 78% felt that minors should be able to access mental health care in a private and confidential manner; only 1.16% disagreed. Most believe young people deserve the right to play (79%). The majority of respondents thought young people should have the right to choose their religion (80%) or religious views. When it came to choosing friends or what they should watch, more variability occurred. Just over two-thirds (69%) felt young people had the right to choose their friends. While only 2% said this wasn't a right, over a quarter of respondents (28%)

weren't sure if youth had a right to pick their friends. Focus group discussion provided context to this answer, as students indicated that parents had the right to decide who their children could associate with. Only a quarter of respondents felt people under age 18 had the right to watch whatever they wanted on television and fewer than 1 in 5 (17.5%) felt youth had the right to look at anything they wanted on the internet. While under 20% of respondents felt that television and internet use wasn't a right, the majority were uncertain; 59% reported that they were unsure if minors had a right to watch television and 63% to us the internet. When it came to freedom of expression on internet sites like Facebook, 14% felt youth had a right to post what they wanted, 21.5% did not, and 85% of respondents were unsure.

Subjects were asked if people under age 18 had the right to have sexual relationships with others. They were asked this for both heterosexual relationships as well as LGBTQ relationships. Data indicated that there was no difference between these types of relationships. Almost forty-percent of respondents felt that young people had a right to choose sexual activity with others if they wanted (37% for heterosexual relationships, 38% for LGBTQ). Only 16% of respondents felt that young people did not have the right to make decisions to be sexually active with whom they chose. Almost half of the respondents (47% for heterosexual and 46% for LTBTQ relationships) were unsure if young people had the right to be sexually intimate with others.

A remarkable finding was that US students felt they had more rights than other children around the globe. Despite the fact that the United States is now the only United Nations member that has not ratified the UNCRC, and that data indicates that both human right and child rights education are not routinely taught in American schools, 87% of students still feel that they have more rights than children in other countries. Only about a third of the respondents (35.29%) felt that people under age 18 should have the right to vote; about another third (37%) were uncertain if young people should have the right to vote, and over a quarter (28%) thought young people should not have the right to vote in elections.

The issue of what students identified to be rights or their violation indicated that they weren't really clear on what they were. For instance, 93.6% of respondents felt that hitting a child was a definite violation of their rights. However, spanking a child was perceived to be different than hitting with 57.3% seeing spanking as a violation of their rights. This is a difference of 36%, which is quite significant. Less than 2% of respondents thought that hitting a child was acceptable but over 12% thought spanking was acceptable. Eight percent of respondents thought that parents had a right to hit a child and 45.52% of respondents thought parents had the right to spank a child. Only 8% of respondents felt that people in general are aware that children have rights. Yet 97% felt that young people would benefit from knowing that they had rights and what they are.

The data from these different sources reflected that neither students nor adults in the US really understand the issue of rights. They bring to their understanding a set of history, rhetoric, and ideology that complicates their comprehension. It also underscores the need for intelligent and factual education on the issue of human rights in general and child rights training in particular.

Contextualizing HRGE

Once teachers are familiar with the basic HRE treaties it will be easier for them to link them to specific global education issues. Knowing what is in each treaty, instructors can take almost any topic studied in global education and relate it to larger international rights concerns. Below are two examples to demonstrate how this can be done.

Issue 1: Female Genital Mutilation (FMG)

A common topic in global education classes is gender equity and discrimination against women. Female genital mutilation is often used as an example. This commonly employed procedure in many parts of the world removes part of a girl's genitalia in an often brutal and unsanitary way in a custom that is designed to enhance her social respectability and marital opportunities. Girls usually do not give informed consent for this procedure and if they do it is usually under coercion. Many experience both short and long term health problems because of the procedure. Global education tends to focus on the procedure and the socio-cultural context in which it is performed. However, a HRE approach would broaden discussion of the procedure to include a broader view of the girl's rights. For instance, students could be taught that the procedure violated the girl's rights contained in several human rights treaties. These could include discussion of UNCRC Article 24 which requires that States Parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health. States Parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to such health care services. Article 19 which requires that States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child. Article 12 gives the girl the right to form her own view or opinion of the procedure. Article 34 requires that States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent: (a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; and (b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices. The UNCRC Article 3 would require that legal and administrative bodies step in to protect the girl's well-being and therefore stop the mutilation: Article 3.1 reads. In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration and in Article 3.2 it reads States Parties undertake to ensure

the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures. Discussion of FMG violating a girl's rights under the UDHR could focus on its Article 1 Right to equality, Right 2 Freedom from discrimination, Right 3 Right to life, liberty and personal security, and Article 5, Freedom from torture and degrading treatment. Under the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Article 2 seeks to guard against discrimination of females, Article 12 creates the obligation of states parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care and Article 14 provides protections for all women to have access to adequate health care facilities.

In short, everything typically taught about FGM under global education can continue to be taught, but this procedure is placed under a broader social context of what it means for young female's sexual rights to be violated. The HRE context enriches the conversation and empowers students to view the procedure in a larger discussion of what it means to be female and to have control over her body.

Issue 2: Environmental Protection and Climate Change

Choices made by governments and other actors that effect the environment, or that frame responses to environmental challenges, directly and indirectly impact one's human rights (Anton & Shelton, 2011). The link between the environment and human rights has long been recognized. Recent discussion over climate change is a topic in many global education discussions. Often these discussions focus on whether climate change is real, who caused it, and what can be done about it. Use of a human rights perspective could expand the discourse into a higher realm (Crow-Miller, 2018).

For instance, a group of 21 young people age 9–20 in the Portland Oregon area have banded together to sue the United States government for violating their human rights to inherit a healthy planet and failing to protect the planet from the effects of climate change. Their lawsuit claims that the federal government's promotion of fossil fuel production and its indifference to the risks posed by greenhouse gas emissions have resulted in a dangerous and destabilizing climate system that threatens the survival of future generations. They deem it violates their Constitutional right to life, liberty and property and that it has violated the public trust doctrine, a legal concept that holds the government is responsible for protecting public resources (or the climate system) for public use. The United Nations Human Rights Council and the Office of the High Commissioner adopted Resolution 16/11 Human Rights and the Environment in 2011. The Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm (1972), the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), show the link between human rights and dignity and the environment. Since 1989, the Commission on Human Rights started to address environmental issues through resolutions on movement and

dumping of toxic and dangerous products and wastes (Resolution – 1989/42) and the Commission on Human Rights adopted its first resolution entitled *Human rights and the environment* in 1994 followed by a number of resolutions on the same subject matter in 1995 and 1996 (Res. 1994/65; Res. 1995/14; Res. 1996/13). In 2002, the Year of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the Commission on Human Rights adopted resolutions on the environment that were entitled *Human rights and the environment as part of sustainable development* (Res. 2002/75; Res. 2003/71; Res. 2005/60). There is a strong foundation to justify discussing global environmental issues from a human rights framework.

In a hearing, U.S. District Court Judge Anne Aiken agreed with the youths' claims and wrote a sweeping 54-page opinion that established that children and teens have a right to expect that they could live in a stable climate. "I have no doubt that the right to a climate system capable of sustaining human life is fundamental to a free and ordered society," Aiken wrote. "Just as marriage is the foundation of the family, a stable climate system is quite literally the foundation of society, without which there would be neither civilization nor progress." The lawsuit is not about proving climate change or human actions that contribute to it – it focuses on young people's rights to live in a healthy world today and in the future. Mary Wood, an environmental law professor at the University of Oregon calls this lawsuit "the biggest case on the planet." The climate change lawsuit asks a federal judge to order the government to write a recovery plan to reduce carbon emissions to 350 parts per million by 2100 (down from 400 parts per million) and stabilize the climate system because they have not taken action for over 50 years to reduce fossil fuels that cause global warming. Attorney Julia Olsen founded the nonprofit Our Children's Trust to protect children from climate change and has filed climate change lawsuits in each of the 50 states. Legal actions to protect environmental rights have been undertaken in Belgium, New Zealand, Pakistan, Austria, South Africa and the Netherlands (Parker, 2017).

Once teachers start framing issues from within a human rights framework, students will automatically start doing this on their own with other topics. Almost any topic that is discussed in global education can fall under the HRE umbrella. Teaching global issues like climate change, FGM, or other issues within a human rights focus is empowering to students and provides them with the legal, moral, and cultural background to contextualize what they are studying to help them generalize information to the larger social landscape. Contextualizing global education in a human rights frame could teach all students what universal human rights are and why they are important.

Conclusion

There is much to be gained from teaching students about what is going in in the world. They can come to see the inter-relationships between social structures and systems, the inter-dependence of peoples and the environment, and the intersection of human values, policies and actions. However, they cannot do this alone. Educators are in an essential

position to guide them to see themselves as critical thinkers and empowered change agents – but they need a fundamental conceptual framework in order to do so. Human rights treaties provide such a framework through their stated articles that protect human and social well-being. Development of HRGE from preschool through higher education can facilitate the creation of responsible global citizens who are working collaboratively for health, peace and justice.

Human rights treaties like the UDHR and UNCRC mandate that education be put into place in ratifying nations. Therefore, already in place is a universal monitoring system that could be used to help assess quality and implementation. The United Nations could build closer partnerships with the international education community to conduct data collection and evaluation of HRGE efforts. By placing global education under the umbrella of human rights education, it helps reduce the chances that it will assume a Western orientation. While human rights perspective is sometimes seen as a Western approach too, the fact that human rights treaties have been ratified from 192 different countries around the world automatically gives it credence as more than a Western educational tool. Benefits and drawbacks of both global and human rights education have been reviewed. Merging these two important pedagogical approaches together could enhance both and provide students with larger frameworks from which they can analyze society and human relationships. HRGE could be instituted as an essential part of the Common Core and be used as a foundation on which to build a stronger, more humane world for all.

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Chapter 4
Vision for the New Global Teacher: Reflections from a Comparative Education Perspective

Diane Brook Napier

Abstract The Global Teacher/Orbital Classroom Initiative seeks to address updated teaching needs in the current era of a changed globalisation landscape, to foster the goals of democracy, global citizenship, intercultural education, and international understanding. Undergirded by philosophical and theoretical considerations and insights from decades of educational scholarship, an international group of participants set out to develop appropriate and relevant competences and pedagogical approaches to foster development of a more worldly Global Teacher, and to eventually provide practical operationalisations for use in an Orbital Classroom connecting teachers and students in many countries and settings worldwide. This chapter incorporates main features of the initiative and explicates the rationales for it in light of contemporary educational research writing calling for updated policy and practice in the new millennium and in terms of addressing current global level initiatives such as EFA, MDGs and GEFI, as well as rationales for teachers themselves. The importance of context in all of its complexity is emphasised, as are the global-local-dialectic and comparative interdisciplinary approach which are recommended as standard desirable practices. These notions are illustrated in the example of teaching about the contemporary migration crisis impacting Europe. The many challenges entailed in effective implementation and sustainability of the Global Teacher Initiative are enumerated, including the overarching need for recruitment, support and training of teachers as participants, and the means of sustainability.

This chapter is an updated, expanded presentation of the issues discussed in the Global Teacher/Orbital Classroom international forum held in 2015–2016, of this author's contribution in the report of the forum report (see Cristaldi, Majhanovich & Pampanini, 2016), and in the final publication document (see Cristaldi, Majhanovick & Pampanini, 2017).

D. Brook Napier (✉)
University of Georgia, Athens, GA, USA
e-mail: dnapier@uga.edu

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Introduction

There is increasing awareness of the need to revisit educational policies, reform priorities, and teaching practices in the new millennium, as conventional Neoliberal policies and imperatives are critiqued for insufficiently addressing new and shifting realities worldwide. In keeping with the theme of this volume, this chapter presents reflections on one vision for updating teacher education and practice in light of contemporary realities and demands in a radically changing globalisation context. The Global Teacher initiative embraces a vision to update the notion of "*Global Teacher*" to advance the goals of global democracy, global citizenship, intercultural education, and international understanding in the current era. An international community of educators and scholars initially came together in 2015 and 2016 to contemplate various dimensions of the challenge and to make plans for implementing the initiative in subsequent years. Along with the conceptualisation of the initiative's main features, the objective has been to develop appropriate and relevant pegagogical notions of and for the Global Teacher and to create and operationalise these in reality within an Orbital Classroom.

While overall the ideas herein are not new, and Pampanini pointed out the connections with Dewey's writings over a century ago (Pampanini, 2016), the present state of affairs worldwide in the early new millennium–and the centenary of major events such as World War I–make the vision ever more timely, relevant and needed. As foundation and rationale for the initiative, Pampanini outlined the evolution of his thinking regarding the Global Teacher initiative, incorporating several decades of scholarship on the theoretical and philosophical bases of the initiative as well as on practical applications in a variety of international, regional and local settings. The participants in the international forum represented countries across all continents. They offered a variety of perspectives on the challenges involved in truly updating teachers and teaching–therefore also teacher education and training. In this chapter, I present some reflections on the initiative and the rationale for the Global Teacher and the Orbital Classroom, offering a perspective from the field of Comparative and International Education.

A key consideration underlying the initiative is the evolving globalisation context in the new millennium. There is a wealth of scholarship and insight in previous volumes in the series *Globalisation, Education, and Policy Research* (Zajda, 2008–2020, 2010, 2016) and in other globalisation-focused research (see for instance Zajda, 2015a, 2015b). Recent shifts in accountability, quality and standards-driven education, and policy research are one set of dimensions here, as conventional systems of evaluation and performance came to be challenged if they failed to meet real needs within certain contexts and settings (see the research studies on different "qualities of education" in Brook Napier, 2014). Another set of dimensions

revolves around the intersections of globalisation, ideology, and democracy, and the changing roles of the state with regard to education, educational reform, and transformation in all spheres and sectors (see the collection of cases in Silova, Sobe, Korzh, & Kovalchuk, 2017 for examples). Issues of equity and justice (and injustice), cultural capital (and lack of it), and race (and racism in different forms) also make for a volatile mix of imperatives to consider for updated educational policy and practice nowadays (see the studies in Brook Napier, 2016a, 2016b and in Acosta & Nogueira, 2017).

Furthermore, in recent years there have been eruptions of new phenomena that have radically altered societal and regional contexts in a large number of impacted countries, and in- and across several world regions, demanding reconsiderations of all of the above. For instance, the massive rise in numbers of migrants and refugees from Africa and the Middle East have flooded the shores and borders of European countries, new forms of terrorism and new outbreaks of xenophobia have become commonplace, and impacted countries have been left scrambling to accommodate markedy different sub-populations now in their societal midst. This chapter provides illustration of the latter set in some detail, to shed light on the complexity of the challenges in updating the Global Teacher notion, in comparative context. To illustrate the importance of updating understanding of the context in whatever form it takes, I indicate how the so-called migrant crisis is one of many vexing problems and challenges when it comes to developing an updated notion of the Global Teacher, particularly when one considers this in comparative context.

The Features and Ingredients of the Global Teacher Initiative

Potentially and ideally, the vision of a global teacher encompasses all levels and forms of education, including primary- and secondary level schooling, higher education, non-formal education systems, and cultural associations (community, national and global levels). Accordingly, all content areas and subject fields apply, and because of the enormous potential now possible via ICT, communications and interactions are possible via email, Skype, social media, and other online channels. Multiple vehicles for- and avenues of teaching, learning and interaction are possible, with the potential to connect teachers and students (and other participants) in many countries across settings and countries worldwide, thereby setting up a comparative *global dialectic as a platform for global learning and participation*. However, this is the ideal or optimum scenario. Taken literally, the Global Teacher idea would encompass all of these dimensions and would entail communication and interaction, learning and operationalisation of updated ideas at all levels and in all contexts. This is clearly a daunting proposition, but the initiative intent necessarily extends to all of these potential levels and forms.

Why Is Such an Initiative Desirable? A Rationale

We can see rationales on many levels, and these relate well to the current imperatives facing education in countries worldwide as summarised by Wiseman and Baker (2005) and as suggested in the introductory remarks above regarding the need for updating and rethinking of policy and practice in light of massive changes in the new millennium. Why is the idea of an updated Global Teacher desirable for teachers themselves? Some specific illustrations follow. The Global Teacher/Orbital Classroom has potential to reduce isolation and insularity for teachers and their students. Teachers can capitalise on participation to address their own school-system requirements, content area standards and curriculum or subject-area syllabus requirements, and the specific needs of their students in striving for high or improved performance and for competitive academic achievement without isolation. Effective operation of the Global Teacher, as envisioned, could enhance students' understanding of the interconnectedness of events and issues in history and across contexts and countries worldwide. Participation could be beneficial for teachers and their students, assisting them to see the realities of what they face in their daily lives in a given local context and setting within a given country and region, and also in comparison and contrast to what their counterparts are experiencing in other countries and settings. This process of comparing and reflecting/analyzing across levels from global to local was conceptualised as the "*global to local dialectic*" (see Arnove, 2013, pp. 1–25 for an elaboration). As described further below, part of the overall globalisation phenomenon is the global push for improved education, monitored and charted in countries worldwide, so the global dimension in education is now well entrenched.

A second set of rationales for the initiative under discussion is that its *Competences,* identified in the "dossier" for the project align well with contemporary international educational imperatives to upgrade and update education across all fields of study (Cristaldi, Majhanovich, & Pampanini, 2016, 2017). These competences are: *technical* (Skype, whatsapp, and email and other online forms); *linguistic* (English, français, espanol), *cultural* (owning a personal archive with files on current global issues); and *pedagogical* (management of Orbital Classrooms open to international dialogue). While it might appear to be an obvious desirable dimension to have a comparative frame of reference in teaching and learning, and to always or consistently have students interrogate issues and processes for similarities and differences across contexts, this often fails to occur and the learning experience is often left localised or without comparative elements if the comparative dimension is not deliberately injected into the process. Such comparisons are higher-order thinking rather than lower-order thinking such as knowledge, comprehension, application. They require analysis and a measure of skill acquisition depending on the content and subject matter. Consequently, teacher recruitment into the process, and teacher support and training targeting the strategies for building in such comparisons, are essential for incorporation of the global-local-dialectic into teaching and learning as a regular feature.

Ideally, the Global Teacher would therefore be a sophisticated and worldly educator with a grasp of knowledge and issues far and wide, not just immediately at home. The Orbital Classroom in its ideal, envisioned form would be one in which teachers and students interact with counterparts in many different settings, far and wide, to enrich the learning experience. Here, the comparative dimension, and the global-local-dialectic, offer rich potential for enhanced learning. Many innovative educational ventures and programs incorporate features such as these in the Global Teacher initiative, but this one serves as a good illustration of an international group of educators and scholars willing to come together (in person and electronically) to earnestly examine the needs and potential, then to begin the process of actual operationalisation into practice. In short, the challenges facing such initiatives are not modest. From a comparative perspective, the importance of context, and dealing with it appropriately, rises to the fore as a huge challenge. This is discussed next.

The Importance of Context

From the perspective of comparative and international education, "universality co-exists with particularity, and because of this, comparative education always works in dialectics, considering views that seem to be in opposition, but at the same time generating richer meanings in the process of considering such opposing views" (Lee, Napier, & Manzon, 2014, p. 8). Crossley (2009, p. 1173) noted that concern for context "penetrates to the heart of comparative education." He also argued that context remains important within each genre of comparative education (therefore in all traditions of study of education), although in different ways and for different reasons (Crossley, 2010, p. 421). As Lee et al. (2014) noted, the importance of context remains a key dimension in comparative education, and within this vision for a Global Teacher one sees the importance of incorporating considerations of context on all levels and across settings if the goals of the undertaking are to be successful.

The Global Teacher initiative has the potential to advance many desirable forms of cutting-edge education that is sensitive to context factors, including but not limited to: intercultural education and multicultural education; international understanding; recognising the interconnectedness of peoples, cultures, and nations in facing critical historical and contemporary challenges; identifying key distinguishing features of a phenomenon, event, issue, or process in a given context as contextually shaped; and recognising the need for different stakeholder groups and individuals to work together on critical problems. In many instances, these would be interdisciplinary undertakings since the issues addressed in these areas are not confined to a single subject area or discipline. One can see the rich potential for connecting teachers and students in classrooms across multiple countries if one considers some examples of topics such as: environmental issues such as water supply, drought, and cross-national water access disputes such as between Israel and Jordan; the on-going civil war in Syria and the involvement of multiple groups and

countries seeking to prevail in the conflict; the contemporary and recent phenomenon of desperate migrations in which Italy, Greece and other receiving countries in the EU are dealing with African and Syrian migrants crossing the Mediterranean and seeking asylum or safe harbour in a selection of European countries; the case of Burmese refugees in Thailand and Malaysia, and the need for other Asian countries to participate in providing safe harbour; and the ongoing flow of migrants northward in the Americas. While many examples of topics with potential might appear to be within the social sciences area/s of study, there is also potential for implementation of the initiative in the natural sciences, economics, and political science (consider the water supply issue, for instance).

Taking one of these illustrations further, i.e. that of the so-called "migrant crisis" in Europe that has intensified and spread in the last few years, one can see the magnitude of the challenges facing an initiative such as the Global Teacher because of complicating factors of context/s that are significantly altered and constantly changing and that demand careful treatment in teaching. One might argue that its impacts on contexts per se makes it perhaps one of the most daunting of all challenges for educators and policy makers.

The migrant crisis assailing Europe at present is not a new phenomenon but its intensification and massification have made it a prominent feature of international news and regional anxiety. The purpose here is not to provide a full and detailed account of all aspects of the topic, rather to point to it in general as an example of how complicated life has become in many countries as a result of the migration phenomenon, and how much the conventional views are changing on what is (also) essential content, what the status quo is, what teachers need to know to help students learn best, and how best to serve new and different students' needs. Earlier in the new millennium the migrant flow from places of origin in impoverished sub-Saharan African countries and in the Middle East was also toward Europe, but it was largely funnelled through Mauretania and Morocco to Spain, Italy and beyond. Brook Napier (2009, 2011) provided a detailed account of the features of this phenomenon, which had a counterpart migrant flow southwards in Africa to South Africa as the intended destination country. Aside from the focus on numbers of migrants, and reasons for their urge to migrate (push factors) to seek a better life in Europe or South Africa (pull factors), research studies seeking to document and understand the overall phenomenon also considered the impacts on society and schooling in the receiving countries (see for example the studies in Bryceson & Vuyerola, 2002).

Now, in recent years a more recent version of the migrant crisis has emerged in the African-Middle Eastern-European macro region. The precise routes of even larger numbers of desperate migrants have changed to be more focused on jumping off from Libya and Turkey to reach Italy, Greece and other countries before moving into central and northern Europe. The difficulty of actually determining how many migrants are involved remains as it was in the earlier period, as only those who make the journey safely or whose bodies are found can be counted. For recent numbers of migrants and refugees by countries of origin and intended destination, see UNHCR (2015) and the International Organization for Migration (2015). The influxes of migrants and refugees have had and continue to have major

impacts on all social services in the intermediate destination countries, the countries impacted during transit, and in the ultimate destination countries. These recent and contemporary mass migration phenomena are prime examples of how the global arena has experienced radical change, demanding re-examination of how we view the impacted region/s and countries, and all that transpires in them at least when it comes to policy issues, societal realities, and human resource development needs in multiple sectors.

Consider how many *contexts* are involved in such a phenomenon, not only in the source countries or countries of origin, but also and particularly in the receiving countries which include intermediate destinations and ultimate destinations, and even destinations of migrants rejected or deported. Then there are also considerations of cross-country and cross-border context, macro-regional context, and Pan-African, Middle Eastern and EU regional contexts. Further, there are the many local contexts in which these large numbers of migrants find themselves at various stages of the story and journey, and in the reception/s they encounter. And the policy context/s or official policy positions might be at odds with public opinions and actions in the social context too. One illustration of research conducted to understand how some of these processes play out at the local level and in the country context was found in Cristaldi (2016) in the case of Italy where issues of race, country of origin, *language*, and immigrant status intersected in school policy. Migrants (largely from Africa), if they could not speak *Italian*, were classified at Special Education Needs students, with a host of ramifications in both policy and practice in how schools consider foreign students.

Returning to the idea of the updated Global Teacher, and considering this one huge topic of mass migration and refugees, one sees the magnitude of the challenge involved in supporting and training teachers to become updated Global Teachers in an Orbital Classroom. For the teacher, for every one and all of the contexts involved in the mass migration phenomenon, there is need for learning, understanding, skill and training to convey and impart content and policy to students, and skill in managing conflicting views and possible prejudices. Returning to the notion of global-to-local dialectic in a comparative approach, consider how much potential there is for teachers to enhance students' learning about the world they are now living in, and how the winds of change are impacting life on different levels. Other parts of the world impacted by migration streams, such as in the Americas, make for fruitful comparisons and contrasts. The tragedy and hope contained within a phenomenon such as the current mass migration make it rich in potential for truly updated global teaching and learning as articulated in global level initiatives.

Addressing Global Level Initiatives

The Global Teacher initiative addresses contemporary global goals for democratic education and for Global Citizenship such as the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) established in UNESCO in 2012 to advance the goals of Education for All

(EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), both of which were initiated in 2000 and which had update reports in mid-program (United Nations, 2007a, 2015). The particular needs of developing countries and the imperatives to address educational deficits in them have also become a global level initiative associated with EFA and the MDGs (United Nations, 2007b). The year 2015 was the target year for monitoring progress in countries and regions worldwide within these global systems of educational progress, in a global comparative mechanism (UNESCO 2015) but these global monitoring mechanisms are now on-going. Pertinent to the Global Teacher initiative, the GEFI has three principal thrusts: (a) to put every child in school, (b) to improve the quality of learning, and (c) to foster global citizenship. On the last of these, (c), the intent is that: "*Education must be transformative, cultivating respect for the world and each other. It should provide children with the understanding they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st Century"* (GEFI, 2012). Clearly, the Global Teacher is relevant to the overarching goals of GEFI for education today, worldwide. In addition, it is evident that in countries significantly impacted by influxes of refugees and migrants, these global level initiatives take on added significance regarding addressing the complexities both in teaching and in learning.

Some Additional Considerations

For successful and sustained implementation of the Global Teacher initiative, several considerations and practicalities are now posed. Admittedly, these are among the eternal challenges in new education initiatives, and they permeate all efforts to enhance quality education (Baker & Wiseman, 2005; Brook Napier, 2014; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). While they have been considered in the initial phase of presentations and discussions among the initiative participants, they are an obvious component to be included in this reflection considering the path forward for such initiatives as the Global Teacher and the Orbital Classroom. For example, how will the participants (teachers, teacher educators, scholars, administrators, and students) be assisted in bridging the different languages, cultures and contexts they each have? How will language differences be managed, for example so that French/English/Arabic/Italian/Spanish speakers can communicate with other language-speakers in other countries, in the activities?

Teacher training and support are crucial in all new educational undertakings and these are endemically insufficient. So, how will the participating teachers and teacher trainers in this initiative be given support and sufficient training (including support on pedagogical strategies suited to the project activities, the necessary equipment and setup, and administrator backup) to effectively participate? How can teachers and their students who are NOT connected online (via Skype, email, or internet) also be included, and not be excluded because of the so-called digital divide? How can sustainability be built in to the endeavour by enabling teachers to find reward and recognition within their own school settings so that they build these ideas and

practices into their work as a permanent and integral feature? How can school administrators support teachers' learning or staff development, and practice, for adoption of the initiative elements into their regular teaching practice? Can teacher-training programs support ongoing recruitment and participation *beyond* the current participants in such an initiative? Can dissemination of the activities and outcomes of the Global Teacher enhance sustainability and sponsorship of the initiative? How can such an initiative move beyond volunteerism, to broaden its scope and participation, therefore how can such an initiative be funded and at what levels? These are among the questions that can and must be addressed as this initiative moves forward. In the collection of participant reports from the 2015–2016 meetings, other participants addressed some of these questions, particularly related to teachers and how to support their involvement (for instance, see Eddakhch in Cristaldi, Majhanovich, & Pampanini, 2016, 2017).

Conclusion

As noted initially, the Global Teacher initiative has never been more timely and relevant. There are many strong rationales for its pursuit, and in spirit it directly addresses the suite of current global level goals for enhancing education in all countries in the twenty-first century. From a comparative perspective, there is enormous value in the initiative to foster international understanding via the global-local-dialectic and through teachers employing processes of examining and comparing contexts and issues with their students in a variety of subject areas and across all levels of learning. Global citizenship can be cultivated through activities highlighting the interconnectedness of peoples, nations, cultures in addressing crucial needs such as those of migrants and refugees, and in preserving peace rather than acquiescing in new wars or xenophobia. A real strength of the project is that it is not merely theoretical; that it builds in a robust dimension of practical application, of working with teachers to actively implement the ideas and processes contained in the Global Teacher and in an Orbital Classroom. In a globalised world turned upside down, teachers and teacher trainers have a huge imperative to constantly update and reflect on their practice to accommodate change and complexity in reality. Support and training, and means of sustainability, are essential for any such initiative to succeed.

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Chapter 5
STEM Education As a GERM: Reviewing Australia's STEM Discourse

Lyn Carter

Abstract This paper reviews the Australian discourse on STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) and STEM education apparent in selected texts including those published by the Australian Government. Like the GERM (global education reform movement) contagion that it is, STEM only really officially reached the shores of Australia when in 2012 our Chief Scientist began a series of utterances (speeches, media interviews, reports, position papers and the like) that purposefully included this acronym. The paper investigates the appointment of Australia's most recent Chief Scientist whose biography sees him well suited to promoting STEM as human capital production within the enterprise society. It describes the neoliberal underpinnings of STEM including a crisis discourse that marginalises other perspectives of science education, effectively narrowing its possibilities.

Introduction

Like the GERM (global education reform movement) that it is, STEM, an acronym meaning science, technology, engineering and mathematics, officially (and finally) reached the shores of Australia when in 2012 our then Chief Scientist Professor Ian Chubb began a series of utterances that purposefully included this term. It was a long time coming given that STEM seems to have around since the early 2000s. This is not to say that Australia lacked science and science education policy and processes prior to 2012, but recently the Chief Scientist's Office has delivered position papers, reports, policy proposals, and media promoting STEM (instead of science) as vital for Australia's competitive future. Australia caught the germ from the United States after the publication of their National Research Council's 2007 report *Rising Above the Gathering Storm: Energizing and Employing America for a Brighter Economic Future* that argued the US was on a 'losing path' in its ability to innovate and

L. Carter (✉)
School of Education, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: lyn.carter@acu.edu.au

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compete globally as their education system was failing to prepare the STEM workers of the future. Followed quickly by the 2010 *Rising Above the Gathering Storm, Revisited: Rapidly Approaching Category 5,* the rhetoric swelled declaring that the situation was now reaching catastrophic proportions. Australia by contrast, was criticised for not being sufficiently panicked in a 2013 Australian Council of Learned Academies (ACOLA) report *STEM: Country comparisons*, which found "(i)n world terms Australia is positioned not far below the top group but lacks the national urgency found in the United States, East Asia and much of Western Europe, and runs the risk of being left behind" (Marginson, Tytler, Freeman, & Roberts, 2013 p. 12).

Despite this collective panic, taking to one's bed with the STEM germ really requires greater scrutiny! To begin, there is some dispute about the origins of the acronym STEM with Mohr-Schroeder, Cavalcanti, and Blyman (2015) suggesting it was coined in 2001 by Judith Ramaley, a then director at the US National Science Foundation as a reordering of SMET (science, mathematics, engineering and technology), popular in the 1990s to highlight the importance of these four disciplines. Fears that SMET was a little too vulgar and didn't convey an interdisciplinary focus precipitated a rearranging of the letters. Sue Dale Tunnicliffe, from the Institute of Education at the University of London in a 2015 personal communication however, stated that she and her colleagues were using STEM in the 1980s and 1990s. Whatever its origins, there is certainly no dispute about the STEM's momentum as a global policy juggernaut. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, United Nations Science, Education and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the European Union (EU), and the International Association of the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) have all given significant attention to STEM issues (Marginson et al. 2013). Chesky and Wolfmeyer (2015) note that policy discourse and documents seem to convey several aspects to the meaning of STEM. While it is clearly about competitive national agendas for human capital production in the core areas of science, technology, engineering and mathematics that underpin twenty-first century global economies, it is also about understanding the inherent linkages between these and other areas that can drive innovation. Moreover, STEM as STEM education it seems, is about promoting national scientific literacy critical for citizenship supportive of nation state policy agendas in economized science. And at the same time, STEM is about enabling those traditionally excluded from STEM fields to develop capacity for careers thereby increasing the talent pool.

Although there is a plethora of writing around STEM more generally, there is less academic scholarship, and what there is suggests Chesky and Wolfmeyer (2015), concerns the efficiency of STEM policy or how STEM policy may better achieve its goals either at a systemic level or through improved pedagogical moves. Systemic review focussing on identifying policy problems hindering STEM's successful implementation and how they may be overcome seems the preoccupation. At a more micro level in the STEM classroom, examples of concrete STEM practices saturate the field with three specialist STEM journals recently created for this purpose – the 2012 Open Access *Journal of STEM Education: Innovation and Research,* the 2015 Springer journal *International Journal of STEM Education*

and the *Journal of STEM Education Research and Practice* from Utah State University which has yet to publish its first volume. The aims of the *International Journal of STEM Education* give a sense as to where this scholarship is positioned.

> The *International Journal of STEM Education* provides a unique platform for sharing research regarding, among other topics, the design and implementation of technology-rich learning environments, innovative pedagogies, and curricula in STEM education that promote successful learning in Pre K-16 levels including teacher education. We are also interested in studies that address specific challenges in improving students' achievement, approaches used to motivate and engage students, and lessons learned from changes in curriculum and instruction in STEM education. (Aims and Scope).

Within these examples, STEM is fashioned as an undifferentiated monolith, settled and static in its view of the discipline epistemologies with no hint of any contention. The acquisition of scientific knowledge is the given in a predominantly direct means and ends view of education.

Despite the supremacy of STEM as conventional scientism, there have been some attempts at broadening and critiquing the STEM agenda. For example, a special issue of the *Cultural Studies in Science Education* published at the beginning of 2016 entitled '2020 Vision: Envisioning a New Generation of STEM Learning Research' aims to re-envision the questions and frameworks guiding STEM research given that STEM learning should be lifelong, life-wide and life-deep. STEM learning it is argued should occur in diverse settings and investigate the multiple contexts in which learners live and interact, an imaginary well beyond the human capital production vision. There has also been some attention to STEM in the philosophy space. In addition to the 2015 book from Chesky & Wolfmeyer entitled *Philosophy of STEM Education: A Critical Investigation*, there is a current call for a special issue of the journal *Educational Studies* on 'Rethinking the Role of STEM in the Philosophy of Education: Implications for Education Research.' This volume, suggests the editors, seeks to leverage "new insights from science and technology studies that critique notions of intentionality and agency, and of achievement, progress and individuation" – very much the human capital pipeline. The call seeks manuscripts that show how STEM can be used to help us "study the highly distributed nature of collective processes of learning, the political framing of education, the onto-epistemologies of material pedagogical relations, etc." as well as utilise "alternative STEM concepts as tools for analyzing the material and ideological entanglements of education" (Freitas, Pais, & Lupinacci, 2016 p. 1) And there is a soon to be published themed issue of the Open Access journal *Journal for Activist Science and Technology Education* (JASTE) that investigates other aspects of STEM including several analyses of the neoliberal governmentality discourse embedded within STEM.

This chapter aims to contribute to the critique of STEM education as a global reform movement with a focus on Australia. With the exception of some work from Gough (2015), there is little scholarship in this area. Reviewing the Office of the Chief Scientist of Australia is one way of gaining a sense of Australia's direction in science and science education as part of STEM. Located within the government *Department of Industry, Innovation and Science*, the Chief Scientist's website describes the role as providing:

> high-level independent advice to the Prime Minister and other Ministers on matters relating to science, technology and innovation . . . advocate(ing) for Australian science internationally . . . (acting as a) . . . champion of science, research and the role of evidence in the community and in government.
>
> The world, and Australia with it, is faced with increasingly complex challenges and opportunities, most of which require significant input from science in order to address them fully and appropriately. It is essential then, that the Australian Government has access to the highest calibre independent, and authoritative scientific advice available . . .The Chief Scientist has the opportunity to help bring together extensive national and international scientific networks to assist in providing the most up to date and scientifically robust advice . . . at a global level. (Australia's Chief Scientist, 2016).

As part of the advocacy for science related matters, the Chief Scientist communicates extensively with the public in the form of press releases, media interviews, policy releases, public addresses and the like. In this chapter, I review some of these public domain documents to position the STEM and STEM education policy discourse in Australia, before moving on to critique several of the opaque assumptions aboard within the rhetoric. Necessarily to this end, I make use of extensive quotes from the Chief Scientist's website as that wording so clearly conveys the ideological positioning better than my paraphrasing. I begin then in the next section with a discussion of the Chief Scientist of Australia.

STEM and STEM Education with Australia's Chief Scientist

The Chief Scientist of Australia is appointed on advice for a 5–year term by the Prime Minister of the day from a short list of suitable candidates supplied to his Office. As I write, one incumbent is making room for another with the outgoing Chief Scientist Professor Ian Chubb (2011–2015) being replaced by Dr. Alan Finkel (2016–2020). Ian Chubb is an academic and neuroscientist, and a former university Vice Chancellor (President) of both the Australian National University (ranked 19th on QS World University Rankings) and Flinders University. With a different trajectory, Dr. Finkel, the website informs us:

> has an extensive science background as an entrepreneur, engineer, neuroscientist and educator. In 1983 he founded *Axon Instruments*, a California-based, ASX-listed (Australian Securities Exchange) company that made precision scientific instruments . . . In 2004, Dr Finkel became a director of the acquiring company, NASDAQ-listed *Molecular Devices*. In 2006, he returned to Australia and undertook a wide range of activities. He . . . was a director of the ASX-listed diagnostics company *Cogstate Limited*. He was Executive Chair of the educational software company *Stile Education*, Chair of *Manhattan Investment Group*, Chief Technology Officer of *Better Place Australia* (electric vehicles) and Chair of *Speedpanel Australia* (recycled building panels) (Australia's Chief Scientist, 2016 my italics).

In fact, much was made of Dr. Finkel's entrepreneurial and business credentials when his appointment was announced by our Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. In a

statement from Prime Minister's website, Mr. Turnbull together with the Minister for Industry, Innovation and Science Chrisopher Pyne, are reported as confirming that:

> science and innovation are at the centre of the Government's agenda and key to Australia remaining a prosperous, first world economy with a generous social welfare safety net. "The Australian Government recognises the importance of science, innovation and technology to our future prosperity and economic security as a nation in a rapidly expanding and diversifying global economy," the Prime Minister said. ... the Hon Christopher Pyne MP congratulated Dr Finkel .... "Dr Finkel is renowned for his outstanding research, industrial and entrepreneurial achievements in Australia and overseas ... His will be a vital role in shaping Australia's economic future and leading our national conversation on science, innovation and commercialisation across the research, industry and education sectors and with the wider community," he said. (Office of the Prime Minister, 2015).

That Dr. Finkel is comfortable in the role is apparent from his comments upon accepting his new commission reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper:

> My personal experience across research, business and STEM education will guide my ability to formulate relevant advice .... We exist in a competitive international environment and to compete effectively, business needs science, science needs business, Australia needs both.

Dr. Finkel inherits his portfolio with a plethora of reports and policy papers advocating for STEM and STEM education already in place from the previous Chief Scientist, Professor Chubb. Ian Chubb was a prolific communicator in the role and a particularly passionate advocate for STEM and STEM education. Some of the major reports include:

- July 2013: *Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in the National Interest: A Strategic Approach*

  (A position paper for a whole of government approach to investment in STEM. The Business Council of Australia's *Action Plan for Enduring Prosperity* endorsed the approach and recommended its swift adoption).
- September 2014: *Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics: Australia's Future*

  (Four areas identified and recommendations for improvements of which education was one. STEM education is to provide a secure pipeline for a skilled workforce in STEM to secure Australia's future).
- November 2014: *Benchmarking Australian Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.*

  (Being in the top 1% in world apparently means there is room for improvement).
- March 2015: *The Importance of Advanced Physical and Mathematical Sciences to the Australian Economy*

  (Underlines the point of STEM to the economy. A further report on the Biological Sciences to the Australian economy was released in January 2016).

Those interested in reading more about these publications are directed to Gough (2015) who describes several of Ian Chubb's earlier reports and their implication for science education.

In his first media release on his new website in February 2016, Alan Finkel tells us he hopes to start a 'new conversation' and he looks for 'forward to the new responsibilities that the *National Innovation and Science Agenda* brings to the role of Chief Scientist . . . and serving as Deputy Chair of Science and Innovation Australia as it develops its critical 10–15 year plan.' (my italics). The National Innovation and Science Agenda (also known as the somewhat inanely as the *Ideas Boom*) is the policy centerpiece of the current Turnbull government. Its website describes the agenda thus:

> Innovation and science are critical for Australia to deliver new sources of growth, maintain high-wage jobs and seize the next wave of economic prosperity.
>
> Innovation is about new and existing businesses creating new products, processes and business models.
>
> **Innovation is important to every sector of the economy** – from ICT to healthcare, education to agriculture, and defence to transport.
>
> Innovation keeps us competitive. It keeps us at the cutting edge. It creates jobs. And it will keep our standard of living high (emphasis in the original). (National Innovation and Science Agenda, 2016).

The role of STEM and STEM education in this national agenda was reiterated by Minister Pyne in a media release on his website in January this year:

> "Australia needs to grasp new ideas in innovation and science, identify and capitalise on new opportunities and create new sources of growth to secure our nation's future," Mr Pyne said.
>
> "The agenda heralds a critical and exciting time for the Australian economy. Its measures support innovative businesses, boost private investment in research commercialisation, fund critical research infrastructure and STEM skills and increase access to capital for high potential startups."
>
> And it shows a need to 'open the eyes' of students and parents how science, technology, engineering and mathematics will open doors to new and different career opportunities into the future. (Office of the Industry, Innovation and Science, 2016).

Alan Finkel's first public address as Chief Scientist was given on March 2nd, 2016 to the National Press Club in Canberra. (The National Press Club is an eminent Australian forum for public policy discussion and debate. Primarily an association of news journalists but also academics, business people and members of the public service, the weekly televised meetings attract respected political figures, scientists, diplomats, legal, health and other professions, and figures of public interest. Through these meetings, the National Press Club has been instrumental in shaping Australian policy and the public interest.) When outlining his three priorities for his new role, Dr. Finkel reiterated his involvement in developing the National Innovation and Science Agenda, describing it as one of the most ambitious public sector innovation projects attempted in Australia. He also described the contributions he will make to producing a road map for Australian research infrastructure and conducting a review of the R&D Tax Incentives scheme – a scheme that gives tax breaks to those who invest in R&D.

Of particular interest are Alan Finkel's comments on education. I quote him at length here:

> I came to this role with the experience of creating three ongoing education programs, two in schools and one for early career researchers. So, it makes sense that, building on the Office of the Chief Scientist's existing capability, I intend to present the data that will help to elevate our ambition for Australian schools. We must reverse the slipping rankings of our students in international tests. In 2007 we were ranked at around 10th in the world. By 2011, these numbers had deteriorated and Australian students were significantly outperformed by 18 countries in science and 17 countries in maths. Being out of the top ten is bad enough, but being on a downward trajectory is even worse. What can we do to reverse this trend? Numerous concerned individuals, institutions and companies have created extracurricular activities to try to stimulate interest in science. My Office has just published a listing of the extracurricular STEM initiatives around the country and during the course of this year we will work to make it available as a dynamic database accessible to all teachers, students and parents. But this will not be enough. The scale of the challenge is huge. We need to enhance our in-curriculum teaching capacity. *We need to ensure that students learn deep content*, not just how to learn. And we need to challenge our students and support them to meet those challenges. (my italics).

It is apparent from these comments that Dr. Finkel has strong and particularly views about STEM education which he intends to promote through his platform as Chief Scientist. In the question and answer session that followed Dr. Finkel's address, he was asked about his advocacy of science and his commitment to its popularisation particularly through the bimonthly magazine *Cosmos* he started with his partner Elizabeth Finkel in 2003.

> I can really only speak from my own point of view. I was born somehow with the genes that gave me passion for science. So as a young kid, I was doing the proverbial build-a-crystal set and as a 10-year-old, I was buying Electronics Australia, which is a magazine on how to do home hobbies, I have just always been interested in anything to do with physics, the human body, ultimately neurosciences, and for me, it really is a stage of life.

Elizabeth Finkel, an award-winning author, a science journalist and business woman with a PhD in biochemistry and a previous research career, has also been reported as being passionate about science from a very early age. In addition to their magazine and continuing their commercial track, Alan and Elizabeth Finkel have developed two educational companies referred to in his speech above – "I came to this role with the experience of creating three ongoing education programs, two in schools and one for early career researchers" -*Cosmos for Schools* and *Stile Education.* Stile education markets "Stile science – the best science lessons in the universe" (Stile website).

Reviewing the Chief Scientist's Discourse

Close examination of the Chief Scientist's and related commentary indicate a number of critical issues that need to be examined further. As space is limited here, I have selected only three areas for review. These are STEM as an instrument

of the neoliberal enterprise society, the utility of crisis discourses for STEM normalisation, and the 'back to the future' flavour of the Chief Scientist's vision of STEM education.

As the naturalised way of being on the contemporaneous world, science itself is shaped by neoliberalism. While there has always been a reciprocal and mutually productive relationship between the economy and science, what is different now is the intensification of this agenda to the exclusion of just about all else. Krishna (2014) for example, describes the shift from science as an autonomous open knowledge and social/cultural object to progress the public good, to a closed and privatised form of applied knowledge production where patents and industrial secrecy impede the progression of scientific knowledge and economic interests determine research priorities. Hence, within a neoliberal sensibility, what counts as scientific research becomes a consequence of national economic interests, linking the demand for skilled scientific workers (human capital production through the STEM education pipeline) to global competitiveness (see also Ancarani, 1995; Carter, 2008 for a more developed discussion; Fuller, 2000).

Under the STEM agenda, the conflation of science and science education with a nation's global economic competiveness in Australia is evidenced by the comments above from the Offices of the Prime Minister with his National Innovation and Science Agenda or the 'Ideas Boom', the Chief Scientist, and the Minister Industry, Innovation and Science. While it is important for science education to prepare students for future work opportunities, STEM as the new orthodoxy in science education risks not only limiting the goals of the science education but is in danger of preparing students for jobs that under globalisation have probably already migrated offshore. Moreover, in viewing these reports in tandem with the comments in the US context noted earlier, (and with those more generally abroad in the literature, media and elsewhere), one cannot help but think that as one nation perfects its STEM and STEM education, so too does the next. This puts me in mind of the absurdity of a system Gee, Hull, and Lankshear (1996) identified which desires "ever more creative and perfect products and services (being) created and re-created at ever faster rates" (p. 27), to be ever more economically competitive. It seems that in spite of Gee et al.'s (1996) warning, like many other nations, Australia is on a course of economic innovation heavily reliant on STEM and STEM education. STEM thus becomes the translation of an ideological vision of the modern capitalist nation state into a political programme that can be steered and monitored by all sorts of rational and regulation-by-audit measures.

Political theorist, Lois McNay has argued that Michel Foucault, in his famous 1978–79 lectures *The Birth of Biopolitics* (translated 2008), remarkably "predict (ed) crucial aspects of the marketization of social relations" (McNay, 2009 p. 56) even though his lectures were delivered several years before the emergence of the New Right and neoliberalism in the early 1980s. Under neoliberalism, the focus becomes not only on supply and demand of goods and services but on the individual as *homo oeconomicus* or *enterprise man,* an active economic subject who "allocates their time and resources between consumption . . . and investment in the self . . . (S) uch an individual is . . . an investor, an innovator, and an entrepreneur" (Flew, 2010,

p. 29). For Foucault, the required *homo oeconomicus* is not the man of exchange or man the consumer; he is the man of enterprise and production within an enterprise society. The contemporary mission of neoliberal government is that "one must govern for the market" (Foucault, 2008, p. 125).

> That is, one must govern according to the rules of the market, by drafting laws, by instituting (fiscal and other) regulatory apparatuses, recalibrating the functions of socio-cultural institutions to bring them into line with the new language and new objectives of the enterprising state, and by constituting appropriate subjectivities, notably *homo oeconomicus* as 'enterprise man.' (Venn, 2009, p. 212, italics in original).

It would seem from the description of Alan Finkel above that he is a perfect example of Foucault's *homo oeconomicus,* well suited to enterprise society and its demands of constant innovation. Indeed, his track record as an innovator and entrepreneur in addition to his accomplishments in science likely accounts for his appointment as the Chief Scientist at a time when calls for increasing national economic competiveness have become raucous. He seems just the man for the 'Ideas Boom.' Australia ranks very highly in world science and even more so when its small population is taken into account. Whether he or like-minded others manage to improve the translational work that is, the translation from the pure research to the applied commercial product remains to be seen.

Moving onto the second issue, neoliberalism is often characterised as a crisis-driven form of market rule where the crisis discourse justifies and mobilises certain policies and actions. One of the discourses the Chief Scientist has utilised in way is Australia's apparent slide in the international testing regimes of TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) and PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) for school students' achievement in science and mathematics. Closer scrutiny suggests however, that the situation is a little more nuanced than the Chief Scientist sound bite claim in his National Press Club address. TIMSS testing (conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), an independent, international cooperative of national research institutions and governmental research agencies), begins with a detailed analysis of Year 4 and Year 8 mathematics and science curricula and then tests curriculum content common across participating countries, ensuring that comparisons between countries are as fair as possible. The tests look at how well Year 4 and Year 8 students have mastered the factual and procedural knowledge taught in school mathematics and science curricula. PISA tests (run by the OECD) on the other hand, tests for scientific literacy assessment. For the latter, Australia's mean score in scientific literacy has not changed significantly between PISA 2006 and PISA 2012. Seven countries performed higher than Australia putting us comfortably in the world's top ten. Australia achieved an average score of 521 points in the PISA 2012, which was significantly higher than the OECD average of 501 points.

Dr. Finkel however, chose to focus on the Year 4 TIMSS data. Analysed and reported by the Australian Council for Education Research (ACER), as Dr. Finkel correctly noted, Australia's average 2011 TIMSS scores for Year 4 students of 516 points in mathematics content was significantly higher than 27 countries but

behind 17 others. Australia's 2011 score was not significantly different to the achieved score in TIMSS 2007, but was a significant 21 points higher than in TIMSS 1995. In science, the 2011 TIMSS scores for Year 4 "was significantly lower than the achieved score in TIMSS 2007, but Australia's 2011 score was not significantly different to the score in TIMSS 1995." (Thomson et al., 2012 p. 12). It is though, a different story for the Year 8 data. The Year 8 science results saw us in the top 10:

> Australia's achievement score of 519 was significantly higher than that of 26 countries, including Italy and the Ukraine, and below that of 9 countries, including the high-performing Asian countries listed above as well as Finland, Slovenia, the Russian Federation, Hong Kong, and England (Thomson et al., 2012 p. 16).

In Mathematics, only 6 countries outperformed Australia. Obviously, while Australia is doing very well on an international scale, the crisis discourse can still be mobilised! Interestingly, the OECD estimates that Australia's 2009 government expenditure on school and non-tertiary post-school level education (3.8% of GDP) was the same as the OECD country average. While spending only at OECD average, the Chief Scientist seems to expect Australian students to achieve above that average without the commensurate resources. Imagine what would happen if school science funding was increased!

The final point I wish to raise here concerns the 'back to the future' tone of the STEM education envisioned by the Chief Scientist. He suggested in his National Press Club speech that "(w)e need to ensure that students learn deep content" and his choice of focus the content-based TIMSS testing regime suggest that he views legitimate science education as according with Robert's Vision 1 (Roberts, 2007). Roberts's (2007) Vision 1 looks "inward at the canon of orthodox natural science, that is, the products and processes of science itself. At the extreme, this approach envisions literacy (or, perhaps, thorough knowledgeability) *within science"* (p. 730 italics in the original). Vision 11 by contrast, is "*about science-related situations* in which considerations other than science have an important place at the table" (p. 731 italics in the original). Roberts (2007) notes that curriculum policy statements, assessment items, and pedagogical resources tend to privilege orthodox science ignore or marginalize other discourse. Certainly, the Stile science – 'best in the world' science lessons have a very strong traditional concept based focus. Supporters of the more recent Vision 11 approach like.

Zeidler and Lewis (2003) argue that:

> (a)rming our students with improved understandings of nature of science and scientific inquiry does not provide a complete picture of the scientifically literate individual. Moral development and ethical reasoning play an important role as students consider what is best for the common good of society or whether the 'common good' is relevant to the issue at hand (p. 290).

Alan Finkel describes himself above as "born somehow with the genes that gave me passion for science," and as such he was well suited (as too is Elizabeth Finkel apparent from her own career trajectory) to the orthodox knowledge or content mastery that is the majority of school science and now STEM. That those

unfortunate enough to be born without the 'science passion gene' require perhaps broader views of science or STEM education better suited to the complexities in learning in the twenty-first century. While far from a perfect, a Vision 11 approach to STEM education would be more about the future than 'back to the future' vision of Alan Finkel.

Broadening the Innovation Debate

In closing, a couple of other comments are also worth noting. Not all Australians however, seem to be that impressed with the new innovation obsession. While speaking at the National Press Club as recently as January 27th of this year on what he regards as a deep crisis in Indigenous affairs, Noel Pearson, possibly Australia's most prominent Indigenous leader and activist, argued that the Turnbull government's catch cry of 'Australia as a culture of innovation' is too narrow a conversation. "Every galah in every pet shop is talking innovation . . . (that is) . . . largely focused on business and product innovation and venture capital mobilization rather than social and policy innovation" (Pearson, 2016).

A galah is an Australian bird, a rose-breasted cockatoo or parrot with distinctive pink and grey plumage and bold and loud behaviour. Not surprising, it is often used colloquially to describe a person who is a bit of a fool. Astutely, Pearson points out that the "lack of imagination" shown by the obsession with economics needs to be replaced by political and social innovation of a radial center as a way of progressing Australia's commitment to justice and equality. Our mania with economic competiveness (through STEM and STEM education) will not make for a happy nation. Moreover, as Triffitt (2016) argues in an opinion piece in *The Age* newspaper on January 28th alongside Pearson's widely reported speech, our current trajectory is flawed as "the world is waking up to the reality that in 2016 it is shackled to an increasingly incoherent and stagnating economic system." Commenting on the recent Oxfam report that just 62 individuals now hold as much wealth as almost half the world's population, Triffitt (2016) suggests that our economic system may proceed for the short term. "But the one certainty we have is that stagnation, inequality and crisis will worsen, because nothing and no one can fix them. Something will have to give."

Conclusion

The above analysis demonstrates that the neoliberal underpinnings of STEM, including a crisis discourse that marginalises other perspectives of science education, effectively narrowing its possibilities. As much as STEM is an acronym – it's also a word. The definitions, homonyms and etymology of the word *Stem* are particularly revealing. Thought to be of Germanic in origin meaning prow of a ship, and of old

Norse for damming and stopping, the everyday Oxford Dictionary English usage includes to 'originate in, 'be rooted in,' 'proceed from,' as a 'trunk', 'stalk,' 'stock,' and 'to staunch,' 'halt,' 'restrict,' 'control,' and 'contain.' There is much here with which to play if one is seeking rogue readings of STEM! Clearly, harnessing STEM and STEM education to the narrow economic agenda silences other perspectives of science education, effectively stemming its possibilities. As human capital production is not how some science educators myself included see the future of science education and we work actively to position our ship's prow in other directions.

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Chapter 6
Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia: Aiming for Global Recognition

Veronika Rozhenkova and Val D. Rust

Abstract In this chapter, we consider the internationalization of universities engaged in the global competition of higher education. We pay attention to conventional internationalization factors, but stress that internationalization in the global era includes additional factors, such as the English language, international rankings, and communications technology. We give special attention to the situation in the Russian higher education sector, which appears to be not quite competitive, at least with the higher ranked universities of the rest of the world. Apart from conventional internationalization efforts, Russia has adopted the Project 5-100 that is especially focused on helping selected institutions of higher education receive international recognition and become competitive with the best universities in the world.

Internationalization of Higher Education

Internationalization of higher education is not a new concept. There are many scholars, who suggest that universities are inherently international. It is true that the early European universities focused on what is known generally as the Liberal Arts, which are clearly general and universal in scope. However, this model died out at the time of the Enlightenment, when the university itself just about died, but was saved by the rise of the nation state that re-created the university by defining its national purposes. In France, the imperial university of Napoleon became highly centralized and patterned after its military with the aims of making patriotic citizens and creating leaders of the French state. In Prussia, the universities were patterned after the new Humboldt University of 1810 that was designed to train the guardians and leaders of the Prussian State. In contrast, even though the early universities of the United States were highly parochial, they were international in that they were patterned after the British college system and later borrowed from the Prussian

V. Rozhenkova · V. D. Rust (✉)
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: veronika14@ucla.edu; rust@gseis.ucla.edu

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system that emphasized freedom to teach and freedom to learn. In spite of this, the early American universities were ultimately national in intent and objectives.

In this age of globalization, the national tradition of the university is being revamped with the intent that the university is becoming more and more internationalized. Knight (2004, 2008) and Altbach and Knight (2007) define internationalization not as synonymous to globalization but as choice-based actions and responses to globalization. These scholars define globalization as the "economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 290). Internationalization, then, is the response to economic, political, and societal forces that refer to "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 11). The methods through which higher education institutions respond to globalization, and ultimately how they internationalize themselves, depends on the mission and competitive strategies an institution chooses to pursue (Knight, 2008).

For decades, organizations such as NAFSA: Association of International Educators, have identified a number of indicators of the way universities operationally define how they are internationalizing themselves, including the following:

1. The presidents and CEOs of universities issue statements about how international the university is.
2. The universities issue Mission Statements showing how international the university is.
3. Universities publicize the number of foreign students and scholars that are located at the institution.
4. Universities are dedicated to sending students abroad on short-term study.
5. Universities take pride in the number of students who study a foreign language and in the number of foreign languages that are taught.
6. Universities attempt to increase the international content of their curricula.
7. Financial resources are dedicated to internationalizing the university.

The internationalization indicators mentioned above are usually accepted throughout the world, but the emphasis differs in various regions. The International Association of Universities (IAU) has conducted four surveys among its members; the most recent was returned by 1336 institutions from 131 different countries. A fifth survey is being conducted during the summer of 2017. There were some general findings. The majority of these institutions have an internationalization policy. Universities in all regions of the world acknowledge that financial resources are key to internationalization, and internationalization is considered vital in all regions of the world, although Western Europe is more committed than other regions of the world, with North America coming as a close second. Among the reasons why internationalization is important are, in order of importance: (1) to improve preparedness for the challenges of globalization, (2) internationalize the curriculum, (3) enhance the international profile of the institution, (4) strengthen research and knowledge production, and (5) diversify the faculty and staff.

While these changing priorities are commonly accepted, they suggest a growing emphasis toward international university competition. We mention just five new developments: (1) the development of global ranking initiatives, (2) an exploding number of courses throughout the world, whose programs are taught exclusively in the English language, (3) subunits within the structure of universities, whose sole purpose is to teach international students, (4) the rapid development of virtual programs and courses, and (5) a growing number and types of "for-profit" sponsors of higher education, and the emergence of innovative cross-border institutions.

Advent of Globalization

These newer internationalizing initiatives suggest a melding of globalization and internationalization. Higher education remains, by and large, nation-state based, and so higher education reforms are national, but they are inspired in many ways by global forces and incentives.

It is difficult to imagine another time in recent history when globalization has had a greater cultural, economic, and political impact. The increased importance of the knowledge industry, innovations in information and communication technologies, a stronger orientation to the market economy, and growth in regional and international governance systems, all contribute to an accelerated flow of people, ideas, culture, technology, goods and services in our globalized world. Globalization has been neither neutral nor uniform in its impact. It affects countries, cultures, and systems in different ways--some in positive ways, others in more negative ways. All sectors of society are being affected; higher education is no exception (Knight, 2008).

In the evolving global system of higher education, being competitive becomes key, and global positioning is integral to competing with other nations and institutions (Rust & Kim, 2012). Some scholars claim that universities are currently in a "reputation race," in which they compete for reputation and academic prestige (van Vught, 2008). Furthermore, Simon Marginson, from the University of Melbourne, argued that "the more an individual university aspires to the top end of competition, the more significant global referencing becomes" (Marginson, 2006, p. 27). Universities, and the countries in which they are located, thus seek to project the best image possible in order to be poised to compete for research funding, the "best and brightest" international students, and "star" faculty members.

Moreover, "all of this emphasis . . . gravitates towards an ideal, a typical picture of a particular type of institution," (Huisman, 2008), what Mohrman, Ma, and Baker (2008) call the Emerging Global Model (EGM) of the top stratum of research universities. As globalization has become the focal point of higher education, competition has become a central preoccupation. Competition is closely connected with a global free-market economy. Combined with the impact of globalization and the development of the global "knowledge economy," these competitive forces have resulted in the global competition phenomenon, including university rankings, that is currently reshaping higher education.

Global University Rankings

The one thing we know is that among the tens of thousands of universities in the world, only a very few are world-class (King, Marginson, & Naidoo, 2011). And the most elite universities are located in a small number of countries, including the United States, Japan, and the United Kingdom. In most countries universities are stratified and differentiated, and those that are world class represent a tiny pinnacle of institutions. In the United States, of more than 4300 academic institutions, very few have managed to make their way to the top echelons. In other countries, the number of top-tier institutions is also limited. Even in Germany, where the government formally has treated all universities in the same way in terms of budgets and mission, a small number of institutions were invited to enter into competition for millions of euros in extra funding. The intention is to improve Germany's international standing among universities. China is as active as any country in the world to create world-class research universities. On 4 May 1998, at the centennial ceremony of Peking University, Pre-President Jiang Zemin announced that China should have several world-class universities to accelerate the process of modernization (Ministry of Education, China, 2017). Other countries around the world are taking different paths in the race. In 2006, the Taiwanese government implemented a "World Class University Plan" where they judged Taiwan's universities harshly, stating that its "top universities cannot compete with foreign universities" (Rust & Kim, 2012). The Ministry of Education set out to select several top universities in Taiwan and provide additional funding, with the intention that at least one university become one of the 100 best universities in the world within the next decade (Rust & Kim, 2012).

English Becomes the Lingua Franca

At the same time, English has become the *lingua franca* that binds higher learnings into a global enterprise. According to Ostler (2010, p. 3), English is "now viewed throughout the world as the preeminent medium of international communication, and possessed of a truly global status that is unprecedented in human history." It is the dominant idiom in over 50 countries across all continents as well as many international and regional organizations and multinational corporations. In the Netherlands, for example, over 90% of the population speaks English as a second language, and its universities offer English-taught undergraduate and graduate degrees. In Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and even China almost every university student has studied English in primary and secondary school. These countries have special international centers that provide courses for foreign students, taught in English.

Because English courses have become so prevalent at universities, they have begun to establish centers and even colleges, where English is the language of instruction. Within the framework of the Bologna Accord, every European Union

(EU) country now has universities with a center that accommodates the students from the rest of the EU and provides instruction, in English, for all students, even those who do not come from the EU. This model has been widely adopted. In South Korea, for example, universities have opened international colleges as a way to create campus settings that better attract and accommodate foreign students. The phenomenon began with the opening of Underwood International College (UIC) of Yonsei University in 2006. Shortly after, Scranton College of Ewha Womans University opened its doors in 2007, and since then, a handful of other universities have opened similar programs.

Communications Technology

Finally, communications technology is changing the traditional program of studies, resulting in a host of e-learning options, including multimedia learning, technology-enhanced learning, computer-based instruction, computer-assisted instruction, internet-based training, online learning, virtual education, and digital education. These options allow students from all over the world to participate in some or all of the options. At the University of California, Los Angeles, for example, its Extension Program offers more than 100,000 enrollments a year, and every one of the thousands of courses made available are, theoretically, available on-line to anyone anywhere in the world, as long as that person has access to the Internet. Probably the most interesting alternative option is the Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). These began in the United States, at institutions such as Harvard, Stanford, and MIT, in partnership with a number of international partners. Recently, countries outside of the United States, including France, China, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, have begun constructing platforms and taking open sources initiatives.

Eastern Europe has taken the internationalization agenda very seriously. Some scholars note that there is a special developmental dynamism that is still playing out throughout most of Eastern Europe where Western principles are not blindly adopted but consciously parlayed into something distinctive. Russia is of particular interest, in that it is creating a model of higher education that is, in some respects as effective and committed as other systems in the Western world. Yet those in the West sometimes fail to recognize what is happening in that part of the world.

Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia

Throughout the past decades, Russia has undergone drastic socio-economic and political changes. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, globalization processes brought the need for the structural reformation of the Russian higher education system in order for it to be more compatible with the education systems of other countries and to become more integrated in the global academic community. Joining

the Bologna process is probably one of the major factors of the integration of the Russian university system into the international, particularly European academic framework (Kuraev, 2014). Other important internationalization-related trends taking place in the context of Russian academia include but are not limited to: university structural and leadership changes, the increasing numbers of foreign students at Russian higher education institutions, the growing numbers of Russian students studying abroad, efforts to attract international faculty members to work at Russian universities, international university collaborations, dedication of financial resources to internationalizing activities, and others.

Conventional Internationalization Measures in Russia

Many Russian universities see internationalization as an essential component of their institutional development. They indicate this in their Mission Statements and institutional Charters; and form special boards of foreign experts and advisors that help them in their efforts to internationalize. Each particular institution finds its own path in its internationalizing activities. For instance, National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE), in Moscow, claims that its faculty members, researchers and students represent over 50 countries and that they provide instruction in both Russian and English (HSE, 2017). Some of their internationalization activities that are pronounced in the Charter include: development of international scientific cooperation and university integration in international scientific community; recruitment of foreign scientists and specialists for scientific and teaching activities; engagement in international collaboration in research, technology, and innovations; and joint research with international organizations (HSE, 2016). Another prominent Moscow university, New Economic School (NES), announces that its faculty members hold degrees from such distinguished Western universities as Harvard, MIT, Columbia, London Business School and others, and that they actively publish in the leading international journals and represent NES at the prestigious conferences worldwide (NES, 2017). NES also has an international advisory board that consists of the world's leading economists and academicians from Harvard, Princeton, Yale, MIT, Stanford and other prestigious universities and business schools. This advisory board "provides guidance on academic matters, makes all major academic decisions, and oversees the academic activities. . . . It is also responsible for all academic appointments and promotions." (NES, 2017). Likewise, HSE created an International Advisory Committee that is chaired by the Nobel laureate in Economics, Eric Maskin, and is comprised of internationally recognized scholars and education experts from Harvard, UCLA, and other top institutions across the globe. Their main functions include: assessing HSE strategy and development; providing strategic counsel by advising on HSE's internationalization policy; advising on the international hiring of faculty and researchers; and enhancing collaboration between HSE and leading educational and research institutions (HSE, 2017). Furthermore, recently, HSE has opened the Institute of Education

that conducts research on the issues of international comparative education while collaborating on various projects with the scholars abroad.

Furthermore, other Russian universities are moving toward internationalization by hiring foreign faculty, introducing English language instruction and getting involved in inter-institutional collaborations with foreign higher education institutions. These initiatives have produced such educational products as joint research ventures and study courses; two-sided and multi-sided exchange programs of students and academic staff; dual-degree programs, and collective scholarly publications. For example, Far Eastern Federal University (FEFU, 2015) has internationalization and creation of internationally competitive educational programs of all university activities as its main objectives. They offer more than ten master's degree programs that are taught entirely in English, which is quite unique for the Russian higher education system. Currently, about 70 foreign faculty members form Australia, Japan, Germany, the U.S., the UK, France, Egypt, Norway, Mexico, Peru and other countries work at FEFU. A large proportion of faculty and administrative staff have traveled abroad to develop new projects, to attend professional development programs and to participate in international conferences (FEFU, 2017). FEFU is actively engaged in international cooperation, and due to its location is constantly promoting the integration of Russia into the Asia-Pacific Region. Currently, the total number of FEFU international partnerships and collaborations exceeds one hundred. Moreover, the university offers a number of dual degrees in different fields with American and Australian universities (FEFU, 2017).

Another feature of internationalization efforts of the Russian higher education system is increasing international student mobility, both inwards and outwards. Russian tertiary education institutions now attract a rising number of international students. According to the Russian Federation Federal State Statistics Service, the number of foreign students enrolled in 2015–2016 reached 195,551 compared with the years of 2000/2001 of 58,992 (RFFSSS, 2017). It is important to mention that about two thirds of these students come from the former republics of the Soviet Union, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), with the majority being from Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus and Turkmenistan. China, followed by India, Malaysia and Viet Nam, leads among the non-CIS countries (UNESCO, 2017). According to Vorotnikov (2013), the average age of foreign students in Russian universities is 22.8 for undergraduates (29 for graduate students). The most popular specialty is medicine (19% of students) followed by economic and business disciplines (17%), and humanities and social sciences (16%). Engineering, natural and physical sciences conclude the list of the most popular fields of study. In 2014, international students made up 2.5% of all higher education students in Russia; by 2018, the Ministry of Education and Science plans to raise this figure up to 10% (RBTH, 2014).

Despite the growing numbers of incoming foreign students, Russia has yet to earn its place among the major players in the international higher education sector. Some of the reasons that explain the country's relatively small share in the global education services market are: the difficulty of the Russian language, which is the language of instruction in most educational programs; poor social infrastructure of the

universities; the colder climate of Russia; and high rates of ethnically and racially motivated crime (Borevskaya et al., 2014). On the governmental level, the measures taken to attract more foreign students include: abolishing the existing system of quotas for admitting foreign students to Russian universities, providing employment assistance, eliminating administrative barriers associated with employing foreigners, and increasing the number of scholarships (Vorotnikov, 2013). On the institutional level, a lot of students from Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin America study in Russia on the basis of inter-institutional agreements, with the Russian government partly covering the students' tuition costs (Vorotnikov, 2013). Furthermore, to increase the foreign student population, some universities provide targeted grants, offer free or discounted room and board, or include social activities in the educational programs. For instance, Tomsk State University awarded 17 scholarships for international graduate students for the 2015–2016 academic year. The scholarship candidates were selected out of the first-year PhD students who were the citizens of non-CIS countries. This initiative was realized within the project "Internationalization of PhD and post-doctoral studies according to the University's priority areas" (TSU, 2015).

As for the Russian students studying abroad, their number is also growing and now exceeds 50,000 individuals; in comparison to the year of 2008 when their number was 44,611 (UNdata, 2017). In 2017, for Russian tertiary education students the most popular destination has been Germany (nearly 18% of students), followed by Czech Republic (9%), the US (9%), the UK (7%) and France (6%) (UNESCO, 2017).

A number of researchers see the outward student mobility from Russia as a brain drain, as the way for young talented people to seek better opportunities abroad (Ledeneva, 2002; Ushkalov & Malaha, 2011). With the aim of strengthening the human resource capacity and encouraging the young talented scientists and scholars to stay in the country, in 2013 Russia introduced a new grant program called Global Education according to which the government will pay for students to study abroad in the leading universities in all fields of science, technology, medicine, social science and business (Global Education Program, 2017). In order to participate, students must attend one of the top 288 universities and return to Russia to work for at least 3 years after graduation, otherwise, they will have to pay back all of the grant stipend including travel, tuition fees, and living expenses. This program is supposed to be one of the major steps of internationalizing Russian higher education, revealing the interest of the country in international engagement (ICEF Monitor, 2012). On the other hand, there is still no guarantee that the program participants will come back after their studies are over. To avoid that, Russia will have to offer adequate career opportunities for the potential returnees. It is also important to mention that, according to Schiermeier (2012) similar programs in such countries as China, Kazakhstan and Brazil proved to be effective; these countries have benefited considerably from training their students overseas.

Russia's Global Higher Education Rankings

One of the main motivators for Russia to internationalize its higher education appears to be the modest performance of Russian universities in the global rankings. In 2016–2017 the Times Higher Education World University Rankings included only three Russian universities, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, and ITMO University in the top 400 (ranked 188th, in 301–350 and 350–400 ranges accordingly) (Times Higher Education, 2017). Academic Ranking of World Universities ranked two Russian universities, Lomonosov Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University, in the top 400 (87th and in 301–400 range accordingly) (ARWU, 2017). QS World University Rankings put the largest number of Russian higher education institutions in the top 400, eight universities. On top of the list are: Lomonosov Moscow State University (108th), Saint Petersburg State University (258th), Novosibirsk State University (291st), Bauman Moscow State Technical University (306th) and Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology (350th) (QS Top Universities, 2017). It is worth mentioning that more universities get included in the subject rankings. However, still given the country's strong academic tradition and groundbreaking research, Russia is probably one of the most notable missing members from the global rankings.

Certain challenges for Russian universities have been identified and recognized when dealing with global rankings. One of the issues is the frequent change of the name or part of the name of universities in the course of reforms, or the complexity of their full official names, as well as merging different institutions (Ministry of Education and Science, Russia, 2015). This leads to various errors, especially when the data from previous ranking systems is drawn and analyzed. Furthermore, many Russian universities do not excel in areas used as indicators by various international ranking systems. One of the most problematic measurements for Russian scholars is the citation index (Kotsubinskiy et al., 2014). A lot of researchers publish mostly in Russian in the Russian journals; therefore, these publications frequently remain unnoticed by the international academic community and fail to get represented in various databases that are used to compile global university rankings. Finally, the lack or poor monitoring of the alumni employment due to the absence of strong alumni networks presents yet another issue of reporting information to the ranking systems (Melikyan, 2014).

Being frustrated and critical of the international ranking systems, throughout the last few years Russia took several attempts to create their own rankings of the top world universities. For instance, in 2009, the independent Russian rating agency ReitOR released its first global universities ranking. Lomonosov Moscow State University was ranked the fifth after MIT, Caltech, Tokyo and Columbia Universities. The main indicator of the ranking was the quality of education that was defined as the combination of such measurements as the public acknowledgement and reputation of educational and research activities of a university, the competency of the faculty, the infrastructure, and alumni employment (Roth, 2012).

The Project 5-100

In the new global environment, Russian universities have been challenged by the increased global competition, which has forced them to seek effective competitive strategies to become more internationally recognized. Having realized the importance of establishing world-class higher education institutions, Russia had to initiate certain changes in its higher education policy.

In May 2012, the Russian government launched the Project 5-100, a multi-year program designed to maximize the competitive position of the group of leading Russian universities in the global market of educational services and research programs. The ambitious plan called for at least five universities to be ranked among the top one hundred higher education institutions in the world by 2020. During a State Council meeting, the Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev stated: "I would like to remind you that the objective to bring Russian schools into the top 100 universities in the world remains relevant. Frankly, this is not a simple objective. Nevertheless, we will attempt to fulfill it" (ICEF Monitor, 2014).

The 21 participating universities represent different regions of Russia: Moscow (6 universities) and Saint Petersburg (3), two of the largest cities in the country; Tomsk (2), Novosibirsk (1), Kazan (1), Samara (1), Yekaterinburg (1), Nizhniy Novgorod (1), Kaliningrad (1), Krasnoyarsk (1), Chelyabinsk (1), Tyumen (1) and Vladivostok (1). Each city is very different with different population size, standard of living and its own academic environment (Alekseev, 2014). The universities also differ in their specializations, size, enrollments, and infrastructure. Some of the major tasks of this program include: internationalizing higher education; developing greater research capacity of the universities; designing and implementing system-wide, institutional and infrastructure measures aimed at creating competitive advantages for the universities; developing an outstanding academic reputation; bringing the composition and the quality of educational programs to the level of international standards; integrating education, entrepreneurship and innovation; and increasing the export of educational services (The Ministry of Education and Science, Russia, 2017).

The Council on Global Competitiveness Enhancement of Leading Russian Universities was established to overlook this project. It is chaired by the Deputy Prime Minister, Olga Golodets, and consists of 11 distinguished university leaders: five from Russia and six from countries representing international academic community (the US, Belgium, China, Hong Kong, and the UK). Furthermore, a special monitoring program was put into place to track the progress and to evaluate the performance of the participating institutions in reaching the key benchmarks. According to one of the former Council members, Oleg Alekseev (2014), the universities were tasked with creating concrete roadmaps for development. Therefore, each participating university has to come up with its own strategy in achieving the goals set by the program. This can be explained by the fact that every university has its own history, specializations, and resources; hence, they can all reach the same goals in their own unique way.

These roadmaps or action plans include but are not limited to the following: attracting faculty and researchers with experience in both Russian and international higher education and research institutions; developing international and internal academic mobility programs; introducing national and international joint research programs; recruiting more foreign students; and others (Ministry of Education and Science, Russia, 2017). Most universities have hired Russian and international teams of experts that provide assistance in defining their roadmaps and preparing the necessary documentation for the Ministry of Education and Science. Universities must reach certain benchmarks and those institutions that do not meet the established requirements may be expelled from the project. As a result of one of the Council's meetings that occur twice a year, one of the universities is no longer participating in the program (Alekseev, 2014).

The Project 5-100, being a national government initiative, is funded by the state. The program funding constitutes from 10 to 40% of the participating universities' budgets. According to Oleg Alekseev (2014), apart from financial incentives, these higher education institutions have other potential benefits from this program. First, they improve their reputation and position among other universities on the international level. Second, they receive more attention from the regional government and industries. Finally, the program brings extra benefits to the faculty members and students of each particular university in the form of better academic opportunities, increased pay, and scholarships. On the other hand, Altbach (2014), who is on the Council of the Project 5-100, argues that the program has several key goals: to help some of the Russian universities to move up in the global rankings, and to help them take their place among the best universities in the world. Another important aim of the project is to initiate further significant reforms, particularly in terms of governance and internationalization. Furthermore, the Project 5-100 will provide additional resources for some top universities, which is very important, since Russia spends less per capita on higher education and research than most developed countries (Altbach, 2014). However, these funds are not transformative, that is they can to a certain extent help support the necessary changes but are not enough to ensure systemic change. Therefore, the universities need to think and act strategically.

Conclusion

Internationalization is an important component of the current transformation of the Russian higher education system. Russia is trying to claim the leading position in the world academia by making its universities more compatible with the rest of the world. Russia is a somewhat unique case. When compared to other top universities abroad, Russian higher education institutions generally underperform. At the same time, there is a tremendous amount of talent among students and academic profession, as well as the long history of distinguished research and scientific innovation.

Yet, the national higher education institutions that provide quality education and conduct outstanding research often remain quite low internationally recognized.

Ensuring that Russian higher education institutions become more compatible with the top world universities is a significant task for the national education policy. Whether the ambitious plan of getting into the top 100 is realizable will become clear in the next few years. Nevertheless, with numerous changes and reforms within the education system and with the strong commitment of Russian universities to achieve higher international standards, Russia remains a country of growing opportunity and potential to become one of the leaders in higher education sector.

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Chapter 7
Devolution and Public University Infrastructure Development in Kenya: A Post-2000 Rights-Based Development Agenda

Edith Mukudi Omwami

Abstract This chapter examines university sector development in Kenya in the post-2000 period. This is a period characterized by convergence in the shift towards *majimbo* (regionalism) in political democratization and a return to mitigated Keynesianism. The recent rapid expansion in public university sector infrastructure offers a window into understanding the significance of the articulation of political representation and ethnic rights in the post-2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This period also intersects with the World Bank shift in education sector funding policy toward an accommodation of governmental intervention in the financing of tertiary education systems. The analysis employs a contested meaning of the actualization of both neoliberalism and world culture theories in the local context. The findings reaffirm the changing and yet dominant influence of globally structured institutions in defining development ideology. Further, the nature of university sector expansion in post-2000 Kenya demonstrates the localization of globally diffused ideologies in ways that allows for contradictions amongst elements of the original ideal that is free-market capitalism and democracy.

Introduction

The public university sector development in Kenya has historically been subjected to free-market capitalism in a national setting oriented towards a global economic growth model. Indeed, the global finance institutions comprising the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were founded to promote free-market capitalism within the framing of national development (Knutsson, 2009; Lundestad, 1986; Mikesell, 1994). Sixty years after Bretton Woods, the sovereign state remains the organizing unit that

E. M. Omwami (✉)
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: omwami@gseis.ucla.edu

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accounts for economic growth and human development (Shafer, 2004; United Nations, 1945).

The Kenyan state had been conceived as a sovereign republic with a centralized political and administrative national system of governance (Republic of Kenya, 2001). National development planning in Kenya has been the responsibility of the central government. The promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 provided for "the sovereign power of the people [to] be exercised at the national level and the county level" (Republic of Kenya, 2010, p. 13). The devolution of the governance structure has created space for the *majimbo* (regionalism) development strategy in which public sector investment priorities are defined at the local levels. It is in this context that I examine the implication of devolution on university system development in the post-2000 era in Kenya.

The recent and rapid expansion in the public university sector infrastructure in Kenya offers a window into understanding the significance of the articulation of political representation and ethnic rights in the post-2000 era. The United Nations accent on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 marked a radical shift in development discourse, toward an accommodation of government intervention in the delivery of social services and the articulation of a rights-based development agenda. The United Nations resolutions expressly called for assurances of freedoms in a participatory governance system that accords equal rights and opportunities for all men and women. More important, in the context of the current analysis was the proclamation that guaranteed "full protection and promotion in all countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all. . . . including minority rights" (United Nations, 2000, p. 7). In constitutionally expanding democratic space, by moving away from the centralized unitary state model to a devolved system (Republic of Kenya, 2010), it became possible for previously excluded or marginalized groups to directly make claim to their rights to development resources.

The United Nations MDGS recognized the challenges of inequality that are facing the developing regions of the world and proposed a more fully inclusive and equitable globalization process that respects the ideal of a shared future (MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas, 2017; United Nations, 2000). As such, the position of the United Nations could also be interpreted as being in support of the free-flow of capital, albeit with consideration for fairness in access to both market and development resources. This period also intersects with the World Bank shift in the education sector funding policy toward an accommodation of governmental intervention in the financing of tertiary education systems. Governmental capacity to fully fund public university sector begun to decline from the 1970s as the world faced the oil crises, exacerbating the national debt condition (Sill, 2007; World Bank, 1981, pp. 158–159). The global economic shift towards neoliberal monetarism in the 1980s further contracted governmental engagement in the delivery of higher education infrastructure (Abraham, 2017; Banya & Elu, 2001; Carnoy, 1995). Although the World Bank made explicit pronouncements about the integration of human rights in development in 1998, it continues to contemplate the potential contradictions of realizing this goal against the backdrop of its stated mission of promoting free-market capitalism (Palacio, 2006; World Bank, 1998). However, the World Bank remains the primary source of global

development support, inevitably continuing to mediate national policies to expand education opportunities and infrastructure supply.

The current analysis employs a contested meaning of the actualization of both neoliberalism and world culture theories in the local context. The MDGS were an acknowledgement of the recognition of the cost to human dignity under both globalization and neoliberalism. The idea of a globalized world in which free-market capitalism was the driver of cultural globalization and wealth accumulation had been contested since the 1990s. Indeed the notion of a progressive and emancipatory globalization force has been countered by demonstrable evidence of the oppressive lived conditions for populations in the margins from around the world (Kellner, 2002). The more current July 7–8, 2017 Hamburg, Germany G20 Summit was no exception to human rights activist protest. While reaffirming the changing and yet dominant influence of globally structured institutions in defining development ideology, the current analysis acknowledges the localization of globally diffused ideologies. It evidences that the recent nature of public university sector expansion Kenya has allowed for contradictions amongst elements of the original ideal that is free-market capitalism and democracy in a globalizing diffusion of a world culture. The university sector development in Kenya is thus a product of the global cultural hegemonic agenda that is mediated by a tapering appropriation of the ideal in the exercise of local agency in the sovereign state.

Theorizing Agency Loci in Enactment of Rights

The recent rapid expansion of the public university sector in Kenya demonstrates the dominance of global institutions in framing the international development agenda and the limitation of such institutions in the local enactment of such policy. The proponents of world culture theory have pointed to the global expansion of institutions as evidence of influence of a world culture. The world culture theory proponents (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997) conceive of the nation-state as the primary world institution whose existence is constructed by global cultural processes in which entities are associated with each other to form a world society. While they envision a world society as a stateless entity constituted of nation-states, they acknowledge the role of world society organizations in influencing conformity to particular cultural value systems and response to change in similar ways (p. 145). Their argument rests on the assumption that nation-states feature very similar structural and organizational characteristics that allow them to seek and derive legitimacy at the global level. The fact of the global expansion of the university system is symbolic of the diffusion of world culture.

Perhaps the more apparent element of world culture theory is the acknowledgement of the transitory nature of cultures and processes that shape and define the world society. The education sector development issues of the immediate post-World War II era were concerned with the match of investment in higher education to the human capital needs of countries. Issues concerning globalization,

governance, and privatization of higher education dominated the reforms of the university sector in the 1990s. The post-2000 era is characterized by a consideration for the expansion of access to groups and populations that have previously been excluded as a result of global processes that previously shaped the development of this sector. Frank and Meyer (2007) acknowledge the reality of the diversity of populations that have come to be represented in these institutions over time, as they examine the expansion and global diffusion of the university education. The claims for incorporation into the world university systems by minority groups in Kenya should be viewed in this context.

The constitutive nation-state of the post-World War II era is the subject of analysis in the aforementioned world society and world culture theory (Meyer et al., 1997). While their employment of the institutionalist perspective correctly identifies the post- World War II growth of influence of international institutions, such and World Bank and the United Nations, in shaping the agenda for global development, it does not fully appreciate that colonial states were externally constituted with little consideration for the disparate entities with their varied aspirations. It is these micro-dynamics that come into play when it comes to how globally defined value systems are enacted at the local level. Anderson-Levitt (2012) identifies global, national and local as the three different levels of influence in her critique of the standardized view of world culture theory. Whereas world culture assumes an undisputed homogenizing influence, Anderson-Levitt observes that what culture means is subject to the context in which it is interpreted.

While global institutions may originate what they consider universal values and practices, the process of their enactment will yield varied outcomes depending on whether they are contested at national or local levels of organization. The work of Kendall (2007) demonstrates the possibility for even further local level fragmentation in response to an externally defined change process that is dependent on the unique context for the different entities constituting the present-day nation-state in post-colonial countries. The local response to the global neoliberalism process in Malawi depended on the particular context for the communities in the three different regions of the country. Local entities' response to national government directives ranged from indifference to policy reforms to outright defiance of the recommended reforms. While policies originate from international actors, the contestation of the enactment of such processes is often played out in the interaction between the national state level and local level actors.

The degree to which world society values and protests are contested and enacted will depend on the structural formation of the governing system in the nation-state. The colonial experience in Kenya illustrates the limitations of local agencies in defining their education development (Omwami, 2014). The centralized national government was the fulcrum on which the enactment of global processes were shaped and defined for populations in Kenya in the period covering 1963–2000. It is not surprising that the post-2000 era shift in global development ideology has provided space for the articulation of the sovereignty and micro-level cultural aspirations within the nation-state of Kenya. Devolution legitimated largely ethnocentric regional governments across the country. Each of the disparate regional entities in the country

is seeking establishment of institutional infrastructure that legitimates its membership in the world society, independent of national government.

The structural shift in the governance of the Kenyan nation-state allows us to examine the expansion of a people's rights over time, influencing the nature of diffusion of the artifacts of world culture. Until 1990, the allocation of resources was the prerogative of the central government of nation-state. Expansion in university infrastructure was shaped by the presidential authority of the state, in response to the clamor for access coming from the populace and situated in areas and regions that were favored by the president (Oanda & Jowi, 2012; Sifuna, 1998) and those perceived to warrant being placated in order that the government of the day sustains legitimacy in the eyes of the populace (Abdulai & Hickey, 2016). The post-2000 institutional change development and the accent to the 2010 constitution in Kenya legitimized the authority of the periphery political entities thereby limiting the influence of the central government.

The expansion of the university system in post-2000 Kenyan should also be seen as a response to the political and economic developments of the globalization era. The founding of the World Bank in the lead up to the end of the Second World War conceptualized the world as a global network of nations-states in which free-market capitalism would thrive. However, it was not until the 1990s that globalization as a development process and economic ideology became more openly discussed. Proponents of the globalization process asserted it was inevitable that nation-states and individuals were to face the global diffusion of neoliberal economics ideology and political democratization processes. It is not surprising that both privatization of higher education and multiparty democracies were marketed and promoted as the legitimate path to personal and economic freedoms. At the same time, issues of marginalization and exclusion emerged as concerns attributes of globalization processes. The 1990s were characterized by oppositional debates in which globalization is presented as either progressive and emancipatory or oppressive and negative (Kellner, 2002). The global democratization movements of the 1990s were supposed to help entrench free-market capitalism-expanding economic globalization and its neoliberal variant. However, the adverse economic effects on the excluded populations triggered protests against the austerity measures that came with privatization of public services. The democratization wave spurned the anti-globalization protest movements that took place; key to the birth of the MDGs. Dodson (2015) identifies political globalization as enabling expansion in protest activities while economic globalization had the numbing effect on protest movements. It is not surprising that social, political, economic and rights-based demands and grievances characterized the growing protest movements happening in all regions of the world (Ortiz, Burke, Berrada, & Saenz, 2013). The exercise of the local sovereign rights in Kenya should be seen as an actualization of the benefits of internationally defined political globalization process that advanced the rights-based development agenda.

Nation-State Level Agency and University Sector Growth

The early years of independence of colonial states were shaped by Keynesian economics in which governmental intervention was accommodated in mitigating the adverse effects of market failures. The redistributive agenda of the post-World War II era (Mundy, 1999) furthered the rationale for governmental intervention in defining goals and investment for national development. Nevertheless, the sustained focus on both equity consideration and *rate-of-return* to public sector investment in education deprived funding to the university system (Omwami, 2013; United Nations, 1948). It is the express interest in investment in national pride and regional politics that led to the 1970 upgrading to independent universities the East Africa regional colleges affiliates of the University of London, with Kenyatta University College being established as a constituent college of the University of Nairobi in the same year (Republic of Kenya, 1970). The University of Nairobi remained the only public university until 1984 when Moi University was established in Eldoret (Commission for Higher Education, 2012). The main campus of Moi University was the only new infrastructure to be establishment in Kenya, and only because it was to be established as a technical and vocation university. The potential establishment of this institution was rationalized in terms of creating an opportunity for the establishment of a second university that is geared toward agriculture and technology to support rural development (Sifuna, 1998).

The third and fourth national universities were established through the upgrading of Kenyatta University College in 1985 to Kenyatta Universities and the follow-up establishment of Egerton University through the 1988 consolidation and upgrading of Egerton Farm School and Egerton Agricultural College. Until 1990, the central government was the primary actor in negotiating the enactment of the development processes originated by the stateless world society institutions. The national response as to when and where the university infrastructure would be situated rested with the state-level authority and the presidency. Any development was represented as being pursued in the interest of the nation-state (Oanda & Jowi, 2012).

From the early 1970s, Keynesian welfare-statism gave way to neoliberal monetarism as the dominant economic ideology (Omwami, 2012). The oil crises of the 1970s compromised national economic growth and set the global economy into to a period of economic decline (Sill, 2007; World Bank, 1985). The response from the global financial institutions was to mandate fiscal austerity measures that resulted in limiting governmental capacity to expand the public university sector infrastructure (Abraham, 2017; Banya & Elu, 2001; Carnoy, 1995; Eisemon & Holm-Nielsen, 1995). The establishment of the three universities through upgrading of the non-university institutions was, thus, an expediency measure by the political class seeking political legitimacy in response to the growing demand for university education (Abdulai & Hickey, 2016; Hughes & Mwiria, 1990; Sifuna, 2010; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Further expansion of Moi University was also achieved through the annexation of other non-university institutions into constituent campuses of the new university.

As the decade of the 1980s was ending, the existing public university sector infrastructure was neglected and in a state of disrepair. The decline in the material condition of the students is not the subject of the current analysis (Balsvik, 1998). However, the World Bank's, 1988 status review of higher education in Africa offered contradictory positions on the objectives of the education sector development process. The World Bank recommended consideration of independent decision-making at the national policy–level, but nevertheless sustained that the government divest agency and the authority to dictate the advancement of public higher education (World Bank, 1988). The predictable outcome of the donor-driven fiscal austerity policy push of the decade was overcrowded classrooms and an aging infrastructure (Kinyanjui, 1994; Mamdani, 1993; World Bank, 1994).

The December, 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union paved the way for the individual capitalism brand of neoliberalism then advanced by the Western European allied block of the global financial institutions (The World Bank & The IMF). The 1990s saw a new era of global economic ideology and development practice with the diffusion of a neo-conservative agenda that emphasized individual freedoms and unfettered free-market capitalism (Omwami, 2012). Further, the democratization movement that went global in 1990 with the demise of the Soviet Union extended the practice of neoliberal economic ideology into all sectors of the economy in the developing world. The entrenchment of neoliberalism inevitably meant that the Kenya government was not expected to undertake interventionist strategies in the public university sector, but to rather act in support the spirit of free-market capitalism in the education market place. Indeed, it was the World Bank's deliberate policy prescription that privatization and marketization would go hand-in-hand, and that the cost of higher education would have to be borne by individuals (Banya, 2001; Collins & Rhoads, 2009).

The World Bank mandated austerity measures limited governmental capacity to intervene in expanding public university physical infrastructure. Further, budgetary constraints negatively impacted quality of learning and the sustainability of the university infrastructure in Africa. Often, there was no budget allocation for an institutionalized maintenance program for university buildings and equipment (Saint, 1992). It is therefore not surprising that only two new public universities were established in Kenya in the 1990s. As in the case of the initial four national public universities, the expansion was made possible through the upgrading of existing non-university infrastructure in Maseno in 1991 and at Kiambu in 1994. The geographic location of such new infrastructure was thus a politically motivated move that served to legitimate the government in the eyes of opposition entities.

Throughout the 1990s, the potential for central government level agency was held hostage to the neoliberal agenda filtered through the global financial institutions. As in other countries, local level agency protest was visible in university student protests over increase in tuition fees (Balsvik, 1998). For example, when student allowances were withdrawn and tuition fees introduced in 1991, Kenyan university students across the country mounted protests (Klopp & Orina, 2002). With the loci of the nation-state situated in the authority of the central government, the student protests were quelled and the economic globalization process won the day for the

decade after. Perhaps the best explanation characterizing the position of the nation-state is as highlighted in William Sites (2000, p.121) introduction of the concept of "primitive globalization" with reference to the United States. Unlike the case of the United States postulated by Sites, the Kenyan nation- state was circumvented by globalization as evidenced in her inability to fully engage self-agency in her own development polity. However, like the United States, the nation state fully employed her agency in facilitating the neoliberal agenda to legitimate her membership in the international society.

The Bretton Woods institutions continued to press for limited government intervention in social programs, including the provision of education services (Penrose, 1998). Further, the supply of public sector university infrastructure and opportunities remained limited to metropolitan areas and regions with a higher degree of national political influence. The only increase in public university system infrastructure was noted in the upgrading to university status of the then Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology (established in 1981 and absorbed as a constituent college of Kenyatta University in 1988) in 1994 (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004). By the end of the 1990s, Kenya had five public universities; of which the only new campus was Moi University (Commission for Higher Education, 2012).

University Development under Devolved Agency and Rights Development

The United Nations' (2000) assent to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) marked a shift toward the recognition of human rights in development discourse and practice. After the neoliberalism assault of the 1990s, the MDGs reestablished the authority of the government as central to the delivery of social services and the realization of basic human rights. Further, the renewed focus on political and fiscal devolution in the developing countries allowed for more localized participation in development planning. The diffused power structure should be seen as one of the gains of the global democratization spread of the 1990s, ironically intended to support the expansion of free-market capitalism through the agency of individual choice. In the context of Kenya, this shift implies that ethnic-rights become central to claims to national development resources. Economic change has long been mediated by ethnicity impinging on access to the state and its workings (Ghai, 2012). The post-2000 devolution assumed ethnic representation meant that the distinct ethnic entities that constitute the nation state have direct access to national development resources.

The World Bank (2013) acknowledges that the local-level government in Kenya was only put in place in 2013. Nevertheless, we find that the shift toward university sector expansion had begun in the lead toward the installation of devolved governance institutions. While the 1990s represented an era of global spread in neoliberal economics and global democratization, the institutionalization of democratic

governance structures in Africa remains a paradox. A significant number of countries engaged in pluralistic representative electioneering with the outcome often fixed to guarantee continued autocratic authority, as was the case in Kenya in 1992 and 2008. In other instances, the electorate changed leadership of the political class only to revert and re-elect former dictators in the following election cycle, as was the case in Mali. Indeed, the Africa region has been fraught with many cases of what Diamond (1997, 2008) calls "fallacious electoralism," and a disillusioned and disenfranchised electorate that legitimates authoritarianism. Besides, the susceptibility of the democratic electoral process remains fraught with illegitimacy as was evident in the contested 1998 election in Kenya.

In spite of Moi government having yielded to multipartysim from the early 1990s, authoritarianism continued to scuttle effective democratic participation (Ajulu, 1997). It is perhaps the need to placate the strong opposition Luo ethnic voting block of Nyanza Providence in anticipation of the 2002 election that factored into the establishment of Maseno University in 2000. Like the other public university institutions that came before, the new university in Nyanza province was made possible by a 1990 merger and upgrading of the Maseno Government Training Institute (GTI) and Siriba Teachers College to a constituent college of Moi University.

The need to secure political legitimacy and a desire for shared prosperity under administrative and fiscal devolution in the post-2000 era has contributed to a new phase in the expansion of the public university system. The focus on a human rights development agenda in the post-2000 era allowed claims for representation among hitherto marginalized populations. The run up to the 2002 election saw a formation of ethnic political alliances among the elite political opposition groups in Kenya pitted against the KANU team sponsored by the Moi Regime. The opposition consolidation strategy won them the first millennium election, and also allowed for direct ethnic claims to be asserted in ways that would not have been accommodated by the previous authoritarian regime. The establishment of the Masinde Muliro University of Science and technology in January of 2007 should be seen as a Kibaki regime strategic homage to the strong Luhya ethnic voting block that broke with the Moi regime to guarantee opposition win in the 2002 election, and perhaps an enticement for the anticipation of the December 2007 election. Although the institution is situated in Kakamega district, it was named after the most influential Bungoma district political power broker from the era for the struggle for independence.

The most significant change in the governance of the Kenyan nation-state was the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010, providing for effective devolution in sovereignty to county levels (Republic of Kenya, 2010). This development has occasioned the adoption of a governance model that involves political, bureaucratic, and fiscal decentralization with implications for the public university system infrastructure supply in Kenya. However problematic the nature of political and democratic discourse and practice is in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya made constitutional provisions and implemented devolved administrative and fiscal governance structures (Kenya Civil Society Strengthening Program, 2011). The

implementation of the new constitution entrenched the authority of the ethnic representative governors and their respective opposition political elite class claim to accessing public resources. The authority of the county ethnic government was asserted in their expressed right to self-governance, protection and promotion of "interested of minority and marginalized" groups, and guarantee of "equitable sharing of national and local resources" (Republic of Kenya, 2010, p. 107). Under these conditions, subsidiarity and consensus are reflected in the operations of government as it pursues the delivery of public services (Mwenda, 2010).

In an acknowledgement of the rights of the constituents guaranteed by the MDGs and provided for in the constitutions, the Kibaki government elevated nine public non-university institutions to constituent college status affiliated with existing public universities (Commission for University Education, 2014) in 2011. In a departure from the winner takes all presidential election of the times before, the 2010 constitution mandated that a candidate for the office of president receives "more than half of all the votes cast" and "at least twenty-five per cent of the votes" in 50% of the counties (Republic of Kenya, 2010, p. 79). Perceived from a strategic electioneering angle, it is not surprising that all but one of the constituent colleges, are located in periphery counties in regions that were previously without any presence of a public university institution.

Before 2013, the award of "constituent college' status to the regional entities should be viewed as being reflective of the political power differential in allocation of resources because the authority of the nation-state was still vested at the central government level. The central government and the presidency nevertheless recognized the growing agency of the political movements emerging from the post-2000 minority rights processes. The result was a negotiated outcome in which the central government continues to advance privatization and other neoliberal elements in university education while at the same time responding to local agency for representation in the polity of the nation-state. The highly contested and disputed 2007/2008 election resulted in an emerging reality that the power of the presidency had waned as civil society groups and opposition politics gained ground in Kenya. It was inevitable that the survival of the president was to become dependent on the inclusion of county level ethnic interests in national development programming.

The World Bank (2013) had noted that the devolution of fiscal and functional responsibility was an intensely contested process between the national government and the county level governments. No sooner had the county governments been put in place that the expansion of full-fledged universities expanded. In 2013, fourteen new public universities were awarded charters with the upgrade of non-university colleges and university-affiliated campuses. One more university had obtained a charter to operate in 2012 (Commission for University Education, 2014; Mutuku, 2013; Republic of Kenya, 2014). Almost all the new universities were situated in regions and counties that have historically not housed an institution of university status. Budgetary allocation to the new institutions was expressly authorized and disbursed as well (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The institutionalization of country governments provided a mechanism for the legitimation of rights claims by the ethnic blocks from regions that had previously been marginalized by central government.

The politics surrounding the governance of the new public university furthers the argument that the existence of these institutions is an exercise in the claim for local sovereign rights within the devolved governance system. There has been persisting complaint that the leadership of the universities is largely drawn from professionals ancestral to the ethnic communities domiciled in the localities where the universities are situated. An audit report of the public universities confirmed that vice-chancellors, college principals and the professoriate were being appointed according to tribal considerations (Oanda & Jowi, 2012). Ethnicization of public university administration, including the university council and the chancellorships, is not a new phenomenon in Kenya. However, the extension of ethnic consolidation of university leadership, professoriate, staff and student population is now rampant at the new public university campuses now in existence (Chege, 2015; Otieno, 2011; Taaliu, 2017).

In a number of cases, the institutional ownership claim has degenerated to a display of open hostility to those perceived to be outsiders. Senator Isaac Melly in whose county the newly established University of Eldoret is situated, led a protest claiming that the Vice Chancellor was engaging persons from her Luhya ethnic group while not employing locals who are from the Kalenjin ethnic block. He is quoted as saying, "the vice-chancellor has been short-changing our people who should be benefiting from the institution" (Lagat, 2015). The debate over the management and ethnic representation of the local interest in employment at the institution continued with other political agents from the then Vice Chancellor's ethnic group joining the fray on her side (Kisika, 2015).

Garissa University College was the international subject of a terrorist attack that took place on April 2, 2015. The incident brought to the fore the ethnic conflict related to the troubling issue that perhaps underlay the events that led to the attack. The three Principals sequentially appointed to lead the university college all met with resistance from the community. In the end, a local professional from the Somali ethnic group was appointed to lead the school. It was under his watch that the attack happened (Waweru, 2015). The surviving students were relocated to the Main Campus at Moi University in Eldoret and the University College while the college remained closed. It was later reopened following demand for institutional ownership aspiration from the ethnic Somali community leadership.

Evaluation

The immediate Post-World War II era international development institutions promoted Keynesian economics that accommodated government intervention, particularly in the area of investment in infrastructure and employment promotion. While the new nation-state had the opportunity to develop a national university system, the emerging global institution policies that rationalized free-market capitalism constrained investment in social services sector. The World Bank and Bilateral agencies had opted to focus on investment in education infrastructure that would

yield immediate *return* on investments. This policy had implication for the development of the public university system for Kenya for years to come. The university infrastructure development was relegated to second tier consideration, behind technical and vocational education.

The finance-driven austerity policies that originated in 1970s U.S. and Britain (Carnoy, 1995) through the global finance institutions had been imposed on Kenya by way of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) prescriptions of the World Bank and IMF. While the welfare-state model still prevailed in principle, the public sector was fiscally starved of its capacity to deliver services. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked another shift in international development discourse and practice. The prevailing global development policies limited governmental capacity to develop new university infrastructure. Expansion in national university system infrastructure was only possible through cannibalism of the non-university tertiary education infrastructure.

In the next decade, Kenya now faced a new global environment that accommodated political democratization and free-market individual capitalism, defined by a neoliberal economic ideology. These changes marked a decade in which the burden of realizing economic, social, and cultural rights was transferred to the individual and away from national governments. The World Bank and independent free-market advocates urged governments to adopt the spread of private institutions and increase the adoption of cost-recovery mechanisms in public institutions at the higher education level (Patrinos, 1990; Psacharopolous, 1991). The Kenya government steered clear of intent to intervene and expand higher education infrastructure in ways that would compromise membership in a world society that was defend by allegiance to the economic and political globalization processes that dominated the 1990s.

Somewhat ironically, the social and political democratic space opened up by the advent of global democratization created civil society gains that contributed to the next significant shift in global development ideology, beginning in 2000. This shift was heralded by the United Nations' assent to the MDGs (United Nations, 2000), and the reaffirmation of the important role of government in the realization of human rights as it pursued national development. It offered space for previously marginalized populations to claim their rights as citizens. The promulgation of the 2010 constitution in Kenya, and the creation of devolved governments further expanded access to the authority for the enactment of citizenship rights. It is during the first year of the existence of county governments in Kenya that we see an exponential growth in university infrastructure. However, since the central government has to continue to interface with the global institutions that continue to promote free-market capitalism, the expansion in the university system has only been realized through the elevation of non-university institutions.

Conclusion

The current analysis has demonstrated that a rights-based development ideology enacted through a form of mitigated-Keynesianism is currently the dominant global development ideology. The claim to rights is made possible through government delivery of services. Even though the development agenda originates from the global institutions that define world development culture and processes, there is an ambivalence embedded in the contradictions that exist in the two-pronged approach to building a world society. The new millennium ushered in a shift toward decentralization and devolution in local politics in Kenya that has resulted in shifting the authority of the sovereign to the county government levels and away from the centralized nation-state. However, the continued emphasis on free-market capitalism has meant that while the opportunity to expand the supply of public university infrastructure is made possible, Kenya can only realize the goal through further annexation of and upgrading to the non-university system infrastructure. In many cases, non-university institutions have directly been upgraded to university status, legitimizing the political representation of the ethnic population in previously marginalized geographic zones and previously marginalized communities.

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Chapter 8
Vygotsky and a Global Perspective on Scaffolding in Learning Mathematics

Vince Wright

Abstract Scaffolding had roots in Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) within his wider socio-cultural theory. Bruner et al. introduced the term scaffolding to describe six actions that an expert other might take to support a learner to bridge their ZPD within an instructional setting. Scaffolding was viewed as a process that provided temporary support to an individual learner. Since Bruner's initial work other researchers broadened the scaffolding metaphor to include, among other aspects, models of effective scaffolding, support offered by peers in collaborative situations, meta-cognitive self-scaffolding by the individual themselves, and support within technology mediated environments. Data from small-scale study of Pre-Service Teachers suggested that providing feedback that is responsive to the strategy of an individual student is an extremely challenging task. Mathematics Education, as a field, needs more specific examples of effective scaffolding, in whole class settings, that includes cognitive, affective and meta-cognitive dimensions.

Introduction

Effective educators are optimists. They set high yet realistic expectations about the potential achievement of their learners and of the impact of those interactions with their learners (Alton-Lee, 2003; Goe, 2007; Hattie, 2009; Kyriakides, Christoforou, & Charalambous, 2013; Schoenfeld, 2014). Recognition that opportunities to learn strongly impact the achievement of students inspired Vygotsky's construct of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987), and consequently, the global interest in scaffolding which is the topic of this chapter. Concerned that standardized intelligence test results were being treated as deterministic measures of learner potential Vygotsky proposed that development occurred through interactions with others, particularly knowledgeable adults and peers (Fani & Ghaei, 2011), and was mediated by cultural tools and practices. Psychological development advanced

V. Wright (✉)
Educational Consultant, Hilltop, Taupo, NZ

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from shared, externalised knowledge developed in social settings to individual, internalized knowledge.

Vygotsky did not intend ZPD to be applied directly to specific tasks since he regarded some learning as imitation by the learner rather than awareness of their own awareness (Mason, 2008; Mason, Drury, & Bills, 2007). He regarded development as an independent, holistic, singular process that integrated psychological functions such as perception, memory, language, and thought (Chaiklin, 2003, p. 46). Learners progressed to higher developmental periods, though unlike Piaget, Vygotsky did not believe those periods were chronologically related (Fuson, 2009). The primary mechanism for development was learners responding to contradictions among their current capabilities, their personal needs and desires, and the social situations in which they found themselves. In this adaptive view of development through critical reflection he shared much with Piaget. One can only suppose that Vygotsky's use of 'potential' in his description of ZPD, as opposed to more tangible terms like 'achievement' or 'realisation', was intended to be both aspirational and inspirational. The ZPD is a touchstone construct in sociocultural theories of learning that have gained global popularity since the translation and wider publication of Vygotsky's work in Western countries (Ernest, 2010; Lermen, 2014; Nesher, 2015).

Scaffolding

Optimism that development of a learner can be strongly influenced by the impact of interactions with others naturally lead to interest in what those others might do. According to Gibbons (2002) and Pea (2004), Bruner was 'channeling Vygotsky' in his first collaborative publications that formally introduced the scaffolding metaphor (Bruner, 1975a, 1975b; Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Focused on the scaffolding of language acquisition by young children Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976, p. 90) described it as a "process that enables a child or novice to solve problem, carry out a task or achieve a goal which would be beyond his unassisted efforts." The authors provided six processes that a tutor might do for a tutee; recruitment (promoting interest), reducing task complexity, direction maintenance, highlighting critical features (focusing attention), controlling frustration, and demonstrating (modelling). While not strictly true to the Vygotskian vision of learner self-awareness in bridging of the ZPD, and restricted in scope to instructional rather than naturalistic settings, Bruner's approach was deliberately pragmatic. Scaffolding was treated as a verb rather than a noun in the sense it was about process not object (Stone, 1998). The six processes Bruner et al. proposed are still common ground within modern meta-analyses of scaffolding in mathematics education (Bakker, Smit, & Wegerif, 2015) and in education broadly (van de Pol, Volman, & Beishuizen, 2010). While the initial model of scaffolding was of one-on-one interaction between child and more knowledgeable adult this dynamic has been broadened by other researchers, particularly in respect of 'Who?', 'What?', and 'How?' that are the participants, objective and mechanism of the interaction. A recent special issue of ZDM

Mathematics Education (Bakker et al., 2015) connected scaffolding with dialogic teaching and indicated continued interest in scaffolding within mathematics education.

From its conception, scaffolding has been regarded as a social interaction so attention to participants in that interaction was a natural progression, particularly for sociocultural theorists with their roots in the Vygotskian tradition. Some researchers considered the role of peers in collaborative group situations where cognition is distributed, with the view that different learners assume the role of knowledgeable other at different times (Goos, 1999; Goos, Galbraith, & Renshaw, 2002; Schwartz, Bransford, & Sears, 2005), and Holton and Clarke (2006) extended the construct to a learners' self-scaffolding. Other research has turned to scaffolding by a teacher within the complexity of whole class environments with general recognition that insufficient is known about how one teacher can scaffolding the learning of many individual learners with varying ZPDs (Davis & Miyake, 2004; Puntambekar & Hubscher, 2005; Smit & Van Eerde, 2011). Scaffolding has also been broadened to include investigations into how computer interfaces, texts and other artefacts can facilitate learners' progression in their ZPD (Azevedo & Hadwin, 2005; Belland, Walker, Olsen, & Leary, 2015).

Bruner et al.'s early interpretation of the 'What?" of scaffolding in was cognitive. However sociocultural theorists have connected strongly to Vygotsky's view of development (and learning) as firstly a social then a personal constructive process. Pea (2004) observed the *technological* (cognitive) and *social* dimensions of scaffolding. In the 2015 special issue of ZDM Mathematic Education on scaffolding Makar, Bakker, and Ben-Zvi (2015) supported the establishment of norms for argumentation within a primary class, and Calder (2015) addressed transfer of responsibility in student driven inquiry in small groups. Holton and Clarke (2006) showed how teacher support of critical reflection developed students' self-scaffolding, and equated self-scaffolding to meta-cognition. Considering social interaction and learner self-awareness is undoubtedly closer to Vygotsky's intended meaning of ZPD. Furthermore, in their extensive meta-analysis van de Pol et al. (2010, p. 276) classified studies according to three *intentions*, meta-cognitive, cognitive, and affect. So, orientating students' affective needs, such as attitudes, beliefs, and motivation towards a learning goal, are also considered to be legitimate goals for scaffolding.

Van de Pol et al. (2010) also created a framework for scaffolding that includes three 'How?' characteristics of scaffolding. First, scaffolding needs to be responsive to students' level of performance and be adapted 'contingently' to those needs as noticed by the teacher. This characteristic implies a cyclic process of diagnosis and responsive support (Gibbons, 2002; Stone, 1998; van Oers, 2014). The second and third characteristics are fading, the timely removal of support (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989), and the transfer of responsibility to facilitate independence of the learners. The characteristics of scaffolding suggested in the van de Pol et al. review cannot be implemented in a formulaic way and require considerable sensitivity and judgment on the part of the teacher. There is evidence that noticing opportunities for such teachable moments is challenging for teachers of mathematics (Ferguson, 2012; Jazby, 2016; Myhill & Warren, 2005; Oh, 2005). Noticing and seeing opportunities

to act is dependent on teachers' mathematical knowledge (MKT) and dispositions for teaching (Depaepe, Verschaffel, & Kelchtermans, 2013; Simon, 2013), an important aspect of which is their understanding of lexical (semiotic) and cognitive learning trajectories (Prediger & Pohler, 2015).

Interpretation of ZPD has broadened beyond interaction of paired child and knowledgeable adult to include self, peer, group, artefact and technology-mediated interactions. It is natural that constructs evolve and dedication of a special edition of ZDM Mathematics Education to scaffolding in 2015 was confirmation of continued interest in scaffolding within the community of social-cultural theorists. Yet the scaffolding metaphor has been criticised as unhelpful on grounds that scaffolds (as a noun) in real life only allow access to higher levels while they are present, lack of clarity about who is actually constructing the scaffolding (process), and that the metaphor offers little to better understanding of effective learning situations (Stone, 1998). In the next section the reality of scaffolding in the development of emerging teachers is considered. The data reveal the significant challenges scaffolding presents and offer insight into whether the metaphor is helpful.

Enabling Prompts As a Form of Scaffolding

A small-scale study was designed to assess the effectiveness of a Mathematics Education Course delivered to pre-service students (PSTs) at the end of their second year of a four-year Bachelor of Education degree. The course qualifies students to teach years Foundation to six in Australian primary schools. We addressed the question, "How prepared are the pre-service teachers to provide scaffolding to their students in mathematics?" Through the unit lectures, tutorials and between-class tasks were structured towards responsive pedagogy. Enabling prompts and extending prompts (Sullivan, Mousley, & Zevenbergen, 2006) were a key pedagogical strategy central to the unit. Use of the prompts was promoted to the students as opportunities to enact mathematical knowledge for teaching (Ball, Thames, & Phelps, 2008). For example, in tutorials PSTs engaged in role playing to create *enabling prompts* to student who were having difficulty engaging in task and to create *extending tasks* for students who were task complete and in need of further challenge. Enabling and extending prompts constitute specific forms of scaffolding.

Upon completion of the unit PSTs sat a two-hour examination consisting of 13 extended questions. Data from 135 of the 189 PSTs who completed the examination were selected. Data from an examination of their mathematical content knowledge, from the previous year, were also available for these PSTs. As expected there was a moderately positive correlation between the marks achieved by PSTs on both examinations, $r^2(133) = 0.6565$, $p < 0.01$, so mathematical content knowledge was positively associated with MKT.

The examination items addressed facets of MKT such as knowledge of curriculum, of representation of mathematical concepts, and of theories of learning. Some items provided examples of students' strategies for specific mathematical tasks and

asked the PSTs to construct appropriate prompts. One item (see Fig. 8.1) was selected for this chapter as it best illustrated the demands of scaffolding for these emerging teachers. In parts a and b of the question the PSTs had the opportunity to write sharing (partitive) and measurement (quotative) word problems for $72 \div 4 = \square$ and to describe two efficient mental strategies for performing the calculation. So PSTs had the opportunity to apply their own calculation strategies to $72 \div 4 = \square$ before attending to hypothetical student strategies. Part C required them to respond to Seth. It was anticipated that the PSTs would identify his method as repeated subtraction and prompt him towards more efficient multiplicative strategies. So, cognitive related scaffolding was expected though the possibility of meta-cognitive scaffolding was acknowledged.

The majority of students identified that Seth used a repeated subtraction strategy (see Table 8.1) and three other students described his strategy as 'additive thinking' which is also correct. The descriptions sometimes displayed elements of uncertainty about the difference between additive thinking and division (see Ivan below).

He cannot work out mentally, he is going to continually go down until he sees that four can go in anymore numbers and the [Sic] count how many fours goes into

Jules

He is subtracting 4 off 72 and then will count how many 4's it took to do

Lisa

Seth is using quotation division (repeated subtraction)

Ivan

Some of these students assumed that Seth was counting back by ones or skip counting. A counting assumption, as opposed to an additive thinking assumption, might have impacted on the sophistication of the enabling prompt that they provided.

He's counting back four each time till he reaches 4

Tim

Subtracting or counting back from each answer

Aimee

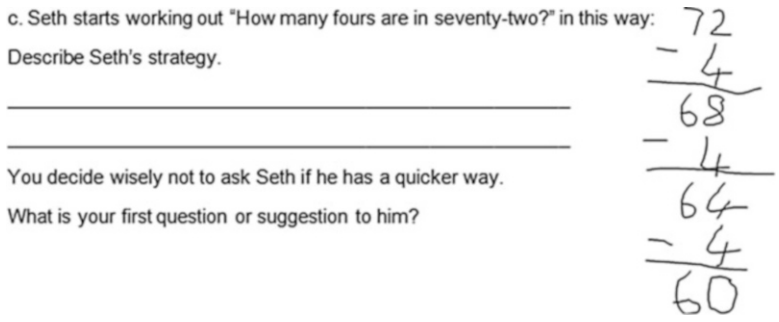

Fig. 8.1 Seth's Question

Table 8.1 Frequency of descriptions for Seth's strategy

Strategy	Number of PSTs
Repeated subtraction	113
Division	2
Algorithm	4
Additive thinking	3
Partitioning or splitting up	4
Other	3
None	6

The eight PSTs who wrote that Seth was either using an algorithm (written working form) or partitioning were also correct though that description is less useful in diagnosing potential learning problems or designing effective enabling prompts. Students in the 'Other' category wrote descriptions like "Develop and record" or "Chunking" which were ambiguous. Hence, for all but a few PSTs understanding Seth' strategy was not a significant factor in their creation of an enabling prompt.

The enabling prompts provided by the PSTs were categorized by responsiveness to Seth's preferred strategy, a criterion common in the literature on effective scaffolding, and by attention to number specific or general strategy features shown by his working. Fourteen students PSTs did not answer Part C for reasons of time or because they found the task challenging. Three prompts were classified as "Other" because they fell outside the classification system. The frequencies of PSTs responses are given in Table 8.2. Note that 15 students gave two prompts so both were classified.

The responsive-number specific responses took the form of "Do you know how many fours are in n?", where n was a useful benchmark, "Do you know your four times table?" or "How many (objects) have you taken off so far?"

I would ask Seth if he knows how many times 4 went into 20
Abby

Why do you take 4 away? Do you know your 4 times table?
Kirsty

How many have you taken off already?
Arianna

Prompts were classified as not responsive but number specific if they encouraged Seth to adopt a different way of solving $72 \div 4 = \square$. Suggesting that 72 be rounded to 80 was common, as were using division, using materials or a diagram, and simplifying the problem by halving dividend, divisor or both. The important feature of these prompts was that the PSTs imposed their own preferred strategy on Seth rather than acting on his preferences.

Table 8.2 Frequencies of types of prompts for Seth's strategy

	Number specific	Strategy specific	Other	None
Responsive to Seth's strategy	27	34		
Not responsive to Seth's strategy	32	40	3	14

How about adding 8 more onto 72? That gives you 80. Do you know what 80 divided by 4 equals?

Kat

Do you know how many 4's are in 40? If you know how many are in 40 do you know how many are in 80?

Ellie

Can he tell me how many 2's (are) in 36, since he might know his 2 times table in grade 5. Then he might realise 72 ÷ 4 is just 2 times that number

Ivan

Can we work out a way together to find how many 4's are in 72? Maybe we could use a number line? Do we know how many 4's in 80?

Asher

Why did you use this way to work it out? Why don't you draw four groups and share 72?

Xiang

Generally, prompts that alluded to strategies were very open. About half of the strategy based prompts acknowledged Seth's preferred method in some way by reference to the numbers he used or his use of repeated subtraction.

Do you think there is a way that (you) could group sets of 4 together to make it easier to subtract?

Jack

So why are you counting backwards by four?

Shelly

Can we try figuring out the problem by using a different operation?

Taylor

Seth, Can you tell me why you used subtraction here?

Jacqueline

Over half of the strategy specific prompts were sufficiently vague that they could be used irrespective of the method a student used. PSTs asked Seth to tell them what he was doing, if he could see a pattern or if he could think of another way to solve the problem. Some suggested getting out equipment to support him without specific details of how that would occur.

What were you saying in your mind when you worked on this?
Georgie
Can you find a quicker way to solve this problem?
Bill
What made you decide to do it that way?
Chloe
Get him to use materials to show his working out in groups
Caz

Some strategy specific prompts were defensible in that they were aimed at metacognitive reflection by the student, introduced materials that were potentially helpful, or designed to provide additional information about what Seth was thinking (Bishop, 1976). However, even these open prompts were sometimes precursors for the PST to impose their preferred strategy on Seth.

Why did you solve it this way? This is so that I can understand his reasoning behind this strategy and thus am able to suggest a different method.
Brylie

These data suggest that suspending their own personal calculation preferences to provide enabling prompts was challenging for this group of PSTs. Only about one-fifth of the PST cohort provided an enabling prompt that was responsive to Seth's method and was number specific. It does not appear that this challenge was due to their misunderstanding of Seth's strategy or to their own personal mathematics. There was no association between the types of prompts PSTs provided and their scores on the examination of mathematical knowledge from the previous year, their effective use of personal strategies to solve $72 \div 4 = \square$, or their total score for the examination of MKT. Their strategic advice for Seth was mostly vague and not responsive to his preferred method. Consequently, what do these findings suggest about scaffolding as a helpful metaphor?

Discussion

Good educators need to be both optimistic about their students' potential achievement and technically proficient at providing the best possible opportunities to learn. However, lack of clarity of the features of best opportunities to learn is unhelpful. It is a global mantra that socio-cultural theorists justifiably emphasize the importance of argumentation and justification within a learning culture with respectful socio-mathematical norms and discourse (Anthony, Hunter, & Hunter, 2015; Cobb, Boufi, McClain, & Whitenack, 1995; Hunter & Anthony, 2011; Kazemi & Hubbard, 2008; Sullivan, 2011). Advancing the role of critical peers in supporting learners to bridge

their ZPD has been a significant contribution to the literature on effective learning environments. However, the pragmatic nature of Wood, Bruner, and Ross's (1976) original article on scaffolding suggests that they were aware that the expertise of the knowledgeable other is critical to Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). Whether the other is a person, adult, teacher, or student peer, or an artefact like a computer environment, manipulative or text, does not alter the significant role of that other.

In providing six "How?" processes for a tutor to scaffold the learning of a tutee Wood et al. (1976) addressed an important balance, in favour of the teacher, that is of relevance to classroom settings. Recruitment (promoting interest), reducing task complexity, direction maintenance, highlighting critical features (focusing attention), controlling frustration, and demonstrating (modelling) are deliberate actions of teachers as knowledgeable others (Askew et al., 1997; Hattie, 2009). Van de Pol et al. (2010) summarized three accepted features of scaffolding, responsiveness, fading (gradual and timely withdrawal of support) and transfer of responsibility. Our data from second year PSTs allowed us to consider their ability to provide responsive scaffolding in the form of enabling prompts (Sullivan, Mousley, & Zevenbergen, 2006) but not fading and transfer which are longitudinal characteristics.

Only about one-fifth of the sample of students were able to provide a number specific prompt that built on a hypothetical student's (Seth) repeated subtraction strategy for solving $72 \div 4 = \square$. These prompts usually asked Seth to consider how the fours could be subtracted in more efficient groupings and demonstrated a sense of learning trajectory towards multiplicative thinking (Simon, 1995). About one-quarter of PSTs gave number specific prompts that did not acknowledge Seth's chosen method and directed him to use a different strategy such as rounding 72–80 or halving the dividend and or divisor. Responsive scaffolding is founded on teachers' valuing of students' personal strategies and thinking. An additional one-quarter of the students provided a strategy specific prompt that showed some acknowledgement of Seth's method. Some prompts such as "Do you think there is a way that (you) could group sets of 4 together to make it easier to subtract?" were specific and potentially helpful.

However, most strategy based prompts were vague and strongly suggestive to Seth that his chosen method was inappropriate. These findings are consistent with field evidence that teachers are also challenged by responsive pedagogies (Davis & Miyake, 2004; Myhill & Warren, 2005; Puntambekar & Hubscher, 2005). It is conceivable that teachers might give similar prompts to these PSTs. Given that the PSTs responded to a single student, as opposed to responding to many students with different ZPDs, the demands of the scaffolding metaphor for these PSTs were significant. Less than half of the students were responsive to Seth's strategy in any way and a high proportion of prompts were directive or, conversely, vague. To the academics who taught the second-year unit PST's inability to operationalize enabling prompts pointed to a lack of specificity in the way scaffolding had been presented.

Classification of the prompts provided by the PSTs also begged the question of what might constitute an appropriate prompt. It is doubtful that the global community of mathematics educators would be unanimous in their descriptions for effective scaffolding. For example, modelling or demonstrating, given in most meta-analyses as a legitimate form of scaffolding, would likely be rejected by some as overly directive and discouraging of learner independence. Is telling of a strategy and answer an appropriate form of scaffolding? That practice seems contrary to Vygotsky's vision of developing learner self-awareness and independence yet has been shown to be effective for specific task performance, not development, in some studies (Schwartz, Bransford, & Sears, 2005).

Reducing degrees of freedom was evident in the number specific prompts of PSTs that posed a related but simpler division. Using manipulatives, such as place value materials, or other cultural tools such as inscriptions are a supportive form of 'cognitive structuring' (Van de Pol, 2010) and lexical (semiotic) trajectories need to work symbiotically with cognitive trajectories (Prediger & Pohler, 2015; Presmeg, 2006). However, in Seth's case imposition of manipulatives or diagrams might be counter-productive if he is already operating abstractly but productive if he folds back to the physical experience or images to look with 'new eyes' (Pirie & Kieren, 1994). Educators with their sights on cognitive growth might view metacognitive prompts such as "I see you used a subtraction strategy. Can you think of another way to solve the problem?" as a distraction and suggestive to Seth that his preferred method was wrong.

Conclusion

The above evidence shows that general reference to scaffolding, as a metaphor, without models for, and examples of, its effective use is of little benefit. Models must include metacognitive, cognitive and affective intentions and be specific and contextual to the group of learners, their culture and situation, and to the specific mathematics being learned. For example, 'feeding back' (van de Pol et al., 2010, p. 278) is recognized as a form of scaffolding with high effect size in terms of learning (Hattie, 2009) but remains poorly defined in respect to complex learning intentions and lacking in examples of practice. The same opportunities to learn are likely to afford different possible scaffolding approaches that result in variable learning gains for different students. Cases will allow mathematics educators to see the 'general in the particular' in respect to scaffolding (Mason, Drury, & Bills, 2007). The mathematics education literature is currently short of particulars, especially in whole class situations, although the wider dissemination of Japanese lesson study shows enormous potential (Isoda, Stephens, Ohara, & Miyakawa, 2007). It is though contextualized descriptions and examples that the scaffolding metaphor can come alive and the power of Vygotsky's ZPD, as a construct, can be realized.

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Chapter 9
Mexican Educational Reform: Politics in the Frontline

Carlos Ornelas

Abstract This chapter provides a contextual political overview of Mexican education, followed by the analysis of prospects for failure or success of the current Mexican educational reform. It is argued that education reforms constituted a political project, which was designed to change power relations in the system of education. The educational reform in Mexico implies a tremendous institutional change towards centralization that will alter the prevailing power structure in the education sector. The centralization of education is likely to deprive state governors the tools to cope with local demands for education. It is concluded that Mexico is still far from achieving a genuinely democratic education system: with teachers as change-makers, professional learning communities, effective leadership, and teachers' professional responsibility for student learning.

Introduction

Authors in the field of comparative education mistrust the top-down models of education reforms. They tend to focus more on issues that prefigure the conditions for failure than on the requisites for success (Ginsburg & Cooper, 2007; Husen, 2007; Weiler, 2007; Zajda, 2015). Other researchers centre their analysis on the reform's chances for breakdown, but also on the possibilities for its realization (Malone, 2013; Rappleye, 2012; Rust, 2007; Zajda, 2003). The education reform that the President of Mexico, Enrique Peña Nieto, launched in his inaugural address on December 1, 2012, presents both the risks for disappointment as well as prospects for success. This initiative presents a singular case for examination given the political context that surrounded its launching and the speed of its execution.

The top-down models of educational reform generally follow a regular pattern (Bacharach, 1990; Tyack & Cuban, 2001). First, there is a legal formulation preceded by the production of a coherent discourse about the necessity of change.

C. Ornelas (✉)
Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Mexico City, Mexico

J. Zajda (ed.), *Globalisation and Education Reforms*, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 19, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1204-8_9

Second, policy implementation--this step usually implies political struggles because the reforms affect the interests of diverse groups. Third, innovations in curriculum and design of new textbooks and other teaching materials, as well as advances in methods for pedagogical delivery require addressing. Fourth, teacher enhancement programs to lift the spirit of rank and file teachers and to eliminate their opposition to the reforms. These actions can be applied either one after another, or simultaneously. The seventh out of 13 executive orders that the President gave the first day of his administration focused on an education reform:

> . . . the State should have the control (*rectoría*) of educational policy. . . With this reform, the Teachers' Professional Service Career will be established. There will be clear and precise rules, so that anyone who wants to enter, remain and advance as a teacher, principal or supervisor, do so based on their work and merit, ensuring full employment stability. . . If Congress approves this reform, will cease the teaching posts to be lifelong and hereditary (Peña Nieto, 2012).

The reason for the new government to propose a constitutional amendment to regulate the entrance and promotion of teachers into the professional ladder deserves a brief explanation. In Mexico retiring teachers used to bequeath their teaching post to their offspring or, if they had no children with teaching credentials, could sell their post to the highest bidder. This issue was a matter of public embarrassment. In addition, several governments in the twentieth century permitted the leadership of SNTE (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación, or National Educational Workers Union) to manage and control the promotion of teachers to the posts of principals and school supervisors. These posts were granted to loyal cadres of the Union (Latapí Sarre, 2004). The main mission of the supervisors—formerly inspectors—was to mediate between the education authorities and the Union leaders (Calvo Pontón, Fierro, García, & Flores, 2002, pp. 60–61).

Once the reform watchword was put in the public arena, it soon turned out to be a more thorough and all-embracing project of political change in the sectors of basic education, middle school, and teacher training. The right wing Party of National Action (PAN), which held the Presidency from 2000 to 2012, and the left wing Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), joined the President and his Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) in the Pact for Mexico. The Pact's aim was to promote structural reforms. Out of 95 agreements for action, eight were dedicated to education. These points include almost everything: larger enrolments, evaluation through an autonomous institution, a national system of educational information, changes in the teachers colleges and high school programs, as well as the promotion of school autonomy and continuing education for teachers (Presidencia de la República, 2013).

The main goal of the education reform was to restore government control over education that was lost due to previous government concessions to SNTE leaders. This was clearly expressed by the secretary of Public Education, Emilio Chuayffet:

> The Secretariat of Public Education (SEP), must put it plainly, is an archipelago. We must critically review SEP to make it again the federal agency exercising the executive authority of the State (Olson, 2012).

It quickly became clear that the reform embraced much more than educational programs; it was a political project designed to change power relations in the system of education and to reorder its labour establishment. The questions I will try to answer in this chapter are:

- How such illegal and illegitimate practices of inheriting or selling teaching posts became the regular procedure for hiring and promoting teachers?
- Since there are already constitutional amendments and new bylaws that go beyond the original Presidential proposals, and since these changes were implemented quickly, it is pertinent to ask why the legislative process was hurried, and what the education reform aims to reform?
- As in all political contests, the politics of reform won allies but also generated opposition from the Union leaders and dissident teachers' organizations, as well as from radical groups that systematically object to all government proposals. Consequently, it is appropriate to ask how the Peña Nieto government is dealing with these opposition groups?
- Finally, it may be possible that the government could convince some rank and file teachers to join its effort?

In order to critique the prospects for failure or success of the current Mexican educational reform, the aim of this chapter, I will first provide a contextual political overview of Mexican education.

The Logic of Engagement

The fact that in Mexico the government has had to amend the Constitution to promote changes in the organization of education, may speaks of a weak state; one that allowed the union leadership to colonize the management of the system of basic public education and teacher training institutions (Ornelas, 2012). The "colonization" process has its roots in the government's founding, not the education workers, of SNTE as a corporatist labour union under the control of the then official Party of the Mexican Revolution, and later PRI, in the mid-1940s. The regime of the Mexican Revolution was unable to conceive an independent organization of workers from government control (Bensusán & Tapia, 2014, p. 97).

The state granted SNTE the sole monopoly over labour and political representation of all teachers. It was a unique, non-competitive union. This type of organization led to the formation of cliques and fiefdoms that articulated with the state apparatus and whose main mission was to control the affiliates of the unions. In exchange for this control, the government rewarded leaders with political or administrative posts incorporating them into the state bureaucracy (Aziz Nassif, 1989). This institutionalized political patronage.

In order to maintain control over the teachers, the government provided leaders of SNTE with political posts within PRI. Many labour bosses became representatives, senators and even governors of states. As the union grew there were insufficient

political positions to reward the leaders forcing the government to grant these representatives new positions by 1946. Through the first regulation of labour relations between SEP and SNTE, the school principals' post became a step on the career ladder (*escalafón*). Leaders of the union became the managers of the ladder (Benavides & Velasco, 1992: pp. 49–50). In the early 1950s the secretary general of the National Executive Committee of SNTE, Jesús Robles Martínez, became the first strong labour boss of the Union. His group designed a long-term strategy to occupy other places in the education bureaucracy. The following move was to take control of the Inspectorate. The position of zone inspector was politicized and became a workplace that was filled as a reward for union loyalty, not on professional merit (Hernández Navarro, 2013; Ornelas, 2012).

Through this process that lasted decades, SNTE leadership took over all levels of the education bureaucracy. The system inaugurated by Robles Martínez was further enhanced by the second labour boss, Carlos Jonguitud (1972–1989), and achieved the highest degree of union control during the rule of the third union boss, Elba Esther Gordillo (1989–2013). All of these leaders were installed by one president and subsequently overthrown by another one. After the replacement of union leader by another, the government did not change its relationship with SNTE. It was a colonization by agreement, not by conquest, following the categorization of Martin Carnoy (1974). As of December 2012, 20 State Secretaries of Education still responded to Mos. Gordillo. She was given those positions to distribute by state governors either because of her power or in gratitude for her helping them win elections (Melgar, 2012).

There were two attempts to reverse or at least to equilibrate the balance of power between SNTE leaders and SEP bureaucracy. The first was an agreement between the government and SNTE. President Salinas de Gortari and Mos. Gordillo signed the National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education (ANMEB), in May 1992. The second was between President Felipe Calderón and SNTE, known as the Alliance for Quality of Education (ACE), in May 2008. Both attempts ended in disaster.

The Move Toward Decentralization

As President elect in 1988, Carlos Salinas ordered the creation of a group of scholars and journalists to evaluate the education system and to draft proposals for its improvement. The reports were published under the appalling title, *The Silent Catastrophe* (Guevara, 1992). By the time the reports were available the government already had advanced its modernization of education program, developed new education materials, and reached a pact with SNTE leaders to decentralize basic education and teacher training institutions to state control.

ANMEB encompassed three strategic areas: (1) the reorganization of the system, that was termed educational federalization; (2) reform of curricular content and

design of new materials; and (3) revitalization of the teaching profession. The aims of this agreement were to make more effective the functioning of the system, as well as to increase the quality and equity of education. The reorganization reform consisted of the transfer of resources, responsibilities and prerogatives from the central government to the 31 states. The curricular reform comprised new textbooks and teaching aids, while the revitalization of teachers implied the introduction of a merit pay schema in addition to their basic salary.

The decentralization move was a tremendous transfer of educational administration from the central government to the states. In only 1 week in May 1992, the Federal Government ceded its control over education and transferred that responsibility to the 31 states. These states would now be responsible for more than 14 million students, 513,000 teachers, 115,000 administrative employees, 100,000 schools and other buildings, and 22 million pieces of equipment. Issues of seniority, fringe benefits and labour union rights of these workers were assimilated into the state's educational structures (Moctezuma Barragán, 1994). Mark Hanson argued that such a move was a *Blitzkrieg* due to the volume and the speed of the transfer (Hanson, 2000).

Although it provoked some controversy initially the curricular reform was carried out effectively (Ibarrola, 1995: pp. 220–221). The introduction of an incentive schema, called the Teacher's Career, was opposed by many rank and file teachers as well as by dissident organizations, but quickly most teachers expressed their desire to join this ladder. Financial incentives were a powerful attraction. These included bonuses of a 28% increase in the basic salary for level A, up to 220% for level E.

Research aimed at evaluating this reform showed that it was a fiasco. First, the federalization or decentralization rather than weakening federal government control resulted in the strengthening of central institutions. The move transferred to the state governors degrees of authority but centralized the power. An inquiry into ten states concluded that instead of federalization the reform installed a bureaucratic centralism. It was composed of four mechanisms of control: (1) normative in that all legislation must replicate the mandates of the General Law of Education; (2) technical in that it established a national curriculum without variation for the different realities; all the materials were designed and produced in the centre; (3) financial in that the federal Secretariat of Finance, SEP, and the Federal Chamber decided the amounts and allocation of resources; and (4) political in that SEP ruled over the local authorities and the National Executive Committee of SNTE controlled the teaching force (Ornelas, 2010).

Second, the bureaucratic centralism was reinforced because ANMEB guaranteed that SNTE would keep its central structure. Thus no state governor had enough power to resist its directives and outrageous demands. Section leaders managed to extract unnecessary teaching posts for the graduates of teachers colleges. The number of teachers commissioned to work for the Union grew at a high speed; and the numbers of *aviadores* or phantom teachers (people who are on the payroll but do not work at all) were detected but the authorities were unable (or unwilling) to

fire them. Consequently, the transfer of financial resources expanded but without positive results in education quality or even students' achievement (Trujillo, 2013). SNTE cadres with the consent of the government colonized the incentive schema; it turned into a matter of plunder and corruption (Flores Sánchez, 2012; Santibáñez et al., 2006). In a few years these shifts facilitated the inheritance and selling of teaching posts.

When school enrolments began to fall as a result of demographic factors, the tradition of alumnae of Teachers Colleges acquiring a teaching post automatically after graduation came to an end. By the mid-1990s retiring teachers began to pressure the authorities to allow them to inherit their post. Soon it became a routine in many states. Although scholars and journalists denounced this practice, nobody in the government paid attention, until *The Washington Post* correspondent in Mexico published an extensive report that exposed this issue to an international audience (Jordan, 2004).

A Futile Alliance

Although the Jordan report mortified the government, the Vicente Fox Administration (2000–2006) did nothing to change the issue, while the next President, Felipe Calderón (2006–2012) tried to correct the problem through another agreement with Mos. Gordillo.

The President instructed his Secretary of Public Education, Josefina Vázquez Mota, to sign the Alliance for the Quality of Education with SNTE leaders in order to end the inheritance and sale of teaching posts. Again, the goal was to increase the quality and equity of education (Gobierno Federal & Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación, 2008). ACE promised that all new teaching posts and the ones left by retiring teachers would be open to public competition. Several national examinations were prearranged to win a teaching post, but only for the new posts that the federal government created. The placements left by retiring teachers followed the old patterns (Barrera, 2009). In addition, the press reported incidents of skulduggery by unethical teachers and tricks made by SNTE section leaders.

Consequently, at the outset of the Peña Nieto Administration, or even before he took office, the new rulers had the perception that these attempts to reform the management of education failed or even worst, resulted in perverse effects. The selling and inheritance of teaching posts was a big problem, plus there was also the low quality of education evident in national tests and international examinations, like PISA. In addition, the educational system continued to be unequal, badly managed and plagued with corruption, including the merit pay system to teachers (Ramírez Raymundo, 2013). Thus the new government needed to try a different strategy.

The Instigating Point: Legal Process

Once the Pact for Mexico was made known, the President and leaders of the political parties established the legal design of structural reforms. They agreed that it was evident the educational system needed an urgent and total overhaul. On December 10, 2012, the President publicly stated that the next day he would send Congress an initiative to amend Articles 3 and 73 of the Constitution. The proclamation of the reform granted credibility to the government and to the Pact for Mexico. A poll showed that 60% of people interviewed believed that the publicized reform would help to transform education in Mexico. While only 28% thought that it was just another feeble reform (Beltrán & Cruz, 2012).

The process of the Constitutional amending was fast tracked. The Federal Congress, with minor changes approved the presidential initiative on December 20. Most state legislatures sanctioned it by January 20, 2013. Although there were bitter debates, two new regulatory laws and the reforms to the General Education Act were passed by Congress and decreed by the President on September 11, 2013 (Poder Ejecutivo Federal, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). This created a new institutional framework for the Mexican education system. The General Act of Educational Professional Service (EPS) embraces clear rules for entry at the teaching service and for promotion to managerial positions, distribution of work, and new ways of exercising authority. The National Institute for the Evaluation of Education (INEE) Act provides this establishment with constitutional autonomy, and expanded duties beyond evaluation. Merit is the cornerstone principle of the new bylaws, while evaluation is the instrument to measure it. With these new regulations, the federal government aims—at least in the official discourse—to end the sale and inheritance of teaching posts.

In addition, there are thousands of education workers commissioned to SNTE management and other activities outside the education system but still on the payroll. Everyone knew of the existence of these irregularities, but the dimensions were unknown so that the reform movement included a Census of Teachers, Students and Schools of Basic and Special Education. The President instructed the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI) to conduct an in-depth survey of the educational system for the purpose of identifying all educational employees and their roles in the system.

If success could be measured by formal changes in the laws, the first fragment of the Peña Nieto Administration will be marked by accomplishments. His discourse of an effective mode of governance and his drives for reforms framed him as an innovator. In little more than 20 months the Federal Congress approved 11 "structural" reforms, which included 58 amendments to the Constitution, 81 adjustments to various secondary laws, 21 new regulations, and the abrogation of 15 others (Beltrán del Río, 2014).

The new reform repeated past experiences. It created a new institutional framework, and devised changes in many areas. All of them, however, were designed and controlled by the central government.

Education: An Affair of the State

Even before the legislative process was completed, the government tried to define and direct the educational reforms to give a sense of change and remove obvious corruption. Policymaking was developed at the top of the Executive Branch; yet, there was no uniform strategy that penetrated the higher echelons of the bureaucracy. If the main aim of the reform was to recover the stewardship of education, in the view of the President, the only way to achieve this end was by means of the re-centralization of duties in SEP.

Therefore, the government began to implement a centralist strategy. First, the President appointed Alba Martínez Olivé as under-secretary for Basic Education.[1] She was a teacher of basic education before becoming a scholar; she had experience in the bureaucracy but was not close to the leaders of SNTE. She replaced Fernando González Sánchez, the son-in-law of Mos. Gordillo who had been appointed by President Felipe Calderón, allegedly as a reward for electoral favours during his presidential campaign in 2006. Soon all loyal SNTE cadres were removed from the Undersecretary for Basic Education and functionaries with a more technocratic or academic profile were taking control of bureaus and processes.

Second, at the same time that the debates in the Congress were taking place, SEP began to pressure the state governments to take actions in favour of the education reform. The governors were not enthusiastic about it. Thus Secretary Chuayffet, criticize them and made a strong request:

> I call on local governments to assume the governance of basic education and prevent labour groups, such as the CNTE (National Coordination of Education Workers, which assembles different dissent teachers groups) or even SNTE to decide educational policy (Hernández, 2014).

Third, the results of the survey carried out by INEGI were devastating: "The first ever government census of schools in Mexico shows that 13% of all people registered on the schools' payrolls did not turn up for work. That is, 298,000 out of a total of 2.25 m, divided among those who received a pay check were either figments of someone's imagination or worked somewhere else or were on leave (often as union representatives) or quit, retired or died" (*The Economist*, 2014). The federal government proceeded to clean up this mess since January 2015, when it had the legal authority to do so.

Fourth, the central government lacked the means to reach educators in classroom settings. It may be, as means of achieving legitimacy, or as a way of including teachers and administrations in the reform movement, that SEP called for a national debate on the pedagogical features of the suggested reform. The Forums for reviewing the Educational Model were organized for basic education, high schools and teachers' colleges in several states. Eighteen regional and three national forums

[1] Alba Martínez Olivé, as Under-Secretary for Basic Education, was dismissed, without explanation, on November 20, 2014.

were carried out from February to June 2014. These forums were well organized and many rank and file teachers, school principals, and supervisors. All papers and oral presentations are posted in the web page of SEP.

Fifth, some state governments and local congresses made deals with regional leaders of SNTE and in other states, like Oaxaca and Michoacán, with CNTE leaders to evade the mandates of the General Act of Educational Professional Service. A study by a new NGO "The citizen eye", showed that 13 states avoided establishing sanctions on absenteeism, permitted the existence of *phantom teachers*, and even allowed the possibility that retiring teachers could inherit their post (Toribio, 2014). The federal government did not turn a blind eye to these violations. The press reported that on April 15, 2014, President Peña Nieto asked the Supreme Court to intervene in four states that not aligned their laws with the ones approved by the federal Congress. Two other constitutional disputes were presented on April 30, and another three on May 21.

Sixth, on July 12, 2014 SEP and the INEE realized the First National Contest for the Teacher Professional Service. The goal was to select teachers for around 15,000 teaching posts in primary and junior secondary education. The government call had a tumultuous response; almost 150,000 individuals with teacher credentials participated in the contest. Although some irregularities were reported, the examination was welcomed by many teachers without relatives working in the system and for professionals that otherwise had not a single opportunity to enter into the teaching profession (Notimex, 2014).

In sum, the top-down model of policy execution produced tangible results; not necessarily in terms of improving education—at least not yet—but in terms of the management of the basic education system.[2] The educational reform is foremost a statement of the national political system to reinvest control of education, to wrestle power from SNTE and to discipline the state governors who refuse to follow central policy. The constitution amendment and the new two bylaws stipulate a new distribution of power (Bensusán & Tapia, 2014); a reorganization of labour relations (Alcalde Justiniani, 2014); defines a new model of school and teachers' profile (Santizo Rodall, 2014); and imposes a system of punitive evaluation on teachers (Fuentes Molinar, 2013). In addition, the secretary of Public Education announced a global and inclusive plan to strengthen public teachers colleges (Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2014). Everything was designed and coordinated by SEP.

As in the rest of the world, the reforms affect group benefits, the interests of political sectors and the comfort zones of traditional teachers. Each of these actors raised barriers to the restructuring impetus of the Federal Government. In order to implement these changes the President fought a series of political battles. He

[2]The following paragraphs are based on evidence that I have collected over 25 years of research in basic education, countless conversations with teachers, principals and supervisors in various parts of the country. The typology is inspired in Weber's 'Sociology of Domination' (Weber, 1964).

disciplined the state governors and the part of SNTE that was under the leadership of Elba Esther Gordillo, but it seems to have lost his direction in dealing with CNTE.

Resistance to the Education Reform

The reforms have a centralist orientation. The Federal Government monopolizes all political control. Consequently, the reform ends with all federalist rhetoric and contradicts the bases of ANMEB. It also eliminates the idea that pacts between the government and the Union leadership will help to resolve problems. The legal formulation and the official discourse openly criticize ACE. The Pact for Mexico contained the centralist project broadly defined. Despite some grumbling a majority of the federal Congress welcomed it. This was not true of the state governments and their congresses, as the reforms to the Government Accountability Act dismantled certain "feudal" relationships, which had been instituted by the state governors.

The state governors were not considered in the deliberations leading up to the proposal for the Pact for Mexico. Inasmuch as the designers of the Pact saw the state governors as part of the problem, not as agents of change, nobody consulted them about the reforms. The governors themselves were not enthusiastic about the education reform but they did ask for more resources. In a meeting of the board of governors, the governor of Tabasco, Arturo Núñez, read the petition:

> We respectfully request the Secretariat of Public Education and the Secretariat of Finance the revision of the financing scheme and the increase of the amount of the Contribution Fund for Basic Education (FAEB), which should be considered in the Expenditure Budget (Conferencia Nacional de Gobernadores, 2013).

The response of President Peña Nieto was that the federal government would take back control of payments to the education workforce and of other funds. The President then proposed and the Congress accepted to amend the Law of Fiscal Coordination to end FAEB, which had been used to transfer funds to the states to pay their educational salaries (Poder Ejecutivo Federal, 2014). As of January 2015, SEP and the Secretary of Finance are in charge of teachers' payroll.

In fewer than 70 years, three different cliques have dominated SNTE with strong bosses (caciques) in command. The last of these caciques was Elba Esther Gordillo, appointed as general secretary of SNTE in April 1989 by President Salinas de Gortari, not by members of the union. She became a powerful political player in Mexican politics. For instance, in 2003, she was the political leader of SNTE, the general secretary of PRI and the head of the PRI faction on the Chamber simultaneously. She was excluded from the PRI when she formed an alliance with President Vicente Fox from PAN, and began working actively to create her own political party. She made SNTE her base, changed its statutes and proclaimed herself its lifetime President (Hernández Navarro, 2011).

She and her group obtained many concessions from the PAN presidents, including high political posts, such as the management of the pension funds of the federal

bureaucracy and the post for Undersecretary for Basic Education. Mos. Gordillo placed her son-in-law in that position while other loyal cadres of SNTE were appointed as director generals in the same Under secretariat (Raphael, 2007). The position of Undersecretary became a colonized territory within SEP, with a high degree of autonomy from the three Secretaries of Public Education during the Felipe Calderón Administration.

According to the press, Mos. Gordillo wanted to meet with President-elect Peña Nieto but he refused to see her. She was famous for her political acumen. Yet, this time her instincts failed her. Furthermore, as soon as President Peña Nieto announced the reforms on education, she launched a vociferous attack on the government and refused to meet with the Secretary of Public Education, Emilio Chuayffet. He was the leading politician who had expelled her from PRI. Early in 2013, she called for the National Drive for the Defence of the Public School and its Teachers (Del Valle, 2014). Based on careful documentation of her corruption, President Peña Nieto ordered her arrest. She was jailed the very same day that the reforms to Articles 3 and 73 of the Constitution were published in the official periodical of the Federal Government, February 26, 2013.

All charges against Mos. Gordillo were founded on hard evidence. The police investigation had been carried out in secrecy, and when she was arrested the government launched a well-mounted media and press campaign against her. The political rewards for the President were great. A poll showed that 86% of individuals interviewed agreed with the imprisonment of Mos. Gordillo, and that 74% of teachers believed that she did not represent the interests of the rank-and-file teachers (Beltrán & Cruz, 2013). The Federal Police detained Mos. Gordillo the day before she was to preside over a meeting of the National Council of SNTE and the project of a national teachers' mobilization to revoke the constitutional amendments.

In contrast, the President acted cautiously against the radical moves of CNTE teachers. To face the reforms, CNTE exercised its favourite instrument: direct action, including mass mobilization, wildcat strikes, and blocking public buildings and roads. The press reported that CNTE and other protesters threatened a national schools strike. In 2013 they mobilized against the reforms. In early April, a portion of its membership took the highway from Mexico City to Acapulco, just at the beginning of the spring break. April 4, witnessed the first demonstration against the reform. The next day, thousands of protesters tried to reach the Secretariat of Government (Segob). May 9 witnessed the establishment of a protest camp in the Zócalo of Mexico City, in front of the National Palace. Protestors remained there until the Federal Police evicted them on September 13, 2013.

With these tactics, CNTE got results. Dissidents in Oaxaca obtained perks from Segob and the state government. On September 19, 2013 the government approved the application of the Program for the Transformation of Education supported by CNTE in Oaxaca. This Program contradicts the main aspects of the Peña Nieto reform. The Administration pledged to safeguard the existence of the Teachers Colleges of Oaxaca, incorporating 1.5 thousand teachers with temporary chairs (which could be obtained either through inheritance or purchase). In addition, both

the federal and state governments agreed to pay a bonus and lost salaries to those teachers who were on strike (Baptista, Gómez, & Jiménez, 2013).

CNTE's masterstroke came in November 2013. CNTE had managed to soften Segob and so the scope of the educational reform would be minimized in Oaxaca. *Reforma* reported that the Undersecretary of Government, Luis Enrique Miranda, agreed with leaders of CNTE that they would participate in developing criteria for the evaluation in their state. Segob also agreed that these groups would participate in the definition of criteria to enter and be promoted in the teaching profession. Another agreement was that, with or without a permanent post, any in-service teacher, could not be dismissed as a result of poor performance (Del Valle, 2013).

So far, the struggles of dissident teachers have shown the weakness of the Mexican state and the lack of political coherence of the federal government. The President was able to control the majority of SNTE because he relied on his constitutional powers. On the other hand it appears that President Peña Nieto was imploring CNTE to accept his reforms. This limit on his power resulted in his partial failure to deliver outcomes that strengthen the reform. The concessions to CNTE may end up abolishing the reforms.

Perspectives on the Reform: Failure and Success

Many analysts foresee more failure than success in this Mexican education reform. The risks of failure are great. Not only did dissident teachers put obstacles to its enactment, but other emerging issues acted against its full implementation. Of course there are shortcomings in the execution, including lack of financial resources and unanticipated problems, such as the killing of three people and three students of the Rural Teachers College of Ayotzinapa, and the kidnapping and disappearance of another 43 students in Iguala, Guerrero at the end of September 2014. Although the government was shocked by these incidents, it did not have an adequate response to the legitimate protest of the parents of the disappeared students or the nationwide demonstrators. The evidence that the municipal police were agents of the drug lords of the region resulted in a loss of trust in government and lack of success in the structural reforms it proposed. It was not until the 28 of November that the President announced a reorganization of all state police as a means of reasserting authority and regaining public trust.

However, trying to foresee the angles for attainment of the reforms on education, the exercise of political power can balance the odds. After all political power can be defined as the ability of certain actors in positions of authority to impose strategies and visions (of education, for example) that can generate opposition, but also consensus and credibility to those actors and institutions that are in charge of applying those strategies (Machiavelli, 2003; original en 1513).

Hans Weiler (2007) argues that states (the politicians who govern at some stage, more precisely) tend to maximize the political gains arising from designing and from appearing to implement educational reforms, while trying to minimize the political

costs associated with carrying them through (Weiler, 2007). Peña Nieto has risked his political capital betting on the structural reforms. Although the Constitutional amendments do not have many consequences as yet, they propose a new framework for the exercise of power.

With the re-centralization of payment to teachers in the SEP, the government can influence the professional careers of teachers. To deal with opponents, it can use legal remedies, such as the arrest of leaders of CNTE with pending issues, and gradually limiting their power; use the processes of evaluation and control of financial resources to reduce to a minimum SNTE corruption; and to discipline governors by controlling financial resources through the Fund for Contributions to Educational Payroll and Operational Expenditures, the device that substitutes FAEB. It is possible to think that a bureaucratic rationale exercised by the Central government will improve the management of basic education and that spending will be more transparent. The most important tool, however, is that SEP retain control over the salaries of teachers who commit violations or conduct wildcat strikes. No governor has that power.

For Ginsburg and Cooper (2007) the lack of correspondence between rhetoric and action is the result of an elite group lacking commitment to change. In such cases, rhetoric functions as a "placebo". The "teeth" of those reforms are obvious. Although initially it had problems, the System of information and educational management that has already been designed will provide reliable data on schools, teachers, and students. It is possible that in the four remaining years of the Peña Nieto administration, SEP will be able to clean the payroll, shorten the amount of *aviadores*, rationalize the tasks of technical pedagogical advisors, expel undesirable staff from the supervisor offices, and limit the number of teachers commissioned to SNTE. If the government institutes these actions, the reform will offer a real remedy to the state of education in Mexico.

Using incentives to encourage voluntary retirement or through bureaucratic pressure, SEP can renew the supervisory staff by means of competition. Optimist scholars would hope that these new supervisors would be independent of any of the cliques of SNTE and would encourage the promotion of a rational vision for the education professions. Promoting teachers to become principals would also encourage competition as the rules begin to change.

Other views emphasize the resistance to change by some traditional educational actors. Torsten Husen (2007) claims that the common problem of school systems of modern societies is the bureaucratic "cement coverage" that stifles innovative spirit. In the same paper Husen argues that when the education reforms are accompanied by other changes in the political environment, the conditions for success may improve. The education reform was the spearhead of other ten structural reforms that altered the institutional landscape of Mexico.

However, as Husen (2007) said, the guild culture is a difficult matter to eradicate, the patrimonial habits and ways of doing things of teachers have a strong proven lineage. Yet, here too there is progress, though perhaps slower and minor. The

consultation forums convened by SEP represented the first link between the authorities and ordinary teachers. For the basis of discussion, it is noticeable that SEP both sought to lead, but also to win the good faith of teachers. The discussion concentrated on topics such as collaborative teaching, scaffolding, teacher teams to advance in their professional development, lifelong learning context for educators, and establishing educational programs adequate to the needs of the teachers and their schools.

According to press reports, in the realization of the forums, guest speakers and volunteer presenters focused on the issues set by SEP, though some speakers went off topic and were very critical of the government policies. Nevertheless, they were not censored. Many teachers got involved in the discussions and, although in the teacher training colleges' forums most of the papers had a defensive tone, the edges of the reform are reaching a language acceptable to most educators. Not that these behaviours will consolidate the lines of the reform, still the government acquires legitimacy, and this enables SEP to advance its cause. These are the three groups of teachers, principals and supervisors who may be convinced to become allies of the reform.[3]

The first group consists of the many good teachers that populate the educational system, even if they entered by questionable means, because they had no other way. They support the reforms since they are convinced of the benefits of change, they are aware that schools are not working well, they know their institutional weaknesses and are willing to work for a change that promotes the learning of children. These teachers are dedicated, care about what happens around them and actually want a quality school where everyone works and does their duty. But they would like a greater degree of autonomy.

The second group is composed of teachers and administrators who are in favour of the government by convenience and therefore are willing to adjust their labour habits to the new requirements. They know that the new rules will entail sanctions that may leave them outside the incentive schemes replacing the one that was administered by SNTE. These people play by the rules of the game. If the rules change, they change their behaviour. Among this group are the thousands of educational technical advisors (teachers commissioned to work at a school but not in front of a group, in the computer classroom, for instance) but who see a way to regularize their employment. Now they depend on the will of section SNTE leaders for employment.

A heterogeneous set of teachers and school principals compose the third group. They follow reform because they are accustomed to following orders and maintain a loyalty to the government. Many of these teachers are convinced PRI militants.

With these segments in support of the reforms, the political patronage culture will not be eliminated, but SEP may impose some order to the system. There are certain

[3]This chapter is based on an ongoing research project about education reforms in the early twenty-first century. I used data and portions of the literature review from papers I delivered at conferences. I am grateful for the critical review of Ana Rosario Loera and I thank Dianne and Nicholas Sadnytzky for their editorial assistance.

possibilities that legal reforms perhaps may make their way to the *sanctum* of education: the classroom.

The centralization of education will deprive state governors the tools to cope with local demands for education, or claims from the regional sections of SNTE asking for more teaching posts, more paid days of work, or other benefits for the leaders like vehicles charged to the public budget, or extra funds for holidays and raffles for the Day of the Teacher. The educational reform implies a tremendous institutional change towards centralization that will alter the prevailing power structure in the education sector.

However, Mexico is still far from achieving an education system with personalized learning; teachers as change-makers; responsive instruction; professional learning communities; systemic and sustainable leadership; and personal and professional responsibility for student learning, as Hargreaves and Shirley (2012) propose as the pinnacle of a democratic educational reform. However, it would be worthwhile to fight for such a goalmouth.

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Chapter 10
The Internationalization of Higher Education in the West Indies

Patrick Coggins

Abstract This chapter examines critically the history, contributions of, and current status of Higher Education in the West Indies, also known as the Caribbean Region. This chapter explores and evaluates the historical development the shifts in control and the contemporary status of access and control of higher education in the Caribbean, and the British West Indies. The chapter demonstrates that the West Indies Higher Education system has created a stable niche market in international education, not only for students, who are citizens of the various countries in the West Indies, but also for students throughout the world.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history, contributions of, and current status of Higher Education in the West Indies, also known as the Caribbean Region. The focus of this chapter is limited to the British West Indies where there was more documented evidence of attempts to successfully implement an elementary, secondary and tertiary system which included colleges and universities in higher education. The colonialization process saw the initial institutions limiting their admission to children of the colonial overseers while the number of local citizens were few. The result of colonization meant the West Indies became an important economic fixture to global empires. Then came the independence movements in the West Indies which successfully earned the right to self-governance, independence and the creation of new nations in such places as Barbados, Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica, Virgin Islands, Belize, formerly British Honduras, Grenada, and Cayman Islands to mention a few. The challenge for the West Indies nations has been to encourage financial and other support from the former colonial powers but at the same time working hard to establish a higher education system which is international in its curriculum and an attractive alternative for students from the United States of

P. Coggins (✉)
Stetson University, DeLand, FL, USA
e-mail: pcoggins@stetson.edu

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America, Canada, Europe, Latin America, and throughout the Caribbean. They also strive to support each other's economic welfare in a global context as the region experiences renewed international focus as they become globalized entities through an abundant tourism industry and real estate market attracting the economic forces of the US and Canada.

Spanish Colonial Education

Since the fifteenth century the European powers governed colonial holdings in the Americas and the West Indies, and these powers included the British, the French, the Dutch, and Spanish. The idea of higher education was debated heatedly. It was a topic of great political debate especially since during the colonial period, education policy was dictated by the home country with little say from the people living in these colonies. Governors abided by the rules of their home governments, and limited active attempts were made at creating a higher education system or more basically a formal elementary and secondary education system in the colonies under the control of the colonial government were made. However, after the foundation of the first European colonies the colonial powers began exploring education options for their settlers already in the New World (Roberts, Rodriguez Cruz, & Herbst, 1996, p. 256). Since the colonial powers' saw the need to create both a basic education as well as a tertiary one in order to develop a core group of well-educated colonists overseas.

In the early 1500s however, European countries began shipping over slaves from West Africa to help settle and work plantations in their Caribbean colonies. The original African slaves were brought over to help the Spanish procure precious sugar for the rum supplies, since the natives they had enslaved were dying off rapidly by disease and exhaustive work (Globe Fearon, 19). To counter this dying group, the Spanish began bringing over African slaves to the New World. This process of slave trade was proposed in 1503 by Bartolome de las Casas who recommended Africans be brought to the Americas to replace their dying native populaces (Roberts et al., 1996, p. 258). These enslaved African populations soon began to grow rapidly, and the African diaspora began to spread throughout the Caribbean in places such as Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, and the Cayman Islands. With this in mind, universities and education in the New World became a necessity in order to create a stable educated middle class who were capable of managing the affairs of various countries in the West Indies.

One of the first universities in the New World appeared in 1538, when Spain ordered for the creation of the Universidad de San Domingo, a private university specializing in law and theological education in San Domingo, Dominican Republic (Roberts et al., 1996, p. 218). It had a population of over 150 students all seeking studies in Spanish law and Catholic missionary work. However this university, like

most others to follow it, would be open only to Europeans with no attempts to educate and include students from the native local population.

The Spanish were the first European powers to begin opening universities in their colonies throughout the 1500s. A distinct difference should be noted between the European nations at the time competing for colonial control in the region. By the late sixteenth century the Spanish gained immense wealth through mining minerals while sugar and slave trading merely added more to the bustling Spanish colonial economy. Spanish colonial society was also distinctly European. Many colonists lived in large urban cities such as Havana or San Juan, with very European architecture and a very heavy Spanish influence. One might even mistake the location in the Caribbean for Spain itself (Roberts et al., 1996, p. 231).

The British and the Dutch had vastly different systems. Whereas the Spanish were churning out wealth where they could, mostly through mining gold and silver in their colonies in South America and Mexico, the British and the Dutch stuck mostly to plantation economies to bring wealth to the homeland throughout the early to mid-1600s. The British however had the 13 American colonies to the north, as well as Canada giving them equal resources and opportunities for trade and wealth as the Spanish (Williams, 1964, p. 97). On the other hand, the Spanish and the British stuck to restoring academia in places where it better suited them: in mostly white-majority settlements like the North and South American colonies. These included the Spanish colonies of New Granada, Peru, and Colombia.

Early Colonial Attempts for a University System

As the centuries past, more and more universities founded by Europeans for Europeans sprung up across the colonies such as the University of Lima in Peru in 1551, Santo Tomas in Bogota in 1580, and Quito in 1586. But as time went on, the European population grew very little in places such as the West Indies where slave populations exploded. Even with a booming slave population, thousands of slaves were brought over every year from West Africa. The educational system continued to support Europeans above all. The only education slaves were given were from their masters or from the missionary services that taught them biblical and theological information, rather than civic law and literature (Cobley, 2000, p. 2).

Much of the education the Europeans brought to the New World tended to be religious in nature and definition. This remains true with the first higher education institution in the British West Indies which was known as Codrington College. The college was named after Christopher Codrington III (1668–1710) the main benefactor of the college. He was born on a wealthy plantation in St. Michaels and rose up through colonial society. As a young man he joined the British Army and served as an officer before returning to Barbados to succeed his father as Governor General of the Leeward Islands. Later on, he gave up the position of Governor and retired,

giving most of his wealth to the college before his death on April 7, 1710. As it was Codrington's desire to Christianize the slaves in Barbados, the college followed its benefactor's wishes and began opening its classes for theological courses and education in missionary studies.

Codrington College, established in Barbados in 1743, was primarily opened for the training and educating of Anglican priests. The major concern for Europeans up until the mid-1700s was the retaining of religious authority over native and slave populations. Missionaries became the most educated individuals in the Caribbean (Cobley, 2000, p. 2). While native Indians and Africans received limited formal elementary education beyond repeating verses in the Bible. As the population grew and more European settlers arrived into Barbados, the college sought to provide general education courses to White middle-class colonists. It also provided courses in philosophy and mathematics, though by 1759 the college was geared largely toward the sons of the White plantation-owning gentry whose sons might have otherwise left for England for their educations. The college continued serving the gentry until 1830, when the Anglican Church ordered to have it converted to its first purely theological college predating Chichester College in England (1839), and Wells College (1840).

Codrington College remained a primarily White institution for most of the eighteenth century, however as populations continued to grow, colonists in the West Indies and the British Caribbean began turning their attention away from basic agricultural needs and religious welfare and began seeking a method of a cadre of people equipped through training in maintaining a civil society (Williams, 1964, p. 107). The Spanish universities in Latin America and the Caribbean were superior in training lawyers, doctors, and other civil servants and maintained a stable colonial society. The British sought to create a civil colonial society in the West Indies throughout the late eighteenth century. This source of higher education was based primarily on the European system of colleges and universities.

In the British American Colonies, higher education was vastly much more developed and advanced than the simple missionary-religious education of the Caribbean region. Glenford Howe suggests that this is due to the fact that the American colonies had greater interests, greater resources, and a much larger population seeking higher education opportunities. By 1750 the American colonies had nine universities, a majority in North America. These included Harvard College, in Massachusetts, King's College in New York City, the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and Queen's College in Rutgers, New Jersey. It is believed that the neglect and underdevelopment of universities in the Southern colonies including the West Indies due in part to a much more agrarian society mixed with a large slave population (Howe, 2000, p. 4).The colonial elites felt it unnecessary to focus higher education for skilled careers such as medicine and law in areas that were in higher demand for farmers and planters. Another factor to consider is the few university alumni that existed within the Caribbean colonies compared to the Americas. Howe suggests by 1750 there were fewer than 150 total graduates of European universities settled in the West Indies, compared to 2000 or more in the New York Colony alone.

The vast degrees of separation between them would make founding a colonial university much harder in the West Indies. Thus, the need for a higher education system in the Caribbean became a pragmatic decision for everyone.

Laying the Foundations for Higher Education in the West Indies

In 1808, the Universal Declaration of Slavery ended the formal slave trade between Africa and the Atlantic colonies (Banks, 2009, 24). By 1830 the political idea of slavery had begun to change from an economic to a moral issue. Finally, in 1834, Parliament voted to abolish slavery everywhere it had existed throughout the British Empire (Cobley, 2000, p. 5). This came some 30 years before the United States of America would do the same in 1863. With the legal abolition of slavery massive slave populations in the Caribbean found their freedom and quickly became the majority citizenry in the colonies.

Following the emancipation of slavery in the America in 1865, the British government began looking at what they could do to maintain order and establish a civil colonial society that would help bring these populations on track. Despite the fierce backlash from European settlers and former slave owners, there were repeated attempts to form a university in the West Indies for the purpose of training and educating these free populations for active roles in civil societies throughout the West Indies (Morrison, 2014, p. 27). Though the planter elite still managed to keep these fledgling freed slaves down for years. The plan was set in motion to initiate a system of higher education that was tailored to the freed slaves. That would create an educated class among both the European and African and Native Indian populations.

Earliest Development of Higher Education in the West Indies

One of the earliest attempts for a West Indian higher education institution came from English Bishop John Berkeley. In 1843, Berkeley called for Bermuda to be transformed, and in a way internationalized the school, to house a major university for both the Caribbean and American students. Although this never happened immediately, it nonetheless helped fuel the support for a "Negro Education Grant" passed by Parliament to help support missionary societies in educating freed slaves (Cobley, 2000, p. 3).

Christian missionary societies provided the backbone in education to colonial civil society in the West Indies for a time. Due to the West Indies being less developed than their North and South American counterparts, the West Indies were forced to rely on Christian missionaries to bring medicine and civic and

vocational education to the colonies through educated Europeans taught in European vocational universities. These missionary societies were often structured around a central parish established on the colony in hopes of growing through converting masses of locals to the dominant religious perspective.

With the debate on how to handle higher education still raging, the job fell on the Christian missionary societies in the West Indies to support the education system until the home government could find a way to settle the issue by making higher education a priority. Thus in 1843, the Baptist Missionary Society pooled funds to help found Calabar College in Jamaica to train ministers from throughout the world including the Caribbean and South America (Howe, 2000, p. 9). In 1844, Calabar was transformed to help support nondenominational education and the curriculum include to whole teaching a range of secular subjects. However calls from the British government to establish a strictly nondenominational, government-funded university were addressed with great excitement and determination to develop a higher education system was for all residents alike.

In London in 1844, colonial authorities met to discuss how to properly handle the education issue. It became clear the colonial government wanted to institute a system to control the newly freed black population while the national government wanted to give opportunities to these populations beyond unskilled agricultural labor. Thus, in 1868, the government dispatched Patrick Joseph Keenan, chief of the Inspection Board for Education in Ireland for the British government, to the West Indies to assess the state of education in Trinidad (Cobley, 2000, p. 6). When he returned in 1869, he reported to the government that the lack of educational opportunities in the British colonies concerned him and that the current method of providing higher education to only the colonists was inefficient and not cost-effective. For years colonists and native citizens had to send their children halfway around the world to gain a college education, spending years and fortunes separated from their children in order for them to gain an education in Europe. The prospects to living at home while being educated was certainly a desire of everyone who lived in the Caribbean at the time.

The Keenan Report and Its Impact on Higher Education

Patrick Keenan had been the Commissioner of Education for Ireland at a crucial period in the history of his country. During the Potato Famine of 1850, many of the people who spoke Gaelic Irish died out as a result of the famine. When the British entered the nation's political sphere to alleviate the calamity, the Gaelic died off and English became the primary language of the Irish (Gordan, 1962, p. 4). Keenan was responsible for ensuring the education system in Ireland transformed to meet these new changes. But this was due to the British imposing secular schooling on the Irish

population, something that many Catholics, who sent their children to Catholic schools, and nationalists who did not want to see their country turn into replicas of British subjects. Rather, Ireland transformed economically and the Anglicized secular education system reinvigorated the middle class. Ireland was back to prosperity by 1865 and so was a new sense of urgency for the development of a substantive education system that benefited many.

To the Ministry of Education, Trinidad and Ireland were in the same position. Trinidad had a rising middle class hampered only by their limited educational opportunities. When Keenan arrived in Trinidad, a colony in the West Indies, he observed the primarily religious and vocational education the local colonists were emphasizing its educational system (Gordan, 1962, p. 5).

As such, Keenan continued his stay in Trinidad, and his report back to London was filled with a litany of shocking reports on the limitation of the educational system in the West Indian colony. During his stay, Keenan had become sensitive to the multiracial fabric of the West Indies. This influenced Keenan however to push for separate schooling, similar to the segregated education of White and Black youths in the American South during the twentieth century. Keenan detailed in his report that he felt Indian children and African children were both of high intellectual caliber, but together the Black and White populations would be unable to compete with their Indian counterparts. Thus, Keenan pushed for segregated public schooling for the middle and lower-class people divided by race, and proposed estate-sponsored schools, funded by the money of key planters on the islands, for the children of the upper echelon of colonial society.

Ultimately however, Patrick Keenan wanted to save the people, and the government, money by localizing colonial higher education (Gordan, 1962, p. 7). His reports were greatly appreciated on behalf of the Ministry of Education, who continued to fund his commission until he returned to England in 1870. The Keenan Report elaborated on the need for the colonies to have a university in the West Indies to properly train and build up colonial society through educational opportunities. The report criticized the local elites' control over education and the opportunities for the people to seek it within their homeland. Thus, he made the first request for a European-style university to be built in the West Indies. However, the Colonial Ministry failed to acquiesce to the Keenan Report and no funds were provided for the next decade. For much of the next two decades the responsibility for higher education would rest in the territorial government to create such an institution.

The Keenan Report greatly impacted the traditional view of colonial education. Though the Ministry of Education in London failed to realize this, efforts began within the colonies themselves to begin funding schools to increase their educational opportunities for all peoples in the society (Gordan, 1962, p. 6). Although London preferred to have higher-level students attend educations in Oxford and Cambridge, the colonists continued to look for options to begin the foundation of a homeland education system. Keenan continued to advocate that opening a university in the

West Indies region would save money for both the colonies and the British government in the long run, but London ignored his requests. The colonies however, embraced them.

Initial Failures in Implementing the Higher Education System in Jamaica

In 1873, the colonial government of Jamaica attempted to launch a public university. However, due to lack of funds and opposition within the colonial government, the opposition movement forced the governor of Jamaica to abandon the project. Efforts in 1876 were also made in Barbados where Anglican Bishop Mitchinson tried to convince the colonial legislature to pool funds together for a scholarship to allow a couple of the highest achieving students in Barbados to attend the universities of Oxford or Cambridge in order to achieve a higher education (Howe, 2000, p. 7).

Similar scholarships were granted to the governments of Jamaica and Trinidad. For a time these scholarships became highly sought after by many students in the West Indies, but time proved them to be inefficient and costly. Another affect this had was that it allowed the European elite to exclusively take advantage of these scholarships to send their children off for free, while West Indian students were forced to undergo stricter testing and unfair academic standards which combined to limit access to higher education opportunities.

Attempts once again were made in 1889 and 1898 to fund a university for the territories in the West Indies. Although, neither proved successful, the colonial governments had sought to allow students who could not access scholarships to Oxford or Cambridge to take secular-based classes at Codrington College, these being sponsored by the University of Durham (Cobley, 2000, p. 7). In 1876, the colonial governments of the West Indies sought instead to develop an internal/local education system in the West Indies rather than shipping their students off to study at external campuses in England and France. When the link between Codrington in Barbados and Durham became well-publicized throughout the academic world in 1878, it became clear Codrington was becoming the best option for indigent West Indian students as they could achieve university-level degrees without having to travel across the world to do so.

It took several decades between 1880 and 1900, but the idea for a regional university in the British Caribbean would lose popularity for a time as economic crises began to take hold throughout the territories. The decline of sugar output in these territories began a period of economic and social stagnation. During this interim, the only publically supported higher education institution throughout this region was a public teacher training college in Jamaica with just a few hundred students in the late 1880s (Morrison, 2014, p. 29). Not until after WWI would the idea once again be revived with new energy to develop a university system geared to the children of both colonial parents and indigenous African and other non-white ethnic populations.

Impact of WWI on Higher Education in the Caribbean: 1914–1929

In 1914, the First World War produced many devastating results to the British Empire. Though Britain maintained superior political and military might to her enemy's the war distracted the nation from maintaining its colonial affairs in the Western Hemisphere as well as deal with the threat of the Central Powers in Europe and in its colonial holdings in Africa and the Middle East. Entire government budgets were stripped down to fund the war effort, and millions of Britons and colonists from across the world enlisted to fight for the Empire.

Though Britain arose victorious alongside France and the United States, the First World War showed the British government just how fragile the Empire really was. WWI brought to an end the Age of Colonialism in which European powers, as well as the United States, were taking over less developed regions and absorbing them into their empire, extrapolating resources for trade. The war ended that period. Nations like France and Britain had given everything to fight the war only to find that their empires were now on the edge of collapsing politically and economically (Downes, 2013, p. 7).

Beginning in 1919, the British government reexamined its policies in its colonies, especially the West Indies, to find solutions to make their policies toward their territories more consistent and comprehensive with regards to self-government (Williams, 1964, p. 119). The general view was that Britain would do whatever it took to keep the Empire alive politically and economically. This meant they needed to legitimize and maintain political control over their colonies, but to do so they needed their colonies to be stabilized and happy to live under British rule. Their first step was to conduct an overhaul of civil services in the colonies and specifically education for the masses of people living in the colonies. This included a policy that developed and sustained an elementary, secondary, and tertiary educational system.

The Acquiescence to Establish a Second College

The British government, finally acquiescing to the demands of their citizens in the West Indies, agreed to establish the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA) in Trinidad in 1921 (Cobley, 2000, p. 6). This became the second institution of higher education in the region after Codrington College. After 1921, attitudes toward a university for the region became much more open. By 1923, there was a shift in attitudes by the British government to allocate funding for such a venture. The British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, created by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was formed in response to American interest in opening up a similar university in West and South Africa (Gift & Bell-Hutchinson, 2007, pp. 145–157). Although their focus was originally on elementary to high school

education, considerations were raised about opening a multipurpose university in the region in order to address the tertiary educational needs of all of citizens in the Caribbean region.

By 1926, the internationalization of higher education again took root. The British Colonial Office was looking to open similar universities throughout the British Empire. They did this for multiple reasons. First, they wished to offer higher education opportunities to help train indigenous citizens on how to deal with local issues as the war had reduced the number of experienced colonial administrators. These indigenous citizens would go on to serve as lawyers, doctors, and civil servants trained in the colonies within a British system. Secondly, government authorities were growing concerned about the rising political consciousness of the colonial elites as they sought further autonomy and self-reliance following the World War I. Another great fear was that shipping students from the territories such as West Africa and the Caribbean to places like Oxford and Cambridge would only fuel their nationalist sentiments (Downes, 2013, p. 8). This would lead to more trouble as they had the possibility of returning home as well educated revolutionaries educated by the British themselves. Thirdly, the British government feared bringing in foreign colonials into the motherland as racial tensions increased in the British Isles and possessions including the British West Indies.

Throughout the First World War the British were quick to accept the aid of Africans, Indians, and West Indians to fight for them. However, these units were split into separate fighting units led by British commanders and there were no intermixing of these units. After the war tensions which were thought subsided quickly grew once more. With the war over the Great Depression loomed over the Empire. The British soon began restricting brown and black people from acquiring jobs in a shrinking job market and banned them from civil positions in Great Britain (Ajayi, Goma, & Johnson, p. 55). Race riots ensued in 1919 and 1920, and attempts were made to repatriate the brown and black colonials residing in Britain and restrict the entry of African and Indian colonials from entering Britain (Cobley, 2000, p. 8). Britain continued to fear the worst, as they were scared to see what would happen in the colonies when news got back of Indian and African citizens were assaulted in street riots and deported from the nation they had fought for. Students especially began expressing their concerns toward the situation and many expressed the need for more education and self-determination in their homelands.

Racial Discrimination Against Blacks and Colored Colonial Citizens

By 1921, students began writing letters of complaint to the Colonial Office and the Ministry of Education to protest treatment they received. Many of these students were upcoming doctors and lawyers completing their training and readying to return home. Students form interest groups such as the Coloured People's League and the

West African Students Union to ensure their voices were heard. Their letters spoke to the Colonial Office, and told them that the negative racial treatment they received in Britain would have far-reaching effects for the Empire (Ajayi & Goma, 1996, p. 67). Thus, Parliament passed legislation to protect the rights of colonial students studying in Britain, but by then the damage had been done. The British Colonial Office expressed that they had set the hopes of these colonials too high and there was nothing more they could do. It would take half a decade to realize their mistake. It only fueled the nationalist sentiments of those students who would return to lead independence movements in the Caribbean, India, and Africa over the next two decades. The main focus of these movements were (1) internal self-governance, (2) economic and political control of economic resources, and (3) a dynamic educational system that includes elementary, secondary, and tertiary education as a basic right for all citizens. The impetus for the development of a series of higher education institutions in the West Indies became the focal point of British policy.

The Real Reason Universities/Higher Education Developed in the West Indies

This unfair treatment also spurred the British government to consider finally giving funds to establish a university college in the West Indies. This was brought about by the results of two reports. The first was the Mayhew-Marriott Report in 1932 which spoke about the systems of elementary, secondary, and vocational education in the Caribbean. They noted that a great deal of cooperation existed between the countries in the West Indies. Noting this exchange between the colonies the Colonial Office agreed to oversee the development of a university for the region funded and supported by local provisions (Singham & Braithwaite, 1965, pp. 79–80). It was clear that this report stated that the future of the region's stability within the British Empire depended upon the development of a tertiary university system of education. Although this may have been done to lessen the number of foreign students arriving in Britain and attending British universities, this establishment of an alternative higher education system in the region where West Indian students lived was well intentioned and proved to be a positive and rational decision.

Although the British government wished for the colonies to pay for their education themselves this attitude changed in the latter half of the 1930s as race riots and anti-colonial sentiments swept the British Empire. It became clear colonial citizens could not afford an Oxford education on their own without government assistance. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the West Indies where race riots broke out through the islands as the black working class protested wages. A Royal Commission under Lord Moyne was sent to the West Indies in 1938 to find the root cause of these riots (UWI: History, 2014, p. 3). His report back to the British government suggested sweeping political and administrative reforms to the colonial authority, as well as improved educational systems and the establishment of a Colonial Welfare

and Development Fund, an international bank of sorts for the British colonies. The British government saw overhauling colonial policy as an urgent matter if the Empire wanted to survive and this overall must include a sound higher education system for the indigenous populations in the countries in the West Indies.

In response to this report, the British government began laying the groundworks for a University College of the West Indies (UWI: History, 2014, p. 2). However in 1938, it was still under the assumption that a university in the region would still be controlled for the White colonial elites of the islands. This all changed with the outbreak of World War II and the revolutionary desire of the native Blacks and Brown people to ensure that education was a fundamental right for all not just a few White elites. This innate desire to receive a good quality higher education became the battle cry for many native populations living under British colonial rule.

The Second World War and the Founding of UCWI: 1939–1948

The Second World War changed the world irreversibly, in both good and bad ways. It also brought the world, and the British Empire, into the rapidity of modernity. When the outbreak of WWII ravaged Europe, Great Britain found itself as the underdog against the mighty war machine of Germany in Western Europe, and the overwhelmingly superior numbers of the Japanese Empire in the Pacific Theatre.

In Europe, Britain was isolated and fighting a defensive air war against waves of German bomber squadrons. The Germany military had sealed off Europe from the sea preventing any major actions by the British on land until the United States entered the war in 1942 and began sending its troops overseas and supplying and leading the Allied war effort.

In the Pacific however, the British were losing in large numbers. Their troops were scattered trying to defend far-flung colonies, and with no way to send reinforcements en masse outside of Britain they were forced to turn toward their colonies in the New World for help.

Oddly enough, it was WWII that was the launching pad not just for the University of the West Indies, but also movement propelled by the feeling of self-government and independence as well. A regional university for not just White elites, but local West Indians as well, would become a focal avenue for independence (UWI: History, 2014, p. 4).

As the war dragged on, the British continually requested assistance from their West Indian colonies. But they were made to pay a price. For the furthered assistance of the colonies, the West Indies demanded increased self-rule and devolution of government in the Caribbean meaning they had a greater say in their own affairs free of the constraints of British rule. The British were forced to concede to many rising nationalist demands in order to keep the colonies within the Empire long enough for them to survive the war (Williams, 1964, p. 121). One of them was for a University

in the West Indies opened not just for elites but for all native people. To prevent the colonies from falling out of their hands and causing mass protests and riots, the British agreed to many demands in order to prevent nationalist leaders from leading rallies which they feared would lead to uprisings and weakening of Britain's influence in the colonies.

As the war progressed, the West Indies experienced increased self-determination in its desire to rule its own. Beginning in 1943, the Asquith Commission under Justice Sir Cyril Asquith began developing a method for a series of universities in the Caribbean, however colonial officials as well as members of the Ministry of Education felt this was too excessive, and that it was far more fiscally responsible to invest in a single university for the region open to all students (Cobley, 2000, p. 10). The commission consisted of many members of the Oxford faculty wishing to expand further educational opportunities in the Caribbean.

Over time however, the efforts of the British changed from placating the colonies to soon rewarding them for the merit of their actions. West Indians became productive and efficient contributors to the war effort and the region supported the cause of the Empire in fighting the Japanese and the Germans. Supplies poured in from the colonies in order to help maintain Britain throughout the conflict. The various ports throughout the West Indies supported British and American naval vessels refueling and repairing during the war. Nearly 50% of the shipping to Europe and Africa during the war came from the Gulf of Mexico, and the West Indies allowed the US Navy to use their bases and refueling stations to launch these shipping initiatives (Cobley, 2000, p. 10).

An American Takeover of Caribbean Affairs

During the war however the United States of America assumed the responsibility of the Caribbean region's defense from Britain. This meant that the British could focus their naval assets on Europe as part of the Lend-Lease Program. Many in the Caribbean feared the British were abandoning their promises to increase civil service and education in the region. But because of the commitment of the West Indians to the war effort the British continued to provide funding to their educational initiatives while slowly allowing internal self-governance.

During the World War II the West Indies themselves became a location for refugees from the war in Europe to regroup. Thousands of British refugees had fled to the West Indies during the heavy bombings and the fear of a German invasion of London, England. The future location of the University of the West Indies' main campus was the site of Gibraltar Camp in Jamaica, a refugee haven run by the British military to give temporary settlement and aid to the refugees (UWI: History, 2014, p. 4). The southeastern part of Mona Island, Jamaica became the home for such a camp. Many of these refugees came from the island of Gibraltar before it was attacked by Axis forces.

By 1945, the camp was closed and was taken over by military authorities. The British placed a Royal Air Force Transit Camp in the location of the refugee haven and the Jamaican colonial authorities were granted access to use the facility as a base for a battalion of troops from the Jamaican Home Guard, the colony's military defense force. This was evidence that symbolized a transfer of power of sorts as the Royal military was now more willing to work alongside their colonial counterparts.

As the war came to an end however, focus shifted from defense to modernizing the public services of the colony. In 1945 the Ministry of Education dispatched the Irvine Commission to the West Indies to seek out interest in a public university, as part of the Asquith Commission. They saw an opportunity to use the island of Mona in Jamaica as a suitable candidate location for such a university endeavor (UWI: History, 2014, p. 5). The Irvine Commission was quick to want to lay the foundation for a university down, as the growing demands of the colonies for the university were growing especially after the war had come to a conclusion (Williams, 1964, p. 122).

Following the war, the nearly bankrupt and exhausted British government began turning over numerous responsibilities for their colonies over to the colonies themselves. Beginning in 1946, the British government officially recognized the need for a regional university. The Gibraltar Camp was transferred from military control after the war to the Public Works Department where it was to be vetted as a suitable location for such a campus. Beginning in early 1947 the Public Works Department and the Ministry of Education began swift work to reconfigure buildings and begin making up blueprints for the university (UWI: History, 2014, p. 6).

Finally, in December 1947 the camp was reconstructed to fit a university campus and the University College of the West Indies was formed, welcoming its first students that month. The first class consisted of 23 men and 10 women, all of whom were welcomed in an official ceremony in 1948 (UW: History, 2014, p. 6).

Creation of the Federation of the West Indies: 1949–1964

The UCWI had its hands full in the first years following its inception. As the student body grew to nearly two hundred, the British were busy trying to find qualified educators to assist in the academic development of the university. Although the university was meant to assist the West Indian locals in honing their skills and seeking an education beyond agrarian curriculum, the university served two dual paradoxical purposes (Mordecai, 1968, p. 117).

First, to the colonial governments of the West Indies, the university was a place where West Indians could study in a local and communal environment at an affordable cost without having to spend a fortune getting a bloated Oxford or Cambridge education. And secondly, it was a place where local citizens could feel welcomed and accepted alongside Whites and colonial elites, away from the Eurocentric mentality felt in Britain and Europe. Nationalism was a key proponent of

pushing the university to become more reliant on colonial support, as nationalists within the colonial governments felt that UCWI would promote and spearhead a single West Indian identity separate from that of the identity the British had given them (British Caribbean Federation Act, 1956, p. 2).

The British government as well had their own agenda for UCWI that coincidentally was similar to the ideas of the nationalists. The British Colonial Office hoped UCWI would help bring together the various national identities and sparsely separated islands into one cogent political unit, which would be easier to manage (UWI: History, 2014, p. 6). By the 1950s the British Empire was beginning to feel the strain of maintaining a global empire. Two factors had begun to lead to this perspective.

Firstly, the British Empire found it too costly to maintain so many colonies with rising populations and demands for improved infrastructure. This meant the British would be spending billions of pounds on a global scale restructuring the colonies as Britain herself was recovering in the wake of a global war. Secondly, rising nationalist sentiments, brought about by the globalized aspect of the Second World War, threatened Britain's control of her colonies. Self-rule and semi-independence helped fuel these sentiments in some areas such as India and West Africa (British Caribbean Federation Act, 1956, p. 1–2).

By the early 1950s, the British were finding more cost-efficient and least-expensive ways to governing these colonies. This came during a time where Britain was also allocating billions of pounds in defense spending as the Cold War began to heat up. Interventions in Greece in 1948 and Egypt in the 1950s were costly military endeavors.

To counter this, Britain left more of the infrastructural funding and governing to their colonies. With this, many colonies were having financial institutions trying to fund numerous civil departments and programs they hadn't had before. To solve this issue, both nationalists and the British government advocated for the West Indies to federate and pool its resources to sustain the island's own higher education system (Mordecai, 1968, p. 122).

In 1958, UCWI increased its enrollment from 30 nearly 600. Many of these students were coming in on government scholarships from the British government and the colonial governments of their home islands. Things were becoming costly as attendance grew. As the cost of tuition grew, so too did nationalist sentiments toward a unified West Indies (UWI: History, 2014, p. 6).

In 1958, the British government and the colonial officials of the West Indies announced that the island governments of the region would unite under a single flag, with power divided in a federal structure amongst the islands. This move would both unify the West Indian people under a single national identity while giving the British control over the colonies delegated through the colonial federal government without costly micromanaging (Mordecai, 1968 p. 113).

Figure 10.1 shows the population of the West Indies was growing rapidly and total over 3.6 million people who were in the need of education and training. The Federation of the West Indies at its creation had a population of over four million, with 12 member states. The capital of the Federation was located in Chaguaramas (Williams, 1964 p. 127). The formation of the Federation served multiple purpose:

Flag	Province	Capital	Population	Area (km²)
	Antigua and Barbuda	St. John's	57,000	440
	Barbados	Bridgetown	234,000	431
	Cayman Islands (attached to Jamaica)	George Town	9,000	264
	Dominica	Roseau	61,000	750
	Grenada	St. George's	91,000	344
	Jamaica	Kingston	1,660,000	10,991
	Montserrat	Plymouth	13,000	102
	Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla	Basseterre	55,600	351
	Saint Lucia	Castries	95,000	616
	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Kingstown	83,000	389
	Trinidad and Tobago	Port-of-Spain	900,000	5,131
	Turks and Caicos Islands (attached to Jamaica)	Cockburn Town	6,000	430
	Federation of the West Indies	**Chaguaramas**	**3,264,600**[1]	**20,239km²**

Fig. 10.1 Populations of the states of the West Indies federation, 1962 (Mordecai, 1968)

creating a single West Indian national identity, unifying the economies of the islands to provide increased infrastructure the British couldn't afford to every island, provide for the mutual defense of the colonies allowing the British to move its forces to more necessary regions in need, and give the British oversight without micromanaging (Downes, 2013, p. 10).

The government of the Federation was divided up amongst representatives of the various islands. Though competing interests of the various leaders squabbled over who received more funding and economic aid. The Federation effectively unified the economies of their member provinces, the largest being Jamaica. The largest and most populous province in the West Indies, Jamaica also contributed the most to its economic stability. Whereas Jamaica experienced the most development, the lesser developed member states consistently borrowed into the Jamaican economy. While lesser provinces profited from the increased funding for infrastructure, Jamaica seemed to slow to a halt (Downes, 2013, p. 11).

The Federation Parliament was divided amongst the needs of the smaller islands and the demands of Jamaica. The Jamaicans represented the majority, and many within the islands felt Jamaica would soon be leading the Federation.

Issues at the Federal level continued to plague the Federation throughout 1959 and 1960. The Federal government faced issues trying to instill policy on the provincial governments. The island provinces, already fed up with British rule, were not willing to listen to another overarching encompassing government dictating policy to them (Mordecai, 1968, p. 128). The provinces demanded a weak Federal government and provide simple public services and provide for the common defense. The provinces altered the Westminster system, creating the office of the

Prime Minister to be a weak one (Cobley, 2000, p. 17). The Cabinet was small, and their budgets weak. Although Jamaica and Trinidad Tobago both contributed 85% of the Federal budget, limiting their abilities to handle major issues without taking loans or grants from the British government.

The British soon began to notice their plan was unfolding badly. Competing insular nationalism became more vocal than that of unified West Indian nationalism. Local popular support for the Federation soon began to dissipate. By 1961, support for the Federation and its government was at an all-time low. This was the result of support being lost amongst the member states, particularly Trinidad and Jamaica, the two largest of the Federation. Citizens within their island states became much more vocal about the independence of their home island than that of a unified West Indian state. The Federal Parliament began to recognize the Federation was beginning to fail, and that it wouldn't be long until the British lost their support for it (Mordecai, 1968, p. 201).

However, during the height of the Federation's existence infrastructure, civil services, education, and public health experienced a major overhaul. It was argued that in a way it created the backbone for the civil services West Indian nations enjoy today thanks to the foundations laid by the Federation. In 1960 alone, the University College of the West Indies grew from just a few hundred students to over 3000 (UWI: History, 2014, p. 5). Increased funding by the Jamaican and Trinidadian governments meant the University could now grow in students and in the courses and career opportunities offered there.

Thus, in mid-1960 the UCWI opened up its second campus in St. Augustine, Trinidad in the location of the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA) which had existed solely to teach locals to harvest sugar and continue plantation economies. Following this, the UCWI opened up its next campus in Cave Hill, Barbados in 1963 and 13 university centers headed by a Resident Tutor in the contributing territories of the Federation. Thus the first series of higher education campus opened across the West Indies for the first time (Cobley, 2000, p. 20).

The largest accomplishment of the Federation was expanding the UCWI to become a major part of West Indian society and a known center of learning where international students can study in their respective fields. Education was proposed as one of the five major Federal services proposed by the Federation Cabinet, the UCWI served as one of the top emphases aside from the Shipping Service, Supreme Court, Meteorological Service, and the West India Regiment defense force. Each of these was meant to exist through the contributions of the member states and help further unify the Federation as one cogent state (Mordecai, 1968, p. 213).

The UCWI however was given special emphasis, as education and accreditation became cornerstones to the Federation to create an enlightened and educated populace with equal opportunity for all West Indians. Securing an accredited university was a major accomplishment and pride of the West Indian leaders in the various countries and moreso, these efforts signaled that the West Indies had put in place an efficient and dynamic system for international education for students throughout the world.

Independence and Decolonization: 1962–1970

Beginning in 1954, the colonies of Great Britain began experiencing immense change as rising nationalist sentiments and calls for self-government pushed the British closer toward granting independence. Across the world, a mood of decolonization swept the globe. As such colonies began demanding their reward for being loyal subjects to the crown and supporting the war effort during WWII. But for some it wasn't enough. While many colonial legislatures wished to remain part of the Empire, rampant political activism and nationalist causes on an international scale took the African continent by force. A majority of these nationalist causes and hyper-political activism was peaceful and nonviolent however, compared to situations in other European colonies such as in Angola and Mozambique, where Portugal was locked in fighting a bloody war in the jungles of these countries against armed rebel independence groups. It was those peaceful transitions to power such as evidenced throughout the West Indies that brought about an end to British rule on the continent while retaining the European tertiary education system which has survived to today.

This was the situation in Ghana, the first British colony in Africa to achieve independence following WWII. Beginning in the late 1940s, Africa became the subject to great decolonization efforts and Pan-Africanist views. Nowhere was this truer than in Ghana. Ghana began pushing Britain to allow them to seek further strength in their home government while national movements pushed for the British to pull out. Kwame Nkrumah, supported by the National People's Party began pushing the British to allow Ghana to create a more federal form of government, but the British felt that splitting power between multiple regions was not what the colony was ready for (*New York Times* 1956, pp. 3–4). However by 1957, the Ghanaian colonial assembly achieved enough votes to pass a referendum of independence. The British, not wishing to fight antic-colonial movements any longer, acquiesced (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994, p. 277).

Ghana's independence created a domino effect across the British Empire. One by one, Pan-African and nationalist parties in the West Indies began flooding colonial legislatures across the Empire. The British inadvertently fed these anti-colonial causes by educating many of the men who led them in Oxford and Cambridge including leading nationalists such as Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal), and Felix Houphouet-Boigny (Cote d'Ivoire). Many of these nationalists returned home to incite protests and lead these movements in the streets and parliaments of these colonies. It took a decade following WWII to finally make the British, suffering financially trying to control all of these colonies, to bow to their demands (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994, p. 281). What happened in Africa can easily be seen as a precursor to what would occur in the Caribbean.

With the numerous social and economic problems plaguing the Federation as well as its lack of political stability, the West Indies Federation collapsed in May 1962 when each member state voted to dissolve the Federation government. As such, the now autonomous West Indian states turned to Britain to request their individual

independence. In places such as Jamaica and Trinidad, popular protests called for referendums to demand independence. With the Federation a thing of the past, the two largest states of the former federal government began polling for such a referendum.

The Jamaican independence movement, led by Alexander Bustamante, took control of the Jamaican Labour Party and began winning seats within the Jamaican legislature (Bustamante, 2005, p. 2). The People's National Party, led by former Federation Prime Minister Norman Manley lost the majority within Parliament in the 1962 election immediately following the referendum for the dissolution of the Federation. His immense unpopularity caused the JLP to ascend to power and elect their party leader, Bustamante, Prime Minister. As such a single referendum was called and a vast majority of voters polled that they wanted to achieve full independence from the British Empire. On August 6, 1962, Jamaica achieved its independent status (Bustamante, 2005, p. 3).

At the same time, activists calling for political independence filled the streets of Port of Spain in Trinidad. In 1956 a Trinidadian politician named Eric Williams was chosen as party leader of the People's National Movement, a political nationalist party seeking Trinidad and Tobago's independence from the UK. Throughout the course of Trinidad's time within the Federation, the PNM won nearly every election by a landslide gaining more and more seats until they gained a majority in 1962 (Williams, 1964, p. 129). The collapse of the Federation following Jamaica and Trinidad's referendum to leave brought about the push for total independence. As such the PNM made it a party platform to transform into an independent state from Great Britain. A national referendum was called and an overwhelming majority voted to become an independent nation. Trinidad gained its full independence on August 31, 1962 and Eric Williams, leader of the PNM, became Prime Minister. His party would dominate Trinidadian politics until 1981 under his premiership.

Throughout the dissolution of the Federation, the UWI continued to exist as a collective secondary institution for the West Indies. As independence movements continued to push the islands apart politically, the UWI continued to serve as a form of unifying institution.

Growth and Expansion of the University System: 1962–1980

The University of the West Indies continued to be the premier tertiary education institution in the Caribbean in the years following the Federation's collapse. It continued to expand as thousands of students enrolled following the independence of Jamaica and Trinidad as more educational opportunities became open to them as more funding, free from the constraints the Federation placed on them, flowed into the UWI's Mona and Trinidadian campuses. However those countries lacking a UWI campus began investing in their own educational systems. Without having to pool their economies together anymore the islands of the West Indies individually funded separate universities based off the UWI model.

By the early 1970s there were universities springing up in several West Indian nations following independence. Education systems in general were vastly reformed as well, as free public primary and secondary education began in countries such as Barbados and St. Vincent. These improvements were increased with the merging of various Caribbean interests. In 1973, the Caribbean islands came together to form a supranational economic union known as CARICOM. Its goal was to help improve economic and social ills plaguing the newly independent islands.

The Caribbean Community, or CARICOM, was formed by the newly independent nations of Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago. CARICOM was formed from the Treaty of Chaguaramas which went into effect August 1, 1973. The goal of the treaty was to create an organization that helped cooperate the functioning of the numerous economies of the Caribbean to work together on foreign policy issues and economic integration as well as social and humanitarian issues (Gift & Bell-Hutchinson, 2007, p. 156). One of the biggest concerns of CARICOM became the goal of creating affective strategies for primary and secondary and tertiary education in their member states (Gift & Bell-Hutchinson, 2007, p. 157).

The organization had an impact on how the West Indian and Caribbean nations handled their education system. From the strategic collaboration CARICOM managed to help newly independent nations get on their feet economically and socially by providing models and strategies to follow in laying the foundations of their tertiary education systems. The largest of the CARICOM member states, Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines, formed the most up to date education systems through the assistance of the UWI and CARICOM.

The University of the West Indies was critical as an international university in getting education on track in these countries. By the time CARICOM was founded the first alumni of the UWI were instrumental in helping create a faculty and staff foundation for the major secondary and tertiary institutions across the Caribbean (Cobley, 2000, p. 22). Teachers and professors trained in the UWI and from abroad in the US, Canada, and Europe permeated as instructors in the university systems of these fledgling countries.

Prior to CARICOM's founding, most countries in the West Indies had barely enough funding for public primary education. Through the efforts of CARICOM and UWI, these countries are now able to flexibly provide primary and secondary education to just about all of their young people. However, the challenge for maintaining a sound fiscal and academic programs at the tertiary and higher educational level.

Figure 10.2 shows that in most countries in the West Indies, free primary education from 4-11-12 is free and compulsory for all children. At the secondary level free education up to 18 is available only in Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. However, in countries like Guyana, and other West Indian states, the high school students must pay for their education. It should be noted that there is a proliferation of private secondary schools (Gift & Bell-Hutchinson, 2007, p. 159).

Figure 10.2 also indicates that there are a mix of public and private college and universities. This Fig. 10.2 also shows the proliferation of medical and allied health

Country	Primary Education System	Secondary Education System	Tertiary Education System	Medical Schools	Student Population
Barbados	Free from ages 4-11 until students sit for the Common Entrance Exam	Provided for children 11-18. Must sit through CXC exams at 16 and AI-Level CAPE exams at 18	Erdiston Teacher's College, Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic, Barbados Community College	American University of Barbados School of Medicine Nationality of Foreign Students in AAIMS: **American:** 35% **Canadian:** 25% **European:** 40%	**Black:**92.4% **White:**2.7% **Mixed:**3.1% **East Indian:** 1.3% **Other:**0.2% Nationality of Foreign Students in AAIMS: **American:** 35% **Canadian:** 25% **European:** 40%
Guyana	Free and mandatory from ages 5-16. Children attend 6 year primary schools and take exams every 2.	Junior secondary school helps students decide if they want to continue in secondary school or attend vocational schools	There are 10 technical/vocational schools. The largest are state-funded, though private institutions still exist	Green Heart Medical University is an independent institution offering degrees in health sciences for the region	**East Indian:** 43.5% **Black:**30.2% **Mixed:**16.7% **Amerindian:** 9.1% **Other:** .05%
Jamaica	6 years of primary school compulsory and free. For ages 6-12	Single-sex or mixed co-ed high schools. Education is free up until age 18.	UWI –Mona Campus (Colleges of Law, Education, Medicine, Social Services), North Caribbean University (private liberal arts), University College of the Caribbean	All American Institute for Medical Sciences Nationality of Foreign Students in AAIMS: **American:** 72% **Canadian:** 23% **European:**5%	**Black:**92.1% **Mixed:** 6.1% **East Indian:** 0.8% **Other:**0.4%
Trinidad	Mandatory from K-5th grades, take exams to pick secondary schools	Grades 6-10th, ages 12-16, 11-12th ages 17-18. Public schools offer better education than private ones	Includes UWI, the University of Trinidad and Tobago, and the College of Science, Technology, and Applied Arts, and the University of the South Caribbean	UWI School of Medicine Nationality of Foreign Students in UWI Medical School: **American:** 66% **Canadian:** 33% **European**1%	**Black:** 40% **Indian:**40% **Mixed:** 20%
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Education in the islands is free, but not mandatory. This likely contributes to the country's high percent of child labor.	Secondary education is also free, with an attendance rate of around 60% for both genders. Students spend 5 years as an undergraduate, then an additional two based on their tertiary goals.	The Teachers Training College, which is a part of the UWI, and the St. Vincent Technical Community College founded in 1997 offering master's degrees in business studies, engineering technology, and agricultural science.	The Trinity School of Medicine. The schools limits the number of students coming in between January and May to ensure there is a small student/faculty ratio Nationality of Students at Trinity School of Medicine: **American:** 65% **Canadian:** 23% **Caribbean:** 12%	**Black:**72.8% **East Indian:** 1.4% **White:**1.4% **Black Caribs:** 3.6% **Asian:**.8%

Fig. 10.2 Education systems of various Caribbean States: An international student body

Nation	Medical School	Students: American	Canadian	European	Caribbean
Barbados	American University of Barbados School of Medicine	35%	25%	40%	
Jamaica	All American Institute for Medical Sciences	72%	23%	5%	
Trinidad	UWI School of Medicine	62%	33%	01%	
St. Vincent	Trinity University School of Medicine	65%	23%	0%	12%

Fig. 10.3 Percentage of student demographics

schools that provide an international perspective and opportunities. These American schools include the American University of Barbados School of Medicine, Green Heart Medical University, the All-American Institute for Medical Sciences, and Trinity School of Medicine. The chart below, Fig. 10.3, shows the diversity and international background of students.

Modern Influences in Caribbean Education: Internationalization of Education in the West Indies

Because of the Caribbean's international status, their international universities have offered North American, European, and other students opportunities to study in the Caribbean. Because of this, these universities have rushed to achieve accreditation as well as bring in foreign students willing to pay due to their attractive affordable standing (Howe, 2000, p. 9).

Originally, American and British students were enticed to enroll in St. George's University Medical School throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s. The school hosted a broad foreign exchange program with the US, UK, and Canada. This served as one of the first West Indian universities that was truly an international school by foreign students. When the US invaded Grenada in 1983, it was their mission to evacuate American students trapped in the medical school. American troops successfully rescued them. Since then, the university has sought to rekindle its former standing as a premier medical school and option for American investment (Korn, 2014, p. 3). Since 2013 however, St. George's has been working alongside a foreign private equity company to help expand their university. Altas Partners, a company specializing in salt mining operation in the region, recently struck a deal with the university (Roumeliotis, 2013, p. 2). As a result, Canadian students now have an opportunity to enroll at the university, as SGU has recently opened a Canadian international program.

In addition to Grenada, St. Matthew's University in the Cayman Islands and Belize has cultivated the attention of interested American and British students seeking medical and veterinary licensure (Lambert, 2014, p. 6). Because their licenses are considered ineligible in several US states, the American Veterinary Association and the Cayman Islands government joined together to create the Educational Commission for Foreign Veterinary Graduates (ECFVG) which was created to help ensure American students with degrees from St. Matthew's would be assured a medical license. This program ensures and assesses these students are educated enough to receive licensure in all 50 states and allows those with a license to receive a certificate to practice in those states. It in a way creates a loophole around states that consider them ineligible (AVMA, 2014, pp. 6–7).

Two other universities in particular are international in scope: the All American Institute for Medical Sciences in Jamaica and the American University of Barbados. Both of these schools have been founded by American donors in cooperation between the US government and their respective local West Indian governments as well to offer premier educational opportunities in the medical field for both West Indian students as well as Americans students looking to study abroad. These universities have the accreditation that allows American, Canadian, and even European students to study at an affordable rate in the Caribbean and practice medicine at home. These universities allow these students to study there without the hassle of transferring foreign credits into their university systems when they return home.

Another such university offering such incentives is the Trinity School of Medicine in St. Vincent. Trinity is not an American or European funded school, but it does have the accreditation to compete with just about any medical school in the US. At the same time, it is also cost efficient. Trinity School of Medicine, with very high requirements, accepts a large number of foreign students. Surprisingly, American students make up 65% of that foreign makeup, followed by 23% Canadian, and 12% other foreign students (Roumeliotis, 2013, p. 6).

In a way, it can be said the Caribbean is recognized as a competitive international university system by Americans and Europeans, as well as Caribbeans from other regions. However this is in the form of students, and not colonists. Their attendance to West Indian institutions have indeed helped these universities attain critical accreditation requirements to be considered top academic performers in their field and rivaling European and American institutions of the same kind.

St. Matthew's University in the Cayman Islands, for instance, has one of the finest medical degree programs in the West Indies; however the states of Indiana, Kansas, North Dakota, and especially California do not accept their degrees as eligible for licensure. In the United Kingdom, those who graduate from St. Matthew's University's Belize campus are ineligible for licensure, whereas the Cayman Islands campus is considered eligible for a license. Thus the institutions will have to continue to market and be competitive. The trend with other subject areas show that Caribbean educated students experience no challenges in transferring their degrees to other schools in Europe and North America.

The Stability of Caribbean Education

Throughout the last decade of the twentieth century leading into today, education in the Caribbean continues to grow and expand. Higher level education is still relatively new, and is an experiment that continues to this day. Education, more than anything, is considered one of the cornerstones of modern Caribbean society (Downes, 2013, p. 17).

Educational initiatives, school planning, and strategies continue to be supported by the island governments of the West Indies to help their populations grow in tertiary knowledge. Through the efforts of CARICOM and the assistance of the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, education and higher education is now internationally recognized and will continue to be stable for the immediate future. With public budgets in most West Indian nations devoted to high-quality education, it leads to countries such as Jamaica, Guyana, Belize, Barbados, and Trinidad becoming competitive economic forces in the Caribbean and Central American marketplaces. Skilled workforces continue to bring revenue and prosperity to the Caribbean islands as tourism, trade, and local industry brings economic growth and transforms the region to fit in the global spotlight as a critical economic region. These improvements, both civil and economic, are due to a stable compulsory education given at an early age and encouraged throughout the lives of youth.

Meanwhile, CARICOM continues to have a hand in developing Caribbean education. With the advent of CARICOM the merging of strategies and curriculum has transformed West Indian education into a much large regional, and international component. Students from across the Caribbean and the world attend major universities such as UWI, creating an atmosphere where the boundaries of nationality do not matter. In a way, education has helped unify the Caribbean. Education remains stable, and as a result, so too does the economies and society of the West Indies.

Final Thoughts

The sustenance of higher education in the West Indies will continue to be a national and regional priority of expenditures of GDP in every nation of the West Indies. The cost of students studying overseas and not returning to the Caribbean will continue to be a challenge. The more reciprocity of academic courses and degree completion among West Indies, Europe, Canada, and the United States of America, the more validity and reliability will be accorded to the higher education institutions in the West Indies.

As this chapter winds down, it is essential to remember the words of Dr. Carter G. Woodson who reminded us that by reflecting in the history of a group or thing, we are enlightened and develop a sense of pride and positive well-being. Dr. Woodson said in his book on the “Miseducation of the Negro” that,

> When a group or individual fails to teach or learn about their history and culture, sooner or later their history and culture will be forgotten, and the group or individual will be rendered nameless and faceless. (Woodson, 1990, p. 21)

This discussion of higher education in the West Indies provides a useful face on the development and sustained contributions of the elementary, secondary, and the tertiary or higher education system in the West Indies. The record shows that universities and colleges in the West Indies provided scholars at all levels in the West Indies and the world. The political leaders such as Norman Manley of Jamaica and Eric Williams of Trinidad got their education in the West Indies. The university system of UWI is internationally recognized with the highest levels of accreditation.

The highest scholarly achievements for West Indian Nobel Peace Prize winners were as follows: (a) Sir Arthur Lewis, 1979 Nobel Laureate in Economics; joint winner with Theodore W. Schultz for their pioneering research in "Human Capital" development, (b) Derek Walcott, born in St. Lucia; 1992 Nobel Laureate in Literature. For a poetic piece of great luminosity in the area of poetry and literature, and (c) Sir V.S. Naipaul, from Trinidad, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Literature. For poetry and literature on history and culture.

Conclusion

As the above discussion demonstrates, the West Indies Higher Education system has created a stable niche market in international education not only for students who are citizens of the various countries in the West Indies, but for students throughout the world. Because of the competitive academic offerings and high standards of these institutions, there are thousands of students from the United States, Europe, Canada, Latin America, and Africa and Asia who continue to seek admission to and matriculation in many degree offerings at these higher education institutions in the West Indies.

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Chapter 11
Fostering Economic Competitiveness, National Identity and Social Equity Through Education Reforms: The Cases of Singapore and Hong Kong

Michael H. Lee and S. Gopinathan

Abstract This chapter examines key education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, which are considered two exemplary cases of high performing education systems (HPES) in Asia for their top ranks in various international comparison exercises such as Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Studies (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in recent years. Further, it also discusses major challenges facing both places' education reforms. Following this introductory section, there are four sections in this chapter. Firstly, it commences with a review of the context of education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong. Secondly the focus will be placed on key directions of education reform for fostering economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity in both places. Thirdly, it then turns to discuss major challenges facing the education reforms in achieving these three policy goals.

Introduction

For both global cities of Singapore and Hong Kong, education reforms since the late 1990s have been driven by changes and challenges arising from globalisation and the development of knowledge-based economy amidst growing risks and uncertainties in the "runaway world" as well as economic competition from other newly emerging economies (Beck, 1992; Dale, 2000; Daun, 2002; Education Commission, 2000; Giddens, 1999; Goh, 1997; Gopinathan, 2007; Green, 1999; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Education serves the needs of human capital development through new knowledge transmission and skill formation upgrading so as

M. H. Lee (✉)
Department of History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China
e-mail: michaellee@cuhk.edu.hk

S. Gopinathan
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, Singapore

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to raise productivity and enhance economic competitiveness (Goh & Gopinathan, 2008; Kennedy, 2005; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002; Spring, 2015).

Apart from catering for the needs of economic development, education reforms are also concerned about the inculcation of citizenship values and national identity among the younger generation with an aim to consolidate a sense of national belonging and political allegiance (Leung, Chong, & Yuen, 2017; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2004; J. Tan, 2008). Additionally, education is closely linked with meritocracy, which is a fundamental principle of governance upheld by both Singapore and Hong Kong, and also a key policy tool to achieve social mobility and equity by ensuring equal opportunity of education for all children regardless of their family backgrounds and ethnicities (Anwar, 2015; Lam, 2017; Lee, 2017; Seow, 2017; J. Tan, 2014; K. Tan, 2008, 2010, 2017).

This chapter examines key education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, which are considered two exemplary cases of high performing education systems (HPES) in Asia for their top ranks in various international comparison exercises such as Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Studies (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in recent years. Further, it also discusses major challenges facing both places' education reforms. Following this introductory section, there are four sections in this chapter. Firstly, it commences with a review of the context of education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong. Secondly the focus will be placed on key directions of education reform for fostering economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity in both places. Thirdly, it then turns to discuss major challenges facing the education reforms in achieving these three policy goals. Finally, there will be a conclusion.

Global Context of Education Reforms

Globalisation, which generally refers to the compression of time and space as a result of transportation and communication technological innovations, enhances economic integration in the globe (Giddens, 1999). Economic globalisation, which is capitalist and market-otiented (Daun, 2002), is resulted from the intensification of increased trade flows and the development of global markets which are beyond the control of individual nation states (Dale, 2000). Such international economic institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund play an important role in setting the global agendas and directions of economic development. The "big market, small government" logic of governance has been advocated together with the reorientation of the public policy focusing more on cultivating an innovative and entrepreneurial culture (Cerny, 1990; Dale, 2000). As Bottery (2000) suggests, in this global context, key changes in education, such as raising post-compulsory education participation, promoting lifelong learning, and strengthening cost management and policy control, are commonly found. The making of education policies has in Singapore and Hong Kong been affected by this world education culture which

addresses the assumption that choice and market forces are crucial for improving the quality of education (Chiu & Lui, 2009; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Kennedy, 2005).

One of the most significant changes and challenges facing education in Singapore and Hong Kong is the reinterpretation of the aims and uses of education from an economic-driven perspective, which Spring (2015) labels as the "economization of education" for it suggests "the increasing involvement of economists in education research, the evaluation of the effectiveness of schools and family life according to cost/benefit analyses, and the promotion of school choice in a competitive marketplace." (pp. 1–2) The economic value of education has been strongly emphasized in countries such as Singapore with the intention to improve the quality of human capital and to enhance labor productivity via a greater emphasis on languages, mathematics, science technology (Gopinathan, 1999). Substantial investment for education is justified for it works to educate and equip the labour force with new knowledge and skills to cope with the ever changing needs arising from globalisation, especially economic, and automation and technology-driven disruption. This is also the most common rationale for education reforms in many countries in the world, including Singapore and Hong Kong (Education Commission, 1999, 2000; Goh, 1997).

The relationship between education and economic development is also reflected in international benchmarking mechanisms such as those conducted by OECD like PISA with an assumption that high performance in these comparisons is a prerequisite for economic growth and development. Nevertheless, this claim has been challenged as some critics have questioned if there is a positive relationship between high performance in international education benchmarks and economic productivity and innovation. It would appear that notwithstanding high test scores, both Singapore and Hong Kong are not seen as societies in which the economy is an innovation-driven one. Economic productivity may be more a function of efficient governance, market-favourable policies, and investment in education (Morris, 2016; Zhao, 2015).

Furthermore, the application of economic reasoning in education policymaking makes it more likely to be seen as a commodity or an industry. This is reflected in the increasing use of market mechanisms such as accountability, competition, choice, cost-effectiveness, league tables, managerial efficiency, market relevance and responsiveness, performance indicators, quality assurance, and "value for money" (Mok & Tan, 2004). These terms also denote the core themes of the public sector reforms, which also cover education, prevailing in both Singapore and Hong Kong since the 1990s with the ultimate goal of enhancing both education quality and effectiveness. For example, more autonomy has been devolved to educational institutions through the implementation earlier of the independent schools initiative and later the School Excellence Model in Singapore and School-Based Management in Hong Kong in exchange for greater accountability to different stakeholders like government, parents and students (Chan & Tan, 2008; Ng, 2008; Pang, 2017; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002; Tan, 2006). These developments are principally driven by neoliberal economic policies which champion the idea of "doing more with less" and a shift from equity to efficiency as the goal of education in line with the rise of managerialism.

Additionally, in order to cope with the rapid growth of knowledge creation and the need to maintain the competitiveness of both places with no natural resources and limited human capital to engineer sustainable socio-economic growth and progress, the education systems in Singapore and Hong Kong have to provide opportunities for people to pursue lifelong learning and skill upgrading on a continuous basis (Education Commission, 2000; Goh, 1997; Gopinathan, 1999). While schools would be transformed as model learning organizations, students would be educated with critical thinking and problem-solving skills to cater for the needs of economic development (Goh, 1997). These goals of promoting lifelong learning, together with a strong emphasis on applied and experiential learning as well as skill formation and upgrading, have been the driving force for reforming education in both Singapore and Hong Kong.

What is common about education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong is that they serve not only the needs of economic globalisation but also the interests of national development and the goals of social equity and mobility. In both places, reforms are also concerned about the importance of cultivating the youth a strong sense of national identity and belonging through the teaching of school subjects like Civic, Citizenship and Moral Education, History, and Social Studies. The National Education programme in Singapore which was introduced in 1997, for instance, is a means to arouse school children's awareness of the nation-building history together with certain core values guiding society like racial harmony, multiculturalism, self-defence and meritocracy (Lee, 1997; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2004; J. Tan, 2008). In Hong Kong, however, the introduction of National Education as a standalone subject in primary and secondary schools in 2012 was facing strong resistance from parents, students and the general public for they were concerned about the genuine intention for the government to make use of National Education to "brainwash" school children with a blind patriotism and nationalism under the influence of the Chinese mainland government (Leung et al., 2017).

In addition, while the schooling systems in Singapore and Hong Kong have been increasingly diversified, there have been increasing concerns over issues related to educational disparities in recent years in both places where they encounter social problems like poverty and income inequality with widening income gaps. Singapore was found to have the highest Gini coefficient on household income among advanced economies (World Economic Forum, 2017), despite the figure having dropped from the highest at 0.482 in 2007 to 0.458 in 2016, the lowest in a decade (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2016). Meanwhile the Gino coefficient on household income in Hong Kong was much higher than Singapore as it was recorded as 0.533, 0.537 and 0.539 in 2006, 2011 and 2016 respectively (Census and Statistics Department, HKSAR Government, 2017; Legislative Council, 2016). Therefore, the policy challenge for both governments of Singapore and Hong Kong is to sustain economic growth and to contain income inequality at the same time. Issues related to educational disparities, lack of job opportunities, negative impacts of the influx of immigration, and social immobility have become more critical that may cause harm to social stability it they are not dealt with properly. In

short, the problem of academic stratification arising from class stratification remains unresolved in these two newly developed East Asian economies.

Apart from improving the quality and effectiveness of the education system in Singapore and Hong Kong, reform directions in both places have been addressing the needs of growing economic competitiveness, cultivating national identity, and pursuing social equity through education since the 1990s. The following section examines major reforms proposed by both governments in response to these three aspects.

Key Education Reform Directions

Similar contexts for education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong do not mean identical responses to changes and challenges arising from globalisation. How education reforms are processed in Singapore and Hong Kong are largely subject to educational and non-educational factors, including political, economic, social and cultural ones. This section examines major education reform directions since the late 1990s when thorough reviews of the education systems were carried out in both places.

Growing Economic Competitiveness

In Singapore, education reform has been centred around the vision of "Thinking Schools, Learning Nation" (TSLN) which was proposed by then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong in 1997. The TSLN notion denotes that schools are responsible for developing future generations of thinking and committed citizens who are capable of making good decisions to keep Singapore vibrant and successful in the future. The teaching profession is expected to be innovative with the constant application of new knowledge and practices to cultivate students creative thinking and learning skills. Further, TSLN signals the importance of lifelong learning, which refers to education as a lifelong matter for individuals to upgrade skills and knowledge with a spirit of innovation and creativity among all Singaporeans in order to improve their country's economic productivity and thus global competitiveness (Goh, 1997).

This TSLN vision was carried out with a thorough curriculum review covering primary and secondary schools as well as junior colleges which provide pre-university matriculation programmes in Singapore. A major recommendation was to reduce the curriculum contents up to 30 per cent as appropriate. Teachers were advised to utilize more interaction-based teaching and learning strategies with the use of project work and field trips. Students should be allowed more opportunities to take part in extra-curricular activities so that they can acquire teamwork spirit and develop a strong sense of social

responsibility. Moreover, multiple modes of assessment comprising project work, group work and classroom presentations were also recommended. Students' project work in schools were to be included as a part of the entry requirements for junior colleges and polytechnics (Ministry of Education, 1998).

Together with the curriculum review, a review of the upper secondary and junior college education was also carried out in the early 2000s. Few changes were proposed. One change was concerned about the coverage and delivery of skills-based subjects such as General Paper and Project Work as well as introducing a new subject called Knowledge and Inquiry to develop students' thinking and knowledge inquiry skills. Another change was to emphasize not only academic but also non-academic curriculum to development students' leadership and teamwork skills. More importantly, Integrated Programme (IP) was proposed to enable high achieving students to proceed to junior colleges without taking GCE O-Level exams in the so-called "through-train" mode (Ministry of Education, 2002).

The review of school curriculum was culminated with the formation of the Curriculum 2015 (C2015) Committee in 2008 which oversaw the review of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment at both the primary and secondary levels. An emphasis was placed on the "twenty-first century skills" which refer to the development of thinking, communication, collaboration and management skills among school children, who would be able to excel in future challenging environments and move beyond collecting facts from textbooks by learning how to handle information. Five principles were identified for the C2015 reform under the theme of "Strong Fundamentals, Future Learning", including the maintenance of high standards of knowledge, skills and values; the incorporation of future learning for students with the real world context; the inclusion of a broad-based and holistic curriculum covering cognitive, moral, social, physical and aesthetics domains; the customization of students' abilities and talents to maximize their individual potentials; and the delivery of a positive and fulfilling experience for all students to learn in and outside the classroom (Ministry of Education, 2008a). These five principles guided the subsequent reviews of primary and secondary education carried out in 2008 and 2010 respectively (Ministry of Education, 2009, 2010).

Additionally, the launch of the Skills Future programme, together with the setting up of the Skills Future Council (which is currently known as the Council for Skills, Innovation and Productivity) in Singapore in 2014 is an example of the government seeking to integrate education, training and industry support for career advancement by collaborating with employers, labour unions and industries. This also marks another stage of reform movements from revamping school curriculum to institutionalizing a comprehensive system of skill formation and upgrading for students and working adults with the expansion of post-secondary education opportunities in polytechnics and universities to fulfil the national aspiration of lifelong learning for all in Singapore (Ministry of Education, 2005, 2008b, 2012, 2014).

In Hong Kong, the education reforms are also aimed at building a lifelong learning society, improving the academic performance of students, allowing more diversity in the schooling system, and creating an inspiring learning environment.

The reforms focused on reforming the curriculum and examination systems, enhancing the professionalism of teachers, and providing more diverse opportunities for lifelong learning at senior secondary level and beyond. The school curriculum has been reformed to develop students' capabilities of independent thinking, critical analysis and problem solving with organizational and communication skills. Students would be able to "learn how to learn" with a more flexible, diversified and integrated curriculum (Education Commission, 2000). The curriculum aims to help students to learn how to learn through cultivating positive values, attitudes and a commitment to lifelong learning, as well as to develop generic skills to acquire and construct knowledge which are essential for whole-person development to cope with challenges of the twenty-first century. Within the centrally constructed school curriculum framework, individual schools are held responsible for setting their own curriculum and learning plans which should be holistic and coherent to help students build up conceptual structures, connect ideas and construct their own knowledge (Curriculum Development Council, 2000).

A major change in the education system in Hong Kong over the past decade is the implementation of the new academic structure for senior secondary education, which was proposed by the government 2005. The so-called "3 + 3 + 4" academic system, which is comprised of 3-year junior secondary, 3-year senior secondary and 4-year undergraduate has been gradually put in place from 2009 onwards. Under the new academic system, all students are able to receive 6 years of secondary education. The new public examination, namely Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE), has replaced both the O Level and A Level exams in Hong Kong from the early 2010s.

Meanwhile, students are required to take four core subjects, including Chinese Language, English Language, Mathematic, and Liberal Studies in addition to two to three elective subjects for HKDSE examination. Not only concerned about academic achievements, students need to acquire non-academic experiences for personal development with a wide coverage of moral and civic education, community service, work-related experience as well as aesthetic and sporting activities. Among these changes, the most significant one is the introduction of the new Liberal Studies subject as a compulsory subject for all senior secondary students as a means to arouse their socio-political awareness, critical thinking ability and also national consciousness (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2005).

Moreover, similar to the Skills Future initiative in Singapore, there is the Qualifications Framework defining standards applicable to qualifications in the academic, vocational and professional education sectors and also assuring their programmes are relevant to industry. Meanwhile, in both Singapore and Hong Kong, the ideas of "applied learning" and "experiential learning" have been promoted to motivate students learning through attaining hands-on experience from apprenticeship and internship. Therefore, the relationship between education and economic development remains a priority of education reforms in both places.

Cultivating National Identity

Apart from revamping the academic system and curriculum development, another major area of concern in the education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong lies on the promotion of national education in recent years.

In Singapore, particularly since the launch of the National Education (NE) programme in 1997, more attention and efforts have been placed on strengthening young Singaporeans' sense of national belonging and cohesion. Since the independence of Singapore in 1965, the People's Action Party was firmly in power and could develop unchallenged a meta-narrative of Singapore's birth, vulnerabilities and principles to ensure survival. The ruling party's ability to deliver a steady rise in living standards and social mobility gave it unchallenged and hegemonic power - it also led to a compliant citizenry, the loss of voice and agency and disinterest in politics and history. In response, the NE programme was implemented with revised History and Social Studies curricula.

Carried out at all levels of education, the NE programme aims to foster Singaporean identity, pride and self-respect; to teach about Singapore's nation-building successes against the odds; to understand Singapore's unique developmental challenges, constraints and vulnerabilities; and to instil core values such as meritocracy and multiracialism in order to protect the long-term interests of Singaporeans (J. Tan, 2008). For instance, at the junior secondary level, it is compulsory for Secondary 1 and 2 students studying in the Express and Normal (Academic) streams to study the history of Singapore with a special reference on its nation-building, whereas those students of the Normal (Technical) stream also need to study Social Studies subject which serves as a key component of the NE programme. At the senior secondary level, Social Studies is a subject which enables students to grasp a better understanding about the roles played by such key state institutions as Singapore Armed Forces, Housing Development Board and Central Provident Fund in the nation-building of Singapore (Lee, 1997).

Since the early 2010s, the Singapore government decided to integrate the NE programme with co-curricular activities and Civic and Moral Education into a new Character and Citizenship Education (CCE) curriculum. Under the new CCE curriculum framework, schools have to infuse values education in subjects like Mother Tongue Languages and other co-curricular activities to achieve the objectives of the NE programme so that students would be able to understand Singapore's vulnerabilities and constraints that make it necessary for Singaporeans to stay united with a strong sense of national belonging and cohesion (Heng, 2011).

Unlike Singapore, where national education has been deep-rooted in the schooling system, there has been much disagreement over how the citizenship and national education to be approached and carried out in Hong Kong. While there is a History subject, which focuses on modern European and Asian history, and Chinese History subject, which covers the history of China, both are not compulsory for secondary students in Hong Kong. Without a proper foundation for the studying of both subjects at the junior secondary level, there has been a gradual decline in the

popularity of both History and Chinese History subjects at the senior secondary level as shown from much fewer students taking either subject for HKDSE than other humanities subjects like Economics and Geography. The use of History and Chinese History subjects as a means to cultivate students a strong sense of national identity and belonging in this context seems to be ineffective. Instead, a new Liberal Studies subject, which is made a compulsory subject for HKDSE curriculum since 2009 for the senior secondary level, covers developments in the Chinese mainland from 1949 when the People's Republic of China was set up. Liberal Studies subject is also considered a key element for national education in Hong Kong.

In 2011, the Hong Kong government proposed a new Moral and National Education (MNE) programme with a strong emphasis on citizenship and moral education together with a focus on the development of the Chinese mainland since 1949. The objective of national education is to instil school children positive values to facilitate identity building and thus develop affection for the Chinese mainland. Nevertheless, the MNE programme was not well received by stakeholders like students, parents and teachers when a public consultation was called in 2012. As a result, the programme has been suspended since then.

Pursuing Social Equity

While choice and competition have been encouraged through the economization and marketisation of education in Singapore and Hong Kong, there have also been increasing concerns over issues related to educational disparities in recent years. A more diversified schooling system comes with a growing hierarchy of schools and social stratification in recent years.

In Singapore, the highly limited number of independent secondary schools (less than 10) selected by the government are well-established, prestigious, and academically selective when the policy was at first implemented in the late 1980s. Apart from enjoying greater autonomy in school management and resource utilization, it is much easier for these independent schools to attract students with the highest academic ability because of their reputation and influence in the society as well as their distinguished alumni. Two of three Singapore's prime ministers studied at Raffles Institution. The implementation of Integrated Programmes (IPs) and the Direct School Admission (DSA) scheme since the early 2000s strengthened these independent schools' advantages to admit top students based on their academic and non-academic track records (Tan, 2014). The creation of independent schools was supposed to provide outstanding examples for other schools to follow and imitate so that all other schools could also improve their education quality (Ministry of Education, 1987). Moreover, these schools should not just admit the brightest but also those less academically able but have special attributes such as music and sports (Goh, 1995). Nevertheless, with the persistence of a highly selective school environment in Singapore, the socio-academic elite is reproducing itself and jeopardising the much vaunted meritocratic ideal in Singapore.

A similar scenario can also be found in Hong Kong where the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) was firstly introduced in the 1990s, when it initially catered for the incorporation of a small number of private schools, including a few "left-wing pro-China patriotic" schools during the British colonial period, into the mainstream public subsidized schooling system subject to the regulations of the government. In the early 2000s, the scheme was modified to attract not only new schools to join DSS but also traditional grant schools, which were set up by missionaries or religious bodies between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These schools are also well-established and top-notch schools in Hong Kong (Tsang, 2011). Different from the independent schools in Singapore, they were not selected by the government to join the DSS but their sponsoring bodies could opt to join the scheme, subject to the government's approval. Moreover, they can increase tuition fees up to a limit set by the government and also receive subsidies per headcount from the government (Woo, 2017).

Additionally, these DSS schools are granted greater autonomy in management, staff recruitment, student enrolment, curriculum, and also the medium of instruction. This reflects a possible way out for these schools to be getting away from the negative impacts of the ongoing education reforms. Although the government explained that the "revised" DSS was aimed to create a more diversified schooling system by allowing more choice for parents and students, some "new" DSS schools which are also traditional top schools charge relatively high tuition fees, up to over HK$50,000 (approximately US$6400) per year which is an amount even higher than local subsidized university degree programmes; this in effect, means that only middle or upper social class students can afford fees, regardless the provision of student assistantship or scholarship by those DSS schools as stipulated by the government (Tse, 2008; Tsang, 2011; Woo, 2017). In this sense, therefore, these top "new" DSS schools automatically exclude students from the lower income group. Meanwhile, the interests of this group of top schools can be protected through the "new" DSS policy for they are financed by students' tuition fees and subsidized by the government simultaneously to maintain their competitive advantages (Lee, 2009; Tsang, 2011).

Another aspect of educational disparity concerns ethnic differences or segregation found in the Singapore schooling system. As a consequence of the streaming policy introduced in the late 1970s, a much larger proportion of Malay and Indian students are streamed into lower ability streams. This is in large measure due to education disadvantage in the early years of schooling due to poverty, low income, and lack of participation in early childhood education (Shamsuri, 2015). Malay and Indian students are underrepresented in the most prestigious and top schools, where most students are Chinese and from wealthier family backgrounds (Gopinathan, 2015; Tan, 2014; Zhang, 2014). In addition, Malay students have had a lower percentage of mathematics and science pass rates in public examinations over many years. This correlates to relatively low percentage of Malay students enrolled in the junior colleges and universities (J. Tan, 2010). The government responded by setting up the Council on Education for Muslim Children (Mendaki) in the early 1980s to provide financial and educational assistance to Malay students. While

dropout rates were reduced significantly and their performance in public examinations were improved, and the gap narrowed between ethnic groups, a gap with Chinese students persists (Shamsuri, 2015; J. Tan, 1997, 2014). This reflects the link between social and academic stratification which requires more policy attention in Singapore (Gopinathan, 2015).

In Hong Kong, even though it is populated with over 95% of Cantonese-speaking Chinese population, there are also similar concerns about two specific groups of non-local students' educational performance. One group is the so-called "new immigrants" from the Chinese mainland who come to Hong Kong largely for family reunion. There new immigrant students were born in China with one or both of their parents residing permanently in Hong Kong. Some of these children face difficulties in adapting to the Hong Kong curriculum, in particular the learning of English language, together with a very different living environment and culture as compared with the Chinese mainland. This however does not rule out good academic performance accomplished by these immigrant students, some of whom performed even better than local students in PISA 2012. Ho (2017) explains their good performance as a result of their parents' strong desire to improve their living standards through their children's academic performance creating upward social mobility in the future. As most of these children's parents are from the lower income group, it is rather difficult for them to afford additional expenses for co-curricular activities, private tutoring and those DSS schools which charge high tuition fees.

Another group is the descendents of South Asian minorities who have been permanently residing in Hong Kong. Unlike those new Chinese immigrants, these South Asian minority students face the problem of Chinese proficiency, which is a prerequisite for them to find employments in the government and other institutions in Hong Kong (Yuen, 2017). Thus while there has been some progress, like Singapore, gaps persist. However, as Ho (2017) suggests with reference to PISA 2012 findings, Hong Kong has a better record than other countries like Singapore in providing education opportunity with relatively high quality and high equity, regardless of their socio-economic and cultural background.

The importance of education in Singapore and Hong Kong lies on its close relationship with the core value of meritocracy. It is believed that meritocracy provides equal opportunities to all in a non-discriminatory manner regardless of socio-economic background that those who perform well academically in the education system are rewarded scholarships, university places and eventually lucrative careers in the future. This is a core value for both places to identify and select elites impartially for effective governance. Nevertheless, these meritocratic elites will invest even more on their children's education so that they are advantaged to succeed in the education system and thus more likely to follow their parents' footsteps to become beneficiaries in the meritocratic system, which in turns contributes to a cycle of social stratification and reproduction across generations (Tan & Dimmock, 2015). Moreover with the Gini coefficient ranging between 0.45 and 0.54 in Singapore and Hong Kong respectively, which are among the highest among advanced economies, the problem of income inequality and social class difference and stratification is known to be more serious in both places than other developed economies. This

situation aroused the general public's discontent about the meritocratic system for not being effective to bring about equal opportunity nor social mobility but social segregation in favour of elitism.

These negative impacts of social and academic stratification as mentioned above have been recently tackled, for instance, by the Singapore government to make use of a new term called "compassionate meritocracy", which was first raised by former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong in November 2006, to ask for those who benefited from the meritocratic system to contribute to society by assisting the less able and less fortunate (Anwar, 2015). As shown in a survey conducted by the Institute of Policy Studies in 2013, most people in Singapore were in favour of a less competitive, more holistic education system which is also more inclusive that students can learn with others of different abilities and backgrounds (Amir, 2013). This shows that the government needs to be more responsive to the general public's reactions to major policy issues like ensuring meritocracy works properly with a level-playing field against the danger of nepotism and cronyism in Singapore society as what Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong has addressed recently (Seow, 2017).

For instance, Finance Minister Heng Swee Keat announced in his Budget 2016 the allocation of around S$20 million to launch the 3-year KidStart pilot scheme, which is aimed to benefit 1,000 children aged up to six from disadvantaged families through regular home visits, enhanced health and learning support as well as placement in pre-schools (*The Straits Times* 12 April 2016). The KidStart scheme was introduced to level the playing field for disadvantaged children and thus prevent social problems such as inequality and family dysfunction from becoming entrenched. This scheme will be made permanent as a means to break the cycle of poverty in Singapore (*The Straits Times* 17 July 2017). Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong also announced in his National Day Rally 2017 speech that children regardless of their family backgrounds to have equal opportunity to access quality and affordable preschool education and thus to give a level playing field to compete and succeed by providing more preschool places and upgrading the standards of preschool teachers (Lee, 2017).

As for Hong Kong, there has been also growing concern about the problem of social segregation and the lack of social mobility, both of which were considered one of the reasons explaining the involvements of young people in political movements which cumulated with the Umbrella Movement in 2014, which broke out in opposition to the Beijing's proposal of political reforms with a special focus on the arrangement of the Chief Executive election in 2017. In response to the youth's discontent, more resources are deemed necessary for the education sector that more opportunities for students to receive tertiary education can be made available. This is partly done by providing financial subsidies to students who study in local self-financed degree programmes. More new permanent teaching posts are to be created in order to accommodate a number of teachers who were originally hired on the contract basis (Lam, 2017). In short, the government needs to be more responsive to the needs of the general public and to be more communicative in response to the needs of stakeholders for making education policies. A more active role of the government in making education policies to offer more educational opportunities

for the disadvantaged groups, including students from low income families, new immigrant students from the Chinese mainland as well as South Asian minority students, is very much expected to maintain the core values of social fairness and justice in Hong Kong society.

Discussion: The Prospects and Challenges

Based on what has been discussed in the previous sections on the contexts and major policy directions of education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, this section turns to evaluate and discuss the prospects and challenges facing education reforms in achieving the policy goals of boosting economic competitiveness, cultivating national identity, and pursuing social equity. Unsurprisingly, there are certain constraints facing Singapore and Hong Kong for working out education reforms while both education systems are recognized and praised as two exemplary cases of HPES.

Achieving High Performance

The first two decades of the twenty-first century have witnessed a series of education policy initiatives have been adopted in Singapore and Hong Kong. Comprehensive education reforms, which similarly address the importance of twenty-first century skills in the age of globalisation, are being carried out with the aims of cultivating a culture of lifelong learning, educating students with creative, innovative and critical thinking skills, broadening students' learning experiences, and preparing students to be "future ready" and to be global citizens (Education Commission, 2000; Goh, 1997). Curriculum, pedagogy and examinations have been restructured in order to enhance students' autonomy in learning and to get rid of the examination-oriented and teacher-driven learning culture (Gopinathan & Mardiana, 2013). The standard and social status of the teaching profession has been improved substantially with strengthened teacher education and sophisticated professional development mechanisms (Tan, 2012). Education pathways have also been diversified to provide more opportunities for students to receive postsecondary and tertiary education. Both governments have endeavoured to transform Singapore and Hong Kong as education hubs with a more globalized outlook in line with the trend of internationalisation (Lee, 2010). In this sense, education also plays an important role to contribute to the wellbeing of both economies as it can serve as an industry for income-generation. As such, education reforms in both places have shown some promising achievements that their reform experiences have been widely admired and studied by other countries, both developed and developing ones.

Nevertheless, there is a dilemma that while Singapore and Hong Kong perform very well in those international rankings as mentioned earlier in this chapter, their

top performance is ironically achieved by rather traditional methods of teaching and learning in societies which are still very much examination-oriented in tandem with the strong influence of high-stakes public examinations, which are often used for selection purposes (Deng & Gopinathan, 2016). Although there has been steady and remarkable improvement of both Singapore and Hong Kong's performance in those international comparisons, high achieving students in both cities have been found to lack confidence and interest in core subjects like mathematics, science and reading, together with a high level of test anxiety among high performing students (Davie, 2017; OECD, 2017; Zhao 2015). These are the educational issues should be tackled properly apart from focusing on how education would serve the needs of economic competitiveness.

Refining National Education

With a strong emphasis on national education in recent years, schools have been consistently reminded of the importance of value and national education for a strong sense of national identity and belonging (Gopinathan, 2015; Gopinathan & Lee, 2013; J. Tan, 2008, 2010; Yuen et al., 2017).

In Singapore, the implementation of the NE programme has been largely well-received without much public resistance since its inception in 1997. While it is not yet clear how successful the NE programme in developing Singapore-committed citizenry, there has been some research pointing out some unfavourable impacts of the programme on encouraging uncritical acceptance of the ruling party's interpretation of Singapore's nation-building history and also a passive citizenship orientation (Sim & Print 2009). Some secondary school leavers even indicated that they could not remember what they were taught in citizenship education in schools (Han, 2017). Moreover, there have been more attempts by especially young and educated Singaporeans to work on alternative and non-official interpretation of Singapore's past with more in-depth historical analysis on archives and undisclosed official documents (see e.g. Baildon & Afandi, 2017; Thum, 2017). This may cause some challenges to the single, dominant historical narrative account of "The Singapore Story", which resembled the memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew, in the long run (Han, 2017).

In Hong Kong, as mentioned in the previous section, the newly proposed MNE programme was not implemented in face of strong public resistance in 2012. Some critics contend that the MNE curriculum does not offer a fair representation of events and views of different stakeholders on socio-political developments in Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland. Hong Kong citizens used to open and robust political debate with considerable space for political activism and they worried that the proposed MNE curriculum would not lead to the development of an informed citizenry that is capable of looking for evidence for in-depth analysis. Instead it was believed to have an exorable trend towards "mainlandism" or the dominance of

mainland style patriotic education in the curriculum, which eventually would lead to a diminution of human rights in Hong Kong.

Surveys conducted by two major teachers' unions in Hong Kong, namely the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union and Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers, demonstrate strong reluctance among teachers to work on the proposed MNE curriculum which was widely deemed not well-prepared and without sufficient training and support for them to teach the new subject in primary and secondary schools. The Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong also opposed the MNE curriculum. Cardinal Joseph Zen commented the curriculum as an effort by the government to "brainwash students ... into mainland style patriotic education." (Chong, 2011) Others see an implied criticism that Hong Kong citizens and young people are not patriotic enough and thus MNE is an attempt "to develop positive values and attitudes so as to facilitate identity building through developing 'affection for the country'." Though the subject will not be formally examined in schools, one suggested technique of assessment is through peer review to see if students have demonstrated desirable qualities of Chinese national citizens (Chong, 2012).

Nonetheless, with National Education being identified as a pressing issue by the Chinese government, together with Carrie Lam's, who was sworn in as Hong Kong's Chief Executive in July 2017, determination to nurture future generations as citizens who are socially responsible with a sense of national identity, it is not surprising that the National Education programme will be put forward once again, perhaps this time with much more careful planning and preparation. One way to deepen students' understanding about the mainland could be done with history education, as Lam suggested in her election manifesto, by making Chinese History a compulsory subject for junior secondary school students. It would be less controversial than creating a standalone subject of National Education with overtly political features.

Bringing Back Social Equity

How to achieve equitable educational opportunity has become another concern with widening income gaps and social class differences in both Singapore and Hong Kong; individual's educational achievement or success seems to be increasingly related to social class and family backgrounds. It is argued that the problem of inequitable educational opportunity concomitant with the trend of parentocracy would be one of the most important issues to be tackled by policymakers in both Singapore and Hong Kong (e.g. Chua & Ng, 2015; Gopinathan, 2007, 2015; Ho, 2010; Ng, 2013; J. Tan, 2010, 2014; Yuen, 2017).

Meritocracy has long been a core cultural value for Singapore and Hong Kong. This is because education plays a crucial role in identifying and selecting elites for both societies which consistently emphasize the importance of the principles of fairness, non-discrimination, and equality of opportunity. Meritocracy refers to the

rewarding of individual merit with social rank, job positions, higher incomes, general recognition and prestige, and, in the education system, greater educational resources. It points to merit as a rule or principle that governs how the economy, society, and politics are organized. Individuals are motivated to do the best that they can for their own merits matter whether they would become successful in the society or not (Lim, 2013; K. Tan, 2008, 2010, 2017). Meritocracy, which ensures a clean and efficient government, is also a fundamental principle of governance guiding the selection of political elites through national examinations and scholarships offered by the government and its related institutions (Wong, 2013). Singapore Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong has recently stressed that meritocracy must remain a key pillar of Singapore society to guard against social inequity and also the "greater dangers of nepotism and cronyism." The government would intervene and make appropriate policies to ensure meritocracy works in the country so that every citizen has equal opportunities at the starting line and a fair chance to succeed throughout life (Seow, 2017).

Nevertheless, there have been concerns whether this meritocratic system is really open to all and run on a level-playing field or whether it would be dominated by the elitist class in the society. Singapore's founding Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who believed in eugenics, upheld a view that there is a relationship between parents' educational achievements and their children's. This view was translated into a controversial policy initiative in that the better educated were encouraged to have more children. In other words, this implies that only individuals whose parents are well-educated and from middle or upper classes are more likely to succeed in this meritocratic and elitist education system, which focuses on elite selection and formation. Barr (2014) points out that a majority of top scholarship recipients have been from certain elite schools such as Raffles and Hwa Chong. Meanwhile it is more likely for these top schools to admit students whose fathers are university graduates than neighbourhood schools and they are more likely to live in private property (Davie, 2013). A similar situation can also be found among those DSS schools whose high tuition fees in Hong Kong probably exclude those students from working class and lower income group.

It is therefore possible to argue that over the decades a paradigm shift from meritocracy to parentocracy has occurred. Education achievement is now more likely determined by their parents' wealth and social networks instead of their own ability and efforts alone (Brown & Lauder, 2001; Goh, 2015; Lee & Morris, 2016; Tsang, 2011). Parents are playing a more prominent role in deciding their children's education pathways. The cultural capital available to upper and middle class parents is more important in making sure children's success in such a highly competitive education system like Singapore (J. Tan, 2014). Parents are able to use different means in ensuring their children to be admitted to top or elite schools, be able to move to areas near those well to do schools, to volunteer in those schools, and to invest heavily in private tuition to prepare their children for public examinations like Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) and to get them into specialized programmes like gifted education programme or integrated programmes offered in those elite schools (Ng, 2013). The similar phenomena are also commonly found in

Hong Kong where competition in the schooling system has been getting tougher in recent years. Some wealthier households belong to the middle or upper social class are sending their children to study in international schools or study abroad if they find it affordable (Tsang, 2011). The situation is complicated with the difficulties facing both new Chinese immigrant and ethnic minority students to integrate with the mainstream schooling system in Hong Kong (Yuen, 2017).

Considered as a key to social mobility and also a "fair and just society", meritocracy should be strengthened and ensured to be working at all time. The principle of "equality of opportunity," which allows each person having similar opportunities in life to reach his or her individual potential and to excel in his or her chosen path, should be upheld. What most people concern is how policies, including education ones, would advance a fair and just society which can improve people's livelihoods (Toh, 2017). The latest move to revamp, expand and increase funding substantially in the preschool sector in Singapore, for instance, is therefore considered a major move to level the playing field for children regardless of their families' socio-economic backgrounds to access high quality and affordable early childhood education for a good start of life. As Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong highlighted in his National Rally Speech of 2017:

> ... [W]e are emphasising preschools to achieve a broader social purpose because access to affordable, quality preschools will help level the playing field for young children. Today, every child goes to a good school. We want every child to go to a good preschool so that all children, regardless of family background, have the best possible start in life. We must do this because every child counts and if we get this right, we will foster social mobility and sustain a fair and just society. So it is a practical thing that we are doing but it is a strategic goal which we are aiming for. (Lee, 2017)

Addressing the importance of social mobility through ensuring equal opportunities for all as a goal to be achieved by the reform of early childhood education, Lee mentioned:

> ... [I]t is to make sure that we help all the kids, particularly those who do not have an advantaged background, to have a good start in life, not to be at a disadvantage, to be able to have equal opportunities just like everybody else. (Lee, 2017)

Therefore, from all these, strengthening meritocracy and social equity is expected to remain a core issue for education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong alike.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the contexts of education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, where education is consistently linked to economic competitiveness during the age of globalisation. Although education developments in most countries are subject to the influence of globalisation, which is signified by the growing popularity of neoliberal market-oriented ideas and practices as well as the common practice of

policy borrowing to learn the "best practices" from those countries which are ranked top in international ranking and comparison exercises, including Singapore and Hong Kong. It seems that a heavy emphasis is put on globalisation as a core rationale of education reform for the sake of strengthening economic competitiveness. This is more concerned about economic globalisation that education reforms are deemed necessary.

Apart from boosting economic competitiveness, which is a key concern for most economies in the age of globalisation, this chapter has also suggested two other core functions performed by education reforms in Singapore and Hong Kong, including the inculcation of a sense of national identity and belonging through national education as well as the preservation of social equity in line with the core value of meritocracy. It has suggested to adopt a multi-perspective approach to look into how education can contribute to political and social developments. Additionally, while Singapore and Hong Kong are similarly praised as HPES, both have to encounter constraints and limitations to get their reform policies worked out. For instance, the implementation of MNE programme has been subject to the influence of political environment in Hong Kong whereas the Singapore government needs to attend to the growing public concerns about upholding meritocracy and social justice through education.

In conclusion, these two cases show that education reforms and developments are affected simultaneously by global and local factors. Reforms and policies cannot be just copied from other countries' best practices without considering the local contexts for education is to serve the national and community interests. The notion of striking a balance between global and local reflects that local interests would never be forsaken entirely by global trends. The state remains crucial in dealing with risks induced from economic globalisation which in turn affects the fate of individual countries. Another observation is the different state capacity of policy implementation between Singapore and Hong Kong. The former enjoys a high level of trust from the people with strong political legitimacy that there is not much resistance to get policies implemented, whereas the latter had been facing a serious governance crisis for the government was not trusted by the people that it was extremely difficult for policies to get through. Nevertheless the strong developmental state in Singapore still needs to adjust by accommodating a more participative style of governance instead of paternalistic with the society becoming more matured with a larger proportion of well-education and middle class population, which may be more prepared for a mindset change to take a more active role in these reforms and policy changes.

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Chapter 12
What Impact Systemic Education Reforms Have Made on Key Aspects of the Education Systems?

Yin Cheong Cheng

Abstract Many education systems have implemented systemic reforms covering numerous new initiatives in nine trends since the turn of new century. After decades of implementation, it would be significant to know what impacts these reforms have made on key aspects of the education systems and what lessons can be learnt from them for future policy analysis, formulation and implementation locally and internationally. This article aims to provide a preliminary exploration of these issues with Hong Kong's systemic education reforms. In Parsons' construct of structural functionalism (Parsons, 1966), it is argued that a social system should serve four systemic functions such as adaptation, goal achievement, integration and pattern maintenance to survive and flourish in an environment of change and uncertainties. To explore the above issues, this article investigates what impacts of the reform have been made on the four functions of education system including "Has education been more effective?" (goal achievement), "Has the teaching workforce been better brought into work?" (adaptation), "Have stakeholders been more satisfied and united?" (integration), and "Have education policies been more legitimate and acceptable?" (pattern maintenance). It is hoped that such a preliminary observation with multiple sources of empirical data can provide an illustrative case to explore the possible issues and concerns of systemic education reforms initiated in the last two decades in different parts of the world and draw local and international implications for further development of new initiatives in education for the future.

Introduction

Since the end of 1990s, there were numerous education reforms initiated in different parts of the world with aims to face up with the coming challenges from globalization, economic transformation, and international competitions in the new century.

Y. C. Cheng (✉)
Department of Education Policy and Leadership, The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, SAR China
e-mail: yccheng@eduhk.hk

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Most of these reforms were systemic reforms involving many new initiatives or changes at different levels of the education systems. As reported by Cheng & Townsend (2000) and Cheng (2005a), these reforms often shared nine common trends at macro, meso, site, and operational levels, as shown in Table 12.1.

Most education systems in the Asia-Pacific region often implemented systemic reforms covering numerous new initiatives in these nine trends at the turn of new century. For example, among them were Australia, Cambodia, PR. China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand and Singapore (see, e.g., Baker, 2001; Caldwell, 2001; Castillo, 2001; Cheng, 2001a, 2001b; Rajput, 2001; Rung, 2001; Sereyrath, 2001; Shan & Chang, 2000; Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2001; Suzuki, 2000; Tang, 2001; Townsend, 2000; Yu, 2001). The scope and scale of these systemic reforms were so huge and the related dynamics was so complex but they had to be planned and implemented with limited scarce resources within short time frames.

Given that, the author had repeatedly alerted the local and international communities to avoid any potential risks and negative effects from the "*reform syndromes*" and "*bottle-neck effects*" of large scale education reforms in the last decade (Cheng, 2005a, 2008, 2009, 2015). Recently, after reviewing the education reforms worldwide in the past two decades, the author has proposed "*a typology of multiple dilemmas*" to illustrate how many systemic education reforms with good intentions finally failed in implementation due to the lacking of understanding and managing some key dilemmas and related tensions in policy formulation and implementation. These dilemmas include (1) *orientation dilemmas* between globalization and localization, (2) *paradigm dilemmas* between the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd waves of reforms (3) *financial dilemmas* between public interest and privatization, (4) *resources dilemmas* between multiple and parallel initiatives, (5) *knowledge dilemmas* in planning and implementation at different levels, (6) *political dilemmas* between multiple stakeholders, and (7) *functional dilemmas* between school-based management and central platform in education reforms (Cheng, 2018).

Table 12.1 Nine trends of education reforms at four levels

Levels	Trends of education reforms
Macro	1. Re-establishing National Vision & Education Aims
	2. Restructuring school system
	3. Market-driving, privatizing & diversifying education
Meso	4. Parental & community involvement
Site	5. Ensuring quality, standards & accountability in education
	6. School-based management
	7. Development of teachers & principals
Operational	8. Paradigm shift in teaching, learning & curriculum
	9. IT & new technology in education

Adapted from Cheng (2005a) and Cheng and Townsend (2000)

After decades of implementation of education reforms with similar trends in the Asia-Pacific region and other parts of the world, it would be significant to know how successful these reforms were in achieving the planned policy goals and what lessons can be learnt from them for future policy analysis, formulation and implementation locally and internationally. This article aims to provide a preliminary exploration of these issues with Hong Kong's systemic education reforms as the case.

In the last two decades, Hong Kong, as an international city meeting the west and the east, has implemented large-scale systemic education reforms, covering nearly all key initiatives of the nine trends of worldwide education reforms at different levels.

In response to the increasingly competitive economic environment and the political transition in July 1997 from being a British colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, the society of Hong Kong had high expectations and new demands of education. The first wave of education from 1984 to 2000, the Education Commission issued seven major reports (Education Commission, 1984–1997). The proposed initiatives covered the following areas in school education: language teaching and learning, teacher quality, private sector school improvements, curriculum development, teaching and learning conditions, and special education. This first wave of educational reforms in Hong Kong had its root in the assumption that the policy-makers have clear education aims and could find out the best practices to enhance effectiveness or the optimal solutions to solve major problems for all schools at the school-site level. The first wave initiatives were generally characterized by a top-down approach with an emphasis on external intervention or increasing resources input. Ignoring the school-based needs, the impacts of most initiatives proposed by the Education Commission were often limited, fragmented and short-term on improvement in school education (Cheng, 2000, 2015).

In the 1990s, there was a growing international movement of education reforms emphasizing quality assurance, school monitoring and review, parental choice, student coupons, marketization, school competitions, school-based management, parental and community involvement in governance, school charter, and performance-based funding (Cheng & Townsend, 2000; Mohandas, Meng, & Keeves, 2003; Mok et al., 2003; Mukhopadhyay, 2001; Pang et al., 2003).

Hong Kong, like its counterparts in the world, started its second wave of education reforms through the Education Commission (1997) Report No. 7 and other initiatives proposed by the Hong Kong SAR Government since 1997. The key reforms and initiatives are summarized in Table 12.2. Comparing Table 12.1 and Table 12.2, we can see that Hong Kong education reforms since the end of 1990s were in line with the major international trends. Therefore, taking the Hong Kong as the case to study the impacts of its education reform phenomenon after two decades may be helpful to draw some insights for future policy discussion and research locally and internationally.

Table 12.2 Initiatives of Education Reforms in Hong Kong since 1997

Initiatives	Policy papers
School-based management	Education Commission Report No.7 (1997)
Change in school governance	Advisory Committee on School-based Management (2000)
	Education (amendments) Ordinance (2004)
Measures for quality assurance in education	Education Commission Report No. 7 (1997)
Education system review: Aims and structures	Education Commission (1999a January, 1999b September)
New framework and proposals to reform all levels	
Reforming the admission systems and public examinations so as to break down barriers and create room for all;	
Reforming the curricula and improving teaching methods;	
Improving the assessment mechanism to supplement learning and teaching;	
Providing more diverse opportunities for lifelong learning at senior secondary level and beyond;	
Formulating an effective resources strategy;	
Enhancing the professionalism of teachers; and	
Implementing measures to support frontline educators	Education Commission (2000a May, 2000b September)
Curriculum change in 9-years universal education	Curriculum Development Council (2001)
School-based curriculum development	
Short-term strategies (2000–2005)	
Medium-term strategies (2005–2010)	
Long-term strategies (2010 and beyond)	
Changes in senior secondary education and higher education:	Education and Manpower Bureau (2005)
Change to a new 334 academic structure from 2009/2010	
Comprehensive reforms in senior secondary curriculum and the public examination	
Medium of instruction and allocation of school places	Education Commission Working Group (2005)
School self-evaluation and external school review	Education Manpower Bureau (2004)
Territory-wide system assessment (TSA)	EMB Circular Letter (2005)
Information technology in education	Education and Manpower Bureau (1998, 2004)
A five-year strategy (1998/99–2002/03)	Education Bureau (2007)
Updated strategy (2004)	
Third strategy (2007)	

(continued)

Table 12.2 (continued)

Initiatives	Policy papers
Quality education fund:	Quality Education Fund (1998)
School-based innovations	
Initiatives for promoting the quality of education	
Teacher education and principal training:	Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Qualifications: Review Report (ACTEQ) (1998, Jan)
Review the existing in-service and pre-service teacher education in Hong Kong	
Teacher competencies framework (2003)	University Grants Committee (UGC): Review report (1998, Feb)
A framework requesting aspiring principals, newly appointed principals and serving principals	ACTEQ (2003)
	Task Group on Training and Development of School Heads (1999; Education Department, 2002)

Note: For the details, please see Cheng (2015)

According to the T. Parsons' Structural Functionalism theory (Parsons, 1966), a social system should serve four systemic functions such as adaptation, goal achievement, integration and pattern maintenance in order to survive and flourish in an environment of change and uncertainties. If we want to study the impacts of a systemic education reform, we would investigate what impacts of the reform have been made on the four functions of education system after the implementation of education reform. Since the education reforms cover a wide scope, as a preliminary study we would focus the study on four key aspects of the education system, including "Has education been more effective?" (goal achievement), "Has the teaching workforce been better brought into work?" (adaptation), "Have stakeholders been more satisfied and united?" (integration), and "Have education policies been more legitimate and acceptable?" (pattern maintenance). Hopefully, such preliminary observation can provide a case to explore the issues and concerns of systemic education reforms initiated in the last two decades in the Asia-Pacific region and other parts of the world and draw implications for further development of new initiatives for the future.

Has Education Been more Effective?

Is education more effective in terms of goal achievement after many years of education reforms? While the authority concerned is always declaring the success of education reforms by citing the excellent performance of Hong Kong secondary

school students in international assessment programmes (such as PISA and TIMSS), this is regrettably misleading. Hong Kong students have performed brilliantly in such programmes and won many international awards over the past two decades or so, prior to the systemic education reforms. Meanwhile, the effectiveness or impact of the education reform since 1997 can be judged by the following indicators and data.

High Rates of Substandard Performance The Secondary Three students sitting the Territory-wide System Assessment (TSA) of Hong Kong Examination and Assessment Authority (HKEAA) in 2006 were mostly brought up in the first 7–8 years of the education reforms. And the ratios of such students failing to meet the basic standards in Chinese, English and Mathematics were 24.4%, 31.4% and 21.6% respectively. The overall failure rate of these three subjects was as high as 20% to 30%, which indicated severe ineffectiveness of education. In 2015, students failing to meet the basic standards of three subjects remained at worrying ratios of 22.8%, 30.6% and 20.1% respectively (HKEAA, 2006, 2015).

The education reforms have failed to lower the rates of substandard performance despite the efforts over all those years. "Remedial and enhancement programmes" are an important part of education reforms and are intended to endow every student with the chance of successful development. Whether top students have the opportunity to harness their potential remains to be seen, but those remedial programmes have been anything but effective during the past decade or so of education reforms. We still see a large number of Secondary Three students failing to meet the basic standards, not to mention "never give up a single student".

Despite all those new initiatives in the first 8 years of education reforms, as many as 20,300 secondary school graduates (Secondary Five students) scored a zero mark in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) in 2006, accounting for 17.2% of all candidates.

Under the new Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE) system from 2012 to 2015, about 30.5% to 31.7% day school candidates (12,670–14,643 students) have failed to "meet the basic standards of diploma" (i.e., level 2 or above in five Category A subjects)[1] or "Attained" (=level 2) or above in Category B subjects, including Chinese Language and English Language), which is significant in terms of the ratio and the number. (HKEAA, 2012, 2015). Those students are not qualified for admission to sub-degree programmes or application for civil servant posts. In general, they were left with two choices: either re-sit the examination as repeaters, or find a job for themselves. In spite of the education reforms over all those years, a large number of students still fail to meet the basic standards, and the goal of "all students can learn and succeed" is yet to be achieved.

[1]For Category A subjects, the levels of performance include 5** (the highest), 5*, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 (the lowest). For Category B subjects, "Attained with Distinction" is equal to level 3 for Category A subjects, while "Attained" is equivalent to level 2.

No Solution to the Problem of High in Score But Low in Ability The education reforms were targeted to solve the problems of training up students to be "high in score but low in ability" and focusing too much on examinations. In reality, none of them have been solved over all these years. The overall mind-set in our society remains unchanged. Students' performance in public examinations and their study pathways still dominate the survival of schools and the mind-set of parents. Since the beginning of the education reforms, the authority concerned had introduced a number of assessment initiatives, such as the Basic Competency Assessments (BCA), the Territory-wide System Assessment (TSA), the Pre-Secondary 1 Hong Kong Attainment Test, the secondary school public examinations and academic value-added indicators. What was more, government-funded universities picked students mainly based on their results in public examinations. As a result, students had to face more fierce competition, more frequent examinations and more distorted education.

Primary Six students often had to prepare for several exams during their summer vacation, and the situation keeps worsening. In 2015–2016, a large number of parents protested against the drilling exercises caused by the TSA and demanded an abolition of the Primary Three TSA.

With the mentality of "winning at the starting line" among parents and other stakeholders, students were given even more tutorial sessions and extra-curricular learning. Their leisure time was squeezed and their physical and mental health was affected. According to the "Survey on Leisure Life of Students in Hong Kong 2014" jointly conducted by the Boys' & Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union and the Graduate Association of Colleges of Education (2014), students' mental health was unsatisfactory and worthy of attention. The survey included a scale to measure the mental health status of students. The scale scores range from 0 to 12. A lower score means better mental health, and vice versa. A score of 4 or above requires attention. In the survey, as many as 60% of Hong Kong students score 4 or above. While primary school students do better than their counterparts in secondary schools, there were still nearly half of them with score 4 or above. The mental health of school children was worrying. Based on a variety of data, the report suggested that the Government should review policy measures related to "after-school activities" and "other learning experiences" under the education reforms over the years, so as to contain the tendency of such after-school activities eventually becoming part of the curriculum.

In April 2014, the Hong Kong Research Association (2014) published the "Type Survey on Time Allocation by Students in Hong Kong", which identified serious problems and concerns similar to the above report:

1. Excessive learning time: On average, Hong Kong students spend about 2.2 h on homework, 1.7 h on tutorial sessions and 1.4 h on after-school activities every day, on top of 5 h of regular classes in schools. They spend a total of 62.2 h on learning every week, or 8 h more than the 54 h by their British counterparts. This has reflected the long learning hours and great stress faced by the students of Hong Kong.

2. "Working hours" longer than full-time employees: Kindergarten, primary and secondary school students spend an average of about 49.1, 66.5 and 76.5 h on learning respectively every week, all higher than the average 49 h per week by full-time employees across the territory.
3. Excessive time on extra-curricular learning: The total daily hours spent on homework, tutorial sessions and after-school activities are about 4.4 (kindergartens), 5.5 (primary schools) and 5.7 (secondary schools), respectively.
4. Severe lack of sleep: Students sleep for about 6.9 h per day on average. The daily sleeping time of kindergarten, primary and secondary students is about 7.9, 6.8 and 6.5 h on average, respectively, all fewer than the number of sleeping hours recommended by the Faculty of Medicine of the Chinese University of Hong Kong for children between 5 and 12 years of age (10–12 h) and those between 12 and 18 years old (9–10 h). This shows the severe lack of sleep among Hong Kong students, which will affect their physical and mental development.

Greater Popularity of Tutorial Classes Among the "Score-Oriented" Mentality Tutorial classes were becoming increasingly popular. Tutorial service had bloomed and become a big industry. The spending on tutorial sessions reached as much as 300 million dollars per month and over three billion dollars per annum. According to a survey conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (March 2013), the percentage of adolescent students attending tutorial sessions at the time of interview surged from 34.1% in 1996 to 56.7% in 2009 and 63.3% in 2012, after the education reforms, representing an increase of 66.2% and 85.6% respectively. This showed a strong need for students to attend tutorial classes after the education reforms.

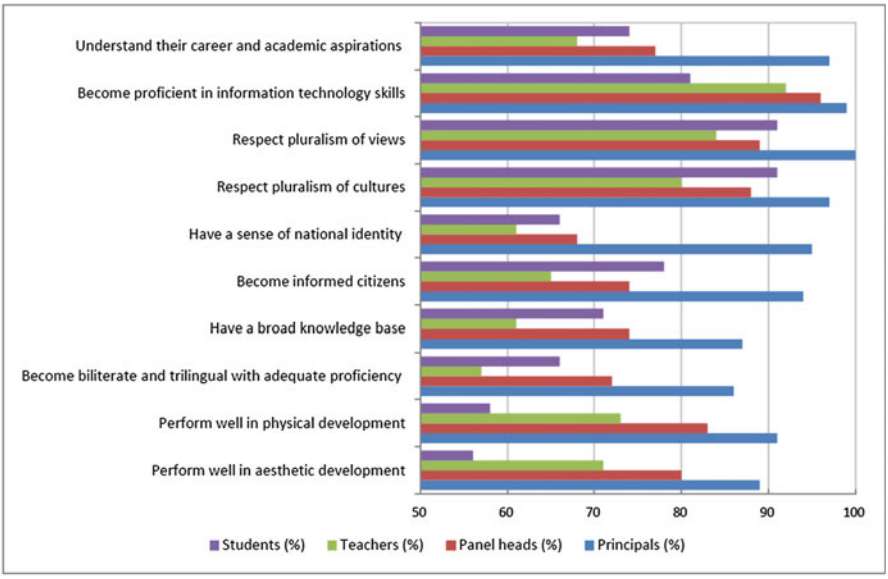
According to the survey report, 70.7% of the students attending tutorial classes did so for remedial purposes (i.e. looking for improvement due to poor academic performance) before the education reforms (in 1996). The percentage gradually decreased to 57.5% in 2009 and further to 37.8% in 2012. On the contrary, there was a sharp rise in the percentage of students looking for enhancement by means of tutorial sessions, from 0% in 1996 to 17.3% in 2009 and then to 25.1% in 2012. There is clearly a growing trend that "learning also means scoring higher marks". While the above figures illustrate changes in the culture of learning and examinations, they may have the following implications:

1. Parents' and students' needs and expectations regarding remedial and enhancement measures are not satisfied by schools under the education reforms. With parents and students relying more and more on tutorial classes, the education reforms are obviously a failure in this regard.
2. Students attend tutorial classes regardless of their grades and academic performance, with more and more classes targeting brilliant students looking for enhancement. And they do so increasingly for getting higher marks.
3. Since the launch of the education reforms, more than 50–60% of students had taken extra tutorial sessions. This clearly indicates great changes in the functions and effectiveness of the school system. Most parents have just lost confidence in school education.

4. What were the key impacts of "tutorial classes for all" on students' education and development? What was wrong with schools and teachers, so that so many students were keen to take tutorial classes? The authority concerned should conduct a comprehensive review of the impact of the education reforms on schools and teachers.

Inefficacy of Curriculum and Assessment Reform The reform of senior secondary curriculum and assessment was one of major parts of the Hong Kong education reforms, implemented from 2009. It aimed to achieve new targets such as "All can learn and succeed", "Access for all up to secondary 6 to unleash potential", "Focus on whole person development, knowledge, generic skills, values and attitudes, broadened perspectives and global outlook", "Caters for diversity, Applied Learning, Other Languages, Adapted Curriculum (students with intellectual disabilities)", et al. (CDC, HKEAA, & EDB, 2013, p.6). Has the new curriculum reform achieved these targets?

According to the progress review report of CDC, HKEAA, & EDB (2013), the views of surveyed principals, panel heads, teachers and students about student performance in achieving ten items of new learning goals after the implementation of senior secondary curriculum reforms were summarized in Fig. 12.1.



Source: "New Senior Secondary Curriculum Implementation Study 2011". Number of respondents: principals 86; panel heads 515, Secondary 6 teachers 838, Secondary 6 students 4,614. Students were asked to respond on their own performance.

Fig. 12.1 Views of sampled principals, panel heads, teachers and students about student performance in achieving ten items of new learning goals. (% agreeing)

In general, over 85% of principals agreeing their students achieving the ten items of learning goals, but very different from the views of teachers and students. For teachers, over 30% of teachers disagreed that their students achieved "Understand their career and academic aspirations" (33%), "Perform well in physical development", and "Perform well in aesthetic development." Over 40% of teachers disagreed that their students achieved "Have a sense of national identity"(40%), "Become informed citizens"(36%), "Have a broad knowledge base"(38%), and "Become biliterate and trilingual with adequate proficiency"(44%). The teachers' views were quite negative about students' performance.

For students, over 20% of them disagreed that they achieved "Understand their career and academic aspirations" (26%) and "Become informed citizens (23%). Near 30% or above of students disagreed that they achieved "Have a sense of national identity"(34%), "Have a broad knowledge base"(29%), and "Become biliterate and trilingual with adequate proficiency"(34%). More than 40% of them disagreed that they achieved "Perform well in physical development" (42%) and "Perform well in aesthetic development" (44%).

From the above findings, while we can see that 20%–40% of teachers and students had negative or conservative views about students' performance in achieving the new learning goals, it was difficult to say the curriculum reforms have achieved the planned targets.

As revealed by the Education Bureau in "Survey on New Senior Secondary Subject Information", during the last 5 years (from 2011/12 to 2015/16), the number of students in secondary five decreased consistently when comparing to that of the same group in secondary four. Each year, there was quite a large number of students who ceased to study the new senior secondary education, ranging between 4000 and 4800 in total. The proportion of students terminating their studies grew continuously, from 6.1% in 2011/12 to 6.8% in 2015/16, reaching a new high since the implementation of new academic structure. For secondary six students graduated in 2015/16, there was an accumulative total of 7300 students in the past 2 years (i.e. secondary four and five) opted to drop out of the new curriculum and eventually quit the Diploma of Secondary Education (DSE) public examination. The figure indicates that the new curriculum does not accommodate the needs of a large group of students, causing thousands of students to give up their DSE examination.

Together with the issues aforementioned, in the last 4 years of new DSE examination (2012–2015), around 30% of candidates (approximately 30.5%–31.7%), failed to reach the basic standard with level descriptor "attain basic competencies of Diploma", proving that basic structural problems and difficulties in implementation exist between the new senior secondary curriculum and examination, resulting in a massive group of students being unable to achieve the objectives of new curriculum. In this sense, how do we claim this new curriculum reform as successful, and make "all students receive senior secondary education, to unleash their potentials"? In all, the upheavals of the education reform, have not yet brought about education of higher efficacy after all these years!

Has the Teaching Workforce Been Better Brought into Work?

It is all up to teachers whether education reforms succeed or not and whether the quality of education is ensured or not. Can teachers do a better job during the education reforms? Creating favourable conditions to facilitate teachers' work through "breaking barriers" was one of key initiatives and slogans of Hong Kong education reform. What has happened to teachers and schools after the reform has been implemented for years?

Teaching Work Is Alienized Since 2000, there was a continuous decline in student population which caused to close some schools or reduce many classes each year to save public resources. To survive in such a context, teachers and schools had to struggle for student intake in a very competitive environment. It created a great pressure to teachers to market their schools and recruit students, causing them to put aside their education duties for such irrelevant tasks as distributing flyers, setting up booths, marketing, struggling for survival, and exhausting themselves.

With this pressure, education would become alienized and bubbled particularly stimulated by the various initiatives of education reform. Some common examples of education alienization phenomena can be illustrated to demonstrate the seriousness of the problem.

School self-evaluation and external review, one of key initiatives of education reform, became the test of the survival of schools, during which the entire school would be engaged, preparing for months, piling up documents, to make it foolproof safe. Participation in professional development programmes alienized to be a lifebuoy before the shipwreck, the more the better. It became the insurance in class-reduction and school closure, safeguarding teachers' job when changing from school to school, even if it was too tiring. Extracurricular-activities and outreaching services distorted into school marketing and propagation, the catchier the better. Schools were proud of their more and bigger banners, which were hanging everywhere. Communication with parents and students deviated into customer services, trading in the market, losing the precious spirit in education.

Inclusive education policy being a part of the education reform, bent into a student-snatching competition with massive promotion, neglecting the capacity of school infrastructures and expertise, competing for as many students as possible, regardless of how special the needs of students were and whether these students were appropriate.

Worsening Working Conditions Not providing sufficient resources (such as small class teaching and improving student-teacher ratio, etc.) in the education reform, forcefully changing student ability grouping from five to three, and pushing through inclusive education in primary and secondary schools, resulted in rapid widening of individual differences amongst students in class, worsening problems faced by students and teachers. The conditions for teaching and learning were getting more

unfavourable. It would get harder and harder for teachers to take care of all 30–40 students in the class and their corresponding emotional issues and individual needs (Cheng, 2015).

Besides, teachers were fully occupied with non-teaching tasks from many parallel initiatives of education reforms, having no time to talk to students. Even if they wished to help their students, they had no way doing it. In addition, with the lack of resources and support, developing school-based curriculum and innovation (initiated by education reforms) was just like "Home-made Steel Campaign" in the Great Leap Forward of China, draining massive time and effort from teachers. Subsequently, teaching and work of development were all weakened and problematized. Because of this, teachers were bound to fail the expectation of high quality teaching for public examinations from parents and students, who then turned to outside tutorial sessions. This may explain why the demand of tutorials soars after the education reform (Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 2013).

Difficulties in Curriculum and Assessment Reforms From 2009 onwards, the new curriculum and assessment systems of the new academic structure were launched for the senior secondary education. This reform was an upheaving, large-scaled revolution. Excluding the limited resources from the Government, secondary schools and teachers, undoubtedly, incurred heavy costs and encountered lots of difficulties. Between 2010 and 2015, quite a lot of associations and organizations from the education sector conducted numerous researches and reported on implementation of the curriculum and assessment reform, as well as the difficulties and challenges faced by teachers, students, and schools, urging for improvement or resolution.

Based on these reports, a preliminary analysis of the common concerns and challenges presented at the Review Forum of the New Academic Structure organized by the Hong Kong Association of Heads of Secondary Schools and the Hong Kong Subsidized Secondary Schools Council was summarized as follows (Cheng, 2013),

1. Issues in curriculum reform: Students and teachers generally experienced structural difficulties in curriculum, of which resolution was beyond their abilities. When comparing with the situation before the education reform, what they were dealing with was even more time-consuming, difficult, and ineffective. Major problems included "hardship imposed by great learner diversities on teaching and learning", "prolonged overall class time and endless supplementary classes", "overly difficult and board curriculum for teachers and students", "heavy chores for recording *Other Learning Experiences* and time-consuming *Student Learning Profiles* of which the effectiveness is doubted", and so on;
2. Issues in assessment reform: External and internal school reviews were far too complicated, covering a wide range of areas, costing too much time and effort from teachers and students, while the operation was laborious. Issues involved were "cumbersome procedures and inefficiency of multi-disciplinary school-based assessment which created hard times for teachers and students", "huge resource wasting due to multi-papers for a single subject", "hardship for students

and teachers to practice baseless *Independent Enquiry Study* in Liberal Studies", "Many students dropping their selected subjects at Secondary Five, resulting in narrow choices of subjects", and so on, which were mostly structural difficulties in the assessment reform;

3. Straitened circumstances for teaching: The structurally demanding, extensive and complicated curriculum and assessment reforms created high costs in time and effort. The situation for teaching and learning was made extremely difficult, inducing complications such as "hard time for students to cope with learning under limited time and space", "mismatch of staffing and workload of teachers", "enormous class size and numerous subgroups", "insufficient administrative support", "inadequate resources for *Applied Learning*", etc.;
4. Gaps between the teaching conditions and the reforms in curriculum and assessment: The structurally restrictive and onerous reforms of curriculum and assessment generated difficulties to ensure matching between curriculum reform and assessment reform; curriculum reform and teaching conditions; and assessment reform and teaching conditions. Deficiency in financial and human resources together with the lack of relevant experience and knowledge further resulted in problematic implementation of education reforms.

Low Morale and Suffering Mental Health In 2004 when the implementation of educational reforms was at the high peak, there were emerging evidences of negative impacts documented by five different sources including:

1. Report on Hong Kong Teachers' Mood by the Hong Kong Mood Disorder Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK, 30 June 2004);
2. Survey Report on the Heath of Primary School Teachers by the Hong Kong Cosmo Physiotherapy Centre (Physiotherapy Centre, 7 May 2004);
3. Report on Teachers' Work Pressure by The Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (HKFEW, 9 June 2004);
4. Survey Report on Teachers' Work Pressure by Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (HKPTU, 3 November 2003); and
5. Research Report on Teaches in Four Cities by Ng and Koa (2003).

Even though these research reports were conducted by different professional bodies or scholars from different perspectives in different time frameworks, their findings consistently revealed a big picture of teachers' physical, psychological, and working conditions in crisis due to educational reforms.

For example, the survey conducted by Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK, 2004) reported a 25.2% of primary and secondary school teachers suffered from emotional disorders, i.e. around 12,000 teachers. This report and that of HKFEW (2004) found around 2000 to 2500 teachers (about 4% to 5.2%) were suicidal. Physiotherapy Centre (2004), HKPTU (2003), and HKFEW (2004) also indicated that about 50%–52% primary and secondary school teachers felt uncontrollable and mentally draining pressure from work. Morale of teachers was

extremely low. The report from CUHK, HKFEW and HKPTU all stated that 37%–56% primary and secondary school teachers considered resigning from the job. This high index of pressure and resignation rate reflected the entire community of teachers in a state of mental breakdown.

During 2007 and 2010, the Strategic Planning Office of The Hong Kong Institute of Education (2011) conducted two comprehensive surveys on "The Workload of Teachers in Hong Kong Primary and Secondary Schools". The results released in March 2011, showing that in 2010, teachers in Hong Kong were still under great pressure from work, failed to strike a work-life balance. Nearly 90% (88%) teachers experienced an increase in workload over the 3 years (2007–2010), with 35% felt an exponential increase in workload. Over half of the interviewees even noticed an increase in non-teaching workload. More than 57% teachers claimed average of more than 61 h had been spent on work per week (including weekend), more profoundly, over 27% primary and 25% secondary school teachers needed to work for more than 71 h per week. The figure also demonstrated that on average, primary and secondary school teachers worked 9.8 h each weekday (excluding recesses and lunch hour), 9–10 h on Saturday and Sunday.

This investigation revealed that some of the ongoing reform policies, such as new senior secondary curriculum reform, self-evaluation and external review, TSA, inclusive education, and so on, continued to exert immense pressure on teachers, while the administrative workload did not have obvious reduction. Most teachers were not satisfied with non-teaching tasks, hoping to spend less time in such tasks and more time in class preparation as well as student guidance and counselling.

Have Stakeholders Become More Satisfied and United?

During the formative stage of the education reform in 1998 to around its launch in 2000, the reform leaders and policy makers repeatedly mobilised parents and the public to take part in propaganda assemblies and rallies, giving parents a lot of expectations for the arrival of a promising education system.

Loss of Confidence Amongst Parents However, a few years after the launch of the reform, various data indicated that parents were less than confident about and dissatisfied with Hong Kong's education. For example, according to a survey report published by the Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong in June 2006, parents rated the overall education system of Hong Kong rather low. The confidence index only scored 46.5 out of 100. To quote another example, another survey conducted during the same year revealed that parents placed education at the top amongst the top ten important factors for Hong Kong's sustainable development; yet they put education at the bottom third when they rated their satisfactory level for the current system. According to a survey published in November 2006 in *South China Morning Post*, business leaders and representatives from various associations

were dissatisfied with the government's performance in education, which scored 4.3 out of 10. The score was even lower than that in the June survey.

Figures in the "Hong Kong Students Studying Outside Hong Kong" section of the *Thematic Household Survey* (Report No. 9 and No. 46) (Census and Statistics Department, 2001, 2011) allow us to trace the changes in the reasons for Hong Kong people sending their children to study overseas during a 10-year period of the education reform. At the initial stage of the reform (2001), the primary reasons for locals studying outside Hong Kong were mainly concerned with what they could get out of learning. For example, the first to sixth reasons cited were "to receive a different mode of education" (47.9%), "to improve English proficiency" (42.0%), "to gain experience of studying overseas" (25.7%), "to learn to be independent" (21.6%), "dissatisfied with the quality of Hong Kong graduates" (19.7%), and "better learning atmosphere outside Hong Kong" (18.3%), etc. Respondents were less interested in systematic factors. For example, "dissatisfied with the education system in Hong Kong" only ranked 12th, or the second last, which was negligible (see Table 12.3).

Yet, 10 years after the launch of the education reform, noticeable changes in the reasons for studying outside Hong Kong were identified in 2011. The reason of "dissatisfied with local education system" jumped from the 12th place in 2001 (5.8%) to the 3rd in 2011 (23.6%), taking up a top position alongside other reasons concerning learning gains (such as "to improve English proficiency" (42.1%), "to learn to be independent" (31.8%), "to achieve a wider academic exposure" (22.4%), "better learning atmosphere outside Hong Kong" (19.6%), etc.). Although the education reform had already been implemented for more than ten years and people should have become used to it, "dissatisfied with local education system" (10.3%) was still a reason for studying outside Hong Kong.

This illustrates that the promising picture committed by the education reform years ago is yet to actualise. Parents and the public are generally disappointed with the current post-reform education situation in Hong Kong. The number of children sent overseas by their parents to receive education was on the increase. Parents are losing confidence in education.

Parents Losing Their Right to Know and Choose Former Chief Executive of Hong Kong Tung Chee-hwa placed Hong Kong's education as a top priority and he was no miser in committing resources. Regretfully, although the authorities have push forward many education policies with "good intentions", they have failed to earn the confidence and support from major stakeholders such as parents, schools and even the general public. For example, the dichotomous medium of instruction (MOI) policy for "English-medium secondary schools" (EMI) and "Chinese-medium secondary schools" (CMI) (Education Commission Working Group, 2005; Cheng, 2018, ch. 7) was the most controversial education policy since Hong Kong's reunification; most parents have expressed their dissatisfaction with the MOI policy. According to the three criteria for operating as an "English-medium school", any

Table 12.3 Comparison of reasons for studying outside Hong Kong arranged in descending order

Reasons cited in 2001 in descending order	Percentage %	Reasons cited in 2011 in descending order	Percentage %
1. To receive a different mode of education	47.9	1. To improve English proficiency	42.1
2. To improve English proficiency	42.0	2. To learn to be independent	31.8
3. To gain experience of studying overseas	25.7	**3. Dissatisfied with local education system**	**23.6**
4. To learn to be independent	21.6	4. To achieve a wider academic exposure	22.4
5. Dissatisfied with the quality of Hong Kong graduates	19.7	5. Better learning atmosphere outside Hong Kong	19.6
6. Better learning atmosphere outside Hong Kong	18.3	6. Studies outside Hong Kong will provide better job prospects	17.9
7. To pave way for taking up work outside Hong Kong in future	12.1	7. Unable to get admitted to local institutions	11.3
8. Unable to get a place in good schools in Hong Kong	12.0	8. Having relatives there	11.3
9. Easier to seek jobs in future	10.4	9. To have a fresh start in a new educational and social environment	11.2
10. Too much pressure / too many assignments when studying in Hong Kong	9.4	**10. Dissatisfied with local education reform**	**10.3**
11. To have a fresh start in a new educational and social environment	6.9	Others	33.4
12. Dissatisfied with the education system in Hong Kong	**5.8**		
13. To live with family members there	2.9		
Others	4.9		

Source: Census and Statistics Department (2001, 2011)

school with less than 85% intake of EMI-capable Secondary One (S1) students has to adopt CMI teaching. However, why are parents not told whether their children belong to the group of EMI-capable students or not? Why do the 84% or 82% of EMI-capable students and their parents not have the right to choose? Is this not a serious deprivation of parents' right to know and choose in education?

Divided Education Partnerships Prior to the launch of the education reform, Hong Kong had a fine diverse tradition in school operation underpinned by different supporting bodies. There were strong partnerships amongst the authorities, school sponsoring bodies, professional organisations, teachers and principals, academic associations and the communities, who worked together for the development of education (Cheng, 2018, ch. 3). However, since the launch of the education reform, partnership and unity were no longer easily restored. At the height of the education

reform, the market competition, tilted policies, reduction of classes and closure of schools vigorously advocated by the authorities, gradually turned allies and partners into rivals. Blaming each other took place all too often between the authorities and different stakeholders. The bill on school-based management pushed the authorities and the biggest school sponsoring bodies to a showdown. The lawsuit between them lasted for six whole years and only ended in November 2011.

Although the education reform has been implemented nearly two decades, major stakeholders particularly parents and the public have little confidence on education. It is also very unfortunate that a wrestling situation is formed. Whether Hong Kong's education can continue to develop healthily is a critical question that the authorities need to address. Hong Kong used to have an advantage of diversity in its school operation. It may take a rather long time before that advantage can revive.

Have Education Policies Become More Legitimate and Acceptable?

During the education reform, new education policies were rolled out in every form, and people lost track of which one was part of the education reform and which was not. With no prioritisation, plus a lack of stringent evaluation of the pros and cons and careful inspection, all these policies were implemented in the name of education reform. In the end, many difficulties were created for key stakeholders such parents, teachers, schools, and school sponsoring bodies, and the education reform was left with a predicament.

Lack of Legitimacy For example, before the fine-tuning of the MOI policy in 2010, the Education Bureau required that a subsidised English-medium school (EMI) should have at least 85% of its S1 intake being EMI-capable; there was no compromise. Why was the threshold set at 85% and not 75%? Education principles were not much cited to support so. Why did schools with 70% of EMI-capable S1 intake have to adopt CMI education? There was no right for parents or students in aided schools to choose. If it was a supreme education principle, why was it relaxed for Direct Subsidy Scheme schools, which too were accepting subsidy from public money even though their parents needed to pay additional school fee? This policy lacked legitimacy and was unfair to those aided schools.

To quote another example. The through-train mode linking primary and secondary schools was an important policy in the education reform, which encouraged continuity in primary and secondary education, so that students could enjoy a more stable and consistent learning environment. However, the mandatory MOI policy directly interfered or collided with the through-train policy. Certain EMI schools were anxious that its linked primary school may fail to supply 85% of EMI-capable S1 students and they asked to split up from the through-train mode. Both schools and parents were anxious and very dissatisfied. In the end, in the face of strong

opposition, the authorities lowered the requirement for through-train schools to 75% of EMI-capable S1 students. What kind of policy or education principle was that?

Unfavourable for Social Mobility In addition to optimising the education quality for students, the legitimacy of an education policy is also supported by how education promotes social mobility. Since the launch of the education reform, was school education being more helpful for underprivileged students to move up the social ladder through education? Or were they moving further downwards because they are disadvantaged in education? This is a very important question to raise for evaluating the success or failure of the education reform. The Secondary School Places Allocation (SSPA) mechanism proposed in the education reform has serious drawbacks, because using the results of the Pre-S1 Class Allocation Test to adjust the overall scores of the students' original primary schools would be virtually limiting the upward moving channel for Hong Kong's underprivileged students to their own community or social class (Cheng, 2005b). In other words, students from underprivileged districts have to bear the limitation left by their seniors' results in the Pre-S1 Attainment Test, with no other channel to stand out with their own efforts.

More importantly, any student's personal performance and the outcome of their secondary school selection process would be bounded by the standard of his/her primary school. For example, a competent student enrolled in a primary school of a lower standard (because he lives in a grass-root district) will find it very difficult to move out of his current predicament. In addition to an unfavourable learning context, the student could no longer use his own competence and attainments to get enrolled to a better secondary school and pursue better prospects because of the adjusted and lowered score. This is an unfair selection and is contrary to the principle of "selection based on individual performance or merit".

Over the course of the education reform, policies were tilted towards fee-paying Direct Subsidy Scheme schools. These favourable policies have attracted quality subsidised schools to turn into Direct Subsidy Scheme schools. In effect, elite schools were developed in the middle to high end education segment. Direct Subsidy Scheme schools increased from 40 in the 2002/03 school year to 73 in the 2012/13 school year, which marked an 83% increase. Meanwhile, subsidised schools were much interfered under the education reform – the difficulty in management and teaching were increased, and teachers lack the time to perform their teaching duties well, with caring for underprivileged students being affected the most.

Direct Subsidy Scheme schools and international schools, on the other hand, have enough autonomy and financial resources and were free from the interference of the education reform. Teachers in these schools had a more stable environment to educate and students were put on a more advantaged position in furthering their studies. As a result, education ranks have become polarised and the grassroots have become even more disadvantaged with a smaller chance to be admitted to a government-funded university.

Since the implementation of the education reform, inconsistent policies that lack legitimacy have resulted in various forms of conflicts across different layers or parties. In the end, internal friction, tension and frustration occur in the education

system, partnerships are breaking up in bad terms, schools are weakened, teachers are exhausted, students suffer and parents are dissatisfied. Argument and wrestling continue to occur among various stakeholders. Added with the politicisation in Hong Kong in recent years, these conflicts or legitimacy issues can easily trigger bigger controversies in the Hong Kong society and should be handled with great care.

Evaluation

Given the Hong Kong shared the similar features of worldwide trends of education reform, the preliminary observation of its impacts on the four key aspects of Hong Kong education system may provide some insights or lessons for those countries or areas which had also started systemic education reforms involving many parallel initiatives since the end of 1990s or the return of new century. The implications drawn from the above preliminary analysis for Hong Kong and other international communities to further reflect on their education reforms can be summarized as below:

1. ***Comprehensive review***. It is much worth to conduct a comprehensive review of systemic education reforms on the education ecology, the social cost and impacts, and the success and failure of the policies after decades of education reform. This review should be independent and objective to provide evidence-based findings and comprehensive perspectives for policy analyses and debates. It should be helpful to reconstruct education reform strategies and rebuild the knowledge base and legitimacy for policy change or continuity. Such a review will do all good and no harm to future policy development and implementation. Especially when the fundamental systemic changes in learning, teaching, curriculum, assessment and academic structures are all bundled and mandatorily rolled out, an extensive and heavy blow is brought to the entire education system and related sectors. Such a review will be very helpful to fine tune the measures hurriedly rolled out like a revolution.
2. ***Stabilise the overall morale***. During a systemic education reform, it is not a surprise that many key aspects of work life such as curriculum, pedagogical methods, assessment and management need to change and therefore the key actors (e.g. teachers, principals) they have to pay additional effort and time to learn, adapt and practice. All this may become a great pressure on them, likely frustrating their working morale. Reviewing how well teachers and other key actors can adapt to various reform initiatives should be necessary. Further policy analysis may be on how teachers can be provided with sufficient time and space to conduct change in their work without any worries, so that they can embrace the meaningful education reform, innovate in their teaching and engage in paradigm shift in education. Without the devotion of teachers, there will be no future for the education reform.

3. ***Revitalize the confidence and partnership with stakeholders***. A systemic education reform involves multiple stakeholders at different levels, but the reform initiatives often induce changes in their interests and relationships, causing various conflicts and controversies among them and damaging their collaboration and partnership as discussed above. In the case of Hong Kong, the previous success of education system depended heavily on the close partnership and collaboration among key stakeholders such as education authorities, school sponsoring bodies, teachers, principals, parents and local communities. Therefore, how the confidence and partnership with stakeholders can be revitalized in education should be one of key issues for review in strengthening education system. More hard work is needed to form more far-reaching and united allies and partnerships for the future of education no matter whether in Hong Kong or other parts of the world. The authorities and school sponsoring bodies should strengthen mutual trust instead of blaming each other.
4. ***Rebuild the legitimacy of education policies***. In a complex systemic education reform involving parallel initiatives and various related policies, it is not a surprise that there may be gaps, inconsistencies and conflicts between different new policies and between new policies and existing policies. All these will damage the legitimacy of education policies to be accepted from the public or the key stakeholders for reforms. How to eliminate the gaps and inconsistencies, rationalize the policies of multiple initiatives and rebuild their legitimacy should be a crucial issue for further review of education reform. Without strengthening the legitimacy of education reform policies, it would be difficult to reduce the internal struggles and conflicts and keep the sustainability of systemic education reform. Very often, new initiatives with good intentions would result in poor legitimacy and become social controversies that trigger endless struggles.
5. ***Review the decision-making mechanism***. Given the scope and scale of a systemic education reform are so huge and complex, it would be very challenging and demanding to the decision-making mechanism. In further education review, it is legitimate to review if the traditional mechanism is still capable to understand and handle the complexity of such a huge education reform and formulate a practical and feasible plan to achieve the planned goals covering a wide range of areas and related issues of education system. In particular, how should the breadth and depth of think tank be strengthened to provide a sound knowledge base for decision making? How can the multiple stakeholders be represented to provide a strong foundation for rationalized consultation? These are important issues for further review. When important decisions are made, we do not take one-sided opinions as the only truth, nor believe that the leader's determination and publicity techniques could win it all. There must be substantial and in-depth weighing of pros and cons for establishing the legitimacy, consistency and feasibility of the decision.

As discussed above, the Hong Kong society and teaching community have paid an extremely big price for the education reform in the last two decades. Although most aspects of the education reform are still operating, consequential troubles and

negative impacts exist, hindering the education development. From the effectiveness of education and the morale of the teaching force, to the stakeholders' confidence on education and the legitimacy of education administration, there are hidden worries in the major functions of Hong Kong education system as well as its future development.

Conclusion

The market is not almighty. Neither Hong Kong's competitor Singapore nor the power nation of education Finland has adopted strong internal competition to drive improvements in their teachers and schools, but both have remarkable performance in education. Education is a wisdom-intensive and infectious job that requires the long-term commitment of schools and teachers to devote themselves to nurture students. Neither money nor competition can act as a cure-it-all. Many countries and areas had initiated their systemic education reforms and experienced similarly trends and patterns since the turn of new century. It would be interesting and significant to understand what impacts of these reforms had made after nearly two decades of implementation. Taking the Hong Kong as the case, a preliminary observation has been made to explore this issues. It is hoped that the implications and insights drawn from this case would be useful for the international community to review and reflect on their systemic education reforms and share the lessons and issues to be learnt locally and internationally for the future.

Note Part of the material of this chapter was adapted from Cheng (2009, 2015) and the Chinese publication Cheng (2017).

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Chapter 13
Evaluating Globalisation and Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies

Joseph Zajda

Abstract The chapter offers a synthesis of current research findings on globalisation and education reforms, with reference to major paradigms and ideology. The chapter analyses the shifts in methodological approaches to globalisation, education reforms, paradigms, and their impact on education policy and pedagogy. The chapter critiques globalisation, policy and education reforms and suggests the emergence of new economic and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. The chapter also evaluates discourses of globalisation, cultural imperialism, global citizenship, human rights education, and neo-liberal ideology. It is suggested there is a need to continue to analyse critically the new challenges confronting the global village in the provision of authentic democracy, equality, social justice, and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy. There is also a need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely global citizenship, human rights education, social justice and access to quality education for all, if genuine culture of learning, and transformation, characterised by wisdom, compassion, and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

Education Reforms: Paradigms and Ideologies

When discussing the politics of education reforms, and role of the state, and dominant ideologies defining policy priorities, we need to go beyond the technicist and business-oriented model of education, which focuses on accountability, efficiency and performance indicators. Why? Because, apart from the dominant human capital and rate of return, driving efficiency, profit and performance indicators, there

J. Zajda (✉)
Faculty of Education and Arts, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: joseph.zajda@acu.edu.au

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are other forces at work as well. From the macro-social perspective, the world of business, while real and dominant, is only one dimension of the complex social, cultural and economic world system. At the macro-societal level we need to consider the teleological goal of education reforms. Are we reforming education systems to improve the quality of learning and teaching, academic achievement and excellence, and do we hope to change our societies, creating the 'good society'?

At the level of critical discourse analysis, we need to consider dominant ideologies defining the nature and the extent of political and economic power, domination, control, the existing social stratification, and the unequal distribution of socially and economically valued commodities, both locally and globally. They all have profound influences on the directions of education and policy reforms. Many scholars have argued that education systems and education reforms are creating, reproducing and consolidating social and economic inequality (Bourdieu 1984; Apple, 2002; Arnove & Torres, 1999; Astiz, Wiseman & Baker, 2002; Avalos-Bevan, 1996; Benveniste, Carnoy & Rothstein, 2003; Klees, 2002; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Milanovic, 2006, 2016; Raffo et al., 2007; Zajda, 2015a; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017).

One could argue that the process of reproducing and consolidating social and economic inequality is one of the effects of forces of globalisation and neo-liberal ideology. Educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace neo-liberal ideology, characterised by the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability, standards, performance, and profit-driven managerialism. Hence, the politics of education reforms in the twenty-first century reflect this new emerging paradigm of standards-driven and outcomes-defined education policy change (Zajda, 2015b).

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. In the global culture the university, as other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution. Such a managerial and entrepreneurial re-orientation, as part of neo-liberal ideology, would have been seen in the past as antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university of providing knowledge for its own sake (Sabour, 2005; Zajda, 2015b). Delanty (2001) notes that "with business schools and techno science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy . . .the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled than strengthened as a result of globalisation." (Delanty, 2001, p. 115). It can be said that globalisation may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector, and education in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains offered by the neo-liberal ideology, and its push for efficiency, performance, standards, and profit-driven outcomes.

Education in the global economy is likely to produce a great deal of discontent and conflict. We are reminded of the much-quoted words 'All history is the history of class struggle' (Marx & Engels, 1848). Globalisation too, with its evolving and

growing in complexity social stratification of nations, technology and education systems has a potential to affect social conflict. When discussing the complex and often taken-for granted symbiotic relationship between consumer production and consumption in the global economy, it is worth considering extending Marx's famous theory of the fetishism of the commodity, to include the 'production fetishism', or an illusion created by 'transnational production loci, which masks translocal capital', and the 'fetishism of the consumer', or the transformation of the consumer's social identity through 'commodity flows' or global consumerism, made possible by global advertising. Appadurai (1990) suggested that through advertising in the media and commodities, the consumer has been *transformed* 'into a sign', both in Baudrillard's sense of a *simulacrum*, and in the sense of 'a mask for the real seat of agency, which is not the consumer but the producer and the many forces that constitute production' (Appadurai, 1990, p. 308). In a postmodern sense, a post-industrial global culture can be considered as a new hybrid of *global* cultural imperialism (see also McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005).

There is a trend in educational systems around the world of shifting the emphasis from the progressive learner-centred curriculum to 'economy-centred' vocational training, based on human capital theories (Zajda, 2007). This was discovered in a comparative study of education in China, Japan, the USA, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and the Scandinavian countries (Waters, 1995, p. 18). Although these nations are vastly different in terms of politics, history and culture, and *dominant ideologies*, they are united in their pursuit for international competition in the global market. Hence, curriculum reforms and school policies increasingly address the totalising imperatives of the global economy discourse: competition, academic standards, performance, productivity, and quality (Carnoy, 1999; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002).

New Paradigm Shift in Pedagogy

Previously in *Towards Schooling for the Twenty-First Century*, Per Dalin and Val D. Rust (1996) argued that there had to be a new paradigm shift in learning and teaching for the twenty-first century. The authors discuss major transformations globally, including political, economic, ecological, epistemological, technological and moral 'revolutions' (Dalin & Rust, 1996, p. 32). They stress that in a conflict-ridden world, the 'school must play a basic role in peace education' (Dalin & Rust, 1996, p. 64). One could argue that the new and evolving paradigm shift in pedagogy is dictated by forces of globalisation, politico-economic change, 'knowledge society', and ITCs, to name a few (see Zajda & Gibbs, 2009). As argued recently in *The Politics of Education Reforms* (see Zajda & Geo-JaJa, 2010), the term 'globalisation' is a complex cultural and social theory construct and, at times, a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant perspectives and ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-systems' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of time-space distantiation' (highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations and their effective removal from the

immediacies of local contexts), and Castells' (1989) approaches, to globalisation by way of networking, where the power of flows of capital, technology, and information, constitutes the fundamental paradigm of an emerging 'network society', to a view of globalisation as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (see Apple, 2004; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Zajda, 2014).We have suggested that globalisation, with its political, social and economic systems, and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries and information communication technologies (ICTs) that are having profound and differential effects on educational institutions and nations in general (OECD, 2016; Zajda, 2015a).

Creating a more Inclusive World

In October 2009, Angel Gurría, (OECD Secretary-General) in 'Education for the future - Promoting changes in policies and practices: the way forward' described some of the changes and priorities in education for tomorrow (Zajda, 2010a). Some of them focus on creating a 'more inclusive world', and inter-personal competencies:

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

Globalisation, Policy and Education Reforms

Globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the "lifelong learning for all", or a "cradle-to-grave" vision of learning and the "knowledge economy" in the global culture. Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for *all*. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured within the

'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes. To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in co-operation with UNESCO, is using *World Education Indicators* (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals (OECD, 2014, *Education at a Glance* – OECD *Indicators*).

Clearly, these new phenomena of globalisation have in different ways affected current developments in education and policy around the word (Zajda, 2010b; Zajda, 2015b). First, globalisation of policy, trade and finance has some profound implications for education and reform implementation. Periodic economic crises (eg Savings and loans crisis during the 1980s and the early 1990s in the USA, the 1987 stock market crash, 1989 junk bond collapse, Asia crisis during the 1997 and 1998 period, dotcom bubble and crash in 2000, and global financial crisis between 2007 and 2008), coupled with the prioritised policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (eg SAPs) have seriously affected some developing nations and transitional economies in delivering basic education for all. The poor are unable to feed their children, let alone send them to school. This is particularly evident in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia, Central Asian Republics (former member states of the USSR), South East Asia, and elsewhere, where children, for instance (and girls in particular, as in the case of Afghanistan Tajikistan and rural India, to name a few) are forced to stay at home, helping and working for their parents, and thus are unable to attend school. Second, the policies of the Organisation for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), UNESCO, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) operate as powerful forces, which, as supranational organisation, shape and influence education and policy around the world. Third, it can be argued that in the domains of language, policy, education and national identity, nation-states are likely to lose their power and capacity to affect their future directions, as the struggle for knowledge domination, production, and dissemination becomes a new form of a knowledge and technology-driven social stratification (Smith, 1991).

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

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

particularly the hydra of ideologies, which are inscribed in the discourse of globalisation need to be analysed critically, in order to avoid superficial and one-dimensional interpretation of the term.

If we define the global system (eg. the global economy, the global markets, the global media etc.) as referring to economic, political and social connections which crosscut borders between countries and have a significant impact on 'the fate of those living within each of them' (Giddens, 1996, p. 520), then we are focusing on culturally and economically interdependent 'global village'. The term 'culture' already includes all other dimensions and artefacts. In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of globalisation Giddens focuses on the 'increasing interdependence of world society' (Giddens, 1996, p. 520), whereas Korsgaard (1997) and others argue that globalisation reflects *social relations* that are also linked to the political, social, cultural and environmental spheres (Korsgaard, 1997, pp. 15–24). The globalisation process is characterized-by the acceptance of 'unified global time', the increase in the number of international corporations and institutions, the ever-increasing global forms of communication, the development of global competitions, and, above all, the acceptance of global notions of citizenship, equality, human rights, and justice (see also Featherstone, 1990, p. 6).

The above critique of globalisation, policy and education suggests new economic, and political dimensions of cultural imperialism (Zajda, 2018). Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. For instance, in view of GATS constrains, and the continuing domination of multinational educational corporations and organisations in a global marketplace, the "basis of a national policy for knowledge production may be eroded in a free-market context of a knowledge-driven economy" (Robertson, Bonal, & Dale, 2002, p. 494).

Current Developments in Education Reforms: Case Studies

In addressing the topic globalisation, ideology and politics of education reforms, some authors, like Holger Daun, evaluate a neo-liberal and neoconservative education policy, meta-ideological hegemony and paradigm shifts in education. Some examine globalisation processes impacting on education and policy reforms (Yin Cheong Cheng; Carlos Ornelas). Others focus on models of governance in education, global university rankings and internationalization of higher education (Veronika Rozhenkova & Val D. Rust; Patrick Coggins), competition for international students among universities, both locally and globally, and promoting economic competitiveness, national identity and social equity through education reforms (Michael H. Lee & S. Gopinathan; Edith Mukudi Omwami). Finally, some reserchers specifically adress such emerging paradigms as global teachers and teaching globalism through a human rights framework (Diane Brook Napier; Yvonne Vissing & Quixada Moore-Vissing).

Holger Daun offers an innovative heuristic framework for description of ideological shifts in education. He analyses some of the most common Western ideologies and their roots and discusses them in the context of more profound societal paradigms. He argues that ideological and policy changes are conditioned by the challenges from the globalized meta-ideology, which is hegemonic, as it determines the dominant discourse surrounding education, society and ideology. He also suggests that the Western globalization carries a new meta-ideology, with strong elements of some Western ideologies, essentially individualism, democracy, and freedom of choice.

Carlos Ornelas, on the other hand, offers the analysis of prospects for failure or success of the current Mexican educational reform. He argues that education reforms constituted a political project, which was designed to change power relations in the system of education. The educational reform in Mexico implied a tremendous institutional change towards centralization that would alter the prevailing power structure in the education sector. The centralization of education was likely to deprive state governors the tools to cope with local demands for education. He believes that Mexico, due to ideological factors, is still far from achieving a genuinely democratic education system.

Using a Parsons' inspired construct of structural functionalism, Yin Cheong Cheng argues that a social system should serve four systemic functions such as adaptation, goal achievement, integration and pattern maintenance to survive and flourish in an environment of change, reforms and uncertainties**.** Consequently, he analyses the possible issues and concerns of systemic education reforms initiated in the last two decades in different parts of the world and draw local and international implications for further development of new initiatives in education for the future.

Internationalisation of higher education is discussed by Veronika Rozhenkova and Val D. Rust, who analyse the internationalization of universities engaged in the global competition of higher education. They pay attention to conventional internationalization factors, but stress that internationalization in the global era includes additional factors, such as the English language, international rankings, and communications technology. The authors pay special attention to the situation in the Russian higher education sector, which appears to be not quite competitive, at least with the higher ranked universities of the rest of the world. Apart from conventional internationalization efforts, Russia has adopted the Project 5-100 that is especially focused on helping selected institutions of higher education receive international recognition and become competitive with the best universities in the world.

Patrick Coggins provides an additional case study and a success story of the internationalization of higher education in the West Indies. Because of the competitive academic offerings and high standards of these institutions, there are thousands of students from the United States, Europe, Canada, Latin America, and Africa and Asia who continue to seek admission to the institutions in the West Indies. Coggins examines critically the history, contributions of, and current status of higher education in the West Indies, also known as the Caribbean Region. He explores and evaluates critically trends in the historical development and the shifts in control and the contemporary status of access and control of higher education in the Caribbean,

and the British West Indies. He also demonstrates that the West Indies higher education system has created a stable niche market in international education, not only for students, who are citizens of the various countries in the West Indies, but also for students throughout the world.

We now turn to higher education reforms in Kenya, which are examined by Edith Mukudi Omwami, through the critical lens of a rights-based development ideology, enacted through a form of mitigated-Keynesianism and the dominant global development ideology.

This was a period characterized by convergence in the shift towards *majimbo* (regionalism) in political democratization and a return to mitigated Keynesianism. The recent rapid expansion in public university sector infrastructure offered a window into understanding the significance of the articulation of political representation and ethnic rights in the post-2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This period, according to the authpr, also intersects with the World Bank shift in education sector funding policy toward an accommodation of governmental intervention in the financing of tertiary education systems. Mukudi Omwami's analysis employs a contested meaning of the actualization of both neoliberalism and world culture theories in the local context. Her findings reaffirm the changing and yet dominant influence of globally structured institutions in defining development ideology.

Lyn Carter offers an informative Australian discourse on STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) and STEM education apparent in selected texts including those published by the Australian Government. Carter argues that it represents an attempt in promoting STEM as human capital production within the enterprise society. She specifically critiques the neoliberal underpinnings of STEM, including a crisis discourse that marginalises other perspectives of science education, effectively narrowing its possibilities.

In his critical analysis of Vygotsky and a global perspective on scaffolding in learning mathematics, Vince Wright provides a history of scaffolding, which had its roots in Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) within his wider sociocultural theory. Furthermore, Bruner et al. introduced the term scaffolding to describe six actions that an expert other might take to support a learner to bridge their ZPD within an instructional setting. Scaffolding was viewed as a process that provided temporary support to an individual learner. Since Bruner's initial work other researchers broadened the scaffolding metaphor to include, among other aspects, models of effective scaffolding, support offered by peers in collaborative situations, meta-cognitive self-scaffolding by the individual themselves, and support within technology mediated environments. Wright's research findings from his small-scale study of pre-service teachers suggested that providing feedback that is responsive to the strategy of an individual student is an extremely challenging task. Mathematics Education, as a field, needs more specific examples of effective scaffolding, in whole class settings, that includes cognitive, affective and meta-cognitive dimensions. He concludes that it is only though contextualized descriptions and examples that the scaffolding metaphor can come alive and the power of Vygotsky's ZPD, as a construct, can be realized.

The question of how best to prepare students to build meaningful lives and strong societies has long challenged educators. Yvonne Vissing and Quixada Moore-Vissing examine some educational trends and propose that an emphasis on unifying human rights education with global education holds significant potential for assisting students to be responsible citizens in a changing world. Both global education (GE) and human rights education (HRE) have merits of their own. However, while there is some overlap in what they cover, the authors argue that merging them together into a more unified, formalized pedagogical approach called Human Rights Global Education (HRGE) will provide students with a stronger framework than teaching either HRE or GE alone. Guidelines and resources for the development and implementation of HRGE are provided.

The nexus between education reforms, standards and global competitiveness are discussed by Michael H. Lee and S. Gopinathan, who examine Singapore and Hong Kong, as the two exemplary cases of high performing education systems (HPES) in Asia for their top ranks in various international comparison exercises, such as Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Studies (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in recent years. Further, the authors also discuss major challenges facing both nations, as they embark on education reforms, to meet the challenges of globalisation and marketisation of education.

There has been a great deal or research published recently in the fields of human rights and social justice education. Yvonne Vissing and Quixada Moore-Vissing, in their research dealing with current trends in human rights and global education, propose their model for unifying human rights education with global education. The authors argue that their model holds significant potential for assisting students to be responsible citizens in a changing world. The authors also maintain, using their research data, that formalized pedagogical approach called Human Rights Global Education (HRGE) will provide students with a stronger framework than teaching either HRE or GE alone. More importantly, the authors argue that development of HRGE from preschool through higher education can facilitate the creation of responsible global citizens who are working collaboratively for health, peace and justice.

Another theme that has received a great deal of attention in current education research is an emerging paradigm of the global teacher, in order to meet the challenges of a changed globalisation landscape. Diane Brook Napier, using her recent research findings argues that there a far greater need than ever before to foster the goals of participatory democracy, global citizenship, intercultural education, and international understanding. The author stresses the importance of the global-local-dialectic and comparative interdisciplinary approach in her global teacher model. The author argues that her global teacher model, with its focus on global citizenship can be cultivated through activities highlighting the interconnectedness of peoples, nations, cultures in addressing crucial needs such as those of migrants and refugees, and in preserving peace rather than acquiescing in new wars or xenophobia.

Conclusion

The above analysis of education policy reforms, the role of ideology and resultant paradigms shifts globally demonstrates a complex nexus between globalisation, ideology and education reforms – where, on the one hand, democratisation and progressive pedagogy is equated with equality, inclusion, equity, tolerance and human rights, while on the other hand, globalisation, perceived by some critics at least, as a totalising force that is widening the socio-economic status (SES) gap and cultural and economic capital between the rich and the poor, and which results in a hierarchical in nature pyramid of power, domination and control by major social, economic and political organisations (Klees, 2016; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Milanovic, 2016). Hence, there is need to continue to analyse critically the new challenges confronting the global village in the provision of authentic democracy, equality, social justice, and cross-cultural values that genuinely promote a transformative pedagogy (Dalin & Rust, 1996; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017). There is need to focus on the crucial issues at the centre of current and on-going education reforms, namely global citizenship, human rights education, social justice and access to quality education for all, if genuine culture of learning, and transformative pedagogy, characterised by wisdom, compassion, and intercultural understanding, is to become a reality, rather than policy rhetoric.

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Index

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